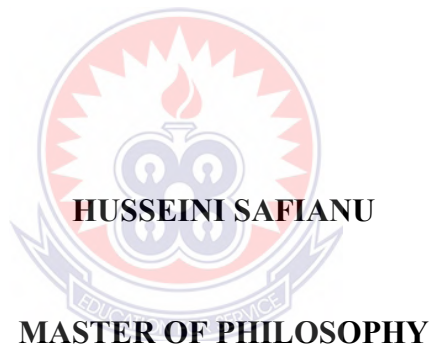


**UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA**

**STATE OF INSECURITY IN GHANA: A STUDY OF PRU WEST AND PRU  
EAST DISTRICTS**



**UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA**

**STATE OF INSECURITY IN GHANA: A STUDY OF PRU WEST AND PRU  
EAST DISTRICTS**



**A Thesis in the Department of Political Science Education,  
Faculty of Social Sciences Education, submitted to the School of  
Graduate Studies in partial fulfilment**

**of the requirements for the award of the degree of  
Master of Philosophy  
(Political Science Education)  
in the University of Education, Winneba**

**OCTOBER, 2022**

## DECLARATION

### Student's Declaration

I, Husseini Safianu, declare that this thesis, with the exception of quotations and references contained in published works, which have all been identified and duly acknowledged, is entirely my own original work, and it has not been submitted, either in part or whole for another degree elsewhere.

Signature: .....

Date: .....



### Supervisor's Declaration

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this work was supervised in accordance with the guidelines for supervision of thesis project as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.

Name: Dr. Thomas Prehi Botchway (Supervisor)

Signature: .....

Date: .....

## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to my parents Mr. Alhaji Safianu Salisu and Hajia Zakiya Adam and my beloved siblings for their support and encouragement.



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Glory and thanks be to Almighty Allah, for granting me the gift of life, strength, guidance and support to undertake this project. Jamie Dimon once observed that, “never fool yourself into believing that your success is yours alone.” This work would not have been successful without the guidance, support, and encouragement of the following personalities;

To start with, I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Thomas Prehi Botchway for his guidance and support throughout this project. I would forever be grateful for the prompt response to my calls and emails, and his constant admonishment on the need for me to stick to timelines which was very helpful in getting me finished the work ahead of scheduled. I am very grateful Dr., God Bless you.

I would like to also thank Professor Braimah Imurana Awaisu for the reading materials he lends me and his continues support and encouragement in the course of this work. I want to also express my appreciation to Professor Kwame Boafo-Arthur for his routine asking of the progress of my work which motivated me to work extra harder, and for his continues support and encouragement. I also want to say a big thank you to all the lecturers in the Department of Political Science Education for their support and encouragements.

I also want to say a big thank you to all my colleagues for the constant motivations and supports we gave to each other in the course of this work. This work would not have been completed without the support and inputs of the respondents who took time out of their busy schedules to grant me interviews in collecting data for this work. I am grateful to you all.

Lastly, I would like to thank my parents and siblings for their prayers and continues support throughout this project. May Allah bless you all.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Content</b>	<b>Page</b>
DECLARATION	iii
DEDICATION	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS	ix
ABSTRACT	x
<b>CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Background to the Study	1
1.2 Problem Statement	5
1.3 Purpose of the Study	9
1.4 Research Objectives	9
1.5 Research Questions	9
1.6 Significance of the Study	10
1.7 Limitations of the study	10
1.8 Delimitation of the Study	11
1.9 Organization of the Study	11
<b>CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW</b>	<b>13</b>
2.0 Introduction	13
2.1 Theoretical Framework	13
2.2 The Concept of Security	20
2.3 Human Security	29
2.4 Overview of personal insecurities in Africa	45
2.5 Overview of personal security in Ghana	47
2.6 Empirical Review	57
2.7. Chapter Summary	72

<b>CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY</b>	74
3.0 Introduction	74
3.1 Research Approach	74
3.2 Research design	77
3.3 Selection of the Study Area	78
3.4 Research Area	79
3.5 Sample Size and Technique	80
3.6 Sources of Data	82
3.7 Data Collection Procedure	82
3.8 Data Analysis Procedure	83
3.9 Ethical Consideration	84
3.10 Challenges of Data Collection	85
3.11 Trustworthiness of the Study	86
<b>CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION</b>	89
4.0 Introduction	89
4.1 The State of Insecurity in the Pru West and Pru East Districts	89
4.2 Major Factors of Insecurity in the Districts	100
4.3 Effects on Residents	110
4.4 Measures Taken	123
4.5 Conclusion	135
<b>CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSION</b>	136
5.0 Introduction	136
5.1 Summary of Findings	136
5.2 The Major Findings of the Study	137
5.2 Conclusions	145
5.3 Recommendations	147
5.4 Suggestions for Future Research	150
<b>REFERENCES</b>	152
<b>APPENDICES</b>	167

## LIST OF TABLES

<b>Table</b>	<b>Page</b>
1: The Seven (7) dimensions/components of human security	40
2: Some incidents of personal insecurities in Ghana	54





## LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CDG	:	Center for Democratic Governance
CG	:	Central Government
CGG	:	Commission on Global Governance
CHPS	:	Community Health Planning Service
CHS	:	Commission on Human Security
CID	:	Criminal Investigation Department
CSDS	:	Center for Strategic and Defense Studies
CTU	:	Counter Terrorism Unit
DA	:	District Assembly
DCE	:	District Chief Executive
DISEC	:	District Security Council
DOVVSU	:	Domestic Violence and Victims Support Unit
GPRTU	:	Ghana Private Road Transport Union
IGF	:	Internally Generated Fund
ICT	:	Information Communication Technology
IGP	:	Inspector General of Police
MP	:	Member of Parliament
NDC	:	National Democratic Congress
NPP	:	New Patriotic Party
UN	:	United Nations
UNDP	:	United Nations Development Program
WANEP	:	West African Network for Peacebuilding

## ABSTRACT

The absence of threat to lives and properties is central to ensuring peace and harmony, as it plays a significant role in national socio-economic development. Ghana, a country described by some scholars as a relatively peaceful country in the West African sub-region has in recent times witness a surge in threats to lives and properties mostly from crime related incidents. The Pru West and Pru East districts in the Bono East Region of the country is one of the areas where these incidents have become rife. This study sought to investigate the state of insecurity in the two districts by looking at the factors accounting for the incidents, its effects on residents and measures which have been taken to address the issue. Qualitative research approach was used to carry out the study through the aid of an interview guide. Purposive sampling technique was utilized in the selection of research participants with a sample size of 16. The study revealed that the influx of Fulani herdsmen, poverty and unemployment, inadequate police personnel in the area were some of the major factors causing insecurity in the area. This has led to increase fear and worry, slow-down of economic activities among other effects on the residents of the area. It was also revealed that some measures have been taken by key stakeholders to address the issue such as the deployment of police anti-robbery squad. The study concludes that the Pru West and Pru East districts face multifaceted insecurity issues, mostly related to violent crime and attacks manifesting in various detrimental ways for the residents. However, stakeholders are actively engaged in implementing measures to combat the menace. The study recommends the deployment of adequate police personnel, creation of employment avenues, regulating the activities of Fulani herdsmen and regular stakeholder engagements with relevant actors in the Pru West and Pru East districts to assess and strategize the security situations.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background to the Study

In a world where there is perceived suspicion and trouble, the need for security becomes a primary preoccupation of political thought and action (von Boemcken & Schetter, 2016). Insecurity and turmoil are the characteristics of world politics (Inoguchi, 2003). Conflict and insecurity have caused development initiatives to be derailed and stalled in different corners across the globe (Bryden et al., 2008). Stewart (2004), for instance observed the strong bond between security and development when he argued that security, which is at the core of human wellbeing and survival also doubles as a significant objective of development, and the absence or lack of it has adverse consequences for development. In terms of the existence and protection of the state and its people, the idea of security in international relations is crucial (Degaut, 2015). Scholars have identified a myriad of factors that affect safety and security issues among which encompass both criminal and noncriminal causes (Ceccato, 2012; Loukaitou-Sideras, 2012; Wrigley-Asante et al., 2016).

Like many other concepts, the term "security" lacks a generally accepted definition. This is because scholars, analysts, policymakers, and organizations across the world have different perspectives on the explanation of the term security (Afolabi, 2015). The word security is “most commonly associated with the alleviation of threats to cherished values; especially those which, if left unchecked, threaten the survival of a particular referent object in the near future” (Williams, 2008; Williams & McDonald, 2018). The state, an individual, or any other entity or group may be the referent object in this context. As seen in Afolabi, Ogaba (2010) defines security as something which “has to do with freedom from danger or threats to a nation's ability to protect and develop itself,

promote its cherished values and legitimate interest and enhance the well-being of its people” (2015, p. 2). On his part, Buzan (1991) explains security to be “about the pursuit of freedom from threat and the ability of states and societies to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity against forces of change, which they see as hostile” (p. 432).

The state served as the primary object of security prior to the end of the Cold War, with the majority of security studies scholarships focusing on enhancing military capabilities and protecting the state's territorial and sovereign integrity from any threats or attacks from either inside or outside the country (state-centric). Malik (2015) therefore argued that realism theory was prominent during this period and provided a strong foundation for understanding state actions and the use of force and other means to maintain security. On the contrary, the work of scholars like Ullman (1983), Mathews (1989), and Buzman (1983; 1991) challenged the state-centric emphasis on security as being too restrictive and called for the inclusion of diverse issues aside military force/power that constitute a risk/threat to people. As a result, with the end of the Cold War came a shift away from the traditional/military state-centric (realist approach) of security to a more diverse set of non-traditional military issues, such as those relating to economic, health, environmental, political, and social that threaten human (individual) lives and property in direct or indirect ways.

This shift led the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) to develop the concept of Human Security in 1994 with an emphasis on the security of the individual (human being) in relation to ‘freedom from fear’ and ‘freedom from want’ with a specific focus on seven dimensions; economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and

political security that threatens human livelihood and survival around the world. Hubert defines human security as the;

*safety of people from violent and non-violent threats... it is a condition of being characterized by freedom from pervasive threat to people's rights, their ability or even their lives. It is an alternative way of seeing the world taking people as its point of reference rather than focusing exclusively on the security of the territory or government (1999, p. 3, as cited in Afolabi, 2015, p. 4).*

From this perspective, security in the context of this study is defined by the researcher as *the absence of violent physical attacks or threats to life/lives and properties of individuals/people while insecurity is defined as the threats of violent physical attacks to life/lives and properties of individuals/people*. Violent physical attacks in this context refers to the deliberate or intentional use of force with the intent of causing harm, injury or death.

Despite a shaky start to Ghana's democratization process under the 4<sup>th</sup> Republic which saw the boycott of parliamentary elections by major contending parties in 1992, Botchway (2018) notes that there seems to be evidence that the country is on a good path towards consolidating its democracy. In the past two decades, for instance, Ghana has made enormous strides toward democratic government with peaceful alternation of power between the two main political parties i.e., National Democratic Congress (NDC) and New Patriotic Party (NPP), periodic conduct of elections, press freedom, upholding the tenets of rule of law, political participation among others. For instance, Aidoo and Botchway (2021) have observed that, electoral democracy appears to have deepened in Ghana under the current 4<sup>th</sup> Republic since 1992 with eight consecutive elections held within the period. As a result, Gyimah-Boadi rightly points out that Ghana is viewed as "a beacon of hope for democracy in Africa" (2010, p. 137). Despite the country's relative political stability and economic development, emerging and

existing security challenges possess significant threats to national peace and human security (West Africa Network for Peacebuilding – WANEP, 2019).

Incidents of security challenges such as rising violent crimes in the country have in recent times heightened the security situation with most commentary in the public saying the country is in a state of insecurity while the police service kept refuting the claims. For instance, a report by Nipah (2021) cited on *Aljazeera News online* highlighted how hundreds of opposition supporters marched through the streets of Accra demonstrating against what they described as rising insecurity and lawlessness. Again, an article in the *Ghanaian Times* (2020) also decry the state of security in the country with rising incidents of robberies and attacks on people by thugs and hoodlums across the country. Similar incidents continue to be recorded with increased reports in the media of murders, and armed robberies with some happening in broad daylight in various parts of the country. In August 2021 for instance, an international journalist was killed on the Tamale-Buipe Highway by alleged armed robbers (Nyabor, 2021).

In the Pru West and Pru East Districts, the spate of violent crime particularly armed robbery in the two districts is worrying. For instance, in March 2021, the son of the late renowned Islamic cleric, Shaykh Abdulai Maikano of Prang was murdered by unknown assailants (Ibrahim, 2021). A military officer was also killed a few weeks later by alleged armed robbers (Sabit, 2021a). These and other incidents have put fear and panic among residents within the area. In light of these circumstances, this work aims to investigate the state of insecurity in the country, with a specific focus on the Pru West and Pru East Districts in the Bono East Region which in recent times have received their share of security challenges. The study will seek to answer questions such as; what factors account for the state of insecurity in the Pru West and Pru East districts? How

does it affect the residents in the two districts? And what measures are being taken to address the menace?

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

Ghana is described by many as a relatively peaceful and stable country compared to other African states, especially those within the West African sub-region (Badong, 2009; Gyimah-Boadi, 2020; Mbowura & Alidu, 2020). Despite this enviable status, the country faces a range of emerging and existential security threats, including border security, maritime security, cyber security, illegal mining, herdsman menace, armed robbery, human trafficking, threats of terrorist and violent extremist attacks, the proliferation of arms, drug trafficking, as well as sexual, and gender-based violence among others (Nipah, 2021; Ghanaian Times, 2020; Kelly, 2019; WANEP, 2019; CSDS-Africa, 2018).

In recent times, there have been reported cases of rising robbery attacks on the forex bureau, people making transactions from banks, and mobile money vendors across the country, especially in the Greater Accra Region, where most victims have been at the mercy of criminals in broad daylight. In June 2021, for instance, a Police Constable General, Emmanuel Osei, was killed by armed robbers at James Town while transporting money in a bullion van (Lartey, 2021). Aside from rising cases of armed robbery and other related crimes, there is growing concern among many about the use of brutal force by the police and military against civilians in the country, including the killing of some protesters in Ejura, the killing of some citizens during the 2020 elections, the invasion of parliament by military officers, the brutalization of residents in Wa by the military, among others. In April, Tetteh (2021) reporting for Citi News highlighted how the Odukpong Ofaakor stool, the custodians of Kasoa, summoned all

the security service commanders in the municipality to answer questions on the state of security and crime in the municipality.

These security challenges have led to some Members of Parliament and opinion leaders calling for measures to address the issue. For instance, the MP for Wa West, Hon. Peter Lanchene Toobu, was reported to have petitioned the Speaker of Parliament over insecurity issues in the country. In an interview with Citi News, the MP said “the security situation in this country is not admirable at all. We should do something about it” (Anyorigya, 2021). Likewise, the MP for Sawla-Kalba, Andrew Dari Chiwitey, also bemoaned the state of insecurity in his constituency and wrote a letter to the Interior Minister on the issue. He identified the heightened state of armed robbery and how residents in his constituency live in fear. In the same news article, Hon. Yusif Sulemana, the MP for Bole-Bamboi, was reported to have made a similar call (Forgor, 2021). In September 2021, the MP for Manyhia North, Hon. Akwasi Konadu, also wrote an article on the rising cases of robberies in the country. He identified how, in his constituency, a resident was killed by armed robbers and also how armed robbers invaded and attacked a mobile money merchant at Bantama (Konadu, 2021).

With regards to the insecurity situation in Pru West and Pru East districts, the level of violent crime, particularly armed robbery, in the two districts is worrying. For instance, the son of late renowned Islamic cleric, Shaykh Abdulai Maikano of Prang, was murdered by unknown assailants in March 2021 (Angel Online, 2021; Ibrahim, 2021), while a military officer was also killed weeks later by alleged armed robbers (Sabit, 2021a). Commenting on the state of insecurity in the districts, the MP for Pru East, Hon. Kwabena Donkor, in a news report by [myxyzonline.com](http://myxyzonline.com) parliamentary correspondent Anim (2021), lamented over the activities of criminals in the area and



how it is affecting local business. He noted that “residents in Sene East, Sene West, Pru East, Pru West, and Atebubu-Amantin are being harassed by robbers almost every week.” The MP for Pru West, Hon. Stephen Pampin Jalulah, also made similar comments during his vetting as Deputy Roads and Highway Minister in Parliament. He complained about how residents, passengers, traders, and motorists around the districts are terrified and afraid of the insecurity situations in the area (Botaepa Daily, 2021). Furthermore, a report titled “Ghana 2020 Crime and Safety Report” identified, among others, the Atebubu-Prang-Yeji and the Prang-Abease-Kintampo Highways as flash points noted for crime-related insecurity incidents (USA Overseas Security Advisory Council, 2020). Among the notable insecurity incidents on the roads in the area were an armed robbery attack between Parambo and Kobre in the Pru East district on the Yeji Mathias Catholic Hospital ambulance, returning from a corpse deposit in Prang (Nukunu, 2021) and an incident involving the chief linguist of the Abease traditional council, who was shot dead during a robbery operation on the Prang-Abease road in the Pru West district (Adom Online, 2021), among others.

The Ghana Public Safety and Crime Report for 2021 shows a 40.8% increase in cases of violent crime in the country, with armed robbery, murder, and aggravated assault being the most reported incidents. Firearms were reportedly used in 74% of cases of armed robbery, while 20% were reported for murders, respectively (Bureau of Public Safety, 2021, p. 2). It is evident from the various incidents highlighted above that Ghana is facing threats to its peace and stability, mostly arising from violent crime-related activities.

Indeed, there have been myriad studies on security-related issues in the country. Anim (2015), for instance, did a study on Ghana’s vulnerability to the threats of domestic and

transnational terrorism. Asamoah (2019) also researched the menace of political vigilantism and how it threatened the peace and security of the country. Similarly, Asekere (2021), in a study on domesticating political vigilantism in Ghana's 4th Republic, highlights how the seed of vigilantism is sown and nurtured by political parties and the dangers it poses to the country's democratic credentials. He went on to argue that statistics released by the Ghana Police Service in the first quarter of 2019 showed a high level of insecurity in the country. This was attributed mostly to the activities of vigilante groups and has made some Ghanaians no longer trust state security apparatuses for protection. Bukari et al. (2017) conducted a study that investigated the impact of inter-ethnic chieftaincy and land conflicts on the socio-political development of Northern Ghana, while Motiwala (2017) also studied how cyber fraud is gradually becoming a threat to Ghana's security. Further, Aning (2007), among many studies on security, also did a study on emerging criminal networks within the West African sub-region with a focus on Ghana. The study delved into how issues of cyber fraud, drug trafficking, and the manufacturing of illegal arms constitute a security challenge to countries in the sub-region.

Despite these studies, the recent surge in incidents of insecurity, especially violent crime cases like armed robbery and murder, which are also major sources of insecurity, has not received much attention (Appiahene-Gyamfi, 2022) and the few ones that did mostly focused on the cities and big towns in the country (Wrigley-Asante, 2016; Oteng-Ababio et al., 2016; Bagson et al., 2021). The strategic location of the Pru West and Pru East districts in the middle belt of the country which serves as a link or transit point for motorists and traders using the Volta River to cross from the Southern-Northern (vice versa) part of the country, along with the widespread incidence of insecurity, i.e., violent crime and attacks in the area, has both local and national

implications, impacting residents as well as people from different parts of the country using these routes (i.e., Kumasi-Ejura-Atebubu-Prang-Yeji-Salaga). This study, therefore, seeks to investigate the state of insecurity in the Pru West and Pru East districts. Researching the two case studies would help policy makers and other stakeholders unravel the factors causing the menace, effects on residents in the area and measures being taken to address the problem. This would help contribute in filling the gap and also add to the body of literature on the state of insecurity (e.g., violent crime) in Ghana.

### **1.3 Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of the study is to examine the state of insecurity in the Pru West and Pru East Districts.

### **1.4 Research Objectives**

The following are the objectives that guided the research:

1. To explore the factors accounting for the state of insecurity in the Pru West and Pru East Districts.
2. To examine the effects of insecurity on the residents of Pru West and Pru East Districts.
3. To find out the measures that are being taken to address the menace.

### **1.5 Research Questions**

In order to achieve the objectives/goals of the study, the following research questions underpinned the study:

1. What factors account for the state of insecurity in the Pru West and Pru East Districts?
2. How does insecurity affect the residents in the Pru West and Pru East Districts?

3. What measures are being taken to address the menace in the Pru West and Pru East Districts?

### **1.6 Significance of the Study**

The study is significant in the following ways.

To start with, the study contributes to existing scholarly work on the subject matter by enlightening intended readers to appreciate the myriad of issues surrounding the state of insecurity from the perspective of residents/opinion leaders in the two districts. It also serves as a guide to other researchers and students who may use the work as a reference work.

Further, the outcome of the study is relevant as it helps in assisting policymakers and other relevant stakeholders formulate and implement policies aimed at dealing with the issues unearthed.

Also, the study seeks to have enhanced the academic experience of the researcher and broaden the knowledge of the researcher on the subject matter. Regarding its contribution to theory, the theories used in this study can help readers appreciate to what extent were relevant actors (e.g., central government, traditional authorities, political leadership, police personnel etc.) performing their various onus of ensuring the protection of lives and properties of people within the two districts.

### **1.7 Limitations of the study**

The topic of the study might give the impression that the work is on the general state of insecurity in the country (Ghana). However, the researcher narrowed the study to focus more on the state of insecurity in the Pru West and Pru East districts as the case studies instead of the country at large. Again, the researcher was unable to get longitudinal statistical data on violent crimes or incidence of insecurity in the two districts. Attempt

to get the data from the appropriate authorities (i.e., Police Commander and Police Inspectors) were unsuccessful after several follow-up. Also, the findings of the study were restricted to the subjective views, opinions, and perceptions of the key informants interviewed (i.e., leadership) of the people who have in-depth knowledge on the issues at stake and are aware of happenings in their respective areas.

### **1.8 Delimitation of the Study**

Due to resource constraints and time factors on the part of the researcher, the study scope was limited to only the Pru West and Pru East Districts with Prang, Abease, Yeji, and Parambo-Sawaba as the four (4) major towns considered (with two from each of the respective districts). The study also limits the number of participants to include only selected members of the traditional authorities, police personnel, assembly members, and the political heads i.e., Members of Parliament and the District Chief Executive for the two Districts. One security analyst was also included in the study participants. This was to enable the researcher to get in-depth information from these opinion leaders on the issues involved in the study.

### **1.9 Organization of the Study**

The study was organized into five chapters. Chapter One focuses on the background of the study, the research problem statement, and the research purpose statement. Objectives and research questions for the study were also captured under the chapter in addition to the significance of the study, delimitation, and limitation of the study, and organization of chapters.

Chapter Two dealt with the literature review. The chapter started with the theoretical framework underpinning the research, an overview of the concept of security, the

concept of human security and its phases, and finally a focus on the concept of personal security with an overview of Africa and Ghana.

The next item was Chapter Three which deals with the research methodology with subsections such as research approach, research design, the study area, sample size and technique, sources of data, data collection procedure, method of data analysis, and ethical consideration.

With regards to Chapter Four, the chapter focused on the findings and discussion of the study followed by a summary of the chapter. Finally, Chapter Five was on the summary of findings, conclusions, recommendations, and suggestions for future research.



## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

Reviewed literature relevant to this study is presented in this chapter. The chapter is categorized into four sections. The first deals with the theoretical framework that informs/guides the study. The second section presents the main concepts reviewed for the study i.e., security/insecurity, human security, and phases of human security. The third is an overview of personal (in)security in Africa and Ghana, and the final part deals with some empirical reviews based on the research questions.

#### **2.1 Theoretical Framework**

##### **2.1.1 Introduction**

The theoretical framework is the “blueprint or guide for research” (Grant & Osanloo, 2014, p. 12). Swanson and Chermack (2013) have argued that “the theoretical framework is the structure that can hold or support a theory of a research study” (p. 122). Thus, Adom et al. (2018) rightly observed that it is difficult for readers to ascertain the academic position and the factors underlying a researcher’s hypotheses or assertions in the absence of a theoretical or conceptual framework (p. 438).

The Securitization Theory by the Copenhagen School of Security Studies and the Social Contract Theory of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke were used for the study.

##### **2.1.2 Securitization Theory (Copenhagen School of Security Studies)**

The term ‘Copenhagen School’ refers to the label given to scholars at the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute in Denmark, prominent among which are Barry Buzan and Ole Weaver, who called for a widening of the definition of security to encompass other significant and hitherto overlooked non-military issues like environmental changes,

poverty, human rights, etc. on state security agenda instead of narrowly focusing on its military capabilities (McDonald, 2008, p. 68).

The argument of the theory is that security ought to be considered a speech act, where the main issue is not if threats are real or otherwise, but the way a particular issue is socially constructed as a threat. Securitization is seen as a speech act that must meet three requirements; i.e., “a *referent object* that is seen to be existentially threatened and have a claimed to survival; a *securitizing actor* who securitized issues by declaring something as existentially threatened and a *functional actor* who affects the dynamics of a sector” (Buzman, Weaver & Wilde, 1998, p. 36). Thus, the referent object, in this case, can be the individual, state, the environment, or any other thing that faces threats to its existence and has a legitimate claim to survival while elites like political leaders, bureaucrats, governments, lobbyists, pressure groups etcetera who are mostly not a referent object of security serve as the key actors who securitized issues (Buzman et al., 1998, p. 40). The functional actors are the ones whose actions/activities directly threaten the referent object; hence they affect the dynamics of the security sector.

Securitization involves a securitizing actor referring to an issue or actor as an ‘existential threat’ to a specific or special referent object which in turn received or results in popular legitimacy in the eyes of the relevant/desired audience (McDonald, 2008, p. 70). Thus, the issue presented as an existential threat demands/calls for emergency measures and justifying actions outside the normal bounds of political procedure and is considered more important than other issues and as such should take absolute priority (Buzan et al., 1998, pp. 23-24).

An issue becomes an existential threat, according to Buzan et al. (1994, p. 24) when it is seen as: “If we do not tackle this problem, everything else will be irrelevant because



we will not be here or will not be free to deal with it in our own way.” Hence the need for quick/emergency action to tackle the threats at hand via a ‘securitization move’ where an actor attempts to construct an issue or actor as an existential threat to a particular group through a security ‘speech act’ and if accepted as such by a relevant group/audience, it will then result in the suspension of normal politics and the use of emergency measures in responding to that perceived crisis (McDonald, 2008, pp. 68-70). Thus, Buzan et al. (1998) argue that

*a discourse that takes the form of presenting something as an existential threat to a referent object does not by itself create securitization—this is a securitizing move, but the issue is securitized only if and when the audience accepts it as such (p. 25).*

Hansen (2000, as cited in McDonald, 2008, p. 71) criticized the theory by arguing that the ultimate focus on ‘dominant voices’ by the Copenhagen School contributes to the further silencing of those already marginalized from the security debates due to emphasis attached to elites who securitized issues. Also, the idea that a securitization move is only securitized successfully after the acceptance of the target audience is seen as problematic because an issue can be considered an existential threat without necessarily having the support/approval of the target audience.

In this study, the securitization theory, typically applied at the macro-level for national security concerns such as climate change, terrorism, and migration (Brzoska, 2009; Qadri, 2020), among other issues, is uniquely operationalized at the micro-level within Pru West and Pru East districts. The focus is on understanding how incidents of insecurity, particularly violent crime, are socially constructed through speeches or calls by various stakeholders (speech acts), the acceptance of the menace as an existential threat by the populace, and the eventual use of emergency measures to help address the issue. Thus, the *referent object* in this context is the general public, i.e., ordinary

individuals whose lives and properties are threatened by the activities and actions of violent criminals who served as the *functional actors*. On the other hand, the *securitizing actors* are those who, through their speeches and calls for immediate action, securitized the insecurity menace, including traditional authorities, members of Parliament, assembly members, civil society groups, and the media, among others. This approach provides a nuanced examination of how security issues are framed and addressed at the local level, shedding light on the dynamics of securitization in response to violent crime in the study areas.

### **2.1.3 Social Contract Theory (Thomas Hobbes and John Locke)**

The Social Contract Theory is popularly associated with the works of great philosophers like Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Jean Jacques Rousseau, and Immanuel Kant. Regarding the origin of the theory, Muhammed and Monday (2020, p. 123) have argued that various studies have offered explanations for the origins of the state, particularly beginning in the seventh century, when the state was viewed as a result of men's mutual agreement, established with a specific purpose, to meet certain social demands. For Hardwick (2011), the social contract means that the people have agreed on the rules and regulations that govern them. Evers (1977) also argues that the sovereign is an artificial device or instrument established by men for their mutual benefit; in other words, it is intended to further the interests of all individuals or all groups of society.

According to the social contract theory, men originally existed in the natural world. They had no government, and there was no legislation to control them. Members of the public experienced hardships and tyranny. Thus, there were two agreements that emerged in order to overcome this adversity; *Pactum Unionis* i.e., people looked/sought the security of their lives and property, and *Pactum Subjectionis* i.e., people joined

forces and pledged to submit to power, giving up all or some of their freedoms in the process (Laskar, 2013, p. 1). Meaning that to a certain extent, the authorities made sure that everyone's life, property, and liberty were preserved. Thus, social contract theorists such as Hobbes and Locke argue that the provision of security was the primary reason why the state was formed (Kushner, 2019).

According to Hobbes in his *Leviathan* published in 1651, the condition of men living without government is called the State of Nature. In this state, all men are naturally equal as no man is so much stronger than the other by nature that he could not be killed by stealth. This natural equality led men to be suspicious of each other as every man is a stranger to the other and would not know what to expect from the other (McClelland, 2005, p. 184). For Hobbes, Man is greedy by nature, and this selfishness serves as the springboard for human behavior, turning society into a continual battleground in the absence of law and justice. This is typical of the constant struggle and unending conflict caused by clashes between human desires, appetites, and passions, which Hobbes claimed were what motivated human behavior (Gordon, 1991). Hobbes, therefore, calls the state of nature a state of “war of all against all” where there is constant fear and danger of violent death, thus, “the life of man in the state of nature is solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short” (McClelland, 2005, p. 184).

In order to escape/avoid the fears, awfulness, and problems of the state of nature and transition into a Civil Society where there are laws and reasonable stability, Hobbes calls for a social contract among those in the state of nature where everyone would subject himself to a sovereign who would make laws and regulations to govern the affairs of the people. Thus, the people must agree among themselves to choose a lawgiver and law enforcer who would be the sovereign and authorize all that he or they do. This in effect means, every man or a majority of the people must agree to give up

the right of protecting himself to the sovereign, and the sovereign would, in turn, offer them protection, hence, a social contract. Hobbes, however, argues that the social contract cannot put limitations on the sovereign because the sovereign is not a party to the contract, absolutely unaccountable to his subjects and his laws are their command (McClelland, 2005, pp. 186-187).

Some of the criticisms leveled against Hobbes's Social Contract theory is that, "the state of nature cannot generate political society, that 'natural' man would be incapable of making the social contract unless he was already social" (Ake, 1970, p. 463). Meaning that, if men were rational enough to come together and form a contract, they wouldn't have lived/stayed in the state of nature, to begin with. In other words, if the state of nature was really a state of war of all against all, it would have been impossible for men to leave it and form a pact.

Contrary to Hobbes's description of the state of nature as a state of "war of all against all" and his call for the sovereign to have absolute and unlimited powers in the civil society, Locke in his *second treatise of government* on the contrary paint a positive picture of the state of nature as a place that is recognizable social where there is natural law and that the state of nature is a state of liberty, not license. He thus, argued for a limited role of the government/sovereign, unlike Hobbes who called for unrestrained powers because the sovereign is not a party to the social contract (McClelland, 2005, p. 222). For Locke, natural law is a right given to us by God and the three major ones are; the right to life, liberty, and property. This means that each man is free to live his life without any threat or danger except in self-defense or times of war; each man is free to pursue his own interest and plans without interference and has the right to labor in order to sustain and live his life; and that each man has the right to own and possess property. Locke sees the state of nature as reasonably good and enjoyable because he

considered human beings to be rational beings who are reasoned and recognized that the rights, they enjoy are universal to all others, hence, the need to respect each other's rights. Thus, for Locke, the social contract is an extension of pre-existing morality since human beings in the state of nature were capable of respecting each other's natural rights though imperfectly (McClelland, 2005, pp. 223-226).

He however, recognized that men are fallible by nature and that some might violate or invade the natural rights of others. Hence, the need for members of the community to come together and lent their natural rights to a chosen or elected sovereign (government) through a social contract for the purposes of protecting the natural rights of all men and punishing transgressors, and doing so means men stand to benefit from three things which they lacked in the state of nature. That is; laws, judges to adjudicate laws, and the executive power necessary to enforce these laws (Laskar, 2013, p. 4). Locke was quick to add that if the sovereign threatens or failed to perform its duties of protecting the natural rights of life, liberty, and property; men have the right to withdraw their legitimacy on the government/sovereign (McClelland, 2005, p. 226).

Thus, for Locke, the state/civil society was created when men decided to hand over part of their rights to the sovereign/government to exercise their right to judgment (i.e., punishing those guilty of violating their natural rights) so that all men can enjoy their various natural rights to the maximum without any hindrance. He however, argued that as and when the state betrays the trust or failed to perform its responsibilities, men have the duty to take back their rights from the sovereign by withdrawing legitimacy from the government or rebelling against it (McClelland, 2005, pp. 226-227). Locke's social contract theory like Hobbes is criticized as "untenable from the standpoint of history, philosophy, law, and logic" and that the idea of a man living during a period without

some form of authority of any kind is speculative and wrong because man has always lived under some form of authority (Bluwey, 1993, p, 88).

