

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES**

**SITUATIONAL CRIME PREVENTION AT NGLESHIE AMANFRO: THE ROLE OF
THE COMMUNITY**

BY

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DECLARATION

I, Seth Armah do hereby declare that except for references to other works which have been duly acknowledged, this work is the result of the field work carried out by me under the supervision of Prof. Chris Abotchie and Prof. Akosua Darkwah at the Department of Sociology. I further declare that as far as I am aware, this work has not been presented in part or in full anywhere for a degree or certificate.

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DEDICATION

To the future glory of Africa

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ABSTRACT

The study explored the effectiveness or otherwise of the situational measures implemented by the community members of Ngleshie Amanfro to bring under control the sudden upsurge in the incidents of armed robbery in the community. The concurrent triangulation model of the mixed method **approach** was adopted for the study, **using** a sample of 415 **respondents**. The Situational Crime Prevention theory espoused by R. V. Clarke (1997) was used as the main perspective for the study. A survey and in-depth interviews were conducted to obtain field data over a period of 6 weeks. The quantitative data was pre-coded and analyzed using the SPSS. The qualitative data was manually analyzed, while the integrative discussion formant of the mixed method was used to mix the quantitative and the qualitative **findings** in the discussion of the results. The study found that although other crimes were committed in the community the locals were more concerned about the armed robberies because of the fear and insecurity it created in the community. **Among** the factor which contributed to the robberies in the community were the absence of **law enforcement personnel**, inaccessible **road** networks and unemployment. **Situational target** hardening measures were the common crime prevention **strategies** the individuals in the community adopted against the armed robbery attacks. On the communal level police and **neighborhood watch scheme personnel** were **deployed** as the crime control measures to check the robberies in the community. **These** measures were found to be effective in bringing the armed robbery attacks under control in the Ngleshie Amanfro **community**. **Based on these findings the study recommends** that stakeholders should be mindful of the effects of community **layouts** on crime rates and crime control, and the inevitable role of capable guardians against crime in crime control in communities.

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CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.0. Background Statement

Situational crime prevention refers to the manipulation and management of the immediate environment of a possible target of crime in a systematic and permanent way to, as much as possible, make crime more difficult, risky, less rewarding and excusable per the judgment of a potential offender. It comprises crime opportunity-reducing measures that are aimed at specific forms of crime; for example, the residential robberies experienced by the Ngleshie Amanfro community (Clarke, 1980; Birkbeck & LaFree, 1993; Clarke, 1997; Jacques & Reynald, 2012).

The concept, situational crime prevention, originated from a work by the Home Office Research Unit – the Criminological Research Department of the British Government, in the 1960s and 1970s (Clarke & Cornish, 1983; Clarke, 1997; Jacques & Reynald, 2012). The department reviewed the scope and effectiveness of the other forms of crime-reducing strategies aside the rehabilitation ideal. The conclusion from the review was that, “there was little scope for reducing crime through the essentially marginal adjustments that were practically and ethically feasible in relation to policies of incapacitation, deterrent sentencing, preventive policing or social prevention” (Tilley, 1993c:6). They recommended a further research on opportunity-reducing approach on the basis of a discovery that the possibility of a juvenile running away or re-offending when resident in a probation home or training school was dependent on the opportunities for misbehavior than personal disposition (Clarke, 1980; 1997). Therefore, if institutional misbehavior in theory could be controlled by manipulating situational factors, it was asserted that it could also work for everyday forms of crime. This position of the Home Office Research Unit supported Burt’s (1925) assertion in a study of delinquency in London which revealed that the higher rates of property

offenses in the winter were because of the longer hours of darkness which present opportunity for crime (Garland, 1994).

Further, it became clearer from interviews with residential burglars and robbers (Scarr, 1973; Reppetto, 1974; Brantingham & Brantingham, 1975; Waller & Okihiro, 1979; Addington & Rennison, 2015; Lhayea, 2016) that the avoidance of risk and effort play a vital role in target selection decisions. This dynamic view on crime provided a more reasonable foundation for situational prevention and led to the formulation of the simple choice model of crime (Clarke, 1980; Jacques & Reynald, 2012). This model considered not only the offender's background and current circumstances, but also the offender's (i) instant motives and intentions, (ii) moods and feelings, (iii) moral judgments regarding the act in question, (iv) perception of criminal opportunities and the ability to take advantage of them or create them, and (v) assessment of the risks of being caught as well as the likely consequences (Clarke, 1997; Johnson et al., 2004; Boba & Santos, 2006; Mawby, 2013). This model was called "situational control theory" by Downes & Rock (1982), and was later developed into the rational choice perspective on crime (Clarke, 1997).

Situational Crime Prevention as a crime prevention strategy is open to public and private organizations as well as individuals as a means to bring a compelling crime situation under control (Clarke, 1997). The concept is therefore of relevance to the community members of Ngleshie Amanfro due to a sudden rise in armed robbery cases in the community, a situation which compelled the Inspector-General of Police (IGP) to visit the area in order to do a personal assessment of the situation¹.

¹ Citifmonline.com, 25/08/August 2015

The concept has three main components. The first component according to Clarke (1997) makes clear that situational measures must be tailored to specific categories of crime; that is, distinctions must be made, not between broad categories of crime such as burglary and robbery, but rather between the different kinds of offenses falling under each of these categories. Poyner & Webb (1991) argued that preventing domestic burglaries which have electronic goods as the target may require different measures from those needed to prevent domestic burglaries which have cash or jewelry as the target. This is because of the many differences that exist between the two kinds of burglary in the population they studied. For instance, they found that when the target was cash or jewelry burglaries occurred mostly in older homes close to the city center and were committed by offenders operating on foot. When the targets are electronic goods such as TVs and VCRs the burglaries generally took place in newer and more distant suburbs, and are committed by offenders with cars. The cars are required to transport the stolen goods and have to be parked close to the house but not so close as to attract attention (Clarke, 1997; Boba & Santos, 2006; Monk et al., 2010; Barrett, 2012; Mawby, 2013).

Given that the residents of Amanfro were robbed in their homes and on the streets, especially, at night, measures to check street and residential robberies should be context specific in relation to these two forms of robbery. They may have some common characteristics but, are also dissimilar in many respects.

Secondly, some members of the Amanfro community had a perception that the perpetrators of the armed robberies in the community were people from the community who were going hungry and were encouraged to engage in robbery because it was less likely that they would be arrested in the process. If this assertion is true, it reiterates the second component of Situational Crime Prevention concept which says there is no distinction between criminals and non-criminals. This is on the

premise that every person has the propensity towards crime and will commit a crime when he/she can escape being caught based on the prevailing circumstances at the material moment (Lester, 1991; Clarke, 1980; 1997; Ekblom & Tilley, 2000; Lhayea, 2016). It is instructive to note here that the fear of being caught is not an isolated variable that helps to deter criminal behavior but the fear works in conjunction with the severity and immediacy of the punishment which follows the arrest (Clarke, 1997; Johnson et al., 2004; Boba & Santos, 2006; Abotchie, 2012; Mawby, 2013).

The third component of situational crime prevention is the changing and management of the environment of a possible target of crime to have an effect on the assessment made by the potential offender based on a cost and benefit analysis of committing a particular crime. This is because the judgment is dependent on the specific features of the objective situation which determines the likelihood of the commission of the intended offense (Painter & Farrington, 2001). In assessing and appreciating situational factors robbers at Amanfro “can spend about three hours to rob a number of households because they are confident that not a single policeman will show up”, according to a resident². In the view of Clarke (1997), if situational crime prevention measures are implemented to make armed robbery in the Amanfro community more difficult or to require a lot of efforts, more risky in relation to a higher possibility of arrest, less rewarding and excusable per the judgment of the potential offenders the frequency of the robbery incidents will reduce, as revealed in a number of studies (Lester, 1991; Painter & Farrington, 2001; Addington & Rennison, 2015; Lhayea, 2016).

² Myjoyonline.com, 28/08/2015

1.1. Problem Statement

Generally, crime prevention is defined as the anticipation, recognition and appraisal of the risks of crime and the initiation of an action to remove or reduce the risks. Theoretically, for crime prevention to be effective it must involve a partnership between the police, the community, local departments or establishments, the judiciary and the government (Abotchie, 2012; Owusu et al., 2015). The role of governments in security provision has “become increasingly fragmented resulting in law enforcement [and protection from crime] no longer being the monopoly of the state” (van Steden & Nalla, 2010: 217). Members of every community, therefore, have a role to play in securing their localities and the role of a community is, usually, embedded in situational crime prevention practices (Loader, 2000; Crawford et al., 2005; Jones & Newburn, 2006; Kempa et al., 2007; Abotchie, 2012). In other words, this role of the community in crime prevention according to Abotchie (2012) finds expression in the whole community as well as the individual members formulating, adopting, implementing and installing their own security measures.

Ngleshie Amanfro, a community in the Ga South Municipality continually featured in the headlines of both the electronic and the print media due to a sudden rise in armed robbery cases in the community. “Armed robbery incidents at Amanfro in the Ga South Municipality have now become almost a daily affair”³. The residents were mass robbed with arms in operations which could last for three hours. The robbers inflicted machete and gun wounds on their victims before robbing them, according to police report⁴. The “Chairman of the Local Landlords Association [told] Joy News...our lives are at stake at the moment, our wives and children are afraid to wake up early from bed”⁵. Further, the records of the Amanfro police revealed that in 2013 the Amanfro

³ Myjoyonline.com, 24 /08/2015

⁴ Daily Guide online, 23 July 2015

⁵ Myjoyonline.com, 24/08/2015

police recorded 8 cases of armed robbery in the community, from December 2014 to June 2015 eight (8) armed robbery cases were recorded, and from July 2015 to December 2015 twenty-six (26) cases were recorded⁶, thus, pointing to an upsurge in the armed robbery incidents in the community. The frequency and the spread of the attacks became a source of concern for the community members and the entire country. The Regional Police Commander visited the community to assess the security challenges in the community. However, his visit did not change the situation as the armed attacks continued. Residents of the community planned to demonstrate against the police and the local government authorities because in their view they were not doing much to beef up security in the community. The situation compelled the Inspector-General of Police (IGP) to visit the community in order to assess the situation on the ground. Seeing how critical it was, the Police Service was compelled to set up tents at Amanfro Top Town and American Farm to host some armed police officers to guard the community as a contingent measure⁷. This study, therefore, sought to explore the situational crime prevention measures which were implemented by the Amanfro community (on the communal and individual levels) to check the rise in the armed robbery cases in the community, and the effectiveness or otherwise of these situational measures implemented to bring the robberies under control in the context of Amanfro. Some evidence exists on the effectiveness of Situational Crime Prevention measures to check and reduce crime (Lester, 1991; Painter & Farrington, 2001, Addington & Rennison, 2015; Lhayea, 2016). Clarke (1997) sees Situational Crime Prevention strategies as the most effective means to check and reduce crime in every social institution and all facets of life. He encourages more research from the perspective of the concept in order to promote the validity and reliability of its

⁶ Ngleshie Amanfro Police Monthly Reports (2013 – 2015)

⁷ Myjoyonline.com, 24/08/2015

claims among academics and practitioners of crime prevention. This notwithstanding, a reasonable number of studies on the effectiveness of Situational Crime Prevention strategies exist. But most of these studies were done in Europe, the U.S. and Australia. This affirms an assertion that little is known about the developing world (Africa, and Ghana to be specific) in relation to the concept of Situational Crime Prevention (Adu-Mireku, 2002). This study with Ghana (Ngleshie Amanfro) as the setting sought to contribute to the limited number of studies available on the veracity of the claims of the potential of the situational crime prevention concept, and thereby contributes as well to the enhancement of the theory as it applies in the developing world.

1.2. Research Questions

1. Which other crimes were common in the Amanfro community aside armed robbery?
2. What are the factors which contributed to the rise in the armed robbery cases in the Amanfro community?
3. Which situational measures were implemented by households/individuals to augment their security against the robbery attacks?
4. Which situational measures which were implemented at the community level to control the armed robberies in the locality?
5. How effective were these situational measures in bringing the armed robbery incidents under control?

1.3. Broad Objective

Based on the research questions above, the broad objective of this study was to explore the Situational Crime Prevention measures implemented by the community members of Ngleshie Amanfro to control the sudden rise in the incidents of armed robbery in the community and the effectiveness or otherwise of these measures against the robbery attacks.

Specific Objectives

Specifically, the study sought to -

1. Identify the other types of crime which are committed in the community aside armed robbery.
2. **Ascertain the factors which contributed to the armed robbery incidents in the community.**
3. Find out the situational measures implemented by households/individuals to augment their security against the armed robbery attacks.
4. Identify the situational measures employed at the community level to control the armed robberies in the community.
5. Assess the efficacy of these situational measures.

1.4. Hypotheses

1. The higher the income of an individual in a community in which armed robbery attacks are prevalent the higher the probability of the individual adopting a Situational Crime Prevention measure against robbery.
2. The less accessible a community is to the security forces the higher the probability of frequent armed robbery in the community.

1.5. Definition of Concepts

Situational crime prevention refers to the actions/measures taken by individuals or communities (as **potential** target of crime) to as much as possible make the act of crime more difficult, risky, less rewarding and excusable per the judgment of a potential offender.

The role of the community in the context of the study refers to the actions/measures taken by individuals and the community in order to bring the armed robbery situation in the Amanfro community under control.

Crime control is used in this study to refer to the implementation of situational measures to prevent or reduce crime in a community.

Armed robbery is a form of robbery which involves the use of force, pretense or the actual use of a deadly weapon and the threat of bodily injury or damage to property to intimidate a person into compliance in order to dispossess him or her of his or her property.

A **high income** is used to refer to the earning of a regular monthly income of 1000 Ghana Cedis and above.

Accessibility refers to the availability of motorable access routes to the various destinations within the Amanfro community.

1.6. Relevance of the Study

“One cannot step twice in the same river because at each time different water passes”

(Heraclitus 535 - 475 BC).

And “the same thing does not happen the same way twice”⁸

Everything is in a flux according to Heraclitus (535 - 475 BC) and the conditions in a context in which a theory is tested and found to be valid is not immune to this law of nature, therefore, the same theory if tested in the same context may produce a different result (compared with its initial outcome) since the conditions in the said context are in a constant flux. The ecology of a deviant behavior or a criminal act is significant in the conceptualization of the Situational Crime Prevention concept. In its preventive strategies the concept seeks to influence the temperament, the moral judgment and perception of the potential offender. It takes into consideration the capability of the potential offender to identify or create an opportunity for offending, as well as his / her assessment of the risks of being caught and the possible consequences. These features of the potential offender are determined by the socio – cultural, economic, and the political environment in which he/she lives, and the physical environment of the setting of the potential offensive conduct. The global North and global South which are the developed world and the developing world, respectively, are no way similar in their socio – cultural, economic, political structures and environmental characteristics, which also affect the validity of a crime prevention strategy (Macionis, 2001). Besides, there is no guarantee that the features of the setting in which a strategy was tested and found to be valid will remain same even in the same environment, which can affect the validity of the same strategy if it is repeated in the same setting. Therefore, it is imperative to

⁸ A quote from the Chronicles of Narnia, a movie which was based on a novel by C. S. Lewis in 1995

interrogate the claims of the core hypothesis of the Situational Crime Prevention concept which sees the commission of a crime as dependent on the availability of criminal opportunities and not on criminal dispositions, and the effectiveness of its strategies in reducing the incidents of crime in a developing world in spite of the pile of evidences from the developed world which support validity of its claims and the effectiveness of its crime prevention strategies. Within this frame of reference lies the relevance of this study.

Clarke (1997) encourages more research from the perspective of the Situational Crime Prevention concept in order to promote the validity and the reliability of its claims among academics and practitioners of crime prevention. In line with the aforementioned, the study will help to confirm or know the otherwise of the validity of the core hypothesis of the concept in the context of a developing country, Ghana to be precise. The study therefore stands to contribute to the debate of accepting or rejecting the perspective as an option for crime prevention in the developing world and, in no minimal dimension, in the developed world.

In the current trend of the provision of security “no longer being the monopoly of the state” (Steden & Nalla, 2010: 217) the role of the community in crime prevention is undoubtedly and unabatedly increasing in importance. The study therefore informs policy makers and practitioners of crime prevention, as well as members of communities on situational measures which are readily available to the ordinary Ghanaian at the community and individual levels, and their effectiveness.

The study also provides a scientific data for individuals and institutions interested in appreciating the armed robbery situation which occurred in the Ngleshie Amanfro community.

Literature on Situational Crime Prevention abounds in the developed world, but limited in the developing world. In the case of Ghana, it is almost nonexistent. This study therefore contributes

to the closing of the gap which exists between the developed world and the developing world with respect to the body of research existing on Situational Crime Prevention as a concept for crime prevention.

1.7. Thesis Organization

The thesis has five chapters, with chapter one presenting a background information on the study, the problem statement, research questions, objectives, hypotheses, definition of the key concepts and the rationale for the study, and ends with an outline of how the entire thesis is organized. Chapter two covers a review of theoretical and empirical literature which are relevant to the objectives and hypotheses of the study. The crime prevention or policy implications of these theories and empirical literature as mentioned by scholars are considered, as well as their limitations. Chapter three presents the research methods used in conducting the study. Chapter four covers the data analyses, presentation and discussions of the findings of the study. The last chapter, which is five, presents a summary of the study, the main findings, the conclusions based on the objectives, their policy implications, and the recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF EMPIRICAL AND THEORETICAL LITERATURE

2.0. Introduction

This chapter reviews empirical and theoretical literature which are relevant to the objective of the study. The selection of a particular perspective or literature for review was based on its direct or indirect influence on the policies and strategies for crime prevention and crime control. Each perspective mentioned is elaborated focusing on the various aspects which are relevant to the objectives of the study. The policy implication of each of the perspectives is considered as well as some of the critiques raised against it by scholars. The chapter ends with a review of literature on the crime opportunity-reducing techniques of the Situational Crime Prevention concept, and the conceptual framework of the study.

Security is a vital prerequisite for the development and the wellbeing of every society⁹ the absence of which retards any meaningful political and socio – economic development (Esser, 2004). In the language of social science security is a controversial concept to define, however, in an objective sense, it is defined as the absence of threats to acquired values (both material and non-material). While in the subjective sense, it is the absence of the fear that such values will be attacked. Security in this sense also connotes survival, which is the ability to pursue one’s cherished Social, Political, Religious, Economic, Marital, Educational, and Health lives, and make choices without the fear of a lurking risk (Brauch et al., 2011).

Hobbes is considered right in his statement that man in the state of nature “is governed by reason in the service of his passions. These passions are mainly the desire of gain, safety, reputation and glory. To achieve these passions men will employ all means and destroy one another when

⁹ Ghana Social Development Outlook, 2012 (ISSER)

necessary or expedient. They will relentlessly seek power and more power to secure the power they already wield. Thus, man will live... in a perpetual state of a war of all against all, and the life of man will be solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short” (Hobbes, 1946 cited in Abotchie, 2012:4). The solution to this lies in the social contract in which all men and women agree to surrender their natural liberty to a sovereign (the Leviathan) who in reciprocity guarantees and secures the natural security of all against aggression and fraud. There are individuals whose actions will not conform to the accepted social order, norms and mores of society, and such acts are classified as deviant acts or criminal acts. Within the process and mechanism of putting such nonconformists in check lies the concept of crime prevention (Abotchie, 2012).

Crime prevention is the anticipation, recognition, appraisal and removal of the risks of crime. Some communities have high crime rates, a phenomenon which is one of the original and enduring issues in criminology. Looked at in terms of offenders, a high crime incidence may be attributed to a lot of offenders committing few crimes each, or a few offenders committing many crimes each. An appropriate strategy of control is adopted when the one which applies among these two factors is known (Lunden, 1962; Abotchie, 2012; Akhgar & Yates, 2013).

2.1. Predisposing Factors of Crime

In his article “The Motivation of the Persistent Robber” Katz (1991) acknowledged the fact that there are multiple predisposing factors of crime or motivations for a crime to take place, which further varies among offenders. Focusing on robbers he emphasized that their motivation varies to a level which defies generalization. The main aim of Katz in the article was to investigate what motivates robbers to engage in armed robbery, a phenomenon which to him had not been fully considered, and studies which attempted also did not focus on armed robbery but on a general

range of offenses. Katz's view reiterates the first component of the Situational Crime Prevention concept which says an effective crime control requires distinctions between offenses, not in broad categories but between specific crimes under each category. For example, under armed robbery a distinction should be made between street armed robbery and residential armed robbery. The study of Katz was based on data and literature available in America which helped in closing the gap which motivated his study in the developed world but left the gap in the developing world (Ghana to be specific) not attended to, a task this study among others endeavored to accomplish by investigating the factors which motivated the armed robbers who frequently robbed the community members of Ngleshie Amanfro.

Since the late 19th century criminological theories have indicated various underlying predisposing factors of crime. The earliest theories attributed crime to single underlying causes such as atypical body build, genetic abnormality, insanity, physical anomalies and poverty, whereas later theories attributed crime to multiple factors among which are poverty, peer influence, school problems, and family dysfunction and et cetera (Siegel, 1998). Before these periods was the "demonic era" (Shamalleger & Volk, 2005). Although situational crime prevention strategies focus on the immediate environment of a potential target of crime or the immediate environment in which a crime occurs, it does not totally write off the predisposition factors of crime which have been identified by traditional criminology since these factors directly or indirectly influence the potential offender and the environment in which a crime occurs or is likely to occur (Clarke, 1997; Siegel, 1998; Reynald, 2012).

2.1.1. Criminology not yet Science

The Demonic Era: Until about the 1300s religion provided the core paradigm for making sense of the happenings in society. The metaphysical or super natural forces were believed to be the prime cause of human behaviors and natural phenomena. Good fortune and disaster were attributed to benevolent or malevolent supernatural forces. A simple extension of this worldview explained crime as an abuse of free will, evil or a sinner fallen to the temptation of demonic possession¹⁰. Among the measures to deal with crime were an effort to save the sinner, appeasing the gods, exorcism, cranial surgery to release the demon residing in the brain of the possessed and sometimes ‘an eye for an eye’. Those considered to be beyond salvation were ostracized or executed as a means to rid the community of the evil individual (Shamallegger & Volk, 2005). The demonological explanations of crime began to wane in the 18th century with the beginning of the period of the Enlightenment. It was essentially a major shift in the way people viewed the world and their place in it. In the place of the metaphysical worldview was substituted humanism, rationalism, and a belief of the primacy of the natural world over the supernatural.

The Enlightenment thinkers believed in the dignity and worth of the individual, a view that would eventually find expression in the legal systems and in the treatment of criminal offenders (Siegel, 1997). However, the belief of the supernatural world as the prime determinant of good or bad fortune is not yet over. For some people in Ghana, Africa and across the globe the most dependable source of protection from crime victimization is the supernatural world. Therefore, it comes as no surprise to discover that for some people among the measures of crime prevention is prayer (Sarpong, 1996) based on the understanding that you can put in place all the best security measures

¹⁰ “And even led to the positing of commerce between humans and supernatural entities such as demons, werewolves, vampires and ghost.”(Shamallegger & Volk, 2005:128)

but, “unless the LORD builds the house, those who build it labor in vain. Unless the LORD watches over the city, the watchman stays awake in vain” (Psalm 127:1)¹¹

2.1.2. Biological Predisposing factors

Since the 19th century, some criminologists believed that biological and physiological traits influence behavior. These criminologists are referred to as the Trait Theorists. According to these theorists some personal traits separate the deviants from non-deviants. This explains why in the same given circumstances somebody will commit an offense and may become a chronic criminal, while another will choose not to offend and continue to be a conformist. Everybody may be aware and afraid of the punitive sanctions of the law but some people are unable to control their passions and the urge to engage in acts which violate folklores, mores or a code of law, and suffer the consequences therein. The explanation to the nature of such category of people to the trait theorists lies in their personal biological traits (Siegel, 1998; Shamalleger & Volk, 2005; Van Gelder, 2013). The trait theory makes a scholarship out of a common traditional belief that ‘a thief is a thief, it is by nature, an intrinsic quality no matter what you do to about him or her’. In other words, “against stupidity the Gods themselves do strive in vain” (Mullins, 1947: 18), a perception which is also held by some residents of Amanfro, the setting of this study. The trait theorists raising the bar for the scholarly and logical validity of this traditional belief say that a deviant behavior is not attributed to a single biological trait which fits all deviants. Each deviant has his or her unique biological attribute(s) as the predisposing factor(s) of his or her deviant behavior. These ranges from nervous system problems to blood chemistry disorder which might have been inherited or suffered in the process of physical development (Carrier & Walby, 2014; Ngwu, 2016).

