

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

FIGHTING ROBBERY IN GHANA: RETHINKING THE POLICIES AND
STRATEGIES

BY

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in Sociology

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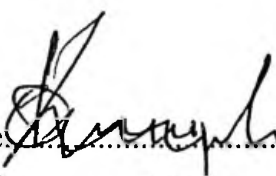
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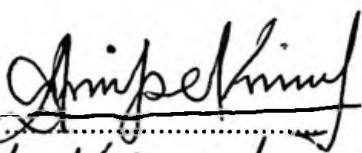
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We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines of supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast

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ABSTRACT

Hardly a day passes without cases of robbery being reported in both the print and the electronic media. It is against this backdrop that the study: *Fighting Robbery in Ghana: Rethinking the Policies and the Strategies* was conducted to analyse the kind of policies and strategies that have informed robbery control in Ghana from 1993 to 2017. The study adopted the mixed method research design, using content analysis, interviews and survey methods. The study is predominantly qualitative in that no hard quantitative methods were applied. Firstly, back editions of newspapers such as Daily Graphic and the Ghanaian Times were analysed to find out the crime control strategies that were reported by the print media. The views of a cross-section of participants/respondents were solicited for the study. In addition, a survey was conducted among the general public to ascertain some aspects of the study, especially the general views on the subject. The study found that over period, the police service has applied a number of strategies including the use of criminal justice institutions, informants-led policing and the get-tough or zero-tolerance approach and more. However, these strategies have not worked very well as robbery numbers or rates keep increasing. The study recommends rethinking of these methods of fighting robbery by introducing more proactive policing methods such as community policing and intelligence-led policing strategies. A four-pronged approach to crime control is proposed as a more viable option than the usual reactive policing strategies.

KEY WORDS

Control

Crime

Policy

Prevention

Robbery

Strategies

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DEDICATION

To my wife Lilian and wonderful children, Nana Osae, Owuraku Aforo and
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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AARS	-	Anti Armed Robbery Squad
ACP	-	Assistant Commissioner of Police
AFRC	-	Armed Forces Revolution Council
AGs	-	Attorney General's
AIC	-	Australian Institute of Criminology
AIDS	-	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ARA	-	Armed Robbers Association
AU	-	African Union
BA	-	Bachelor of Arts
BNI	-	Bureau of National Investigations
BOCSAR	-	Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research
CCTV	-	Closed-circuit Television
CID	-	Criminal Investigation Department
CP	-	Community Policing
CPAs	-	Community Policing Assistants
CPAs	-	Community Policing Assistants
CPP	-	Convention People's Party
CPU	-	Community Policing Unit
CTU	-	Counter Terrorism Unit
DCOP	-	Deputy Commissioner of Police
DSP	-	Deputy Superintendent of Police
ECOWAS	-	Economic Community of West African States
FBI	-	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FDI	-	Foreign Direct Investments

FOSDA	-	Foundation for Development Security in Africa
FPU	-	Formed Police Unit
GNA	-	Ghana News Agency
GPS	-	Ghana Police Service
GSS	-	Ghana Statistical Service
GTC	-	General Theory of Crime
HPU	-	Highway Patrol Unit
ICT	-	Information and Communication Technology
ICVS	-	International Crime Victims Survey
ID	-	Identification
IGP	-	Inspector General of Police
M1	-	Crime Control Model 1
M2	-	Crime Control Model 2
M3	-	Crime Control Model 3
M4	-	Crime Control Model 4
MA	-	Master of Arts
NDC	-	National Democratic Congress
NPP	-	New Patriotic Party
NPU	-	National Protection Unit
NRC	-	National Redemption Council
NRCD	-	National Redemption Council Degree
NSC-SWAT	-	National Security Council Special Weapons and Tactics
NSWAT	-	National Special Weapons and Tactics
NYA	-	National Youth Agency

OECD	-	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PNDC	-	Provisional National Defense Council
PPM	-	Primary Prevention Measures
PRO	-	Public Relations Officer
RDF	-	Rapid Deployment Force
SGDs	-	Sustainable Development Goals
SPSS	-	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
LCT	-	Life Course Theory
SUV	-	Sub Urban Vehicle
SWAT	-	Special Weapons and Tactics
UK	-	United Kingdom
UNODC	-	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
US	-	United States
USA	-	United States of America
VU	-	Visibility Units
YEA	-	Youth Employment Agency

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

Crime is part and parcel of human life and therefore normal. According to Emile Durkheim (1895), crime is a necessary feature of all healthy societies. He asserted in his book, *The Rules of Sociological Method* (1895) that deviance and for that matter crime is not pathological aberration in the character structure of particular individuals, but it is “an integral part of all healthy societies” (Durkheim, 1895, p.161). Thus, society will not tick efficiently without it. Because crime is part of all healthy societies, it is premised that it must be performing some important social function else social change would have ensured that it becomes moribund as society becomes more and more complex. In spite of its latent eufunction, crime and for that matter robbery can create social apprehension, fear, panic and social disequilibrium. The fear and apprehension for violent crimes such as robbery and its likely negative impact have pushed all modern democratic societies to set up institutions and formulate policies to help detect, arrest and sanction criminal behaviour.

Crime is an act that violates a statute or a criminal code or the criminal laws of a particular society or state or a behavior that is considered harmful and thus banned by law (Barkan, 2012). It also implies any culpable action or inaction prohibited by law and punished by the state as misdemeanour or felony (Hepburn, 1983).

Countries all over the globe are confronted with human security threats such as crime, violence and other forms of victimization. These threats are rampant and perpetrated by individuals, extremist groups and terrorist organisations who seek to advance their parochial interests and sometimes their obtuse ideological views in whatever means possible. Not only is the world confronted with this hydra-headed security challenge, it also faces major threats from organized and transitional criminal syndicates and network who have mastered their craft so well that they have gained international recognition and attention.

These non-traditional security threats, as they are called in security circles, are a major worry to global governments especially nations that do not have the wherewithal to commit resource to deal with these social problems. Transnational-organised crime such as drug trafficking, human trafficking, cybercrime, illicit arms trade, money laundering, sale of fake and counterfeit products have become a major global epidemic (UNODC, 2009). These crimes and security challenges have both short and long term effects, some of which include killing of innocent people, loss of property, living in fear, poverty and insecurity. A country such as the United States of America, in spite of its political stature, democratic credentials, resources and advanced technologies still records high rates of crime such as robbery in some of their major cities (Wright & Decker, 2002). For example, in the year 2014, the US recorded 322,905 cases of robbery with a crime rate of 1,095.5 making it the second highest in the world (<https://knoema.com/atlas/topics/crime-statistics>). Robbery is considered one of Ghana's most serious crime problems (GPS, 2016). Robbery is normally defined as "the illegal taking of something of

value from the control, custody, or person of another by threatening, putting in fear, or using force” (Swannson, Chamelion & Territo, 2012, p. 437).

In 2016, the Uniform Crime Report compiled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) showed that there were 327, 374 reported cases of robberies which resulted in about 390 million dollar losses with an average dollar value of stolen property pegged at \$ 1, 190 (retrieved from www.fbi.gov/news/crimes/16/02/2017). The report further indicated that the country recorded about 1, 197, 704 violent crimes and property crimes alone and resulted in losses of over \$14.3 billion (ibid). A research conducted by the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) in about 75 cities has shown that Latin America and Africa experienced the highest rates of robbery--13 per cent of all robberies in the world are committed in Africa with weapons. According to Muggah and Alvazzi del Frate (2007), the highest crime victimization rate is linked with armed robbery in Africa; Nairobi recorded 37 per cent, Mozambique, 27 per cent and the Republic of Congo, 21 percent. Africa is equally plagued with incidence of serious crime including terrorism and robbery. Countries such as Nigeria and South Africa are noted for their high rates of crime and violence. Again, Botswana, Burundi, Cameroon, Uganda and Kenya are listed among the top ten countries in Africa with high robbery rate (retrieved from: www.globeconomy.com/ranking/robbery/20/032016). It is obvious that no country or nation is immune to crime. It does not matter the political, social and economic development of a country, crime is expected to be inherent in its social fabric. It is in the face of such threats that countries have to work to ensure the safety and security of its members.

Ghana is immune to robbery and other global security challenges. The country has undergone a turbulent and a chequered history since it attained independence from the British colonial administration in 1957. The country has been saddled with serious domestic security challenges of which robbery is one of them. This is in contrast to the hope of many citizens that with the introduction of democracy in 1992, the days of abuse and human right violations which characterized the military regimes and culminated in the citizenry living in fear and panic were going to be a thing of the past. Yet, that has not been the case as robbery and other crimes continue to fester. This concurs with the notion that crime and other antisocial behaviours are a feature of all societies, whether democratic or undemocratic, developed, developing or under-developed (Durkheim, 1895). Crime and criminal behaviour have become major causes of fear, panic and alarm among segments of the population that are prone to these social problems.

The country has had its share of the problems emanating from the activities of robbers, with the high point being the alleged mass rape of passengers on a Tamale bound Yutong bus by armed robbers on October 11, 2010, and the subsequent arrest, incarceration and prosecution of the whistleblower, Amina. Hardly a day passes without an incident of robbery being reported in the media or some towns and cities in Ghana. Robbery has become a bane to the life of the citizens of Ghana, as a result of its negative effects on the life of people and the image it creates for international diplomacy and the reputation of Ghana as a “gateway to Africa” and most importantly, our quest for Foreign Direct Investment (FDIs). The security agencies and the political authorities still grapple with its antidote. Addressing a news conference in

Accra to outline the police operational strategies to deal with the robbery menace in November 2009, the then Inspector General of Police (IGP) noted that the prevalence of robbery and other violent crimes have dented the country's quest for peace and tranquility (retrieved from: www.modernghana.com 08/03/17).

Many innocent lives have been lost due to the callousness of those who rob, maim and sometimes rape and kill the victims. People have lost their hard-earned treasured property to robbers; some people have become orphans and widows because of robbery. Not only are civilian lives lost but also some police personnel and some community watch group members have all fallen victims to the very crimes they sought to prevent. In the year 2016, 79 people lost their lives due to robbery as against 49 lives in 2015. A total of seven females were raped and one was defiled--the victim was less than 16 years old --229 victims also were left with various degrees of injuries (GPS Annual Report, 2016). One particular case in point is the tragic Taifa (a suburb of Accra) killings/shooting. On that fateful day, four members of a community watch group and a taxi driver were allegedly gunned down by a joint police/military night patrol team, who mistook them for armed robbers. Despite their plea for mercy they were killed in cold blood by these officers who were convinced that they were robbers. This incident shattered the police-communities collaboration which was believed to be one of the more effective methods of dealing with the robbery menace at the time. The unfortunate incident virtually sent many of the community watch-groups into oblivion.

Indeed, robbery has turned many homes to miniature prisons and jails. This is because most people out of fear for robbery have reinforced their

President J. A. Kufour retooled the Ghana Police Service with new fleet of vehicles and equipment. In addition, more personnel were recruited to beef up the numbers and improve the police-citizens ratio which at the time stood at 1:1085, with the police strength of 16,580 as at 2001. Prior to the 2008 general election, the then candidate and later president Prof. Evans Atta Mills (deceased) of the National Democratic Party(NDC) gave a new twist to the already compounding situation by labelling a number of robberies in which some important personalities were murdered as “contract killings” (retrieved from <https://www.modernghana.com/news/27/02/17>). This was a new twist to the problem which made the citizens further concerned about their personal security and whether the end was in sight to the problem of robbery.

It cannot be denied that the security forces have chalked some successes in the past in dealing with robbery, especially with the arrest, prosecution and conviction of some notorious robbers. For example, Ataa Ayi, Ghana’s most notorious robber was arrested after the largest manhunt in Ghana’s history. The police said at the time that “with the arrest of Ataa Ayi, a whole generation of armed robbers has been wiped off”. His arrest was described as the most successful operation of the police at the time (retrieved from: <https://www.modernghana.com/news/12/12/17>). After his arrest and conviction, the robbery menace did not stop as was projected by the police. We have had even more notorious robbers namely Johnson Kombian, Belko Tambaya and Kumasi Ataa Ayi.

As if that was not enough, in December 2013, a group calling itself Armed Robbers Association (A.R.A.) posted a notice in Agape a suburb of Accra with the inscription:

We thank God your life's (sic). The year have (sic) ended and we want everybody to celebrate the New Year in peace. A. R. A. went for a board meeting and we decided that all tenants should pay something small to us. But not less than five hundred Ghana Cedis (GH 500.00). Please send the money to MTN Mobile Money number 05441333436. Signed: ... President, 0544133436 (Abbey, 2014).

One may be tempted to disregard this as the act of desperate and confused group of criminals and even psychopathic criminals. When the residents ignored the threats, a second notice was issued with a harsher tone. This forced the police to delve into the threat to establish whether it was viable or potent. The police preliminary investigation established that there were about 80 members of the group operating in the area. On January 2, 2014, a 27 year old man by name, Samiru Salifu was arrested on a tip off for being the kingpin of the A. R. A. There seems to be no end in sight for the robbery menace in the Ghanaian society. Robbers have become more daring, ruthless and vicious in their operations to the point that many people have lost hope in the ability of the security agencies to deal with the problem decisively. Nowadays, not only do robbers rob their victims, they rape, and maim or kill. Some victims have been infected with sexually transmitted diseases such as syphilis and HIV.