This study, therefore, utilizes Thomas Hobbes's and John Locke's social contract theory to investigate the implicit agreement between the government and citizens concerning security provisions. The focus is on whether the government fulfills its obligation to provide security and how the public (citizens) responds, either by supporting or challenging this social contract. Applying the social contract theory offers insights into the interdependent relationship between the state and the public in addressing insecurity issues in the study areas and the country at large, especially in the context of recent surges in violent crimes in the study areas (i.e., Pru West and Pru East districts).

## **2.2 The Concept of Security**

Scholars have never fully answered the question of what defines security in modern times. Even within the same community, its perception changes over time (Ejogba, 2006; as cited in Chukwu & Anachunam, 2019, p. 280). According to Malik (2015), the meaning of 'security' has remained elusive despite over two decades of writing and research on the concept (p. 4). Security is thus seen as a very complicated and multidimensional concept at the same time (Marleku & Reka, 2018, p. 68). As noted by Degaut (2015), it is difficult to define security because the term has had many varied meanings to different individuals in different places and periods throughout human history. Bigo and Tsoukala (2008) have noted that the meaning of security/insecurity is a "social and political construction related to speech acts which result from structural competition between actors of different forms of capital and legitimacy over contradictory definitions of security and different interest" (pp. 4-5). Williams (2008)

therefore notes that every day, someone somewhere in the world suffers the consequences of security, including death, starvation, torture, rape, poverty, imprisonment, displacement, and education denial. Thus, it is almost impossible to ignore the issue of security in global politics as it's virtually always in politicians' and pundits' speeches; it's in newspaper columns and on the radio; and pictures of security and insecurity rush across television screens and the internet.

Ewetan and Urhie (2014) have argued that there are myriads of approaches to conceptualizing security which is the antithesis of insecurity. They show how the demand for security created the foundation of the people-state social compact, in which individuals willingly relinquished their rights to an organ (government) that ensures everyone's survival (p. 42). Thus, for Rothschild (1995), the political relevance of the concept of security has shifted over the years. Accordingly, prior to its pluralistic meaning in the 1990s that focused on the security of the individual, groups, and state, security was typical of the period from the 17th Century to the French Revolution where it was in fact a condition or an objective, that comprised a relationship between individuals and states or societies. This sense is most suggestive of modern international politics.

The concept of security has been described by some scholars as a 'contested concept' or even an 'essentially contested' one (Gallie 1956; Buzan, 1991; Baldwin 1997; Caballero-Anthony et al., 2006) due to its inherent complexity and the contested values associated with it, opposing versions of the notion emerge, resulting in ongoing debates over its 'real' meaning. As noted by Caballero-Anthony et al. (2006), the conventional definition of security has been questioned and the concept has become the object of multiple interpretations. Its meaning was traditionally limited to a military dimension of inter-state relations. However, the referent object of security has now shifted beyond

the narrow view of state defense from external military attacks to include societies and human collectivities. Baldwin (1997) has also argued that “essentially contested concepts are said to be so value-laden that no amount of argument or evidence can ever lead to agreement on a single version as the correct or standard use” (p. 10).

Thus, for a concept like security to be called an essentially contested concept, it must meet some standards among which demands the concept to be ‘appraisive’ in the sense that it signifies and accredits some kind of value achievements (Gallie, 1956; Baldwin, 1997). Baldwin for instance made reference to the argument of Gallie (1956) who used the concept of ‘champion’ in sports to help explain the point. As a sports team struggles to be champions, so do states struggle for their security from the perspective of the neo-realist. However, scholars like Wolfers (1952) contend that states have divergent choices and preferences in the values they place on security, and the fact that some may not necessarily be inclined to invest or boost their security does not mean they are not better than those who do. Thus, for Wolfers, while some states give absolute priority to coercive/military security issues, others favor a complete reliance on nonmilitary issues with some too showing complete indifference to “security of any degree as an insufficient goal; instead, they seek to acquire new values even at the price of greater insecurity” (1952, p. 492).

Another requirement that a concept considered to be ‘essentially contested’ must meet is that “it must actually generate vigorous disputes as to the nature of the concept and its applicability to various cases” (Baldwin, 1997, p. 11). However, as Baldwin observed, serious conceptual debates in most security studies are virtually bereft with writers mostly failing to give any definition of security and in instances where they do, it lacks discussions or explanations for the choice of one definition over the others. Thus, in the words of Baldwin, “security is more appropriately described as a confused



or inadequately explicated concept than as an essentially contested one” (1997, p. 11). Baldwin (1997, p. 13) further used the characterization of security provided by Wolfers (1952), “the absence of threats to acquired values” to explain what he means by the term security. He metamorphosed the phrase “absence of threats” which he described as ambiguous to “a low probability of damage to acquired values.” He argues that though this change does not alter the general meaning of Wolfers definition, it is however able to rightly capture or allows for the addition of events such as earthquakes, which Ullman (1983) has argued should be considered ‘threats’ to security. He gave the benefits of this rephrasing in the following scenario/illustration;

*In response to threats of military attack, states develop deterrence policies. Such policies are intended to provide security by lowering the probability that the attack will occur. In response to the ‘threat’ of earthquakes, states adopt building codes. This does not affect the probability of earthquakes, but it does lower the probability of damage to acquired values (1997, p. 13).*

Booth on the contrary has argued that, despite arguments advanced by scholars such as (Buzan, 1981, 1983; Morgan, 1992) over difficulties in defining security, “security is a condition that is not difficult to define; in each case, the starting-point should begin in the experiences, imaginings, analyses, and fears of those living with insecurity, ill-health, or low status” (Booth, 2007, p. 98).

With regards to insecurity, the concept is politically and socially constructed (Huysmans, 2006) as the nature of threats and the referent object that is threatened may not be the same or vary from one sector to the other. For instance, insecurities that spring from threats to identity relate to the societal security sector, while on the other hand, military force or aggression that threatens state sovereignty focuses solely on the military sector (Buzan, 1983, 1991; Buzan et al., 1998). Thus, the concept as noted by Ewetan and Urhie (2014, p. 43) “connotes different meanings such as the absence of

safety; danger; hazard; uncertainty; lack of protection, and lack of safety.” According to Beland (2005), insecurity is “the state of fear or anxiety stemming from a concrete or alleged lack of protection” (p. 4). Further, Achumba et al. (2013) define insecurity from two perspectives. To begin, insecurity is defined as the state of being exposed to or threatened by danger, whereas danger is defined as the state of being vulnerable to harm or injury. Second, insecurity is defined as the state of being exposed to risk or anxiety, whereas anxiety is defined as a vague unpleasant emotion felt in anticipation of a tragedy (p. 80). Booth accordingly argues that “people understand what security is by knowing how insecurity feels” (2007, p. 101).

Similar to Booth’s argument, Balzacq et al. (2010) on their part believe that, despite the proposition of many scholars of security studies (e.g., Gallie 1956; Baldwin 1997; Connolly 1999; Collier et al. 2006) that “security is an essentially contested concept,” they are of the position that “the label ‘security’ cannot be considered as a concept which can capture a coherent set of practices” (2010, p. 2). For them, security is the result of a process of (in)securitization where it appears to work as a slogan “through which a dominant group justifies and imposes a political program by assessing who needs to be protected and who can be sacrificed, who can be designated as an object of fear, control, or coercion” (Balzacq et al., 2010).

For Malik (2015), the key debates on the meaning of security focus on the referent object. Thus, is it the state, the individual, or some other unit that ought to be prioritized and made secure? For the realist, they placed the state as the key referent object of security while there are others who argue that the individual rather than the state should be the primary focus of security (p. 4). He also notes another contentious issue among security scholars which relates to the nature of the threats. Again, there are those who argue that military force/threats and the security dilemma are what shaped the behavior

and actions of states in global politics and that the primary onus of the state is to boost its military strengths. The opponents of this position, however, argue that there are other threats aside military that can equally pose great challenges to the state and the individual and that placing the emphasis of security on the state only is too myopic.

Williams (2008) for instance identified two philosophies associated with the meaning of security. The first is associated with power accumulation i.e., security is seen as a commodity to be secured and this requires actors to possess weapons, properties, armies, etc. because the more power accumulated, the more secured a state becomes. On the other hand, the second philosophy contradicts the view that security emanates from power. It rather argues that security is about emancipation i.e., concerns with justice and human rights. Security is thus seen as a relationship between actors rather than a commodity and these relations can either be positive or negative. Thus, for Balzacq and Cavelti (2017) given the multiplicity of meanings of security, “security can hardly be seen as just one thing – it is many things at the same time, often depending on who uses the term and for what purpose.”

For Wolfers (1952), security is a value “of which a nation can have more or less and which it can aspire to have in greater or lesser measure” (p. 484). He for instance made a distinction between ‘objective’ and ‘subjective’ dimensions of security where he argues that security from an objective perspective relates to “the absence of threats to acquired values” while subjectively, it means “the absence of fear that such values will be attacked” (p. 485). Thus, from both dimensions, it can be argued that a state’s sense of security at any given point in time can be either having a complete feeling of security or the absence of fear of insecurity to cherished values, which Baldwin (1997) designated as ‘peace of mind’ or the ‘absence of fear’ (p. 14). Wolfers was however quick to add that, some state’s/nations in pursuing their goals of security may

exaggerate or underestimate the danger(s) to their acquired values as the chance of future attack never can be measured objectively, hence, it remains a matter of subjective evaluation and speculation (1952, p. 485).

Security according to Stan (2004), “refers to the search to avoid, prevent, reduce, or resolve violent conflicts — whether the threat originates from other states, non-state actors, or structural socio-economic conditions” (p. 2). For Tadjbakhsh (2005), the simplest definition of security is the “absence of insecurity and threats” (p. 5). He went on to say that having security meant not having to worry about deprivation or abuse of any kind, including physical, sexual, or psychological abuse, assault, persecution, or death (of gainful employment, food, and health). According to Fischer et al. (2019), security denotes a stable, largely predictable environment where an individual or group can pursue its goals without interference or harm and without being concerned about being disturbed or hurt (p. 3). On her part, Rothschild (1995) in defining security notes the work of Adam Smith wherein he identifies “the liberty and security of individuals” as the most significant requirement for the accumulation of public wealth, with security meaning “the freedom from the prospect of a sudden or violent attack on one's person or property” (p. 62). Booth (2007) deduced three components from the standard dictionary definition of security i.e., ‘the absence of threats,’ to imply: “the existence of a referent object (someone or something is threatened); impending or actual danger; and a desire to escape harmful possibilities”. Thus, for him, security is “the condition of being and feeling safe” (p. 100).

### **2.2.1 Redefining the Concept of Security (The Wide and Narrow debate)**

Snyder (2011) asserts that the cold war period witnessed military threats as the primary challenge to state security, hence the justification of the use of military force as the primary mode to counter/defend the states against any attacks/threats (p. 10). Booth

also points out that throughout the Cold War, military might and interstate strategic alliances were the dominant conceptions of security (2007, p. 96). Snyder (2011) has however observed that, in the contemporary era where threats to security are recognized to emanate from diverse sources such as environmental degradation, resource depletion, diseases, forced migrations and transnational organized crimes, etc., security ought to be considered or redefined from a balanced instrument of foreign policy (p. 10).

Swanstrom (2010) astutely observed that since the conclusion of the Cold War, a greater understanding of the need to broaden the definition of security and differentiate between "hard/traditional" and "soft/non-traditional" security threats has emerged (p. 35). Hough (2008) also claimed that the broadening perspective on conceptualizing global security gained traction in the 1990s, when many statesmen, academics, and members of the general public believed that the end of the Cold War signaled the beginning of a new age of international politics. For his side, Neocleous (2008) ascribed these events to a more pervasive effort to broaden the security agenda in order to incorporate societal, economic, and a variety of other issues, such as development or the environment (p. 3).

Other attempts at broadening the meaning of security were done by Buzan (1983), Ullman (1983), and Matthews (1989) all in an attempt to broaden the concept of security away from military-centrism. For instance, Ullman (1983) in his work observed that security has narrowly been reduced or defined in military terms to the neglect of equally significant threats such as economic crisis, rapid population growth, earthquakes, etc. since the onset of the Cold war in the late 1940s. For Ullman (1983), it is a "false image of reality" to narrowly look at security only in the military sense because doing so for him compels states to focus solely on military threats while downplaying other threats that are far more dangerous and which may lead to global

insecurity due to the likelihood that international relations discourses might be reduced to militarization (p. 129).

In addition to the above, the work of scholars such as (Jahn et al., 1987; Nye & Lynn-Jones, 1988; Brown, 1989; Nye, 1989; Crawford, 1991; Haftendom, 1991; Tickner, 1992; Wæver et al., 1993; as cited in Buzan et al., 1998, p. 2) all advocated for a 'wide' meaning of security to include other threats aside the military one. Thus, the limiting of the field of security studies for Buzan et al. (1998) was occasioned by the military and nuclear obsessions of the Cold War. Consequently, the rise of the economic and environmental agendas of the 1970s and 1980s and the growing concerns about identity and transnational crime in the 1990s coupled with the end of the Cold War ignited debates among scholars on the need to expand/widen the meaning of security to include non-military threats.

Rothschild (1995) identifies four main forms which characterized the redefinition of security in the 1990s with the first being a transition in the definition of security from that of nations/states to that of individuals and groups. The second is a change in emphasis from national security to the security of global systems. With the third form, the meaning of security is broadened horizontally to include personal security as well as political, economic, social, and environmental aspects. The final form observed was that political responsibility for ensuring security is extended or diffused in all directions from national states to upward in the international institutions, downward in the regional or local governments, and to non-governmental organizations, public opinion, and the press in the sideways, and in the abstract, to forces of nature or of market forces (Rothschild, 1995, p. 55).

Baldwin (1997) on the other hand described the widespread redefinition of security by some scholars in the later parts of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Mathews, 1989; Ullman, 1983; Romm, 1993; Tickner, 1995; Booth, 1991) as a cottage industry. For him, such scholars have devoted little attention to the conceptual issues of security while placing much emphasis on redefining the policy agendas of nation-states “to such issues as human rights, economics, the environment, drug trafficking, epidemics, crime, or social injustice, in addition to the traditional concern with security from external military threats” (1997, p.5). Buzan (1983) for instance identified three reasons he attributes for the neglect or underdevelopment of the concept of security. The first was that, “the idea has proved too complex to attract analyst and therefore has been neglected in favor of more tractable concepts.” The second was due to the overlap between security and the concept of power and the last reason he gave was placed in the nature of the many revolts against realist orthodoxy, where the realist model was perceived as being potentially self-fulfilling and far too war-prone for a world with nuclear weapons (1983, pp. 6-7).

The advocates of the narrow view on their part view security as ‘the threat, use and control of military force’ (Walt, 1991, p. 212). Thus, Hough rightly observed that “Walt and the traditionalists fear that widening the definition of security risks rendering the concept redundant by making it too all-encompassing and diluting the important task of analyzing military threats and inter-state conflict” (2008, p. 7).

### **2.3 Human Security**

Human security is acknowledged as one of the broadest definitions of security (Hoogensen & Stuvoy, 2006, p. 208). Tadjbakhsh has for instance noted that the concept defies a common definition as scholars in fields such as International Relations and Development Studies have variously referred to it in terms such as: as a new theory

or concept, as a starting point for analysis, a worldview, a political agenda, or, as a policy framework (2005, p. 5). Similarly, Oberleitner (2005) has also argued that human security remains a ‘contested concept’ in its definition, scope, and its utility (p. 186). Despite the increased investment in research and interest in human security, there is still no meaningful agreement on what may or should be the subject of what is still referred to as human security studies (Hampson, 2008, p. 230).

Paris (2001) described human security as one of the new doctrines in addition to “common security, global security, cooperative security, and comprehensive security that encourage policymakers and scholars to think about international security as something more than the military defense of state interests and territory” (p. 87). Accordingly, traditional notions of state security, as Newman (2001) correctly demonstrated, are a necessary but insufficient prerequisite of human welfare. This is because though the state can protect its citizens and secure its territorial boundaries against attacks from enemies, there are instances where citizens may feel very insecure in other aspects of life which can potentially threaten the security of the state (p. 240). Similarly, King and Murray noted that in the early 1990s, scholars and policymakers recognized that even successful examples of territorial security do not guarantee the security of citizens within a state, because environmental degradation and natural disasters such as epidemics, floods, earthquakes, and droughts pose significant security threats in the same way that human-made military disasters do (2001, p. 588). Thus, Alkire (2003) explained that human security aims to protect the vital core of all human lives from persistent threats while also allowing for long-term human fulfillment. This is because the vital core (i.e., human existence and public safety) encompasses a minimal, basic, or fundamental set of tasks connected to survival, livelihood, and



dignity, which all institutions must, at the very least, safeguard the core from any interference.

According to the UNDP (1994),

*human security is people-centered and is concerned with how people live and breathe in a society, how freely they exercise their many choices, how much access they have to market and social opportunities, and whether they live in conflict or in peace (p. 23).*

Thus, the emphasis on security is focused on the personality and daily activities of the individual. Thomas (2001) also defined human security as the provision of "basic material needs" and the realization of "human dignity," including "emancipation from oppressive power structures-be they global, national, or local in origin and scope" (p. 92). For Newman, "human security is a normative and ethical movement that also rests upon self-interested empirical reasoning" (2001, p. 240). He claims that it is normative because, in the context of changing political communities and the establishment of global standards linked with human rights, there is an ethical need to redirect security focus to the individual.

Thus, it becomes a basic human onus for those with the capacity to extend security to do so for those lacking it. On its empirical reasoning, the general argument as Newman (2001) observed is that human security challenges such as socio-economic deprivations and exclusions, human rights abuse, disease outbreaks, etc. has the potential of destabilizing the peace and stability within and between states. Hence, it is only rational for prudent measures to be taken to address human security issues. This explains why much emphasis and shift in attitudes and policy are placed or geared towards human rights and human needs i.e., beyond the traditional military and state-centric concept of security.

For King and Murray (2001), human security has four essential characteristics; “it is universal, its components are interdependent, it is best ensured through prevention, and it is people-centered” (p. 589). As a result, human security is more concerned with human life and dignity than with armaments. Oberleitner (2005) claims that the most comprehensive and in-depth examination of the idea of human security has been done by the Commission on Human Security which defined it as "protecting the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment" (p. 187). Further, MacLean (2001) utilized a wide-ranging classification scheme in defining Human Security as encompassing;

*...the security of the individual in his or her personal surroundings, community, and environment. This includes personal security for the individual from violence or harm; access to the basic essentials of life; protection from crime and terrorism, pandemic diseases, political corruption, mass migration, and absence of human rights; freedom from violations based on gender; rights of political and cultural communities; political, economic, and democratic development; preventing the misuse and overuse of natural resources; environmental sustainability; and efforts to curtail pollution (pp. 90-93).*

Hampson (2008) on his part also identified three distinct conceptions that shaped the human security debate. The first is the natural rights conception that hinges on individuals’ rights to “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” The second approach is humanitarian which views human security as the avenue to champion and strengthen issues bothering on genocide, war crimes, and doing away with weapons of mass destruction in order to ensure the safety of civilians and improve the basic conditions of refugees and all affected by violent conflict. The third and final conception is a broader view that sees human security to include “economic, environmental, social and other forms of threats/risks to the overall safety and livelihood and well-being of individuals” (2008, pp. 230-231).

According to Bajpai (2003) “the genealogy of the idea of human security can be related to, if not traced back, to the growing dissatisfaction with prevailing notions of development and security in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s” (p. 196). He notes that the concept of human security had strong links from the reports of a series of global independent commissions made up of well-known figures, intellectuals, and academics such as the Club of Rome group in the 1970s; the 1980s saw the North-South report by the Independent Commission on International Development Issues chaired by Willy Brandt and the Common security report by the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues (chaired by Olof Palme); a call for “Common Responsibility in the 1990s” by the Stockholm Initiative on Global Security and Governance which later led to the Commission on Global Governance’s report titled *Our Global Neighborhood*, all sought to focus or placed significant attention on the non-traditional security issues that focus on the individual instead of the state (2003, p.198).

Despite these reports, the concept of human security only gained wider/popular attention across the World when the UNDP Human Development Report issued in 1994 led by Mahbub ul Haq defined human security as "freedom from fear and freedom from want" and also identified seven dimensions of human security (i.e., political, economic, health, food, environmental, personal, and community security) that relates to the wellbeing of the individual (1994, pp. 24-25). The report was however criticized as too broad while some of the report’s proponents contend a broad definition is both necessary and desirable, given the wider constituency of the United Nations. A critic like the former Canadian Foreign Minister, Lloyd Axworthy argues that the UNDP report put too much emphasis on concerns connected with underdevelopment at the expense of "human insecurity as a result of violent conflict" (Acharya, 2001, p. 445).

For Hampson (2008), one way of defining human security is to view it from the negative perspective “as the absence of threats to various core human values including the most basic human value, the physical safety of the individual” (p. 231). Alkire (2003) on the contrary gave a more positive view of human security in the following words, “the objective of human security is to safeguard the vital core of all human lives from critical pervasive threats, in a way that is consistent with long-term human fulfillment” (p. 2).

Paris (2001) has argued that attempts by scholars to define human security have been “opaque... and amount to restatements or revisions of the UNDP's laundry list of human security issues” (p. 91). He for instance used the work of Nef (1999; 2006) who developed a five-tiered classification system to support his claim. The five components of human security categorized by Nef were: environmental, personal, and physical security; economic security; social security, which includes "freedom from discrimination based on age, gender, ethnicity, or social status;" political security; and cultural security, which is defined as "the set of psychological orientations of a society geared to preserving and enhancing the ability to control uncertainty" (1999; 2006, p. 61). On his part, Bedeski (2000, as cited in Paris, 2001) sees human security to include "the totality of knowledge, technology, institutions and activities that protect, defend and preserve the biological existence of human life; and the processes which protect and perfect collective peace and prosperity to enhance human freedom" (pp. 92-93). Thus, Paris (2001) asked the question, “If human security is all these things, what is it not?”

Oberleitner (2005) has observed three categories that he identified with the concept of human security. The first is a limited approach that concentrates on concerns of human

rights and the rule of law, all of which are based on fundamental human rights. The second is a humanitarian approach that recognizes human security as a weapon for deepening and reinforcing efforts to address challenges such as war crimes and genocide, and the third is humanitarian intervention preparation (pp. 187-188). For Liotta and Owen (2006), human security has been “bifurcated by both broad and narrow definitions.” A broad approach to human security is based on the concept of “freedom from want” and the narrow approach of “freedom from fear.” The UNDP and the Japanese government offer broad definitions while Canada chose a narrow definition (2006, p. 41). The government of Canada for instance defines human security as “safety for people from both violent and non-violent threats,” a definition that King and Murray (2001) described as more conservative and ‘narrower’ than the UNDP’s and Japanese foreign policy definitions. The Japanese definition is that,

*human security comprehensively covers all the menaces that threaten human survival, daily life, and dignity. For example, environmental degradation, violations of human rights, transnational organized crime, illicit drugs, refugees, poverty, anti-personnel landmines, and other infectious diseases such as AIDS - and strengthens efforts to confront these threats* (King & Murray, 2001, p. 590).

Commenting on the Canadian definition, Paris (2001) notes that the Canadian definition encompasses protection from physical harm, attainment of an adequate standard of living, preservation of fundamental human rights, the rule of law, effective governance, social equity, protection of civilians in times of conflict, and sustainable development (p. 91). As noted already, the Japanese government’s position on human security differs contrary to that of the Canadians with the Japanese seeing human security as a much broader concept. Thus, though they agree with the two basic aspects of human security i.e., ‘freedom from fear and freedom from want,’ they believe that,

*freedom from want is no less critical than freedom from fear. So long as its objectives are to ensure the survival and dignity of individuals as human beings, it is necessary to go beyond thinking of human security solely in terms of protecting human life in conflict situations* (Acharya, 2001, p. 446).

Thus, while Security Studies and International Relations researchers remain suspicious of the concept of human security, claiming that it is too nebulous and wide to be useful either analytically or practically, policymakers are increasingly recognizing its value as a policy framework (Bajpai, 2003, p. 195) with the governments of Canada, Norway, and Japan as the first to incorporate human security in its official foreign policies (King & Murray, 2001, p. 589). The governments of Canada and Norway went a step ahead leading the way in setting up a "human security network" of states and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that endorse the concept (Paris, 2001, p. 87). Nevertheless, Suhrke (1999) in his work on human security and the interest of states observed that Canada and Norway have utilized the human security concept to assume global prominence as 'middle power' states. He argues for instance that Canada as a member of the UN Security Council in the late 1990s 'projected humanitarian issues to the sphere of high politics' while in the case of Norway, it was the only Nordic country aside Iceland outside the European Union in the 1990s, the country used the human security concept as a 'vehicle for the broad international coalition on humanitarian issues' to assume a 'humanitarian large power status' (p. 267). Thus, the two countries to a large extent rooted in the concept of human security for their national interest.

Bajpai (2003) did a comparative analysis approach on the human security report of UNDP and the Canadian government using Baldwin's four questions on security i.e., "security for whom, security of what values, security from what threats and security by what means?" His study identified that on the referent object, both reports emphasized

the security of the individual. On security for which values, the study identified two central overarching values: “the safety and well-being of the individual in physical terms, and individual freedom.” The UNDP’s report thus notes, “human security is not a concern with weapons, it is a concern with human life [physical safety and well-being] and dignity [freedom]” (p. 22). This shows that the seven components of security given i.e., food, health, environmental, economic securities, etc. can be found in both or either one of the two values identified. In the case of the Canadian approach, human security implies “an acceptable quality of life” which connotes physical safety and well-being minimally; and “a guarantee of fundamental human rights” which connotes a basic charter of political freedoms (Bajpai, 2003, p. 208).

Regarding security threats, Bajpai (2003) observes that the majority of the threats listed by both the UNDP and Canadian government papers relate to personal safety and well-being. As a result, direct and indirect threats were highlighted respectively with everyday “violent crime, child abuse, abuse of women and much more organized crimes alluded to government repression, terrorism and genocide” being the direct threats while the indirect threats include “the lack of food, water, and primary health care entitlements that endanger the basic needs of the human body with disease issues/outbreak serving as a key indirect threat to personal safety and well-being” (p. 210).

Gaspar (2010) has argued that criticisms of human security thinking are focused on the scope of concerns it addresses. On the contrary, he admits that some people disagree with the concept itself, even when it is more strictly defined. While traditional security studies scholars frequently emphasize that security is primarily a national and military concept, the G77 group of governments is concerned that larger powers may use human

security language to justify intervention in their internal affairs (2010, pp. 38-39). A similar argument was made by Dorn (2001) who observed that the concept might be used as a pretext by powerful states for humanitarian interventions in order to achieve its parochial interest. Again, the broad approach to human security has been criticized as

*so inclusive in considering potentially any threat to human safety that as a concept it becomes meaningless since it does not allow scholars or policymakers to prioritize different types of threats, it confuses sources and consequences of insecurity, and it is too amorphous to allow analysis with any degree of precision* (Newman, 2010, p. 82).

Furthermore, Khong (2001) has contended that, making everything a priority renders nothing a priority, thus, raising false hopes in the policy realm and obscuring real trade-offs between rival home security objectives (p. 232). Another criticism comes from Mack (2001, 2005) who asserts that the broad notion of human security can obstruct research into the very phenomena that need to be understood.

### **2.3.1 Phases of Human Security**

The UNDP in its 1994 Human Development Report acknowledges that there have always been two major components of human security: i.e., “freedom from fear and freedom from want” (p. 24). According to the report, this has been recognized since the founding of the UN, when the then-US Secretary of State, Edward Stettinius Jr., reported to his government on the results of the San Francisco Conference in June 1945.

*The battle for peace has to be fought on two fronts. The first is the security front where victory spells freedom from fear. The second is the economic and social front where victory means freedom from want. Only victory on both fronts can assure the world of enduring peace...No provisions that can be written into the Charter will enable the Security Council to make the world secure from war if men and women have no security in their homes and their jobs* (1994, p. 24).



The concept however narrowly focused on ‘freedom from fear’ i.e., threats of war and conflict between states, especially in the Cold War days. The surge in violent crime and drug trafficking, the spread of diseases like HIV/AIDS, social degradation, high unemployment, hunger, and poverty, etc. across the world in the late 1980s and 1990s led to an all-encompassing approach to human security as both ‘freedom from fear and freedom from want.’ The former referred to conditions such as conflicts, violence, and crime that induced fear and deprived people of stability in life, while the latter referred to deprivations such as the lack of employment, education, housing, medical care, sanitation, etc. which undermined dignified life (Akokpari, 2012). Thus, the UNDP report notes that the concept of security has metamorphosed “from an exclusive stress on territorial security to a much greater stress on people’s security and from security through armaments to security through sustainable development” (p. 24). This led to the broadening into seven components/dimensions of security all focusing on the well-being and survival of all people against threats to their security (i.e., economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security).

**Table 1: The Seven (7) dimensions/components of human security**

<b>Component</b>	<b>Focus area</b>	<b>Possible threats/insecurities</b>
<b>Economic security</b>	Requires a guaranteed basic income, which can come through productive and remunerative employment or, in the worst-case scenario, from a publicly funded safety net.	Unemployment, poverty, income insecurity(inflation), homelessness, etc.
<b>Food security</b>	Requires that all people have physical and economic access to basic nourishment at all times.	Hunger, starvation, famine
<b>Health security</b>	Access to health facilities, medical care, and basic pharmaceuticals, as well as protection from all types of infectious and non-communicable diseases, are all required.	Infectious and parasitic diseases (diarrhea, tuberculosis, acute respiratory infections), HIV/AIDS, Absence of basic health facilities
<b>Environmental security</b>	Demands that the environment and all of its natural resources, on which human life depends, be protected.	Water scarcity, deforestation, pollution, natural disasters
<b>Personal security</b>	Individuals are required/expected to be free from physical violence perpetrated by the state, groups, or individuals.	Physical violence/torture, war/conflict, crime, domestic abuse (rape, child abuse), suicide, drug abuse, industrial and traffic accidents
<b>Community security</b>	Individuals must have the freedom to belong to any family, racial, religious, ethnic, or other community/community without fear of harassment, violence, or intimidation.	Slavery, unorthodox cultural practices (e.g., Female Genital Mutilation), ethnic and religious clashes, violence against indigenous groups
<b>Political security</b>	Requires the individual to enjoy the freedom to hold political views, ideologies and belong to any political party of his/her choice and express political opinions	Human rights violations, political repression, systematic torture, harsh treatment, or the disappearance of political opponents, etc.

Cited in UNDP (1994, pp. 24-33) and Akokpari (2007, p. 9)

This wide view of human security has been criticized for being so inclusive - in considering potentially any threat to human safety - that it loses all meaning as a concept

because it prevents academics and policymakers from prioritizing various threats, confuses the causes and effects of insecurity, and is too amorphous to allow analysis with any degree of precision (Newman, 2010, p. 82). Thus, Newman notes the comments of Mark (2004) who agrees that “conflating a wide range of different evils under the umbrella of ‘insecurity’ is a re-labeling exercise with no obvious analytic goal” (p. 82). Likewise, King and Murray (2001) also argue that the UNDP’s seven dimensions are overlapping against each other and hence do not give a consistent framework that incorporates multiple concepts into one (p. 291).

For Paris (2001), the UNDP’s approach “lacks precision” and is too expansive that “it is difficult to determine what, if anything, might be excluded from the definition of human security” (p. 9). There are significant linkages and overlaps among these seven pillars of human security, according to the UNDP report. Thus, “a threat to one element of human security is likely to travel like an angry typhoon to all forms of human security” (1994, p. 33).

### **2.3.2 Concept of Personal Security**

Al-Rodhan (2006, p. 15) has argued that “the security of the individual is the foundation upon which all other security depends.” According to Gierszewski, personal security has become “the primary concern within the concept of human security” (2017, p. 63). The concept as observed by Gierszewski originated when Franklin D. Roosevelt, former US president proclaimed in 1941, four types of freedom associated with human rights inherent to every individual: “freedom of speech and expression, freedom to worship God in one’s own way, freedom from want, and freedom from fear” (2015, p. 58).

For Akokpari, personal security means “freedom from physical violence, caused either by the state, groups or individuals. It also means freedom from threat to life including suicide and drugs and that personal security is to be guaranteed at home and at the workplace” (2007, p. 9). Gasper and Gomez (2015) see personal security as freedom from human-caused physical violence and other crime (p. 6). Three main threats were identified under personal security by the UNDP (1994) report on human development: (1) External or internal threats, regular or irregular (armed) conflict; (2) Internal threats to the polity, excluding armed conflict, including various types of crime, whether done by the state or others; (3) Threats to the self, including suicide and drug usage (1994, p. 30). Thus, for Gasper and Gomez (2015), the three sub-areas relate to “violence against civilians, during wars, civil wars and other armed conflicts; crime against civilians; and violence against women, during peace as well as war” (p. 2). For instance, the UNDP report notes that the greatest source of anxiety for most people in both developed and developing countries is crime particularly violent crime (1994, p. 30).