¹¹ The Revised Standard Version

Criminal Anthropology – Not yet a modern Science: Lombroso (1836 – 1909) the best-known biological theorist, a 19th century Italian physician and generally acknowledged as the founding father of modern criminology in his “Born Criminal” coined the term ‘atavism’¹², a concept to suggest that criminals are physiological throwbacks to earlier stages of human evolution (Shamallegger & Volk 2005; Ngwu, 2016; Carrier & Walby, 2014). He is said to have been influenced by Darwin’s theory of evolution and his research consisted of postmortem on the bodies of executed offenders. In one of his postmortems, at the sight of a skull he said: “I seem to see all at once, standing out clearly illumined as in a vast plain under a flaming sky, the problem of the nature of the criminal, who reproduces in civilized times characteristics, not only of primitive savages, but of still lower type as far back as the carnivore” (Henting, 1967:10).

Lombroso claimed to have found a wide variety of bodily features predictive of criminal behavior. Among them were extraordinarily long arms, an index finger as long as the middle finger, fleshy pouches in the cheeks like those in rodents, eyes that were either abnormally closed together or too far apart, large teeth, ears that lack lobes, a crooked nose, a large amount of body hair, protruding chin, large lips, a non-standard number of ribs, and different eyes colors. Habitual murderers whom he called habitual homicides have cold glassy eyes, mobile and sometimes confident and inflamed with large nose and usually bent; the jaws are strong, large cheekbones, curly hair, dark and abundant; the beard is frequently thin, the canine teeth well developed and the lips delicate. Furthermore, criminals have acute sight, hearing ability that are below the normal, insensitive to pain, lack moral sensibility, cruel, vindictive and impulsive, love gambling, and tattoos.

¹² This is derived from the Latin word *atavus* which means an *ancestor* (Shamallegger & Volk, 2005)

Other categories of offenders in his classifications were the insane, occasional criminals and criminals incited by passion. The insane included the mental and moral degenerates, alcoholics, drug addicts, and so forth. In his description of those he referred to as criminaloid or occasional criminals he sounded like a proponent of situational crime prevention when he said that these were people who were pulled into the violation of the law by environmental influences. Nonetheless, for him, the difference between a criminaloid and the born criminal was in the levels or degree of offenses they commit and not in their nature. Those who became criminals by virtue of passion according to Lombroso do so because they surrendered to intense emotions among which are love, jealousy, hatred, or an injured sense of honor (Shamalleger & Volk, 2005; Van Gelder, 2013).

This was Lombroso's attempt to explain deviant behavior at the individual or the micro level focusing on basic biological qualities with little or no regards for environmental factors. "The ambitions of the Lombrosian project was to distinguish and classify flawed organisms through processes of visualization in order to have them policed and condemned, reformed or exterminated" (Carrier & Walby, 2014:3). On the contrary, Durkheim, his contemporary, believed that biological anomalies in the physical makeup or the psyche of the individual are not needed to explain the existence of crime in society. Rather, the existence of crime could be explained by looking at the function it performs in relation to the survival of society.

Initially, Lombroso asserted that 90 percent of offenders committed crimes because of atavistic influences and later revised it to 70 percent, admitting that normal individuals might be pulled into criminal lives as well. This assertion of Lombroso is reiterated by the second proponents of Situational Crime Prevention through the notion that every person has the propensity towards crime and will commit a crime when he/she can escape being caught based on the prevailing circumstances at the material moment of committing the crime. In his later writings Lombroso

admitted that born criminals were just one type of criminals (Siegel, 1998; Shamalleger & Volk, 2005).

The armed robbers of Amanfro may lack most of the features Lombroso listed, but the levels of cruelty, vindictiveness, impulsiveness and the seeming lack of moral sensitivity they displayed in their operations may put them in the atavism of Lombroso. Goring (1913 cited in Shamalleger & Volk, 2005) tested the atavism thesis following the positivistic steps used by Lombroso with the aid of the London Biometric Laboratory. He concluded that “the whole fabric of Lombrosian doctrine by the standards of modern science is fundamentally unsound” (Shamalleger & Volk 2005: 165). Today, the work of Lombroso and his contemporaries like Garofalo, Dugdale and Estabrooks are seen as ahistorical curiosity and not scientific. Most of the traits they considered are seen as not genetically determined since they may be caused by environmental conditions of deprivation like diet or poor nutrition and healthcare. Nonetheless, it is also very likely that during the period Lombroso developed his idea it was only criminals who suffered abnormalities were arrested and punished by the justice system because of which he had those results from his studies which formed the bases of his conclusions. Due to its shortfalls, the individual explanation to criminality was questioned and passed from mainstream criminology for some time. Consequently, the works of most biocriminologists were viewed as methodologically unsound and generally invalid by the Sociologists who dominated the criminological field (Lynch & Stretesky, 2017).

According to Ngwu (2016) and Walsh & Wright (2015) there are evidence for and against the causal link between genetic traits and crime. Ngwu (2016) in a review revealed that Fox (1971) in his study of the XYY chromosomal pattern found that instead of being aggressive individuals with XYY chromosome showed less aggression than those with XY. Fox had a hypothesis that the XYY chromosomal patterns were found in institutionalized criminals. However, among the male

offenders in a Scottish Maximum-Security mental hospital he examined only 3% had XYY chromosomal pattern. He therefore concluded that it was not meaningful to talk of XYY syndromes and crime. This assertion of Fox was contrary to that of some other writers cited by Gibbons (1992) who established that persons with an extra Y chromosome are more aggressive and antisocial (Ngwu, 2016).

2.1.3. Sociobiology

The condemnation of Lombroso and his disciples changed in the 1970s with the emergence of the work of Edmund O. Wilson called “Sociobiology” which resurrected the biological basis for crime. It differs from earlier biological theories by stressing that biological and genetic traits affect perception and learning of social behavior which have a necessary relation with the prevailing environmental structures. He posited that environmental forces can either trigger antisocial behavior in people who are biologically predisposed to deviance, or if the conditions are right, help mediate or offset the effects of the biological predisposition (Ngwu, 2016).

The Sociobiologist posits that the ultimate unit of life which controls human destiny is the genes. The environment and experience may have impact on the behavior of a person, but most of his or her actions are controlled by the biological machine, the gene (Shamalleger & Volk, 2005).

Most importantly, Sociobiologists hold that people are controlled by the innate need to have their genetic material survive and dominate others. Consequently, they do everything in their power to ensure their own survival and that of those who share their gene pool (relatives, fellow citizens, and so forth). Even when they come to the aid of others (reciprocal altruism), people are motivated by the belief

that their actions will be reciprocated and that their gene survival capability will be enhanced (Siegel, 1998: 32).

Criminals like the Amanfro armed robbers are also motivated by this fact, according to the proponents of this perspective, when they engage in crime.

Sociobiologists view the biological makeup of a person and his or her environmental conditions as mutually interdependent. A defect in one sphere can be handled by an alteration in another. This makes people biosocial organisms and their personalities as well as behaviors dependent on physical and environmental conditions. Therefore, to better appreciate why people deviate from social standards both biological and sociological factors should be considered as different sides of the same coin (Lynch & Stretesky, 2017). Over three decades ago Bergle (1974) asserted that “what seems no longer tenable at this juncture is any theory of human behavior which ignores biology and relies exclusively on socio – cultural learning... Most social scientists have been wrong in their dogmatic rejection and blissful ignorance of the biological parameters of our behavior” (p. 779).

Critiques of the biological approach to understanding deviant behavior see it as unsound methodologically and socially dangerous as it can lead to discrimination. Therefore, they posit that any crime prevention policy based on it will eventually fail. Nevertheless, the approach revived interest in finding the cause of delinquency because of its assertion that if a biological makeup influences behavior it should also be responsible for obedience or the violation of a social norm or code (Siegel, 1998; Lynch & Stretesky, 2017).

2.1.4. Neurophysiological Conditions and Criminal Disposition

Under neurological conditions and crime the main areas considered are Neurological Impairment, Minimal Brain Dysfunction, Attention Deficit/ Hyperactivity Disorder, Brain Chemistry and the Arousal theory (Siegel, 1998).

Neurophysiology is the study of the brain activities. Some criminologists see the functioning of the brain as one of the predisposing factors of crime. They are of the view that neurological and physical abnormalities develop in people at the fetal or prenatal stage or through delivery trauma and then influence behavior throughout the life span (Moffitt, 1990).

The link between neurological dysfunction and crime first receive a great deal of attention when Charles Whitman after killing his wife and his mother secured himself in a tower at the University of Texas with a gun and killed 14 people and wounded 24 in addition before he was shot by the police. This was because an autopsy revealed that Whitman suffered from malignant infiltrating brain tumor. Besides, he had kept a careful note of his feelings and inability to control his homicidal urges the reason why he was seeking the assistance of a psychiatrist. Since this event interest has heightened in studying the link between neurological impairment and crime (Johnson, 1972; Siegel, 1998; Ngwu, 2016).

Freud claimed that every human action is motivated and purposive, and that people experience mental conflict due to the suppression of desires and energies into the unconscious. These desires and energies or instincts are basic to our human nature but are repressed because of social norms and mores. Therefore, every person has criminal tendencies¹³ which he or she learns to control during socialization. Those who commit crimes did not develop the inner ability to control their

¹³ Just as posited by the second component of the Situational Crime Prevention concept

instincts and desires so they act them out. Thus, the culprits of the Amanfro armed robberies according to Freud engaged in the robberies because they did not develop the mental and inner abilities to control their desires to rob when they surfaced from infancy. This makes them feeble minded and prone to criminality (Ngwu, 2016).

Attention Deficit (AD) / Hyperactivity Disorder (HD): Some parents have reported that their children do not pay attention to them. They often run around and engage in their own activities. Evidence gathered shows that this inattention may either be a function of age or the symptom of Attention Deficit or Hyperactivity Disorder, which is when the child shows attention below the age, impulsivity and hyperactivity. The lack of attention is said to have the following symptoms: frequent failure to finish a task, does not sustain interest in play activities, cannot sustain concentration on schoolwork or related tasks, and is easily distracted. The condition is said to have a strong association with poor school performance, placement in special needs classes, bullying, stubbornness and lack of discipline. The causes of AD/HD are not known; however, suspected causes include neurological damage, prenatal stress, food additives, chemical allergies and a genetic quality (Biederman et al., 1993). A number of studies have established a link between AD/HD which manifest in minimal brain dysfunctions and below-average written and verbal cognition ability, and the onset and sustenance of delinquent career. A youth who suffers AD/HD is said to be vulnerable to chronic and persistent delinquency (Maguin et al., 1993; Lynch & Stretesky, 2017).

2.1.5. Policy Implications

According to Mullins (1947), “Professor Jennings wrote some wise words about this; the lives of even the individual bearing defective genes may be made as satisfactory, as complete, as the most

advanced civilization can make them without the smallest harm to posterity; but these individuals must not propagate. It is not the preservation of individuals with defective genes that is harmful, but their propagation” (p. 31).

Traits theory influence crime control strategies at the primary and secondary levels. In the formal it seeks to treat personal problem before they manifest in people as crimes. The means ranges from family therapy, substance abuse clinics, to mental health facilities. The secondary is found in the psychological treatment which is given to both young and old when they commit crimes. In the criminal justice system, it is influencing decision on diets, change of lights, making up for learning disabilities and the treatment of allergies.

What is more controversial among the crime control options under trait theories is the use of mood-altering chemicals such as lithium, pemoline, imipramine, phenytoin, and benzodiazepines to control the behavior of antisocial individuals. In some cases, surgical procedures have been used to alter the brain structure of convicted sex offenders to eliminate or control their sex drives which sometimes results in impotency (O’Callaghan & Carroll, 1987). This crime control measure may be justifiable from the perspective of the utilitarian philosophy of Beccaria which says that people choose to commit crime and this choice can be controlled by a more severe, certain and swift punishment (Abotchie, 2012). However, societies which use this control measure still record sexual offences, a signal that policy makers should look beyond the punishment-deterrent approach to crime prevention (Lunden, 1962; Clarke, 1997; Jacques & Reynald, 2012).

For Jeffery (1996), a comprehensive biological based crime prevention and control program would include: pre and post-natal care for pregnant women and their infants to monitor and address potentially detrimental developmental features which may lead to excessive aggression and later criminal life, monitoring of children throughout the early stages of their life processes to detect

early signs of behavior disorder, monitoring children of their early lives to reduce the risk of exposure to violence inducing experiences such as child abuse and violence against other children, and last of all, biological research should be allowed in prisons and treatment facilities to help identify the causes of criminal behaviors. Laws preventing such exercise and analysis on the bodies of executed prisoners should be revised (Shamalleger & Volk, 2005).

2.2. Sociological Predisposing Factors of Crime

“How can a community [society] hurt a criminal it has created, which it has borne as truly as a mother bears a child?” (Margaret Wilson cited in Mullins, 1947:1).

In contrast to the Traits theories which focus on the individual or on the micro level the Sociological thoughts which have dominated¹⁴ the sphere of criminology since the early part of the 20th century focus on the macro level or on society and its structures as the unit of analysis in relation to crime (Traub & Little, 1975; Siegel, 1998; Shamalleger & Volk, 2005). Sociology in this respect looks at how society and social change affect the behavior of the members of a society. All sociological perspectives on crime according to Shamalleger & Volk (2005) have a common starting point influenced by one of these frames of references: crime is a result of an individual’s location within the social structure (Social Structure perspective), crime is the end product of various social processes – predominantly inappropriate socialization and social learning (Social Process perspective), and finally, crime is the product of class struggle (Social Conflict perspective).

¹⁴ “...concern about the ecological distribution of crime, the effect of social change, and the interactive nature of crime itself has made sociology the foundation of modern criminology” (Siegel, 1998: 164).

2.2.1. Social Structure Theories

Functionalism, Social Disorganization, Strain Theory and Culture Conflict are the main theories under the Social Structure perspective in relation to the predisposing factors of crime (Traub & Little, 1975; Siegel, 1998; Shamalleger & Volk, 2005). In the view of this Sociological perspective the “motivation for crime does not result simply from the flaws, failures, or free choice of individuals. A complete explanation of crime ultimately must consider the sociocultural environment in which people are located” (Siegel, 1998: 162).

2.2.1.1. Functionalism

Durkheim (1858 – 1917) is a founding father of Sociology and a significant influence on Criminology. He understood crime not as a social pathology but as a normal and necessary social phenomenon. This has cemented his influence on modern Criminology (Durkheim, 1895; Traub & Little 1975; Siegel 1997; Miika et al., 2013).

Durkheim observed that criminals and crime are found in every society, whether rich or poor, since there can be no society without crime. This inevitability of crime is posited on the fact of the heterogeneity of the individuals of every society. In a situation of crimelessness all member of such a society would be alike and act exactly same. Moreover, even if crime is eliminated in a given society petty vices and violation of folklores would be raised to the status of crime. Therefore, crime is fundamental to the very conditions of the social life (Traub & Little, 1975; Miika et al., 2013; Ziyanak & Williams, 2014).

Crime for him has all the qualities of a normal phenomenon of the social life. It becomes abnormal only when is it in excess or more than a level that is impossible to fix in conformity with the existing rules, which is a sign of the deterioration of the social order (Miika et al., 2013). Criminals

and crime have a functional function in society and will cease to exist like any other social system if they are no more functional. Crime contributes to the maintenance of society by given the members a target for a collective action (e.g., the coming together of the community members of Amanfro to adopt situational measures to check the frequent armed robberies which emerged in their community), and moral outrage. In so doing, it leads to social cohesion, provides the avenue for society to publicize its rules, and serves as a facilitator of change preventing society from becoming stagnant (Traub & Little, 1975; Turner & Stets, 2005; Miika et al., 2013; Ziyanak & Williams, 2014).

The emergence of crime in a given society implies that there is an avenue for a change and it may directly lay the foundation for the change. Crime in a society also reveals that the existing collective sentiments are flexible on the development of new collective sentiments and may sometimes help to determine the form they may take. Durkheim says “Socrates was a criminal, and his condemnation was no more than just. However, his crime, namely, the independence of his thought, rendered a service not only to his country but to the human race. It served to prepare a new morality and faith which the Athenians needed...however; the violation was a crime, since it was an offense against sentiment still very keen in the average conscience” (Traub & Little, 1975:7). Because what gives a crime the quality of criminality is not intrinsic but what the collective consciousness lends to it (Traub & Little, 1975; Miika et al., 2013). The armed robbery cases at Amanfro might have engaged the attention of the entire nation warranting a visit by the IGP. However, as well expressed by Durkheim, it is not the seriousness or the rate which makes a victimization situation a cause of concern. It is rather the moral and collective consciousness of the society experiencing it (Miika et al., 2013). It is this collective consciousness which the community members of Amanfro might have expressed very well in their situation to attract the

attention of the entire nation. Liska and Warner, according to Miika et al. (2013), asserted that a rise in a crime rate in a community will lead to the generation of a collective sentiment against the said incident of crime, and a collective action to bring it under control. These assertions may be true in the case of the Amanfro community. The outcry of the community members which was covered extensively by the media, their intent to organize a demonstration against the local government authorities and the police whom they perceived as not doing enough to bring the armed robbery incidents under control, and finally implementing situational measures to control the attacks may give credence to these assertions.

Miika et al. (2013) tested the generation of the collective sentiment part of the above assertion in a study focusing on the rampage school shootings in Jokela and Kauhajoki. They found that it was true in the case of Jokela and was otherwise in the case of Kauhajoki. What accounted for the difference were that in the Jokela incident the shooter and the victims were from the community, while the shooter and victims in the Kauhajoki incident were not members of the community. Further, the size of Jokela is smaller than Kauhajoki. Therefore, Miika et al. (2013) concluded that the validity of the assertion is based on “certain contextual and contingent conditions” (p.8). Nonetheless, a crime leading to a collective action part of the assertion which Miika et al. (2013) did not investigate was interrogated by this current study.

2.2.1.2. Social Disorganization

Like the functionalists, disorganization theorists agree to the basic proposition that society is a complex whole whose parts (i.e. Institutions, associations, etc.) work interdependently to achieve equilibrium. They stress on the harmony which unifies a society. People are assumed to agree with one another about values and norms, and

this agreement is reflected in a high degree of behavior regularity and standardization.

When consensus concerning values and norms is upset and traditional rules do not apply any longer, conflict, social disorganization, and the volume of deviance are apt to rise (Traub & Little, 1975:31).

Rules are a combination of several acceptable attitudes which guide behavior. They lose their influence when new and opposing attitudes appear in their domain, which if not resolved may lead to a social disorganization or decay (Traub & Little, 1975). In the face of disorganization, the first task according to Thomas & Znaniecki (cited in Traub & Little, 1975) is to discover the factors generating the attitudes causing the decline in the influence of the existing rules. This involves looking out for the fundamental and general factors causing the observable changes and explain them as much as possible just like the physicist or the chemist who is interested in the underlying principles of causality and not the multiple causes of each observable change in the material world (Traub & Little, 1975; Siegel, 1998). This assertion informed the second objective of the study which was to find out the predisposing factors of the armed robbery attacks in the Amanfro community in order to appreciate why the robbers chose the community as the setting for their criminal activities.

Thomas & Znaniecki further explained that social disorder happens when a new idea or value is introduced into a society and has not been properly incorporated into the host social order. This occurs usually when there is a massive immigration which brings about population heterogeneity and results in the traditional norms losing their control on the migrant population, and to some extent, on the native population, because, when the composition of a society is changing its members develop a behavior which frees them from obeying the existing social norms, and it is

mainly during the period of socio – cultural change that social disorganization is apt to be most widespread and intense (Traub & Little 1975; Sampson & Groves, 1989; Steenbeek & Hipp, 2011). “According to the theory, poverty, residential mobility, ethnic heterogeneity, and weak social networks decrease a neighborhood’s capacity to control the behavior of people..., and hence increase the likelihood of crime” (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003: 374).

Disorganization is universal and inevitable, however, if the violation of social norms has the potential to disorganize a society and the continuous perpetuation of a particular violation will lead to a total decay, as witnessed at Amanfro, a collective action is needed from the members of the society to counter the deviant behavior and maintain stability. Stability for Thomas & Znaniecki is the dynamic equilibrium between disorganization and reorganization of institutions in society. The first step for maintaining order in the face of disorganization is to reinforce the existing rules by sanctioning. When the reinforcement of the existing institutions or rules are not able to restore stability a new scheme or institution(s) like a community watch scheme is formed in a situation of a rise in the crime rates in a community, and such an innovation to restore social stability is called reconstruction (Traub & Little, 1975; Siegel, 1998; Miika et al., 2013). In the case of Amanfro, during the period of social disorganization due to the frequent armed robbery attacks in the community reconstruction took the form of implementing new situational crime measures on the communal and individual levels.

Social disorganization theory fell from grace to grass due to the views of some critics. For example, the concentric zone concept of Shaw & McKay (1929), according to Breetzke (2010) and Wong (2012), which says crime is a product of the destructive ecological conditions in urban slums irrespective of the racial or ethnic identity of its residents was said to be inaccurate. The major criticism against the conclusion of Shaw and McKay is the fact that it was based on police records

which numerous studies indicate are highly influenced by the discretion of the police. For instance, the police may consider the social status of an offender before they arrest him/her. Therefore, the relationship between the environment and crime rate may reflect police behavior and not criminal behavior (Siegel, 1998; Breetzke, 2010; Wong, 2012).

Sampson & Groves (1989), however, in a study polished the tarnished image of the Social Disorganization theory by testing the validity of the theory as expressed by Shaw & McKay which according to Sampson & Groves had not been tested as at the time they conducted their study (Lowenkamp et al., 2003). Although previous studies examined the predictions of Shaw & McKay (1929) none of them empirically tested their assertions (Bursik & Webb, 1982; Bursik, 1986; Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003). To accomplish their task, Sampson and Groves developed a model based on Shaw and McKay's community level theory and a general hypothesis which was: "low economic status, ethnic heterogeneity, residential mobility, and family disruption lead to community social disorganization, which, in turn, increase crime and delinquency rates" (Sampson & Groves, 1989: 774). The study was based on a sample size of 10,905 from 238 localities from the data of the British Crime Survey because it facilitated macro-level community analysis (Sampson & Groves, 1989). At the end of the study Sampson and Groves concluded that communities characterized by sparse friendship networks, unsupervised teenage groups, and low formal communal participation in suburban and rural communities, just as Shaw and McKay found in the cities, increase crime and delinquency rates. The current study, therefore, investigated whether these factors are also the likely causes of the robbery attacks in the Amanfro community. Subsequently other studies, among which are Sampson et al. (1997) and Markowitz et al. (2001) provided further evidence to support the claims of Sampson & Groves (1989).

Contrary to the findings of Sampson & Groves (1989), Sampson et al. (1997) and Markowitz et al. (2001) a test of Social Disorganization theory in the city of Tshwane, South Africa by Breetzke (2010) revealed that the variables mentioned by the Social Disorganization theorists (Shaw & McKay, 1929; Sampson & Grove, 1989; Sampson et al., 1997; Markowitz et al., 2001) have a partial relationship with crime in the South African context. The assertion of Breetzke (2010) is based on the fact that, yes, socioeconomic deprivation and residential mobility had a positive association with violent crime among the population he studied. On the other hand, ethnic heterogeneity and family disruption had a negative association with violent crime. He explains that, for instance, in relation to family disruption the South African black families, by consensus, can be said to be headed by females due to the migrant labor system during the apartheid era. Despite the political change black males still leave the home for days and weeks to the mines and other places to work leaving the women in charge of the household, a situation which some studies assert may lead to delinquency, but did not among the population Breetzke (2010) studied. Further, Budlender (2003) reported that the children from households headed by females in the South African population he studied were more conformist than those from households headed by a single male or those living with both parents (Budlender, 2003 cited in Breetzke, 2010). Breetzke and Budlender, thus, reveal that cultural factors influence the socio – economic variables which the Social Disorganization theory claims to have a positive association with crime.

2.2.2. Social Ecology

In the late 1980s some other criminologists (the Social ecologists) also began to revive the views of the Social Disorganization theory. According to Siegel (1998) they developed a “purer” form of the theory which stressed on the relationship between community deterioration and economic

decline, and criminality, while placing less emphasis on value conflict. Some of the issues they considered in relation to crime were: Community Deterioration, Siege Mentality, Employment Opportunities, Population Turnover, Community Fear, Poverty Concentration and Community Change (Siegel, 1998; Macionis, 2001; Shamalleger & Volk, 2005).

Employment Opportunities: “Crime rates increase when a large groups or cohorts of people of the same age compete for relatively scant resource” (Menard & Elliott, 1990: 249). The correlation between unemployment and crime is said to be weak and an unsettled debate. In other words, it is not certain “whether unemployment causes crime or whether both are a reflection of underlying traits in the people most likely to become unemployed and criminally active” (Aaltonen et al., 2013: 562).

Shaw and McKay asserted that high unemployment has a crime producing effect in some societies (Bursik cited in Siegel, 1998). Research indicates that societies that have limited employment opportunities for the youth and adult are vulnerable to crime. This is because it reduces the control of parents and other significant others on deviant behaviors. It destabilizes households and such households are likely to bring up children who put premium on violating social norms as a way of dealing with limited opportunities (McGahey, 1986).