It is important to state that police records from 2006 -2013 show that the robbery rate dropped marginally year by year from 2009 to 2012. Table 1 shows some robbery statistics as captured by the Ghana Police Service

Table 1: Robbery Statistics from 2006-2013

Years	Cases	Percentage change
2006	1,949	
2007	1,413	-27.5
2008	1,449	2.5
2009	1,373	-4.8
2010	1,258	-8.8
2011	1,235	1.8
2012	1,126	-8.8
2013	1,235	8.8

Source: Ghana Police Service (2017)

Table 1 indicates that in 2006, 1,949 cases were recorded by the police; the highest in the recorded history. While these figures show some improvements on the face of it, there are many citizens who doubt the veracity of these figures. They believe that the reported cases represent just a fraction of the real situation because most people do not report crime cases to the police because they believe the police as usual “will not do anything about it” or cannot help apprehend the culprits. Some have also said the figures are doctored by the police due to external political pressure. Sometimes cases of robbery are recorded as burglary or just shelved to create the impression that all is well. A victimization survey conducted by Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) in collaboration with United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) found that among the reasons for not reporting crimes to the police were that the police could do nothing and cannot be trusted (Ghana Statistical Service, 2009). In spite of these uncertainties, the sad truth is that robbery has become an albatross hanging on the neck of the country, hence the need for a scientific study of the phenomenon.

Statement of the Problem

Robbery continues to pose a major national security challenge to Ghana. Many continue to live in fear and hopelessness. Successive governments from the First Republic to the current one (Fourth Republic) have faced the challenge of high robbery rates and have made strenuous efforts at combating the problem. The methods or strategies that were adopted by these governments were informed by the regimes' understanding of the nature of the crime problem at the time and the goals they wanted to achieve at the end. These strategies have included: changes in legislations or enacting more punitive laws, equipping the Ghana Police Service with modern and essential logistics, employment of more police personnel and the get-tough approach commonly known in Ghana as "shoot to kill", community policing, community watchdog system, police-citizens collaboration and criminal justice processes.

At the moment, one is not very sure of the main strategy being used in combating robbery in Ghana. Yet from the utterances of very important persons including former IGPs and some police commanders, one will not be wrong to say that the get-tough or zero-tolerance approach or "shoot-to-kill" method is in vogue. In his introduction to the Five Year Strategic Plan, then IGP, Mr Paul Tawiah Quaye intimated "We will be tough on crime"(2012,p. 10) While many Ghanaians are concerned about robbery and would want a lasting solution to the problem, some people are also worried about the way and manner that the police and other security agencies are going about the robbery problem. Many innocent citizens have been shot and wounded by the police in their effort to combat robbery. Others have lost their lives in the

hands of some overzealous, trigger-happy security personnel. It has been observed by a prominent human rights lawyer and a criminologist Ken Attaffuah that:

Commencing approximately in July 2009, there has been a steady use of deadly force by the Ghana Police Service in the performance of its law enforcement role, particularly with respect to the detection of robbery and the apprehension of suspected armed robbers.(Retrieved from: <http://www.ghanagar.org/wp-content/uploads/12/12/2017>).

The “shoot-to-kill” approach or the get--tough approach has been condemned by prominent human right lawyers and activists as being barbaric and a violation of fundamental rights of robbery suspects and it also undermines the rule of law. According to Article 19, 1 & 2 of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana, a person charged with a criminal offence shall be given fair hearing within a reasonable time by a court. It is in light of these constitutional provisions that many people think that the get-tough approach is illegal. Some of the measures have also resulted in high fatalities between innocent citizens and the police. Again, it is feared that such method could trigger mob-justices or lynching that the laws of the land forbid and often condemned by human rights advocates as being unlawful and barbaric. According to UNDOC (2010), crime control or prevention measures should “support the culture of lawfulness, human rights and the rule of law” (p.5). One cannot rule out the possible positive impact that a method like the get-tough approach could offer in reducing robbery in Ghana. It is assumed that

the personal harm and sanction that go with the crime may instill fear in people and thus deter them from committing robbery.

However, one is not very sure how far such a strategy could work up to, and its effectiveness in reducing the robbery rate and its sustainability in the face of the global sensitivity to human rights. Others also fear the use of deadly force by the police to control robbery could result in reprisal actions from robbers who will also target any uniform officer for revenge. In addition to these, the country's history has shown that in the 1980s, several robbers and other social miscreant were dealt with harshly by the military junta of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC). Criminals who were apprehended at the time were mostly executed by "firing squad" or were hanged in the country's prisons after conviction by the then tribunals. Yet, these executions did not stop people from committing robbery. At best, the executions rather resulted in the displacement of the crime. That is, the robbers moved from the urban centres to rural areas where the possibility of arrest was slim. Others resorted to committing lesser known crimes like carjacking and fraud.

Another bother to the public has to do with the police's inability to investigate and prosecute those who are apprehended for committing robbery. For example, from 2004 to 2008, "80% of cases reported to the police were not fully investigated and concluded" (GPS Strategic Plan, 2009, p.15). On the average only 37% of cases were completed. This, according to the service represents only 13% of cases registered by the police. This is an indication of the police's poor performance and lack of capacity to deal with the crime problem in the country. In addition, the Criminal Investigations Department

(CID) was only able to complete investigation on only 20% of cases reported leaving almost 80% unattended to. There are others who find the government reliance on the criminal justice system to control robbery problematic because there are other less costly methods such as community policing that are open to government. In addition, some have fears that if the current levels of robbery and insecurity do not abate, it can affect the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Eradicating extreme poverty, achieving gender equality, universal primary education, improved maternal health and ensuring environmental sustainability are unlikely to be achieved unless the people of Ghana live in peace and safety.

Fortunately a number of studies have looked at factors influencing robbery (Akonor, 2007). Among these studies are Fighting Armed Robbery in Ghana (Attafuah, 2008) and Robbery and Criminal Justice (Conklin, 1972). It is well known that robbers are from the vulnerable sub-population and have poor educational outcomes (Akonor, 2007). According to Thio (2001, p. 355) “robbery is a relatively rational, calculated act, and as such, it involves making rational decisions”. However, much has not been done in the area of assessing the policies and strategies that have informed the control of robbery in Ghana. Given the current trend in robbery, there is the need to give this area of the problem the needed academic attention. The present study is designed to fill the gap in our knowledge about the policies and strategies which have been used to fight robbery in Ghana in order to evaluate the effectiveness of these strategies. Ultimately, it is very important to conduct this study in order to bring to the fore why the robbery menace still exists with intricate dimensions and what else could be done to remedy the situation. The concern was to find

out the reasons why in spite of the many efforts in terms of policies and strategies adopted by the police to combat robbery, the menace persists.

Objectives of the Study

The general objective underpinning the study is to assess the kind of policies and strategies which the Ghana Police Service has been using to combat robbery from 1993 to 2017. Specifically the study seeks to:

1. Examine the past and present institutional arrangements and mechanisms put in place to fight robbery in Ghana.
2. Assess the views of the general public on robbery and its control/prevention measures.
3. Assess whether the policies and the strategies to control robbery were informed by research
4. Examine the effectiveness of the police in fighting robbery in Ghana.

Research Questions

The study is guided by the following questions:

1. What institutional arrangements (past and present) are in place to fight robbery in Ghana?
2. What are the public perceptions about robbery and its control measures?
3. What standards or principles have informed robbery control in Ghana?
4. Has the police been effective in fighting robbery?

Significance of the Study

The United Nations (UN) has since 1995 urged its member countries to establish crime prevention/control strategies together with criminal justice reforms. In furtherance to this, UN resolution 2005/22 enjoins the member states to pay critical attention to crime prevention in order to achieve a balance between crime prevention/control and criminal justice responses to crime. While criminal justice response to crime has its advantages, it has been found to be costly and less proactive. It is in line with this recommendation from the UN that it is considered particularly important in the Ghanaian and the African context for a study such as this to be conducted on policies and strategies that have informed crime control efforts.

Most often, programmes have been implemented without carrying out evaluation studies to assess the success or otherwise of those projects in order to inform how future projects should be carried out. The study is enormously significant in that it will bring to the fore whether in the first place crime control in Ghana is planned and guided by specific policies and strategies, or it has been sporadic, unplanned and haphazard. If there are policies and strategies, the study will enhance our understanding about those policies and strategies which worked and those that did not work and why they did not. Such vital information could be useful for future projects and programmes, and add to the stock of literature on crime evaluation studies. It could become a useful reference material for those who may wish to pursue courses in criminology and criminal justice. The study may also be useful to the Ghana Police Service and the Government of Ghana in terms of the way forward for dealing with the robbery problem in the country. Finally, the study is very

significant because of the development of the four-pronged crime/robbery control model to deal with the robbery problem in the country.

Delimitations of the Study

The study sought to determine how effective different crime control measures have worked in Ghana from 1993 to 2017. The study does not cover measures taken before the Fourth Republican era because some studies have covered the period, and also due to the difficulties in obtaining data from the Fourth Republican era for the study. The research is also restricted to the Fourth Republican period because Ghana has had sustained democratic governance which also promote democratic policing. The study again relied heavily on documentary evidence and narratives of practitioners in the field, both in active service and retirees. The current work does not intend to evaluate the programme process--how they were rolled out or implemented--but the impact or the effectiveness of these strategies. However, it is near impossible to talk about impacts or effects without touching on some aspects of the processes. The participants and some respondents were purposively sampled for the study because of the nature of the study which combined qualitative and quantitative methods.

Limitations of the Study

The study did not only seek to conduct strict impact analysis of how police operational methods and strategies to combat crime and for that matter robbery have been, but also it sought to assess how these processes were enacted and their effects on robbery. The study again relies on data from police service which collate crime data from the various police areas in the country. There are no other sources of data to cross check the data such as

self-reported or victimization survey. As was noted by Appiahene-Gyamfi (1998, p. 2), “crime data and criminal justice information in Ghana are not kept in any organized, systematic, or uniform manner”. He further notes that none of Ghana’s justice institutions have any credible or reliable and comprehensive crime statistics. Each agency keeps a separate data without a centralised point where they can be obtained. Due to this fact, the study used only the crime data provided by the police in the study without any other source of data to counter check except the views of the respondents who participated in the survey.

Organisation of the Study

The study is organized into eight chapters. Chapter one introduces the study and addresses the scientific justification for the work. It also discusses the justification of the study and the type of knowledge expected to be gained and the key objectives, the delimitations and limitations of the study. Chapter two reviews a number of literatures on theoretical explanations of crime in general. Demonology and six other theoretical strands and their social policy implications are considered in this section. They include the choice, classical, rational choice, trait-biological and psychological, social structure and social process theories, conflict and critical theories and developmental theories. Chapter three discusses empirical literature on robbery. Themes discussed include the nature of robbery, theoretical explanations of robbery and their policy implications, crime control/prevention strategies and the theoretical framework.

Chapter four explains the procedures that were used to achieve the objectives of the study and describes the study setting, population, sample and

sampling process. It mainly discusses the study design, the techniques and procedures on how the data was collected, processed and analysed. The data analysis is captured in the three chapters namely chapters five, six and seven. Chapter five begins the data analysis. It discusses past police operational models from 1993 up to 2012. The sixth chapter looks at the current institutional arrangements to control robbery from 2012-2017. It interprets the result in relation to the literature and the objectives of the study. The penultimate chapter calls for rethinking of robbery control approaches, methods, tactics, and also assess policing effectiveness. Chapter eight, which is the final one, gives an overview of the study and summarizes the results and draws some conclusions and make recommendations based on the objectives of the study and the findings.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL APPROACHES ON CRIME

Overview

The review looks at some of the theoretical explanations of crime and their implications for crime control. Some of the theories discussed are: demonology, the Classical theories, trait (biology and psychology) theories, social structure theories, social process theories, critical criminology and developmental theories. The study reviews the broad themes underlying these perspectives and cites some few relevant examples to buttress a point or to make a case.

Theoretical Explanations of Crime

Social theories are windows to society. If developed properly they can help explain human behaviour, situations, feelings and experiments (Akers, 2012). He further noted that theories help make sense of facts we already know and explain or describe them. One of the core tasks of criminologists is to develop testable theories that can be useful to explain the nature, origin and causes of crime. Theories are said to be statements about the relationship between two variables. Others also see theories as explanations or generalizations about two or more events or factors that are related to one another (Akers, 2012). The developmental approach to crime is considered the primordial theory that underpins the study.

Edwin H. Sutherland's definition of criminology is helpful in classifying theories of crime. According to Sutherland (1947), criminology is

the study of law-making, law-breaking and law-enforcement. Based on Sutherland's model, there are theories that address the process of law-making which explain why society have laws on crime and why the need for criminal justice system and why it operates the way it is structured. A major aspect of this endeavour is theories that seek to explain law-breaking. These theories are structured to explain deviant and delinquent behaviours that violate social norms and laws (Akers, 2012). For some unknown reasons, criminologists have devoted much of their time in explaining reasons or motives for law-breaking as against law-making and law-enforcement.