In addition, Hampson (2008) in his analysis of personal security, pointed to three possible interpretations of the idea. The first defines individual security in terms of natural rights and the rule of law. The second is concerned with humanitarianism and efforts aimed at improving international rules against genocide and war crimes, as well as reducing weapons that are particularly deadly to civilians and humanitarian interventions. The third has to do with the concept of social justice, as well as a wider consideration of threats (real and potential) to the survival and health of individuals (p. 281). Gierszewski (2017) contends that the three interpretations primarily center on issues relating to development and the defense of human rights, which correspond to freedom from want, and humanitarian actions intended to safeguard individual lives and rights, leaning towards freedom from fear.

Factors associated with violence have been classified into different types and levels (Arriagada & Godoy, 2002). For instance, by its nature; it has been classified as “physical, psychological and sexual; by its victims as; violence against children, women and old people. By its intent/motive as; political, racial, economic, etc. and lastly it places of occurrence as domestic, workplace, street violence etcetera” (2000, p. 113). Thus, personal security, according to Gierszewski, becomes entwined with the core of the broadly defined concept of security, which is based on the belief that human security is also fundamental to state security. As a result, threats to human security can rapidly and readily escalate into far more significant social conflicts (2017, p. 61).

Gaspar and Gomez (2015) have however argued that the term ‘personal security’ was an ‘imperfect label’ because when one used the standard checklist questions on security (i.e., whose security? security as perceived by whom? security of which values? against which threats? secured by whom? to what extent? by what instruments?); one can observe that the seven dimensions of human security identified by the UNDP (1994) report are all ‘personal’. This has led to a situation where the majority of security studies scholarships have substituted the term "human security" for "personal security." Thus, for Gaspar and Gomez (2015), the term "human security" is all-encompassing and better captures the unity of a person's life than does the attempted compartmentalization.

### **2.3.2. The notion of citizen security**

Gaspar and Gomez have noted that the notion of ‘citizen security’ may predate human security as a well-known policy motif (2015, p. 15). Bonner (2008) also argues that in spite of the wide international coverage or popularity of the human security concept, scholars and policymakers must take into account the political and historical context of

different regions of the world especially Latin America when it comes to the adoption of the human security concept (pp. 11-12). She for instance highlighted how two important concepts of security in Latin America: ‘national security doctrine’ i.e., internal threats such as terrorist acts which were seen as the greatest security threats to states in the 1960s – 1980s, and ‘citizen security’ which relates to domestic security issues, which are normally tied to the police and common crime, have been overlooked in the human security literature.

For Arriagada and Godoy (2002), the term citizen security encompasses a wide range of concepts and levels, especially regarding its intangible and subjective nature. They observe that the term may be defined

*...to mean not living in fear of suffering a violent attack, knowing that one’s physical integrity will be respected, and, above all, being able to enjoy the privacy of one’s home without the fear of assault and moving freely around the streets without the fear of being robbed or attacked (Arriagada & Godoy, 2002, p. 112).*

Likewise, the term citizen security can also be seen

*as concern for the quality of life and human dignity in terms of freedom, access to the market, and social opportunities. Poverty and lack of opportunities, unemployment, hunger, deterioration of the environment, political repression, violence, delinquency, and drug addiction can all be threats to citizen security (ILPES, 1997, p. 5; as cited in Arriagada & Godoy, 2002, p. 112).*

Muggah (2017) notes that citizen security focuses on the responsible state and active citizenship where the responsible state is the idea of the police, judicial and penal institutions taking critical measures with active citizenship which focus on the key role of engaging citizens to participate and collaborate with authorities to deal with issues of crime and violence (p. 296).

## 2.4 Overview of personal insecurities in Africa

Africa has long been associated with the notion of a "deeply troubled" continent on the verge of annihilation (Richards, 2003; Bracking & Harrison, 2003; French, 2004; Gberie, 2005; as cited in Ukeje, 2010, p. 2). Since the end of the Cold War, the African continent has been plagued by deadly civil wars and lengthy low-intensity conflict (Ukeje, 2010). These conflicts according to Ukeje are

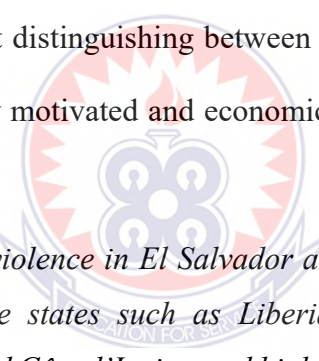
*characterized by criminal impunity, the wanton violation of human rights, humanitarian emergencies such as massive internal displacement and refugee flows, the collapse of livelihood sources and municipal facilities, the spread of communicable diseases, the proliferation and widespread use of small arms and light weapons* (2010, p. 11).

Thus, insecurity incidents have had a devastating impact on most countries of the continent leading to various socio-political and economic problems. For instance, Livingston (2013) has argued that "violent crime represents the most immediate threat to the personal security of most Africans and that it poses significant challenges to stability, security, and development" (p. 5). The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime reported also that in 2010, Africa accounted for more than a third (36%) of all homicides worldwide, while accounting for only a sixth of the global population. The homicide rate in Africa was more than double the global average of 6.9 per 100,000 people, at 17 per 100,000 (Livingston, 2013, pp. 8-9). This means that the issue of insecurity is widespread on the continent with citizens suffering from various forms of threats/insecurities in their daily lives.

Further, Gimode (2001) notes that violent crime and insecurity were the hallmarks of Kenya in the 1990s with a surge in sudden brutal attacks, brazen threats, and young hoodlums desperate for quick cash/money, armed robberies, and car snatches as some of the daily incidents witness in Kenya, especially in Nairobi, the capital (p. 298). In

the case of South Africa for instance, the South African Human Rights Commission attributed the increase in crime rates to, amongst others, the high unemployment rates and its accompanying social problems that are associated with poverty and despair (Pretorius, 2008, p. 81). In Nigeria, 86.6% of the respondents in a citywide survey in Lagos said they were fearful of becoming victims of crime (Soyombo & Adisa, 2010, p. 117).

According to Krause (2014), more than 526,000 individuals die violently each year, and countless more are injured and/or suffer from long-term or short-term injuries, as well as the psychological effects of violence and instability. Geographically, these violent deaths are centered in Central America and parts of Sub-Saharan Africa (p. 18). Krause goes on to say that distinguishing between armed conflict and criminality, as well as between politically motivated and economically motivated violence, is nearly impossible. Thus,



*high levels of gang violence in El Salvador and Guatemala, vigilante justice in post-war and fragile states such as Liberia and Timor-Leste, post-election violence in Kenya and Côte d'Ivoire, and high levels of urban crime in cities such as Kingston, Jamaica, and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil amply demonstrate how a distinction between armed conflict and criminal violence is increasingly difficult to make (2014, p. 21).*

Thus, most countries in Africa and parts of Central America face threats of insecurity emanating from a multiplicity of sources with significant loss of lives and destruction of properties almost every year. It has therefore made it almost difficult for distinctions to be made on the nature and form of the insecurity since they all have the same/similar outcomes.



## 2.5 Overview of personal security in Ghana

Ghana has in the past experienced rising cases of personal insecurity, especially violent crime. This was especially true in the country's urban centers, as highlighted by Appiahene-Gyamfi (1998), where all forms of crimes, particularly violent crime, have increased and continue to climb. For instance, Adinkrah (2005) citing data from the Ghana Police Service (2003) and Appiahene-Gyamfi (1998) has observed that since the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Ghana has “witnessed an upsurge in property offenses and violent crime” (p. 416). He goes on to mention that according to official crime data, the number of robberies in the country increased from 87 in 1995 to 950 in 2002; assaults increased from 51,060 in 1990 to 90,179 in 2002; rape offenses increased from 375 in 1990 to 1,210 in 2002; murder cases increased from 275 in 1990 to 401 in 2002.

In furtherance, Tankebe (2013) citing data from Appiahene-Gyamfi (2002) and the Ghana Police Service (2010) on homicides (murder and manslaughter), armed robbery, and assault from 1980-2010 observed that, while the homicide rate has constantly maintained at its lowest level since 1993, despite higher rates in the 1980s, assaults have accounted for the single largest share of total crime in Ghana over that time, with 40.34% in 2001 being the highest. On violent robberies, the rate according to Tankebe dropped with the military takeover of power by the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) in the early 1980s, the situation, however, became severe in 2006 when the violent robbery rate reached 8.91% per 100,000 population but consistently dropped to 5.26% per 100,000 population in 2010 (2013, p. 13).

Incidents of insecurity (e.g., violent crime) have recently gained popular attention in Ghana. For instance, Oteng-Ababio et al. (2016) have observed media reportage highlighting a surge in daylight robberies on highways, at banks, and at residential

premises (p. 3). A study by Appiahene-Gyamfi (2022) on trends and patterns of crime in Ghana using data from the Criminal Data Service Bureau (CDSB) of the Ghana Police Service (GPS) on robbery cases from 2014-2017 across the then ten regions of the country show that “there were 5696 robberies reported to the police from 2014 to 2017. The highest robberies, 1772 cases, were recorded in 2017, and the lowest, 1116 cases, were recorded in 2014” (p. 95).

Similarly, Bagson et al. (2021) note that, most media reports and academic studies (e.g., Abudu et al., 2013; Frimpong, 2016; Ghanaian Chronicle, 2010; GSS, 2010; Owusu et al., 2016b) have captured a heightened sense of fear of crime, and crime victimization among the public, especially within the Ghanaian urban space with unprecedented levels of criminal violence and worries about crime (p. 3). Further, Braimah and Mbowura (2014) have also argued that the “upsurge of robbery cases is ‘mind-boggling’ not only to the Police Service but the general public. Thus, hardly any day passes without reported cases of robbery attacks on individuals and companies at gunpoint” (p. 6). Tankebe (2013) thus notes that violent robberies are seen as the most personal insecurity concern for many Ghanaians, particularly urban residents (p. 13).

Again, Oteng-Ababio (2016) in a study on poverty and criminalization which focus on the youth observed that while land-guards in Accra are mostly unemployed youth who engaged in violent activities to protect land and land properties of their ‘contractors’, in the case of Tamale, youth violence or hostilities is tied to political, ethnic and religious affinities (Tonah 2012) with operations of groups such as 64 Bench, Alkaida, Burma Camp, Gbana youth, Zola boys, etc. in the municipality creating insecurity challenges (2016, pp. 59-60). He went further to cite some instances of political, ethnic, and religious violence in Tamale such as; an August 2012 religious incident involving

the ‘Al-Sunnah (Afajirah Mosque)’ and ‘Tijaniya (Central Mosques)’ Muslims clashed over scripture interpretation” where properties of radio Zaa was destroyed; an ethnic incident where 2 people got lynched and 14 received gunshot injuries in March 2014 when a chieftaincy dispute between Abudus and Andanis turned bloody; a political incident in November 2013 where the then NPP General Secretary was chased out by party youth over the arrest of 5 members after an NDC supporter got murdered by 5 NPP sympathizers, etc. (Oteng-Ababio, 2016, pp. 64-70).

Wrigley-Asante (2016) in a study of crime and gender in some selected cities in Ghana also notes that high rates of youth unemployment, financial stress, poor parenting, and increasing poverty levels were the major factors reported as contributing to the high perpetration of crime. The study further shows that for most males and females, stealing, robbery, burglary, drug addiction/peddling, and assault were some of the most feared crimes they are afraid of (2016, p. 119). In addition, Jean-Pierre and Catherine (2017) explored the gendered experiences of interpersonal domestic and non-domestic violence in urban and rural areas of Ghana. The study used quantitative data with Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition analyses. The study's findings demonstrate that men in urban areas are much more exposed to violence committed by friends, acquaintances, and strangers than men in rural areas, whereas women in urban areas are significantly less vulnerable to domestic violence than women in rural ones. Additionally, it was noted that urban areas have lower rates of alcohol consumption and polygamy than rural areas, as well as higher welfare, education, and employment outcomes. This indicates that while men in urban areas are more likely to experience domestic abuse than those in rural areas, women in urban areas experienced less domestic violence than those in rural ones.

Thus, while widely seen by many as peaceful and a beacon of hope for democracy (Gyimah-Boadi, 2010, p. 137) in a continent plagued with increasing pessimism and democratic reversal (Mbowura & Alidu, 2020, p. 1), recent incidents of insecurity in Ghana especially violent crime has led to calls by prominent voices in the country for urgent steps to be taken to address the phenomena. For instance, former president John Mahama in October 2020 expressed concern about the state of insecurity particularly incessant armed robbery and killings across the country (Atlantic Federation of African Press, 2020). Kelly (2019) reporting for GhOne television notes that in 2018 alone, there were 968 cases of robberies recorded between January and April according to data from the Ghana Police Service. Similarly, the Asantehene Otumfour Osei-Tutu II also expressed worry about the state of violent crime in the country when the then IGP, James Opong Boanuh paid a visit to him at his palace (Ghanaweb, 2020). In furtherance, the Parliament of Ghana also renewed calls for security beefed up in the country with some Members of Parliament haven fallen victim to these incidents (Parliament of Ghana, 2019). In relation to that, a member of the Defense and Interior Committee of the House, Hon. Peter Lanchene Toobu in April 2021, petitioned the Speaker of Parliament, Rt. Hon. Alban Bagbin to draw the attention of the President, Nana Akufo-Addo to the growing incidents of insecurity in the country (Asiedu, 2021).

Aside from criminal violence, other studies on incidents of insecurity in the country surround issues of political vigilantism, chieftaincy and inter-ethnic conflicts, farmers and pastoralist conflicts, and cybercrime activities among others. For instance, Boateng et al. (2011) in a study on sakawa – cybercrime, and criminality in Ghana sought to examine the prevalence, forms, and implications of cybercrimes (i.e., ‘sakawa’) in Ghana using an exploratory case study method and qualitative interview approach to interview 40 key stakeholders on cybercrime in the country. The study's findings

demonstrate that, despite growing public awareness of cybercrime, most incidents remain unreported. The lack of logistics or capacity to fight the menace is having adverse effects on most developing countries, especially in Africa. Thus, most youths take advantage of the weak system to perpetrate criminal activities against people within and outside the country through internet fraud acts e.g., stealing of credit cards, hacking, wire transfers frauds, and impersonation among others.

Also, the effects of farmers' and herders' competing interests in land resources on indigenous farmers' agricultural investment decisions in Agogo were examined by Kugbega and Aboagye (2021). The study's findings demonstrate that land owners take advantage of weaknesses in customary land administration systems to give land to pastoralists in exchange for money while ignoring the rights of indigenous farmers to their land. This is supported by qualitative methods and empirical data from semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions from the study area. This situation subsequently leads to conflict between the local farmers and the pastoralist regarding the demarcation and use of land for farming and grazing activities. Thus, local indigenes blame the pastoralist for grazing animals on their farms while the pastoralist also claimed ownership of the land for their activities leading to insecurity incidents with loss of lives and destruction of properties in some cases.

On vigilantism, Ijon (2020) found a link between election-related violence and incumbent party victory in a study on election security and violence in Ghana using the content analysis method. The study which focused on the violence characterized by by-elections using the Ayawaso West Wougou and Talensi by-elections argued that political parties especially the incumbent resort to violence to win by-elections due to fear of losing popular support as defeat will send signals of poor performance in

government. Thus, they use all their arsenals and vigilante forces to terrorize their opponents and do their possible best to get a victory. These acts have decreased voting turnout, weakened the democratic underpinnings of the nation, and fostered an atmosphere of insecurity. This means that the selfish and greedy desire of politicians to obtain power by all means possible explains why they hire thugs and vigilantes to help them use physical force to bulldoze their opponents to get an electoral victory, and the consequence is that these thugs are mostly armed and do not care if lives are lost or injured in a bid to win the elections at all cost for their paymasters.

In addition, Bjarnesen (2021) sought to contextualize the consequences of banning vigilantism in Ghana using secondary sources and the Ayawaso West Wougon by-election as an empirical study. Two main arguments were advanced by the author. Firstly, the study argued that though legislation banning the operations of vigilantism may be rational and may seem to consolidate the country's democracy; the adverse effect of such an action is that the party in government may absorb or infiltrate its party vigilante forces into the state security apparatus while the opposition may also react by that decision to not also disband its own. The second issue identified was that legislation banning vigilantism does not explain/solve the underlying problems that made youths or party foot soldiers increasingly resort to violence and intimidation of opponents so that their party or sponsors wins elections at all cost. Meaning that banning vigilantism would not address the root causes of why the vigilante forces were instituted in the first place. Most of these vigilante forces are unemployed people, hence, their motivation as party vigilantes is to help the party win elections so that they can in turn get employment and other promises fulfilled. Thus, the state should rather address the issues of unemployment and also empower state security forces to deal with security-related

issues. The banning of vigilantism will therefore increase the issues or threats of insecurity in the country since the legislation does not address the root causes.

Issifu (2015) also used a mixed method approach in a study on the analysis of conflicts in Ghana to analyze the dynamics of the Dagbon chieftaincy conflict in northern Ghana and how Rwanda's Gacaca conflict resolution process could serve as a model for long-lasting peace in Dagbon. The study's conclusions demonstrate that unfairness, political meddling, mistrust, and the alienation of conventional dispute-resolution techniques are to blame for the protracted chieftaincy conflict among the Dagbon. Therefore, the greatest and most effective strategy for maintaining peace in Dagbon is to use Rwanda's Gacaca conflict resolution process i.e., a traditional conflict resolution method among the local population through traditional priests/soothsayers where both victims and offenders forgive each other and pledge to move behind the past. Relatedly, using the Nawuri-Gonja conflict as a case study, Mbowura (2014) conducted research on inter-ethnic conflicts and how they affect racial integration, social cohesion, and national development. The study used the interpretative and qualitative methods of data collection via archival research and interviews to examine the outcomes and impact of the conflict. The study outcome shows widespread loss of lives and properties, disruptions in the local economy, internal displacement, and the crippling of economic development of the area with a significant adverse effect on national development, social cohesion, and integration. Thus, inter-ethnic conflict is a serious issue that threatens the peace and security that the country enjoys, hence, the need for stakeholders to address the root causes of the clashes in order to avert future incidents.

**Table 2: Some incidents of personal insecurities in Ghana**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Incident</b>	<b>References</b>
<b>05-01-2022</b>	Renewed chieftaincy disturbances in Bawku	<a href="https://citinewsroom.com/2022/01/bawku-disturbances-13-suspects-to-appear-before-accra-high-court-today/">https://citinewsroom.com/2022/01/bawku-disturbances-13-suspects-to-appear-before-accra-high-court-today/</a>
<b>28-12-2021</b>	Clashes between youth groups in Mampongte leave two wounded	<a href="https://citinewsroom.com/2021/12/police-deployed-mampongte-after-clash-leaves-two-wounded/">https://citinewsroom.com/2021/12/police-deployed-mampongte-after-clash-leaves-two-wounded/</a>
<b>21-12-2021</b>	Suspected armed robbers and kidnappers killed by police in Yeji	<a href="https://citinewsroom.com/2021/12/bono-east-2-suspected-robbers-and-kidnappers-killed-by-police-in-yeji/">https://citinewsroom.com/2021/12/bono-east-2-suspected-robbers-and-kidnappers-killed-by-police-in-yeji/</a>
<b>14-12-2021</b>	Northern region records ten kidnap incidents in 2021	<a href="https://www.myjoyonline.com/northern-region-records-ten-kidnap-incidents-in-2021/">https://www.myjoyonline.com/northern-region-records-ten-kidnap-incidents-in-2021/</a>
<b>13-11-2021</b>	Ambulance personnel narrowly escaped a robbery attack in Pru East	<a href="https://citinewsroom.com/2021/11/bono-ambulance-personnel-narrowly-escape-robbery-attck-in-pru-east/">https://citinewsroom.com/2021/11/bono-ambulance-personnel-narrowly-escape-robbery-attck-in-pru-east/</a>
<b>27-08-2021</b>	International journalist killed in a robbery attack on Tamale-Buipe Road	<a href="https://www.citinewsroom.com/2021/08/international-journalist-killed-in-robbery-attack-on-tamale-buipe-road/">https://www.citinewsroom.com/2021/08/international-journalist-killed-in-robbery-attack-on-tamale-buipe-road/</a>
<b>04-08-2021</b>	Chief's linguist shot dead during robbery operation	<a href="https://www.adomonline.com/chiefs-linguist-shot-dead-during-robbery-operation">https://www.adomonline.com/chiefs-linguist-shot-dead-during-robbery-operation</a>
<b>07-07-2021</b>	Wa: Soldiers brutalize residents over alleged missing phone	<a href="https://citinewsroom.com/2021/07/wa-soldiers-brutalize-residents-over-alleged-missing-phone-video/amp/">https://citinewsroom.com/2021/07/wa-soldiers-brutalize-residents-over-alleged-missing-phone-video/amp/</a>
<b>29-06-2021</b>	Two dead, 4 injured as military and police clash with Ejura youth	<a href="https://www.myjoyonline.com/2-dead-4-injured-as-military-and-police-clash-with-protesting-ejura-youth/">https://www.myjoyonline.com/2-dead-4-injured-as-military-and-police-clash-with-protesting-ejura-youth/</a>
<b>14-06-2021</b>	Police, lady killed in an armed robbery attack on bullion van, driver injured	<a href="https://www.abcnewsgh.com/policeman-lady-killed-in-armed-robbery-attack-on-bullion-van-driver-injured/">https://www.abcnewsgh.com/policeman-lady-killed-in-armed-robbery-attack-on-bullion-van-driver-injured/</a>
<b>23-05-2021</b>	Soldier shot dead by armed robbers on Prang-Kintampo road	<a href="https://www.myjoyonline.com/soldier-shot-dead-by-armed-robbers-on-prang-kintampo-road/">https://www.myjoyonline.com/soldier-shot-dead-by-armed-robbers-on-prang-kintampo-road/</a>
<b>18-03-2021</b>	Eyewitness narrates how armed robbers killed top Islamic cleric, Ali Ahmed Maikano	<a href="https://www.myjoyonline.com/eyewitness-narrates-how-armed-robbers-killed-top-islamic-cleric-ali-ahmed-maikano/">https://www.myjoyonline.com/eyewitness-narrates-how-armed-robbers-killed-top-islamic-cleric-ali-ahmed-maikano/</a>
<b>09-12-2020</b>	Two short dead at Techiman South constituency	<a href="https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/two-short-dead-at-techiman-south-constituency.html">https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/two-short-dead-at-techiman-south-constituency.html</a>
<b>09-10-2020</b>	MP for Mfantseman, Ekow Quansah Hayford shot dead	<a href="https://citinewsroom.com/2020/10/mfantseman-mp-ekow-quansah-hayford-reportedly-shot-dead/">https://citinewsroom.com/2020/10/mfantseman-mp-ekow-quansah-hayford-reportedly-shot-dead/</a>
<b>08-10-2020</b>	100 arrested in connection with Western Togoland attacks – Archibald Letsa	<a href="https://www.myjoyonline.com/100-arrested-in-connection-with-western-togoland-attacks-archibald-letsa/">https://www.myjoyonline.com/100-arrested-in-connection-with-western-togoland-attacks-archibald-letsa/</a>
<b>12-09-2020</b>	Legon's Prof. Yaw Benneh found dead in a suspected case of murder	<a href="https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/professor-emmanuel-yaw-benneh-is-dead.html">https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/professor-emmanuel-yaw-benneh-is-dead.html</a>
<b>31-01-2019</b>	Ayawaso West Wuogon by-election: Gunshots at La Bawalashie polling station	<a href="https://www.pulse.com.com.gh/news/poilitcs/ayawaso-west-wuogon-by-election-gunshots-at-la-bawaleshie-polling-station/">https://www.pulse.com.com.gh/news/poilitcs/ayawaso-west-wuogon-by-election-gunshots-at-la-bawaleshie-polling-station/</a>

Compiled by the researcher, January, 2022



Despite these incidents, the Ghana Police Service on the contrary have argued that Ghana is not in a state of insecurity. In June 2021 for instance, the Director of Public Affairs of the Service, Sheilla Kessie Abayie-Buchman denied that Ghana was in a state of insecurity in an interview on JoyNews File program. For her, the supposed sense of insecurity result from an abuse of privileges via the media by elites who spread fear and panic in the country (Affre, 2021). The 2021 Global Peace Index report ranked Ghana as the 38<sup>th</sup> peaceful country in the world, 2<sup>nd</sup> in Africa behind Mauritius and 1<sup>st</sup> in West Africa (Ghanaweb, 2022). The report thus seems to support the argument of the Director of Public Affairs of the Police Service that the country was not in a state of insecurity.

However, the almost daily reportage of insecurity (e.g., violent crime) incidents in the country leaves one to question if indeed the argument of the Director of Public Affairs of the Ghana Police Service is valid or otherwise. For instance, the 2021 Africa Organized Crime Index report placed Ghana 14<sup>th</sup> position in Africa with an above-average score of 6.04 points while DR Congo and Nigeria placed 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> with a score point of 7.7 and 7.38 respectively (Statista Research Department, 2021). Similarly, the Global Report on Crime Index identified Ghana among 57 other countries with high criminality and low resilience (Global Crime Index, 2021, p. 107). On the criminality score, for instance, Ghana placed 41<sup>st</sup> position with a score point of 6.01 out of 193 countries in the World (Global Crime Index, 2021, p.151). These reports clearly shows that though Ghana is relatively stable compared to other countries especially in the West African sub-region, the issue of insecurity, mostly crime related is a great concern that seeks to threaten the peace and stability of the country. The Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development (2006) as cited by Miller and Rudnick (2008, p. 12) for instance notes that, “armed violence destroys lives and

livelihoods, breed insecurity, fear and terror, and has a profoundly negative impact on human development. Whether in situations of conflict or crime, it poses enormous cost on states, communities and individuals.”

The Ghana Police Service Annual Crime report for 2017 notes a surge in most major crime offenses compared to the previous year. On murder for example, there was an increase of 10.9% from 549 in 2016 to 609 in 2017 while armed robbery saw a 26.8% increase from 1397 in 2016 to 1772 in 2017 (Annual Crime Statistics – Ghana Police Service, 2017, p. 6). Adib Saani, a security analyst, urged the IGP, Dr. George Dampare to take proactive measures to deal with insecurity especially violent crime after data released by the Statistical Research and Monitoring Unit of the CID – Ghana Police showed that 306 murder cases were recorded in the first quarter of 2021 (Nazah, 2021).

The fight against crime is mostly successful to a large extent depending on the role played by key actors like the political authorities. Braimah and Mbowura (2014) have for instance observed that, commitment and the formulation of good policies by political authorities goes a long way to affect the nature, magnitude, professionalism and success of the security agencies in the discharge of their onus of maintenance of law and order and protecting lives and properties. Thus, frequent retooling of the security outfits, improved conditions of services, recruitment of additional personnel etc. undoubtedly helps to curb the surge in criminal activities in the country (pp. 1-3). There have also been calls for the police to strategize their modus operandi of crime fighting to include the use of ICT tools. For instance, Oteng-Ababio et al., (2016) argued for investment in good information systems and tools for integrating crime preventive measures (p. 16).

## **2.6 Empirical Review**

This section deals with the studies conducted by other researchers which are related to the problem under investigation. The review was done per the research questions and objectives that underpin the study.

### **2.6.1 Factors causing insecurity**

Various studies have been conducted on the root causes or factors that create insecurity, especially violent crime in different parts of the world (Adesina, 2013; Ewetan & Urhie, 2014; Akpakan, 2015; Osawe, 2015; Cabrera-Barona et al., 2019; Zubairu, 2020; Abdulai & Ismail, 2021). Adesina (2013) for instance, conducted a study on unemployment and security challenges in Nigeria utilizing data from the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the country's Annual Socio-Economic Report of the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) from 2000-2011 in addition to some secondary sources. The findings of the study reveal that one of the significant factors causing insecurity in the country was the increasing rate of graduate unemployment which has led most youth into banditry and other criminal activities in order to sustain themselves. The study, therefore, attributed the surge in security challenges to rising unemployment in Nigeria.

In a similar study, Adenike (2021) investigated the issue of poverty, unemployment, and insecurity challenges in Nigeria using the Granger causality test and the variance decomposition technique on secondary data from 1990-2017. His findings show that falling below the poverty line results in increased unemployment and a higher investment/spending on security by the state. This he argued is because most unemployed youth venture into criminal activities to survive, hence, the state ends up spending a huge amount on the provision of security to protect lives and properties. Thus, the problem of poverty is central to the insecurity menace particularly violent

crime experienced in Nigeria as the increase in unemployment results in higher poverty levels; and increased government spending on security leads to increase poverty. Thus, when people are unable to afford their basic needs, they resort to criminal activities. The formulation and execution of a micro and macro-economic policy towards uplifting people above the poverty line; creating more employment avenues and meting out stiffer punishment for culprits engaged in causing insecurity are measures that he identified as remedies to the menace.

In addition, Cabrera-Barona et al., (2019) conducted an explorative study on spatial patterns of crime and its correlation with poverty levels, police visibility, and population density in the metropolitan district of Quito in Ecuador. They did a correlation analysis involving the number of each type of crime identified against the poverty levels, population density, and police visibility. Their study reveals a widespread occurrence of robbery and larceny incidents in the area. The study further shows an inverse relationship between poverty and the number of each crimes identified while a positive relationship was identified between crimes and police visibility index, and between crimes and population density. The positive relationship between crimes and police visibility means that though poor/worsening poverty level among the population has a direct consequence on the crime rate, the presence or visibility of security personnel in such a vicinity can bring or minimize the rate at which crime is committed. Fraud, homicide, larceny, murder, rape, and robbery were some of the other criminal activities identified in most of the urban areas of the district.

Ewetan and Urhie (2014) identified terrorism, ethno-religious conflicts, inadequate personnel, political-based violence, poverty and unemployment, porous borders, corruption, and economic inequalities as the main causes of insecurity in Nigeria. Their study was on insecurity and socio-economic development in Nigeria with data for the

study mainly from the Nigerian National Bureau of Statistics and other secondary sources. The authors lamented how these criminal incidents are having a toll on the socio-economic development of the country with adverse effects on investors and business activities all over. To ameliorate the challenges, they recommended the use of modern methods of intelligence gathering and data sharing among security officials, training and supply of logistics, motivation, and use of advanced technologies as some of the steps to be taken to help reduce the challenges as well as a focus on boosting socio-economic and physical infrastructure to support businesses and industries.

The findings of Ewetan and Urhie (2014) above were likewise identified by Zubairu (2020) who also did a study on rising insecurity in Nigeria: Causes and solution with data for the study reliant on secondary sources. His study reveals that poverty and unemployment, exploitation of religious and ethnic differences by elites, widespread corruption, bad governance, poor leadership, weak security system, porous borders, inequalities, and marginalization were the root causes of insecurity in Nigeria. The study concluded with a call for measures such as community policing, boosting security outfits with modern security technologies, training, and motivations; setting up of entrepreneurship centers across the country to create more employment avenues, and promoting good governance among others as ways/solutions to the insecurity menace facing the country.

Further, Chukwu and Anachunam (2019) focused their study on security challenges and leadership in Africa wherein they sought to examine issues relating to security challenges and leadership in Africa and the relationship between security and development on the continent. The study adopted secondary sources of data as well as a historical approach in its analysis. Their findings reveal that Africa's political landscape is characterized by ethnic and tribal affiliation. It is a well-known fact that

most cases or incidents of insecurity and conflicts in a majority of countries across Africa spring up due to ethnicity and tribal rivalries concerning sharing of national wealth/resources and developmental projects. Thus, the study argued for a non-exclusion of national security issues from national development policies/issues as the two are mutually related. Regarding Africa's political leadership, the authors believed the practice of good and accountable governance by African leaders devoid of corruption and favoritism is a step towards reducing insecurity as the absence of it is partly the reason for most security challenges on the continent.

Similarly, Azaigba and Ahom (2021) also conducted a study on the changing dynamics of kidnapping in Nigeria and its implications for national development. They employed secondary data for the study using an analytical and narrative technique to analyze the issues. The major finding of the study was that the introduction of ransom has made kidnapping a lucrative venture in Nigeria with an adverse impact on national development (e.g., FDI). This has served as a motivating factor for criminals engaging in the act because families and friends of people kidnapped in most instances pay a huge sum of money as ransom for the release of their relative, hence, encouraging the criminals to always kidnap victims especially those perceived to come from a wealthy background. In some instances, the victims of these criminal acts are foreign investors, thus, the kidnapping menace as argued by the authors is harming national development.

In a study conducted in Kenya, Sitienei and Chumba (2020) looked at how economic hardship affected violent crimes. The study used the purposive sampling technique to choose the study area, sample size, and population, with the education level, employment position, and household income as the variables taken into account for offenders of violent crimes. The descriptive data analysis approach was used with a

sample size of 50, comprising 25 criminal justice system personnel and 25 convicted felons. The authors found a strong correlation between poverty and violent crime in Kenya, where most criminals hailed from low-income households and had low educational and career statuses. This finding means poverty and unemployment was key factor in the incidents of violent crimes in Kenya. Likewise, Osawe (2015) investigated the subject of Nigeria's high rate of violent crime and its impact on socio-economic development using the relative deprivation theory as the theoretical foundation and other secondary data. According to the study's findings, the government's inability to address the nation's high unemployment rate and its weak leadership are to blame for the country's high rate of violent crime. Thus, the feeling of frustration and deprivation has led to the use of criminal violence by some to press home their needs. This partly explains the surge in cases of kidnapping for ransom and killing of people for money rituals among others.