Contributing to the settling of the debate on the unemployment and crime relationship Aaltonen et al. (2013) in a study examined whether the association between unemployment and crime is dependent on the type of crime analyzed, and whether the type of unemployment benefit received moderates criminal behavior. The study revealed that there is a positive association between unemployment and property crime, and not between unemployment and other types of crime. Further, they found that unemployed young males commit fewer crimes while participating in active labor market programs compared with when they receive standard unemployment benefits.

The unsettled debate on the association between unemployment and crime makes it problematic for one to assume that unemployment was a cause or one of the causes of the armed robberies in the Amanfro community. This calls for a study in the context of Amanfro in order to know the side the Amanfro context belongs in the unsettled debate on the unemployment and crime relationship. The study partially interrogated the unemployment and crime relationship by ascertaining the views of the members of the community, the victims of the robberies in the community and the law enforcement officers on the unemployment and crime relationship debate, and not that of the armed robbers which is the most important view in the debate under consideration.

Community Fear of Crime: The fear of crime is an emotional response to a specific incident of crime, and perceived risk of crime is a cognitive assessment of one's victimization risk level (Ferguson & Mindel, 2007). "When fear grips a neighborhood business conditions deteriorate, population mobility increases and "criminal element" begins to drift into the area. [The] fear helps to produce more crime, increasing the chances of victimization, producing even more fear in a never-ending loop" (Siegel, 1998:172). Fear is contagious, and the perception of crime and victimization produce neighborhood fear which spreads as people tell others about their personal experience of victimization. By these acts they spread the idea that a neighborhood is getting dangerous and that the possibility of one becoming a victim is very high (LaGrange et al., 1992; Skogan cited in Siegel, 1997). Directly or indirectly experiencing or witnessing victimization in one's neighborhood can augment the individual's level of anxiety and fear as the criminal act will be a real and manifest event in one's psyche rather than a mere image projected by the media or other representations of the presence of crime in a neighborhood (Greenberg, 2001; Ferguson & Mindel, 2007). When crime rate is high in a given community fear levels reach dramatic heights (Wilcox & Kenneth, 1996; Warr, 2000). People as a result will dread going out in the night, waking

up at dawn to attend to their duties and businesses, and some may even withdraw from community life, a situation some community members of Amanfro can identify with.

In their bid to add to the understanding of how conditions in a neighborhood affect the level of fear of crime Ian Brunton-Smith & Sturgis (2011) in a study revealed that people who have not directly experienced victimization are largely unaffected by neighborhood crime rate in relation to their level of fear of crime. This contradicts the finding of Ferguson & Mindel (2007) that a high crime rate in a neighborhood heightens the fear of victims and non-victims. On the other hand, those who have been personally victimized were found by Ian Brunton-Smith & Sturgis (2011) to have higher levels fear of crime than what have been reported by the existing literature on the phenomenon.

Foster et al. (2010) in the study “Neighborhood design and fear of crime: A social-ecological examination of the correlates of residents’ fear in new suburban housing developments” explored the correlation between environmental design and fear of crime. The data for the study was extracted from a five-year longitudinal study which evaluated the impact of urban environmental design on health in Perth, Western Australia. What motivated the study was the seeming relatively low interest of researchers in the correlation between environmental design and the fear of crime. Foster et al. (2010) discovered from the study that there is a significant relationship between neighborhood environmental design and the fear of crime as well as residents’ feeling of safety. They explained that a neighborhood with environmental design which facilitated the presence of territorial guardians (like a police post), motorable community access route which facilitated the free flow of vehicular traffic and motivated people to come to the public realm, as well as pedestrian movement recorded significantly lower levels of the fear of crime. Nonetheless, how true are these assertions in the context of Amanfro? A gap this study endeavored to fill. A casual

glance at the community layout of Amanfro reveals that the community has a problem with motorable access routes to the various areas within the community. This informed a perception among some members of the community and some law enforcement officers in the community that the absence of accessible and motorable routes in the community to facilitate, especially, easy vehicular movement motivated the robbers to frequently attack the community since this lack of access to the various parts of the community made it difficult for the police to apprehend them.

2.2.3. Strain Theory

Some criminologists see crime as the result of the frustration and anger of the low-class of society. This class accepts the social ideals which are worth striving for in the society but has limited access to the means to achieve them. Therefore, to overcome this lack of access member of this class may be forced to use deviant methods such as theft, armed robbery, drug trafficking and et cetera to achieve the ideals of society. They may also reject the social ideals or socially accepted goals outright and substitute them with deviant goals such as being tough and aggressive (Siegel, 1998; Zembroski, 2011).

Anomie: The concept originated from Durkheim who is of the belief that when there is a change from a simple society to a complex society the shared norms and unquestioned beliefs of the society which experienced the change become ambiguous and lack the ability to control the behaviors of members of the society. This creates a shift from traditional values which results in a state of normlessness, especially, when there is a difference between what the population expects and what the economic forces can actually deliver (LaPrairie, 1987; Shamalleger & Volk, 2005; Ziyanak & Williams, 2014).

Merton used the concept differently (Merton, 1957). He understood anomie to be a state of incoherence between socially valued goals such as wealth, status and personal happiness, and the legitimate means through which these goals can be achieved (Shamalleger & Volk, 2005; Ziyanak & Williams, 2014). He explained that when a segment of the members of a society (e.g., the poor, certain racial-ethnic minorities, etc.) are regularly informed through the media and popular myth that monetary achievement and its material rewards are goals which are positively valued, while at the same time their experiences convey to them that the legitimate means through which these goals are achieved are relatively unavailable to them the possible outcome of such an anomic situation (the discrepancy between means and ends) in the society is for the individuals to keep their desire to achieve the culturally valued goals, but reject the traditional means through which they are achieved since the means are not readily accessible to them. Merton called the adaptation to this situation “innovation”, which includes what we commonly refer to as crime like the armed robbery incidents in the Amanfro community (Traub & Little, 1975; Baumer, 2007; Zembroski, 2011; Ziyanak & Williams, 2014). The legitimate question which emerges from the explanation above is, were the culprits of the Amanfro armed robberies experiencing anomie which pushed them to engage in robbery as an ‘innovation’?, a question the study moderately interrogated by soliciting the views of the members of the community, the victims of the robberies in the community and that of the law enforcement officers on the anomic status of the robbers and not that of the robbers themselves which would have supplied the missing piece in the views of the other respondents.

Theoretical approaches that see the social environment as the root cause of crime propose the formulation of social programs which are aimed at changing the cultural conditions and social structures that are considered to lead people into crime. The danger of this panacea is the possible

elimination of other important elements like biological factors (e.g. psychological and neurological) from the etiological equation of criminal behaviors. Moreover, it is true that a greater number of people living under strain conditions may become criminals compared with those living under completely opposite conditions. Nonetheless, a large proportion of persons experiencing strain as well as a large number of persons raised in deviant subcultures still embrace non-criminal lifestyle, and its opposite being true, questions the stance of the strain theory and other socio-cultural environmental perspectives on the predispositions of crime (Shamalleger & Volk, 2005).

2.2.4. Conflict Theory

Karl Marx (1818 – 1883) is the progenitor of the conflict theory, a paradigm which informs theories which see society as an arena of unequal relationships. The theory focuses on how factors such as class, race, ethnicity, gender and age are linked to the distribution of money, power, education, and social prestige (Shoemaker, 1990; Zembroski, 2011).

The Social Conflict theory in relation to crime stresses on the social, economic and political realities and situates crime in these contexts. Besides, it expresses a link between social class, crime and social control (Siegel, 1998; Macionis, 2001; Shamalleger & Volk, 2005). According to the conflict theorists various groups within society compete with one another in order to promote their interests, and crime and criminal activity are the outcome of these struggles, also, the creation and application of criminal laws determine who becomes criminalized. Social conflict criminologists see the roles of the creation and implementation of criminal laws largely fulfill by the segment of society holding the economic and political powers. This segment uses the law as a means to control the dissatisfied and the less powerful groups within society, while maintaining its position of power. Further, the theory in relation to crime also looks at the role of the

government and the state in producing crime since what is considered acceptable and unacceptable behavior is determined by state-sanctioned laws (Shamalleger & Volk, 2005; Zembroski, 2011). For Marx capitalism and industrialization are paradoxical in the sense that they were to make sustenance and social amenities available to all. However, they are serving the interest of a few whereas the masses live in great misery and deprivation (Macionis, 2001). Vital to this assertion is his concept of production which has two components. The first component speaks of the production forces which include, among others, land, material resources, technology and energy. The second is the production relations between the owners of the means of production and the workers or those who sell their labor. Profit in a form of surplus accrues to the owners of the forces of production who use it to acquire more assets and capital to enable them to consolidate their domination of the working class and society as a whole (Siegel, 1998). These forces and relations of production constitute the economic structure of society which is the real foundation on which the legal and political superstructures arise, and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond. The mode of production in the material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes and states of life. For Marx, it is not the consciousness of men that determines their social being; on the contrary, their social being determines their consciousness. Consciousness must rather be explained from the contradictions of the material life, from the existing conflict between the social forces of production and the relations of production (Turner et al., 2007; Zembroski, 2011).

The elites who do not own the means of production also benefit from the surplus of the bourgeoisie who own the means of production or the production forces. Although, not out of the rat-race or the working class the educated elites are better off than their fellow proletariats due to the different forms of capital they possess, especially, embodied cultural capital.

Marx mentioned and focused on economic capital, which is to own a means of production and have influence on the other social institutions. Bourdieu, however, says there exist three other forms of capital in addition to the economic capital which to him is the access to and power over assets and resources, e.g., money (Bourdieu, 1986). These other forms of capital aside the economic capital are cultural capital, social capital and symbol capital. Cultural capitals exist in three forms which are the embodied, objectified and the institutionalized form. The embodied form is a long-lasting disposition of the mind and body like an acquired skill or expertise, in its objective form it is in a form of cultural goods like instruments, books and et cetera; in the institutionalized form it can be a university certificate which confers a guarantee on an acquired cultural capital. Social capital on the other hand is seen as a relational capital. In other words, it is the influence and the advantage one gains from having a network of contacts as well as a series of other forms of personal or intimate relations. It is about the group one belongs to or a network of relations one may rely on to realize his or her needs and goals due to one's membership in the group which can be the family, friends or schoolmates. Symbolic capital on other hand is a generic term for the three forms of capital (economic, culture and social), since they determine one's overall social standing, good reputation and prestige in society, thus, determining his or her place in the social class hierarchy (Moi, 1991; Granovetter & Swedberg, 2011). Each capital can be translated or exchanged for another. The more capital one possesses the higher his or her ability to satisfy or respond to his or her needs and secures his or her survival against threats like residential armed robberies through the adoption, purchase and installation of security measures and devices (Hans & Knobl, 2009; Granovetter & Swedberg, 2011).

“The fear of crime and concerns about community safety has prompted many people to become their own police force... The more crime in an area, the greater the amount of fear and the more

likely residents will engage in self-protective measures... [by] installing a fence or barricade at the entrance of a home or business; an intercom or phone to gain access to the building, surveillance cameras, window bars, or warning signs, hiring a doorkeeper, guard... [and a] dog....” (Siegel 1998:93). The ability to purchase or adopt any of these security measures is dependent on one’s economic capital or the possession of other forms of capital which can be converted to economic capital to enhance one’s purchasing power (Granovetter & Swedberg, 2011). If this assertion is true those who possess more capital or earn a higher income in a community which experiences a sudden surge in armed robbery attacks, as it were in the case of the Amanfro community, are more likely to adopt security measures in order to prevent victimization, unlike those with limited capital or who are lower income earners. This assertion diverges from that of the social biologists who posit that the propensity of an individual to improve on his or her physical security is informed more by a threat to his or her survival than the possession of a capital (Shamallegger & Volk, 2005). This study, therefore, endeavored to discover which of these factors (capital possession or survival) informed the adoption of a security measure by the individuals in the Amanfro community against a likely armed robbery victimization.

Vacha & McLaughlin (2004) in a study found that income influenced the likelihood that an individual will own a gun and keep it loaded or unlocked as a measure against crime victimization and the higher the income higher the likelihood of an individual adopting a crime prevention measure. Rountree & Land (1996) also revealed in another study that precautionary measures (e.g., dog ownership, gun ownership, burglar alarm, burglar proof and et cetera) implemented by individuals due to victimization or the threat of victimization have a positive correlation with high income levels in the population they studied. However, Vacha & McLaughlin (2004) further revealed that defensive or self-protective behaviors are more common among low-income earners

than middle-income earners in the population they studied. How true are these assertions in the context of Amanfro? The study under consideration contributes to the debate and offers a further insight by identifying the stance among the aforementioned assertions which applies in the Amanfro context.

Debatably, situational crime prevention strategies can easily be afforded by the wealthy than the poor, which leads to a fortified and safer housing and neighborhood for the rich, and the poor at the mercy of crime displacement (Lester, 1991; Clarke, 1997). The policy implication of the conflict theory is clear; reduce conflict and crime rate will fall. At its extreme is the proposal to eliminate capitalism and replace it with socialism, the most effective way to reduce conflict, a view which is seen as not possible even within the circles of radical – critical criminologists. Therefore, they turn to the promotion of equal justice in the bail system, the abolition of mandatory sentences, prosecution of corporate crimes, increased employment opportunities and promoting community alternative to imprisonment. All these and many others are seen as a means to gradually achieve the difficult task of transition from capitalism to socialism (Siegel, 1998; Shamalleger & Volk, 2005).

Marxist criminology is said to fall short in appreciating the multidimensional nature of the predisposing factors of crime by contemporary thinkers. The major criticism against Marxist criminology is the fact that proponents of this perspective appear to confuse their personal political issues with social reality. They are said to have sacrificed objectivity by allowing their personal values and political leaning into the arena of criminology which makes their crime prevention ideas questionable (Shamalleger & Volk, 2005).

2.3. Situational Crime Prevention Techniques

Situational Crime Prevention departs radically from most criminology in its orientation.... Proceeding from an analysis of the circumstances giving rise to specific kinds of crime, it introduces discrete managerial and environmental change to reduce the opportunity for those crimes to occur. Thus, it is focused on the settings for crime, rather than upon those committing criminal acts. It seeks to forestall the occurrence of crime, rather than to detect and sanction offenders. It seeks not to eliminate criminal or delinquent tendencies through improvement of society or its institutions, but to make criminal action less attractive to offenders (Clarke, 1997:2).

Unlike the methodology of Situational Crime Prevention (which is action research approach) which demands that a researcher and practitioner should collaborate to analyze a situation of crime and come up with a suitable solution which does not change, its strategies or opportunity-reducing techniques are constantly modified due to: (i) new theories or dynamisms which suggest new ways of reducing opportunities, (ii) pragmatically, as new forms of crime are addressed by situational prevention, and (iii) the rapid development in technology which opens up new options for prevention just as it does for crime (Clarke, 1995; Linden, 2007).

Situational Crime Prevention has sixteen specific crime prevention techniques which are meant to make crime more difficult, risky, less rewarding and excusable per the judgment of the potential offender (Jacques & Reynald, 2012). The techniques are Target hardening, Access control, Deflecting offenders, Controlling facilitators, Entry/exit screening, Formal surveillance, Surveillance by employees, Natural surveillance, Target removal, Identifying property, Reducing temptation, Denying benefits, Rule setting, Stimulating conscience, Controlling disinhibitors and

Facilitating compliance. More than one technique can be used at a time, and they are not mutually exclusive and overlap in some cases (Clarke, 1997).

Target Hardening is the process of increasing the security of a property or a possible target of crime to make it more difficult or highly impossible for a successful crime (eg. burglary or robbery) execution. It is to obstruct the offender and increase the effort needed to get to the target, for example, by the use of locks, safes, screens or reinforced materials (such as anti-bandit screens on post office counters), the Installation of metal burglar proof and the building of walls around houses (Challinger, 1991; Bridgeman, 1997; Newton et al, 2008). There are a lot of evidences in relation to the effectiveness of Target hardening. In Australia, the installation of fixed and pop-up screens reduced over-the-counter robberies of banks (Clarke & Weisburd, 1994). A strengthened coin box is identified in several studies as a significant factor to have reduced incidents of theft and damage to public telephones in Britain and Australia (Challinger, 1991; Bridgeman, 1997). The introduction of steering locks for cars in Germany resulted in a substantial decline in the rate of car theft (Webb, 1994).

Addington & Rennison (2015) tested the hypothesis “housing units in gated communities experience less burglary than their non-gated counterparts” (p.168) and found the assertion to be valid. Gated communities have access control mechanisms and, usually, with a guardian unlike non-gate communities. These make the reaching of a possible target of burglary difficult and the execution of burglary intent to require more effort, highly risky and less rewarding. Lhayea (2016) used Routine Activities theory to look at deterrent and motivating factors associated with residential armed robbery in Ghana. The findings from interviewing convicted robbers revealed that motivated robbers were deterred from violating hardened targets when a capable guardian is present. This point to the fact that target hardening is more effective when it is complemented by

other compactible measures. The Routine Activity theory is one of the foundational theories of Situational Crime Prevention and it will not be out of place for one to assume that the finding of Lhayea (2016) may also be true in the context of Amanfro. However, for the sake of scientific certainty, the verification of this finding in the Amanfro context cannot be overlooked. Therefore, the study gives a further insight on how target hardening measures work in the Ghanaian context by ascertaining the effectiveness or the otherwise of the target hardening measures adopted in the Amanfro community against the robbery attacks.

Access Control is “the discriminative control of who is allowed into a particular enclosure or otherwise demarcated territory” (Ekblom, 2011: 12). It also refers to measures which are meant to exclude potential offenders from places such as residential buildings, offices and factories through the use of fencing, entry phones and electronic access to a parking garage (Poyner and Webb 1987b; Clarke, 1997; Ekblom, 2011). Poyner & Webb in a London study revealed that the installation of entry phones significantly reduced robberies in public housing estates (1987b). A crime in this context can occur only when the potential offender is within the protected space, e.g. minors in a bar (Ekblom, 2011).

Deflecting Offenders (it is in two forms): Deflection offenders away from potential targets, and deflection offenders to more constructive activities or to less serious offences. One of the most common examples of the former is the policing of football matches, where rival football supporters are segregated in the stadium and often separated on their route to and from the grounds. For the latter, the most common example is the provision of graffiti boards which is hoped will lead to offenders using them rather than using the walls. Another example is the opening of red-light areas within which the police tolerates and regulates prostitution, thus, preventing prostitutes and their clients from congregating in more 'respectable neighborhoods' (Wortley, 2001).

Controlling Facilitators is controlling the presence of objects which can facilitate the commission of a crime. To have a rule which requires customers in a drinking spot to surrender any weapon (e.g. gun or knife) on them upon entry prevent their use in case there is a fight. “In England and Wales, the detoxification of domestic gas led to the...drop in the overall suicide rate of about 30 per cent” (Lester 1991:186). Bridges (2004) also investigated the effect of the Canadian Bill C-17 implemented in 1991 to restrict the possession of firearms on the use of firearms for suicide and homicide. He reported that the Bill resulted in a significant decrease in the use of firearms for suicide and homicide which, eventually, led to a reduction in the total suicide and homicide rates. Eklblom & Tilly, (2000) elaborated on crime facilitators when they asserted that the proponents of Routine Activity theory should add a ‘resourced offender’ to the three elements which converge for a crime to occur. Their reason for this assertion is – the commission or the omission of a crime by a motivated offender, with a suitable target and an absent capable guardian is determined by the resources of the potential offender, both tangible (e.g. tools) and intangible (e.g. moral principles). They go further to categorize these resources among which is Facilitatory resources¹⁵ which include tools, weapons, transportation and et cetera. The potential offender may come with the facilitators or find them in the environment the crime is to occur. For example, a “ladder or garden tools the offender takes when burgling a house, or the stones picked up and thrown at the scene of a riot” ((Eklblom & Tilly, 2000:382). Therefore, a good management of the environment of a possible target of crime, as posited by the proponents of Situational Crime Prevention, will reduce the physical facilitators of crime within the said environment (Clarke, 1997). The study

¹⁵ “Offenders may need physical resources to commit their crimes. Some simple tools, such as screwdrivers, for levering open a window.... the hardware and software needed for hacking systems. Cars, guns, crowbars, knuckledusters, knives, false identity cards, explosives, skeleton keys, presses, welding equipment, ladders, masks, mobile phones ... and so on... that can be used to commit crimes” (Eklblom & Tilly, 2000:382)

therefore investigated whether there were any facilitators in the environment of the victims of the robberies at Amanfro which facilitated the victimization.

Entry/Exit Screening is different from access control because its purpose is not to exclude potential offenders. Rather, it is to detect those who do not conform to entry and exit requirements. These requirements may include prohibited goods and objects or the possession of tickets and documents. Further, the exit screens serve primarily to deter theft by detecting objects that should not be removed from the protected area such as items not paid for at a shop, and the installation of book detection screens in libraries to check stealing of books and audiovisual materials. The most common example of this technique is the introduction of baggage and passenger screening at most major airports in the world during the early 1970s. This contributed to a reduction in the number of airline hijackings from about 70 per year to about 15 (Clarke, 1997; Ekblom, 2011).

Formal Surveillance is provided by the police, security guards and store detectives whose main function is to serve as deterrents to potential offenders. The role of the police in this respect can be enhanced by the establishment of a police post in communities, regular patrols at crime prone areas, police visibility (Abotchie, 2012), and by electronic hardware like burglar alarms and close circuit television – CCTV (Welsh & Farrington, 1999). Kenneth & Tunnel (1992 cited in Siegel, 1998) found in interviews of career property offenders that they will avoid a target if they know that the police will be present. This is also confirmed in the study of Lhayea (2016) in Ghana which revealed that the presence of a capable guardian will deter residential armed robbers from carrying out their criminal intent. The study therefore investigated these assertions in the Amanfro context in order to add to the evidence existing on the effectiveness or the otherwise of the formal surveillance technique as a crime control measure.

Surveillance by Employees is when in addition to their functions as employees shop assistants, hotel doormen, park keepers and parking lot attendants monitor what goes on within the area under their care (Madensen & Eck, 2008). Hunter & Jeffery (1992) report that ten out of fourteen studies they reviewed showed that having two clerks on duty, especially at night, was an effective robbery prevention measure.

Natural Surveillance is a strategy directed at keeping intruders under observation. A design for natural surveillance involves providing ample opportunity for legitimate users of a facility engaged in their normal activities to observe the space around them. Householders may trim bushes at the front of their homes and banks may light the interior of their premises at night to capitalize on the natural surveillance provided by people going about their everyday business. Enhancing natural surveillance is a prime objective of improved street lighting, defensible space and neighborhood watch schemes (Mayhew, 1979; Coleman, 1985; Bennett, 1990; Ramsay, 1991a; Beavon et al., 1994; Abotchie, 2012).

In a review of the available researched evidence on the effect of improved street lighting on crime in public space Welsh & Farrington (2008) found that improved street lighting significantly reduces crime. Nevertheless, it was found to be more effective in reducing crime in the United Kingdom than in the United States. What accounted for this difference was not explicit in the review which calls for a further research on the effect of context on the effectiveness of improved street lighting on crime. The study in the context of Amanfro adds to the insight on the effect of improved street lighting on crime by interrogating the effect of improved lighting system on the armed robberies in the Amanfro community.

Target Removal deals with reducing risk by removing the perceived attractive aspects of a possible target of crime or removing the object totally from view. A church in Northern Spain installed an

ATM at its entrance which enabled the church members to use their bank cards or credit cards to make donations. Since money was not used the church reduced its theft risk through target removal (Pease, 1997). Usually, Pease also refers to one classic example in relation to this technique which is from the days of gold rush in Californian. Plagued by robberies one mine began molding its silver into 400-pound cubes, about one foot on each side, which was simply too heavy for a robber or even a gang of them to carry (Lingenfelter, 1986; Clarke, 1997). The appropriateness of this crime prevention measure in relation to the robberies at Amanfro was examined by the study.

Identifying Property is to make a mark or symbol on your property for easier identification. Writing one's name in a book is a simple form of property marking. Registration of motor vehicles, the marking of all major body parts of "high risk" automobiles with the Vehicle Identification Number are examples. It increases the possibility of being caught with a stolen item and reduces benefits (Laycock & Tilly, 1995). Laycock showed in a case study that property marking embark on in three small communities in Wales, combined with extensive media publicity, almost halved the number of reported domestic burglaries (1991 cited in Laycock & Tilly, 1995).

Reducing Temptation can be achieved by reducing opportunities. In certain cities or communities it is unwise to wear gold chains on some streets, to use secluded routes alone, or to park cars which are attractive to joy riders in an open space (Clarke & Harris, 1992b). Kuhlhorn in Clarke (1997) showed that the temptation to understate income in Sweden was reduced by cross-checking incomes with a computer program used to detect inconsistencies.