Akers (2012) has posited that theories of criminal behaviour try to answer the question "Why do people violate legal and social norms in society?" The current explanation of criminal behaviour hinges on biological, psychological, social and economic factors (Adler, Mueller & Laufer, 2013). The biological and psychological theories also known as the trait theories posit that criminals are fundamentally different from non-criminals because criminals have different physical and mental conditions. The sociological theories on the other hand, explain criminal behaviour in terms of the cultural or environmental milieu (Adler et al, 2012). Aside the trait and social or cultural classifications, other criminologist have categorized criminological theories into those that address the question about the differences in crime across societies or major social groups labelled macro theory and those that deal with specific small groups and individual differences called micro theories. Akers (1999) has also used different concepts to denote the "macro-micro" rubric epidemiology and 'structural" or "processual." The

“epidemiology” denotes the prevalence and distribution of crime across groups and societies.

The point of fact is that whether a theory is labelled macro or micro, epidemiology or structural-processual, the two overlap to some degree. For examples, biological theories draw inspiration from psychological and sociological theories. Again, social learning theory, which is supposed to be macro theory still draws some points from psychology (Akers, 2012). In the words of Akers (2012, p. 6), whatever the classification of theory that may be used, there will be some kind of overlap, short comings and loose ends.

One of the major concerns of criminologists is to understand and explain the nature and the causes of crime. Crime has been explained from the different perspectives starting with the demonic explanation or demonology, classical explanation, biological explanation, the psychological explanation and sociological explanations. The focus of this review is to look at what the broad theories offer in terms of explaining why some people commit crimes while others do not, evaluate them and assess their usefulness and policy implications for crime prevention and control.

Demonic Perspective

The first attempts to explain the problem of crime did not rely on empirical or scientific evidence. Crime, like other social problems, was believed to be caused by forces in the spiritual or the supernatural realm. Often demons and devils of a kind were believed to have acted through humans to cause harm (Deutschmann, 2007). During this period, people did not look for the causes of crime and other misfortunes such as drought, miscarriage, floods, failed crops and other social problems from nature, science, or medicine. They

looked rather to supernatural forces such as witches, sorcerers, demons, dwarfs, monsters and the like for explanation (Deutschmann, 2007). Thus, for centuries many postulated that crime was basically a product of sin and was instigated by factors such as demonic forces (McIntyre, 2010).

From the ancient times through the Middle Ages, witches became the special focus of attention and brutalities. It is believed that from “1400sto the 1700s, more than 300,000 witches most them women were burned at stake or executed” (Barkan, 2012, p. 114). It can be inferred from the above that religion was the dominant source of knowledge in the western world. Religion was used to explain both criminal and non-criminal behaviour (Barkan, 2012). It is important to state that such explanation of crime has not stopped in spite of the advancement in science and technology. Although the demonic explanation has shrunk in the western world, it still persists in developing countries and countries that are steep in tradition and religion. In Ghana, we often hear religious leaders attributing the causes of crime and other social problems to evil forces. Police officers and other criminal justice operatives have on a number of occasions encountered perpetrators who claimed that they committed crimes under some demonic influences. Demonological explanation of crime was based on the mixture of common logic and religious beliefs.

The social control of these demonic forces was varied. “Exorcism; a religious ritual designed to cast out from either a place or a person troubled by evil spirit, ghost, demons or other nonphysical entities”, was invoked to deal with the criminals (Duetschmann, 2007, p.90). These exercises were performed by trained religious experts, priests and in some cases psychologists

and psychiatrists as a means of relieving the patient or the deviant from the evil obsession (Peck, 1983, p. 182). Executions were also used during the demonological period to tame those who illegitimately invoked supernatural powers. The belief was also ingrained among the people that if a witch is killed in a painful manner, it will result in the salvation of the person's soul and also drive the demon out (Deutschmann, 2007).

Social control measures based on this explanation model were extreme, gruesome and inhuman. There were even instances where holes were drilled in the heads of some of these criminals so that demons will get out of the heads and make them conform to social norms. Torture was also sanctioned to elicit alleged heretics and witches. While these explanations might have met the psychosocial needs of the people who practised them, it had major demerit and that was the neglect of human rights and due process of law. There was so much arbitrariness built into the system of crime control that it became a tool for the oppression of the weak and the vulnerable, and sometimes those views differed from the *status quo*. During the period of the Witch Craze for example, most of the people who were accused of witchcraft and were burnt at the stake were women (Barken, 2012). According to Demos (2008), most of these people who were put to death were what today we would call healers, midwives, political protesters and homosexuals. In essence, "any woman who violated church rules could have been branded a witch" and thus suffer death (Barkan, 2012, p. 114). Another major defect with this explanation is its total neglect of social forces and for that matter the society in the production of the social deviant. It also did not support the explanation with any scientific or

empirical evidence. It was solely based on biased interpretation of religious and political leaders.

With time, the pitfalls with the demonic explanation of crime became ominous especially with the onset of the Age of Reason or the Enlightenment which began in the seventh century to the eighteenth century. During this period, religious explanations and interpretations began to give way to scientific explanation. The Enlightenment which developed a new way of thinking about social and natural phenomenon eventually weakened the religious influence and interpretations, and ushered in a new way of thinking and explaining social phenomena based on rationalism and empiricism.

The Classical School of Criminology

The demonic-supernatural explanations of crime and deviance which dominated social thought and philosophy were jettisoned by powerful new ideas about the nature of social life and reality. By the middle of the eighteenth century, a number of social philosophers especially, Cesare Beccaria an Italian economist and political philosopher and Jeremy Bentham(an Englishman) questioned the cruel manner in which criminals were handled and argued for a more objective method for punishing criminals (Siegel, 2011). During this period, a book by Cesare Beccaria, *Dei Delitti e Delle Pene* (On Crimes and Punishment) in which he virtually pleads for justice was published. According to Barkan (2012, p. 116), this “path-breaking book on crime... helped established what is now called the classical school of criminology”.

In the view of the “Classical School”, the deviant was no longer seen as person who is demon possessed or harbouring heretical thoughts but the

person “whose self-interest was not sufficiently constrained by his or her expectations of cost so that he is willing to commit an act detrimental to the community” (Deutschmann,2007, p.123). According to Akers (2012, p. 15):

the system of law, courts and penalties of the day that the classical criminologist wanted to change were marred in most European countries by arbitrary, biased, and capricious judicial decisions. It was possible to use torture to coerce confessions and to inflict cruel punishments which included whipping, public hanging and mutilation.

The classical criminologists sought to reform the system of criminal justice by providing the right philosophical framework. The writings of Cesare Beccaria and Jeremy Bentham formed the foundation of the classical criminology (Siegel, 2011).

The basic tenets of the classical school were that people are free moral agents who act with freewill. Thus individuals have freewill to choose criminal or lawful behaviour to meet or resolve any personal problem. In addition, criminals calculate or evaluate whether a course of action will bring them more pleasure or pain. In summary, the classical criminology theory had the following tenets: In every society, people have freewill to choose criminal or lawful solutions to meet their needs or settle their problems, criminal solutions can be very attractive because for little effort, they hold the promise of a huge payoff, a person will choose not to commit crime only if they believe that the pain of expected punishment is greater than the promise of reward (deterrence) and in order to be an effective crime deterrent, punishment

must be severe, certain and swift enough to convince potential criminals that crime does not pay.

The classical criminology influenced penal practice for more than two centuries. Punishment was made to be proportionate to the offence, or made to fit the crime, taking away the excesses and the arbitrariness that were associated with the demonological/theological period. The classical theory has evolved into what is now called rational choice theory and deterrence theory (Siegel, 2010, p. 6).

The Rational Choice Theory of Crime

The rational choice theory of crime developed by Cornish and Clarke (1986) is based on the expected utility principle in economic theory. The principle states that people will make rational decisions based on the extent to which the choice they make maximises their profits or benefits and minimises costs or losses. They also take into account the entire criminal event, which includes the crime, the motivation and the situation. Rational choice refers to the fact that criminals process information and evaluate alternatives. Law violation is therefore as a result of a careful thought and planning (Siegel, 2017)

According to Cornish and Clarke (1986), an individual commits a crime after he or she has made a rational decision to do so. That is, after he or she has weighed the risks and benefits of the act and selected a particular offence according to various criteria. Before committing a robbery, for instance, the criminal may consider the following: the number of targets and their accessibility; his or her familiarity with the chosen method; for example, the monetary yield per crime; the time required in committing the act; the

experience needed; the physical danger involved, and the risk of apprehension (Alder et al., 2016).

It is possible therefore for one to work out the cost-benefit ratios for a particular crime. On one side of the accounting ledger will be the potential cost/ risks (whether from other criminals, victims, the act itself or from law enforcement agencies). On the other side of the accounting ledger are the benefits, which may be material (money, property) or emotional (revenge, power, respect, and acceptance). Any increase in the likelihood of detection (arrest and exposure) and punishment (imprisonment, societal rejection, job loss) changes the balance of the ledger. This makes the behaviour harder to accomplish (Deutschmann, 2007).

Do offenders really calculate whether the effort and cost of crime would be less than the expected reward before they act in the way predicted by rational choice theory? According to Akers (2012), the answer depends on whether one believes the theory assumes that pure or partial rationality operates in crime. Does the theory hypothesize that each person approaches the commission of a crime with a highly rational calculation of pleasure versus pain before acting or refraining from the crime? Does an offender choose to commit a crime with full knowledge and freewill, taking into account only carefully reasoned objectively or subjectively determined set of costs and benefits? Akers believes that if it is this kind of pure rationality that the theory assumes, then the rational calculator in the rational choice theory has virtually no empirical validity. He argues further that the purely rational calculation of the probable consequences of an action is a rarity even among the general conforming public.

Moreover, even offenders who pursue crime on a regular business-like basis typically do not operate through a wholly rational decision-making process. For example, in a study of repeated property offenders, Tunnel (1990) found that the threat of re-imprisonment did not deter their re-commission of crimes. Offenders thought that they would gain income from their crimes and would not be caught, or they believed that they were not going to spend much time in prison if they were caught. Further, they were not afraid to serve time in prison because life in prison was not threatening to them. These findings seem to be in line with the rational choice theory, since the expected benefits that were perceived as out--weighting the expected cost of crime prompted the decision to commit the crime.

However, upon a critical assessment, it will be noticed that the process whereby offenders reach a decision to attempt another crime did not fit the model of a purely rational calculation of costs and benefits. They tried to avoid being captured, but their actions and assessment of the risk were very unrealistic, even to some extent, irrational. This is because they were unable to make an objective assessment of the risk of apprehension, did little planning for the crime and were even uninformed about the legal penalties in the states where their crimes were committed. Moreover, all the offenders in the study reported that they simply did not think about the possible legal consequences of their criminal action. Those respondents reported thinking primarily of anticipated positive consequences. They simply believed that they would not be caught and refused to think beyond that point. The decision making process appears not be a matter of rational evaluation or calculation of the benefit and

risk. Risks are thought about only rarely or are considered minimally and are put out of their minds (Tunnel, 1990).

Policy and Crime Control Implications of the Choice Theories

The choice theories have influenced criminal justice and crime control/prevention strategies in contemporary world. The police for example engage in what is called the show of force which involves the police parading the streets of crime prone areas in their full regalia and displaying their accoutrements to warn criminals that they will be met with full force of the law if they engage in their nefarious activities. Again, the police drive around in well-marked cars because it is assumed that when police patrol in such cars would-be criminals will be deterred (Siegel, 2011). It also increases the likelihood or the certainty that such criminal will be apprehended, measures that assume that criminals are rational in their choice of criminal targets, therefore hefty and severe punishment should be meted out to such criminals to serve as a deterrent (the death penalty for example stems from the choice theories perspectives). Again the “three strike and you’re out” sentencing policy which ensures that repeat offenders are treated more harshly by the justice system is a case in point (Siegel, 2011). The theories generally subscribe to strict sentencing policy and tough on criminals to serve as deterrent.

Trait Theories-Biological and Psychological Explanations

Beginning from the late nineteenth century, instead of relying on religion and metaphysics, scientists began to rely on careful observation and analysis of natural phenomenon in their quest to comprehend their world.

These scientists were resolute in their belief that criminal behaviour is biologically rooted and thus certain physical characteristics can give a cue. Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909), an Italian physician who served in the Italian army, developed the theory of “born criminal” (Adler, Mueller & Laufer, 2012). The theory states that serious and violent offenders have inherited a “set of primitive physical traits that he referred to as atavistic anomalies” (Siegel, 2017). In other words, these criminals were lower form of life, closer to the apelike ancestors in terms of their traits and disposition and thus quite different from non-criminals (Adler et al., 2012).

Lombroso argued that criminals have huge jaws and strong canine teeth common to carnivores and savages who tear and devour raw flesh. In essence, Lombroso thought that criminals were atavists, or cultural throwbacks to an earlier stage of evolution. Therefore, “criminals were an evolutionary accident who resemble primitive people more than modern people” (Barkan, 2012). Lombroso’s work attracted much interest and his “born criminal” or atavistic theory of crime became very popular. This was partly because of the intense interest in Darwin’s evolutionary theory and the quest for scientific explanation of social phenomenon such as crime (Barkan, 2012). Some of the biological traits that Lombroso identified with the born criminal were as follows: unusual size or shape of the head, strange eyes, facial asymmetry, extended jaw and jaw bone, too big or too small ears, full lips leaned forward, abnormal teeth, wrinkled skin, nose curled up; thief’s have a flat nose and murderers have a beak nose, too long, too small or flat chin, dark skin and too long arms.