On the contrary, Riccio et al. (2019) in a study on crime and insecurity in the Amazonas sought to investigate the perception of the local population and criminal justice officers on crime and insecurity in the Amazonia state of Brazil. The study used a qualitative focus group method to gather data for the study with 41 interviewees sample from (7) different groups consisting of; the general population of the metropolitan region of Manaus, the general population of Tefe, a municipality from the interior region, two groups from members of the civil police, a group with the officers of the criminal justice system in Manaus, and the last involving members of the civil police and military police in Tefe. The study reveals a surge in drug-related violence in the Amazonas, a region well noted for drug production (e.g., cocaine). They again observed the problem of inadequate or lack of logistics for security personnel to fight the menace. This has led

to a strained relationship between the police and society as most people do not trust the police/security officers to be able to protect them against crime-related activities.

In addition, Alfakoro (2021) also conducted a study on the proliferation of insecurity amidst the COVID-19 pandemic in Nigeria with data for the study basically from secondary materials of events and cases. His finding shows that the relative peace that was enjoyed before the covid-19 outbreak was absent/shrinking in most villages and towns during the peak of the covid pandemic. Thus, the study argued that insecurity in the form of crimes like banditry, armed robbery, kidnapping, etc. became rife or more evident during the covid period. This finding can be linked to the mass layoff of workers during the pandemic, especially those working in the private sector. The closure of businesses and restrictions during the period thus harmed most ordinary people who make ends means daily plying their trades. Hence, the spillover effects were the surge of insecurity leading to a reduction in the level of peace that was enjoyed before the outbreak.

To analyze crimes and insecurity in rural Nigeria, Abdullahi and Ismail (2021) did a content analysis study. They aimed to determine the types of crimes that were common, how they affected security, and the causes of this security malaise. The study's framework was based on the Broken Windows theory. According to the study, there has been an increase in crime, particularly rural banditry, cattle rustling, the Boko Haram insurgency, intercommunal and religious conflicts, armed robberies, and pipeline vandalism, all of which have resulted in the loss of lives and property as well as the destruction of rural settlements and the eviction of rural residents. The authors also identified illiteracy as a problem in rural Nigeria, along with ungoverned or unregulated areas, youth unemployment, the prevalence of hideouts, and inadequate security presence.



### **2.6.2 Effects of insecurity**

The spillover effects of insecurity are undoubtedly catastrophic. The consequences of the absence of peace and security, and surging levels of threats in the form of criminal violence and other related crimes like banditry, kidnapping, terrorism, armed robbery, etc. have a dramatic effect on lives and properties, as well as on the peace, socio-economic and political development of the state. Through a content review of secondary sources, Bukari et al. (2017) conducted a study that investigates the impact of inter-ethnic chieftaincy and land conflicts on the sociopolitical development of northern Ghana. The study used the realistic group conflict theory as the theoretical framework and focused on the Konkomba, Gonja, Nanumba, Dagomba, Kusasi, Mo, and Sissala ethnic groups. The study's result demonstrates that the biggest drawback of chieftaincy and land conflicts is the devastation of human life and property. Meaning that incidents of inter-ethnic and chieftaincy conflicts have a greater adverse effect on the lives and properties of residents within and around the jurisdiction especially those who are vulnerable.

Again, in a study that investigates the effect of insecurity on human beings and the national economy using secondary data in Nigeria, Adegami (2013) observed the devastating impact on lives, destruction of business, properties, and equipment in addition to relocation and closing down of businesses as some of the effects of insecurity. He primarily blames these on intra- and inter-party animosity, porous boundaries, unemployment, job racketeering, and illiteracy. He, therefore, suggested the need for an open dialogue among all stakeholders to ensure collective security and a lasting solution to the menace of insecurity.

Further, Achumba et al. (2013) identified two perspectives regarding the effects of insecurity on business activities. The first has to do with those regarding potential

business investment (e.g., FDI) and the other relates to that which affects existing business enterprises (e.g., those affecting production, marketing, human resources, supply, and finance). The study employed secondary data for its data analysis and looked at the state of insecurity in Nigeria and how it affected business investment, operations, and sustainable development. The authors argue that the issue of insecurity has the potential to cripple the economic foundations and development of the state by way of driving out investors and also destabilizing the channels of production and distribution which plays a crucial role in sustaining the economic development of the state. Thus, for Achumba et al., the incidence of insecurity can have an adverse impact on the economic growth and development of the state, hence, their call for visionary leadership, the practice of good governance, improve socio-economic development, elimination of corruption, and the development of robust security system, etc. as measures to counter the menace.

Another study by Umaru et al. (2015) used the Frustration-Aggression theory as the theoretical foundation to investigate how poverty and insecurity affect sustainable economic growth in Nigeria with a focus on the Boko Haram insurgency. The study makes the case that the insurgency of Boko Haram is being stoked by dissatisfaction with poor governance, corruption, and a pervasively weak institutional structure. The authors identified a negative relationship between economic growth, insecurity, and poverty using the Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) technique. They further noted Boko Haram as the group that committed the most serious crime against the Nigerian state through its terrorist acts such as the bombing of strategic places, waging war campaigns against individuals and groups opposed to them, and widespread destruction of lives and property among others. The criminal activities of the terrorist group are therefore having an adverse effect on sustainable economic development in the country.

In a related study, Ajibola (2016) carried out a study on economic growth amidst insecurity in Nigeria and his finding reveals that, though the country's actual growth rate within the period (1981-2014) was 6%, the potential rate could have been 11% if not for the surge in the level of insecurity, corruption, unemployment, and poverty. To determine the relationship between economic growth and insecurity, the study employed multiple regressions to analyze data from 1981 to 2014 based on real gross domestic product, total expenditure on security, gross fixed capital formation, total labor force, corruption perception index, and poverty index. The outcome of the study highlighted why an economy thrives in an environment where investors and businesses operate in a peaceful, safe, and secure milieu when it identified a positive relationship between economic growth and security. Both of the aforementioned studies recommended good governance, effective counterterrorism measures, and the development of powerful legitimate institutions that can effectively combat the threat of corruption and poverty to help address the nation's security concerns.

In a study on crime and security in East Africa, Wambua (2015) argues that most East Africans trust the army more than the police for their safety and protection. The study which relied on Afrobarometer surveys carried out between 1999 and 2012 in four countries i.e., Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, and Burundi identified Burundians as those who feel secure within the sub-region. Reid et al. (2020) also did a study as part of the CITYCOP project, where they sought to develop a model of perceptions of security and insecurity in the context of crime using questionnaires to interview 272 participants from 11 European countries through an opportunity snowballing sampling technique. "Signs of social and physical disorder," "confidence in the police," "trait anxiety," "collective efficacy," "perceived danger of victimization," "fear of personal harm," and "fear of property theft" were the main factors used in the study. The study's findings

indicate that measures of sentiments of security are negatively correlated with measures of feelings of insecurity. Thus, the fear of becoming a victim of crime-related acts negatively affects the sense of feeling secure. The study called for proactive community and social interactions and the need to trust security and law enforcement institutions as measures to help eliminate the fear of insecurity.

Once more, Morrison and Rockmore (2020) looked at the impact of political engagement in Africa on people's fear of crime. Each round of the Afrobarometer Survey, which had more than 10,000 participants from more than 18 countries, was utilized in the study to collect data on self-reported measures of political engagement, exposure to violence, and fear of crime. The study's findings highlighted that while victims of crimes had more authoritarian political opinions, those who are afraid of crime are more supportive of democracy and the rule of law. The study showed a favorable association between fear of crime and political engagement. Botric (2021) also looked into how exposure to crime affects expectations for business performance in post-transition economies in eight countries in Central and South-Eastern Europe, namely Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czechia, Montenegro, Serbia, Slovakia, and Slovenia. It did so by surveying business owners or top executives of registered companies with five (5) or more employees. He conducted the data analysis using microdata from the World Bank Enterprise Survey, and the results show that respondents in businesses that have sustained losses due to crime are generally more likely to anticipate a decline in sales over the course of the following fiscal year. The study also found that, although exposure to crime hurts company activity in some jurisdictions, individuals who have suffered losses due to crime are more enthusiastic about the possibility of increased sales (e.g., Slovakia, Montenegro, and Croatia).

Ajodo-Adebanjoko and Okwudili (2014) looked specifically at the conflict regions of the North-East, South-South, and Middle-Belt while examining the relationship between poverty, conflict, and insecurity in Nigeria. The study's theoretical foundation was human security, and the authors mainly employed secondary data from the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) and the United Nations Development Indicators. The study concluded that the two biggest global issues harming sustainable development in emerging nations like Nigeria are poverty and insecurity. In a related study, Afolabi et al. (2015) investigated the relationship between national security and national development using time series data from the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) statistical bulletin and the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) annual reports and journals from 1994-2014 as well as OLS (Ordinary Least Square) for data analysis to determine the impact of insecurity on national development. The finding by Afolabi et al. was similar to the outcome of Ajodo-Adebanjoko and Okwudili (2014) that unemployment and crime rates adversely affect national growth and development.

In Mexico, BenYishay and Pearlman (2011) conducted a study on the link between property crime and growth among microenterprises with a focus on robbery. Higher robbery rates significantly lower the likelihood that microenterprises will grow their operations, according to the study that compared repeated cross-sectional surveys of microenterprises with repeated polls of the general public on crime and insecurity. Thus, businesses or microenterprises are likely to fold up in jurisdictions where robbery incidents are frequent due to constant attacks. In the case of South Africa, Moyo (2012) conducted a study on the impact of crime-related activities on the performances of firms. Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) and the Tobit model were used to analyze cross-sectional data from World Bank enterprise surveys conducted in 2007 in South Africa's four major cities (Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, and Port Elizabeth). The study's

findings demonstrate that crime, such as theft, robbery, arson, and vandalism, has a detrimental impact on sales and, consequently, firm performance. The author thus concluded by asking firms to strengthen their security measures and a call for stiffer punishment to serve as a deterrent for those engaging in criminal acts.

### **2.6.3 Measures aimed at addressing insecurity**

With widespread incidents of insecurity all over, various studies have offered some measures that are required/needed to help address the menace. To start with, a study by Baker (2010) which sought to examine the role of community-based policing groups in mitigating violent crime in Africa using secondary data observes that, state and non-state policing partnerships can help boost efficiency and performance through training and capacity building, supervision and guidelines for stakeholders, and logistic support among others. He, therefore, argued for a close police collaboration with acceptable non-state actors as a way of reducing crime.

Similar findings were made by Osakede et al. (2016) and Ojebode et al. (2016) emphasizing the crucial role played by non-state security actors in the provision of security. The study by Osakede et al. (2016) for instance, utilizes interviews and examples of criminal activity recorded by the community vigilante group in the relevant local areas to evaluate community policing and insecurity in Nigeria concerning Ikorodu and Badagry Local Government Areas in Lagos State. Using Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient for its data analysis, the authors discovered a correlation between community policing and the Nigerian police in the protection of lives and property. Thus, community policing in the form of neighborhood watch, among others assists in helping to fight crime and insecurity, hence, a call for close collaboration and partnership to strengthen the bond of relations between them. To determine whether community-based crime prevention strategies in Ibadan are effective or not, Ojebode et

al. (2016) blended descriptive large-N surveys and quasi-experimental small-N comparative case study designs. Their finding shows that community-based crime prevention is very effective in reducing criminal activities. They, therefore, call for partnership and support from the government, donors, and security agencies to help these groups fight crime.

Additionally, Igbo and Chinwokwu (2020) conducted a study on the participation of Private Security Companies (PSC) in crime control in Nigeria. The study which used rational choice and routine activity theory with reliance on secondary data reveal that private security companies played a complementary role to the police in crime fighting. The authors claimed that the creation of private security firms was triggered by the police's incapacity to adequately safeguard citizens. However, they draw attention to the absence of firearms, police oversight and cooperation, a lack of resources, poor welfare, and disputes between and within agencies, as some of the major challenges faced by private security companies.

Likewise, Udeoba and Eze (2021) in their study on government strategies in tackling insecurity in Nigeria argued that government can tackle insecurity through the use of community policing, the practice of good governance, a ban on open grazing, adoption of intelligence gathering, and surveillance to predict potential crime. The study used a survey research design with a purposive sample of three hundred (300) public servants in Anambra state with a questionnaire as the instrument and mean statistics as the method of data analysis. They concluded by advocating the making and execution of policies aimed at addressing the root causes of insecurity in the country. A similar call was made by Emanemua and Akinlosotu (2016) in their study on the wave of kidnapping for ransom as well as its implication on the nation when they argued for

pragmatic steps as well as the practice of good governance as measures to address the root causes of the menace.

Contrary to studies that emphasize community policing as a strategy for resolving insecurity, Onifade et al. (2013) examined the role of moral values and virtue ethics in addressing issues of insecurity. Their study used four theoretical approaches i.e., consequentialist or teleological approaches (utilitarianism), non-consequentialist or deontological approaches, human rights approach, and virtue ethics approach to explaining the role of morality and virtue ethics and its potential application towards addressing insecurity using secondary sources of data. The authors argue for the upholding of the tenets of rule of law e.g., respect and tolerance, non-discrimination, and protection of rights against arbitrary interference among others as some of the moral and virtue ethics that can help address insecurity.

A different perspective was offered by Igbo and Ugwuoke (2013) in a study on crime and crime control in the traditional Igbo society of Nigeria using social control theory. The major source for the study, which examined the idea of crime and crime control in traditional Igbo society, was based on unstructured oral interviews and conversations with some Igbo elders from the South-East geopolitical zone's Nsukka and Owerri regions. According to the study, crime prevention in traditional Igbo society has been more successful than in modern society. This according to the study was due to activities of vigilante groups, institutions of deities, and secret societies which used to operate at night as agents of crime control. Additionally, the use of divination, invocation of gods of the land, and trial by ordeal served as the mechanism to check against criminal activities in traditional Igbo societies. Thus, revisiting some of these traditional mechanisms of crime control can be of help in addressing the surge in criminal acts. Akinbi (2015) makes an argument for the necessity of addressing poverty



reduction, religious secularism, and political reorientation as well as the need for adequate collaboration and partnership between relevant stakeholders, such as the government, non-governmental organizations, civil society organizations, and individuals, etc. in a study on the Boko Haram insurgency and the need for a permanent resolution to its activities. This was done using the historical method of research and analysis.

Shivam et al. (2018), sought to develop approaches to detecting crime using text and facial recognition algorithms. Their study argued for the use of text recognition to identify number plates and face recognition for criminal identification at toll tax collection, parking systems, airports, border crossings, etc. to help fight crime. In a related study, Umar et al. (2021) argued for a more technological approach to combating the insecurity challenges in Nigeria. Their study which relied on secondary data argues for the synchronization of a national database that will serve as a central point of reference for all law enforcement agencies. It also notes the need to ensure sim card security and ownership, facial recognition surveillance camera, plate number recognition, voice recognition, social media policing, and application of geographic information system (GIS) and crime mapping as means to track and predict the activities of criminals.

Again, Braimah and Mbowura (2014) conducted a study on crime prevention in developing economies in Africa with a special focus on the Ghana Police Service. The study which used multiple of sources for its data collection and analysis adopted the strain theory and social control theory as the theoretical framework. The authors' findings show that the Ghana Police Service is facing the challenges of dilemma in its quest to fight crime in the country. Some of the key dilemmas they identified were; the dilemma of an image problem in the eyes of the public; a perception of being filled with

miscreants; the dilemma of exonerating itself from the perception of collaborating with miscreants within the service; the dilemma of being impartial and neutral towards politicians and elites; and the dilemma of showing professionalism instead of brutalization in the fight against crime. Thus, the police service in its quest to fight crime is facing varied challenges in the public realm, hence, the issues of lack of trust and confidence mostly from some sections of the public. Addressing these dilemmas is undoubtedly a step towards regaining the trust and confidence of the populace which will help to ensure cooperation with members of the public in the fight against crime-related incidents.

## **2.7. Chapter Summary**

This chapter began with a review of the theoretical underpinnings guiding the study and its relevance in the context of the work. Literature on the concepts of security and human security were discussed. Scholarly debates regarding the meaning of the word security were highlighted and the discussions revealed that there was a lack of consensus on a generally accepted definition or meaning of the concepts i.e., security and human security.

The arguments of the two main school of thoughts regarding the concept of security was also reviewed i.e., the narrow/traditional and the wide/broad perspectives as well as an overview of the concept of personal security and the notion of citizen security which all places significant attention on the safety and physical wellbeing of the individual.

An overview of security related issues in Africa was given and with that of Ghana; the study reviewed the myriad cases of insecurity like violent crime, political vigilantism, chieftaincy and inter-ethnic conflicts, farmers-pastoralist conflicts among others. It then

ended with an empirical overview of general causes, effects, and measures of addressing insecurity.

A careful review of the literature shows that, much scholarly attention has not been devoted to issues of violent crime especially armed robbery, murders etc. in Ghana and the few which did mostly focus on the cities and urban areas of the country. Other studies of insecurity in the country have focused on issues of inter-ethnic and chieftaincy disputes, political vigilantism, farmers-pastoralist conflicts etcetera. This present study was therefore necessitated based on the above premise to investigate the issues of insecurity i.e., violent crime especially the surging incidents of armed robbery, murders, etc. which is a major source of insecurity in the country with the Pru West and Pru East districts as the case studies.



## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the method used in carrying out the research/study. Among the sub-topics covered/discussed are the research approach, research design, the study area, sample size and technique, sources of data, method of analyzing data etcetera. The study starts with the research approach underpinning the study.

#### 3.1 Research Approach

Research is a “systematic investigation to gain new knowledge from already existing facts” (Kale & Jayanth, 2019, p. 2). For Owu-Ewie, research is an active, diligent, and systematic process of inquiry in order to discover, interpret, or revise facts, events, behaviors, or theories to make application with the help of such facts, laws, or theories (2017, p. 1). Research approaches, according to Cresswell (2014), are research plans and procedures that cover the phases from general assumptions through precise data collecting, analysis, and interpretation methodologies. Thus, the sort of research approach to be employed is determined by the nature of the research topic or issue being addressed, the researchers' own experiences, and the study's target audiences.

This study adopted the qualitative research approach. The qualitative research approach according to Kothari (2004) is “concerned with a qualitative phenomenon, i.e., phenomena relating to or involving quality or kind” (p. 3). This means that qualitative research is concerned with evaluating attitudes, views, and behavior on a subjective basis. Consequently, it contains the researcher's impressions and observations. Thus, this approach to research “generates results either in non-quantitative form or in the form which are not subjected to rigorous quantitative analysis” (Kothari, 2004, p. 5).

According to Avis (2005), qualitative research comprises the intentional application of unique methodological and epistemological theories, like grounded theory, phenomenology, or ethnography, to look at how individuals perceive their lives and the social environment (p. 3). Thus, information is gathered through observations, analyses of words, interviews etcetera to make meanings of participants' subjective views regarding the issue(s) under study. As less emphasis is placed on generalization and more attention is paid to the individual, Kale and Jayanth (2019) have noted that this form of research is more challenging and requires more direction (p. 8). The main objective is to comprehend and investigate the breadth, depth, and complexity of the phenomenon.

For Jason and Glenwick (2016), “an important goal of qualitative methods is discovery i.e., developing holistic, comprehensive descriptions of systems, theories, and processes, as well as identifying factors and working hypotheses that warrant further research” (p. 13). Thus, Johnson and Christensen (2014) argue that qualitative researchers “often view human behavior as being fluid, dynamic, and changing over time and place, and they usually are not interested in generalizing beyond the particular people who are studied” (p. 85). From this perspective, they note that different groups are said to develop their own realities or perspectives, which in turn influence how they "see" or comprehend their worlds, what they consider normal and abnormal, and how they should act.

The qualitative research approach is premised on the social constructivist research paradigm/worldview. Johnson and Christensen (2014) defined a research paradigm as a “worldview or perspective about research held by a community of researchers that is based on a set of shared assumptions, concepts, values, and practices” (p. 79). Thus, it is a way of thinking about and conducting research. Cresswell (2014) also defines a

research paradigm as a “general philosophical orientation about the world and the nature of research that a researcher brings to a study.” According to social constructivists, individuals' interactions and minds form reality, hence there are multiple, entirely valid realities. Again, constructivists believe that “worldviews cannot be removed from research, and therefore researchers must acknowledge, describe, and fully consider their roles” (Jason & Glenwick, 2016, p. 14). For Grover (2015), the social constructivist “belief that people develop subjective meanings of their experiences,” thus, consideration is given to the unique sense of identity and personality of every individual in conducting research (p. 4). This means that people make sense of the world through their own historical and societal perspectives: meanings are contextual and not intended to be generalized. To conduct research using this method, one must be compatible with the topic in terms of personal history, societal identity, and attitude.

For Cresswell, the social constructivist believed that:

*“Individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work. Individuals develop subjective meanings of their experiences— meanings directed toward certain objects or things. These meanings are varied and multiple, leading the researcher to look for the complexity of views rather than narrowing meanings into a few categories or ideas. The goal of the research is to rely as much as possible on the participants’ views of the situation being studied”* (Cresswell, 2014).

Thus, Williams (2007) argued that qualitative research “is the social phenomenon being investigated from the participant’s viewpoint” (p. 67). The researcher seeks to understand and explore reality from the perspectives of the people the research is about. This approach underpins the study in order to unravel the issues surrounding the state of insecurity in the Pru West and Pru East Districts from the viewpoints of key opinion leaders in the respective districts. The use of this approach was to aid the researcher to

be in a good position to interpret findings from the perspective of the subjective meanings of interviewed informants in the study. As noted by Cresswell (2014), the researcher “focuses on the specific contexts in which people live and work in order to understand the historical and cultural settings of the participants.” The goal of the researcher is to appreciate and comprehend the subjective meaning of the world from each participant’s point of view or perspective.

### **3.2 Research design**

A research design refers to “the overall strategy that one chooses to attack the problem which requires integration of different components of the study in a coherent and logical way, thereby, ensuring to solve the problem in an efficient way” (Grover, 2015, pp. 1-2). It is the blueprint for data collection, measurement, analysis, interpretation, and reporting of findings.

The case study research design which involves providing a detailed account of one or more cases was adopted for the study. Owu-Ewie (2017) defines the case study design as “an in-depth analysis of one or more events, settings, programs, groups or one or more individuals with cases restricted by time and activity” (p. 4). For Yin (2003), the case study method allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events (p. 2). Thus, Cresswell (2009) observes that case studies “are a strategy of inquiry in which the researcher explores in depth a program, event, activity, process, or one or more individuals.”

Thus, information for a case study is obtained in a variety of ways, such as through participant or direct observation, interviews, archival records or papers, physical objects, and video components. The participants of the research must be engaged by the researcher in person. Lessons learned or patterns discovered that connect to theories

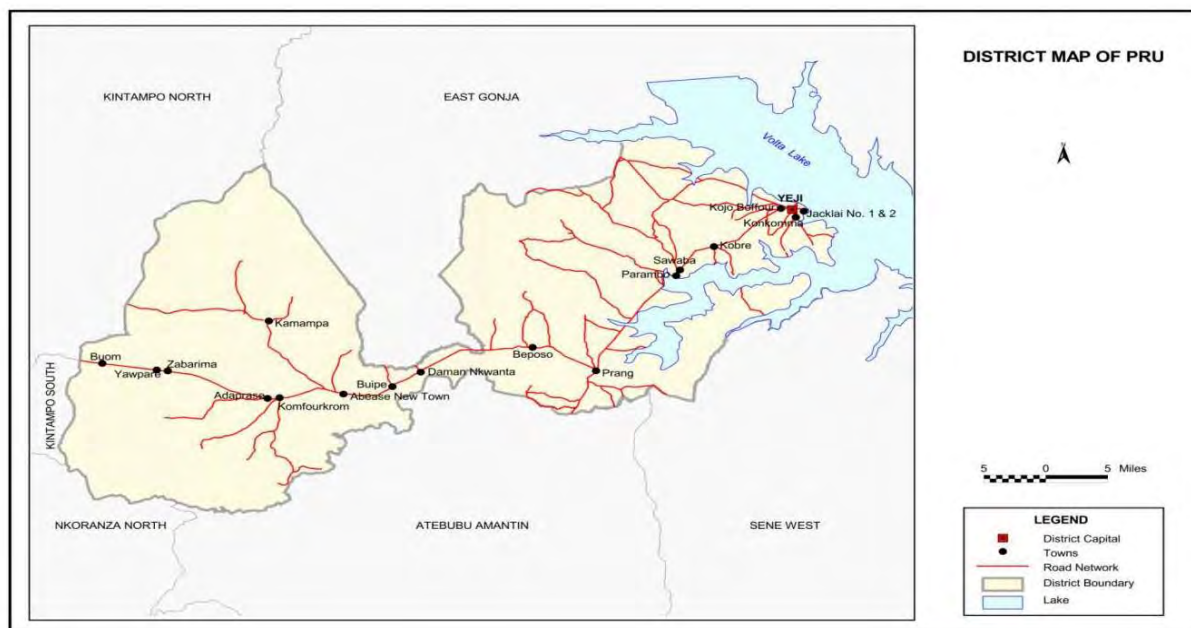
would be included in the report. A semi-structured interview guide was used to investigate/collect data for the study which focused on the state of insecurity in the Pru West and Pru East Districts respectively.

### **3.3 Selection of the Study Area**

The selection of the Pru West and Pru East Districts as the case studies were necessitated by the fact of recent surges in the state of insecurity especially violent crime in the two districts. Considering the strategic location of both districts in the middle belt of the country and the fact that the two districts serve as a transit point for traders and motorists crossing the Volta River from the Southern – Northern (vice versa) part of the country using the (Kumasi-Ejura-Atebubu-Prang-Yeji-Salaga) road, the insecurity menace in the area have both local and national implications for residents and people from different parts of the country who uses the area as their travel route. The Members of Parliament for both Districts, opinion leaders as well as residents have expressed concerns about the security situation in the area with constant armed robbery attacks occurring within the area. The current IGP, Dr. George Akuffo Dampare in August 2021 visited the area to ascertain firsthand information regarding the phenomena (Sabit, 2021b). The study, therefore, sought to unearth the issues regarding insecurity in the two districts, effects on residents and measures being taken the address the menace.



### 3.4 Research Area



Source: Ghana Statistical Service, GIS

**Figure 1: A Map of Pru West and Pru East Districts**

The Pru West and Pru East Districts used to merge together as Pru District with Yeji as the district capital. The then Pru District originated from the former larger Atebubu District in February 2004 under Legislative Instrument 1778 of 2004 (Ghana's 2010 Population Census, Pru District, p. 1). The split of the Pru District occurred in March 2018 when the Government of Ghana created new districts across the country, thus, dividing the district into Pru West and East Districts with Prang and Yeji as the district capitals respectively.

The population of Pru West district per data from the Ghana 2021 Population and Housing Census was 69,383 people with 30,834 residing in the urban and 38,549 in the rural areas of the district. For the Pru East district, the population stood at 101,545 with 64,603 in the urban and 36,942 in the rural area (Ghana Statistical Service, 2021, p. 64).

The two Districts share boundaries with seven others, namely; East Gonja to the North (Northern region), Sene East and Sene West to the East, Atebubu and Nkoranza to the South, and finally, Kintampo North and Kintampo South to the West all in the Bono East Region.

The research was focused on two big towns in each of the districts i.e., Prang and Abease in Pru West and Yeji and Parambo-Sawaba in the Pru East Districts respectively. This was due to time and resource constraints on the part of the researcher.

### **3.5 Sample Size and Technique**

A sample is a small population that is selected for observation and analysis (Owu-Ewie, 2017, p. 27). Turner (2020) defines sampling as “the selection of a subset of the population of interest in a research study” (p. 8). Further, Owu-Ewie gave some reasons for sampling as economy, time to get a manageable population, because of inaccessibility of some populations, the destructiveness of the observation, and to ensure accuracy (2017, p. 27). It therefore means that in conducting research, various consideration has to be taken by the researcher in other to determine the sample size fit for the study. Sampling in qualitative research for instance focuses on gaining rich, local information, as opposed to gleaning generalized, global summaries (Jason & Glenwick, 2016, p. 15).

Thus,

*sampling from the population is often practical and allows data to be collected faster and at a lower cost than attempting to reach every member of the population... because the sample will be used to make inferences about the population, understanding the means by which the data arrives in the database is an important aspect of analyzing and drawing conclusions from that data* (Turner, 2020, p. 8).

A purposive sampling technique was adopted for the study. With this technique, the researcher “specifies the characteristics of a population of interest and then tries to locate individuals who have those characteristics” (Johnson & Christensen, 2014, p. 304). It is used in qualitative research to recruit participants who can provide in-depth and detailed information about the phenomena under study/investigation. Thus, Jason and Glenwick (2016) argued that researchers using purposive sampling target a specific population in terms of a specific characteristic (e.g., experience, demographic). The study employs this approach for the selection of participants to be interviewed.

Selecting the appropriate sample size is crucial when conducting qualitative research. For case study research, scholars such as Marshall et al. (2013), Boddy (2016), and Vasileiou et al. (2018) have recommended conducting 15–30 interviews. Consequently, Boddy (2016) has contended that any qualitative study involving over 30 in-depth interviews in a reasonably homogenous population qualifies as large and needs appropriate justification (p. 429). The sample size for the study was sixteen (16) informants, made up of the representatives of each of the two Members of Parliament for the respective districts (2), the District Chief Executive for the Pru East district and the representative of the Pru West District Chief Executive (2), one security analyst (1), a member of tradition authorities and an assembly member each from Prang, Abease, Yeji, and Parambo- Sawaba (8), the Pru East Divisional Police Commander at Yeji, and the police inspectors for Prang and Parambo- Sawaba (3), respectively, making 16 in all.

The selection of these interviewees was necessitated by the prominent roles each one of them plays in the districts and also the relevant knowledge they possess regarding the subject matter. Thus, they were in a good position to provide rich information on the issues at hand. The addition of the security analyst was to help enrich the work by

getting the perspective of someone who is outside the area but has the requisite knowledge regarding the issue at hand.

### **3.6 Sources of Data**

The study adopts both primary and secondary sources of data for the research. The method of collecting the primary data is through open-ended interview questions. This was to help collect in-depth information from participants and the secondary data is used to complement the primary data. The secondary data relied on relevant information from official government sites, books, news, and journals articles, magazines, newspapers, internet/websites, pdfs among others

### **3.7 Data Collection Procedure**

According to Cresswell (2014), the “data collection steps include setting the boundaries for the study, collecting information through unstructured or semi-structured observations and interviews, documents, and visual materials, as well as establishing the protocol for recording information.” Similarly, Johnson and Christensen (2014) also argued that “qualitative interviews consist of open-ended questions and provide qualitative data. They are used to obtain in-depth information about a participant’s thoughts, beliefs, knowledge, reasoning, motivations, and feelings about a topic” (p. 322). Thus, qualitative interviewing allows the researcher to enter into the inner world of another person and to gain an understanding of that person’s perspective (Patton, 1987; as cited in Johnson & Christensen, 2014, pp. 322-323). Data was collected via a one-on-one interview with research participants through the aid of an audio recorder and a field notebook from three (3) police personnel (a divisional commander, and two inspectors), a security analyst, four (4) assembly members, four (4) traditional authorities, the DCE for Pru East and the representative of the Pru West DCE, and two

representatives of the respective MPs for the districts making sixteen (16) in total using an interview guide as the research instrument.

### **3.8 Data Analysis Procedure**

Qualitative data are the rough materials or information i.e., nonnumerical data such as words and pictures that researchers collect to help address/explain a research problem. Data analysis in qualitative research involves the process of systematically reviewing and organizing the interview transcript, observation notes, or other non-textual materials that the researcher acquires to deepen understanding of a phenomenon under study. Thus, Gibson and Brown rightly argued that “the success of a research project is very much contingent on the analysis of data” (2009, p. 1). This means that it is through the analysis of data that the research problem and questions being investigated are answered or dealt with by the researcher in order to unearth the findings of the study. This study employed a thematic data analysis which is defined as “a method for systematically identifying, organizing, and offering insight into patterns of meaning (themes) across a data set” (Braun & Clarke, 2012, p. 57). With this approach, the researcher seeks to make sense of and meaning of the wide range of data collected through the identification of similarities and differences in how respondents see/view the issues under study.

Kiger and Varpio (2020) have observed that this approach of analyzing data from the perspective of Joffe (2011) is particularly suited for social constructivists/interpretivists as it allows for a search for more latent, deeper themes within the data. They, therefore, argued that using this approach makes it possible for one to “reframe, reinterpret, and/or connect elements of the data” when doing the data analysis (Kiger & Varpio, 2020, p. 2). In carrying out a thematic analysis, Braun and Clarke (2006, 2012) have suggested that one can use an inductive or deductive approach to identifying patterns from the

data gathered. Thus, in the context of this study, the inductive thematic approach which involves a bottom-up approach where themes are derived from the researcher's data was used. The approach is data-driven and seeks to offer a wide and expansive analysis of the whole data gathered for the study.

Data collected via audio recording and field notebook from the respondents were transcribed. After the transcription, the inductive approach was used to categorize and organized the data into codes after scrutiny in order to help ensure the efficiency and management of data. Relationships, patterns, and themes that emerged were identified, categorized, and analyzed based on the research questions and objectives of the study through a narrative (verbatim quotes).

### **3.9 Ethical Consideration**

In all the steps of the research process, one needs to engage in ethical processes and practices. According to Johnson and Christensen, consideration of research ethics is a necessary part of the development and implementation of any research study (2014, p. 192). In carrying out the study, Cresswell (2014) notes that "the researcher has an obligation to respect the rights, needs, values, and desires of the informant(s)." The researcher used a permission letter from the Department of Political Science and a student ID to authenticate his studentship and approval by the university (UEW) to conduct the research. All participants were duly informed and permission was sought with a clear explanation of what the research is about, the procedure, and the duration of the interview.