Denying Benefits serves to reduce the expected reward in a criminal activity or denying the benefits of crime to offenders (Lab, 1997 cited in Clarke, 1997). The development of security-coded car radios which requires a thief to know the radio's PIN before it can be used in another vehicle constitutes an excellent example of this principle. Cars fitted with these radios have been

found to have lower theft rates in studies in Australia, Germany and the United States (Braga & Clarke, 1994).

Rule Setting looks at having a code or laid down rules of operations to spell out the dos and don'ts in an organization, a community or a group. For example, most businesses regulate employees' telephone use and most retail establishments require their employees to follow strict cash handling and stock taking procedures. Any ambiguity in these regulations will be exploited when it is to the advantage of the individual (Clarke, 1997).

Stimulating Conscience is aimed at activating the imbibed mores and norms at the point of contemplating the commission of a specific kind of offense, and not to bring about a general change in attitudes to law breaking (Clarke, 1997). For example, captions like 'shoplifting is stealing' at the entrance of a shop, and 'smoking here is illegal, selfish and rude' at public places (Casey & Lund, 1993).

Controlling Disinhibitors assumes that crime is not only facilitated by weapons but, also by psychological disinhibitors which include alcohol and drugs. They undermine the usual social or moral inhibitions or impair perception and cognition so that offenders are less aware of breaking the law (White & Humeniuk, 1994; Taylor, 2016). Matthews (2002) in a study which involved incarcerated robbers learnt that the robbers used drugs during robberies to increase their confidence and dampen inhibitions. The validity of this finding in relation to the Amanfro robbers could not be verified in the context of the study since it did not include the culprits of the robberies in the sample.

Facilitating Compliance is to provide what people will need to be conformists, for example, the provision of litter bins and graffiti boards. Lombroso suggested that people should be locked up when they urinate openly on the street. But his student Ferri suggested what reflects the orientation

of this technique. He proposed that public urinals should be provided (Hackler, 1978; Clarke, 1997). The study investigated whether this measure was among the measures the Amanfro community members implemented to check the armed robberies in the community.

2.4. Theoretical Bases of the Situational Crime Prevention Techniques

Situational Crime Prevention has the criminological perspectives Defensible Space, Rational Choice, Environmental Criminology, Routine Activities and the Lifestyle theory as its theoretical foundation because of their common orientation which says criminals are not condemned to criminality but react to situational inducements (Clarke, 1997; Linden, 2007).

To begin with, Defensible Space (Newman, 1995; Crowe, 2000) was an idea to use architecture design to control the high rate of crime in public housing in the US. It entails organizing the physical environment to enhance peoples' sense of territoriality, make it possible for them to observe their surroundings which communicates to potential offenders that they are being watched (Newman, 1995). Newman an architect criticized the large scale of the buildings (houses) which made it impossible for residents to recognize strangers, and the multitude of unsupervised access points which made it easy for offenders to enter buildings and escape after committing a crime. He gave a statistical analysis of crime in public housing to support his claim. He also gave detailed design suggestions for creating defensible space by which anonymity would be reduced, increase surveillance and reduce escape routes for offenders. His focus was on building and architecture and not urban planning (Clarke, 1980; 1997; Linden, 2007; Madensen & Eck, 2008).

Secondly, Rational Choice in relation to crime assumes that crime is a purposive behavior designed to satisfy or meet the offender's need for material things and rewards such as money, status, sex, excitement and et cetera. Executing a criminal intent to meet these needs involves the making of sometimes quite basic decisions and choices which are usually constrained by the limitations of

time, ability and the availability of opportunities and relevant information (Clarke, 1997; Taylor, 2016).

Further, an important premise of the rational choice approach and crime is the distinction it makes between criminality and crime. Criminality (criminal involvement) refers to the processes through which individuals decide to become initially involved in particular forms of crime, to continue, and to desist. The decision process at each of these levels is influenced by a different set of factors and needs which are at times separately molded. Involvement decisions are by nature multistage and extend over substantial periods of time. On the other hand, the decision processes involved in the commission of a particular crime (the criminal event) are dependent on their own circumstantial categories of information. Event decisions are often shorter processes, using more circumscribed information basically relating to immediate circumstances and situations. In situational prevention it is noted that in the process of decision making the processes and processing of information done by offenders vary greatly among offenses (Katz, 1991; Clarke, 1997; Cornish & Clarke, 2014).

Cornish and Clarke formulated the criminological rational choice perspective which has been described by Opp (1997 cited in Cornish & Clarke 2014) as very wide compared with the economic rational choice perspective on crime. This wide model was primarily developed to assist thinking about situational prevention but it was not intended to be limited to this role. The many features of the rational choice perspective developed by Cornish and Clarke make it particularly suitable to serve as a criminological metatheory with a broader role in explaining a variety of criminological phenomena (Cornish & Clarke, 2003).

Armed robbery for a good number of researchers (Matthews, 2002; Cornish & Clarke, 2014; Taylor, 2016) is a rational crime in relation to the cost and benefit. Taylor (2016) discovered among the armed robbery culprits she studied that even their use of drugs or alcohol was a rational

decision to enable them to let go of all moral inhibitions and behavioral conventions. The study assumed that the robbers of Amanfro made a rational choice by robbing their victims by taking advantage of the poor nature of the road network within the Amanfro community to escape arrest, and this assumption was confirmed by the data collected from the community members. Nonetheless, an area for a further study is the probing of the rationale behind the decision of the Amanfro robbers to select the Amanfro community as the setting for their robbery activities from the perspective of the robbers.

Van Gelder (2013) in an attempt to look at the role of emotions in rational choice in relation to robbery by relying on other fields of human decision making such as social psychology, behavioral economics and neuroscience came up with a model (the hot/cold model) which he says is able to explain delinquent behaviors that cannot be accommodated in terms of rational choices and offered a more convincing account of the criminal decision process.

The hot/cool model explains why notions such as severe and swift punishment usually have little or no effect on crime rates, which makes opportunity-reducing measures inevitable if the attempts to reduce crime will be successful. He elaborates that deterrence is unlikely to have any effect when a wrongdoing is intimately connected to affects. In such a situation the short-term considerations overshadow the long-term consequences in the mind of the offender as the influence of affects bonds his/her focus to the immediate benefit and encourage the option for the criminal act. Further, in cases in which one shows the motivation to abstain from offending what is required to offend will be a short weak moment in which rational considerations will be temporarily overridden by desires of affects (Van Gelder, 2013).

The Routine Activity theory, another foundational theory of the situational crime prevention techniques was developed by Cohen and Felson in an attempt to formally describe the conditions

that produce victim risk (Siegel, 1998). They gave three indicators required for direct-contact predatory crime to occur, which are: a likely offender, a suitable target, and the absence of a capable guardian against crime (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Felson & Boba (eds.), 2009). The theory puts less emphasis on the offender's motivation but focuses on the convergence in space and time of the three indicators of crime. In other words, it looks at conditions which favor the occurrence of a criminal act and not criminal disposition. Central to the routine approach is the special focus on changes from moment to moment and hour to hour in where people are, what they are doing, and what happens to them as a result (Felson, 1994a). The assertion of the theory was supported by a finding in a study by Cohen and Felson (Felson, 1994a) that the rise in the rate of residential burglaries in the United States between 1960 and 1970 could largely be explained by the increasing number of empty homes during the day due to more single person households and greater female participation in the labor force, as well as the increased portability of televisions and other electrical goods (Clarke, 1997).

Using the Routine Activity theory as a perspective to study residential armed robbery Lhayea (2016) found that residential armed robbers do not carry out their attack when a capable guardian is present. This confirms the fact that when one of the three elements (a likely offender, a suitable target, and the absence of a capable guardian against crime) for a predatory crime to occur is absent a crime will not occur. In relation to the presence of a capable guardian Raynald (2012) reported in a study that "crime levels drop significantly as residential guardianship intensifies" (p.1).

It presupposes that at Amanfro all the three elements were present and contributed to the frequent armed robbery attacks in the community. Therefore, which of these elements was/were eliminated through the implementation of situational preventive measures to bring the robbery attacks under control? This is the question the study sought to interrogate.

Lifestyle theory says the difference in the probability of being a victim of a crime is dependent on how exposed one is to the offender. The exposure is determined not only by age, race, place of residence and etc., but, also by the lifestyle of the victim. Alcohol consumption at public places or late-night use of public transport can increase the risk of victimization, especially, of women (Fattah, 1995). The implication is a change in lifestyles and patterns of activities can reduce the rate of victimization when a person or a community is repeatedly subjected to victimization (Gieryn, 2000). In this regard, the context of Ngleshie Amanfro is a classic example as the attacks on people who woke up at dawn to attend to their businesses sent signals to the rest of the members of the community to desist from waking up at dawn in order to prevent victimization.

Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) asserts that “the proper design and effective use of the built environment can lead to a reduction in the fear and incidence of crime, and an improvement in the quality of life” (Crowe, 2000: 46). Jeffery the originator of the concept asserted that the criminal justice system has failed due to its limited reformatory capacity, cruelty and inequity which stem from a defective model of crime prevention in which the genetic basis of behavior is denied and the environmental features in which crimes occur are also ignored (Clarke, 1997; Lorenc et al., 2012). Jeffery based on a biosocial theory of learning argued that “punishment and treatment philosophies had to be abandoned in favor of a preventive approach which took due account of both genetic predisposition and the physical environment” (Clarke, 1997:8). This concept is different from Defensible Space since it has a broader set of techniques which go beyond the residential context or buildings to include environmental features, social facilities and infrastructures in a community. Its orientation is to plan and build a community being mindful or incorporating measures that will reduce the opportunity for crime. This is ensured through the

techniques of territoriality, target-hardening, defensible space, access control, image and management/maintenance, activity support and surveillance (Cozens, 2008; Ekblom, 2011).

Hakim et al. (2001) reported in their research which sought to identify how burglars select their targets found that the type or the characteristics of a house played a major role in the target selection by burglars. For example, they reported that single detached houses were more prone to burglary than twins, townhouses or apartments, and when a house was relatively vulnerable to burglary the use of burglar alarm reduced the risk by 13% among the population they studied. If burglars consider the type of houses in their target selection, do residential armed robbers, and, to be more specific, did the Amanfro armed robbers consider the house type in their target selections? A question the study under consideration examined.

Lorenc et al. (2013) in a study evaluated CPTED strategies of improved lighting, landscaping and alley gating implemented to improve the security of homes with the aim of reducing the fear of crime and found that they yielded a result of 15% reduction in the fear of crime levels in the population among whom the measures were implemented. On the whole, the evidence on the effect of improved lighting systems on crime rates and fear of crime is not conclusive since some studies (Davidson & Goodey, 1991; Painter & Farrington, 1999; 2001; Welsh & Farrington, 2008) have reported a positive effect (a reduction in crime rates and the fear of crime) and others (Vamplew, 1990; Payne & Gardiner, 2003;) have reported a negative effect (no reduction in crime rates and fear of crime). This calls for more research in order to clarify the actual connection between improved lighting systems, and crime rate and the fear of crime, being mindful of the fact that the effectiveness of this measure is contextual (Welsh & Farrington, 2008). This study to add to the clarification of the debate by interrogating the aforementioned relationship.

Beavon et al. (1994), studied the relationship between road accessibility and property crime and discovered that “crime was higher in more accessible and highly used areas and lower in the less accessible and less used areas” (p.115). This is because potential offenders get familiar with an area and identify possible target by frequent use of the area due to its highly accessible road network. Research on road networks in communities in relation to CPTED, usually, focus on pedestrian walkways which encourage people to walk a lot in a neighborhood and as a result provide natural surveillance which increases the risk of offending for potential offenders. This has resulted in little attention being given to road networks for vehicular movement, which is not surprising since most of these studies are done in the developed world where bad roads do not feature on their list of social problems as they do in the developing World. **This study** adds to the body of knowledge which exist on the link between road accessibility and crime by interrogating the effect of the nature of the access routes within the Amanfro community on the rise in the incidents of armed robbery attacks in the community.

Reacting to the rising crime rates and the fear of crime most Ghanaians in Kumasi and Accra according Owusu et al. (2015) have fortified their houses through the “adoption of target hardening measures such as high walls, metal burglar-proofed windows and doors, security doors/special door locks and so on, which tend to create ‘security islands’ with limited impact on community crime incidence” (p.249). Owusu and the colleagues, further, reported from their survey that while in the Western countries CPTED measures like target hardening are resulting in communal solidarity and community crime reduction the opposite is true in Ghana, a situation which threatens the communal spirit of Ghanaian communities.

Clarke (1997) sums up the relevance of the above Situational Crime Prevention **measures** by saying that:

Environmental criminology, the rational choice perspective and routine activity and lifestyle theories have all helped to strengthen situational prevention in different ways, reflecting their different origins and the purposes for which they were developed. By interviews with offenders and analysis of crime patterns, environmental criminology has provided rich information about the motives and methods of offenders, which has been valuable in thinking about counter measures. The rational choice perspective has provided a framework under which to organize such information so that individual studies produce more general benefits.... Lifestyle theory has focused attention on what victims might do to reduce their risks of victimization. And routine activity theory has served to extend preventive options by directing attention to features of the three essential elements of crime and their convergence (p. 13).

2.5. Conclusion

In the final analysis, scholars, policy makers and crime prevention practitioners have for some time now pointed to the limitations and flaws in the theories on the predisposing factors of crime and the justice system in relation to crime prevention and control.

Conventional wisdom holds that crime prevention needs to be based on a thorough understanding of the predisposing factors from the biological, psychological and sociological perspectives (Clarke, 1980). Therefore, a more effective measure of crime prevention should follow from these perspectives because the relevant measure will attempt to remove the root motivational causes of offending (Ohlin, 1970; Gibbons, 1971, Jeffery, C. R., 1996). Such measures will include the revitalization of communities, the creation of job opportunities for unemployed youth, and the provision of sports and leisure facilities. This approach, however, remains and renders

criminological theory unproductive in terms of the preventive measures which it generates (Akhgar & Yates, 2013). Moreover, there seem to be no acceptable ways of modifying temperament and other biological variables. It is also difficult to know what can be done to make parents love their children or exercise consistent discipline. Eradicating poverty may not be an effective solution either, because, crime rates have continued to rise despite great improvements in economic conditions and living standards in the past decades. Moreover, even if it were possible to provide people with the kind of jobs and leisure facilities they desire there is still no guarantee that crime rate will drop. Few crimes require much time or effort, and work and leisure per se provide a whole range of criminal opportunities (Wilson, 1975; Moffitt, 1993; Casey et al., 2008). Different theoretical perspectives which put emphases on choices and decisions made by the offender lead to a broader and perhaps more realistic approach to crime prevention (Clarke, 1980; Kelling & Coles, 1997; Goldson & Muncie (Eds), 2009). Among these is the concept of Situational Crime Prevention, which has a direct effect on preventive options and sees “crime as opportunity” (Lester, 1991:186). It avoids the theoretical difficulties in the dispositional crime prevention models by conceiving crime not in dispositional terms but as the outcome of immediate choices and decisions made by the offender based on the immediate situational variables such as the physical opportunities for offending or the environment, easy target, less effort required, profitability of the criminal act, pleasure derived and a lower possibility of being arrested (Clarke, 1997).

In a former address to the Standing Committee on Justice and the Solicitor General of Canada Allen Rock a former Canadian federal Minister of Justice in 1993 said; “We do not think for a moment that violent crime is to be resolved in this society by tinkering with statutes or changing acts. The fact of the matter is that the criminal justice system itself is not going to end violent

crime. It is crime prevention that must have at least the equal focus of the House of Commons” (Shamalleger & Volk, 2005: 308).

As early as 1962 Lunden realized this and said:

The issues do not lie in the realm of theory but in the field of strategy. There is an objective to be attained — the prevention or lessening of crime — and all possible resources must be marshalled to gain that objective. At present the strength of the opposition or the forces of crime may not be fully known, but it does now appear that to date the present systems of corrections have not “gotten off the ground ” and have certainly not gained a beachhead in the attack. The time has come for less theory and more strategy in the struggle against the rebels in society (p. 81).

2.6. Conceptual Framework

Figure 2. 1: Community Crime Control Structure



Source: Adoption and Modification of the Opportunity Structure for Crime of Clarke (1995)

Although situational crime prevention strategies focus on the immediate environment of a potential target of crime or the immediate environment in which a crime occurs it does not totally write off

the predisposing factors of crime which have been identified by traditional criminology (Biological and Sociological), some of which the study discovered were seen by some members of the community of Amanfro to have contributed to the armed robberies in the community, since these factors directly or indirectly influence the potential offender and the immediate environment in which a crime occurs or is likely to occur (Clarke, 1997; Siegel, 1998; Reynald, 2012).

The predisposing factors coupled with criminal opportunities (e.g. easy target, less effort required, profitability of the criminal act and a lower possibility of arrest which in the Amanfro context was augmented by the inaccessible road networks and the absence of a capable guardian against crime) which are determined by the conditions and features of the environment in which the potential offender is located and where the intended act of crime is to take place, make crime such as armed robbery, or any other form of victimization occur, an assertion which informed the second hypothesis of the study. The implementation of situational crime prevention measures (like a community watch scheme and police patrols at the communal level, and the installation of iron gates and bars at the individual level) will reduce the criminal opportunities without which the predisposing factors as identified by traditional criminology cannot lead to the occurrence of a crime. This will lead to crime prevention or control as shown in the conceptual framework.

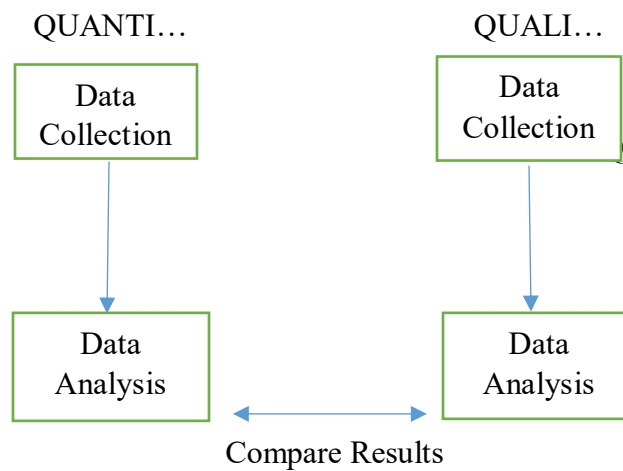
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODS

3.0. Introduction

The study set out to explore the Situational Crime Prevention measures implemented (at the communal and individual level) by the community members of Ngleshie Amanfro to check the rise in armed robbery attacks in the community, since the role of a community in crime prevention finds expression in situational preventive practices (Clarke, 1997; Abotchie, 2012), and to ascertain the effectiveness or otherwise of these situational measures from the perspectives of the police, community leaders, victims and the ordinary residents of the community, in the Ghanaian context with Ngleshie Amanfro as the setting. Guided by this objective the study used the mixed method approach in order to achieve its set goal.

3.1. Research Design

The study used the concurrent triangulation design which is one of the options when using the mixed method for a study. A researcher using this design collects both quantitative and qualitative data simultaneously and integrates the two approaches by comparing the results of the quantitative and the qualitative data after they have been analyzed to determine if they converge or diverge. This scheme saves time and it is the most commonly used strategy in the mixed method approach since it provides a more convenient means to compare the results of the quantitative and the qualitative approaches.

Figure 3. 1: The Concurrent Triangulation Design

Source: Creswell (2009)

3.2. Method

The mixed method, an approach which combines both the quantitative and the qualitative approaches was used for the study with a special focus on the concurrent triangulation model. Ideally, both approaches (quantitative and qualitative) are given equal emphasis or weight in the model, "... but often in practice priority may be given to one or the other" (Creswell, 2009:213). In the context of this study the balance was tilted in favor of the quantitative approach since the objectives of the study have a positivistic outlook. The mixed method combines the qualitative and quantitative approaches in order to take advantage of the strengths of the two, or use the advantages of one to offset the disadvantages of the other (Creswell, 2009; Hennink et al., 2011).

The mixing of the two methods in the concurrent triangulation model takes place at the interpretive or discussion stage, "i.e....transform[s]one type of data to the other type of data so that they can easily be compared, or integrate, or compare the results of the two databases side by side in the

discussions of the results. This side-by-side integration... first provides quantitative statistical results followed by qualitative quotes that support or disconfirm the quantitative results” (Creswell, 2009:13). The study under consideration applied the side by side approach to integrate the quantitative and the qualitative approaches.

More than 20 years ago, Gage (1989) raised an objection against those who thought that the quantitative and the qualitative methods are incompatible. On the one hand were those who worshiped the reliability and the objectivity of the quantitative method. On the other were those who had a fundamentalist disposition towards the validity in the thick description and subjectivity of the qualitative research on the basis that understanding why people behave as they do in various situations is as vital as describing what they do (Geertz, 1973; Peshkin, 2000). Gage argued that any field of study (social science or educational) which focuses on one paradigm only ends up illuminating an aspect of a phenomenon under study. He sees this as a danger which leads to a potential corruption and trivialization of that very field of study (Shulman, 1986; Gage, 1989; Jones, 2011; Bell, 2014). Since then, the mixed method has gained popularity and favor as an alternative to the exclusive reliance on the positivist quantitative approach, or the metaphysical qualitative approach. (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Creswell & Zhang, 2009; Yin 2013). The mixed methods research represents the real gold standard for studying a phenomenon (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

3.3. The Setting of the Study

The study area is the Ga South Municipality which has Weija as its capital. The Municipality is one of the 16 Districts in the Greater Accra Region. It is located at the South Western part of Accra and occupies a land area of approximately 502.31 sq. km with about 65 settlements. Ngleshie

Amanfro, which is one of these settlements, is the setting of the study. It is located at the Western part of the Municipality, specifically, on the Mallam – Kasoa highway. It has a population of 118727 and 28842 households, and it is also the most populated community in the Municipality. The community is sub – divided into localities, and the major ones are Top Town, Iron City, Amanfro, American Farm, Peace Town and Zongo¹⁶

Ngleshie Amanfro has the highest population (118,727) compared with the populations of the other communities in the Ga South Municipality. The community has 52% of its population being females and 48% being males. The population of the community is youthful (36.1%) depicting a broad base population pyramid which tapers off with a small number of elderly persons (6.5%)¹⁷.

The structure of the local economy is said to be gradually shifting away from agriculture to service and commerce with most of the economically active population engaged in service and sales occupation. However, the community has a great potential for agriculture and fishery due to the availability of some reasonable tracks of land and water bodies. What is making most of the members of the community move away from farming is not due to the shortage of farmlands, but because of production cost and meager profit, usually, realized from farming activities, which is compounded by the selling of nearby farmlands to estate developers. Therefore, the economically active population (72 %), which is made of the 15 years and older¹⁸, compete for the limited job opportunities in the community which is dominated by petty trading. The competition for the limited opportunities in the community is heightened by the spill overs from the economically active populations of Kasoa and the Accra Metropolis into the community¹⁹. This situation might

¹⁶ Municipal Profile of Ga South, 2009

¹⁷ Ghana Statistical Service, 2010

¹⁸ Ghana Statistical Service, 2010

¹⁹ Municipal Profile of Ga South, 2009

have resulted in the armed robberies in community since according to the Social Ecologists when a large cohort of people compete for limited job opportunities criminal activities are likely to increase (Menard & Elliott, 1990; Shaw & McKay cited in Siegel, 1998; Aaltonen et al., 2013).

The housing stock of Amanfro is 16.5% of the total number of houses in the Ga South Municipality, and the average number of persons per a house in the community is 5.4. In relation to the types of housing, compound house in the community is 37.8% of the total housing stock of the community. Self-contained is 20.0 %, Walled House is 18.0%, and Single Unit housing is 24.2% of the total housing stock of the community²⁰. Among these types of housing the most vulnerable in relation to the armed robbery attacks in the community was the Single Unit, which by design may facilitates natural surveillance, but has the lowest level of target hardening compared with the other types of housing. The proponents of Situational Crime Prevention and Environmental criminology assert that when the immediate environment of a target of crime requires less effort to breach it adds to the opportunities for crime and increases the risk of victimization (Clarke, 1997; Jacques & Reynald, 2012). It is therefore not surprising when it came to light from the field work of the study that the majority of the victims of the armed robberies in the community who were attacked at home in the night were occupants of Single Unit houses.

The roads networks in the community are in a deplorable state and become worse when it rains. Aside its negative effects the economic activities in the community it makes various localities within the community inaccessible when there is an emergency. In the opinion of Environmental criminologists, the built environment of a community can reduces or increase the incidences of crime in the community. The armed robbery situation experienced in the Amanfro community may

²⁰ Ghana Statistical Service, 2010

point to the fact that some aspect of the built environment of the community aided crime, with a special reference to the road networks in the community which restricted the movement of capable guardians against crime and augmented the criminal opportunities of the robbers by facilitating their evasion of apprehension.