According to Lombroso, persons who have five or more of these biological traits are born criminals. In addition to these physical traits, Lombroso introduced some other traits of born criminal: hypersensitivity on the pain and touch, use of special criminal slang, grotesque expression of thoughts, tattoos and unemployment. Lombroso was not alone in espousing the biological determinism. His associates like Enrico Ferri (1856-1929) and Raffaele Garofalo (1851-1934) also rejected the doctrine of freewill and supported the idea that the only way to understand crime was to study it by scientific methods. Garofalo traced the roots of criminal behaviour not to physical characteristics alone but also to psychological disposition(Barkan, 2012)

Lombroso's biological determinism theory was discarded because of methodological flaws. Firstly, most of the biological determinism studies did not use control group from the general population to compare results which according to Siegel (2013) was a violation of the scientific method. Secondly, many of the traits that Lombroso assumed to be inherited were not genetically determined but could have been a product of environments, diet and surroundings. The idea of born criminal has been discredited in later researches particularly in the work of Goring (1913). In his classic work, *The English Convict*, he provided a sound evidence of the many weaknesses in Lombroso's work. Further studies of Lombroso's thesis were made by Goring in 1913. Goring contested Lombroso's thesis based on the experiment he conducted on 3000 criminals and non-criminals. Goring didn't find any physical abnormalities or traits on criminals that distinguished them from non-criminals. He criticized Lombroso's work on the issue of born criminal and

intimated that such thesis is inaccurate as well as dangerous. Goring concluded that no one is criminal until he or she commits a crime.

Despite the lack of evidence supporting a biological theory of criminal behaviour, advocates of this paradigm emerge with predictable regularity. Sheldon (1949) described three body types--endomorph, ectomorph and the mesomorph--and their corresponding temperaments. According to Sheldon, endomorphs are short, round and inclined to put on weight. In temperaments, they are relaxed and extroverted and they tend to prefer comfortable and easy life (Hepburn, 1983). Mesomorphs are athletic, muscular and strong. In temperament, they are aggressive, assertive and dynamic. The ectomorphs are lean, fragile and slender. In temperaments, they are introverted and shy, with a tendency towards physical and psychosomatic disorder. In the study, Sheldon classified 200 boys sent to rehabilitation in Boston and compared them with 200 college students who were assumed to be non-delinquents. Sheldon found that delinquent youth were more mesomorphic and less ectomorphic than nondelinquent ones.

While Lombroso and his colleagues have come under attacks on the account of the born criminal, it may be worthwhile to acknowledge that his work has contributed to the rise of the positivist school of criminology. Firstly, his work convinced both the academic community and the general public that crime was a subject that could be studied in an objective and systematic way (Hepburn, 1983). Secondly, it helped identify the field of criminology as a behavioural science rather than as an aspect of "law, social philosophy or theology" (Hepburn, 1983, p. 153).

Even though strict biological determinism is frowned upon and discredited in academic circles because it has methodological inefficiencies and inconsistencies, some people still espouse biological determinism as explanatory model of criminal behaviour (Siegel, 2017). In the 1970s, a publication by Edmund Wilson, a sociobiologist, brought to the fore the biological basis of human behaviour and for that matter criminal behaviour. Sociobiologists believe that biological and genetic factors affect the way people learn and perceive social behaviour. They hold the view that social behaviour is often genetically transmitted and subject to evolutionary processes, which implies that it changes to meet environmental exigencies. This postulation made some criminologists to conclude that personal traits might distinguish the deviant from the nondeviant. They theorised that trait may account for the reason why people who are marginalised and poverty stricken may not engage in crime while those who live in affluence and belong to the top echelons of society may commit crime and deviant act. Thus the commission of crime depends on ability or inability to adapt these traits to environmental situations. Therefore the criminal is the one who is unable to control his “urges and passions” (Siegel, 2016).

The second major branch of the trait theory emphasises the way psychological dispositions affect crime and criminal behaviour including the link between intelligence, personality learning and criminal behaviour. In Charles Goring’s attempt to debunk Lombroso’s born criminal theory, he studied 3,000 English convicts. Unfortunately, he found little differences in the physical characteristics of criminals and the non-criminal samples. However, he made a landmark discovery that there was a significant

association between crime and intelligence and that those who commit crime have what he termed as “defective intelligence”.

The psychological trait theory has several perspectives. One of the renowned ones is the psychodynamic perspective. The psychodynamic perspective is associated with Sigmund Freud (1856-1939). He asserted that all humans still carry with them the residue of emotional attachment of childhood which guides future interpersonal relationships (Siegel, 2017). The perspective attributes criminality and delinquent behaviour to main probable causes (Adler et al., 2012). He suggested that an individual’s psychological wellbeing is contingent on a healthy interaction among three elements: the id, ego and super ego. These constitute the basic components of the human psyche. According to Freud, the id consists of powerful urges that seek immediate gratification and it has no concern for the right of others (Siegel, 2017). The ego is the component of the self, or personality that acts as a moderator between the id and the superego and the execution of the personality (Adler, et al., 2012). This part of the personality helps guide the individual in his/her actions and decision so that he or she remains within the confines of social norms. The superego acts as moral law or conscience, it instills in the personality moral codes and the relevance of parents, the community and significant others, it is the arbiter of people’s behaviour (Siegel, 2016).

The psychodynamic model depicts criminal offenders as aggressive, frustrated persons dominated by events that occurred early in childhood. Because they suffer from unhappy experiences in childhood or had bad families that could not provide proper love and care, criminals suffer weak or

damaged egos that make them unable to cope with conventional society. The weak ego is associated with immaturity, poor social skills and excessive dependence on others. Thus people with weak egos can easily be lured into crime by peers who are also involved in anti-social behaviour and drug abuse or addiction. From the psychodynamic perspective, criminality is a form of mental disorder making people who suffer these conditions to be depressed and anti-social. Crime is therefore a sign of feelings of oppression and the inability to develop proper psychological defence. Psychodynamic theorists assert that criminality allows these mentally-troubled people to survive by producing positive psychic outcomes (Siegel, 2017).

Interestingly, other psychodynamic models have linked criminal behaviour to mental states. For instance, Alfred Adler (1870-1937) used the term “internally complex” to describe people who have low self-esteem and engage in anti-social behaviour in order to compensate for superior or positive self-esteem. Erik Erikson also used the concept “identity crisis” to describe a period of personal questioning that young people may sometime engage in order to determine and identify their own self-worth in life. For instance, adolescents who may be undergoing this crisis could resort to extreme anti-social behaviour including drug use and other forms of deviant behaviours.

It is somehow very difficult to reduce the work of scholars in this field which spans more than two centuries to just a few pages. What this section has sought to present is to highlight the core point that there is a school of thought that views the cause of criminality from the individual’s biology or psychology. Various strands of the perspectives have been discussed. In brief, the trait theories, whether biogenic or psychogenic have one thing in common,

and that is, they link the problem of criminality to individual frame, genes or psychology. To the scholars in this school, criminal behaviour is a matter of pathological situation/condition within the individual make-up (biology and psychology).

The trait theory has come under a barrage of criticisms for a number of reasons. Critics have questioned the theory's racist undertone. If biology and psychology are the reasons for criminal behaviour, then this may be used to justify discriminatory social control measures such as racial profiling as amply demonstrated in the Saints and the Roughnecks study. The theory is also flawed on the grounds that those who commit street and other instrumental crimes such as robbery, theft and burglary are mostly the poor, marginalised and the vulnerable in society (Siegel, 2017). These features are not biology or psychology; they are more socio-cultural issues. Another challenge with the trait school is that it is difficult, if not impossible, to use these theories to explain geographical or spatial, social and temporary patterns in crime rate. For example, crime victimisation rates are quite high in socially disorganised communities than in socially non-disorganised communities.

In addition, the trait theory cannot explain why some people are victimised at one place and not at the other. For instance, robbery rates are far higher in urban areas than in rural areas. This may imply that people with the crime-prone biology or psychology are mostly urban based than rural based. That is definitely an obtuse logic because according to Siegel (2016), self-reported surveys indicate that almost all class and category of people engage in one form of criminal activity or the other, yet those from the upper/middle class are not arrested. Therefore, we cannot divide society into criminals or

noncriminals on the account of biological or psychological makeup. Taken dogmatically, the trait theory can result in situation whereby institutions and government agencies make excuse for the use brute force in crime control or fail to act on the assumption that nothing can be done about crime and other social problems.

Policy and Crime Control Implications of Trait Theory

One of the theories which have influenced crime prevention and control measures in the world has been that of the trait theory. The major result has been the introduction of what is called Primary Prevention Measures (PPM). These are programmes that seek to treat personal psycho-social problems or eradicate them where possible before they result into crime and criminality. For instance, a person suffering from mental disorder such as schizophrenic psychosis, paranoid, schizophrenic alexithymia or mood disorders can be helped with the right medical therapy or counselling before the disorder results in a violent attack on another person. As part of the primary prevention strategy, several family therapy institutions and substance abuse clinics and mental health organisations have emerged to provide specialised services for clients.

It has also led to medicalisation of deviance or medical control of deviant behaviour. This involves the definition of certain conditions as pathological and thereby requiring treatment by using medicine to secure conformity to social norms and the prescription of medical interventions that seeks to modify behaviour and medical collaboration (Traub, Craig & Little, 1999). The activities of these institutions are built on the assumption that if personal problems are detected early, they can be treated before they become

full-blown problems. By that measure, some future crimes can be prevented (Siegel, 2016).

The Secondary Prevention Programme provides treatment to people after they have violated the law and those who may be at risk of law violation. This includes programmes to alter, treat allergies and deal with learning disabilities. Other controversial ones include the use of mood-changing drugs such as lithium and benzodiazepines to control behaviour. A very extreme form has been the use of psycho-surgery or brain surgery to control anti-social behaviour. These procedures have been used to control the brain structure of mostly sex-offenders. Sometimes probation officers recommend such therapeutic interventions and programmes such as training in problem solving skills, conflict resolution and communication skills, pro-social behaviour, self-regulation and responsibility.

The Social Structure Theories

Given the problems that were associated with the trait theories and the criticisms that were levelled against their propositions, other explanations of crime emerged in the later parts of the 18th century and in the early parts of the 19th century to fill in the gaps in the trait explanations. These theorists were resolved in their belief that the causes of criminal behaviour lies not in the biology or the psychology of the individual. Rather, it lies in the structure of society--the way the society operates and shapes the ethics and values of individual members. The ideas emerged during the period of the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution. The period was marked by monumental intellectual development and changes in philosophical thought

(Ritzer, 2007). A lot of dogmatically held ideas and beliefs about social life were jettisoned.

In addition, religious explanations of social events and phenomena that have held sway were all rejected in favour of evidence-based models of explanations. They wanted explanation of social events to follow the model of the natural sciences which were at the time making a great deal of inroads in society. These early thinkers believed that people can comprehend and control the universe by means of reason and empirical research based on rationalism and empiricism (Ritzer, 2007). These views were anchored on the premise that the physical world was governed by natural laws; therefore, it was possible that the social world was also governed by some social laws (Ritzer, 2007). Traditional values and norms were labelled irrational and thus detrimental to human and social development. These intense quests for social laws and explanations culminated in the development of disciplines like Sociology, the science of society by Auguste Comte (1778-1857). Sociology was modelled after the natural sciences. The main goal of this new science was to search for laws of “social life”

Ever since the idea of science of social life was proposed, sociological concepts, ideas and knowledge have been applied to crime and deviant behaviour. The pioneering works of Adolph Quetelet(1794) and Emile Durkhiem (1895) are worth mentioning. Their classical works had a greatdeal of influence on the development of modern criminology. Quetelet for example proposed the use of data and statistics in conducting criminological research. He along with Andre-Michel Gnergy, developed the cartographic School of Criminology (Nisbet, 1974). The school sought to put emphasis on the use of

social statistics that was being developed at the time. In his study of crime Quetelet discovered many of the social variables that correlate with crime and are still relevant in crime discourse today. They include social factors such as, age, sex, season, climate and poverty (Siegel, 2017). His discovery was a direct challenge to the Lombrosian biological and Freudian psychodynamic theories.

Durkheim's contribution to the institutionalisation of criminology as sub discipline of sociology was unique. His conceptualisation of crime, and for that matter deviance as normal, necessary, functional and part and parcel of all healthy societies and not an abrasion was instrumental in changing how crimes like suicide was perceived in society at the time. For Durkheim, crime is normal, functional, it should be expected and it is impossible to have a society without crime (Siegel, 2016) He further noted that crime actually contributes to the maintenance of social stability by providing outlets for collective moral outrage and in that sense create social solidarity (Traub, Craig, & Little, 1999). He again noted that crimes call attention to social problems that need correction or transformation. For example, a rising rate in robbery cases may be asymptomatic of the need for changes in the way society is structured or organised (Siegel, 2016) In his book "*Division of Labour in Society*", Durkheim succinctly describes what he called the "Mechanical Solidarity" type of society which is more traditional in nature and the "Organic Solidarity" society which is akin to modern society with complex social interaction, large urban centres and industries.