Participants were given the liberty and informed of their right to withdraw from the study/interview at any point they so desired. They were also informed that the recording of their responses would be used for only academic purposes, hence, the researcher

assured them that their personal identity and confidentiality of responses would be well protected.

To avoid plagiarism, the researcher has ensured that credits/acknowledgments were duly given to sources or works cited in the study.

### **3.10 Challenges of Data Collection**

Encountering challenges during the data collection process in any research work is not a new phenomenon. In the context of this study, the first challenge faced was that permission letters were sent and several follow-ups were done to get the opportunity to talk to the Members of Parliament for the two districts i.e., Hon. Stephen Jalulah, Pru West MP and Hon. Dr. Kwabena Donkor, Pru East MP, the attempts were however unsuccessful. The researcher with the permission of the supervisor substituted them with representatives from their respective political parties who also doubled as assembly members. They were selected because they were equally capable of speaking to the issues at hand as they are opinion leaders in the area serving as members of the district assembly.

Another challenge encountered by the researcher was that despite scheduling appointments with some of the respondents, some of them had to reschedule/postpone the meeting to another time due to their busy schedules at the time of the visit. This brought some financial burden or extra cost to the researcher because of the transport/journey cost incurred in revisiting or returning.

Finally, the DCE for Pru West declined to be interviewed citing his busy work schedule. He however gave permission and asked one of his officers in the district assembly to speak to the researcher. The DCE for Pru East and the police inspector at Prang on their

part asked not to be tape-recorded, their responses were therefore written inside the field notebook.

### **3. 11 Trustworthiness of the Study**

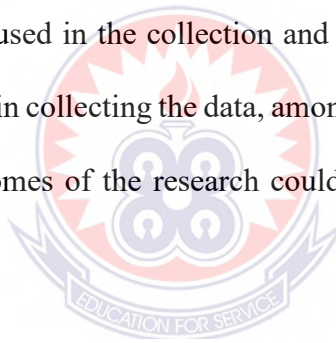
Positivist researchers sometimes question the basis of validity or trustworthiness in qualitative research due to its traditional attachment to a quantitative research approach (Shenton, 2004). However, scholars such as Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Johnson and Christensen (2014) have argued that some qualitative research is better than others; hence, there is a need to use trustworthiness or validity to differentiate the qualities of diverse qualitative studies. Lincoln and Guba (1985) have identified four main criteria for assessing validity or trustworthiness in qualitative research: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. However, it is not always the case that all four (4) criteria must be applicable in a qualitative study (Connelly, 2016).

The credibility of qualitative research corresponds with the internal validity of a quantitative research study. In qualitative research, the goal of determining the credibility and trustworthiness of a research study is to determine the extent of the accuracy or correctness of the research findings. Triangulation and member checking were some of the approaches identified by Lincoln and Guba (1985) in the process of achieving credibility. With these approaches, the researcher engages in cross-checking information and conclusions through multiple procedures or sources to ensure convergence or divergence of findings and conclusions, while also engaging in discussion of findings and conclusions with study participants for verification, insights, and deeper understanding (Shenton, 2004). These approaches were achieved in the study using multiple data sources, i.e., different informants (e.g., assembly members, traditional authorities, police personnel, security analysts, etc.) with diverse



perspectives, and also verifying and seeking clarifications from informants to get a deeper understanding of the issues.

The second criteria used in assessing the trustworthiness of qualitative research, as outlined by Lincoln and Guba (1985), is transferability. This principle is concerned with the extent to which the results of a study can be generalized or applied to a wider population or another setting (Shenton, 2004). Although the goal of qualitative research is not to generalize findings, a detailed description of the processes, context, research participants, and sample size, among others, can help others in a similar situation to at least apply the findings of the study to their local context. The study therefore provided sufficient and detailed information about the research sites, participants, sample size, methods and procedures used in the collection and analysis of data, verbatim quotes, duration, and period used in collecting the data, among others. This was meant to ensure that the findings or outcomes of the research could be transferred to another similar context.



Another criterion is dependability, also considered in a bid to achieve research trustworthiness in qualitative research. Dependability, which is closely related to credibility, refers to the in-depth description of the study procedures and analysis to allow the study to be replicated by others (Shenton, 2004). This means that the processes involved in the study should be well explained so that future researchers can repeat them, if not necessarily to gain the same results. The study used bracketing, i.e., setting aside one's preconceived beliefs, biases, and assumptions, to ensure the collected data and analysis were as unbiased as possible. This was achieved through data recording and documentation of findings, checking of data by a supervisor, suspended judgment, and reflexivity.

The final criterion is confirmability, which refers to the degree to which the findings of qualitative research can be confirmed or corroborated by others, especially those who are part of the research process or external observers (Shenton, 2004). With this criterion, researchers must take action to demonstrate that their conclusions are based on the facts, not on their personal prejudices, in order to ensure confirmability (Shenton, 2004). This was achieved via documentation of the research processes, data triangulation, reflexivity, peer review, and supervisor's feedback, and the conclusions of the study were based on the research findings.



## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

This chapter deals with the presentation of data obtained from the interviews conducted as well as other secondary sources. The purpose of this study was to examine the state of insecurity in the Pru West and Pru East Districts. The research questions provided a framework for the study and sought to achieve the following research objectives;

- 1) To explore the factors accounting for the state of insecurity in the Pru West and Pru East Districts.
- 2) To examine the effects of insecurity on the residents of Pru West and Pru East Districts.
- 3) To find out the measures that are being taken to address the menace.

Data was collected from three (3) police personnel (a divisional commander, and two inspectors), a security analyst, 4 assembly members, 4 traditional authorities, the DCE for Pru East and the representative of the Pru West DCE, and two representatives of the respective MPs for the districts making 16 in total via interview guides to elicit their responses on the issues in question. Collected data were transcribed and coded after a careful study of the responses. This was to help ensure efficient utilization and management of data, merging of related data from different notes, and easy identification of patterns and relationships. Data were analyzed and categorized into various themes, resulting in diverse patterns and themes arising out of the copious data coded. The themes that emerged from the data are presented below;

#### **4.1 The State of Insecurity in the Pru West and Pru East Districts**

The state of insecurity in Ghana and the focus of this work i.e., the Pru West and Pru East districts of the Bono East region has been an issue of concern and worry to citizens

and all other stakeholders. Data collected from this study reveals that there are insecurity issues threatening the survival, safety of lives, and properties of people living in the districts and the country at large. The focus of this theme was to ascertain the state/conditions of insecurity in the two districts and the following sub-themes give a general overview or idea of the situation in the area.

#### **4.1.1 *The nature of insecurity in the districts (i.e., armed robbery, kidnapping, and murder as the major insecurity incidents or activities)***

From the responses gathered on the field, almost all of them identified the major incidents of insecurity in the two districts to be issues relating to highway armed robbery, murder, kidnapping, and cattle theft, as the main incidents of insecurity that threatens the lives and properties of people in the districts. The common one that was dominant was the issue of armed robbery in the two districts. A member of the Abease traditional council for instance notes that;

*The major incidents are mostly armed robbery cases mostly on traders and market women. Some of the victims are people who are seen or suspected to be rich or wealthy around the area. There is also the problem of kidnapping. The kidnapping is very high this year (2022), especially around Zabarma it is very high there (Field Data No.2, 2022).*

The representative of the Pru West DCE also recounts a similar situation in the area;

*the major incidents are just highway robbery because there is no conflict here, no chieftaincy dispute, or anything of that sort. The insecurity issue here has nothing to do with any tribal conflict, it has nothing to do with chieftaincy or anything. It is just highway robbery (Field Data No.14, 2022).*

In relation to the issue of armed robbery, Braimah and Mbowura (2014), Cabrera-Barona et al. (2019) and Alfakoroo (2021) have all observed the menace to be widespread or rife. Braimah and Mbowura (2014) for instance described it as ‘mind-

bogging' not only to the Police Service but the general public. Cabrera-Barona et al. (2019) also observed similar happenings in the metropolitan district of Quito in Ecuador as well as Alfakoroo (2021) in his study on the proliferation of insecurity amidst the covid-19 pandemic in Nigeria. All these studies confirm the views of respondents who attribute armed robbery to be the major crime or insecurity incident in the two districts.

Another significant incident that respondents said is gaining ground now is the issue of kidnapping. This phenomenon according to most respondents including the police personnel interviewed reveals that the activities of kidnapping are not particularly targeted at local Ghanaian citizens, rather, it is perpetrated by alleged Fulani herdsmen against their own local Fulanis in the area whom they perceived to be wealthy or rich. In some cases, they killed the kidnapped victim when they realized that the police have been involved and the fellow's relatives/family are cooperating with the police service.

A police commander at Yeji for instance observed that;

*...they have added kidnapping to it and thank God the kidnapping is not done to we Ghanaians, it is among themselves (Fulanis) and the kidnapping is more profitable for them than the robbery because when they stand on the road, it is dangerous because you don't know who and who are in the car and at times, even if you get people, you will not get money on them. But with the kidnapping, when they get you, at times, they ask as far as 1 billion cedis from the relative of the kidnapped person. So, most of the time, they are into kidnapping more than robbery (Field Data No. 7, 2022).*

The issue of kidnapping is a serious issue of insecurity with so many implications. Studies by Osawe (2015), Emanemua and Akinlosotu (2016), Azaigba and Ahom (2021), and Alfakoro (2021) have all observed that the crime has become a lucrative venture due to payment of ransom made to kidnapers to free their victims, hence, creating a sense of insecurity among the population. Even though respondents from

both districts attribute the menace to the unemployment situation on the part of the kidnappers, it was interesting to note that, the kidnappers whom the respondents alleged to be Fulani herdsmen are rather perpetrating the incident on their own colleague Fulanis deemed to be wealthy or rich rather than local Ghanaian citizens. In other words, the perpetrators of kidnapping incidents in the districts who are alleged to be unemployed Fulani herdsmen commit the crime on their own fellows who are perceived to be wealthy.

#### **4.1.2 Worrying and disturbing situation**

Most of the respondents described the state of insecurity in the two districts and the country at large as a disturbing and worrying situation. They explained the recent rise of incidents on the lives and properties of people as a matter, that needs urgent action and attention by the government and state security apparatus, in general, to help nib or reduce the occurrence of such criminal activities. At Yeji in the Pru East district, a member of the district assembly notes that;

*I must say that at the time we are conducting this interview, it is even better than a few months ago. So, generally, we may say that when you take Pru East and Pru West into consideration, insecurity is a serious issue. So, it is not the best as it stands now (Field Data No. 6, 2022).*

Another response from an Assembly member in Parambo-Sawaba re-echoed the disturbing and worrying state of insecurity in the district.

*In fact, the issue of insecurity has been an issue of worry to the district and the community as a whole... we need to beef up the security personnel in order to curb the rampant robbery situations and then other notorious activities due to insecurity. We are just not safe at all (Field Data No. 9, 2022).*

In the case of Prang in the Pru West district, the response from one of the assembly members was not much different from those in the sister district (Pru East). He observed that;

*...the security situation in Pru West District in fact is a very serious issue that needs to be tackled. My take is that government should deploy lots of security personnel to this area to make sure that we solve this issue* (Field Data No.3, 2022).

All these responses confirm the disturbing and worrying phenomena regarding issues of insecurity within the two districts as the activities of criminals continue to threaten the lives and properties of people in the districts and their environs. At his vetting in Parliament as Deputy Minister for Roads and Highways, similar concerns were raised by the Pru West MP, Hon. Stephen Jalulah on how residents in the area are terrified and afraid of the insecurity situation (Botaepa Daily, 2021). The findings also support Tadjbakhsh's (2005) view on security, when he argued that the concept's simplest definition was the "absence of insecurity and threats" and that "to be secure is to be free from both fear (of physical, sexual or psychological abuse, violence, persecution, or death) and from want (of gainful employment, food, and health)". The findings also show that the sovereign (state) has a lot of work to do regarding its social contract of security provisions to the populace (citizens). This is because the various incidents identified above highlights the fact that the state has not been very effective in the discharge of its onus of protecting lives, properties and liberties as argued by Hobbes's and Locke's theories of social contract.

#### **4.1.3 Political marginalization**

The current state of insecurity in the Pru West and Pru East and the country in general from some of the respondents was also linked to the political exclusion by the political class or elites. In the case of Pru West, in particular, a respondent from Abease blames

the insecurity situation on the lack of attention from the government in helping to construct roads in the town and around its environs, which gives criminals the laxity to always attack their victims within the area because the police cannot chase/pursue them due to poor road network. He laments how complaints to the political class usually received unfavorable responses such as; issues of development and infrastructure have already been earmarked for the district capital (Prang) etcetera. So, he believes, the area (Abease) is politically marginalized in terms of getting the needed interventions like road construction and expansion of the police station and the beefing-up of police personnel and logistics. He for instance observed that;

*...you see over here, the area is a kind of rural area and due to some factors like we not being much closer to the district capital (Prang), it has made our security aspect (i.e., personnel) to be concentrated mostly around the district capital and its environs. The little personnel we have here because we are in the villages has become a major concern for us. The little we have cannot help protect us here in the Abease traditional council (area). As a result, some of the villages we have around are facing lots of security challenges. (Field data No.1, 2022).*

Similarly, the security expert from WANEP also factors the issue of political marginalization as part of the phenomena facing Ghana's security landscape. He observes that;

*Our political system has been able to succeed in creating an enabling elite system where the political class has been enjoying it while others in the lower class have been neglected. In a number of communities, when you visit; there are issues of access to water, quality education, and healthcare systems and all these are not provided. If you look at our border communities, in particular, you asked yourself whether they are part of Ghana. So, there is a weak state presence in a number of our communities, particularly our border areas. What also sustained them, is agriculture, climate change is also diminishing it, so, agriculture is not producing the*



*necessary livelihood support that was meant to be because of issues of climate change and our inability to deal with that, so, that is also another aspect. Marginalization of communities which has contributed to them not feeling part of the state, no access to good drinking water, no access to quality education, and no access to food security is an issue, do they even have healthcare centers in those communities? Do we have police stations there? So, who provides security for these areas? we don't have those things there, so marginalization is part of it. (Field data No.16, 2022).*

The findings on political marginalization and how it leads to insecurity were observed by Chukwu and Anachunam (2019) in their study on security challenges and leadership in Africa where they observed ethnicity, corruption, and favoritism as some of the major sources of insecurity, especially violent conflict in Africa due discrimination in the sharing/allocation of developmental projects. It thus confirmed that, whenever a section of the state is politically marginalized and adequate attention or presence of the state is not felt, those areas can become potential areas where issues of insecurity would become rife. Further, the above findings also shows that the state has not been able to adequately cater for the security provisions of certain parts of the country (e.g., Abease and its environs) as a result of political marginalization relating to sharing of development projects (e.g., roads) leading to inadequate state presence in those areas with few police personnel around to protect the people. Criminals, therefore, used that opportunity to exploit or attack motorists, traders and other civilians in the area because the poor road networks and inadequate police presence makes it difficult for the criminals to be apprehended.

#### **4.1.4 Porous borders and weak arms control**

The current state of insecurity has also been described as the result of the porous borders of the country which makes it easy for foreigners, especially Fulani herdsmen, to troop in their numbers contributing to the threats facing the country. In the case of both the

Pru West and Pru East districts, most of the incidents of insecurity have been attributed to the influx of Fulani herdsmen in the area with most victims confirming that their attackers' identities were Fulanis. One of the policemen interviewed revealed that;

*...as for highway armed robbery; it's very common in this enclave and I have worked at Bole where similar things happened. So, most of the time, the robbery especially on the highway including Pru East especially these enclaves; Kwame Danso, then Kintampo, and North Savannah, they are mostly Fulanis. But the experience at Bole-Bamboi tells me that; because there were people we arrested, who didn't even know Ghana. So, I realized that those Fulanis in Ghana go to their various countries whether Niger, or Mali, and bring these Fulanis to come and take care of their animals or become herders. Now along the line, they will dismiss the people. You know, the person didn't even know how he came to them, so how will the person go back, so the person has to fend for himself? So, most of those that we have arrested, is like, they didn't know anything about it, it was somebody who brought them. But if you leave somebody to go, instead of you to send the person back, maybe the person will indulge in criminal activities. (Field Data No.7, 2022).*

This insight reveals that the local Fulanis here have been able to bring in their counterparts from neighboring countries into Ghana and later on after parting ways due to disagreements/issues with the migrants etc., they failed to repatriate them home, hence, they indulge in criminal activities by attacking their victims to make ends meet and sustain their livelihoods.

A member of the Yeji traditional council also said;

*One of the factors that cause these insecurities which when we say people don't want us to say is the influx of Fulani herdsmen here in Yeji. It is one of the major factors. Because while growing up as Children, we never experienced these insecurity incidents, especially highway robbery. But with the influx of the Fulanis to this area, we have recorded several incidents of highway robbery. Because almost all armed robbery case or*

*incident happens here, it does seem the Fulani factor plays a role. (Field Data No.8, 2022).*

In the Pru West district, an official who spoke on behalf of the DCE also notes the lapses in Ghana's border system which makes it easy for foreigners especially Fulanis to come in with the assistance of some locals and perpetrate criminal activities. He notes that;

*...the Fulanis do not just walk in here, they come to meet the chiefs with their agents, so I will not say it is only Fulanis who are robbing us, it is just not in Pru West, our system in Ghana is so poor that anybody can just walk into your country. The chiefs too do not care and if something happens at the end of the day, you can't blame anybody. (Field Data No. 14, 2022).*

Regarding the issue of weak arms control, the security expert from WANEP blames the state for failing to regulate the production/manufacturing and holding of arms by civilians which in some cases end up being used to perpetuate incidents of insecurity in the country. The weak regulations have allowed criminals to possess and own various guns and weapons which they use in plying their criminal activities.

*Look at the domestic manufacturing of arms in the country, who controls them, look at the external influx of arms, who controls it. So, we are unable to tackle these issues by controlling both the domestic production of arms and the importation of arms, not to talk about those that are coming from porous borders that we have in our country. So, the influx of arms is also another part of it. We have a number of arms that are in the hands of individuals that are not registered, so, who controls them and who tracks it and how do we even trace if such arms are used to perpetuate particular crimes, you don't know, so that is also a major part of it. (Field Data No.16, 2022).*

All the responses regarding the menace and influx of Fulani herdsmen who are mostly from outside the country support the findings of Ewetan and Urhie (2014) whose study

on insecurity in Nigeria reveals that part of the major challenges to peace and security in Nigeria was the easy movement of migrants into the country and the sneaking of illegal small arms and light weapons as a result of weak/porous borders. Zubairu (2020) also observed similar situations in his study on rising insecurity in Nigeria: Causes and solution wherein he argued that weak security system and porous borders among others were the major sources of insecurity. Thus, the easy free movement of people (migrants) from one country to the other without rigorous checking or tracking is a contributory factor to incidents of insecurity as seen by the menace of Fulani herdsmen engaged in highway robbery and other criminal activities to sustain themselves. This further show a sign of weakness on the part of the state regarding its ability to effectively ensure the provision of adequate security for its citizens. Thus, failure to adequately regulate the movement of migrants across its borders has led to situations where some of these migrants come to perpetrate acts of violent crime against the citizens they supposed to safeguard and protect as argued by the social contract theories.

#### ***4.1.5 Current and previous security situation***

The majority of the respondents have described the insecurity situation in the past years as relatively better than what they have been experiencing in recent times, particularly, the year 2021 was to many the worst where several incidents and casualties were recorded in the two districts. They, however, admit that the bringing in of an anti-robbery squad, and military and police patrols after the IGP's visit has brought the situation down. An assemblyman in Prang in the Pru West district for instance notes that;

*Previously it was very high but currently, because of some security personnel that was brought around the area, the situation has come low as am speaking with you. (Field Data No. 3, 2022)*

Another assemblyman at Yeji in the Pru East district also reported a similar observation.

He admits that;

*For now, within this 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of the year 2022; things have come down a bit. But the latter part of 2021 wasn't easy for us. (Field Data No.6, 2022)*

On his part, the security expert from WANEP argues that security is not static and keeps evolving. He agrees with various opinions that incidents of insecurity have surged or increased in recent times. That notwithstanding, however, he still believes the nature of the threats and factors causing them are still the same as in the previous or past years.

*...in terms of attacks, in terms of cases and how they occurred, one is likely to say that we are seeing more of the cases today but what we also need to recognize is the fact that it has not changed the nature of the threats. It is the armed robbery cases, the same transnational organized crime, the same issues of homicides, issues of sexual and gender-based violence, issues of kidnapping, issues of gun violence, issues of chieftaincy and land disputes, issues of illegal mining and issues of threats of terrorism that continues to manifest in a different way. So, in terms of numbers or the quantum of threats, you will say that it is happening 20 times and in the last 3-4years it was 15 times, but the underlying factors remained the same. (Field Data No.16, 2022).*

The argument of a surge in incidents of insecurity in the Pru West and Pru districts and the country in general as explained by respondents also supports the findings of scholars such as (Oteng-Ababio et al., 2016, Abudu, et al., 2013, Frimpong, 2016, GSS, 2010, Owusu et al., 2016b as cited in Bagson et al., 2021; Tankebe, 2013; Braimah & Mbowura, 2014). This shows that though there have been sharp rises in the cases of insecurity, the underlying nature or forms of the incidents largely remained static.

## **4.2 Major Factors of Insecurity in the Districts**

There were lots of motivating reasons or factors why criminals might be engaging in their illegal activities which results in insecurity. The majority of the respondents gave major reasons such as; the influx of Fulani herdsmen in the area, inadequate security personnel, poor road networks, unemployment, and poverty as probable reasons that might have motivated the criminals to engage in their activities of threatening and attacking the lives and properties of people in the districts and the country at large. Other sub-factors or reasons attributed were drug abuse and peer influence, the influence of social media and movies, extreme politicization, school dropout/lack of education, laziness and the desire to get rich quick syndrome, and punishment meted to criminals not deterrent enough as probable causes of the insecurity incidents.

### **4.2.1 Influx of Fulani herdsmen**

The phenomena of the influx of Fulani herdsmen were quite dominant among the responses of respondents from both the Pru West and Pru East Districts. They attribute the level of increased crime, particularly highway armed robbery to the Fulani herders who according to some victims were the attackers. Four of the respondents interviewed who were victims of highway robbery confirmed unanimously that, the people who attacked them were Fulanis. An assembly member in Parambo-Sawaba in the Pru East district for instance recounted how he was ambushed by Fulani herdsmen who took away his laptop and motorbike while on his way back from work on the Yeji to Parambo-Sawaba Road;

*Last year (2021) August, on my way from Yeji, which is the district capital, you know that is where I work. So, on my way back, around somewhere 5:30 pm there about, I was attacked by these robbers just in between Koberee and then Yeji. They took away my motorbike, my laptop, everything. In fact, as am speaking, I don't even have any ID card because*

*all those items were in my laptop bag. They took away everything... I associate it with these Fulani herdsmen who have trooped into our areas here. Previously, it wasn't that serious as such but now, they came in their numbers because they were chased away from other areas and they have all joined our district here. And it has now increased the rate of robbery and I can tell you that, those who attacked me were totally Fulanis, I saw them, it was just daylight so I wouldn't say I don't know. And nobody should mistakenly say because they put on long dresses, we shouldn't say they are Fulani people. They actually held me and their language, nobody will tell me that they were not the people. (Field Data No.9, 2022).*

His ordeal and that of others showed that the majority of the incidents of highway robbery in the area were perpetrated by alleged Fulani herdsmen who have been chased away or forced to migrate from other locations and have come to settle in the Pru East and Pru West areas. Other victims of some of these armed robbery attacks also frequently mention that part of their attackers were Fulani herdsmen. Thus, the inability of the state to control or regulate the movement of Fulani herdsmen and other migrants engage in criminal activities in the country is having a rippling effect on the safety and security of the people. The above findings therefore, show that, the state has not been able to adequately take sufficient measures to guarantee the safety and security of its citizenry, as agreed under the terms of social contract.

#### **4.2.2 Inadequate security personnel and logistics**

The issue of the insufficient number of police personnel and logistics in the districts has also been described by most respondents as a factor causing the incidents of insecurity. It has been argued by many that the police personnel in the districts were not sufficient or enough to deal with the issues of insecurity considering the vast land and population size of the two districts, this explains why criminals take advantage to attack their victims in areas where police personnel are lacking or inadequate. In addition to this,

the other issue raised was that the two districts lack the necessary logistics like vehicles, ammunition, computers, and other stationaries necessary for the effective discharge of their onus. One of the police inspectors in the Pru West district for instance notes that;

*...having a car/vehicle in a robbery zone like (Prang) will help but we don't have. No vehicle around here for the police. We sometimes use motorbike and it's not sufficient hence making the work difficult even though here is a district capital. The motorbike is even old and faulty.*  
(Field Data No.4, 2022).

Similar concerns were raised in the Pru East and one of the assembly members laments the situation;

*...we don't have sufficient security people around especially on the roads and within some busy areas in the town where you will expect that there should be security men around but we don't see those things. So, I will say we don't have enough security men or personnel around* (Field Data No. 9, 2022).

A member of the traditional council in Yeji on his part believed that the issue of inadequate police personnel and logistics has made the few around passive or reactionary because, from his observation, he believes the criminals are most of the time ahead of the police and the police aren't able to detect incidents before it occurs.

He notes;

*For me, I think the motivation behind these is that our security here are not on-top of issues. Almost all the time, the criminals are ahead of the police, the police are just reactive and not proactive. They cannot detect an impending danger or issue unless it has occurred before they come to react. So, for me, it appears that the criminals here are ahead of the police personnel. Another thing about the criminals is that, they are not afraid. They are not bothered by any "fear factor" of let say the police might caught us etc., they are always confident when going to attack their*



*victims. I think these are some of the things that make the criminals to engage in such acts. (Field Data No.8, 2022).*

Regarding the issue of inadequate security personnel and logistics, Ewetan and Urhie (2014) in their study of insecurity in Nigeria and its threats to socio-economic development, observed the problem of inadequate personnel, poor motivation, insufficient access to modern weapons as some of the major challenges among others that face security agencies in their quest to deal with insecurity in Nigeria. This was similar to the responses outlined by the respondents. Thus, the poor resourcing and the insufficient number of police personnel in the two districts are seen by most respondents as a major cause of insecurity in the area. Under the state-citizen pact (i.e., social contract), the state agreed to provide all logistics and support necessary to ensure the safety and survival of its people. The inability to adequately provide these supports and logistics means that the state has not been very active in discharging its responsibility to the people. Again, the study's findings also partly explain the outcome of the study by Cabrera-Barona et al., (2019) in the metropolitan district of Quito in Ecuador where they observed a positive relationship between crimes and, the police visibility index. Meaning that, when there is enough/adequate security presence/visibility in an area, the rate of crime is reduced or minimized. Thus, the absence of this or the inability of the state to provide adequate security personnel in the two districts i.e., Pru West and East partly explain the widespread incidents of insecurity in the area.

#### **4.2.3 Poor road networks**

Another key factor attributed to insecurity by respondents has to do with the bad road networks, especially in Abease and its environs in the Pru West district and the Abromasi road in the Pru East district respectively. One of the traditional authorities interviewed at Abease for instance observed that;

*...if we were to have a security challenge around and the police personnel are called upon to come and assist, they wouldn't be able to arrive in time due to the poor nature of our roads and the means of transportation to this place which is a great challenge...the means of transportation is even a problem and as police officers, one does not expect them to use motorbikes to come and effect an arrest or use motorbike on a straight journey of 30miles at a go like Basaa, Kamanpoukyire, Moko all under the Abease traditional area. It has been a great challenge for police personnel moving from here to these areas on a motorbike. (Field Data No. 2, 2022).*

The poor nature of roads in some areas within the two districts serves as a source of insecurity as criminals take advantage of the situation to perpetrate criminal acts. In the case of Abease and its environs in the Pru West district, for instance, the Prang-Abease-Kintampo road which could easily connect motorists using the route to the Northern part of the country is untiled and the poor nature of the road has given criminals the opportunity to always attack their victims who ply that road to Zabarma and Kintampo for their trading activities. Thus, in the event that the police are called to come and assist during any criminal attack, the bad nature of the road would not allow for rapid/emergency quick response to help avert the incident. In relation to this, Ewetan and Urhie (2014) have identified the issue of inequality and uneven development as one of the many factors that could serve as a catalyst for insecurity. Similarly, Chukwu and Anachunam (2019) have also argued that the current state of insecurity in most African countries is a symptom of a deep-rooted and structurally entrenched development crisis that creates the conditions for poverty, unemployment, and inequality to emerge in those countries. Thus, the lack of development, in this case, the construction of roads especially in the Abease area has led to issues of insecurity in the area and its environs. This in turn mean that, since it's the onus of the state to provide but is unable, its inaction is partly creating a security challenge. As a result, one can argue that, the state

has not been able to discharge its responsibility of security provisions for the people adequately.

#### ***4.2.4 Unemployment and poverty***

Among the key factors that cause insecurity according to most respondents is due to high unemployment and poverty situation in the area, hence, the youth, who are mostly unemployed venture into criminal activities which threatened the lives and properties of people, especially, those perceived to be rich or wealthy in the societies. In relation to unemployment, was also the issue of poverty in the area as most people are poor and engage mostly in farming activities to sustain themselves. Thus, to most respondents, the issue of poverty coupled with unemployment or lack of jobs in the area is a major factor that results in incidents of insecurity in the area. A traditional chief at Abease observes that;

*We also have unemployment around the area. As result, the youth engaged in social vices that they aren't supposed to be engaged in due to increasing unemployment. Again, this our area is predominantly made up of farming communities and it is not everybody that has the energy and strength to engage in the farming activities. It is mostly few people (i.e., minority) who have strength and energy to venture while the majority aren't engaged. Due to that, when the little farm proceeds of the minority finished, they obviously would come hunting or searching for means to survive on the majority who engaged in other non-farming ventures mostly leading to problems. (Field Data No. 2, 2022).*

Likewise, the security expert with WANEP also explains how the phenomena of poverty and unemployment result in issues of insecurity in the country. He notes that;

*...cost of living has gone high and if life becomes unbearable to the ordinary person, what do you expect them to do? They resort to other avenues to sustain their livelihood. So, there's an economic value in armed*

*robbery, there's an economic value in terrorism, and there's an economic value in violent extremism. (Field Data No. 16, 2022).*

The surge in unemployment in the country and in particular, the Pru West and Pru East districts was a major cause in addition to poverty which has led many people, especially the youth to resort to criminal activities in order to sustain themselves. According to most of the respondents, the issue of unemployment and poverty was the greatest challenge regarding insecurity in the area. The findings from the respondents support other studies (e.g., Adesina, 2013; Okwudili, 2014; Ewetan & Urhie, 2014; Osawe, 2015; Umaru et al., 2015; Ajodo-Adebanjoko & Akinbi, 2015; Ajibola, 2016; Oteng-Ababio, 2016; Zubairu, 2020; Sitienei & Chumba, 2020; Adenike, 2021) which also attributed poverty and unemployment as a major cause of insecurity. Thus, surges in the cases of unemployment lead the youth who are mostly unemployed into criminal acts to make end means or sustain themselves. With the Pru West and East districts predominantly farming and fishing areas that rely on the weather season, most unemployed youth resort to criminal activities as an alternative to this occupation which they hardly cherished. The state (government) is mandated to ensuring that citizens with requisite skills and qualifications especially the youth have jobs and are gainfully employed. Its inability to deal with poverty and unemployment is therefore challenging its core duty of protection of lives and properties, which it has agreed to performed under the social contract, thus, one can conclude that the state has not been very effective in the discharge of its pact with the people.

#### ***4.2.5 Drug abuse and peer influence***

The issue of drug abuse and peer influence is also featured in the data gathered from the respondents as part of the causes of insecurity in the area. They explained that most of the youth now are engaged in the use of Indian hemp, tramadol, and diazepam 5

among other hard drugs/substances and this serves as a catalyst for criminal behavior.

An assembly member at Prang for instance observed that;

*...there is this kind of drugs that currently the youth normally take like wee, D5, tramadol, and other drugs. I think those are the things that create these social vices. As we are seeing it now, most of the youth have joined some gangs or some groups that were influenced by the groups and most of them take this kind of drugs. So, after taking this kind of drugs, they may misbehave anyhow and subsequently, it leads them to engage in these social vices. (Field Data No.3, 2022)*

At Yeji for instance, the chief linguist observed how the issue of drug abuse and peer influence coupled with the phenomena of bases among the youth posing as a serious issue causing insecurity in the area. He notes that;

*...When you come to Yeji here, there are so many bases, when you visit some of these bases, you will see the boys smoking wee/Indian hemp, tramadol, and other hard drugs. Some of us were even proposing that the Police should pile up the list of those hideouts they have turned into bases. Just recently, an incident occurred at Yeji Senior High Technical School (Yeji SHTS), when they (Police) identified and made the place a red zone, we haven't heard anything of robbery again within or around the school. Previously, one of the bases was just behind the walls of the school so they easily go and attack and rob the students before they go to their base to continue their activities. (Field Data No. 8, 2022).*

The abuse of illicit drugs by some youth in the two districts was also identified by respondents as a major cause that leads to insecurity in the area. The youth of the area who are mostly unemployed abuse drugs like tramadol, and diazepam 5, among others mostly due to peer influence. The abuse of drugs is a major source of insecurity and Riccio et al. (2019) identified it in their study of insecurity in the Amazonas region of Brazil where they note drug abuse to be the major source of criminal violence or insecurity in the Manaus and Tefe regions. Likewise, the issue of drug abuse was part

of the myriad of menace covered/captured in the Japanese government's definition of human security as posing threats to human survival, daily life, and dignity and the UNDP Report on Human Development also touched on the "threats to the self, including suicide and drug usage" as part of the major menace such as violent crime, conflicts, and wars that poses significant challenges to the security of the individual. Thus, the abuse of drugs by the youths in the districts is partly the cause of insecurity in the area.