Ngleshie Amanfro, further, has 10% public school facilities which are, mostly, basic and second cycle schools. The remaining 90 % of the educational facilities in the community, from basic to tertiary, are privately owned. There are three public basic schools in the community which run a shift system because they are unable to accommodate the total student population in a single shift due to limited facilities (A key informant). Before 2010 most of the young people were unable to complete their basic education due to teenage pregnancy and poverty. Currently, the situation is changing because of a better appreciation of the importance of education by the majority of the community members, both young and old. However, young people dropping out of school happens occasionally due to financial difficulties, and sometimes, due to their inability to cope with the discipline and the academic demands of schooling (A key informant). Dropping out of school, according to some researchers, could be the onset of delinquency and criminal career (Maguin et al., 1993; Lynch & Stretesky, 2017), but the validity of this assertion in the context of Amanfro needs to be interrogated.

The General Fertility Rate of the Ga South Municipality is 111.4 births per 1000 women aged 15-49 years, which is the second highest in the Greater Accra region. The Crude Birth Rate (CBR) is 3.18 per 1000 population, and family planning acceptance level in the Municipality is 13.1 %²¹. The overall birth rate of the Municipality coupled with the frequent migration into the Municipality

²¹ Municipal Profile of Ga South, 2009

has a direct influence on the population growth of the Amanfro community. This is because the community attracts the migrant population in the Municipality due to the availability of land space and the economic prospects of the community. However, the economic forces of the community are unable to satisfy the economic needs of its large population. This, Durkheim says, can lead to anomie and crime, thus, when there is a difference between what a population expects and what the economic forces can actually deliver (Ziyanak & Williams, 2014). In the view of the proponents of Situational Crime Prevention the assertion of Durkheim is highly probable if there is a less possibility of being apprehended when one engages in crime due to the environmental conditions prevailing in the immediate surroundings of the target of the crime. An example of such environmental conditions which was visible in the Amanfro community was the inaccessible street network for easy vehicular movement which was worsened when it rained, which might have contributed to the robberies in the community (Clarke, 1997; Linden, 2007; Ziyanak & Williams, 2014).

Durkheim asserts that crime is not a social pathology but a normal and a necessary social phenomenon. It becomes abnormal only when it is in excess or at a level which is impossible to fix in conformity with the existing rules (Durkheim, 1895; Traub & Little, 1975; Miika et al., 2013; Ziyanak & Williams, 2014). Further, according to Thomas & Znaniecki if the continuous perpetuation of a particular violation, as the case were at Amanfro, will lead to a total decay of a society a collective action is needed from the members of the society to counter the deviant behavior in order to maintain stability (Traub & Little, 1975; Ziyanak & Williams, 2014).

The sudden rise in the armed robbery attacks in the Amanfro community which warranted a visit by the IGP to personally assess the robbery situation made it an ideal setting to conduct a study from the perspective of Situational Crime Prevention as a concept for crime prevention and crime

control. Further, the role of a community in crime prevention and crime control finds expression in situational preventive practices (Clarke, 1997; Abotchie, 2012), and looking at the assertions of Durkheim, and Thomas & Znaniecki mentioned earlier the choice of Ngleshie Amanfro as the setting for the study to test the core hypothesis of the Situational Crime Prevention concept which sees the commission of a crime as the result of the availability of criminal opportunities and not as the effect of criminal dispositions (Clarke, 1997; Painter & Farrington, 2001; Linden, 2007) by finding out the situational measures adopted by the individuals and the community in order to bring the armed robbery situation under control, and to ascertain the effectiveness of these measures, is not misplaced.

3.4. Sample

The data for the study was collected from three categories of respondents. The first category was a sample from the heads of the various households in the community. As members of the community and the leaders of their individual homes their perspectives on the armed robbery situation and the effectiveness or otherwise of the crime prevention measures implemented, especially at the household/individual level, enriched the findings of the study. The next category of respondents was the victims of the robbery attacks. This category gave primary and firsthand information on how the robbers manage to force their way in the rooms of their victims, and a trust worthy assessment of the effectiveness of the situational crime prevention measures which were implemented to bring the robbery situation under control and to reduce the fear of possible armed robbery victimization in the community. The final category of respondents was the key informant which was made up of some of the members of the leadership of the community.

On the whole, heads of 380 households out of the 28842 households in the community were sampled for the quantitative data collection, and out of this total 368 responded, representing a turnout of 97%. On other hand, there was a 100% (35) turnout for the participants of the qualitative study.

3.5. Sampling Procedures

A sample size of 380 household heads were selected, using the stratified random sampling technique, from a sample frame of 28842 households, from the localities of Top Town, Iron City, Amanfro, American Farm, Peace Town and Zongo (these areas were the crime hot spots in the community according to the Amanfro police)²², at a confidence level of 95% and 5% margin of error – the parameter for every standard quantitative study (Gilliland & Melfi, 2010).

Five strata were formed out of Top Town/ Iron City, Amanfro, Peace Town, American Farm, and Zongo which host 40%, 15%, 15%, 20% and 10%, respectively, of the total population of the community according the records of the Unit Committee of the community. A total of 152 household heads were selected from Top Town and Iron City at a sampling fraction of 1/3. These localities are put together because they are Akan localities and homogeneous; 57 households heads were also selected from Amanfro at a sampling fraction of 1/7; 57 from American Farm at fraction of 1/7; 75 from Peace Town at 1/5, and 38 from Zongo at 1/10. The sample size from each locality is a fraction of the total sample size of 380, and each is equal to the percentage of the population

²² This influenced their (the police) decision to set up tents at Amanfro Top Town and American Farm to host some armed police officers to guard the community as a contingent measure when the Inspector-General of Police realized how serious the situation was upon his visit to the Amanfro Community.

resident in each of the localities in relation to the total population of the community, as mentioned above in relation to the Unit Committee records.

Thirty-five participants were selected purposively for the qualitative study because of a characteristic they had, or satisfied a certain quality which was not randomly distributed among the members of the community, and the unique feature of these participants was their knowledge about the robbery situation in the community in their individual capacities as a victim of the robbery attacks or as a member of the leadership of the community (Kumekpor, 2002). Thirty of the participants were selected from the victims of the armed robberies in the community. They were identified by using the list of victims compiled by the Police and the Unit Committee. In order to keep their identities confidential the actual names were replaced by pseudonyms. The additional five was made up of the key informants who included a member of the traditional elders, the District Police Crime Commander, the Unit Committee Chairman, the Chairman of the Landlords Association and the Assemblyman.

3.6. Research Instruments

The study used a questionnaire developed based on the objectives and hypotheses as the main instrument for the collection of the quantitative data. The questionnaire had close and open-ended questions which were to make room for the respondents to freely and openly express their views on the aspects of the issue which were not anticipated when developing the questionnaire. The questionnaire was used because it provides a means to check its reliability and validity on the basis that a researcher can include follow up questions in order to detect errors in the responses (Davies & Crombie, 2009). Further, a questionnaire is said to be more scientific and its anonymous nature encourages honesty on the part of the respondents by assuring them the highest level of

confidentiality in its introductory part (Gilliland & Melfi, 2010; Cross et al., 2012), an approach the study employed.

The second instrument which was used were two semi-structured interview guides, one for the victim participants and the other for key informants, which were also developed based on the objectives of the study for the collection of the qualitative data. A semi-structured interview guide helps to stick to the focus of an interview and ask the relevant questions, although, not in the order as listed on the guide and the interviewer can go off script if necessary (David & Sutton, 2004; Hennink, et al., 2011).

A voice recorder, a notebook, a pen and a pencil were also used. In relation to the qualitative study the recorder was to aid in capturing the voices of the participants of the study in order to ensure an accurate recall, as much as possible, of what they said during the interviews.

3.7. Data Collection Procedures

The questionnaire for the quantitative data collection was self-administered by those who could read and write the English language. On the other hand, the respondents who could not read and write the English language were assisted in its completion. The language which was used to interact and assist the respondents in completing the questionnaires was Twi since they were not fluent in English. Therefore, the items on the questionnaire and their corresponding options which were written in English were interpreted in Twi to the understanding of the respondents to enable them to give the responses or choose the options they found appropriate as answers to the items on the questionnaire. The responses were also in Twi but were interpreted in English by the researcher for the appropriate options to be indicated among the options provided for a question, or to fill the space for the open-ended questions with the appropriate responses in English. The

interview guides were used to direct the interviews of the participants for the qualitative data collection in a face to face interview, using the voice recorder to capture their voices. The Twi language was used to interview those who could not communicate in the English language by interpreting the questions which were written in English to them in Twi. Their responses to the questions were also given in Twi, which were recorded, but were interpreted and transcribed into English during the data analysis. Nonetheless, those who were fluent in the English language were interviewed in English. In the context of the interviews the researcher observed and gathered an in-depth as well as the unique perspectives of the participants on the subject matter of the study. The questions were open-ended, which increased the possibility of getting an honest response from the participant as he or she did not know exactly what the interviewer wants (Cross et al., 2012). Notes were taken of the relevant deduction and induction impressions during the interviews.

The participants of the qualitative study were interviewed with emphasis on the demographics, crime situation in the community, the predisposing factors of the robberies in the community, community measures against the armed robberies and their efficacy, the household measures against the armed robberies and their efficacy, using the interview guides. These elements reflect the objectives of the study and are parallel to the items on the questionnaire for the quantitative data collection.

The police records on the crime rates in the community was also made available by the Amanfro police, and with the help of an officer the relevant data which gave an idea of the crime rates and trends from 2013 to 2015 in the community were discussed, and note were taken of points which were relevant to the objective of the study.

The member of traditional elders, Assemblyman and the Unit Community Chairman were also interviewed using the key informant interview guide.

3.8. Ethical Considerations and Field Experience

In the context of this study among the ethical issues which came up for consideration was the seeking of permission from the stakeholders of the Amanfro community. Seeking permission and endorsement of the local stakeholders of the community in which a proposed study is to take place is seen as a good protocol in research ethics (Hennink et al., 2011). Therefore, permission was asked from the traditional leaders and the Unit Committee of the community in person, and from the police at the local and national level. In relation to the traditional leaders and the Unit Committee this was done through a formal meeting with some of their members during which my identity was revealed to them, as well as my mission in the community, and the purpose of the study. Another meeting was held with the police leadership at the local level, however, permission was not granted to conduct the study until the police at the national level gave clearance to the researcher to conduct the study in the community in a letter as a response to a letter the researcher had written to the police at the national level for that purpose. The clearance and assistance of the police were inevitable and most appropriate for the preservation of the dignity, rights and safety of the participants of the study, as well as that of the researcher in the course of the study, especially, during the field work, looking at the security situation in the community in relation to the robbery attacks.

The principle of informed consent was observed by providing information on my identity and the purpose of the study to the potential respondent or participant, and his or her voluntary participation in the study was asked before a questionnaire was given or administered, or the commencement of an in-depth face to face interview. The provision of information on the study was repeated in the introductory section of the questionnaire and the interview guide as a reminder to the respondent or the participant, and to confirm the informed consent given. Further, the

respondent or the participant was made aware that he or she could opt out at any point in the course of the study with no repercussions to him or her.

Strict anonymity and confidentiality were observed. In the first place, any item which had the potential of revealing the identity of a respondent or of a participant was avoided on the questionnaire and the interview guides. Any text which also linked information to a particular respondent or participant in the analyses and the discussions were eliminated, and pseudonyms, where necessary, were also used. Further, the completed questionnaires and notes taken from the field were kept under a lock and key, and the recorded interviews were kept in a folder with a password and were accessed only by authorized persons.

The minimization of harm, being it physical, social, emotional and economic was also observed. The prevention of physical harm, e.g. in a form of an armed robbery attack, to a respondent or a participant as a result of participating in the study, which was the fear of most the respondents and participants, was ensured through the strict adherence of the principles of anonymity and confidentiality in order to conceal and secure the identity of the respondent or the participant. On the other hand, the researcher personally avoided physical harm or attack by visiting the community always between 6 am to 8 pm, a period during which, according to the police, one was less likely to be victimized. Social and Psychological harm were also prevented, with a special reference to the participants of qualitative study who were victims of the robbery attacks, by avoiding to mention any of the negative perceptions the community members had about the victims. Questions which were likely to bring back painful memories were also avoided on the questionnaire and on the interview guides. Further, during the face to face interviews questions which made participants uncomfortable were not probed further. In order to avoid or minimize economic losses of the respondents or the participants as a result of their involvement in the study

those who completed the questionnaire without assistance were encouraged to do it at their free time, and those who needed assistance from the researcher were attended to on an agreed schedule between the respondent and the researcher. The face to face interviews were also done on an agreed schedule between the interviewer and the interviewee, and none of the interviews exceeded 35 minutes (Hennink et al., 2011).

The ethical principle of beneficence was also not neglected. Although the study is an academic thesis a copy of the final work will be given to the community leadership in order to add to their knowledge on the armed robbery attacks in the community, and on the preventive measures which were implemented to bring it under control. This will guide and inform them on future crime control interventions in the community.

A major challenge which was encountered in the course of the study was the problem of identity. The community members of Amanfro due to the robbery situation were very suspicious of unknown faces, and would not interact with or grant audience to strangers. This problem was surmounted by visiting some of the churches in community for an announcement to be made about my mission in the community, and by using my student identity card and the clearance letter which was given to me by the police to establish my trustworthiness, and by creating a rapport with the potential respondent or participant.

The bureaucracy of the police also presented another challenge in the course of the study. A letter of clearance which was needed from the police at the national level for the police at Amanfro to permit me to conduct the study in the community had to go through the regional and the district commands before it got to the Amanfro police. The stages involved were full of delays which were

surmounted by constant visits by the researcher to the various offices of the police service in charge of the processes in relation to the said letter.

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.0. Introduction

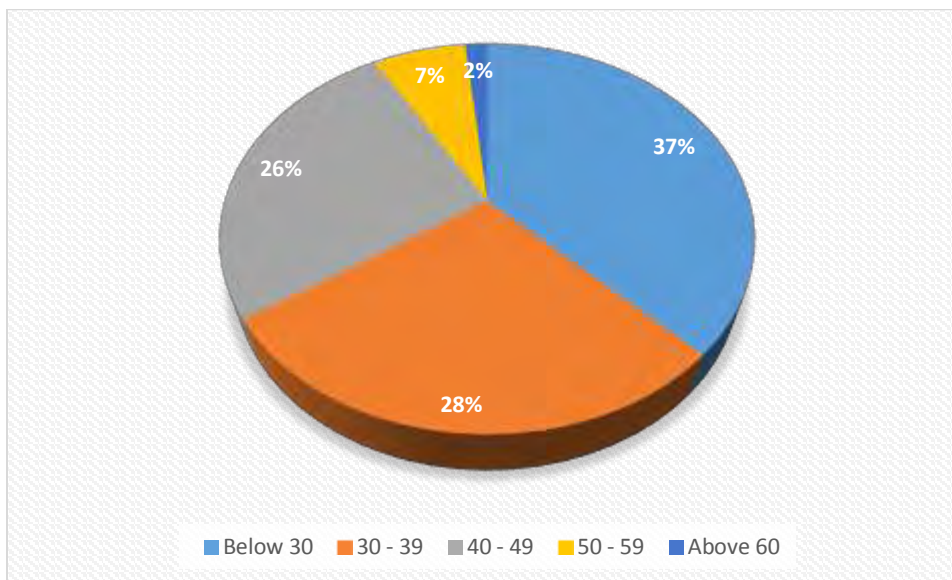
The analyses of the quantitative and the qualitative data were done concurrently. After the data collection, the qualitative data were handled manually by first transcribing the recorded voices which were in Twi into English. Coding of the transcribed data was done and edited to check for consistency and correct errors. The appropriate themes were developed based on the research objectives. The analysis of the quantitative data was aided by the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS version 20). The formulated hypotheses were also tested using the SPSS chi-square test statistics. The outputs from the qualitative and the quantitative data were compared for convergence and divergence for conclusions to be made.

This chapter presents the results from the data analyses of the study and discusses the findings. In line with the concurrent triangulation mixed method model the discussion of the results followed the “side-by-side Integration” (Creswell, 2009:13) format. In this format the quantitative statistical results is presented and elaborated in order to make an assertion. It is then followed by a qualitative quote that supports or contradicts the claim of the quantitative data (Creswell, 2009; Hennink et al., 2011). Further, allusions are also made to the relevant assertions made by the theoretical and empirical literature discussed in the literature review in order to check whether the findings of the study confirm or contradict the assertions of the previous studies.

4.1. THE SOCIO DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

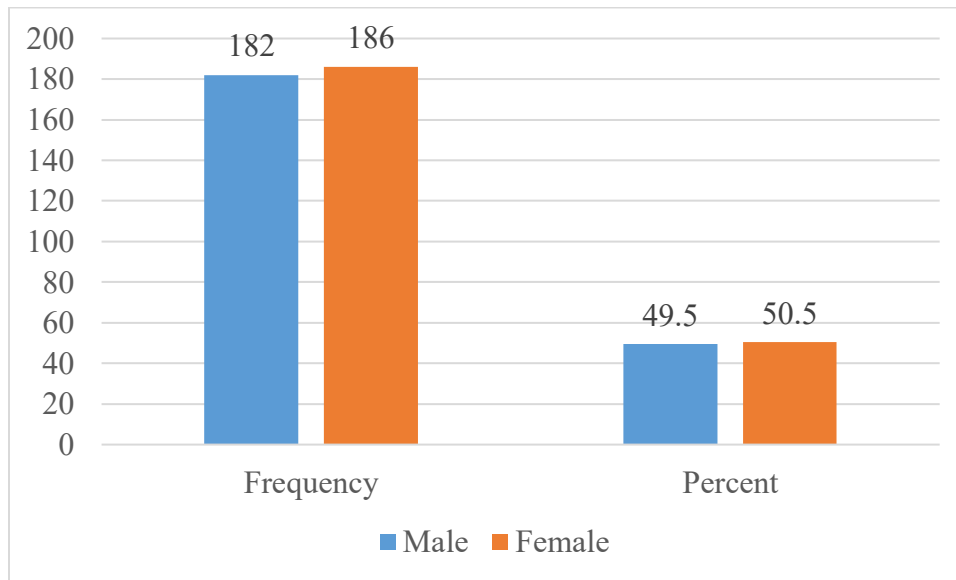
rational event” (Siegel, 1998:104). Research also shows that the choice of a target for crime is highly influenced by the target’s vulnerability (Hakim et al., 2001). The questions on age, sex and marital status were asked with the rationale of assessing whether the selection of the targets of the armed robbers at Amanfro was influenced by the vulnerability of **these targets**. Were the robbers attacking more women, young people, the old and the unmarried who were usually alone than men and those who were physically strong and tough, and the married who usually had a company?

Figure 4.1: Age



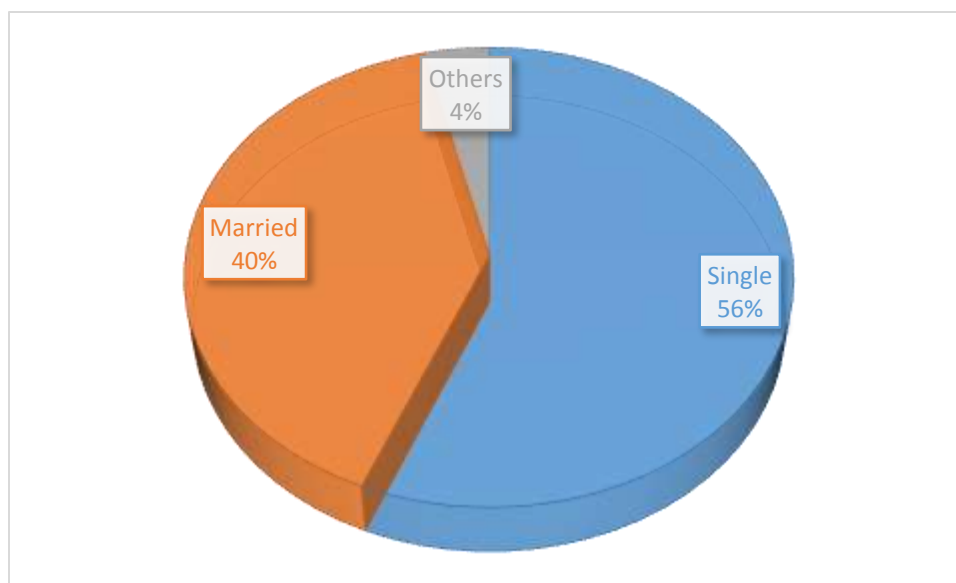
Source: Researcher’s Field Work. 2016

Figure 4. 2: Sex



Source: Researcher's Field Work. March, 2016

Figure 4. 3: Marital Status



Source: Researcher's Field Work. March, 2016

Figures 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 show the age and sex distributions of the respondents of the study, and their marital status, respectively. Marital status is said to have a link with victimization risk. The victimization rate of the unmarried females has been found to be higher than the married. This relationship is believed to be influenced by age, gender, and lifestyle (Shamallegger & Volk, 2005). “Many of the young people who have the highest victim risk are actually too young to have been married. Younger unmarried people also go out... more often and interact with high risk peers, increasing their exposure to victimization” (Siegel, 1998:83).

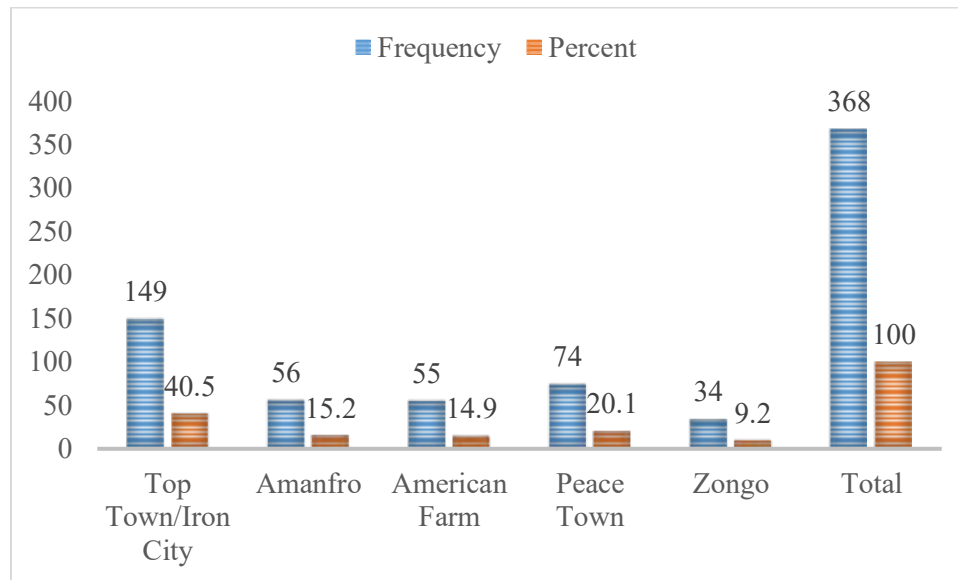
The study discovered that the Amanfro armed robbers attacked the old and young, male and female, the married and the unmarried. Usually, when they attack married couples they will ask the man to lie down with his face to the floor. If he tries to resist or interfere in their operation they do not hesitate to assault him. Boduah²³ (a victim participant) recounted that “when the robbers were leaving after robbing my family my 16-year-old daughter asked them to give my phone back to her. The response the young lady received was being stabbed twice on her right thigh by one of the robbers”. The robbers of Amanfro attacked whoever had what was of interest to them. One of the key informants mentioned that the robbers were robbing the residence of police officers as well. The only factor which appeared to deter them was the presence of a capable guardian against crime. Ama Mansah²⁴(Another victim respondent) indicated that “the robbers were about to rape me had it not been the timely intervention of an ex-service man in the neighborhood who had a gun and gave warning shots when the news of the attack got to him, which made the robbers run away”.

²³ A Pseudonym

²⁴ A Pseudonym

4.1.2. Area of Residence

In conceptualizing the factors for the likelihood of victimization some criminologists take into consideration the geographical area a person resides, because, “the proper design and effective use of the built environment can lead to a reduction in the fear and incidence of crime, and an improvement in the quality of life” (Crowe, 2000: 46). Jeffery (1977), a proponent of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) posited that how the features of the built environment are interpreted and mediated by the perceptive ability and the understanding of a potential offender create or reduce crime opportunities. Practitioners of crime prevention can therefore shape, manage or manipulate the environmental and geographical features of a community which will include, among others, the access routes and streets in order to reduce criminal opportunities (Schneider, 2005; Cozens et al., 2008; Ekblom, 2011). This question of area of residence looks at the residential distribution of the respondents which would be used subsequently to look at which locality in the community had the highest rate of victimization in relation to its geographical features (Jeffery, 1971; 1977; Crowe, 2000; Schneider, 2005).

Figure 4. 4: Areas of Residence

Source: Researcher's Field Work. March 2016

Figure 4.4 shows the residential distributions of the respondents in the community. It shows that 368 respondents answered the question on the area of residence. Out of this total 40.5 percent are residents of Top Town/ Iron City, which is the highest compared with the percentages for the other localities. This question was based on the assertion of the Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) concept, and will be elaborated by subsequent discussions.