According to Durkheim, the shift from traditional to modern complex societies creates what he called "Anomie" or normlessness. This is a state or

condition where social norms are weak, absent or fail to constrain individual members in society. He applied this concept to suicide which at the time was considered the problem of individual trait. In his study of suicide rates, he found that the phenomenon was influenced by more social and external factors than individual innate factors (Barkan, 2012). He also noted that suicide rate tends to be higher in times of rapid social changes--when traditional norms give way to modern ways of life. He further observed that when traditional norms become less applicable during such periods, people may find it difficult adjusting to meet their aspirations in such a fast changing society, thereby becoming frustrated and committing suicide as a reaction to these social transformations (Barkan, 2012). Rather than conceptualising crime as pathology to be cured in society, sociologists and other social scientists are called upon to search for ways such behaviours or abrasions contribute to the survival and maintenance of the social structure and how to minimise its negative effects on society (Traub et al., 1999).

The social structure theory is definitely a challenge to the trait theory. The main tenets of this theory are that social factors such as poverty and income inequality affect crime rate because statistics show that crime rates are much higher in societies that are characterised by poverty and social disorder (Siegel, 2016) While it is true that the middle class and the upper class also commit crimes, they are mostly non-violent crimes such as fraud and embezzlement. The key assumption of the social structure theory is that the type of social and economic forces operating in socially disorganised communities like slums, ghettos and shanty towns are key determinants of crime (Siegel, 2016) There are three independent yet interrelated branches of

the theory which are Social Disorganisation theory, Social Strain theory and Cultural Deviance theory (Siegel, 2013).

Social Disorganisation

Social disorganisation theory was first developed in the studies of urban crime and delinquency and popularised by two sociologists namely, Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay from the Chicago School. Since then the theory has been applied to various aspects of society including the family, societies and some sections of society (Akers, 2012). These sociologists “linked life in disorganised, transitional urban areas to neighbourhood crime rates” (Siegel, p. 196, 2016). The theory emphasised the effects of the political, socio-economic changes that were sweeping through all aspects of the American society at the time. While the changes were considered necessary, desirable and a sign of “social progress”, their effects such as increased in crime rate and other social problems were perceived negatively (Truab et al., 1999). According to Shaw and McKay (1942), the physical shape or characteristics of a society or community can create conditions that are conducive to deviant acts and criminal behaviour. Their main concern was that, such social disorganisation was connected with criminal activities. According to Akers (2012, p.115):

A social system (such a society or a community) is described as socially organised and well integrated if there is an internal consensus on its norms and values and has a strong cohesion among its members, and social interaction proceeds in orderly way. Conversely, the system is described as disorganised or anomie if there is a disruption in the social cohesion or

integration, a breakdown in social control, or malalignment among its elements.

This implies that a society or a community with little or less solidarity, cohesion or integration, experiences higher rate of crime. Disorganised neighbourhoods manifest the following features: low socio-economic status, a mix of different ethnic (racial) groups, high level of social mobility and family disruption such as broken homes. Neighbourhood that has high levels of these features tend to generate crime because the social control mechanism that helps prevent people from committing criminal acts are either weak or absent. Because of the disorganised nature of these communities or areas, the normal sources of social control present in other neighbourhoods, such as families, schools, the church and law enforcement agencies become weak or inefficient (Siegel, 2013). The proponent of social disorganisation again stated that the morals and value systems of the youth in these disorganised neighbourhoods are culturally transmitted by those who have internalised criminal values (Akers, 2012).

In summary, Shaw and McKay discovered that there were four (4) specific assumptions as an explanation of delinquency. The first assumption is the collapse of community--based controls and people living in these disadvantaged neighbourhoods are responding naturally to environmental conditions. The second is the rapid growth of immigration in urban disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The third is business located closely to the disadvantaged neighbourhoods that are influenced by the “ecological approach” of competition and dominance. The fourth and last assumption is

disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods lead to the development of criminal values that replace normal society values.

Beside its obvious flaws, the concept of social disorganisation provides a valuable contribution to our understanding of how ecological factors can contribute to criminal behaviour. Another positive aspect of the perspective is its “introduction of the ecology to the study of crime” (Siegel, 2016, p. 198).

One defect with this perspective is the attribution of crimes to the city ecology or the environment. There may be multiple factors that contribute to crime in a particular society. These factors may include high rate of unemployment, poverty and social inequality. In addition, the theory does not seem to focus on the causes of the social disorganisation such as poverty, inequality and economic downturn, which could have direct ramifications for crimes.

The social structure theories have had significant influence on crime prevention strategies on the globe. The problems of inner city areas including prostitution, mugging or robbery in some of the disorganised communities still give credence to the relevance of the social structure theories. Notwithstanding these, a couple of criticisms have been levelled against the model. One of them is the charge that how can the theory show with certainty that it is the culture of the lower class people in the inner cities alone that is the cause of the high crime rates in these disorganized areas and not some other variables? They do not support the notion that residing in an urban area alone is enough justification for crime casualty. The high crime rate may be due to the selective discrimination by the agents of the criminal justice system, who may sometimes apprehend those in the lower class positions because of

stereotyping and self-fulfilling prophecy (Chambliss' work on the Saints and the Roughnecks is a case in point). Class bias and discriminatory practices against minorities by police officers who have the middle class background could possibly explain the high arrest rates among people from the inner cities (Tittle, 1983).

Another critique of the model is that even if high rates of crime are recorded in these inner-cities, majority of the people resident in these areas are not involved in criminal activities. Therefore, most of the members of the inner cities are not criminals. Only a small section of the population in the inner city areas is committing crimes (Siegel, 2016). Thus, there must be something beyond residential status, such as cognitive and cultural setting responsible for the high rates of crime among these people.

Policy Implications of the Social Structure Theory

The social structure theory states that the social order, stability and integration are conducive to conformity. However, disorder and malintegration are conducive to crime and deviant behaviour (Akers, 2012). The theory has had great influence on social policy. If the assumption is that the main cause of criminality is the inability of the lower class people to engage in conventional activities in society then it seems to suggest that they should be given the opportunity to share in the rewards of conventional societies (Siegel, 2017). Another method suggested by the model is the improvement in the community structure to enhance social stability in disorganized lower class neighbourhood. It recommends improved recreational facilities for children, improvement in education, physical safety and effective law enforcement. The late US presidents Kennedy and Johnson's administration's "War on Poverty"

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in the 1960's were based on the structural theory proposition. These programmes sought to reduce crime by developing a sense of responsibility and a stake in conformity in lower class areas, and creation of job corps that provide employment opportunities for individuals from the inner city areas (Siegel, 2016).

Social Process Theories

For a very long time criminologists have tried to establish a link between individual social experiences, other social institutions and crime. An individual's relationship with social processes such as education, family life and peer relations are key to understanding human behaviour and crime. To the social process theorists, poverty and social disorganization alone should not cause people to commit crimes. The reason they give for this assertion is that there are many people in the communities or inner cities who do not commit crimes. Therefore, there must be something else contributing to criminality in these disorganized communities or societies (Siegel, 2017).

According to the social process theorists, evidence from some criminological research seems to point to the fact that children who grow up in homes fraught with conflicts, absent parents and attended poor schools or inadequate school and associate with deviant peers are more prone to commit crimes. Therefore, criminal behaviour is a consequence of the kind of interactions (socialization) the individuals have had with various organizations, institutions and processes of society (Siegel, 2017) Family relationships, peer group membership, educational experiences and interaction with significant others or authority personalities such as teachers, the police, correctional and social welfare officers have a huge influence on the behaviour

of people. According to Siegel (2015), if the relation is positive and supportive, people are more likely to follow the rules of society. However, if these relationships are negative, dysfunctional or even destructive, people may find it difficult to follow the conventional norms but rather they will adopt criminal orientation or behaviour as an alternative.

For example, family relationship has been found to be a major determinant of behaviour (Glueck & Glueck, 1950). Children who grow up in families characterized by conflict, tension, lack of parental care, attention and support are more likely to commit crimes (Formoso et al., 2000). According to Cui and Conger (2008), adolescents who are exposed to this type of family environment are prone to developing poor emotional wellbeing and anti-social behaviour. The family-crime relationship is believed to be significant across cultures, race and gender lines. Delinquency could be reduced if parents provided the conditions and facilities that integrate children into the family while at the same time, giving them chance to express their individuality and exercise control over their behaviour (Hay, 2001).

In addition, parental efficacy, the ability of parents to support their children in terms of material, social and effectively control them in non-abusive or non-coercive ways, has been found to be important for children's future non-deviant behaviour. On the contrary, children who have troubles with their families or homes show or manifest low self-esteem and crime prone behaviours.

Educational experience and school attainment are also considered crucial for human development and have also been linked to criminality. According to Lee (1989), children who fail in school have been found to

offend more frequently than those who are successful in school. Although research on school dropout rate and criminal behaviour is mixed, some findings indicate that school dropouts face a great chance of entering criminal career (Siegel, 2016). Theories such as the differential association theory and social control theory and labelling theory belong to the social process model.

In summary, the social process theory views criminality as a function of people's interaction with important social institutions and organizations such as the family, school, religious bodies and other processes in society. The social learning theory such as Sutherland's Differential Association Theory posits that people learn the attitudes and the techniques for committing crime from close peers. Criminal behaviour is learned in a process of communication (Akers, 2012).

The social bonding theory by Travis Hirschi (1969) states that, every individual in society has the potential to engage in criminal acts. However, most people do not commit crimes because they are controlled by their bonds to society (Siegel, 2015; Akers, 2012). Crime do occur when the forces that bind people to society are weakened or broken (Siegel, 2017).

According to Hirschi (1969), the key question criminologists have to ask is not why do individuals commit crimes, rather they should ask why some individuals do not commit crimes. For those who do not commit crimes, their bonds to societal institutions constrain them thus keeping them from committing crimes (Barkan, 2012). Thus delinquency and crime are the result of individual's weakened social connections (bonds) to conventional social institutions such as the school, family and religion.

The social reaction theory (labelling) says that no one is born a criminal or is by nature a criminal, people become criminals when significant members of a society label their behaviour as criminal and those individuals accept the label placed on them as personal identities (Siegel, 2016) Deviance or crime therefore is not the quality of the act a person commits, but the consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an offender's behaviour (Becker, 1963, p. 9)

The social process theories suggest that crime is a function of the kind of interaction an individual has had with important social institutions like the family, schools, the criminal justice system and peer groups. When interactions with these institutions are not properly structured or directed, people may have problems engaging the right institutions or people with whom they have problems (Siegel, 2016) Even though some people do not agree on the potential influence of these social institutions on crime, some studies have shown that most delinquents and criminals grew up in dysfunctional families and had poor employment history. Accordingly, prison data from other parts of the world and Ghana confirmed this (Akonor, 2007; Elliott & Yors, 1977). For example, Thornburg, Coffman & Dailey (1985) discovered that arrest rates among school dropouts increased the year after leaving school and remained higher than the arrest rates for high school graduates through the age 25.

In spite of the usefulness of the social process theories and their policy implication, it has been limited in its application when it comes to accounting for patterns and fluctuations in crime levels. If indeed crime is a result of poor socialization and family instability, why is it that crime rate seems to be high

at certain times of the year and at certain places? How can we explain these fluctuations in crime rate if crime is truly a function of social learning or other social experiences? (Siegel, 2016; Akers, 1997). How can social process theories explaining the aging-out phenomenon in crime seem to escalate from youthful years to early adulthood and drop as one ages? That notwithstanding, it is important to note that the theory is very persuasive.

Policy Implication of the Theory

The social process theories have had a tremendous influence on criminological and criminal justice policies in most advanced countries and some developing countries including Ghana. It has affected the way criminals are treated or handled especially young and juvenile offenders. If people become criminals by associating with wrong persons or by learning the wrong lessons, then they can be salvaged by being given new set of orientation through resocialisation programmes. In effect, people can unlearn the definitions or norms which are conducive to crime by being exposed to norms and definitions toward conventional and non-deviant behaviour. It is common today to find both residential and non-residential treatment programmes that are structured to teach offenders about how to stay away from the negative effects of drugs, how to stay in school, and how to refrain from delinquent behaviour (Siegel, 2016).

The control theory has also influenced criminal justice policies and other social policies. Programmes have been developed to increase people's commitment to conventional lines of behaviour, including increasing family bond early to decrease contamination or onset of criminal activities. The theory has resulted in designing school system to help improve basic life skills

and create a congenial environment where pupils will develop a strong bond to school (Siegel, 2017).

In addition, as result of the labelling theory's notion of stigma, society's reactions to primary deviance could lead to escalation of criminal behavior. Diversion and restitution programme have been proposed (restorative justice) as an alternative to the penal sanctions (Giddens, 2010). Restorative justice seeks to draw offenders' attention, and to create the awareness about the negative effects of their crimes through sentences served in communities where the offence was committed or may be required to contribute to community service or project.

Diversion programmes ensure that offenders, especially young and juveniles are removed from the normal procedural channels of justice. Rather, they are placed in rehabilitation facilities where their defective behaviours may be corrected through counselling and other psycho-social therapy. For example, a college student who drives recklessly and causes harm because of intoxications could be sentenced for a treatment where he will be treated for alcohol abuse and later asked to take driving test again. Rather than being made to face stigma and serve a prison term, the offender could be asked to compensate the victim of any loss he/she incurred. While critics still believe this programme substitutes one stigma for another, the social process theory has made a great impact on criminological enterprise since the 1950s.