#### **4.2.6 School dropouts**

The phenomena of school dropout by some youths were also explained by some respondents as a major cause of insecurity in the area. An assemblyman at Yeji for instance expressed his worry that;

*...most of our children are going wayward because of a lack of parental control. Most of the children are on their own and they get influenced by peer pressure. Most of them don't come to school, we live with them in the communities around and their parents don't seem to care about it, and these are the little things that lead to insecurity. (Field Data No. 6, 2022).*

Similar observations were made by the Yeji divisional police commander when he explained that;

*...when you go to the riverside, you will see underage children engaged in commercial activities. So, most of them don't go to school even if it is school hours and it is market day, you will find the children in the market trying to engage in commercial activities. So, at a tender age, whatever they get is enough but as they are growing, maybe they realized that they don't make much money from it and some of them because of peer group influence, they engaged in other things. (Field Data No.7, 2022).*

The repercussions that school dropouts bring to society are enormous with insecurity being key among the threats. Some of these dropouts mostly turned out to become easy

recruits for criminal activities through peer influence and drug addiction, hence ending up venturing into highway armed robbery in order to sustain their livelihoods. In other jurisdictions, these school dropouts become easy prey or target of terrorism and suicide bombing activities which is a great source of insecurity around the world.

#### **4.2.7 Get rich quick syndrome**

Some also attribute the phenomena of insecurity to the desire to get rich or wealthy overnight by the youth. They explained that some of the youths are lazy and venture into avenues/paths like armed robbery among other criminal actions to get quick money. At Abease, the chief linguist notes that;

*I can say that some of our people especially the youth are desirous of quick money. They don't want that of tomorrow, they want today's own. And most of these incidents take place within the area and it's not from people outside. Sometimes when you look at how victims get attacked, the manner and way the person was attacked, you can just conclude or suspect that the person's movement was tracked or traced by the attackers whom I suspect are residents living with us in this area (Field Data No. 2, 2022).*

Likewise, the representative of the Pru West MP interviewed also observed a similar worrying trend of get-rich-quick syndrome by the youth. He observed that;

*...there is a saying that money is the root of all evil. Everybody wants to get something into his pocket, so, they think the easiest way is either to become an armed robber or become a hardcore criminal; you can just be on the roadside attacked people and take their money, and at the end of the day, you also become somebody. So, I will say that money, money is the root of everything. Everybody wants to be with money and if a guy associates himself with bad friends, so money and peer pressure may also be a contributing factor (Field Data No. 12, 2022).*

These findings from the respondents on the phenomena of get-rich-quick syndrome support the observation by Osawe (2015) who argued that the desperate desire of young men to get rich quickly was a key reason for a surge in violent crime and insecurity in Nigeria. Thus, with rising cases of youth unemployment in the country coupled with the desire of most youths to show off or live a luxurious lifestyle, they resort to armed robbery and the killing of innocent people for money rituals (sakawa) among others leading to the menace of insecurity. Some of these youths prefer to venture into these criminal activities in order to satisfy their desires and tastes, and the fact that most of them have not been gainfully employed means that most might be willing to survive through illegal means, hence, threatening the lives and properties of innocent people and those perceived to be rich or wealthy in society.

#### **4.3 Effects on Residents**

The activities of criminals within the jurisdiction have had a great burden on the residents as it negatively affects them in diverse ways. Some of the main effects of the responses gathered are discussed below.

##### ***4.3.1 Slowdown of business activities***

A key issue that emerged from the responses gathered on the effects of insecurity on residents in the two districts was the slowdown of business activities in the area and its environs. Most of the respondents complained that business activities which used to operate from daytime to late in the night or evening have now resort to closing very early around 6-7 pm in the evening due to fear of being attacked by armed robbers. An assemblyman at Prang for instance observed that;

*People here normally don't feel comfortable especially at the night. Most of the time, people go to sleep early in the evening. Some of them have business activities they normally do at the night but because of the*



*insecurity situation, they are afraid. Even, our younger ones or youth that do businesses like mobile money in the night and other things, these armed robbers go and attacked them. Because of that, now people don't waste much time at night doing their business. Immediately it is 6 pm they close and go back home because of fear that they might be attacked. (Field Data No. 3, 2022).*

Similar concerns were raised in the Pru East district. At Yeji for instance, the Assemblyman interviewed said;

*...it is serious because people fear to even travel to Kumasi for trading purposes due to the insecurity situation on the road. Mobile money vendors these days close very early. Like I said, of late, they go into houses. So, there is a general fear among residents here, so you see that people now enter their rooms very early. (Field Data No. 6, 2022).*

Another issue that has led to the slowdown of business activities was the loss of investor confidence and traders from far and near who come to engage in business activities in the area, especially at the Yeji market which is one of the biggest markets in the region. The rate at which business women and traders mostly from Kumasi, Asante-Mampong, Ejura, Sunyani, Techiman, parts of the Volta region, and other areas come to transact or engage in business activities has drastically slowdown due to the insecurity situation and attacks perpetrated on them by highway armed robbers. Thus, it has affected the local economy and traders in the area. A member of the Yeji traditional council for instance noted that;

*It is making people lose their businesses. For instance, some have gone to the banks for loans to come and invest in their business but unfortunately, end up falling victim to armed robbery attacks. So, such people wouldn't find it easy to pay the loans back, and talk less of finding other funds to come and start the business, so, at the end of the day, they end up closing the business since they are running at a loss... Previously when it is market day in Yeji, you can see the market booming with people from different*

*parts of the country all coming to trade here. With these incidents of insecurity, now things have slowed down because traders from afar are afraid to come, and those taking loans are afraid to do so and be attacked by armed robbers, so honestly, the activities at the market have slowed down a bit. (Field Data No. 8, 2022).*

The representative of the Pru West DCE also re-echoed similar concerns when he notes that;

*People who used to come from Kumasi and other areas to trade here; now most of them don't want to come and the banks also are now unwillingly to give money to traders because there's a high risk, they will collect the money, and in two-three weeks or whatever, the money will be taken away (Field Data No. 14, 2022).*

All these incidents have led investors and even banks unwillingly to grant loans or come and invest in the area due to the high level of risk resulting from the incidents of insecurity, especially highway robbery. This finding supports the study of BenYishay and Pearlman (2011) and Moyo (2012) who observed that violent crime especially armed robbery has a significant adverse effect on microenterprises and firms. Hence, slowing down economic growth.

In addition, the chief linguist at Abease also recounted how the incidents of armed robbery especially around Abease and its environs impacts negatively on the business activities of residents. He notes that;

*People prefer traveling in day time and the moment it is getting to 6 pm, they are indoors and can't move or travel outside town (Abease) due to fear of being attacked by criminals on the road. Thus, wherever you reached while traveling around this area and it's 6pm in the evening, you have to stop and spend the night there so that you can proceed the next day, else, you are risking your life because our roads are not very good... Even people who have gotten some little resources and want to use it to open shops or start business activities are also afraid that they might*

*become potential targets of attacks. Because the moment you start any business activities or you open a new shop, attention will be focused on you and you might not feel too comfortable. So, most people are reluctant to start operating any business activity here due to fear (Field Data No. 2, 2022).*

Additionally, he also recounted how an application to a bank for them to come and open a branch in the area was unsuccessful due to fear by the bank authorities regarding the insecurity situation coupled with the poor road network. He notes that;

*We applied to a certain bank to come to our area. They addressed us that the road is very bad and that the place is not secure for them to come and operate. So, our road network is not too good. (Field Data No.1, 2022).*

The effects on residents as explained by residents corroborates with the statement made by Hon. Kwabena Donkor, the Pru East Member of Parliament during an interview Anim (2021), where notes that, the activities of criminals in the area are affecting local business and that “residents in Sene East, Sene West, Pru East, Pru West, and Atebubu-Amantin are being harassed by robbers almost every week”. It also supports the findings of Achumba et al. (2013) who identified two perspectives regarding the effects of insecurity on business activities i.e., effects on potential foreign/local direct investments and effects on already established businesses. Meaning that incidents of insecurity can or have the potential of deterring a foreign or local investment into a particular area or sector and at the same time, the incidents also pose an adverse challenge to businesses already working in such an environment. Likewise, the study by Adegami (2013) who observed the devastating impact of insecurity on business activities in his study on the effect of insecurity on human beings and the national economy supports the findings of the study. Other studies which agree with the findings of the respondents are Umaru et al. (2015) and Ajibola (2016) who notes that business activities suffer or slowdown in an environment where incidents of insecurity are

widespread, hence, having an adverse effect on economic growth. Thus, the state of fear and lack of protection coupled with the anxiety faced by business owners in the area has compelled most of them to be closing down their shops or businesses earlier than they used to due to fear of being attacked, hence, it leads to loss of revenue and shortfall in sales. This is partially attributed to the inadequacy of security personnel in the area to help address the menace. It can therefore be argued that, the state, mandated to ensure security provisions (i.e., social contract) for the citizenry is not effectively discharging its responsibility in these areas.

#### **4.3.2 Loss of lives, properties, and personnel**

The other effects on the residents of the districts are the loss of human resources mostly attributed to personnel or workers in the public sector who are migrating from the area with others seeking transfers outside the area partly due to the insecurity issues. Teachers, nurses, and other workers who are not native of the area are unwilling to continue working there due to the risk of an armed robbery attack and those posted to the area are also reluctant to accept posting due to the area being an armed robbery zone, this has resulted in a loss of human resource personnel whose contribution the districts and residents needed most. The representative of the Pru East MP observed that;

*...there are even some government workers who have left the place, and there are people who have migrated from the place to other areas because of the insecurity in the area. So, this affects residents a lot. Of course, people fear, like I was telling you 3 or 4 months down the line ago, by now you wouldn't see people outside by 6pm or 6:30pm, you will see people running home because there were even attacks within the town not even on the highway. People were shots in their stores, people were cutlass in their stores, people were attacked right at home, so, it affects the inhabitants in so many ways (Field Data No. 13, 2022).*

On the issue of loss of lives, the area has lost some prominent individuals and personalities including the son of Shaykh Abdulai Maikano, a military officer, and a chief linguist of the Abease traditional area. Other incidents include a broad day attack on market women at Yeji market, a student of Prang SHS was attacked by some Fulani herdsmen on his way to school, highway armed robbery led to the death of a driver who was bringing traders from Kumasi to Yeji, several incidents of snatches of motorbikes, some Fulanis were murdered, several attacks on mobile money vendors, a businessman killed at Yeji, criminals attacked students of Yeji SHTS among many others were reported by respondents as some of the major incidents on the lives and properties of individuals mostly arising from armed robbery incidents. A member of the Yeji traditional council interviewed also share similar thoughts and explains how a businessman was ambushed and robbed at his home by criminals after selling his cows.

*...like I said, previously it was even bad. For instance, when one gets posted by the government to Yeji, the first issue one hears is; the place is not safe. About 2 years ago, a businessman went and sold his cows and proceeded home afterward, the armed robbers followed him to his home and took everything. So, with such kinds of incidents, when someone is posted here, the general feeling is that this place (Yeji) is not safe and hence doesn't want to accept the posting because the fellow is afraid. When it is getting sunset also, people get afraid that criminals may come and attack them late in the night. (Field Data No. 8, 2022).*

The unfortunate loss of lives, properties, and professionals in the area was what Hampson's third distinct conception of human security debate sought to prevent and guard. That is, a broader view that sees human security to include "economic, environmental, social and other forms of threats/risks to the overall safety and livelihood and well-being of individuals" (2008, pp. 230-231). Similarly, the Japanese foreign policy definition of human security, which is that "human security

comprehensively covers all the menaces that threaten human survival, daily life and dignity” was absent or threatened in the context of the responses gathered from the field. It was also in sharp contrast to the UNDP’s report which notes that “human security is not a concern with weapons, it is a concern with human life [physical safety and well-being] and dignity [freedom].” Furthermore, the findings also stand parallel with Akokpari’s view on personal security as “freedom from physical violence, caused either by the state, groups or individuals” (2007, p. 9) and that of Gasper and Gomez who see it as “freedom from human-caused physical violence and other crime” (2015, p. 6). The cardinal feature of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke’s social contract theories are the protection of lives, properties and liberties by the state. The findings above highlight the state failure in providing basic security to some of its populace who have loss their lives and properties due to insecurity. It can therefore be said that the state has not been very effective in the discharge of its side of the agreement regarding the social contract.

#### ***4.3.3 Affecting development projects in the districts***

Another significant impact relates to how the incidents of insecurity, particularly highway armed robbery retards developmental projects in the two districts. Responses from the DCE for Pru East and the representative of the Pru West DCE and all the assembly members reveal that the various assemblies have in the past year dedicated a huge part of their Internally Generated Fund (IGF) to security issues such as; catering for the weekly fueling of police, military, and anti-robbery patrols, hiring or renting a place of accommodation for the security personnel among others which was necessitated by the reinforcement of personnel after the IGP’s visit, thus, the funds that could have otherwise been used for road constructions, CHPS compound, provision of boreholes, expansion and works on school infrastructures, market and community

centers among others are now been channel mainly into the provision of security in the districts. The rep of the Pru West MP for instance observed that;

*...the biggest challenge is that anytime the criminals will get to know that that the police are no more patrolling, within that week an incident of armed robbery case will happen. And the anti-robbery squad presence within the various districts is causing the assemblies too much. The assemblies spend a lot of money on them. So, the government is doing its best but we are calling for more men and we then, and we are also calling for more help because the presence of the anti-robbery squared is draining the assembly's coffers too much. I am an assemblyman in Pru West, looking at what is going out, if the assembly's IGF is 100%, the security alone takes about 85-90% of the IGF of the assembly. (Field Data No. 12, 2022).*

At Yeji in the Pru East district, one of the assembly members interviewed also expressed similar concern regarding how the assembly is unable to undertake any major developmental project because the funds meant for that are been pushed into issues of security provision.

*...it is a very serious challenge to the DA. As it stands now, we don't have an option but to continue using our IGF to ensure security. If your people and market women are afraid and business activities, and movements all slow down, you have to make sure you ensure their security. It would have been the wish of the assembly if the central government can bear all the cost, but we don't have any option than for the assembly to support. So, it's affecting the Assembly financially. We can't embark on any major development because every week, we must support them, if we don't support them and they go back, we will be returned to our old days where armed robbers will take over. (Field Data No. 6, 2022).*

Indeed, a major effect of insecurity throughout the world has been its impact on development projects whenever such issues spring up. Studies such as (Achumba et al., 2013; Ewetan & Urhie, 2014; Ajodo-Adebanjoko & Okwudili, 2014; Umaru et al.,

2015; Chukwu & Anachunam, 2019; Azaigba & Ahom, 2021; Botric, 2021) have all identified the adverse effect of issues or incidents of insecurity on political and socio-economic development. Thus, it is not surprising the responses from the data gathered that the insecurity incidents are negatively affecting the development projects and goals targeted by the various district assemblies as they have to rechannelled funds meant for development into the security sector to offer protection to residents.

#### **4.3.4 Fear and lamentations**

Data gathered from the responses also reveals that residents or people in the two districts are mostly living in fear and engaged in lamentations against opinion leaders and security personnel for not doing enough to deal with the problem. The DCE for Pru East for instance notes how people were calling for the shutting down of schools in the area due to the serious nature of the menace. In Yeji for instance, the assemblyman explains how a broad day sporadic shooting in town has further increased fear and worry in the people;

*...within Yeji. recently, there was sporadic shooting all over and it was daylight they go for robbery in the market and they would be shooting sporadically in other for people not to attack them or not to pursue them. They just put some kind of fear in the people, to scare the people away from them. So, these are incidents you wouldn't even know at what point in time they will strike. (Field Data No. 6, 2022).*

In an interview with the Police Inspector at Prang, he also described residents as not having so much confidence in the security personnel in the area which is partly due to their insufficiency and lack of necessary logistics to help them protect the people. Similar concerns were raised by the Chief linguist at Parambo-Sawaba who categorically said that the police around should be transferred and reshuffled because



they cannot help them deal with the insecurity situation but are rather engaged in chieftaincy issues. He notes that;

*The security people who have come here cannot help us. Why am I saying that, this is because, the moment they arrived, they go to beer bars and enjoy, and in the evening, they take their cars and patrol the road and go and rest? It is our Inspector of Police for this area who is especially helping us when it comes to security aspects... the government should change the police personnel here, they are not helping but rather engaged in chieftaincy issues. (Field Data, No. 11, 2022).*

The chieftaincy issue from the interview with the chief linguist though dormant; is a source of fear and worry for residents in the Parambo-Sawaba area of the Pru East district. According to him, the issue bothers the claim of the chieftaincy position by two individuals or groups; one supported and installed by the paramount chief of Yeji and the latter who is the main chief of the town for almost 40 years now. Thus, for him, the Yeji chief has imposed a rival chief on them and by virtue of his influence as the president of the regional house of chiefs for Bono East, the police personnel are taking sides and interfering in chieftaincy matters, hence, part of his call for them to be reshuffled or transferred from the area. The assemblyman for the town also expressed the fear residents were facing due to the insecurity issues in the area. He observed that;

*...it has created a lot of fear and panic among the people here. The little thing or noise you hear, then people start running and hiding in their rooms and other places and in fact, it has limited a lot of activities within our sector here. (Field Data No. 9, 2022).*

Other issues regarding the fear and lamentations from residents show that almost all the participants interviewed have received various complaints from residents at one point in time or the other expressing their fears and lamentations on the insecurity issues in the area. In fact, five of the respondents with three (3) from Parambo-Sawaba in the Pru

East district made up of the police inspector, the assembly member for Parambo-Sawaba central electoral area, and the chief linguist; the police inspector for Prang and the assembly member interviewed at Yeji were all once victims of incidents of armed robbery attacks. They also revealed that their victims were Fulani herdsmen. The chief linguist for instance observed that;

*I cannot exactly say what and what causes these people to engage in armed robbery, however, myself, for instance, I know some of those involved. I was sent by our chief to a village in Yeji on an issue, if not for the grace of God, I wouldn't be here today, but I thank God am alive. Regarding that incident, they were five people, I saw them physically, and some were saying Nana, we will not kill you. 3 of them were having rifles and 2 were handling the Fulanis cutlass. They were having disagreements among themselves; some said if you don't take care, we will kill you, the others also said they will not kill me. I and our chief even went and reported the incident at Yeji but up to now, no action has been taken per my knowledge. The guys were all Fulanis and were able to recognize my face as a chief even though I don't know them. (Field Data No. 11, 2022).*

The data gathered from respondents and their expressions of fear and lamentation support the findings by Reid et al. (2020) that the fear of becoming a victim of crime-related acts negatively affects the sense of feeling secure. Thus, the incident of crime in the districts is making the residents there afraid and fearful. Again, the findings also revealed a lack of trust in the police personnel of the area by residents, hence, the groans expressed by others calling for the transfer of some of the personnel from the area due to loss of confidence. This supports the study by Livingston (2013) on Africa's information revolution: implications for crime, policing and citizen security, wherein, he argued that public trust in the police is generally poor after a survey in 15 African countries reveals that the police are often viewed as untrustworthy while another result from 22 African countries including Ghana shows that the police are not a common

sight for most Africans, who rarely come into contact with them in their daily lives. Likewise, it corroborates with the findings of Wambua (2015) in her study on crime perception in East Africa where she observed that most East Africans trust the army more than the police for their safety and protection. This partly explains the fear and lamentation of residents in the two districts on the insecurity menace. The findings also explain the acceptance or legitimization of the insecurity menace in the eyes of the populace as an existential threat as argued by the securitization theory that securitization occurs when an issue, seen as existential threat, results in popular legitimacy by the relevant audience. Thus, the fear and lamentations expressed by the people shows that they consider the issue something which ought to be prioritize by the appropriate bodies in other to rid them of its negative effects.

#### ***4.3.5 Passive and low citizen engagement***

Another interesting finding from the data gathered reveals that citizens or residents were most often inactive when it comes to giving relevant information and tip-offs to security personnel due to fears of blackmail or betrayal. Most of the respondents admit that aside from the Fulani herdsmen who are mostly alleged to be the ones involved in highway armed robbery and other criminal activities; some local folks are also involved in such activities and mostly, community residents failed to report such criminals to the police due to fear of they becoming the next target or victims. For instance, the assemblyman at Prang in the Pru West district explains that;

*...one thing is that they all (i.e., opinion leaders) feared that they don't want to, or even when they suspect some people; they find it difficult to bring it out fearing that they may be the next target. So, when you look at the situation, it happens to most of them because people were killed because they were able to identify those people who were doing those acts,*

*so when it happens, you may be the next target as they will come and attack or kill the person. (Field Data No. 3, 2022).*

The representative of the MP for Pru West also bemoans the passive posture of residents towards reporting suspected criminals in the community and has always been tight-lip. He noted how he and others are now making efforts to actively encourage residents to speak up.

*...we are now encouraging them that, if they know any criminal in any corner, just inform the opinion leaders. If you tell us, we will also try our best and inform the appropriate quarters so that even if the information will not be released to those around us; we can forward it to some of the people that we think are not within the district, so, when they are coming, they are not coming with your name. so, when we are able to report the criminals around our area, we will be able to solve the situation with all of us coming together and we will get a peaceful co-existence. When we try to keep ourselves that am afraid, am afraid, things will continue to get out of hand because the criminals are not from anywhere, they are within us. (Field Data No. 12, 2022).*

For the security expert from WANEP, these incidents of passive or low engagement of citizens towards issues of insecurity is a general problem in Ghana as most people have been conscientized into being receptive to guests or immigrants. Thus, even when a visitor comes to a community, residents do not query or ask questions regarding the individual, so we are generally hospitable to visitors and passive towards our security. The state or authorities that ought to also sensitize the public on these issues do it intermittently only when an incident occurs or is about to happen. He notes that;

*Our general attitude towards security in Ghana has been passive. Passive in the sense that over the years, we have not been able to conscientize, informed, or educated our people about the need to report threats. Assuming you're in a community, you see somebody who's not a member of the community, the person comes in and out, buys food and water here*

*and there, do we question them? We don't question people because our socio-cultural attitudes are such that, we should be hospitable towards foreigners, so, we give out our best, but those people who are coming in, who question them, do we know where they are coming from, do we know their intentions, do we even report them, and even if we report, what has been our responses, so, citizen engagement is very low in Ghana as part of our responses in addressing insecurity. (Field Data No. 16, 2022).*

Thus, a myriad of reasons can be accounted for the passive attitudes of residents towards insecurity in the districts and the country at large. These include the fear of being the next target of criminal attacks, lack of actions taken in previous cases where reports were made, the need to be respectable and hospitable to visitors, hence, not querying them when we site them in our communities, and political and elite's interferences in police handling of cases among others. It can therefore be argued that the passive and low citizen engagements by the populace here indicate a shortcoming on the part of the populace in supporting the state deal with the menace. Thus, the attitude of the residents in this context reveals a weakness on their part regarding their social contract with the state. Dealing with insecurity menace requires the cooperation and collaboration of all stakeholders, the reluctance to give information to relevant state agencies to help address the menace shows that the residents (citizens) have also not been able to effectively abide by their pact of cooperating or obeying the sovereign (state) to effectively discharge its responsibilities.

#### **4.4 Measures Taken**

Respondents have given out several measures that have been taken by relevant stakeholders aimed at addressing the menace. The key issues unearthed have been themed into sections made up of personal initiatives taken by the opinion and political

leaders, measures to boost the security of the area, and actions taken by the district assemblies and the central government.

#### **4.4.1 Personal initiatives**

As opinion leaders and elites of the people in the various communities, most of the respondents have explained some of the initiatives or measures that they have been taking regarding the insecurity menace in their various localities to help find a lasting solution to the phenomenon. Some explained how they made attempt at reporting the menace to the appropriate quarters or authorities for necessary actions to be taken. As noted by Braimah and Mbowura (2014), the fight against crime is mostly successful to a large extent depending on the role played by key actors like the political authorities. Thus, the commitment and the formulation of good policies by political authorities go a long way to affecting the nature, magnitude, professionalism, and success of the security agencies in the discharge of their onus of maintenance of law and order and protecting lives and properties. At Yeji in the Pru East district, for instance, a member of the traditional council recounts how they made efforts at drawing the attention of the IGP, the Minister for Security on the need to assist resolved the insecurity challenges in the area.

*...our Paramount Chief of Yeji has to go see the IGP and the National Security Minister somewhere last year. He complained to them about the insecurity situation here in Yeji and how it affects the market activities and the people. He suggested a military post to help ease the situation, however, the minister's response was that the insecurity situation was not only limited to Yeji (Pru East) but cut across areas such as Pru West, Sene East, and Sene West, and Atebubu Amantin, so, they can't set it up here in Yeji but they will put up a military post at Atebubu to patrol the various areas. So, these are some of the measures we traditional authorities have taken about the situation because we need to do something for our people*

*to know that we are not sitting idle or unconcerned about what is going on. (Field Data No. 8, 2022).*

Other respondents also explained that they complained to the President of the country, Nana Akufo-Addo when he came there during his regional tour of the area in 2021. An assemblyman at Prang in the Pru West district explains;

*...after realizing that the issue is becoming so worse, I together with my colleagues tried to engage the Traditional rulers (Omanhene) and the Zongo Chief, and other leaders. We met them and discussed the issue so later we finalized that; we have to request for security reinforcement. So, there was an occasion when the President of the Republic of Ghana, Nana Akufo-Addo visited the Omanhene, so the Nana Omanhene of Prang also presented the issue to the president of the republic and he also took it upon himself that he would make sure that he deployed the police to come and make sure that the security challenge is addressed. (Field Data No. 3, 2022).*

In addition, the respondents also reveal how they have been engaged in educating and appealing to members of the general public to assist the police personnel with relevant information and tip-offs, coupled with routine meetings with the traditional rulers on the need for collective actions to help address the menace. The assemblyman for Abease for instance explains that he and the traditional authorities are working on introducing stiffer bye-laws meant to deal with criminals engaged in the menace. He notes;

*We have been educating them and I have met with the traditional authorities and suggested to them the need for us to make stiffer community bye-laws that if you are caught or suspected to be involved in criminal activities, you will be used as a scapegoat to warn others of the consequences of engaging in such acts. (Field Data No.1, 2022).*

Other initiatives taken has to do with fixing security bulbs across vantage areas and around the highways and major roads in other to ensure visibility so that criminals

might be deterred from operating under the cover of dark areas at night where they easily attack their victims.

Further, there was also the setting up of informant groups and community watchdogs especially in the Pru East district by the opinion leaders in order to help ease the situation. Though voluntary, they explained that members of these groups/watchdogs were carefully selected and they have liaised with the police to help train them to help assist in the fight against insecurity in the area. A member of the Yeji traditional council for instance notes that;

*We have formed watchdogs and the police are giving them some training exercises. They usually operate from 11 pm in the evening and since they started in January, we haven't heard of any incidents of break-ins, robbery, murder, or other crimes. So, that is what we are doing to help address the issue by using community watchdogs to help assist the police in the fight against insecurity.* (Field Data No. 8, 2022).

The forming of the community watchdog is in line with the concept of citizen security which according to Muggah (2017) focuses on the responsible state and active citizenship where the responsible state is the idea of the police, judicial and penal institutions taking critical measures with active citizenship which focus on the key role of engaging citizens to participate and collaborate with authorities to deal with issues of crime and violence. It also supports the findings of studies such as (Baker, 2010; Osakede et al., 2016; Ojebode et al., 2016; Udeoba & Eze, 2021) who argued for a close collaboration between the police service and members of the community through community policing to help address the menace of insecurity. Igbo and Chinwokwu (2020) on the contrary argued for the participation of private security companies in the fight against crime instead of just ordinary members of the community. Regarding community policing, the assemblyman for Parambo-Sawaba also reveals a similar



initiative taking place in their area aimed at helping the police to reduce insecurity incidents.

Moreover, the representative of the MP for Pru East also reveals how they managed to bring in Tv3 media house to come and do a report on the incidents which according to him has helped in receiving support from the police service. He explains that;

*One notable intervention was we call on the media house, we brought Tv3 down here to interview people on the effect of the robbery situation on the lives of people. We took them to nearby villages and people highlighted their ordeals and it was through that, that even the police patrol was attached to the division. (Field Data No. 13, 2022).*

All these findings show that opinion leaders in the various districts are taking some actions or measures to help curb the menace. This action supports the findings of Morrison and Rockmore (2020) that positive relations exist between political engagements and the fear of crime. Thus, elites in both districts are engaging the populace to take steps to fight the menace due to the fear of incidents occurring in the area. It also confirms the argument of the securitization theory that when an issue (i.e., insecurity) seen as an existential threat is accepted as such by the relevant group (i.e., residents) whose lives are threaten, emergency measures are quickly taken to address the problem. The personal actions or initiatives taken by the elites in the area towards addressing the menace shows that securitization has taken place. It therefore explains that the social construction of the issue as a threat to residents has received rapid response from appropriate bodies in a bid to mitigate the menace.

#### **4.4.2 Confidence boosting**

Another measure that was aimed at addressing the phenomena was various suggestions made by stakeholders which they believe can go a long way in boosting the confidence of residents in the districts on the insecurity situation. They advocated for sensitization

of the public on issues of security, so that, people would get the confidence and trust of reporting suspected criminals and other vital tip-offs to the security agencies as part of the measure required to help address the challenges. Other suggestions aimed at boosting the confidence of residents on the insecurity issues relate to the need for expansion of police stations, increasing the personnel size to ensure adequate police visibility, and providing them with necessary logistics for them to assist fight crime and general insecurity in the area. The police inspector for Prang notes that;

*We need more security personnel and logistics. We don't have a vehicle here; no computer and we always go to the cafe to type confidential documents and print them. It is not very good. We sometimes also use a motor to travel in the night when we received reports of robbery on the road and it is very risky and dangerous for us that way. We, therefore, need more support and logistics to help us fight the insecurity situation.* (Field Data No. 4, 2022).

Further, with Fulani herdsmen as those mostly alleged to be the ones perpetrating the criminal acts especially armed robbery, some of the respondents think actions have to be taken by the appropriate quarters to regulate the movement and activities of the herdsmen who are mostly immigrants into the country. In the case of Abease and its environs, for instance, the major concern that will ensure confidence among residents is the call for the state to construct the roads within the area especially the Prang-Abease-Kintampo road which has become a safe haven for criminals always disturbing traders and commuters plying that stretch. The assemblyman for the area explains that;

*...the policemen are the people who protect us and looking at the size of the town, the population and that of surrounding villages, the policemen we have here are very few so they should expand and help us get more accommodation so that more officers can be sent to us to come and help with the security situation. Again, am appealing to the government to have mercy on us the people of Pru West. Our regional capital is Techiman and*

*the regional Hospital too is at Kintampo. The Prang-Abease-Kintampo road is used by many people so the government should try and do it for us so that all Ghanaians using the road can benefit. (Field Data No. 1, 2022).*

There were also various calls by some respondents for the setting-up of a military barracks in the area even though others such as the representative of the DCE for Pru West, the Police Commander at Yeji, and the Police Inspector for Prang respectively disagree with the call citing the need to empower the police with logistics and more personnel as enough to help resolve the challenges without necessarily establishing a military barracks around the area. The advocacy for a military post by some respondents supports the findings of Wambua (2015) who notes that the majority of the population of East Africa, trusts the army more than the police for their safety and protection.

The call for improved logistics and personnel by the stakeholders was also noted by Braimah and Mbowura (2014) who rightly argued that the continued retooling of the security outfits, improved conditions of services, recruitment of additional personnel, etc. undoubtedly helps to curb the surge in criminal activities in the country. Also, the police inspector at Prang in the Pru West district for instance complained about the problem of political and elite's interference in cases involving some suspects as a worrying situation and believes that ending such unpatriotic attitudes can help boost the confidence of residents on the security situation when they believe that, the police deal with suspected cases impartially and justly without any form of external interferences. This finding also relates to the social contract theory where both the state and the citizenry are to cooperate and coordinate in achieving effective security provisions. Though the sovereign (state) is mandated to protect the lives, properties and liberties of the populace (citizens), it cannot do so effectively unless there is a symbiotic exchange of relevant information, tip-offs and collaborations between the two. The boosting of

confidence is therefore necessary in helping to achieve this goal, thereby, ensuring that the menace is collectively addressed.