4.1.2.1. A cross tabulation of Area of Residence and Neighborhood Accessibility

A cross tabulation of the area of residence and neighborhood accessibility was done to ascertain the accessibility levels of the pedestrian walkways and street networks for easy vehicular movement within the Amanfro community. The results of this tabulation was subsequently compared with the rates of victimization in the various areas in the community to ascertain if the accessibility levels of each area had a relation with its victimization levels as posited by the proponents of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) (Cozens, 2008;

Eklblom, 2011). According to the proponents of CPTED the built environment of a community has a significant influence on crime rates and fear of crime level in the community (Crowe, 2000; Cozens et al., 2008; Eklblom, 2011). From the point of the Amanfro police among the factors which contributed to the frequent armed robberies in the community was the less accessible nature of the pedestrian walkways, and street networks for easy vehicular movement. This informed the IGP's decision to give motorbikes to the Amanfro police in order to facilitate police patrols in the community as one of the measures to bring the robberies under control.

Table 4. 1: A cross tabulation of Area of Residence and Neighborhood Accessibility

Area of Residence	Is it Accessible		Total
	Yes	No	
Top Town/Iron City	17.3%	83.7%	147
Amanfro	22.2%	77.7%	54
American Farm	14.5%	85.5%	55
Peace Town	12.2%	87.8%	74
Zongo	11.8%	88.2%	34
Total	15.7%	84.3	364

Source: Researcher's Field Work. March 2016

The cross tabulation of the area of residence and its accessibility level in relation to pedestrian walkways, and street networks for easy vehicular movement reveals that Zongo is the locality with the greatest number of respondents (88.2%) indicating that their locality is less accessible. Top Town/Iron City is the fourth highest with 83.7 percent (of n-147) of residents indicating that their access routes in the locality are not accessible. The locality with the lowest number of respondents (77.8% of 54) indicating that their access routes are not accessible is Amanfro. The simple conclusion one may draw from the above results in relation to the assertion of the proponents of

Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (Crowe, 2000; Cozens et al., 2008; Ekblom, 2011) is that the residents of Zongo will experience more victimization than all the other neighborhoods in the community if their perception about the accessibility level of their neighborhood is true.

4.1.2.2. A cross tabulation of Area of Residence and Armed Robbery Victimization

Armed Robbery in the context of this study is a form of robbery which involves the use of force, pretense or the actual use of a deadly weapon and the threat of bodily injury or damage to property to intimidate a person into compliance in order to dispossess him or her of his or her property. The cross tabulation of the area of residence and victimization was focused on investigating which neighborhood in the community had the highest rate of victimization, which was subsequently compared with its accessibility level from Table 1 in order to verify the assertion of the Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) concept in the context of Amanfro.

Table 4. 2: A cross tabulation of Area of Residence and Victimization

Name of Area of Residence	Experienced Robbery Before		Total
	Yes	No	
Top Town/Iron City	53%	47%	149
Amanfro	41%	59%	56
American Farm	51%	49%	55
Peace Town	43%	57%	74
Zongo	25%	75%	34
Total	45.9%	54.1%	368

Source: Researcher's Field Work. March 2016

Directly experiencing or witnessing victimization in one's neighborhood can augment the individual's level of anxiety and fear as the criminal act will be a real and a manifest event in one's

psyche rather than a mere image projected by the media or other representations of the presence of crime in a neighborhood (Greenberg, 2001; Ferguson & Mindel, 2007).

The data presented in Table 5.2 show that Top Town/ Iron City was the locality with the highest rate of victimization (53%). The next locality with a higher rate of victimization was American Farm (51%). Peace Town comes third with 43 percent. Zongo had the lowest victimization rate of 25 percent.

Contrary to the assertion of the proponents of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) on the relationship between neighborhood accessibility and crime rate, the results from Table 4.2 show a weak correlation between accessibility level and victimization rate in the various localities in the context of Amanfro. Top Town / Iron City from the cross-tabulation table had the highest rate of victimization with 53 percent of the respondents from the locality indicating that they were victims of the robbery attack in their locality. However, in the cross tabulation between area of residence and its level of accessibility (See Table 4.1) it was the fourth highest. Besides, if the assertion of the proponents of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (Crowe, 2000; Cozens, 2008; Ekblom, 2011) is accurate then Zongo which in the cross tabulation between the area of residence and its accessibility level was identified to be the less accessible neighborhood compared with the other neighborhoods should have had the highest rate of victimization, but it had the lowest rate of victimization or percentage (25%) of residents who indicated that they have experienced victimization in the locality.

The proponents of crime prevention through the manipulation of situational and environmental factors (Clarke, 1997; Lorenc et al, 2012; Owusu et al., 2015; Lhayea, 2016) assert that it is the combination of various factors and not a single factor which create the opportunity for crime. The Routine Activity theory, for instance, posits that three elements which are a likely offender, a

suitable target, and the absence of a capable guardian against crime (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Felson & Boba, (eds.), 2009; Lhayea, 2016) combine to create the opportunity for a crime to occur. An explanation for why the Zongo neighborhood had the lowest rate of victimization in spite of its less accessible nature can be explained from the perspective of the Routine Activity theory, because, the absence of one of the elements which create opportunity for crime can prevent crime from occurring (Lhayea, 2016). From the in-depth interviews some of the key informants revealed that the youth of the Zongo neighborhood are seen to be aggressive and this quality portrays them as capable guardians against crime. Awudu (a key informant) revealed that “on one occasion some of the youth in the neighborhood organized to confront the armed robbers when the robbers attacked a house in the neighborhood. This act by the youth deterred the robbers from frequenting the neighborhood”. This may explain why the Zongo neighborhood in spite of its less accessible nature in relation to pedestrian walkways and street networks for easy vehicular movement had the lowest victimization rate.

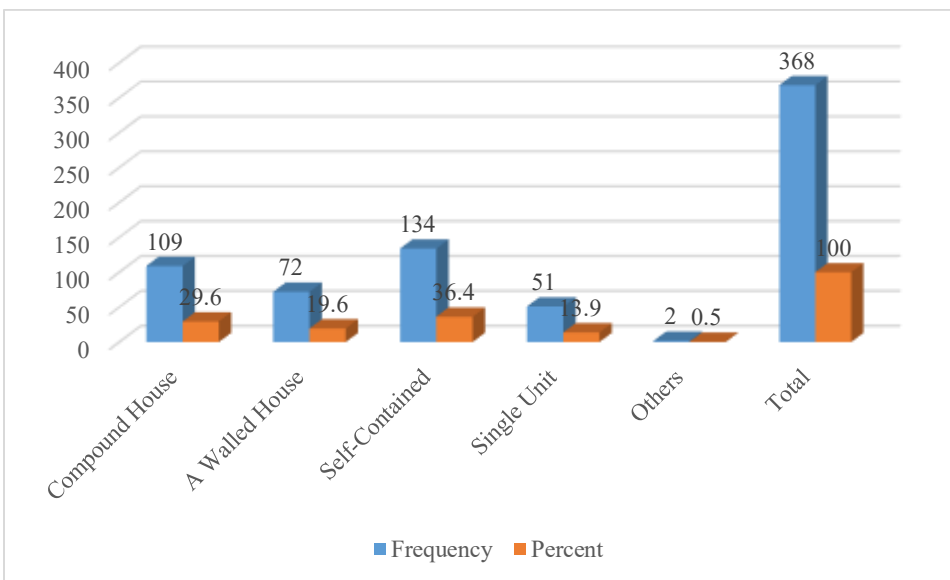
4.1.3. Housing Types

The features and design of a house fall within the environmental conditions and features which influence the omission or commission of a crime by making an intended offense easy, to require less effort with a lower probability of being caught in the offensive act and escape arrest, or otherwise, per the judgment of the potential offender as expressed by the proponents of the situational crime prevention theory (Clarke, 1997; Crowe, 2000; Jacques & Reynald, 2012) and indicated in the conceptual framework of the study. In other words, the features and design of a house create or reduce the opportunity for a likely crime victimization of its occupants. The concept of Defensible Space (Newman, 1995; Crowe, 2000) as expressed by Newman (1995) makes this assertion clearer. He said that most of the public buildings of the society he studied, by

design made it impossible for residents to recognize strangers. The multitude of access points in the buildings made it easy for offenders to enter and to escape after committing a crime. This shows that the type of housing or the design of a building creates or reduces the opportunities for crime (Clarke, 1980; 1998; Crowe, 2000). Hakim et al. (2001) identify that the type or the characteristics of a house played a major role in the target selection by burglars. Hakim et al. (2001) reported from their study that single detached houses were more prone to burglary than twins, townhouses or apartments. In the context of the study under consideration the question on the housing type was asked in order to know the type of housing the armed robbers at Amanfro frequently besieged.

Most of the respondents of the study ($n=134$) representing 36.4 percent lived in a self-contained house. Those who lived in a compound house ($n=109$) were the second highest representing 29.6 percent; 19.6 percent lived in a walled house, while 13.9 percent also lived in a single unit house.

Figure 4. 5: Housing Types



Source: Researcher’s Field Work. March 2016

Most of the self-contained and the walled houses, and some number of the single unit houses are found at the new sites of the community. On the other hand, majority of the compound houses, which are usually a family (extended family) house, are located at the old site. Among the types of housing in the community the most vulnerable with respect to its design, and in relation to the armed robbery attacks was the single unit type of housing. Because, it had the lowest level of target hardening compared with the other types of housing. The walled houses have fences with metal gates which are usually locked, which increases the effort required by a potential residential armed robber to reach a potential target within the parameters of the walls. The compound houses also have metal gates at the entrance which lead to the common compound of the occupants of the house. These gates are locked in the night which helps to keep out intruders and increase the efforts they will require to enter the compound before they can have access to the doors of the various rooms of the house. The self-contained also have a main entrance with a metal gate, although without a fence wall like the walled houses, which opens into a corridor of the house aside the gates of the various rooms, which as well increases the effort the robbers required to get to their victims. However, the room of the single unit house has one entrance with a door which when breached the robbers get direct access to the victim for the robbery to take place.

Table 4. 3: Housing Type and Victimization Cross tabulation

Housing Type	Experienced Robbery Before		Total
	Yes	No	
Compound House	31.2%	68.8%	109
A Walled House	65.3%	34.7%	72
Self-Contained	37.3%	62.7%	134
Single Unit	74.5%	25.5%	51
Others	0.0%	100%	2
Total	45.9%	54.1%	368

Source: Researcher's Field Work. 2016

The data output from Table 4.3 show that the occupants of the single unit houses had the highest victimization rate (74.5% of $n=51$) compared with the others. This is because this housing type by design facilitates formal surveillance (Hakim et al., 2001) and natural surveillance (Bennet, 1990), however, in terms of target hardening, it is the most vulnerable. Moreover, this finding of the quantitative data was not too different from the finding of qualitative data of the study. Out of the 30 victim participants of the qualitative part of the study, 3.3 percent lived in a compound house, 3.3percent lived in a walled house, and 10 percent live in a self-contained, while 83 percent lived in a single unit house. Kwame²⁵ (a victim participant) who lived in a single unit house reiterated that “we are easy target for the robbers because we do not have walls and metal gates like the others to protect us”.

The results also show that the robbers attacked more self-contained houses (10%) than walled (3.3%) and compound (3.3) houses. What accounted for the difference was not interrogated by the study. The finding of Lhayea (2016), like that of Raynald (2012), that motivated residential armed

²⁵ A Pseudonym

robbers are deterred from attacking a hardened target only when a capable guardian against crime is present may also be true in the context of Amanfro, and may explain why the self-contained houses, as well as the walled and the compound houses, in spite of their level of target hardening were attacked by the robbers. A study which will focus on the robbers who were apprehended at Amanfro will help provide a better insight on the applicability or otherwise of the finding of Lhayea (2016) in the context of Amanfro.

4.1.4. Income Levels

The higher the income or the more capital one possesses the higher his or her ability to satisfy or respond to his or her needs and secure him or herself against threats like residential robberies through the purchase and installation of security measures (Vacha & McLaughlin, 2004; Granovetter & Swedberg, 2011). The question on income levels of the various respondents was informed by the first hypothesis of the study which was: The higher the income of an individual in a community in which armed robbery attacks are prevalent, the higher the probability of the individual adopting a Situational Crime Prevention measure against armed robbery. Most of the respondents (43.5%) of the study earned less than GH ₵ 1000 a month. This category who earned less than thousand cedis monthly was made up of people engaged in petty trading and some employees of private business establishments. Some 31.8% of the respondents also earned GH ₵1000 – 1999 monthly and this group was made up of public-school teachers, civil servants, and some employees of private business establishments. Another category (20.9%) made up of some health sector workers, business men and women earned GH ₵ 2000 – 2999. Some 2.2% also earned a monthly income of GH ₵3000 – 3999; this category was made up of lawyers, doctors, and some business men and women, while 1.6% did not earn any regular monthly income.

Table 4. 4: Income Levels

Income (GHC)	Frequency	Percent
Blow 1000	160	43.5
1000 - 1999	117	31.8
2000 - 2999	77	20.9
3000 - 3999	8	2.2
None	6	1.6
Total	368	100.0

Source: Researcher's Field Work. 2016

4.1.4.1. A Cross Tabulation of Income Levels and Adoption of Security Measures

Traditional wisdom as held by the Conflict theorists says that the rich and those who earn more income have access to the best social amenities and facilities because they can afford, unlike the low income earners and the poor. The situation may not be different when it comes to the issues of security, especially, when individuals are to purchase security devices or employ the service of a security entity for protection against a possible crime victimization (Macionis, 2001), especially, in a critical situation of a threat to life and property as experienced by the community members of Amanfro due to the armed robbery attacks in the community. Further, Vacha & McLaughlin (2004) in a study found that income influenced the likelihood that an individual would own a gun and keep it loaded or unlocked as a measure against crime victimization. In order to validate the validity or the otherwise of the aforementioned assertions in the context of Amanfro a cross tabulation of income levels and the adoption of security measures was done.

Table 4. 5: Measures and Income Levels Cross tabulation

Measures	Level of Income (C)					Total
	Below 1000	1000 - 1999	2000 - 2999	3000 - 3999	None	
Change of Doors	32.1%	39.3%	25%	3.6%	.0%	28
Change of Windows	25%	40%	30%	.0%	5.0%	20
Change of Locks	47.8%	47.8%	4.6%	.0%	.0%	23
Installation of Iron Bars/ Gate	39.9%	34.6%	21%	2.5%	2.1%	243
Use of Barbed Wire	40%	.0%	53.3%	6.6%	.0%	15
Dogs	82.7%	10.3%	6.9%	.0%	.0%	29
Installation of more lights(bulbs)	80%	.0%	20%	.0%	.0%	10
Total	45.5%	31.8%	20.9%	2.2%	1.6%	368

Source: Researcher's Field Work. 2016

From the table 45.5% ($n=368$) of the respondents who earned less than GH C 1000 monthly, which is the lowest monthly income on the table implemented some measures at their homes. Those who earned GH C1000 – 1999 and GH C2000 – 2999 implemented some measures as well. Out of the 368 respondents 2.2% who earned the highest monthly income of GH C 3000 – 3999 also implemented some measures, while 1.6% who earned no monthly income also implemented some measures. Moreover, the hypothesis which was tested with regard to income influencing the adoption of a crime prevention measure revealed no association between the two variables (see Table 4.6). Hence, the security measures were implemented by both high- and low-income earners as well as those who did not earn regular monthly income because they were interested in ensuring their survival against the armed robbery threat with less regard to income. As Kofi²⁶, a victim

²⁶ A Pseudonym

participant during an in-depth interview puts it, “it is not a matter of you having money or not, my brother, it is your life we are talking about”.

4.1.4.2. Test of Hypothesis One

Hypothesis: The higher the income of an individual in a community in which armed robbery attacks are prevalent the higher the probability of the person adopting a Situational Crime Prevention measure against armed robbery.

Null Hypothesis (H_0): There is no significant relationship between the income of an individual and the adoption of a Situational Crime Prevention measure against armed robbery.

Alternate Hypothesis (H_1): There is a significant relationship between the income of an individual and the adoption of a Situational Crime Prevention measure against armed robbery.

Guide to Decision: The standard rule is to fail to reject the null hypothesis (H_0) if the P value which is also referred to as Type One error is less than 0.05. But if the P value is equal to 0.05 or greater than 0.05, you reject H_0 (Tannor, 2014).

Table 4. 6: Chi-Square Test

Test	Value	df	P value
Pearson Chi-Square	53.311	24	.001

From the table the calculated value (Value) based on the cross tabulation of income levels and situational crime prevention measures implemented by the individual respondents is 53.311; the degree of freedom (df) is 24 and the P value is 0.001. The study therefore failed to reject the null hypothesis. Thus, in the context of the study there is no significant relationship between the income

of a person in a community in which armed robbery attack is frequent and the probability of the person adopting a situational measure to secure his or her life and property against a likely attack. From the findings of the study it is rather the level of threat to life that will influence an individual to adopt situational measures against armed robbery irrespective of the income one earns. This confirms the assertion of the Sociobiologists that people are usually influenced by the innate inclination to ensure the survival of their genes in their decisions and actions (Siegel, 1998), and again as Kofi²⁷ the victim participant rightly puts it, “it is not a matter of you having money or not, my brother, it is your life we are talking about”.

4.2. DATA ON COMMON TYPES OF CRIMES IN THE COMMUNITY

Some communities have high crime rates, and some criminal activities are common in some particular communities. Looked at in terms of offenders, high crime incidences may be attributed to a lot of offenders committing few crimes each, or few offenders committing many crimes each (Lunden, 1962; Akhgar & Yates, 2013). The rationale of this question was to ascertain the criminal activities which were common in the community of Amanfro from the perspective of the community members, and why the armed robbery attacks overshadowed the other criminal activities in the community.

²⁷ A Pseudonym

Table 4. 7: Common Crime

Crime	Frequency	Percent
Armed Robbery	257	72.4
Burglary	60	16.9
Rape	9	2.5
Substance Abuse	5	1.4
Stealing of Goats	11	3.1
Other	7	2.0
Petty Thief	6	1.7
Total	355	100.0

Source: Researcher's Field Work. March 2016

Table 4.7 show that 72.4 % of the respondents (n-355), as at the time of the study, indicated that armed robbery was the most common crime in the community. The next common crime was Burglary with a percentage of 16.9. Stealing of goats with 3.1% followed, whereas substance abuse was seen as the least common crime in the community (1.4%). The majority of the respondents saw armed robbery as the most common crime²⁸ in the community due to the fear of a likely victimization it created, the frequency of attacks (both factual and imagined), and the injuries and pains the victims of the robberies in the community had to endure. "These spread fear across the community as victims shared their ordeals with members of the community" (Skogan cited in Siegel, 1998:172). The police records²⁹ for 2015 showed that in the month of July, 6-armed robbery incidents were recorded in the Amanfro community, 6 were recorded in August, 5 in September and 4 in November. These were in the period when the situation was getting out of control due to the rains which made various areas in the community inaccessible and difficult for the police to

²⁸From the records of the Amanfro police burglary, petty stealing, rape, substance abuse, attempt to steal, assault, threat of harm, threat of death, causing unlawful damage to property, offensive conducts, inducing tenant to quit, trespassing, possession of fake currency, disturbing public peace, act of tendering and impersonation were the common crimes in the community aside the armed robberies(Amanfro Police Monthly Reports(2013 – 2015)

²⁹ Amanfro Police Monthly Reports(2013 – 2015)

reach because of nature of the roads in the community. These figures of reported armed robbery cases for the months mentioned above may not be enough for some scholars to consider the robbery situation in the community as a social problem. However, Durkheim says what makes a social phenomenon a social problem is not the frequency of occurrence but what the collective consciousness of a group lends to it (Traub & Little 1975; Miika et al., 2013).

4.2.1. Place and Time of Attacks

The proponents of the social ecology of victimization mention

where, when, and how it occurs. For instance, violent crimes are likely to take place during the daytime or evening hours, although the more serious forms of crime—rape and aggravated assault - typically take place after 6 P. M.; less serious forms of violence, unarmed robbery and personal larcenies such as purse snatching are more likely to occur during the daytime.... The most likely site for every crime category is either an open, public area (such as street, a park, or a field) or a commercial establishment such as a tavern; more than 10% of violence incidents usually take place on school grounds. Only the crime of rape and simple assault with injury are likely to occur in the home. Nonetheless, a significant number of rape, robberies, and aggravated assault occur in public places (Siegel, 1998:79).

At Amanfro, community members recounted that the armed robberies occurred at various places and at different times as presented in Tables 4.8 and 4.9.

Table 4. 8: The Places of Robbery

Place	Frequency	Percent
At Home	174	57.6
Someone Else's Home	41	13.6
Neighborhood	78	25.8
Workplace	9	3.0
Total	302	100.0

Source: Researcher's Field Work. March 2016

From Table 4.8, 57.6 percent of the respondents indicated that the armed robberies in the community occurred mostly at the homes of the victims. While 25.8 percent said it occurred in the neighborhood, 3.0 percent said it usually occurred at the workplaces of the victims, especially, when the victim was suspected by the robbers to keep money at the workplace.

The claim of the majority of the respondents that the robberies occurred at the homes of the victims was confirmed by the findings of the qualitative study. All the victim participants (100%) indicated that they were attacked at their homes. Among the reasons why the robbers attacked their victims in their homes according to some of the victims is the fact that most of them are unbanked and keep their money at home. This is because they reinvest the money they make at the end of each working day or period in their business and use some to take care of their families. Therefore, they keep the money they make from their businesses with them in the house until when they use it in a transaction or spend it. Wagya³⁰ (a victim respondent) indicated that “the robbers attack us because they know at the end of each day we bring our monies to the house”. This means that the practice of target removal as a preventive measure by the community members of Amanfro, or community in a similar situation, would have helped or will help to reduce the level of the risk of victimization as Pease (1997) showed in the example of a church in Northern Spain which installed

³⁰ A Pseudonym

an ATM at its entrance which enabled the church members to use their bank cards or credit cards to make donations which reduced the theft or robbery risk level of the church and the members.

Table 4. 9: Time of Robbery

Time	Frequency	Percent
Afternoon	16	5.3
Evening	4	1.3
Night	97	32.3
Midnight	122	40.7
Dawn	61	20.3
Total	300	100.0

Source: Researcher's Field Work. March 2016

Table 4.9 shows that most (40.7%) of the respondents said the time for the robberies in the community was midnight (12: 00 A.M. – 3:00 A. M); 32.3 percent said the attacks occurred at night (9:00 P.M. – 11:00 P.M); 20.3 percent said the attacks in the community occurred at dawn(4:00 A.M. – 5:00 A.M); and 1.3 percent indicated that the robberies occurred in the evening (8:00 P.M – 9:00 P. M.)

Moreover, all (100%) the victim participants of the qualitative part of the study said that their victimization occurred at midnight (12: 00 A.M. – 3:00 A. M.). This moves the assertion from perception to experience. The time and place assertion of the community members may be said to be parallel to the assertion of the social ecologists alluded to at the beginning of the place and time discussion, especially, the assertion that more serious forms of crime such as rape, aggravated assault, and armed robbery usually occur after 6 P. M., and at home (Siegel, 1998; McCarthy & Lawrence, 2014).

The robbers come at dawn because they wanted to avoid being noticed, and to take advantage of the absence of capable guardians against crime, with a special reference to the police who are the ordinary capable guardians against crime in the community but had limited resources (human and material wise) coupled with the in accessible road networks within the community which made it difficult for the police to go the rescue of victims in the community when they were attacked, especially at night (A victim participant mentioned).

5.2.3. Facilitators

“Clarke and Mayhew (1989) have argued that the incidence of criminal behavior is strongly affected by the opportunities presented to the potential offender for committing criminal acts” (Lester, 1991:186). Another important factor in the commission or omission of a crime is facilitators. These are weapons like guns, machetes, knives, and other objects which facilitate or aid in the execution of the criminal act (Clarke, 1997; Lester, 1991; Wortley, 2001).

In his work “Crime as opportunity: A test of the hypothesis with European homicide rates”, Lester (1991) concluded that the availability of firearms correlates with the rate of homicide with firearms. He also alluded to the “detoxification of domestic gas which led to the virtual elimination of suicide using domestic gas in England and Wales. This led to a drop in the overall suicide rate of about 30 per cent” (p. 217).

The question of which weapons or felicitators were used by the robbers of Amanfro was informed by the concept of facilitators in Situational Crime Prevention. Table 4.10 presents what the respondents indicated were usually used as facilitators by the robbers.