Social Conflict, Critical Criminology and Restorative Justice

The social conflict and radical theories take up where the social process theories like labelling leaves off. Most of the authors of the critical criminology draw on the views of Karl Marx to argue that crime or deviance is

political in nature (Giddens, 2010). They reject the notion that crime is caused by factors such as biology, poverty, anomie, social disorganization and personality. Rather, they posit that individuals choose to engage in criminal activity as a response to the inequalities in the capitalist society (Giddens, 2010). Karl Marx observed that economic structures shape all human activities (Siegel, 2016).

Marx did not write copiously on crime as he did on other themes (Akers, 2012). Yet, he viewed crime as the product of law enforcement policies in which people are labelled by their experiences with police, stigmatised and locked into a life of crime. He noted that there was a link between criminality and the kind of inequalities found in the capitalist economic system. He further asserted, “there must be something rotten in the very core of a social system which increase in wealth without diminishing its misery, and increase in crime even more rapidly” (Marx, 1971, p.92) Marx writings, to some extent, shaped the development of the social conflict perspectives of crime. His views on crime were later used by three scholars namely Bonger (1969), Dahrendorf (1959) and Vold (1958) to develop the social conflict perspective of crime.

Bonger (1969) noted that society had two categories of people, the “have and have-not” groups. This grouping according to him is not based on the individual’s ability but rather on the system of production that is in place. He alluded that in every society that is divided into the ruling class and the inferior class, penal systems or law serve only the interest of the ruling class even though it may appear to serve the interest of all classes. All the deviant acts which are considered offensive or punished by the law are acts that hurt or

affect the interest of the ruling class. Crime is therefore considered illegal behaviour because they are harmful to the powerful class. He further noted that in the capitalist society, the criminal justice and legal systems defend and protect the actions of the rich but discriminate against the poor (Siegel, 2016, p. 201.; Akers, 2012). Because of this selective discrimination and the deprivations of the poor of vital economic and social resources, they are more likely to break the law (Bonger, 1969).

Dahrendorf on the other hand did argue that modern society is organized into “imperatively coordinated associations.” These associations are further divided into two groups. They are those who possess authority and use it to suppress or dominate others and those who do not have or lack authority are therefore suppressed or dominated (Siegel, 2013, 2015,; Dahrendorf, 1959).

Vold (1958) noted that social control mechanisms and laws are created by political groups with the help of government to protect their rights and interests. Thus, criminal behaviour is as a result of the struggle between these groups for the control of society. He noted that if a group can lobby government, a law will be enacted to protect their interests. Therefore, at every stage in the criminal justice processes, including law-making, law enforcement, arrest, prevention and imprisonment, there are conflicts.

From the critical criminology school, crime is a political construct created to safeguard the interest and position of the powerful and upper-class in society (Siegel, 2016). Their main concern has been that the mainstream positivist criminology was too conservative, favours government and engenders human right violations. Thus the law represents the interest of the

powerful and whenever there is a conflict between the powerful and the poor, those who have access to power create laws to protect their interest and restrict the poor and the powerless. Therefore crime is a function of the power relations and the consequences of social conflict (Siegel, 2016). The critical theorists assert that the quest by the capitalist to produce surplus value--excess profit that are produced by the working class and accrued to business owner is the major reason for criminal behaviour among the proletariat. Once accumulated, the surplus value can be used to enrich the owners. To increase the rate of the surplus, the workers could be made to toil harder for less pay or be replaced by machines or technology (Siegel, 2016).

As a result, economic prosperity does not benefit the poor or the workers and it may produce the same negative effect as depression and recession in the long term (Siegel, 2016). As this continues to increase, a number of workers are forced out of employment and are compelled to take jobs at minimum wage. As more people join the marginal population, a large number of people are forced to live in areas conducive to crime. In addition, lack of jobs or employment and living on the periphery of the society creates a criminogenic condition.

Several forms of critical theory have emerged including the left realism, critical feminist, peace-making criminology and power control theory. According to the conflict/critical perspective, government, during this period may respond to the economic crises by devoting greater attention to the criminal justice system by building new prisons to cater for the increasing numbers of those who may be caught for committing crimes because of the changes in their socio-economic situation (Box, 1987). While the critical

criminology had been cited for praise in the way it has projected the importance of social and economic forces in shaping criminal behaviour, it has also received a barrage of criticisms from some conservatives. The theory has been accused for being “hot air, heat, but not real light” (Gibbs, 1987). It has no real substance. Some argue that the theory is at best “rehashes” the old traditions of helping the underdog in which the poor steal from the rich to survive (Toby, 1979).

Others say the theory ignores the capitalist system effort at regulating itself through antitrust regulations and incarceration of white collar criminals and social protection measures aimed at helping the poor (Klockars, 1980). They are also accused of neglecting the problems and conflict that exist in the socialist countries like Russia and the reasons why the lower class people try to steal from one another in the ghettos and the marginalized communities.

Policy Implication of Critical Theory

Critical theorists believe that until there is reorganization of society, crime cases will continue to soar. There are those who call for the destruction of the capitalist system and in its place, bring socialist ideas and structure (Siegel, 2017). Even though this goal looks utopian, some people believe it is possible to achieve such a state or society. Some researchers from the social conflict theory offer more useful and practical approaches to crime control (Siegel, 2016). They call for non-penal methods of crime control such as restorative justice, peacemaking and inclusionary strategies for crime prevention and control. According to Zehr (2002), restorative justice focuses on the needs of the victims, the community and offenders, and stresses on non-punitive strategies to heal the wound caused by crime. It also requires that

society addresses victims' harm and needs, hold offenders accountable, to put right the harm. They maintain that the core value of the restoration programme process can be translated into respect for all, including criminals. The concept of restorative justice rejects punishment, deterrence and incarceration. It rather posits that an apology, rehabilitation, reparation, healing, restoration and integration should be the goal of criminal justice (Siegel, 2016)

The critical theorists believe that the current penal system as it is found in most countries relies on punishment administered by the agencies such as the police, the courts and the prisons are harmful and reduce the likelihood that offenders will be rehabilitated and become productive members of the society. They further argue that what is needed is a justice system policy that repairs or treats the harm caused by crime, the stigma, disgrace, punishment and the effects of crackdown on crime. They believe that the old methods of crime control, get-through-approach, and the lock-down mentality methods of punishment are a failure. This is because two-thirds of inmates re-offend after their release (Villaume, 2005).

Another method offered by the critical school to deal with crime is reintegrative shaming. The concept asserts that people can be reformed if they understand the harm they have caused to society and brought back into the social mainstream. According to Braithwarte (1989), the integrative shaming ensures that the criminal justice system relies on forgiveness rather than repression.

Restoration has also been used as a national policy to heal internal large scale atrocities committed by states or governments during periods such as oppressive regimes as the Apartheid regime in South Africa and during the

period of military take-overs in Ghana. Rather than seeking vengeance for atrocities or crime committed, reconciliation seeks healing by giving those who were victims of large scale human right abuses the opportunity to tell their stories as part of remedial/measures to investigate the crimes committed and to give the perpetrators the opportunity to confess their roles and seek the forgiveness of those who were hurt by their actions and inactions.

Developmental Theories: Life Course, Propensity and Trajectory

Most of the theories discussed so far try to establish why some people commit crimes or why they do not. The developmental theories of crime seek to answer certain important question that the other theories failed to answer such as: Why do some people persist in their criminal careers? Why is it that some people offend whiles young and stop when they are ageing? Why do some offenders stop small, minor, or petty crime and later scale up (escalate) their criminal activities to serious offences such as murder and robbery? Why do some offenders specialize in a particular type of crime, whereas others become generalist? Why do some people reduce their criminal activities and resume later? How can early and late onset of criminal behaviour be explained? (Siegel, 2017; Reid, 2011).

The developmental theory views criminality as a dynamic process influenced by certain factors such as social experiences and the individual characteristics. According to Sheldon and Gluck (1950), whose research work served as a springboard for the development of this perspective, the initiation and continuity of criminal career was a developmental process influenced by both internal and external conditions and circumstances. Their work integrated

sociological, psychological and economic factors into a complex developmental explanation of criminal behaviour (Siegel, 2016).

The work of Rolf Loeber and Marc Le Blanc in the 1990s was another important event that generated interest in developmental criminology. In their work, they suggested that criminologists should devote their time and energy to understand the evolution of criminal careers. They asserted that criminality is not a static situation where a person is either a criminal or a non-criminal. Loeber and Le Blanc (1998) saw criminality as a dynamic process, with the beginning, middle and end, and changes from time to time (Siegel, 2015; Reid, 2011). Three levels of criminal career development have since emerged from their work. These are the life course theory (LCT), the propensity theory and the trajectory theory.

Life Course Theory

The life course theory focuses on changes in criminality over the life course brought about by changes in experiences in some life events. It suggests that criminality is fluid, a dynamic process influenced by factors such as individual characteristics and social experiences. It further argues that the factors responsible for criminal or deviant behaviours changes in the course of a person's life (Siegel, 2016) In their propositions, the LCT theorists state that individuals' life is divided into various segments such as birth, socialization and building relationships and learning to conform to social norms. At some point in time, people are expected to begin and complete school, begin a career and many more. All these transitions are expected to happen in a smooth manner.

As the individual moves along these phases of life, any disruptions may promote criminality. Again, disruption of one trajectory harms others. For example, poor grades and incomplete grade could harm the individual's ability to complete their degrees on time, get his certificate and begin work or a career. This impairs the personal ability to function appropriately in the society (Adler et al., 2012).

Giordano, Cermkovich, and Rudolph (2002), have observed that as people mature, the factors that influence their behaviour also change. The age of onset of criminal or antisocial behaviour is considered critical in future criminal acts. Children who begin or engage in antisocial behaviour at early age are believed to be the ones most at risk of a criminal career (Rquero& Chung, 2001). The earlier the onset of criminal behaviour, the most likely an adolescent will engage in serious criminalities and for a longer period of time (Siegel, 2016) According to Prinz and Kerns (2003), studies in early substance use by juvenile offenders also show that many incarcerated youth began their offending careers very early in life.

Propensity Theory

In 1985, two leading criminologists J. Q. Wilson and Richard Herrnstein proposed that personal traits, genetic makeup, intelligence and stature or body build function concomitantly with other social factors such as poverty and family background do influence engagement in criminal acts as against noncriminal behaviour (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). Following their lead work, Rowe, Osgood and Alan (1990) also put forward the concept of latent traits--implying that some people have personal attribute or characteristics, or what they called propensity that regulate their feelings to

commit criminal acts. The latent trait according to Rowe and his colleagues is either present at birth or acquired early in life, and relatively stable over time (Siegel, 2016)

The latent trait includes defective intelligence, impulsive personality, genetic malfunctioning, the chemical functioning of the brain and other environmental influence on the brain such as drug use and injuries to the brain (Gunn, 1984). Those who carry any one of these traits are more likely to become a career criminal than those who do not have these latent--traits (David, Rowe, Vazsonyi & Flanney, 1995). According to this perspective, the propensity (an innate natural inclination) or tendency to behave in a particular pattern or way is stable, but the opportunities fluctuate over time. People age out of crime because as they grow or mature, criminal opportunities also reduce and there is greater pressure to remain conformist. Marriage and other adult responsibilities leave them with little or no time to engage in criminal activities.

In line with the latent trait assumptions, Gottfredson and Hirschi developed the General Theory of Crime (GTC), a development theory that links crime to impulsive behaviour and lack of self-control. They attribute the inclination to commit crimes to a person's level of self-control. People with limited self-control tend to be impulsive and insensitive to other people's feelings (Wilson & Hernstein, 1985). Self-control refers to a person's ability to exercise restraint and control over his or her emotions, feelings, thoughts, reaction and behaviour in general. Impulsivity on the other hand implies lack of close attention to details. According to Siegel (2015), criminals are

impulsive people who also lack the self-control or regulations to deal with their criminal urges or acts.

Trajectory Theory

The trajectory theory, which is the third and final developmental approach, combines elements of propensity and life course theory to understand criminal behaviour. It stipulates that there are different paths to criminal career, and that not all criminals begin their criminal career early in life and persist into adulthood. Some begin early and persist into adulthood and others also stay out of trouble in their early years and begin their deviant activities in their teenage years (Siegel, 2016) While both life course and propensity theories maintain that persistent offenders begin their criminal behaviour early in life and continue into adulthood, the trajectory theories posit that some people stay out of trouble in childhood until late in adolescent years (Ick-Joong, Hill, Hawkins, Gilchrist & Nagin, 2002).

In main, the trajectory theory says that there are many different ways or paths to criminal career. People are influenced by different conditions or circumstances at different stages in their life and career. Criminals may engage in different acts of criminality in the course of their life. In a longitudinal study that tracked persistent offenders in London, Farrington and Gunn (1994) found that life experiences shape the behaviour and choices. They discovered that the factors that may predict criminality at one point in the life course may not be the ones that predict criminality of another stage (Siegel, 2016)According to the development theory, criminal career should be understood as a path on which the criminal travels—it has it's beginning and ending. The journey is influenced by the changing scenes of life--structural

factors, cognitive, economic, psychological, and biological and socialization factors.

Policy Implications

The theory's notions on the genesis of crime and career paths have inspired policy initiative aimed at setting people on the right developmental trajectory or path. These programmes mostly implemented in the United States of America involves multisystem programmes structured to help youths who are at risk of becoming career criminals with personal, social, educational and other family support services. The objectives of these interventions are to promote academic success (Lonzk, Abboth, Hawking, Kosterman & Catalano, 2002). Programmes such as the Boys and Girls Clubs, Substance Abuse Prevention Programmes and the Skills Mastery and Resistance Training (SMART) are after school programmes for children and parents. All these programmes aimed at increasing the protective factors and decreasing risk factors in the family, community, the school and at the individual levels.