#### **4.4.3 Actions taken by the District Assemblies (DA)**

The district assemblies on their part have taken some measures generally within the various districts to help address the insecurity issues. After the IGP's visit to the area in August 2021, a team of the anti-robbery squad, counter-terrorism unit (CTU), police, and military patrols were deployed to the area to help ease the insecurity challenges even though the military patrol are stationed outside the Pru West and East districts at Atebubu in the Atebubu-Amantin municipality. The district assemblies have since been using a major part of their weekly IGF to help cater to the fueling of the patrol teams and their accommodation. This according to the respondents has helped the patrol teams and anti-robbery squad to be able to reduce incidents of insecurity since the beginning of this year (2022). The assemblyman for Parambo-Sawaba for instance praised the DA for the action taken to help address the issues;

*The DA is currently doing very well. I can tell you that about 60% to 70% of our IGF goes into these security matters. So, it is affecting us a lot but they are doing well. I can tell you and in fact, they have even rented a whole flat accommodation for the patrol team. So, they are in town here and they are fueling them and they are rationing. Everything has been catered for by the DA. So, our internally generated funds, a major part of it goes into how to keep the security situation here secured. (Field Data No. 9, 2022).*

Moreover, the DAs have further expressed their commitment to continue helping the security agencies fight insecurity in the area by way of encouraging residents routinely to assist the police with information, securing accommodations for personnel, and providing security bulbs among others. Their call likewise supports the position of some scholars (e.g., Oteng-Ababio et al., 2016; Shivam et al., 2018; Umar et al., 2021) who

argued for the use of ICT tools to help in crime fighting. Umar et al. (2021) for instance advocated the synchronization of a national database that will serve as a central point of reference for all law enforcement agencies. Again, the DAs also pledged to continue the lobby for more personnel and work hard to ensure that, with the two districts currently sharing one police commander, very soon, they will each have their own respective commanders to help manage insecurity challenges in the respective districts.

The DCE for Pru East for instance observed that;

*...major challenge of the area is having one police commander in charge of two districts. The one commander is a challenge in terms of logistics distribution. Pru West should get its own logistics and district commander because currently, we are sharing resources with them 50-50. (Field Data No. 15, 2022).*

The DAs, the respondents explained have also expanded the scope of membership of the District Security Council (DISEC) to help include other relevant stakeholders such as the local Fulani chief whose inclusion can help in the easy exchange and sharing of intelligence to help deal with the menace. In Yeji for instance, a member of the traditional council revealed how the District Assembly was able to liaise with the local Ghana Private Road Transport Union (GPRTU) for them to give some of their station cars to police personnel during emergency operations in other to avoid drawing the attention of criminals about the identity of the vehicle the police might be using or coming in.

*The transport station authorities (GPRTU-Yeji) have also supported with cars because the police cars are insufficient for the daily patrols on the roads. So, we spoke with the GPRTU and they agreed that as and when the police need vehicles for any emergency operations, they will give out their cars for those operations. This is to help them because what they get from the assembly is not sufficient. (Field Data No. 8, 2022).*

As noted by the securitization theory, an action seen as existential threat is duly securitized when key stakeholders respond with swift measures in addressing the concerns after those whose lives is seen as existential threatened have legitimized the issue as a threat to their lives. The various actions taken in this context by the District Assembly to mitigate the menace correspond with the emergency measures argued by the securitization theory in solving perceived crisis or problems, in this case, the insecurity issues. It therefore explains how at the micro-level, local authorities i.e., DA respond to issues seen as existential threats in their respective areas.

#### **4.4.4 Response from the central government**

As part of measures to address the insecurity issues in the area, the central government has assisted through the IGP and the ministry of security by sending in the counter-terrorism unit (CTU), anti-robbery squad, the police and military patrol teams to help ease the conditions on the ground. These according to almost all the respondents in both districts have helped to bring the high incidence of insecurity very low in the area especially beginning of this year even though there are some minor incidents happening infrequently. The police commander for the two districts explains that;

*...last year, there was much robbery here especially during the rainy season, at a point, there were even deaths where they attacked and robbed many cars. So based on that, we have to write a letter and send it to administration, so, they have to bring in reinforcement to come and support us, so, they brought the CTU from Accra. They are based in Prang and Sawaba (NO.1) and they also brought operational men from Techiman who are based on the Abease – Kintampo road. And from there, at times, there wouldn't be any robbery for long and later it will happen again. But now, we are in the dry season so there are not many incidents over here again except that what they do now is on the feeder roads, that is where at times you hear some one-to-one robbery incidents and even this time it's not robbery incidents, it is like a group of people who are attacking farmers, taking their motors from them and they do that in the evening. (Field Data No. 7, 2022).*

Similarly, the police inspector at Parambo-Sawaba praised the IGP for assisting them with some personnel at his station and the area to help ease the insecurity situation. He notes that;

*The Inspector General of Police has done his best. He brought personnel from Accra, that is the Counter Terrorism Unit (CTU) to come and augment the strength of the personnel on grounds to help the security situation. There are also men coming from the region to also, as of now, we have 4 personnel in the barracks who are also helping the CTU, foot patrol, and mobile patrol to make sure that crime is reduced to its barest minimum (Field Data No.10, 2022).*

In addition, another effort by the central government also through the IGP was the elevation of the Yeji (Pru East District Police Command) to a divisional status, which means that, with this new elevation, the Pru East district is going to get a boost of personnel and other logistics to help fight insecurity and crime in the area. This swift intervention of the central government through the IGP is in line with the securitization theory's argument that when an issue is considered as an existential threat to a particular referent group (i.e., residents), quick measures and initiatives are taken to address the menace because the failure to tackle it would render everything else as irrelevant (Buzan, 1994). Thus, the opportunities and expansions that comes with elevating the Pru East command to a divisional status would help address some of the issues causing the menace in the area. However, at the time of data collection, one of the respondents who is a member of the Yeji traditional council in the Pru East district revealed that, though they have been elevated to a divisional status, the district is yet to see the increase in personnel and logistics as expected and calls on the central government to fast track the process of sending the necessary personnel and logistics. He appeals that;

*...they should increase the number of police personnel here, now that they have made Yeji a divisional command, there are even some departments*

*that are not yet in operation due to inadequate personnel. For instance, it was just recently we got a divisional crime officer, we should have gotten DOVVSU, but we don't. we should have gotten a divisional CID, but we don't, it is one of the CID officers they have selected to act as the divisional CID officer (Field Data No. 8, 2022).*

Thus, despite acknowledging the central government's support, the respondents in both districts believed that the central government can do more or better by assisting with enough personnel and logistics, in addition to helping with some funds to ease the burden of the districts using almost all their IGF on the security services as it hinders developmental projects in the area. A security analyst, Adib Saani, for instance urged the IGP, Dr. George Dampare to take proactive measures to deal with insecurity especially violent crime after data released by the Statistical Research and Monitoring Unit of the CID – Ghana Police showed that 306 murder cases were recorded in the first quarter of 2021 (Nazah, 2021).

On his part, the security expert from WANEP believes that the state carries much of the onus with regard to addressing insecurity and its associated threats in the country. He, therefore, calls for;

*...citizens engagement, policies to increase state presence in marginalized communities, effective border control, and improved socio-economic infrastructure in border communities. Sustainable employment for youth, strengthen bilateral and multilateral cooperation with regional and international partners in counterterrorism and security. Strengthen the capacity of internal security, strengthen community and national early warning systems and national peace infrastructure, and ensure inclusive governance (Field Data No. 16, 2022).*

as the major initiatives to help address the issues of insecurity in the country. The call was similar to those made by (Akinbi, 2015; Emanemua & Akinlosotu, 2016; Osakede et al., 2016; Ojebode et al., 2016; Udeoba & Eze, 2021) as measures to help address



issues of insecurity. This call is in line with the social contract theory which argues that the state is mandated to ensuring the security provisions of the citizenry. Thus, the state ought to put all necessary measures in place to help in achieving this goal for the citizens.

#### **4.5 Conclusion**

This chapter dealt with the presentation and analysis of data gathered from both primary and secondary sources based on the research objectives of the study. This was done taking into consideration the research objectives of the study. The chapter started with an overview analysis of the current state of insecurity in the two districts i.e., Pru West and Pru East from the perspective of respondents. It then progressed to analyze and discussed respondents' views on the factors of insecurity in the two districts, its effects on residents, and measures taken to help address the problem. It also highlights how some of the findings relate with the securitization and social contract theories. The next chapter talks about the summary of the findings, the conclusion of the study, and recommendations.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSION

#### 5.0 Introduction

The core purpose of the study was to examine the state of insecurity in the Pru West and Pru East districts. The specific objectives were to; explore the factors accounting for the state of insecurity in the Pru West and Pru East districts; examine the effects of insecurity on the residents of Pru West and Pru East districts and lastly, find out the measures that are being taken to address the menace in the two districts.

The qualitative research paradigm was adopted for the study with 16 informants interviewed through a purposive sampling technique (non-probability) as the research population. The primary data was collected with the aid of an interview guide and the instruments used were a tape recorder and field notebook. Data collected were analyzed using an inductive thematic approach through the usage of narrative and verbatim quotes. This chapter presents a highlight/summary of the major findings, conclusion, and recommendations in addition to suggestions for future research.

#### 5.1 Summary of Findings

The overall study was categorized into five chapters. Chapter One was the starting point of the study as it laid out the background to the study regarding the menace of (in)security in the country and some of the key issues around security/insecurity from the global to the national level. A working definition of security/insecurity by the researcher was also provided to guide the study. The chapter also looked at the problem statement and highlighted some academic studies done in relation to (in)security after which a gap was identified. The Pru West and Pru East districts were used as the case studies to help fill the gap. Further, the purpose statement, research questions, and

objectives, significance of the study, delimitations, and organization of the study were also discussed and justified

Chapter Two explained the two theories that underpin the study i.e., the securitization theory by Buzman, Weaver, and Wilde (1998) of the Copenhagen School of Security Studies and the Social Contract theories of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke. The concept of (in)security, wide and narrow debates on security, human security, and phases of human security (personal security) were also considered and discussed. Other major issues covered also bothers on the concept of citizen security, and overview of personal insecurities in Africa and Ghana; all forming part of the literature reviewed in this chapter. The chapter concluded with an empirical review on the causes, effects, and measures taking the address insecurity issues.

The Third Chapter dealt with the research methodology. It outlined the research approach (qualitative) and the philosophical paradigm (social constructivism) that guided the study. It further provided a justification for the selection of the research site (study area) and the sampling technique (purposive) used for the study. Primary data were collected from 16 informants purposively selected through an open-ended interview guide using a tape recorder and a field notebook and the data was subsequently analyzed using an inductive thematic approach where themes were derived from the data collected. The chapter concluded with issues of ethical consideration, challenges encountered in the field and trustworthiness of the study. Chapter Four basically focused on the findings and discussion of primary data.

## **5.2 The Major Findings of the Study**

The study answered the three research questions that were asked in chapter one. The findings of the study are presented below:

### **5.2.1 What factors account for the state of insecurity in the Pru West and Pru East Districts?**

- a. The study reveals that the major cause of insecurity in the two districts was the high influx of Fulani herdsmen in the area. Five (5) of the respondents interviewed mentioned that they were once victims of armed robbery attacks and that those who attacked them were Fulani herdsmen. Their ordeal was corroborated by other respondents among which are policemen who also mentioned that the perpetrators of incidents of crime especially highway robberies in the area were mostly Fulani herdsmen. This has been attributed to the migration of these herdsmen from other jurisdictions of the country to the area, hence, the surge in crimes or insecurity-related issues. The inability of the state (sovereign) to effectively regulate the activities of these migrants is making it difficult in the discharge of its onus of security provisions under the terms of the social contract theory, as the activities of the migrants (i.e., Fulani herdsmen) results in dangerous threats to lives, properties and liberties of citizens.
- b. The study again reveals that the inadequate number of police personnel and logistics in the two districts were part of the factors/reason causing the incidents of insecurity. This challenge was revealed by both the police personnel interviewed and the civilians. Thus, the shortage of personnel and logistics do not allow the security personnel the ability to help provide maximum protection for the residents in the two districts, and the criminals perpetrating these incidents also rely on this shortfall to attack their victims because they know the police are not having adequate logistics to chase and fight them. It is therefore argued that by failing to provide adequate logistics and police personnel in the two districts, the state which is mandated with ensuring the provisions of

security to the citizens has partly renege in its onus (i.e., social contract) to the people in the area as the absence of the logistics and personnel is a factor contributing to the insecurity menace.

- c. It was also revealed that the poor road network within some jurisdictions in the two districts is partly to be blamed for the incidents of insecurity in the area. In the case of the Pru West district, the poor nature of the Prang-Abease-Kintampo road has been attributed as the main cause of armed robbery incidents in the area with some victims losing their lives as a result. Similarly, in the Pru East district, the Parambo-Sawaba-Aburumasi road has also recorded major incidents of armed robbery attacks leading to the loss of lives in the area. Thus, the inability of the state which has the responsibility to ensure or provide social amenities (i.e., roads) in the area is partly a factor contributing to the menace.
- d. Another finding has to do with unemployment and poverty in the area. Responses from both districts showed that the unemployment situation coupled with the poverty level of most people in the area is a catalyst that leads to insecurity. Most of the youths in the area are unemployed and the primary occupation for the majority of the people is farming. As a result, some of the unemployed youths are unwilling to venture into farming and rather resort to criminal activities in order to sustain themselves. It can therefore be argued that the absence of employment avenues and opportunities for the youth by the state (government) is making some citizens engage in criminal acts to sustain their livelihood especially considering the high cost of living in the state.
- e. The issue of drug abuse and peer pressure was also a major concern that was linked to the surge in criminal activities in the area. The youth especially indulged in using weed, tramadol, diazepam 5, and other drug substances through

peer influence and when they get very abused, they go and engage in criminal activities. At Yeji in the Pru East, for instance, one of the respondents recounted a recent attack on some students of Yeji Senior High Technical School by some hoodlums who live in bases noted for dealing in drug abuse among others closer to the school. Thus, the issue of drug abuse and peer influence plays a key role in the surge in insecurity in the area.

- f. Furthermore, the study also revealed that school dropout was another source of insecurity in the area. Most youths in the area due to poor parenting or some other reasons end up dropping out of school and since they are unemployed, they rather prefer to venture into criminal activities such as armed robbery in order to sustain themselves. In relation to that is also the phenomenon of get-rich-quick syndrome where youth desperate to live a luxurious or expensive lifestyle engaged themselves in criminal activities in order to satisfy their tastes since most of them are not working. They therefore target traders and others perceived to be rich in society as their victims and rob them of their valuables and possessions.
- g. Generally, the findings regarding research question one shows that the state (sovereign) has not been very effective in the discharge of its pact with the citizens (subjects) regarding its onus of protection of lives, liberties and properties, hence, the multiple factors of insecurity in the area

### **5.1.2 How does insecurity affect the residents in the two districts?**

- a. The findings revealed that the incidents of insecurity in the two districts had led to a significant slow-down of business and economic activities as traders from far and near especially those outside the region who mostly come to the area for the purposes of trading have stopped coming due to fear of being attacked or

robbed by highway robbers. Thus, business and economic activities have gone down in the area because those who usually come to trade and invest there are unwilling to do so due to concern for their safety and that of their business activities.

- b. Another key finding relates to the loss of lives, properties, and personnel. The study shows that the area has lost some prominent citizens and other residents of the area through armed robbery attacks. Again, it was revealed that workers in the area are making efforts to migrate to different areas of the country due to the insecurity situation, and newly posted workers to the area are reluctant to come there citing the issue of insecurity as the reason they do not want to come there. There are others who also lose personal possessions due to these incidents of insecurity, particularly armed robbery. This clearly points to failure on the part of the state in ensuring the safety of lives, properties and liberties of the residents in the area which is the primary responsibility of the government.
- c. Another effect on residents relates to how the incidents of insecurity in the area affect developmental projects planned by the district assemblies. In both districts, it was revealed that the IGF which they have planned to use for projects such as CHPS compounds, school refurbishment, and community centers among others have been channeled into the provision of security for the people of the area. Thus, the resources and money via IGF meant for development projects in the two districts by their respective assemblies is now being used to cater for the upkeep and fuelling of the patrol vehicles of the police personnel sent to the area to help address the menace.
- d. Another revelation was that the insecurity situation in the area has led to myriad lamentations and expressions of fear by the residents. Most of the respondents for instance revealed that they always received complaints from residents on the

need for leadership to do something to help address the security concerns. One of the respondents even recalled how at the peak of the insecurity incidents, some residents were calling for the closure of all schools in the area because the situation became almost a daily ritual. This is a manifestation of the fact that residents have agreed/consented that their lives are existentially threatened by the activities of violent criminals in the area, hence, their call for a swift action as argued by the securitization theory.

- e. It was also revealed that the fear of betrayal on the part of some residents has led to a culture of passive or low citizen engagement with the police as most are afraid to become the next target or victims of attack should they assist the police with tip-offs. This according to one of the respondents was due to the fact that in previous cases, those who leaked information on suspected criminals to the police later became a prime target of armed robbery attacks, meaning, someone has leaked the information to the criminals. This has led to a culture of low engagement or passive attitude on the part of residents; thus, they are afraid of reporting any suspicious characters to the police for fear of being attacked later. In spite of the legitimate concerns given by residents, one can argue that their passive or low engagement approach with relevant authorities has also contributed to the menace, hence, they have also failed in their commitment of cooperating with the sovereign (state) to help ensure their safety.
- f. In all, the findings from the research question two clearly points to the fact that there are multiple adverse effects of insecurity on residents. This further confirms the inadequate discharge of onus on the part of the state (sovereign) regarding its social contract with the people.



### 5.1.3 What measures are being taken to address the menace?

- a. From the findings, it was revealed that one of the key measures being taken to address the menace relates to personal initiatives by the various opinion leaders. Some of them explained that they have been engaging their people on the need to be security conscious and also assist the police or opinion leaders with relevant information or tip-offs on those they suspect to be involved in the criminal activity which causes the insecurity. Others also revealed that they made personal complaints and reports to the appropriate authorities regarding the menace. One of the respondents, for instance, explained how they went to Accra to make a report to the Minister for National Security, the IGP, and other stakeholders on the need to help address the menace of insecurity in the area. In addition, some also revealed that they took steps to ensure that there are security bulbs (lights) in their various communities in order to ensure more visibility at night in those areas that are mostly dark and can serve as a safe haven for criminals. In the Pru East district especially, some of the respondents explained they instituted community watchdogs and informants to help the police address the insecurity issues. Another respondent further revealed how he invited the Tv3 network to come to the area and do a news report on the menace, so that, the attention of government and other stakeholders within and outside the districts would lead to effective assistance and actions to address the menace. The various points highlighted lend credence to the securitization theory that emergency actions/measures are taken when an issue become securitized by relevant stakeholders and those whose lives are existentially threatened.
- b. There was also the need to help boost the confidence of residents in the area as part of the measures revealed by the respondents. Considering the fear most

people have regarding the menace, the study reveals that education and sensitizing of members of the public to report criminals to authorities (police and opinion leaders) can help address the menace. There were also calls for the expansion of police stations and beefing up of police personnel in addition to the provision of logistics necessary to help them fight crime in the area. Another revelation was on the need to regulate the influx of Fulani herdsmen and their activities in the area in order to boost the security situation while some also argued that the setting up of military barracks in the area will go a long way to help and complement the efforts of the police, thus, ultimately leading to a lasting solution or addressing of the menace in the area.

- c. The findings of the study also revealed that both district assemblies i.e., Pru West and Pru East have been using their IGF to fuel the vehicle of the police patrol team, anti-robbery squad, the CTU, and other relevant security agencies that were deployed in the area to help address the menace. The findings again reveal that the DAs in some cases hired a place of accommodation for the security personnel who are temporary officers sent from the headquarters to the area for the purposes of helping to address the insecurity menace. The findings also showed that the DAs have provided and fixed security bulbs (lights) on the various roads and highways including some vantage areas in the communities to help address the issue of darkness on the roads and in those areas at night. In the Pru East district, for instance, it was revealed that the DISEC has expanded its membership to include other relevant stakeholders such as the Fulani chiefs and others to help form a collective force in the fight against the menace. Similarly, the Pru East DA again has partnered with the GPRTU to help assist police personnel with vehicles during emergency operations among others.

- d. Also, the findings revealed that the central government has also responded to calls to help address the menace with the IGP personally visiting the two districts to ascertain the insecurity situation. This was followed by a deployment of a special anti-robbery squad, a police patrol team, the CTU, and a military patrol from Accra to the area and its surrounding districts for the purposes of addressing the situation. The Pru East district police command at Yeji was also uplifted to a divisional command status, which means, the expansion and deployment of more personnel and logistics to help address the shortfall in police personnel.
- e. Overall, one can argue that the myriad of calls highlighted above by stakeholders and the general public for urgent action and the subsequent deployment of CTU, military-police patrol, use of IGF among others supports the assumption of the securitization theory that the social construction of an issue (i.e., insecurity) via speech acts, acceptance of its by the referent object (citizens) as existential threat eventually results in the use of emergency measures to respond to insecurity issues.

## **5.2 Conclusions**

The following conclusions were drawn from the study.

To start with, the issue of insecurity in the area is not a new phenomenon. In recent times, however, the surge in the menace has mostly been attributed to the influx of Fulani herdsmen in the area, and the main crime or insecurity activity that threatens the lives and properties of residents in the area is highway armed robbery.

Again, the deployment of the police anti-robbery squad, the counter-terrorism unit (CTU), and joint police and military patrol teams to the area in the latter part of 2021

has brought down the menace. This deployment is seen as an emergency response to the various speech acts as argued by the securitization theory. However, the researcher believes a more permanent solution is needed as these measures are temporarily meant to deal with the surges in the meantime. Also, some residents in the area are still afraid of the insecurity menace as some attributed the reduction of incidents to the dry season which makes it impossible for criminals to hide in bushes along the highway/roads in the area to perpetrate crime.

Furthermore, the insecurity situation is negatively impacting developmental initiatives in the area as resources and money from the various IGF meant for development activities are channeled into the fueling and upkeep of the temporary security personnel. Again, the booming of business and trading activities has significantly reduced in the area due to fear of the menace.

There is not much difference between the two districts regarding the menace, its effects on residents, and measures being taken to address it, except that the Pru East district seems to be doing more to help address the menace than its counterpart in the Pru West district especially when it comes to the District Assembly's partnership with the GPRTU and the formation of community watchdogs and informants to help assist the police fight the menace.

The researcher also believes that although state (sovereign) has not been very effective in the discharge of its pact with the citizens (subjects) regarding its onus of protection of lives, liberties and properties, hence, the multiple factors of insecurity in the area, citizens are nonetheless counting on the state (government) to fully fulfill its obligation regarding the social contract of protection of lives and properties. The state has done some but can do better to help address the menace in the area and the country at large.

The researcher believes that, if the state beefed up police presence/visibility, especially in marginalized communities, improve the logistics supply and capacity of the security agencies, regulate the activities of migrants, especially Fulani herdsmen in the country, provides employment avenues for the youth, citizens engagement on security consciousness among others, the insecurity menace in the area and the country at large can be reduced to its barest minimum.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

The study examined the state of insecurity in the Pru West and Pru East districts and explored the factors accounting for the menace; its effects on the residents of the area and measures that are being taken to deal with the problem. Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations are put forward.

Firstly, the study recommends that the state (government) institute and put in place robust measures to deal/regulate the activities of Fulani herdsmen in the country. As identified in the study, a major cause of the menace was the influx of Fulani herdsmen in the area and most of them happen to be illegal migrants into the country. The state must put mechanisms in place especially along the country's border to screen and regulate those migrating into the country. This will help to reduce the influx of criminals into the country.

Additionally, the researcher recommends a strong collaboration between the security officials, traditional authorities, assembly members and the leadership of the Fulani communities in the two districts. With the phenomena of kidnapping gaining grounds mostly among the Fulani groups, it is prudent for stakeholders to come together in taking proactive measures to deal with the menace before it ripples out to the general public (Ghanaian communities). It will also help the authorities in gathering

information and tip-offs to avert any future occurrence of the incidents in the area especially within the Fulani communities.

The study also recommends the beef up of permanent police personnel and logistic supply to the area. The findings of the study reveal that the permanent police personnel working in the area are inadequate, hence, the temporary deployment of the anti-robbery squad, the CTU, and police and military patrol teams from Accra to the area by the IGP. The researcher believes a more permanent solution will be the beefing up of more personnel and logistics in the area to help augment the inadequate shortfall of personnel there.

The researcher further recommends the creation of employment opportunities and avenues for the youth of the area by the state, so that, those who are unemployed can get a job or work in order to make a living instead of delving into criminal activities which creates insecurity in the area. The creation of these avenues will again help to reduce the situation where some youth engage in criminal activities with the notion of the get-rich-quick syndrome and even those who have dropped out of school will find opportunities to make a living instead of venturing into highway robbery.

Moreover, the study also recommends a stop to the political marginalization of deprived communities and a focus on ensuring equal distribution of national cake, hence, the need to address the poor road networks in some of these areas which have become a safe haven for highway robbers attacking motorist and traders using the routes. In addition, the study recommends measures to be taken by the security agencies in collaboration with the National Pharmacy Council and Narcotics Control Authority to deal with people found to be selling hard drugs such as tramadol, wee, diazepam 5 (D5), among others which the youth mostly abused.

Again, the study recommends the state through the IGP have a separate or distinct Police Commander for each district contrary to the current arrangement where the Police Commander (Pru East) is supervising the two districts. Doing this will help to ensure adequate focus and attention on the part of the police commander in the specific district he/she is in charge of.

The study also recommends a routine monthly stakeholder engagement with relevant actors in each of the districts to assess and strategize their operations regarding the menace in their jurisdiction. In the same vein, the community watchdogs and informants set up by some of the areas to help the police address the menace should be assisted and motivated while strict confidentiality is maintained regarding their identity. It is also recommended for opinion leaders to actively engage residents on the need to be security conscious in addition to reporting any suspicious characters they suspect to be involved in the menace. From the findings of the study, it was revealed that residents were afraid to report to authorities or the police due to trust issues. The police and opinion leaders must therefore actively engage and get interact with residents, as this may go a long way to ensure trust and confidentiality between them.

Finally, it is recommended for the central government to assist the area with grants and other funds so that they can be able to provide developmental projects to the residents as well as ensure their protection in the area. One of the major findings was that the district assemblies use almost all their IGF on the provision of security while issues of development are neglected. With a shortfall in revenues generated in the area by the assemblies due to the slowdown of business activities, the help of the central government will go a long way to help the districts back up and provide the needed services to their people.

#### **5.4 Suggestions for Future Research**

The following suggestions for future research are put forward by the researcher based on the findings and conclusion of the study.

To start with, the findings of this study were confined to the Pru West and Pru East districts of the Bono East Region. The researcher suggests that there should be a replication of the study in other districts or areas outside the region in order to ascertain the validity of this study and make the findings more generalized.

Again, it was realized in the study that the deployment of police personnel reinforcement from Accra to the two districts has led to a decline in the menace since the latter part of 2021, others also argued that it was due to the dry season where the phenomenon of bush burning and loss of forest cover has made it impossible for criminals to hide in the forest around the highways to attack their victims. The researcher suggests for a study to find out if the fall in the menace was really due to police reinforcement or the seasonal pattern. Additionally, the researcher also suggests a study on the activities of the police personnel deployed in the area; their challenges, successes, and the way forward regarding the menace.

The researcher further suggests a study with a focus on the residents/community members as the study population contrary to this study which used a purposive sampling technique to select opinion leaders and political actors who represent the people. The objective of that study might be to find out if the experiences and findings from the residents support those made by their representatives. Another suggestion for further research is to conduct a study on the impact of insecurity in the area on developmental projects undertaken or planned by the district assemblies.



The researcher also suggests a study into the phenomenon of kidnapping which is gaining attention in the area especially among the Fulani herdsmen. Future studies should focus on why the menace of kidnapping is gaining grounds in the area? Why the menace is predominant among the Fulani population? How likely is it to ripple into the general Ghanaian community? What measures or expertise are needed to quickly address it in addition to crimes like armed robbery in the area?

Finally, the researcher suggests a study into the activities of Fulani herdsmen whose influx in the area is seen as the primary reason for the surge in incidents of insecurity. The study should aim to find out if indeed the influx of the herdsmen in the area was what surged/increase the insecurity issues of the area or there might be a different explanation.



## REFERENCES

- Abdullahi, A. S. & Ismail, U. (2021). Crimes and insecurity in rural Nigeria. *Dutse International Journal of Social and Economic Research (DIJSER)*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 203-211.
- Acharya, A. (2001). Human security: East versus West. *International Journal*, pp. 442-460.
- Achumba, I. C., Ighomereho, O. S. & Akpor-Robaro, M. O. M. (2013). Security challenges in Nigeria and the implications for business activities and sustainable development. *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development*, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 79-99.
- Adegbami, A. (2013). Insecurity: A threat to human existence and economic development in Nigeria. *Public Policy and Administration Research*. Vol.3, No.6, pp. 8-13.
- Adenike, E. T. (2021). Poverty, unemployment and insecurity challenges in Nigeria. *Tanzanian Economic Review*, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 115-136.
- Adesina, O. S. (2013). Unemployment and security challenges in Nigeria. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, Vol. 3, No. 7, pp. 146-156.
- Adom, D., Hussein, E. K. & Agyem, J. A. (2018). Theoretical and conceptual framework: Mandatory ingredients of a quality research. *International Journal of Scientific Research*, Vol. 7, Issue 1, ISSN No. 2277 – 8179.
- Afolabi, A. M., Adeyemi, K. & Adigun, S. (2015). Impact of insecurity on Nigeria development. *LPAI Journal of Management Science*, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 235-246.
- Afolabi, M. (2015). Concept of security. *Readings in Intelligence & Security Studies*.
- Aidoo, G. A. & Botchway, T. P. (2021). Ethnicity, religion and elections in Ghana. *UCC Law Journal*, Vol. 1, Issue 2, pp. 419-444. <https://doi.org/10.47963/ucclj.v1i2.427>.
- Ajibola, J. O. (2016). Economic growth amidst insecurity: The Nigeria experience. *Research Journal of Finance and Accounting*, Vol.7, No.7, pp. 56-71.
- Ajodo-Adebanjoko, A. & Okwudili, U. (2014). Poverty and the challenges of insecurity to development. *European Scientific Journal*, Vol.10, No.14., pp. 361-372.
- Ake, C. (1970). Social contract theory and the problem of politicization: The case of Hobbes. *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 23(3), pp. 463-470. URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/446566>

- Akinbi, J. O. (2015). Examining the Boko Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria and the quest for a permanent resolution of the crisis. *Journal of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol.3, No. 8, pp. 32-45.
- Akokpari, J. (2007). The political economy of human insecurity in sub-Saharan Africa. *Institute of Developing Economies, Japan External Trade Organization - V.R.F. Series*, No. 431.
- Akokpari, J. (2012). Environmental degradation and human insecurity in sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of Human Security. Vol 8, Issue 1*
- Akpakan, M., Bariledum, K. & Lucky, N. B. (2015). national insecurity and youth unemployment in Nigeria: The case of Niger-Delta region. *British Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*. Vol. 13 (1), pp. 104-155.
- Alfakoro, A. S. Y. (2021). The outgrowing nature of insecurity amidst COVID-19 pandemic in Nigeria: Issues, challenges and way forward. *Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review*, Vol. 11:S6.
- Alidu, M. S., Braimah, A. I. & Mbowura, C. K. eds. (2020). *Contemporary issues in Ghana: Politics, security, conflicts & identity*. Vol. I. Woeli Publishing Services.
- Alkire, S. (2003). A conceptual framework for human security: CRISE working paper. *Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity, CRISE*.
- Anim, E. (2015). Ghana's vulnerability to the threats of domestic and transnational terrorism: real, emerging or imagined? [Master's Thesis, Norwegian University of Life Sciences] accessed <https://nmbu.brage.unit.no/nmbu-xmlui/handle/11250/2381631>
- Aning, K. (2007). Are there emerging West African criminal networks? The case of Ghana, *Global Crime*, 8:3, pp. 193-212, DOI: 10.1080/17440570701507729.
- Appiahene-Gyamfi, J. (1998). Violent crime in Ghana: The case of robbery. *Journal of criminal justice*, 26(5), 409-424. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0047-2352\(98\)00020-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0047-2352(98)00020-8)
- Appiahene-Gyamfi, J. (2003). Urban crime trends and patterns in Ghana: The case of Accra. *Journal of criminal justice*, 31(1), 13-23. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0047-2352\(02\)00196-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0047-2352(02)00196-4)
- Appiahene-Gyamfi, J. (2022). The trends and patterns of crime in Ghana: The case of robbery. *International Journal of Criminal Justice Science*. Vol. 17 (1): 93–109. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.4756092
- Arriagada, I. & Godoy, L. (2002). Prevention or repression? The false dilemma of citizen security. *CEPAL Review* 70, pp. 111-136.