Table 4. 10: Weapons/Facilitators

Weapons	Frequency	Percent
Knife	32	8.9
Gun	245	68.1
Machete	74	20.6
Cement Block	9	2.5
Total	360	100.0

Source: The Researcher's field work. March 2016

The most commonly used facilitator by the armed robbers according to 68.1% of n-360 is gun. They usually used it for warning shots in order to scare their victims and never shot anybody except on one occasion. But this does not mean they did not want to kill anybody, far from that, just that the need did not arise because their victims were submissive. Over twenty percent (20.6%) of n-360 indicated that the robbers were usually armed with machetes. The study found that the machetes were used, very often, on their male victims who tried to make their operation difficult.

Adwowa³¹, a victim participant, recounted how the robbers attacked another *victim* and the wife, and their three-month-old baby at home at dawn. The robbers, according to Adwowa, asked for money and the victim replied, "We have spent all the money we had, so there is none left in the house". But the robbers did not believe the victim. One of the robbers decided to cut the baby open with his machete since the victim was refusing to give them the money in the house. The robber in fact attempted chopping the baby up but the victim (the man) stretched forth the arm to save the baby from the machete, and the victim was severely injured in the process.

³¹ A Pseudonym

Some 2.5% also said the robbers used cement blocks as facilitators, which seems to be an innovation but not new to situational and environmental criminologists. The environmental criminologists posit that the features and materials available at the place or in the environment in which a crime occurs facilitate or inhibit the execution of the criminal act (Wortley, 2001; Cornish & Clarke, 2003). For example, a “ladder or garden tools the offender takes when burgling a house, or the stones picked up and thrown at the scene of a riot” (Ekblom & Tilly, 2000:382). The blocks used by the Amanfro robbers were usually taken from the compound of the victims or a nearby compound. The cement blocks were available because most parts of the community are newly built or under construction, including some of the houses of the victims. These blocks were thrown at the wooden paneled door which got broken due to the impact. Joe³², a key Informant, stated that “on some occasions the whole frame on which the hinges which hold the door are attached is totally removed due to the impact of the blocks, allowing free access to the victims”.

4.2.4. What the Robbers Seek

To some criminologists the persistence in criminality is a function of a personal choice. The decisions to violate a law, commit a crime of robbery, sell drugs and attack a rival are made for a variety of personal reasons which may include greed, revenge, need, anger, lust, jealousy, thrill seeking, and vanity. In the final analysis, people choose crime simply because they think it is rewarding, easy, or entertaining (Clarke, 1997; Taylor, 2016). The question of what valuables did the robbers take from their victims was to help ascertain the kind of reward the robbers were seeking from their operations.

³² A Pseudonym

4. 11: Items Stolen

Items	Frequency	Percent
Motor Vehicle	11	3.0
Money	299	81.9
Computer/Electronic Gadgets	17	4.7
Mobile Phone	38	10.4
Total	365	100.0

Source: The Researcher's field work. March 2016

Table 4.11 shows the valuables for which the robbers robbed their victims, usually, at a gun point. From all indications as shown by the table the armed robbers at Amanfro were interested in monetary reward. This confirmed what was noticed when discussing the question on the places where the robberies usually occurred that the robbers attacked people whom they suspected to keep money at home. Out of the 365 respondents who answered this question 81.9 % indicated the robbers robbed their victims for money. Among others, the factors which might have informed the choice of the robbers to rob their victims for money are that it is portable and the most acceptable object for transactions, and unlike laptops, phones and et cetera, it is difficult to track.

“After the robbers had robbed us of our monies at gun point they brought all the home appliances we have in the room out of the room, however, the robbers left without taking any of the appliances with them” (Akosua³³, a victim participant). What might have accounted for this behavior of the robbers was the fact that they did not use a car in their operations which Clarke (1997) said is required to carry TVs, DVDs and et cetera during burglaries and residential robberies. Further, the choice of the robbers not using a car was a rational choice since it would have hindered their locomotion level due to the deplorable state of the street networks of the areas they robbed often

³³ A Pseudonym

in the community. Nevertheless, a further study which will interrogate the robbers' choice of not using a car in their operations will help to get a better appreciation of why the robbers made that choice.

4.3. DATA ON THE PREDISPOSING FACTORS OF THE ROBBERIES

Thomas & Znaniecki (cited in Traub & Little, 1975) put the rationale for this sub-heading precisely in these words:

Our task is the same as that of the physicist or chemist who does not attempt to find the laws of the multiform changes which happen in the sensual appearance of our material environment, but searches for laws of more fundamental and general processes which are supposed to underlie those directly observable changes, and explain the latter causally only in so far as it can be shown that they are the superficial manifestations of certain deeper, causally explicable effects (p. 35).

This heading speaks directly to the second objective of the study which was interested in identifying the factors which contributed to the armed robberies in the Amanfro community. Traditional criminologists assert that potential offenders and their motives are influenced by biological and socio-economic factors such as atypical body build, genetic abnormality, insanity, physical anomalies, poverty, family dysfunction, sub-cultural, peer influence, school problems and stigmatization.

Potential offenders also learn about criminal opportunities from their peers, the media and from their own observations, but they differ in their assimilation and sensitivity to the information each

receives which determine their motivation to seek out or create opportunities for crime. Paramount is the offender's perception and judgment about risk, effort and reward which at a subsequent stage determine the commission of a crime (Clarke, 1997; Ngwu, 2016; Cornish & Clarke (eds.), 2014). Table 4.12 shows the predisposing factors which in the views of the community members of Amanfro brought about the armed robberies in the community.

Table 4. 12: Predisposing factors of the Robberies

Factors	Frequency	Percent
Inaccessibility	130	37.1
Invisibility	22	6.3
Population Increase	42	12.0
Unemployment	92	26.3
Anonymity	10	2.9
school Dropout	25	7.1
Lack of Deterrent	14	4.0
Attitudes of Victims	10	2.9
Nature	5	1.4
Total	350	100.0

Source: Researcher's Field Work. March 2016

The Table presents the following results: 37.1% of the respondents said the inaccessible nature of the street networks within the community which prevented easy vehicular movement was the cause of the robberies. This assertion is parallel to the basic tenet of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) practitioners and consultants which is: "the proper design and effective use of the built environment can lead to a reduction in the fear and incidence of crime, and an improvement in the quality of life" (Crowe, 2000: 46). The road networks within the community were in a deplorable state during the period of the field work of the study, and it was worse when it rained. The Member of Parliament for the area confirmed the view of this section

of members of the community when he said in an interview with Joy FM that “the bad nature of the road accounted for the inability of the police to reach the residents on time during an attack by the robbers”³⁴

Kwadwo³⁵, a victim Participant reiterated that “the attacks were at their peak in August, a rainy period, which worsened the deplorable state of the access routes in the community. This made it difficult for the police get to the houses which were under attack when called”.

The police records on the incidents of armed robbery in 2015 also confirmed the above assertions. From the police records, July, August and September which is the rainy period had the highest recorded cases of armed robbery in the community, which were 6,6 and 5 respectively (Ngleshie Amanfro District Divisional Police Monthly Report). The officer in charge of crime supported this assertion when he mentioned during the in-depth interview, as one of the key informants of the study, that “the IGP gave us motorbikes to enable us to patrol the community at night due to the nature of the roads in the community, as part of the strategies to bring the robbery situation under control”.

From the table, 26.3% of the respondents indicated that the cause of the frequent robberies in the community was unemployment due to limited job opportunities in the community. In other words, the unemployed youth in the community are influenced by the instinct of survival to engage in crime in order to earn a living. Although the association between unemployment and crime is an ongoing debate a number of studies exist in favor of this relationship. Shaw and McKay found in a study that high unemployment has a crime producing effect in some societies (Siegel, 1998). Menard & Elliott (1990) also asserted that “crime rate increases when a large groups or cohorts of

³⁴ Myjoyonline.com, 24/08/2015

³⁵A Pseudonym

people of the same age compete for relatively scant resource” (p. 249). Aaltonen et al. (2013), further, reported that young males commit more crime when they are unemployed. Therefore, the view that unemployment was a contributing factor to the robberies in the Amanfro community shared by some members of the community is parallel to and adds to the views of the scholars who assert that there is a significant relationship between unemployment and crime. Nevertheless, a study which will solicit the views of the Amanfro robbers who were arrested will give a better insight on this subject matter, especially, in the context of Amanfro.

The table also indicates that 12.0% of the respondents said the robbery situation in the community is due to a rise in the size of the population of the community, with most of the new members being immigrants and intra-migrants. Thomas & Znaniecki (cited in Traub & Little, 1975) asserted that social disorder happens when a new idea or value is introduced into a society and has not been properly incorporated into the host social order. This occurs usually when there is a massive immigration as a result of which traditional norms lose their control on the migrant population, and (to some extent) on the native population. When the composition of a society is changing its members develop a behavior that frees them from obedience of the social norms. It is mainly during the period of sociocultural change that social disorganization or deviant behavior is apt to be most widespread and intense (Traub & Little, 1975). The above assertion may be what the community of Amanfro might have experienced. The population of the community started increasing from 1993 when people who were not part of the community started acquiring plots of land for estate developments according to one of the key Informants of the study, and the influx of migrants into the community. These gradually changed their simple society into a complex one in which traditional norms lost their influence (Macdonis, 2001).

Although the relationship between crime rate and population size is debatable Nolan (2004) proved statistically that population size has a significant relationship with violent and property crime rates, and further stated that it is dependent on the jurisdiction under consideration. On the other hand, Camarota & Vaughan (2009), like Lee & Martinz (2009) and others, assert that it is erroneous to assume that immigrants are more prone to crime than other groups, although immigrant incarceration rates are high in some populations, because there is no clear evidence to support it. However, they stated further that it will also be a mistake to conclude that immigrants have no significant influence on crime rates since newer data available as a result of better screening of the incarcerated population suggests that immigrants are responsible for a significant number of crimes. Therefore, the view of some community members of Amanfro that an increment in the size of the population of the community due to migration as a contributing factor to the frequent robberies in the community cannot be dismissed, although it may need a further interrogation since the debate on the relationship between crime rate and population size is yet to be settled.

The next predisposing factor of the frequent robberies in the community according to 7.1% of the respondents is School Dropout. There are a number of factors which may account for why an individual may drop out of school. Among these factors are poverty, Low IQ, and Attention Deficit (AD) / Hyperactivity Disorder (HD), which manifest during childhood in frequent failure to finish a task, inability to sustain interest in play activities, sustain concentration on schoolwork or related tasks, and easily distracted. These can result in below average performance in written and verbal cognition abilities which have been established to be a possible onset of, and persistence in a delinquent or criminal career (Maguin et al., 1993; Ngwu, 2016).

School dropouts may not have the employable skills in order to engage in a gainful employment but have the desire to achieve the cherished and acceptable values of society, and the monetary

and material rewards which come with the achievement of these values. In such an anomic situation - the discrepancy between means and ends, Merton says such cohort will adapt to their circumstances by evolving (innovate) their own means aside the acceptable means defined by society, which will include what is commonly termed as crime, in order to achieve the cherished and acceptable values of society and the rewards which come with their attainment (Traub & Little 1975; Baumer, 2007; Zembroski, 2011; Ziyanak & Williams, 2014). A section of the community members of Amanfro held the view that some youth in the community were experiencing anomie, as explained by Merton, because they do not have formal education as a result of dropping out of school, and do not also have employable skills but would like to be wealthy, therefore, they engaged in the armed robberies in order to fulfil their desires for wealth acquisition.

A key informant reiterated that most of the young guys in the community are not working because they do have education, and have no employable skills. What makes their situation worse is that some have wives who are teenagers and unemployed. So, they do not have many options than to engage in crime order to earn a living.

Invisibility is indicated by 6.3% of the respondents as a cause of the robberies in the community. Situational crime prevention asserts that crime can be checked through the manipulation and management of the environment of a possible target of a crime to have a direct effect on the offenders' perception of increased risks and decreased opportunities. Street lighting makes the environment of a potential target of crime visible at night, and increases an offender's perceived risks of being seen, recognized, reported, and interrupted or apprehended. The deterrent effect of visibility has been confirmed by a number of studies (Bennett, 1990; Ramsay, 1991a; Painter & Farrington, 2001; Welsh & Farrington, 2008).

Abena,³⁶ a victim participant, mentioned that “our street is frequently used as a route by the robbers because it has no streetlights and the darkness serves as a cover for the robbers”.

Kwaku³⁷, another victim participant, also reiterated that “the robbers disconnected the lighting system in our house when they attacked us in order to avoid being identified by us”. The robbers, for the 6.3% respondents mentioned earlier, took advantage of the lack of streetlights at most parts of the community which shielded them from recognition and subsequent arrest to frequently attack members of the community.

“At Amanfro robbers can take about three hours to break into homes because they are confident that not a single policeman will show up, a resident ... has been explaining”³⁸ The Lack of Deterrent was also indicated by 4.0% of the respondents as a contributing factor to the frequent robberies in the community. Deterrent theory posits that a potential offender will desist from crime because of the fear of punishment (Siegel, 1998; Lhayea, 2016). But this will work if the likelihood of being apprehended is very high; which is the crux of the point of the respondents who believed the lack of deterrent was a cause of the Amanfro armed robberies. Rational choice theory says that before a person commits a crime he or she will evaluate the possibility of detection and apprehension (Van Gelder, 2013; Taylor, 2016). For example, burglars indicated in a study cited in Siegel (1998) that they will forgo the intent to engage in a burglary if they suspect that the police will patrol the neighborhood of the target. Lhayea (2016) also found that residential armed robbers do not carry out their attack when a capable guardian is present. Therefore, the absence of a capable guardian against crime to provide deterrence and increase the perceived risk of engaging in armed

³⁶A Pseudonym

³⁷ A Pseudonym

³⁸ Myjoyonline.com, 28/08/2015.

robbery in the community of Amanfro, according to this section of the community members, added to the opportunities of the robbers to attack the residents of the community.

From the Table 2.9 % of the respondents also believed that the attitudes of the victims were the cause or contributed to their victimization. Evidences from rational choice perspective show that criminals locate their targets. Routine Activity says, as people go about their daily activities, traveling, go to school or work, interact with one another and engage in conversations potential criminals identify their targets (Siegel, 1998; Gieryn, 2000; Raynald, 2009). Lifestyle theory also posits that the probability of becoming a victim of crime is dependent on how exposed one is to the offender with reference to the lifestyle of the potential victim. A section of the community members of Amanfro had the conviction that the robbers knew when most of their targets received money through the conversations the victims might have had with other people or through how they behaved in their interactions before the attacks.

Ama³⁹, a victim Participant, recalled that “my husband received MTN mobile money transfer in the evening, which he was to use to pay our son’s medical bill the next day. The robbers came at midnight asking for that very money”.

“On the very day I went for money from my daughter to prepare ‘zomi’ [a type of palm oil] for her the robbers attacked me around 1:30 AM for the money” (Maame Afia⁴⁰, a victim participant). How the robbers got to know when their victims received money and attacked will need a further interrogation.

³⁹ A Pseudonym

⁴⁰ A Pseudonym

Some 12.0% of the respondents indicated that the robbery situation was due to Anonymity. They were of the view that the increasing presence of strangers whom they did not know their occupations and would be difficult to identify when seen in the community, for them, was the root cause of the armed robberies. “Some landlords do not occupy their buildings and have rented them out to total strangers, and you do not see these tenants do anything aside party. Tell me, what do they do for a living?” (Kwabena⁴¹, a victim participant).

Finally, on the predisposing factors, 1.4% of the respondents held that the robbers were criminals by Nature. They rob and steal because it is a nature they were born with. Early biological scholars believed that criminality run through families, i.e., criminal qualities are genetically based or inherited (Ngwu, 2016; Shamalleger & Volk, 2005). So, these robbers are perhaps acting out their inherent qualities. This notion is well expressed in the words of Mullins (1947: 5):

It is known that different individuals start with diverse sets of these substances[genes] and that the way a given individual develops, what he becomes, what characteristics he gets, what peculiarities he shows, depend, other things being equal, on what set of these substances he starts with.... Some combinations of them give imperfect individual, feeble-minded, deformed, and monstrous. Others give normal individuals, others superior individuals. There are combinations giving very intermediate type, some yielding slightly imperfect individuals, lazy, stupid or silly, and there are combinations that produce genius.

⁴¹ A Pseudonym

5.3.1. Hypothesis Two

Hypothesis Two: “The less accessible a community is to the security forces the higher the probability of frequent armed robbery in the community”.

Null Hypothesis (H_0): There is no significant relationship between the accessibility of a community to security forces and frequent armed robbery in the community.

Alternate Hypothesis (H_1): There is a significant relationship between the accessibility of a community to security forces and the frequent armed robbery in the community. A cross tabulation of community accessibility and victimization rate was used to test the hypothesis.

Table 4. 13: Road Accessibility and Victimization Rate Cross tabulation

Road Accessibility	Victim		Total
	Yes	No	
Yes	45.6%	54.4%	57
No	46.3%	53.7%	307
Total	46.2%	53.8%	364

Source: Researcher’s Field Work. March 2016

The cross tabulation shows that 45.6 % of the 57 respondents who said that the access routes in the community are accessible, also indicated that they were victims of the robbery attacks in the community. Whiles 54.4% out of this 57 who indicated that the access routes were accessible also said they were not victims. On the other hand, 46.3% out of 307 respondents indicated that the access routes in the community are not accessible, and also that they were victims. Whiles 53.7% also indicated that the routes are not accessible, and they were not victims of the robberies in the community. Based on this cross tabulation a Chi-Square test was run in order to establish if there is any correlation between routes accessibility in the community and the community’s armed robbery victimization rate.

Test Hypothesis

Guide to Decision: The standard rule is to fail to reject the null hypothesis (H_0) if the P value which is also referred to as Type one error is less than 0.05. But if the P value is equal to or greater than 0.05, you reject H_0 (Tannor, 2014).

Table 4. 14: Chi- Square Test

Test	Value	df	P. value
Pearson Chi-Square	0.008	1	.929

The calculated value from the Chi-Square table is 0.008; the degree of freedom is 1, and the P value is 0.929. The study rejected the null hypothesis because the P value (0.929) from the table is greater than 0.05. Therefore, there is a significant relationship between the inaccessibility of a community to security forces and the rate of armed robbery or crime victimization in a community. This finding supports the second principle of the situational crime prevention theory which asserts that a potential offender will commit a crime if he/she can escape being caught based on the prevailing circumstances in the immediate environment of the target (Lester, 1991; Clarke, 1980; 1997; Ekblom & Tilley, 2000; Lhayea, 2016). The significant relationship between the inaccessibility of a community to security forces and the rate of armed robbery or crime victimization in a community also confirms the assertion of the conceptual framework of study which is, criminal opportunities like easy target, less effort required, profitability of the criminal act and a lower possibility of arrest, which in the Amanfro context was augmented by the absence of the primary capable guardians against crime, the police, due to inaccessibility of the various areas within the Amanfro community, motivate the potential offender or a criminal to engage in crime. Therefore reduce the criminal opportunities, and in relation to this hypothesis, by making the areas within the community accessible to the security forces or the police and the robberies

will be controlled, and this actually happened when the police patrols which was facilitated by the use of motorbikes, and other crime opportunities reducing measures were introduced in the Amanfro community.

4.4. FINDINGS ON SITUATIONAL MEASURES IMPLEMENTED BY HOUSEHODS/ INDIVIDUALS

“Community action in crime prevention is structured around the participation of community members.... Further, individual residents are... encouraged to take defensive action by installing their own security measures” (Abotchie, 2012: 81).

Table 4. 15: Individual Measures

Measures	Frequency	Percent
Change of Doors	28	7.6
Change of Windows	20	5.4
Change of Locks	23	6.3
Installation of Iron Bars/ Gate	243	66.0
Use of Barbed Wire	15	4.1
Dogs	29	7.9
Installation of more lights(bulbs)	10	2.7
Total	368	100.0

Source: The Researcher’s field Work. March 2016

For individual households and situational measures implemented, Table 4.15 shows that 66.0 percent of the respondents indicated that they installed iron bars or gates as a measure to protect their homes against a possible armed robbery attack; 7.9 percent bought dogs; 7.6 percent changed their doors; 6.3 percent changed their locks; 5.4 percent changed their windows; 4.1 percent

installed barbed wires, and 2.7 percent installed more bulbs to increase visibility as measure to keep the robbers off.

The iron gates and bars, change of doors, change of locks, change of windows and the barbed wires are for target hardening, the first on the list of situational crime prevention techniques (Clarke, 1997). Hardening is the process of increasing the security of a property or a possible target of crime to make it more difficult or highly impossible for a successful crime (e.g., burglary or residential robbery) execution. It is to obstruct the offender and increase the effort needed to get to the target (Challinger, 1991; Bridgeman, 1997; Newton et al., 2008). A good number of evidences exist (Challinger, 1991; Bridgeman, 1997; Newton et al., 2008; Owusu et al., 2015; Lhayea, 2016) on the implementation of target hardening strategies as a crime prevention measure and their effectiveness. Owusu et al. (2015), for example, reported that in rising to the occasion of rising crime rates the Ghanaian population he studied fortified their houses through the “adoption of target hardening measures such as high walls, metal burglar-proofed windows and doors, security doors/special door locks and so on” (P.249). On the effectiveness of these measures Lhayea (2016) from interviewing convicted residential robbers revealed that motivated robbers were deterred from violating hardened targets when a capable guardian is present. This shows that the target hardening measures adopted by some individuals in the Amanfro community amidst the adoption of the establishment of a police post, police patrols and a community watch scheme at the community level, were likely to have protected the houses of these individuals from attacks from the armed robbers.

4.5. DATA ON COMMUNITY SITUATIONAL CONTROL MEASURES

The question on measures implemented by the community to check the armed robberies was informed by fourth objective of the study.

Crime for Durkheim has all the qualities of a normal phenomenon of the social life. It becomes abnormal only when is it in excess or more than a level that is impossible to fix in conformity with the preceding rules. Thomas and Znaniecki in agreement with Durkheim say that if the violation of the rules of a society has the potential to disorganize the society, and the continuous perpetuation of a particular violation will lead to a total decay a collective action is needed from the members of the society to counter the deviant behavior and maintain stability. The first step to counter the deviant behavior is to reinforce the existing rules by sanctioning. When the reinforcement of the existing institutions or rules are unable to restore stability a new scheme or institution (like a community watch scheme is formed in a situation of frequent armed robberies attacks in a community) in order to meet the requirement to restore stability. (Traub & Little, 1975; Miika et al., 2013; Ziyanak & Williams, 2014). Table 4.16 presents the various measures the community members of Amanfro community at the community level implemented to bring the robbery attacks under control when the existing institutions could not help to bring the attacks under control.

Table 4.16: Community Measures

Measures	Frequency	Percent
Neighborhood Watch Committee	190	51.8
Installation of Streetlights	25	6.8
Establishment of Police Post	55	15.0
Introduction of Police Patrols	94	25.6
Public Education	2	.5
Others	1	.3
Total	367	100.0

Source: The Researcher's field Work. March 2016

From Table 4.16 the majority (51.8%) of the respondents indicated that the whole community came together to form a Neighborhood Watch Committee (a natural surveillance situational crime prevention measure, Ramsay & Newton, 1991a; Welsh & Farrington, 2008) in order to bring the frequent armed robberies in the community under control; 25.6 % said Police Patrol was introduced in the community as one of the measures, and 15.0% indicated that the community established a Police Post (the Police Post and Police Patrol are also formal surveillance situational crime prevention measures, Kenneth & Tunnel, 1992 cited in Siegel, 1998; Lhayea, 2016). The Neighborhood Watch Scheme, Police Post and Police Patrol also fall under what the Routine Activities theory refers to as capable guardians against crime which when absent crime will occur, and when present and functional crime or armed robbery may not occur (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Felson & Boba, (eds.), 2009; Hollis, et al., 2013; Lhayea, 2016), hence, their implementation by the Amanfro community members as a preventive measure against the robberies in their community. For example, Lhayea (2016) in a study confirmed that the presence of a capable guardian will deter residential armed robbers from carrying out their criminal intent. Foster et al. (2010) reported from a study that the introduction of a territorial guardianship through the establishment of a police post and police patrols significantly reduces the levels of fear of crime in a community. Akulugu⁴² (a survey respondent) stated that “when the police started their patrols the robberies disappeared, but isolated cases started to occur when they reduced the frequency of the patrols”.

Installation of Streetlights (a natural surveillance situational crime prevention measure) was indicated by 6.8% of the respondents as a measure by the community to check the robbery attacks. This measure ensures crime control by providing visibility and enhances natural surveillance, these

⁴²A Pseudonym

provide ample opportunity for legitimate users of a facility engaged in their normal activities to observe the space around them which sends a signal to a potential offender that he/she is being watched (Ramsay, 1991a; Mayhew, 1979; Coleman, 1985; Bennett & Lynch, 1990; Painter & Farrington, 2001). Welsh & Farrington (2008) in reviewing the available researched evidence on the effects of improved street lighting on crime in public space concluded that improved street lighting significantly reduces crime.