Theoretical Framework for the Study

From the theoretical review, it emerged that criminal behaviour is a complex interaction among individual, ecological and social factors (Murphy, 1985). It is now well established that human behaviour is not only as a result of what happens in between the skins (social interactions), but also what happens under the skin (individual unique composition) (Myers, 2012). Thus a person's criminal behaviour is shaped by trait (biological and psychological), socio-cultural factors and how these factors interact with each other. Figure I presents the theoretical framework that emerged from the review.

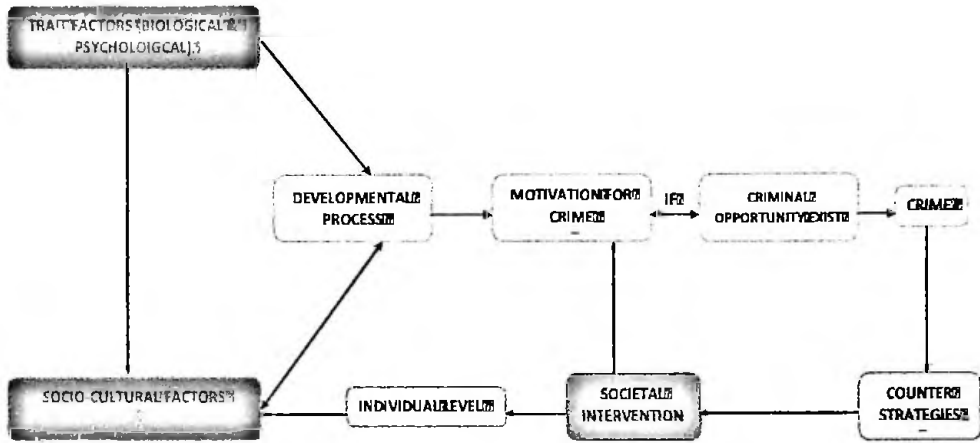


Figure 1: Theoretical Framework

(Adapted from

www.des.ucdavis.edu/faculty/Richerson/Bookonline.Held.9/pdf/2018)

From Figure 1, socio-cultural factors, trait (biology and psychology) factors and developmental factors, to a larger extent determine criminal motivations. That is, the driving force or motive behind an individual's action or inaction which includes what the individual wants and also what he could do given the circumstances (retrieved from: www.des.ucdavis.edu/faculty/Richerson/bookonline/18/11/17). Motivation propels individual actions and inactions. Criminal motivation includes analysing the cost and benefits of the act. This may be based on a rational analysis of the situation or based on emotion and sometimes anger or even frustration.

Ecological/socio-cultural factors are derived out of the kind of social interactions and activities that ensue in the physical environment. For instance, the type of physical environment (geography, special arrangement of people and buildings, recreational facilities) a person is born into can affect the way a person develops physically and emotionally. Most importantly, ecological factors may also determine the kind of opportunities that are created within the environment. According the routine activity theory of criminal victimisation,

crime is a product of routine activities of people within a physical space (Siegel, 2016). For example, deviant models in society may provide opportunities to learn deviant behaviour, criminal opportunities also increase criminal temptation and exposure to danger may increase aggressive behaviour and fear.

Societal or macro level factors describe the way society is structured and how it engenders creation of criminal values, beliefs, socio-economic arrangements, racial and ethnic relations and behaviour. The socio-cultural factors are large scale or macro issues that require collective effort from all stakeholders to address them. For example, if an individual is unemployed he/she can rely on his or networks and family members to find a job. But with large scale unemployment, it will require government, businesses (public and private) to fix the problem. Such issues assume the social problem tag—social conditions that affect large number of people or are harmful to more than just a few people (Thio & Taylor, 2012).

Individual or trait factors cannot be delinked from criminality. Although, ecological factors are crucial to understanding criminal behaviour, individual attitudes and motivation equally contribute to crime. The preference people place on objects is not the same. They are based on individual choices, ability and motivation. For one to engage in criminal act, the person should have the skill, the motivations and ability to carry out the offence. For example, it does not matter how nice a vehicle looks, a criminal who intends to steal the car should at least have rudimentary driving skills before he/she can drive away the car. This implies that the criminal must be a capable offender. Opportunity they say makes the criminal.

Without criminal opportunity, it will be difficult for criminals to succeed in their enterprise. They will not get targets to take advantage of. Unfortunately however, opportunities for crime abound in our social setting either out of ignorance or sheer ineptitude. Our society is always caught unprepared for criminal events. We are always taken aback by such events. The recent Kwabenya jail break and the killing of the chief inspector of police is a case in point. Crimes do always occur, once they do, it evokes response from the macro level and the individual level. The society and individuals begin to look out for counter measures to correct the wrong (reactive response). The nature of the counter measure would affect motivation and opportunities for crime. It also affects the socio-cultural environment, individual choice and preference, developmental process, and thereby reduces motivation and opportunities for crime. It can be deduced from the model that if society aims at working with the socio-cultural trait and developmental issues, that may be more proactive way of preventing crime than to wait for it to occur and put in counter measures or strategies. The reactive way of fighting robbery has not been helpful and may not bring improvement in the robbery situation in Ghana.

Summary

From the foregone review, criminal behaviour from time immemorial has been explained from different perspectives. The earliest explanation was the attribution of demons that were believed to possess the individual and cause him/her to commit crime. This notion has long been jettisoned for its lack of scientific basis. That gave way to the Classical School that attributed crime to individual quest to maximise his/her desire for pleasure, therefore

increasing the punishment that goes with crime can deter offenders. The trait theories are not saying biology and psychology are the cause of crime rather they postulate that biology and psychology or the individual's unique characteristics have influence on his/her criminal conduct. The views of the social structure theorists, social process theorists, conflict theorist and the developmental theorists and their policy implications were also reviewed.

CHAPTER THREE

EMPIRICAL REVIEW

Overview

This section of the literature review looks at the history of robbery in Ghana, the nature of robbery, the typologies of robbers, and brief explanation of policy and strategies. The emphasis is on the empirical explanation of robbery and the methods of robbery prevention and control.

The History of Robbery in Ghana

It is very difficult to trace the history of robbery in Ghana due to poor record keeping and lack of proper legal and theoretical conceptualisation of robbery. According to Attafuah (2008), robbery has been a bother to Ghanaians for a very long time. Even long before and after the country's independence, the problem of robbery was inherent in our national fabric. Appiahene-Gyamfi (1998) reports that armed robbery or brigandage has been with us long before the country attained independence from the British colonial masters. He however concedes that:

The trends and patterns of pre-colonial robbery require an in-depth and painstaking study, since literature or ethnographic materials on crime and deviance in pre-colonial Ghana do not exist" (Appiah-Gyamfi 1998, p. 413)

On the basis of oral tradition and recorded history, he further asserts that the pre-colonial robber operated in an environment that was fraught with feudal wars and conflicts over land, food, cattle and clothes. On other

occasions, people fought for mineral resources, extension of kingdoms and also in order to secure trade routes. According to Appiahene-Gyamfi (1998), these wars were a source of livelihood and encouraged brigandage. The economic gains made out of these criminal acts included acquisition of livestock, arable lands, food and other valuables. Robbery was therefore primarily, a survival or instrumental crime and the potential targets were many.

The first Criminal Code introduced in the Gold Coast by the British in 1892 defined robbery in the sections 149 and 150. Whether by design or accident, the 1960 post independent Criminal code of Ghana also captures robbery in the sections 149 and 150 of the Code (Appiahene-Gyamfi, 1998).

According to the code:

A robber is a person who steals a thing is guilty of robbery if for the purpose of stealing the thing, he (sic) uses any force or causes any harm to any person, or if he (sic) uses threat of criminal assault or harm to any person, with the intent thereby to prevent and overcome the resistance of that or any other person to the stealing of the thing (Gold Coast Criminal Code 1892: Sec. 150 as cited in Appiahene-Gyamfi, 1998).

It may be right for one to conjecture that the insertion of robbery in the first criminal code of the land might have been as a result of sheer tradition of making sure that laws in the colonies were akin to that of the colonial authorities. One could also state with some degree of certainty that the inclusion of robbery in the code was a firm manifestation that even as far back

as the later part of the 19th century, robbery was a bane in the social life of the people of the Gold Coast thereby, making the British colonial rulers legislate on it. Its retention in the post-independence criminal code of the Gold Coast also implies that the phenomenon of robbery did not abate with the ushering in of independence.

The post-independence robbery trend has not been anything better than before. Attafuah (2008) has reported that “armed robbery has always been a serious problem in post-independence Ghana” (p.4). In his pioneering work on crime trends in Ghana, Nortey (1977), writing on the increasing crime rate, especially for robbery, burglary and other violent crime, posited that the trend was:

Due to the political and economic conditions then existing in the country...an increase in the number of crimes of violence due to political instability which characterised party political activities immediately after the attainment of independence, the government ordered the arrest and detention of all known recidivists who were alleged to have been used as tools by the opposition parties in the terrorists campaign. This had the unintended effect of reducing the number of robbery, housebreaking, etc., between 1961 and 1966. When these persons were released after the overthrow of Nkrumah's regime in 1966, the incidence of robbery, etc., increased (p. 111-112).

Nortey's exposition points to the fact that the problem of robbery remained a bother even in the post-independence era. According to Twumasi (1982), robbery was categorised as a second degree felony in the 1960

Criminal Code. However, the act was amended in 1963 and robbery became first degree felony which means that the violation of the act carries a maximum sentence of life imprisonment. This is far severer than the ten years maximum sentence that a second degree felony carries. In a sense, this change in sentencing policy might have been as a result of the need to make sanction for commission of robbery more punitive to deter potential culprits.

Twumasi (1982) further notes that after the 1966 coup that deposed the Nkrumah's regime, robbery assumed such an alarming rate that it forced the coup makers to create special courts to expedite the trial of armed robbery cases. History again shows that in 1972, the National Redemption Council (NRC) headed by Col. I. K. Acheampong did not have it easy either. The increasing spate of robbery during his regime forced him to institute more punitive measures to deal with robbery. The Suppression of Robbery Decree (No 11 of 1972) was therefore promulgated. The decree made commission of robbery punishable by death or life imprisonment. The law stated that any person found to have committed robbery involving the death of another person will suffer death for the crime.

In addition, the High Court and the circuit court were mandated to try robbery cases summarily. This means, the case could be tried without assessors or jurors (Twumasi, 1982). The evidence so far gleaned from the literature affirms that Ghana's history has been dotted with high robbery cases and almost every administration after the Nkrumah's government has faced this problem. In attempts to deal with robbery problem, these governments have tried various strategies and methods to resolve the problem. These include the promulgation of more punitive and stiffer punishment for robbery.

During the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) and Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) eras for example, some robbers were killed by firing squad in the full-glare of citizens at the Teshie shooting range in an effort to deter people from committing robbery.

Oral history has it that robbery started featuring intermittently in national discourse immediately after Ghana gained its independence from the British Colonial administration. Yet the spate of robbery at that period comes nowhere near the current rate of armed robbery confronting the country.

Definition of Robbery

Robbery is considered one of the major violent crimes in Ghana. It is categorized in most legal jurisdictions under violent crimes. The Criminal Code of Ghana (Amended) Act, 2003 (ACT, 646) places robbery under offences against the Rights of Property, which implies that robbery is a property crime. Sections 149 and 150 specially define and explain what robbery means in respect of the jurisdiction of Ghana. Act 150 states that any person who steals a thing is guilty of robbery if for the purpose of stealing the thing he/she uses force or cause any harm to any person, or if he uses any threat or criminal assault or harm.

Robbery is considered to be one of the most serious crimes by the police. This is because robbery is not just a property crime but also a crime against the person, and a crime that might result in personal injury or harm. Robbery is defined as “the illegal taking of something of value from the control, custody, or person of another by threatening, putting in fear, or using force” (Swanson, Chamelin & Territo, 2012, p. 437). The use or threat of force must be such that it would make a reasonable person fearful. Because robbery

involves a face-to-face encounter between the perpetrator and the victim, the plausibility for violence is always present and, when it occurs, it may range from minor injury to death. The public dread for robbery is sometimes heightened by perceptions of the police's inability to deal effectively with this crime.

Criminologists and other legal luminaries such as Reid (2013) shares the view that it is sometimes difficult to draw a line between common theft and robbery. Thus, some define robbery according to the degree of force used or threatened. For instance, some may define armed robbery—robbery with a weapon—as a more serious crime than robbery without a weapon. A weapon in this sense is any object used in fighting. Therefore, a weapon is defined in many ways and does not necessarily mean a gun, a knife or some other dangerous instruments. It includes all items that can be used to cause harm or that can be adapted to cause harm or injury. Most robberies that take place on the streets are in the form of strong-armed robbery—also referred to as mugging—in which no weapons are involved and in which the robbers physically attack and sometimes beat the victims, taking cash, jewellery, wallet, wristwatches and other valuables.