- Asamoah, K. (2019). Addressing the problem of political vigilantism in Ghana through the conceptual framework of wicked problems. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 00(0).
- Asekere, G. (2021). Study on domesticating vigilantism in Ghana's fourth republic: *The Challenge ahead*. *Asian Research Journal of Arts & Social Sciences*. 10(3): 24-39.
- Avis, M. (2005). *Is there an epistemology for qualitative research?* pp. 1-15. In: Holloway, I. (2005). *Qualitative research in health care*. Open University Press.
- Azaigba, K. T. & Ahom, H. T. (2021). The changing dynamics of kidnapping in Nigeria and implications for national development. *International Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science (IJRISS)*, pp. 146-149.
- Badong, P. A. (2009). Security provision in Ghana: What is the role and impact of non-state actors? *African Leadership Center (ALC) Research Report No. 5*.
- Bagson, E. & Owusu, A. Y. (2021). Securing the urban space: on whose terms? Insights from poverty and crime baseline survey in Tamale, Ghana. *Ghana Journal of Geography*. Vol. 8(1), Special Issue, pp. 124-147.
- Bajpai, K. (2003). The idea of human security. *International Studies*, 40(3). Sage Publications.
- Baker, B. (2010a). Nonstate policing: Expanding the scope for tackling Africa's urban violence. *Africa Security Brief, No. 7, African Center for Strategic Studies*.
- Baker, B. (2010b). Linking state and non-state security and justice. *Development Policy Review*, 28 (5), pp. 597-616.
- Baldwin, D. A. (1997). The concept of security. *Review of International Studies*, 23, pp. 5-26.
- Balzacq, T. & Cavelty, M. D. (2017). *Routledge handbook of security studies*. (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.). Routledge – Taylor & Francis Group.
- Balzacq, T., Tugba B., Didier B., Emmanuel-Pierre G. & Christian O. (2010). *Security practices*. International Studies Encyclopedia Online - Blackwell Publishing.
- BenYishay, A. & Pearlman, S. (2011). Crime and microenterprise growth: Evidence from Mexico.
- Bigo, D. & Tsoukala, A. (2008). *Terror, insecurity and liberty: Illiberal practices of liberal regimes after 9/11*. Routledge Studies in Liberty and Security.
- Bjarnesen, M. (2021). Agents of urban (in)security: Contextualising the banning of political vigilantism in Ghana. *Journal of the British Academy*, 9(s11), pp. 19-39.

- Bluwey, G.K. (1993). *Political science: An introduction*. Anansesem Publications.
- Boateng, R., Olumide, L., Isabalija, R. S. & Budu, J. (2011). Sakawa - cybercrime and criminality in Ghana. *Journal of Information Technology Impact*, Vol. 11, No. 2, pp. 85-100.
- Boddy, C. R. (2016). Sample size for qualitative research. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*, 19(4), 426–432.
- Bonner, M. D. (2008). Applying the concept of "human security" in Latin America: An Argentine case study. *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, Vol. 33 (65), pp. 7-31.
- Booth, K. (2007). *Theory of world security*. Cambridge University Press.
- Botchway, T. P. (2018). Civil society and the consolidation of democracy in Ghana's fourth republic. *Congent Social Sciences*, 4(1), 1452840, DOI:10.1080/23311886.2018.1452840.
- Botric, V. (2021). Does crime affect firm performance: evidence from post-transition economies. *Intereulaweast*, Vol. VIII (1).
- Braimah, A. I. & Mbowura, C. K. (2014). Crime combat in developing economies: The dilemmas of the Ghana police service. *Developing Country Studies*, Vol.4, No. 17.
- Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2012). *Thematic analysis*. In: Cooper, H. (editor). *APA handbook of research methods in psychology, Vol. 2, research designs*. American Psychological Association.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3, 77–101. doi:10.1191/1478088706qp063oa.
- Bryden, A., N'Diaye, B. & Olonisakin, F. (2008). Challenges of security sector governance in West Africa. *Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF) – LIT*.
- Brzoska, M. (2009). The securitization of climate change and the power of conceptions of security. *S&F Sicherheit und Frieden Security and Peace*, 27 (3), pp. 137-145.
- Bukari, F. I. M., Kendie, S. B., Galaa, S. Z. & Sulemana, M. (2017). The effects of chieftaincy and land conflicts on the socio-political development of northern Ghana. *International Journal of Social Science Research*, Vol. 5, No. 1., pp. 101-119.
- Buzan, B. (1983). *People, states, and fear: The national security problem in international relations*. Wheatshef Books Ltd.

- Buzan, B. (1991). *People, states and fear: An agenda for international security studies in the post-cold war era*, 2nd ed., Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Buzan, B. Waever, O. & de Wilde, J. (1998). *Security: A new framework for analysis*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Cabrera-Barona, P. F., Jimenez, G. & Melo, P. (2019). Types of crime, poverty, population density and presence of police in the metropolitan district of Quito. *International Journal of Geo-Information*, 8 (558), pp. 1-16; doi:10.3390/ijgi 812055.
- Ceccato, V. (2012). *The urban fabric of crime and fear*. Springer publishers.
- Chukwu, J. C. & Anachunam, C. C. (2019). Security challenges and leadership in Africa, 1960- 2019. *UJAH* Volume 20 No.3, pp. 272-293. (Special Edition) <http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/ujah.v20i3.15>
- Connelly, L. M. (2016). Trustworthiness in qualitative research. *Medical and Surgical Nursing*, 25(6), 435-6. PMID: 30304614.
- Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative & mixed methods approaches (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.)*. Sage Publication.
- Creswell, J. W. (2012). *Educational research: Planning, conducting, and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research (4<sup>th</sup> ed.)*. Pearson Education, Inc.
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative & mixed methods approaches (4<sup>th</sup> ed.)*. Sage Publication.
- CSDS–Africa (2018). Ghana: Security situation. Accessed <https://csdsafrica.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Center-for-Strategic-and-Defense-Studies-Report-on-the-Security-Situation-in-Ghana.pdf>
- Degaut, M. (2015). What is security? Research Gate accessed: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/310495076>
- Donn, W. (2001). Human security: An overview.
- Emanemua, A. B. & Akinlosotu, T. N. (2016). Kidnapping for ransom in Nigeria: Implications and quest for a permanent solution. *International Journal of Arts and Humanities (IJAH)*, 5(2), pp. 20-28.
- Evers, W. M. (1977). Social contract: A critique. *Journal of Libertarian Studies*, Vol. 1. No. 3, pp. 185-194.
- Ewetan, O. O. & Urhie, E. (2014). Insecurity and socio-economic development in Nigeria. *Journal of Sustainable Development Studies*. Vol. 5, No.1, pp. 40-63.
- Fischer, R. J., Halibozek, E. P. & Walters, D. C. (2019). *Introduction to security (10<sup>th</sup> Ed)*. Butterworth-Heinemann Publishers.

- Gallie, W. B. (1956). Essentially contested concepts. *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, N.S., 56, pp. 167–198.
- Gaspar, D. & Gomez, O. A. (2014). Evolution of thinking and research on human & personal security 1994-2013. *Human Development Report Office, UNDP – Occasional Paper*, pp. 1-38.
- Gaspar, D. & Gomez, O. A. (2015). Human security thinking in practice – ‘personal security’, ‘citizen security’, comprehensive mappings. *Contemporary Politics*, 21(1), DOI:10.1080/13569775.2014.993906.
- Gaspar, D. (2010). *The idea of human security*. In: O’Brien, K., St. Clair, A. L. & Kristoffersen, B. (2010) Ed. *Climate change, ethics and human security*. Cambridge University Press.
- Ghana Police Service (August, 2018). *Annual crime statistics - 2017*. pp, 1-36.
- Ghana Statistical Service (2014, October). 2010 Population and housing census district analytical report: Pru district.
- Gibson, W.J. & Brown, A. (2009). *Working with qualitative data*. SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Gierszewski, J. (2017). Personal security within the human security paradigm. *Security Dimensions, International & National Studies*, No 23; pp. 51–66. DOI: 10.24356/SD/23/2.
- Gimode, E. A. (2001). An anatomy of violent crime and insecurity in Kenya: The case of Nairobi, 1985 – 1999. *Africa Development/Afrique et Développement*, Vol. 26, No. 1/2, pp. 295-335.
- Global Organized Crime Index (2021). Published by the Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime.
- Gordon, S. (1991). *The history and philosophy of social sciences*. Routledge Publishers.
- Grant, C. & Osanloo, A. (2014). Understanding, selecting, and integrating a theoretical framework in dissertation research: Creating the blueprint for your “house”. *Administrative Issues Journal: Connecting Education, Practice, and Research*, Volume 4, Issue 2, pp. 12-26. DOI: 10.5929/2014.4.2.9.
- Grover, V. K. (2015). Research approach: An overview. *Golden Research Thoughts*, Vol. 4, Issue 8, pp. 1-8.
- Gyimah-Boadi, E. (2010). *Another step forward for Ghana*. In: Diamond, L. & Plattner, M. F. (2010). *Democratization in Africa: Progress and retreat*, ed. pp. 137-151. John Hopkins University Press.
- Hampson, F. O. (2008). *Human security*. In: Williams, P.D. (2008). *Security studies: An introduction*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

- Hardwick, N-A (2011). Rousseau and the social contract tradition. Accessed <https://www.e-ir.info/2011/03/01/rousseau-and-the-social-contract-tradition/>
- Hoogensen, G. & Stuvoy, K. (2006). Gender, resistance and human security. *Security Dialogue*. Vol. 37(2): pp. 207–228, DOI: 10.1177/09670106060666436. SAGE Publications.
- Hough, P. (2008). *Understanding global security* (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.). Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Huysmans, J. (2006). *The politics of insecurity: Fear, migration and asylum in the EU*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Igbo, E. U. M. & Ugwuoke, C. O. (2013). Crime and crime control in traditional Igbo society of Nigeria. *Developing Country Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 13, pp. 160-167.
- Igbo, E. U. M. & Chinwokwu, E. C. (2020). The privatization of security and the participation of private security companies in crime control in Nigeria. *International Journal of Social Sciences and Management Research*, Vol. 6, No. 5, pp. 10-24.
- Ijon, F. B. (2020). Election security and violence in Ghana: The case of Ayawaso West Wougou and Talensi by-elections. *Asian Research Journal of Arts & Social Sciences*, 10(1): 32-46.
- Inoguchi, T. (2003). Political security: Toward a broader conceptualization. *International Studies* 40 (2), Sage Publications.
- Issifu, A. K. (2015). An analysis of conflicts in Ghana: The case of Dagbon chieftaincy. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*. Vol.8, No. 6, pp. 28-44.
- Jason, L. A. & Glenwick, D. S. (2016). *Handbook of methodological approaches to community based research: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods*. Oxford University Press.
- Johnson, R.B. & Christensen, L. (2014). *Educational research: Quantitative, qualitative, and mixed approaches* (5 Ed.). SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Kale, G. V. & Jayanth, J. (2019). *Introduction to research*. pp. 1-24. In: Bairagi, V. & Munot, M. V. (2019). *Research methodology: A practical and scientific approach*. CRC Press, Taylor & Francis Group
- Kiger, M. E. & Varpio, L. (2020): Thematic analysis of qualitative data: *AMEE Guide*, No. 131, Medical Teacher, DOI: 10.1080/0142159X.2020.1755030.
- King, G. & Murray, C. J. L. (2001). Rethinking human security. *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 116, No. 4, pp. 585-610. URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/798222>



- Kivunja, C. (2018). Distinguishing between theory, theoretical framework, and conceptual framework: A systematic review of lessons from the field. *International Journal of Higher Education*. Vol. 7, No. 6, pp. 44-53.
- Kothari, C. R. (2004). *Research methodology: Methods and techniques* (2nd Revised Ed.). New Age International Publishers.
- Krause, K. (2014). Violence, insecurity, and crime in development thought. pp. 1-47.
- Kugbega, S. K. & Aboagye, P. Y. (2021). Farmer-herder conflicts, tenure insecurity and farmer's investment decisions in Agogo, Ghana. *Agricultural and Food Economics*, Vol. 9, Issue 19. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40100-021-00186-4>.
- Kushner, D. C. (2019). *The politics of everyday crime in Africa: Insecurity, victimization and non-state security providers*. Palgrave Macmillan Publishers.
- Laskar, M.E. (2013). Summary of social contract theory of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. Accessed <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2410525>
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Establishing trustworthiness in naturalistic inquiry*. Sage publications.
- Liotta, P. H. & Owen, T (2006). Why human security? *The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, pp.37-54.
- Livingston, S. (2013). Africa's information revolution: Implications for crime, policing, and citizen security. *Africa Center for Strategic Studies Research Paper No. 5*.
- Loukaitou-Sideris, A. (2012). *Safe on the move: The importance of the built environment*, pp. 85–110. In: Ceccato, A. (2012). *The urban fabric of crime and fear*. Springer publishers
- MacLean, G. A. (2001). Human security and the globalization of international security. *The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, pp. 89-99.
- Malik, S. (2015). *Framing a discipline*. In: Hough, P., Malik, S., Moran, N. & Pilbeam, B. (2015). *International security studies: Theory and practice*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Marshall, B., Cardon, P., Poddar, A. & Fontenot, R. (2013). Does sample size matter in qualitative research?: A review of qualitative interviews in IS research. *Journal of Computer Information Systems*, 54(1), 11-22.
- Mathews, J. T. (1989). Redefining Security. *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 68, No. 2, pp. 162-177.
- Mbowura, C. K. & Alidu, S. M. (2020). *Contemporary issues in Ghana: Politics, security, conflicts and identity*, pp. 1-12. In: Alidu, M. S., Braimah, A. I. &

- Mbowura, C. K. eds. (2020). *Contemporary issues in Ghana: Tradition, politics, conflicts and security*. Vol. I. Woeli Publishing Services
- Mbowura, C. K. (2014). Inter-ethnic conflicts and their impact on national development, integration and social cohesion: A study of the Nawuri-Gonja conflict in northern Ghana. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*. Vol. 4, No. 7(1), pp. 108-118.
- McClelland, J.S. (2005). *A history of western political thought*. Published by Taylor & Francis e-Library.
- McDonald, M. (2002). Human security and the construction of security. *Global Society*, Vol. 16, No. 3.
- McDonald, M. (2008). *Constructivism* (pp. 59-72). In: Williams, P. D. (2008). *Security studies: An introduction*. Published by Routledge.
- Miller, D. B. & Rudnick, L. (2008). The security needs assessment protocol: improving operational effectiveness through community security. *United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR)*.
- Mohammed, M. E. (2020). Social contract theories of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau: An extrapolation of point of harmony and tensions. *Educational Resurgence Journal*. Volume 2, Issue 4, pp. 123-127.
- Morrison, K. M. & Rockmore, M. (2020). Crime and political participation in Africa: The role of insecurity. *Journal of African Economies*, Vol. 00, number 00, 1–23 doi: 10.1093/jae/ejaa004.
- Motiwala, A. (2017). Cyber security in Ghana: Evaluating readiness for the future. *Policy Brief 1, Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center*.
- Moyo, B. (2012). Crime, security and firm performance in South Africa. *Corporate Ownership & Control*, Volume 9, Issue 4, pp. 241-252.
- Muggah, R. (2017). *The rise of citizen security in Latin America and the Caribbean*. In: Carbonnier, G., Campodónico, H. & Vázquez, S. T. (2017). *Alternative pathways to sustainable development: Lessons from Latin America*. Published by the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies.
- Nef, J. (1999). *Human security and mutual vulnerability: The global political economy of development and underdevelopment, 2nd ed.* (Ottawa International Development Center).
- Neocleous, M. (2008). *Critique of security*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Newman, E. (2001). Human security and constructivism. *International Studies Perspectives*. 2, pp. 239–251.

- Newman, E. (2010). Critical human security studies. *Review of International Studies*, 36, pp. 77–94
- Nnam, M. U., Ugwuoke, C. O, Njemanze, V. C. & Akwara, F. A. (2019). Boko haram terrorism and human security in Nigeria: Matters arising. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*. Accessed <https://doi.org/10.1080/10926771.2019.1710637>
- Oberleitner, G. (2005). Human security: A challenge to international law? *Global Governance*, Vol. 11, No. 2, pp. 185- 203. URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27800564>
- Ojebode, A., Ojebuyi, B. R., Onyechi, N. J., Oladapo, O., Oyedele, O. J. & Fadipe, I. A. (2016). Explaining the effectiveness of community-based crime prevention practices in Ibadan, Nigeria. *Institute of Development Studies (IDS) Working Paper 479*.
- Onifade, C., Imhonopi, D. & Urim, U. M. (2013). Addressing the insecurity challenge in Nigeria: The imperative of moral values and virtue ethics. *Global Journal of Human Social Science*, Volume 13, Issue 2, pp. 53-63.
- Osakede, K. O., Ijimakinwa, S. O., Arijenwa, A., Adesanya, T. O., Ojo, A. & Abubakar, K. A. (2016). Community policing and insecurity in Nigeria: A study of coaster community in Ikorodu and Badagry local government area of Lagos state. *Review of Public Administration and Management*, Vol. 5, No. 10, pp. 112-122.
- Osawe, C. O. (2015). Increase wave of violent crime and insecurity: A threat to socio-economic development in Nigeria. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)*, Volume 20, Issue 1, Ver. IV, pp. 123-133.
- Oteng-Ababio, M., Owusu, A. Y., Owusu, G. & Wrigley-Asante, C. (2016). Geographies of crime and collective efficacy in urban Ghana. *Territory, Politics, Governance*, DOI: 10.1080/21622671.2016.1159602.
- Owu-Ewie, C. (2017). *Introduction to traditional and action research*. Revised edition, Dataedge multimedia.
- Paris, R. (2001). Human security: Paradigm shift or hot air? *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 2, pp. 87-102. URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3092123>
- Pretorius, R. (2008). Armed robbery, violent assault and perceptions of personal insecurity and society as a risk. *Acta Criminologica* 21(2).
- Qadri, S. N. (2020). *Framing terrorism and migration in the USA: The role of media in securitization process*. [PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow] Accessed <https://theses.gla.ac.uk/77872/>
- Reid, I. D., Appleby-Arnold, S., Brockdorff, N., Jakovljevic, I. & Zdravkovic, S. (2020). Developing a model of perceptions of security and insecurity in the context of

- crime. *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law*, Vol. 27, No. 4, pp. 620-636, DOI: 10.1080/13218719.2020.1742235.
- Riccio, V., Fraga, P., Zogahib, A. & Aufiero, M. (2016). Crime and insecurity in Amazonas: Citizens and officers' views. *Sortuz. Oñati Journal of Emergent Socio-legal Studies*, Volume 8, Issue 1, pp. 35-50.
- Rothschild, E. (1995). What is security? *Daedalus*, Vol. 124, No. 3, *The Quest for World Order*, pp. 53-98.
- Shenton, A. K. (2004). Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for Information*, 22, 63–75. Doi:10.3233/EFI-2004-22201.
- Shivam, B., Ramneek, S., Kshitiz, R., Kunal, J. & Rachna, J. (2018). Crime detection using text recognition and face recognition. *International Journal of Pure and Applied Mathematics*. Volume 119, No. 15, pp. 2797-2807.
- Sitienei, S. K. & Chumba, J. K. (2020). The influence of economic hardship on violent crimes in Kenya. *International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications*, Volume 10, Issue 4, DOI: 10.29322/IJSRP.10.04.2020.p10020.
- Snyder, C. A. (2011). *Contemporary security and strategy* (3<sup>rd</sup> Ed.). Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Soyombo, O. & Adisa, W. B. (2010). *Public perception of criminal justice agencies in Nigeria*. In: Alemika, E. E. O. & Chukwuma, I. C. (2010). *Crime victimization, safety and policing in Nigeria*. CLEEN Foundation.
- Stan, F. (2004). The security-development nexus: Conflict, peace and development in the 21st century. *An International Peace Academy Report*.
- Stewart, F. (2004). Development and security. *Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity, CRISE* (Working Paper 3).
- Stone, M. (2009). Security according to Buzan: A comprehensive security analysis. *Security Discussion Papers Series 1*.
- Suhrke, A. (1999). Human security and the interest of states. *Security Dialogue*, Sage Publications, Vol. 30(3), pp. 265-276.
- Swanson, R. A. & Chermack, T. J. (2013). *Theory building in applied disciplines*. Berrett-Koehler Publishers, Inc.
- Tadjbakhsh, S. (2005). Human security: Concepts and implications with an application to post-intervention challenges in Afghanistan. *Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Sciences Po*.
- Tankebe, J. (2013). Viewing things differently: The dimensions of public perceptions of police legitimacy. *Criminology: An interdisciplinary Journal*, 51(1), 101-135.

- Thomas, C. (2001). Global governance, development and human security: Exploring the links. *Third World Quarterly*, Vol 22, No 2, pp. 159–175.
- Turner, D. P. (2020). Sampling methods in research design. *American Headache Society*, pp. 8-12.
- Udeoba, C. E. & Eze, C. U. (2021). Government strategies in tackling insecurity in Nigeria and the way forward. *Nigerian Journal of Social Development*, 10 (1), pp. 93-97.
- Ukeje, C. (2008). Rethinking security in the age of uncertain globalization: NEPAD and human security in Africa in the twenty-first century. *African Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp.1-31.
- Ullman, R. H. (1983). Redefining security. *International Security*, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 129-153.
- Umar, M. A., Machina, A. A., Ibrahim, M.M, Nasir, J. A., Salahudeen, A. S., Mustapha, M. & Shuaibu, I. (2021). Fighting crime and insecurity in Nigeria: An intelligent approach. *International Journal of Computer Engineering in Research Trends Multidisciplinary*, Vol. 8, Issue 1, pp. 6-14.
- Umaru, A., Pate, H. A. & Haruna, A. D. (2015). The impact of insecurity and poverty on sustainable economic development in Nigeria. *International Journal of Humanities Social Sciences and Education (IJHSSE)*, Volume 2, Issue 2, pp. 32-48.
- UNDP (1994). *Human development report*. Oxford University Press.
- Vasileiou, K., Barnett, J., Thorpe, S., & Young, T. (2018). Characterising and justifying sample size sufficiency in interview-based studies: Systematic analysis of qualitative health research over a 15-year period. *BMC Medical Research Methodology*. Vol. 18 (148), 1-18. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12874-018-0594-7>
- von Boemcken, M. & Schetter, C. (2016). Security: What is it? what does it do? *Think Piece Series No. 09 (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung)*.
- Wambua, P. M. (2015). Crime and security in East Africa: Burundians feel most secure. *Afrobarometer Dispatch No. 10*, pp. 1-11.
- West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) (2019). Ghana: Current peace and security dynamics in perspective.
- Williams, C. (2007). Research Methods. *Journal of Business & Economic Research*, Vol. 5, No. 3, pp. 65-72.
- Williams, P. D. & McDonald, M. (2018). *Security studies: An introduction (3<sup>rd</sup> Ed.)*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

- Williams, P. D. (2008). *Security studies: An introduction*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Wolfers, A. (1952). National security. *Political Science Quarterly*. Vol. 67, No. 4, pp. 481-502
- Wrigley-Asante, C., Frimpong, L.K., Amu, J.T., Owusu, G. & Oteng-Ababio, M. (2019). Determinants of perceived insecurity in a low-income neighborhood in Accra, Ghana, *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability*, 12:4, 476-495, DOI: 10.1080/17549175.2019.1635189.
- Zubairu, N. (2020). Rising insecurity in Nigeria: Causes and solution. *Journal of Studies in Social Sciences*, Volume 19 (4), pp. 1-11.

### **Websites sources**

- Adom online (2021, August 4). Chief's linguist shot dead during robbery operation. Accessed <https://www.adomonline.com/chiefs-linguist-shot-dead-during-robbery-operation>
- Affre, C. K. (2021, June 19). Insecurity in Ghana not a reality – Police Service PRO. Accessed <https://www.myjoyonline.com/insecurity-in-ghana-is-not-a-reality-police-service-pro/>
- Angel Online (2021, March 19). Death of Muslim cleric deepens insecurity in Ghana - NDC. Accessed <https://www.angelonline.com.gh/2021/03/19/death-of-muslim-cleric-deepens-insecurity-in-ghana-ndc/>
- Anim, P. A. (2021, June 8). Highway robbers terrorizing my people; please act now – Kwabena Donkor begs to IGP. Accessed <https://www.myxyzonline.com/highway-robbers-terrorizing-my-people-please-act-now-kwabena-donkor-begs-to-igp/>
- Anyorigya, D.A. (2021, April 8). “*Wa West MP Petitions Bagbin over insecurity in Ghana*” accessed <https://www.citinewsroom.com/2021/04/wa-west-mp-petitions-bagbin-over-insecurity-in-ghana/>
- Asiedu, A. A. (2021, April 8). MP petitions speaker to draw president’s attention to address growing insecurity. Accessed <https://www.myjoyonline.com/mp-petitions-speaker-to-draw-presidents-attention-to-address-growing-insecurity/>
- Atlantic Federation of African Press (2020, October 15). State of insecurity in Ghana worrying–Mahama. Accessed <https://www.faapa.info.info/en/2020/10/15/state-of-insecurity-in-ghana-worrying-mahama/>
- Botaepa Daily (2021, June 10). *Vetting of Deputy Ministers – Stephen Pambin Jalula*. [Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/live/smZPLiQYQa0?si=8TlyQSVBjg0G6sKS>

- Bureau of Public Safety (2021, December). Ghana public safety and crime report: January-December, 2021. Accessed <https://www.ghanasafety.com>
- Forgor, R. (2021, April 10). Sawla-Kalba MP bemoans state of insecurity in his constituency. Accessed <https://www.citinewsroom.com/2021/04/sawla-kalbi-mp-bemoans-state-of-insecurity-in-his-constituency/>
- Ghanaian Times (2020, October 19). Ghana: Face security challenges head on! Accessed <https://www.ghanaiantimes.com.gh/face-security-challenges-head-on/>
- Ghanaweb (2020, October 17). Asantehene scolds IGP over growing insecurity in Ghana. Accessed <https://mobile.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Asantehene-scolds-IGP-over-growing-insecurity-in-ghana-1086946?gallery=1>
- Ghanaweb (2022, January 5). Global peace index: Ghana ranked 1<sup>st</sup> in West Africa, 2<sup>nd</sup> in Africa and 38<sup>th</sup> globally. Accessed <https://mobile.ghana.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Global-Peace-Index-Ghana-ranked-1st-in-West-Africa-and-38th-globally-1438063>
- Ibrahim, A. (2021, March 18). Eyewitness narrates how armed robbers killed top Islamic cleric, Ali Ahmed Maikano. Accessed <https://www.myjoyonline.com/eyewitness-narrates-how-armed-robbers-killed-top-islamic-cleric-ali-ahmed-maikano/>
- Kelly, D. (2019, January 25). Insecurity in Ghana: Ghanaians lament spate of increasing crime worrying. Accessed <https://ghonetv.com/insecurity-in-ghana-ghanaians-lament-spate-of-increasing-crime-worrying/>
- Konadu, A. (2021, September 4). Manyhia North MP writes on robberies in Ghana. Accessed <https://citinewsroom.com/2021/09/manyhia-north-mp-writes-on-robberies-in-ghana>
- Lartey, N. L. (2021, June 14). Police investigate daylight bullion van robbery that left officer and another dead. Accessed <https://www.citinewsroom.com/2021/06/police-investigate-daylight-bullion-van-robbery-that-left-officer-and-another-dead/>
- Nazah, A. (2021, September 21). Institute measures to win citizens' trust, confidence in Police Service – Ag. IGP urged. Accessed <https://www.myjoyonline.com/institute-measures-to-win-citizens-trust-confidence-in-police-service-ag-igp-urged/>
- Nipah, D. (2021, July 6). Ghana opposition supporters march against killings, lawlessness. Accessed <https://google.com/amp/s/www.aljazeera.com/amp/news/2021/7/6/ghana-opposition-supporters-march-against-killings-lawlessness>

- Nukunu, M. T. A. (2021, November 13). Bono: Ambulance personnel narrowly escape robbery attack in Pru East. Accessed <https://citinewsroom.com/2021/11/bono-ambulance-personnel-narrowly-escape-robbery-attck-in-pru-east/>
- Nyabor, J. (2021, August 27). International journalist killed in armed robbery attack on Tamale-Buipe road. Accessed <https://www.citinewsroom.com/2021/08/international-journalist-killed-on-tamale-buipe-road/>
- Parliament of Ghana (2019, November 6). Parliament renews call for police protection at home. Accessed <https://www.parliament.gh/news?CO=58>
- Sabit, A. (2021, May 23). Soldier shot dead by armed robbers on Prang-Kintampo road. <https://www.myjoyonline.com/soldier-shot-dead-by-armed-robbers-on-prang-kintampo-road/>
- Sabit, A. (2021, August 24). Acting IGP pays working visit to the Bono East region. Available at <https://www.myjoyonline.com/acting-igp-pays-working-visit-to-the-bono-east-region/>
- Statista Research Department (2021, December 6). Organized crime levels in Africa, by country. Accessed <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1223810/countries-with-the-highest-organized-crime-index-in-afrc/>
- Tetteh, C. (2021, April 23). Odukpong Ofaakor stool summons security leadership over insecurity in Kasoa. Accessed <https://www.citinewsroom.com/2021/04/odukpong-ofaakor-stool-summons-security-leadership-over-insecurity-in-kasoa/>
- USA Overseas Security Advisory Council (2021, August 5). Ghana 2020 crime and safety report. Accessed <https://www.osac.gov/country/ghana/content/detail/report/20f92605-d636-44e3-9aff-18a2cd8d03f2>



## APPENDIX A

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

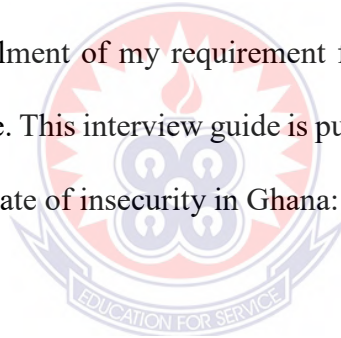
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE EDUCATION

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

THE STATE OF INSECURITY IN GHANA: A STUDY OF PRU WEST AND PRU  
EAST DISTRICTS

### Introduction

Dear respondent, I am Hussein Safianu, a second year Master of Philosophy in Political Science Education student from the University of Education, Winneba. This study is conducted in partial fulfilment of my requirement for the award of M.Phil. Political Science Education Degree. This interview guide is purposefully designed to solicit your views on the topic: The state of insecurity in Ghana: A study of Pru West and Pru East Districts.



Please, the interview would last between 30 – 45 minutes; I will be recording the session because I cannot afford to miss anything you will say. Your responses will only be shared with my supervisor. The interview is purely an academic research and all information provided is strictly confidential and will be used for research purposes only.

Thank you in advance for your participation and I am looking forward to your support to enable me to complete this study successfully.

Yours Sincerely,

.....  
Hussein Safianu  
(0549372670)

.....  
Date

.....  
Interviewee

**INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR POLITICAL LEADERSHIP (i.e., ASSEMBLY MEMBERS, TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES, MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND DISTRICT CHIEF EXECUTIVES FOR PRU WEST AND EAST DISTRICTS)**

**What factors accounts for the state of insecurity in the Pru West/Pru East Districts?**

1. What is your take on the state of insecurity in the Pru West/Pru East districts?
2. Compared to the past 3-4years, what will be your assessment of the security situation in these districts?
3. In your opinion, what factors trigger/cause incidents of insecurity in the districts?
4. What are some of the major crime incidents committed in the districts?
5. In your opinion, what do you think motivate/makes people engage in criminal activities within the districts?

**How does insecurity affect the residents of Pru West/Pru East districts?**

1. In your opinion, how does the incidents of insecurity affect residents of the districts?
2. What has been the general attitudes of residents towards the state of insecurity in the districts?
3. In your opinion, how will you assess the safety of residents in the past 3-4years to what is pertaining now?
4. What were/are some of the major incidents of insecurity on the lives of residents in the districts?
5. Have you personally received complaints/reports from residents on the state of insecurity in the districts?

**What measures are being taken to address the menace?**

1. As an opinion leader, what have you done/are you doing regarding the insecurity menace?
2. What should be done to boost the confidence of residents on the security situation in the area?
3. What action/steps are being taken generally within the district to address the menace?
4. What were some of the actions taken by the Central Government to help the district deal with the menace?

## **APPENDIX B**

### **INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR POLICE PERSONNEL**

#### **What factors account for the state of insecurity in the Pru West/Pru East Districts?**

1. What is your take on the state of insecurity in the district?
2. Compare to the past/last 3-4years, what is your assessment of the security situation in the district?
3. In your opinion, what factors trigger/causes incidents of insecurity in the districts?
4. What were/are some of the major crime (insecurity) incidents recorded in the district?
5. In your opinion, what do you think motivate people to engage in criminal activities within the districts?

#### **How does insecurity affect the residents of Pru West/Pru East districts?**

1. In your opinion, how do residents feel about the state of insecurity in the district?
2. What is your opinion on resident's confident in the police service for protection?
3. Have you personally encountered any incident/case of insecurity in the district? What is your experience?

#### **What measures are being taken to address the menace?**

1. In your opinion, what should be done to reduce the incidents of insecurity in the district?
2. What is your take on the strengths, resources and number of personnel in the districts?
3. How can the police improve the insecurity situation in the district?

## APPENDIX C

### INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SECURITY ANALYST

#### **What factors accounts for the state of insecurity in the country?**

1. What is your take on the state of insecurity in the country?
2. Compare to the past/last 3-4years, what will be your assessment of the security situation in the country?
3. In your opinion, what factors trigger/causes incidents of insecurity in the country?
4. In your opinion, what do you think motivates people to engage in criminal activities within the country?

#### **How does insecurity affect members of the general public in the country?**

1. In your opinion, how does the incidents of insecurity affect members of the general public?
2. What is your take on the general attitudes of Ghanaians towards the state of insecurity in the country?
3. In your opinion compare to the past/last 3-4 years, has the security situation in the country improved or it has worsened? In other words, were Ghanaians relatively safer in the past 3-4years than what is pertaining now?

#### **What measures are being taken to address the menace?**

1. What should be done to boost the confidence of citizens on the security situation in the country?
2. What action/steps are being taken across the country to address the menace?
3. As a security analyst, have you personally initiated any steps/measures aimed at helping to address the menace?
4. In your opinion, what should be done to tackle the menace in the country?