From the table, 0.5% of the respondents said that the community used public education (facilitating compliance situational crime prevention measure) as a measure to check the robberies. Lifestyle theory says the probability of becoming a victim of crime is dependent on how exposed one is to the offender. The exposure is determined not only by age, race, place of residence etc., but also by the lifestyle and the security consciousness of the potential victim. It implies that a change in a lifestyle, pattern of activities and security consciousness can reduce the risk of victimization, especially, when a person or a community is repeatedly subjected to victimization. One of the means to get people to change their lifestyle is through education and sensitization which the community adopted (Farrel & Pease, 1993; Clarke, 1997; Gieryn, 2000).

Finally, the table indicates that 0.3(%) of the respondents said other measures not mentioned were employed by the community to check the frequent armed robberies in the community.

4.6. FINDINGS ON THE EFFICACY OF THE COMMUNITY SITUATIONAL CONTROL MEASURES

The question of the effectiveness of the measures implemented by the community is very relevant as it relates to the fourth objective of the study which was to find out the effectiveness of the situational measures which were implemented at the communal and individual levels to check the robberies in the community.

The effectiveness of these communal measures will be looked at in the context of the community fear of crime level from the perspective of Social Ecology since the “perception of crime and victimization produce neighborhood fear” (LaGrange et al., 1992: 318). Directly or indirectly experiencing or witnessing victimization in one’s neighborhood can augment the individual’s level of anxiety and fear as the criminal act will be a real and manifest event in one’s psyche (Greenberg 2001; Ferguson & Mindel, 2007). When crime rate is high in a given community fear levels reach dramatic heights (Wilcox & Kenneth, 1996; Warr, 2000), and an effective crime preventive measure should be able to bring about a reduction in the level of fear in the community under siege to an appreciable level (Painter & Farrington, 2001; Lorenc et al., 2013).

Table 4. 17: Level of Fear before and after the Measures

Level of Fear Before the Measures			Level of Fear After Measures		
Level of Fear	Frequency	Percent	Level of Fear	Frequency	Percent
Felt Safe	120	32.6	Felt safe	225	61.1
Some How Safe	3	.8	Some How Safe	19	5.2
Not Safe	245	66.6	Not Safe	124	33.7
Total	368	100	Total	368	100

Source: The Researcher’s field Work. March 2016

The table presents levels of fear of the respondents with respect to the robbery situation, before and after the situational crime prevention measures were implemented by the community. To begin with, 32.6% of the respondents said they felt safe before the measures were implemented while 61.1% indicated that they felt safe after the measures were implemented. On the other hand, 66.6% indicated that they did not feel safe before the measures were implemented, while 33.7% indicated that they did not feel safe even after the measures were implemented. Therefore, looking at the difference between the before and after the measures were implemented figures those who said they felt safe in the community increased by 28.5% after measures were implemented. While those who said they did not feel safe in the community decreased by 32.5(%) after the measures were implemented. This means that after the measures were implemented those who felt safe and those who did not feel safe had a positive change in relation to the levels of fear of more than 10%. According to Painter & Farrington (2001) a change of 10% in a sample (n) with respect to the effectiveness or otherwise of a crime control measure is enough basis to make a valid conclusion. Therefore, the community situational crime prevention measures can be said to have been effective.

4.7. FINDINGS ON THE EFFICACY OF THE INDIVIDUAL SITUATIONAL CONTROL MEASURES

In line with the fifth objective of the study, the effectiveness of the individual measures was verified, using the level of fear of crime approach (Painter & Farrington, 2001; Lorenc et al., 2013).

Table 4. 18: At Night before Measures

Level of Fear	Frequency	Percent
Felt Safe	69	18.8
Not Safe	299	81.3
Total	368	100.0

Source: The Researcher's field Work. March 2016

Table 4. 19: At Night after Measures

Level of Fear	Frequency	Percent
Felt Safe	181	49.2
Somehow Safe	27	7.3
Not Safe	160	43.5
Total	368	100.0

Source: The Researcher's Field Work. March 2016

Table 4. 18 shows that 18.8 percent of (n-368) the respondents indicated that they felt safe before the implementation of the situational measures. Whereas Table 4.19 shows that 49.2 percent of n-368 indicated that they felt safe after the measures were implemented, which is an increment of 30.4 percent in the percentage (18.8%) of those who said they felt safe before the measures were implemented. Those who said they did not feel safe before the implementation of the measures from Table 4.18 formed 81.3 percent of n-368. While those who did not feel safe after the measures were implemented from Table 4.19 formed 43.5% of n-368, which is also an indication of a reduction of 37.8 percent in relation to those who did not feel safe before the measures were implemented. The felt safe and did not feel safe groups therefore had positive changes (in relation to the sample size and their levels of fear) of 30.4 percent and 37.8 percent respectively in relation to the before and after the measures were implemented. These changes in the samples are more

than the 10% which Painter & Farrington (2001) assert is enough to conclude that a crime prevention measure has been effective. On this basis, the individual measures can also be said to have been effective against the armed robbery attacks.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

5.0. Introduction

This final and last chapter contains a brief overview of the study, a summary of the major findings, the conclusion and the policy implications of the findings, and some recommended areas for further research.

Situational Crime Prevention departs radically from much of the documented crime prevention practices in its orientation (Clarke, 1980; Clarke & Mayhew, 1980). Proceeding from an analysis of the circumstances giving rise to specific kinds of crime, it introduces discrete managerial and environmental change to reduce the opportunity for those crimes to occur. Thus, it is focused on the settings for crime, rather than upon those committing criminal acts. It seeks to forestall the occurrence of crime, rather than to detect and sanction offenders. It seeks not to eliminate criminal or delinquent tendencies through improvement of society or its institutions, but to make criminal action less attractive to offenders. (Clarke, 1997:2).

This study explored the Situational Crime Prevention measures which were implemented by the community members of Ngleshie Amanfro to control the armed robbery incidents which emerged in the community and the effectiveness or otherwise of these measures against the robbery attacks in the community. In relation to this objective the study had some specific objectives which were to identify the other common crimes in the community aside the armed robberies, ascertain the factors which contributed to the armed robbery attacks in the community, identify the Situational Crime Prevention measures the community members implemented to bring the robbery situation

under control, and ascertain the effectiveness of the measures against the robbery attacks in the community.

The study sampled 380 respondents and 35 participants for the quantitative and qualitative studies respectively. Stratified sampling procedure was used to select the 380 respondents (who were heads of their individual households) for the quantitative study, and the participants (35) for the qualitative study were also purposively selected. The first 30 were victims of the robbery attacks in the community and the additional five were key informants from the leadership of the community. A questionnaire was used to collect the quantitative data, while an in-depth interview was conducted to collect the qualitative data using an interview guide. The data collection and analyses were done concurrently since the concurrent triangulation mixed method model was the research design used for the study.

5.1. Conclusions based on my specific objectives

In relation to the first objective of the study, aside the armed robbery which was seen as the most common crime in the community, especially by the community members of Amanfro, other crimes which were found to be present in the community were burglary, petty stealing, rape, substance abuse, attempt to steal, assault, threat of harm, threat of death, causing unlawful damage to property, offensive conducts, inducing tenant to quit, trespassing, possession of fake currency, disturbing public peace, act of tendering and impersonation. What made the armed robbery **stand out** among all the offenses in the community was the high level of fear it generated in the community which heightened the collective consciousness of the community members against it.

Based on the second objective of the study the inaccessible nature of the road networks within the community which prevented easy vehicular movement which enabled the robbers to escape arrest,

the lack of deterrence or the absence of a capable guardian against crime, poor street lighting systems, population surge, unemployment, anonymity, and the lifestyle of the victims (e.g., keeping money in the house) were found to be the predisposing factors of the armed robberies in the Ngleshie Amanfro community. Among these factors the absence of a capable guardian against crime and the inaccessible nature of the streets in the community were the prime factors which augmented the opportunities for the robbers to successfully execute their attacks. The robbers usually attacked their victims at home between the hours of 12: 00 A.M. and 3:00 A. M., and they were after monetary reward.

Identifying the situational measures the individuals in the Amanfro community adopted against a likely robbery attack was the focus of the third objective of the study, and target hardening, specifically, the installation of Iron Bars and Gates were found to be the most common situational measures which were adopted by the individuals against a likely victimization. From this finding of the study and the findings of other studies on crime prevention in Ghana (Owusu et al., 2015; Lhayea, 2016) target hardening (the installation of Iron Bars and Gates) appears to be the most common and readily available situational measure to the Ghanaian public. Other target hardening measures which were adopted on a minimal scale were the Change of Doors, Change of Windows, Change of Locks and the installation of Barbed Wires. A hand full also installed more bulbs in order to improve visibility, and a few more also bought dogs. These measures, as the fifth objective of the study was interested in ascertaining, were found to be effective since they reduced the levels of the fear of a possible successful victimization and the rate of the attacks. Nevertheless, the effectiveness of these measures adopted by the individuals were facilitated by the presence of the capable guardians against crime through the establishment of a police post, the introduction of a police patrols and the formation of a neighborhood watch scheme at the communality level.

Moreover, the adoption of these measures by the individuals in the community was not influenced by their income levels but by their instincts for survival.

Ascertaining the situational measures adopted at the community level against the robberies in the Amanfro community was the focus of the fourth objective of the study. In this regard, a Neighborhood Watch Scheme, the Installation of Streetlights, the Establishment of a Police Post, the Introduction of Police Patrols, and Public Sensitization were the measures implemented at the community level to check the robberies, and, in relation to the fifth objective, these measures brought the armed robbery situation in the community under control.

Finally, the effectiveness of the Situational Crime Prevention measures in the developing world is not in doubt since the situational measures which were implemented by the community members of Amanfro to reduce the robbery opportunities of the robbers achieved the purpose for which they were implemented. Moreover, from the Amanfro experience, a single situational crime prevention measure is not adequate to protect a community from armed robbery victimization unless the combination of several situational measures among which the presence of a capable guardian against crime is inevitable. Therefore, the core hypothesis of the Situational Crime Prevention concept which says that the commission of a crime is dependent on the availability of criminal opportunities and not on criminal dispositions, so reduce criminal opportunities by implementing situational preventive measures and the occurrence of crime will reduce, an assertion which is also captured in the conceptual framework of the study, was found to be valid in the Ngleshie Amanfro context.

5.4. Policy Implications

In order to keep crime in check, especially, armed robberies in communities, stakeholders should not underestimate the role of a well-planned community with motorable roads to facilitate easy access to the various localities within the community.

Keeping money in the house contributes to residential armed robbery victimization, therefore, policies should be implemented to make saving with financial institutions more attractive in order to reduce the risk of residential armed robbery victimization, especially, in developing countries like Ghana where most people do not have much incentives to keep their monies at the bank.

The role of a capable guardian against crime is inevitable in crime prevention, especially in the prevention of residential armed robberies. This role is played, foremost, by the state police institutions in most of the developing world, therefore, the resourcing of the police in terms of personnel and logistics should be paramount to stakeholders in the developing the world. The police at Amafro could not go to the rescue of victims during a robbery when called because the police did not have the personnel and the suitable means of transport. They were able to do so after their number had been increased from 8 to 30, and the IGP had given them motorbikes to enable them move easily within the community due to the nature of the street networks in the community. The attitude of being reactive and not proactive always obstructs crime prevention and control efforts, and it must be avoided if the fight against the rebels of society is to be won.

A second look at how victims of crime are helped to deal with the aftermath of victimization in the developing world, and Ghana (to be precise) will be beneficial. There seem to be inadequate measures in place to help victims deal with the aftermath of victimization in the country and those existing seem not to be functional. This situation may not be different in other developing countries. Most of the victims of the robberies among the population the study under consideration

studied suffered injuries which they had to treat at a cost without any assistance. Aside the loss of property and job a victim participant of the study three months after victimization was still in a state of fear and sleepless nights, and had no assistance to deal with it.

5.5. Areas for Further Research

In order to have a better insight on the effectiveness of the situational measures which were implemented by the community member of Amanfro to bring the armed robbery situation under control a further study should be conducted from the perspective of the Amanfro robbers who were arrested.

A study which will investigate the facilities available to help victims of violent crimes to deal with the aftermath of victimization in the developing world, with Ghana in focus, will be commendable.

There is the need for more studies to be conducted on the relationship between bad road networks and crime victimization rates since the relationship between these two variables are partially ignored by most environmental criminologists.

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APPENDIX: A – QUESTIONNAIRE

“SITUATIONAL CRIME PREVENTION AT NGLESHIE AMANFRO: THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY”

I am an M. Phil student from the department of Sociology, University of Ghana, conducting a research on the above stated topic. Answer the questions by ticking [] the options which closely correspond to your views, and where spaces are provided, write your answer(s) in the space. This research is purely an academic exercise and every information you will give will be used only for the research work and will not be shared with any person without any role in the research project. All the respondents and their responses will be treated with the utmost anonymity and confidentiality.

Section 1: Demographics

1.1. What is the name of your area of residence?

1.2. Type of Housing: i. Compound House [] ii. A Walled House []

iii. Self-Contained [] v. Single Room/Unit []

1.2.1. Type of Ownership: i. Personally Owned [] ii. Tenant [] iii. Family House []

vi. Others (Specify).....

1.2.2. Number of persons in the House.....

1.2.3. i. Number of Males in the House ii. Number of Females in the House.....

1.3. Sex: i Male [] ii. Female []

1.4. Age.....

1.5. Relationship Status: i. Single [] ii. Married [] iii. Others (specify).....

1.6. Level of education: i. Basic [] ii. Secondary [] iii. Tertiary []

iv. No Formal Education [] v. Others (Specify).....

1.7. Occupational Status: i. Employed ii. Unemployed

1.8. Which of these best describes your occupation/profession?

i. Teacher [] ii. Lawyer [] iii. Doctor [] iv. Nurse [] v. Businessman []

vi. Businesswoman [] v. Petty Trader []

vi. Others (Specify).....

1.9. Level of monthly Income: i. Below 500 [] ii. 500 – 1000 [] iii. 1500 – 2000 []

iv. 2500– 3000 [] v. Above 3000 []

Section 2: Crime Situation in the Community

2.1. Have you ever been attacked by the armed robbers?

i. Yes [] ii. No [] (*If No skip to 2.2*)

2.1.1. Where did the incident occur? i. At home [] ii. Someone else's home []

iii. Neighborhood [] iv. Workplace [] v. On the Highway []

Others (Specify).....

2.1.2. At what time of the day?

2.2. Which of these crimes are committed frequently in the community?

i. Armed Robbery [] ii. Burglary [] iii. Motor Vehicle theft [] iv. Theft from Motor Vehicle [] v. Theft of Motor Vehicle Parts [] vi. Rape []

vii. Substance Abuse [] viii. Others (Specify).....

2.2.1. How often do people experience the crime selected above in the community?

i Once a Week [] ii. Twice a Week [] iii Once in Two Weeks []

iv. Others (Specify)..... v. I Don't Know []

2.3. Is armed robbery is a problem in the community? i. Yes [] ii. No []

2.3.1. Please explain your response.....

.....

2.4. Do you personally know anybody who was attacked by the robbers?

i. Yes [] ii. No [] (*If No skip to 2.6*)

2.5. Where did the incident occur? i. At home [] ii. Someone else's home []

iii. Neighborhood [] iv. Workplace [] iv. On the Highway []

v. Others (Specify).....

2.5.1. At what time of the day did the incident happen?

2.6. Which of these weapons did the robbers use in their operations?

- i. Knife [] ii. Gun [] iii Machete [] iv Pinch Bar []

2.7. Which of the following ordeals did the robbers subject their victims to?

- i. Assaulted/beaten [] ii. Hurt/wounded [] iii. Raped [] iv. Killed []
iv. Others (Specify).....

2.8. What valuables did the robbers usually take from their victims?

- i. Motor Vehicle [] ii. Motorbike [] iii. Money [] iv. Computer/Other Electronic Gadgets []
v. Mobile Phones [] vi. Jewelry/ Wrist Watches [] viii. Others (Specify).....

2.9. Can you state some of the effects the frequent armed robbery attacks in the community on your daily activities?

.....
.....

Section 3: Predisposing Factors

3.1. Is the road networks within the community accessible?

- i. Yes [] ii. No [] (if No answer 3.2, if Yes skip to 3.4)

3.2. Does it have any influence on the armed robberies in the community? i. Yes [] ii. No []

(if Yes answer 3.3., if No skip to 3.4)

3.3. If **yes**, explain why.....

.....
.....

3.3. In your view what factors caused the frequent armed robbery attacks in the community?

i.....

ii.....

iii.....

Section 4: Community Control Measures and their Efficacy

4.1. Which of the following measures were implemented to check the armed robbery attacks in the community?

i. Neighborhood Watch Committee []

ii. New By-Laws [] (Specify).....

.....
.....

iii. Installation of more Lights in the Community []

iv Establishment of a Police Post [] v. Introduction of Police Patrols []

vi. Public Education [] vii. Bill Boards []

viii. Others (Specify).....

.....

4.1.1. Were the measures implemented because of the armed robbery attacks in the community?

- i. Yes [] ii. No []

4.2. How effective were the measures against the armed robberies in your view?

- i. Very Effective [] ii. Some How Effective [] iii Not Effective iv. I Don't Know []

4.2.1 State the reason(s) for your answer:

.....
.....

4.3. Before the measures were put in place to check armed robberies in the community did you ever feel that you could be attacked or be a victim of the armed robberies in the community at any point in time? i. Yes [] ii. No []

4.4.1. Did you feel safe going out in the night before the measures were implemented?

- i. Yes [] ii. No []

4.5. After the measures were put in place to check the armed robbery attacks in the community did you feel that you could be victimized by the armed robbery in the community at any point in time?

- i. Yes [] ii. No []

4.5.2 Did you feel safe going out in the night after the measures were put in place?

- i. Yes [] ii. No []

Section 5: Measures Implemented at the Household Level against the Armed Robberies and their Efficacy

5.1. Which of the following measures did you personally put in place in your house to protect your house against a possible armed robbery attack?

- i Change of Doors []
- ii. Change of Windows []
- iii. Change of Locks []
- iv Installation of Iron Bars/ Gate []
- v. Use of Barbed Wire []
- viii. Dogs []
- vi. The use of Private Security Guards []
- vii. Employment of a ‘Watchman’ []
- ix. Installation of Alarms []
- x. Installation of CCTV []
- xi. Installation of more Lights (bulbs) []
- xii. Others (Specify).....

5.1.1. Would you attribute your adoption of the measure(s) to the armed robbery attacks in the community? i. Yes [] ii. No []

5.2.1. Before you adopted the measure(s) selected above, did you have the feeling that you could be easily attacked in your house? i. Yes [] ii. No []

5.2.2. Did the feeling change when you finally put the measure(s) selected above in place?

i. Yes [] ii. No []

5.2.2.1. Please state the reason(s) for your answer:

.....
.....

5.2.3 Before the measure(s) above was/ were put in place did you feel safe in your house at Night?

i. Yes [] ii. No []

5.2.3 After the measure(s) above was/ were put in place did you feel safe in your house at Night?

i. Yes [] ii. No []

5.2.4. Do you think this/ these measures were effective when it comes to the protection of your household against the armed robbery attacks?

i. Yes [] ii. No []

APPENDIX: B – INTERVIEW GUIDE (VICTIM PARTICIPANTS)

Introduction

I am an M. Phil student from the department of Sociology, University of Ghana, conducting a research on the armed robbery situation which emerged in the Ngleshie Amanfro community for my thesis. I would like to know your views on the factors which contributed to the robberies, your experience in relation to your victimization by the robbers, the effects of the robbery situation on the daily activities of the members of the community, the measures the community implemented to control the robberies, and how effective these measures were against the robberies. Everything you say during this interview will only be used for the research work and will not be shared with any person without any role in the research project. Your identity will also not be revealed in order to prevent you being identified with anything you say. The conversation will be recorded to help me recall everything you say accurately. You have agreed to grant me this interview, and it will last for 35 minutes. Do you have any question before we begin the conversation?

Section 1: Demography

- 1 What is the name of your area of residence?
2. Age
3. Sex
4. Marital status
5. Level of education

6. Occupational Status

7. Do you earned a regular monthly Income? (*Probe: the amount earned as a monthly income*)

8. Type of housing (*Probe: its level of target hardening before the robbery attack*)

10. Number of persons in the house (*Probe: number of males, number of females, and their ages*)

Section 2: Crime Situation in the Community

11. Which crimes aside the armed robbery are common in the community?

12. You were a victim of the armed robberies in the community? (*Probe: were you the one attacked or you witnessed the attacked*)

13. Where did the incident occur?

14. At what time of the day?

15. Do you personally know any other person who was also attacked by the robbers?

(If Yes go to ques. 16 and 17; If No skip ques. 16 and 17)

16. Where did the incident occur?

17. At what time of the day did the incident happen?

18. Which weapons did the robbers use in their operations? (*Probe: they come with them or found them in the setting of the crime*)

19. What valuables did robbers usually take from their victims?

20. What were the effects of the robbery attack you experienced on your life?

(Probe: economic, social and psychological effects)

Section 3: Predisposing Factors

21. Is the road networks within the community accessible? *(Probe: if it had any influence on the robbery situation)*

22. In your view what other factors accounted for the frequent armed robbery attacks in the community? *(Probe: the participant should elaborate on each factor mentioned)*

Section 4: Community Control Measures and their Efficacy

23. What were some of the measures the community implemented to check armed robbery attacks?

24. Were these measures put in place specifically because of the armed robberies in the community?

25. Before the measures were put in place to check the armed robberies in the community did you ever feel that you could be attacked by the robbers at any point in time?

26. Did you feel safe going out in the night before the measures were put in place?

27. After the measures were put in place to check the armed robbery attacks did you feel that you could be attacked by the armed robbery again at any point in time?

28. Did you feel safe going out in the night after the measures were implemented?

Section 5: Measures Implemented at the Household Level against the Armed Robberies, and their Efficacy

29. What measures did you implement in your house to protect you from another robbery attack?

30. Before you adopted these measures did you have the feeling that you could be easily attacked in your house?

31. Did the feeling change when you put the measure(s) in place?

32. Do you think this/ these measures were effective when it comes to the protection of your household from another armed robbery attack? (*Probe: if yes, why; if no, why?*)

Closing questions

33. What do you want to see done in future in relation to crime prevention in the community?

34. Is there any other issue you would like me to know about which did not come up in the questions we have already considered?

APPENDIX: C – INTERVIEW GUIDE (KEY INFORMANTS)

Introduction

I am an M. Phil student from the Department of Sociology, University of Ghana, conducting a research on the armed robbery situation which emerged in the Ngleshie Amanfro community for my thesis. I would like to know your views on the factors which contributed to the robberies, the effects of the robbery situation on the daily activities of the members of the community, the measures the community implemented to control the robberies, and how effective these measures were against the robberies. Everything you say during this interview will only be used for the research work and will not be shared with any person without any role in the research project. Your identity will also not be revealed in order to prevent you being identified with anything you say. The conversation will be recorded to help me recall everything you say accurately. You have agreed to grant me this interview, and it will last for 35 minutes. Do you have any question before we begin the conversation?

Section 1: Demographics

1 What is the name of your area of residence?

2. Age

3. Sex

4. Marital status

5. Level of education

6. Occupational Status

Section 2: Crime Situation in the Community

7. In your opinion will you say that armed robbery is a problem in the community?

8. Which crimes aside the armed robberies are common in the community?

9. Do you personally know anybody who was attacked by the robbers?

(If yes go to ques. 10 and 11; If No skip ques. 10 and 11)

10. Where did the incident occur?

11. At what time of the day did the incident occur?

12. Where do the robbers usually attack their victims?

13. At what time do the robbers usually attack their victims?

14. Which weapons did the robbers use in their operations? *(Probe: they come with them or found them in the setting of the crime)*

15. What valuables did robbers usually take from their victims?

16. What were the effects of the robbery attacks on the lives of the community members? *(Probe: economic, social and psychological effects)*

Section 3: Predisposing Factors

17. Is the road networks within the community accessible? *(Probe: if it had any influence on the robbery situation)*

18. In your view what other factors accounted for the armed robbery attacks in the community? *(Probe: the participant should elaborate on each factor mentioned)*

Section 4: Community Control Measures and their Efficacy

19. What were some of the measures the community implemented to check the armed robbery attacks?

20. Were these measures put in place specifically because of the armed robberies in the community?

25. Before the measures were put in place to check the armed robberies in the community did the attitudes of the community members show that they believed any of them could be attacked at any point time in the community by the robbers?

26. Did the robbery incidents affect night activities in the community? (*Probe: before and after the measures were implemented*)

Section 5: Measures Implemented at the Household Level against the Armed Robberies and their Efficacy

29. What were some of the measures the individuals in the community implemented in their homes to beef up security against a possible robbery attack?

30. Were the measures effective in your assessment? (*Probe: its effects on the fear of victimization*)

Closing questions

31. What do you want to see done in future in relation to crime prevention in the community?

32. Is there any other issue you would like me to know about which did not come up in the questions we have already considered?