In all, robbery basically consists of the following elements: taking and carrying away of the personal property of another with the intent to deprive him/her permanently, by the use of force, fear or threat of force. The property taken in robbery must be taken illegally by the robber. This illegal taking is normally called trespassing in legal parlance. Once the element of taking is satisfied, the prosecution must also show evidence of carrying away the property. This can be simple satisfied by showing that the robber removed the

articles from the original position it occupied. It is not necessary to show that any great distance was involved in the carrying away. In addition, the object of robbery should be a personal property that is, the property should be rightful property of another person other than the robber (Swanson, Chamelin & Territo, 2012, p. 432).

Robbery is said to be a crime of specific intent and requires clear evidence that the robber at the time of taking the property by force, or by threat of force from the victim's presence and intended to deprive the victim of the use and enjoyment of that property permanently. Finally, robbery demands that the force or threat of force is directed against the physical safety of the victim rather than his or her social wellbeing (Swanson et al, 2012).

Robbery as a Property Crime

Robbery as a property crime is assumed by criminologists to be relatively rational and a calculated act (Matthews, 2012; Conklin, 1972; Wright & Decker, 2002). Among the main objectives for any robbery is the acquisition of money, preferably in the form of cash. However, money has a number of different meanings and uses to different types of robbers. For many amateurs, money provides the means to buy essentials, to pay off debts or finance a drug habit. Alternatively, the professional and intermediate robbers rob in order to get money to finance both legitimate and illegal business activities as well as to deal in drugs or other commodities (Matthew, 2012).

For some robbers, their aim is to earn the money and 'burn' it. The money they rob is not meant for savings or investment but for spending. Such robbers rob on regular basis, as they are continuously broke. Amongst the professional robbers, money has somewhat other significance. The amount of

money taken is a mark of status and is required to take care of the economic pressure and support an appropriate lifestyle. Nevertheless, some of the money taken is reinvested in other ventures especially drug dealing (Matthews, 2012). In another study conducted in Oakland, California, two thirds of the robbers gave the acquisition of money as their reason for the crime. Yet, such quest for money differs from one robber to another. Adult offenders mentioned the monetary motive much more often than juvenile offenders (74 percent of adults as against 45 percent of juvenile) did. In another research conducted in Boston-USA, adult robbers showed more monetary ambition than juveniles did (Thio, 2001).

Robbery as a Violent Crime

According to Thio (2001), the element of violence in robbery can be examined from two points. Firstly, it has element of actual violence, and secondly, element of potential violence. The use of both actual and potential violence has the goal of gaining control over the victim and averts potential resistance from the victim. In the Oakland study, sixty-six percent (66%) of unarmed robbery victims, compared to only seventeen percent (17%) of armed-robbery victims were maimed. Thio (2001) explains that physical force can be used as a personal weapon and can function in an equally threatening way as a knife or pistol.

In addition, a couple of studies have found that the characteristics of offenders have links with the use of violence. Juveniles have been found to more likely harm their victims. As Conklin (1972) found in his study of the Boston robbers, thirty-two percent (32%) of all juvenile offenders injured their victims while only fifteen percent (15%) of adults inflicted injury on their

victims. Finally, the offenders' perception of a victim's resistance seems to be related to the use of violence in robbery. Guns and other weapons are as a result used as a symbol of power, and it is believed to give the robbers a feeling of manliness to control and command others to do their will (Thio, 2001).

Types of Robbery and Robbers

Various types of robbery are recognised by criminologists. They include armed robbery and strong-armed robbery or mugging. This categorisation is based on how the act is conducted. Armed robbery implies that the robber wields a weapon which he/she uses to intimidate, harm or threaten the victim. Weapons such as guns, knives and any tool can be used. On the other hand, with mugging, no weapons are used. The offender physically attacks the victim suddenly and takes the victim's purse or jewellery with force. This normally takes place on the street or public places (Swanson, et al, 2012). This type of robbery is mostly opportunistic because the suspect just chances on some opportunity and takes advantage of it. It depends entirely on the element of surprise. Another classification of robbery is based on where the robbery takes place. The Police Service has four classifications namely, street robbery--which normally takes place in the public areas and on the streets--there is also residential robberies which take place in people's resident or their places of abode. The third category is workplace robberies. It normally occurs at industrial areas and the business districts. The fourth category is the highway robbery which also occurs in the remote areas of the country on the roads linking the various regions. Ashanti region leads in the incidence of highway robbery (Ghana Police, 2017).

It cannot be denied that differences exist among various groups of robbers. Such differences may be built around target selection, motivation, weapons used, deployment of violence and the amount stolen (Matthews, 2012). Even though such differences among the groups may not be clear-cut, they are still relevant for understanding the motivations for robbery, creating realistic policies and appreciation of the extent of the robbery crimes. Some criminologists have tried to categorise robbers into different classificatory systems even though such typologies come with their own difficulties and complexities because of the different conceptualization of the act and sometimes the political colourisation that the crime is made to assume.

The current review is relevant for the study because the classification may give us cues in terms of how specific typology or group must be handled or studied. Some classify robbers based on their experience, others on the motivation, and others look at the mode of operation of the criminals. Conklin (1972) developed a typology of robbers based on interviews he conducted with 67 incarcerated offenders and 90 victims in a Massachusetts prison. He grouped the robbers into four categories based on their motivations for the crime, the method or technique used and level of individual commitment to robbery.

The first typology Conklin identified was the professional robber whom he described as having long term commitment to robbery, engages in careful planning and involves other accomplices who carry out different roles during the actual robbery operation (Thio, 2001). The professional robbers often make away with large sums of money and carry loaded firearms during the robbery operation. They also use the money they obtain from robbery to

support their hedonistic lifestyle (Dunn, 1976). They have a strong commitment to robbery because it is their major source of livelihood.

The second type he identified was opportunistic robbers, whom according to Conklin (1972), engage in robbery in a random fashion and choose very vulnerable targets such as people who are alone and carrying money. They also commit other forms of crime such as larceny. These types of robbers, Conklin asserts, are the most common and they often come from lower-class backgrounds (Dunn, 1976). For this type of robbers, victim's easy accessibility is more important than the amount of money likely to be obtained from the act (Thio, 2001).

The addict robbers are the third category and he described them as those with substance abuse problems who need money in order to cater for the next fix of drug. Thus, they commit robbery mainly to finance their drug addiction problem. They have low commitment to robbery as a means of livelihood or to obtain money. They occasionally resort to some planning and use of weapons. According to Thio (2001), because of their drug abuse habits, the addict robbers commit more property crimes than the opportunist robber and they are more likely to use firearms than physical force to overpower the victim.

The fourth category identified by Conklin was the alcoholic robbers. He described them as the least likely to engage in robbery and the most likely to be apprehended. They normally do not plan the act; they may again rob because of intoxication with alcohol or get into a fistfight, assault the victim and then commit robbery as an afterthought. While this typology is useful in giving indications about the motivations, *modus operandi* and the

characteristics of robbers, Conklin could not establish in his sample, the distribution of each type of robber. Gabor, Baril, Cusson Leblanc and Normadeau (1987), on the other hand developed an elaborative typology of robbers which are the chronic robber, professional intensive robber and the occasional robber.

Thio (2001) has grouped robbers in two main types: the amateur robber and the professional robber. The amateur robbers, he noted, are mostly young people who often commit robbery for small amounts of money without much planning. They are therefore prone to arrest. He stressed that the types of robbers described by Conklin as opportunist robbers, addict robbers and alcoholic robbers are all amateur robbers. The professional robbers on the other hand are more strategic in planning the robbery and are selective in their choice of targets. They may execute the robbery alone or do it in concert with other criminals. They have strong commitment to robbery because it is a means of livelihood to them. Thus, they seek targets that would yield large sums of money in order to support their “expensive hedonistic lifestyle” (Thio, 2001 p. 356). The professional robbers sometimes see their criminal enterprise as genuine business and according Irwin (1970), rationalize these crimes by saying the firms or institution they rob are also thieves because they cheat their customers. Interviews with robbers in the Nsawam Medium Security Prisons in 2002 confirmed the point that robbers sometimes do not regret their criminal acts but they rather find a way of neutralizing its effects of justifying it (Akonor, 2007; Thio, 2001; Irwin, 1970).

Matthews (2012) developed a three-prong classification of the amateur, intermediate and the professional/persistent robber in his study of

armed robbery in Britain. The amateur robbers constituted the largest group of commercial robbers. According to Matthews, they are “novices” who engage in robbery with very little or no planning and sometimes oblivious of the consequences of their actions (p. 24). In most cases, they engage in robbery as an act of desperation and frustration characterized by poor planning and organization. These robbers commit robbery as a matter of necessity. That is, for instrumental purposes--sometimes to get money to pay debt or to secure drugs. He noted that half of the amateurs in the prison sample that he studied committed the crime while they were under the influence of drugs or alcohol. They mostly select accessible targets and aim at small amounts of money (Matthews, 2012).

The intermediate robbers were described as those who were more experienced and organized than the amateur robbers. However, they are less dedicated to robbery than the professionals. They constituted 25% of the sample that were interviewed. They engage in some level of planning and have a history of been involved in other criminal activities. Although they may carry weapons, they are less involved in drug use. Matthews (2012) further indicated that this type of robbers is further divided into two--the diversifiers and the developers. The diversifiers were those who believe they were in transition of becoming more experienced and masters of the act. They sporadically commit robbery in addition to other crimes like burglary and car theft or even drug peddling. Because of their involvement in other crimes, the intermediate robbers tend to see themselves as general-purpose criminals who are eager to commit robbery as and when opportunity arises (Matthews, 2012)

Matthew (2012) has further hinted that the major difference between the professional robbers and other types of robbers is in their level of planning, choice of targets, the use of lethal weapons and the level of violence they are willing to use. The professionals normally work with other criminals in executing their criminal activities and could spend weeks in planning the robbery. Because they are detailed in their planning and organization, they tend to aim at very lucrative targets. For the professional and the persistent robber, robbery is “a means of livelihood and a “way of life... armed robbery is woven directly into the fabric of their daily life” (Matthews, 2012, p. 28).

Robbers' Profile and their Motivation

From the evidence so far gathered, there seem to be two main types of robbers: the amateur/opportunist and the professional/persistent robber. The amateurs are the largest group of robbers. They are not sophisticated, they target small amounts of money and they tend to operate alone. The professionals are educated and meticulous in conducting the robbery operation. They may use firearms (Matthew, 2012). They are more likely to rob commercial facilities. The amount of planning into the act depends on whether the robber is an amateur or a professional. Professionals may spend several weeks planning a robbery. They also spend a lot of time to organise, disguise and design escape plans (Willis, 2006).

The vast majority of robbers come from the slums, shanty towns and impoverished background. According to crime reports, almost 90 percent of those arrested and convicted of robbery are males. Records from the Ghana Prisons Service show that about 99 percent of all those convicted of robbery are males (Ghana Prison Service Annual Report, 2014). Most of the females

who are apprehended with other male robbers are mostly accomplices or partners/girlfriends of the male suspect. According to Matthew (2012), the most significant characteristics of the sample he studied was that, they were all males.

Most robbers assessed in various studies (Willis, 2001; Adler et. al., 2010 & Matthew, 2012) had poor educational attainment or low educational achievements. Most of these suspected robbers are also relatively young in age with the majority below age 30. As a result of their poor educational attainment, most of them also have little or no employable skills (Walse, 1986; Morrison & O' Donnel, 1994). Kapardis (1988) studied one hundred convicted robbers in Melbourne and found out that about 91 percent of the offenders dropped out of school before age 16. Nugent, Burns, Wilson & Chapple (1989) also had a similar finding. The National Research Council had observed that large percentage of crimes is committed by young people. The offending trajectories of all identified groups of criminals tend to decline sharply with age.

In a study a conducted by Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research [BOCSAR](1987), only 3 percent of robberies included female offenders. Female only robbery offenders were unknown until a recent case in Kumasi in the Ashanti Region, where four young ladies robbed a taxi driver of his money and other valuables. This story created apprehension among the general population and even shocked the police because female criminality of such an extent was deemed a serious abrasion of social norms. The involvement in robbery is mostly a sign of progression into criminality. According to Willis (2006), armed robbers are believed to have “graduated” from petty crimes to

robbery. This is after they have experimented with other forms of non-violent crimes such as burglary and larceny (Kerpartei, 1988; Nugent et. al., 1989 and Gill, 2000). It has been observed that most of his respondents have had a history of being involved in different forms of crime such as theft, burglary and drugs before they got involved in robbery (Matthew, 2012).

For Matthew (2012), the decision to engage in robbery involves one's ability to overcome "certain moral constraints" (p. 39). This is because the act of robbery involves moral choices and not only a response to economic pressure or other forms of inducements. According to Sykes and Matze (1961), the process of becoming a criminal involves a learning experience in which the potential criminal masters the techniques that enable them to "counterbalance or neutralise" conventional values. These neutralization techniques enable them to temporarily drift away from the rules and participate in the criminality (Siegel, 2016). The employment of neutralisation such as "it's not their money", "banks exploit people" are rife among robbers. The use of violence is rationalised as being caused by the victims. If they had cooperated with the offender, they would not have been harmed.

Feeney (1986) acknowledges that the decision to commit robbery is a complex one built around the victim's whole past experiences and the future. For a good number of robbers, the main motive to commit robbery falls into two. Firstly, a number of robbers are motivated by need to obtain regular income, to support family members, children, pay utility bills and for personal upkeep. That is, robbery serves an instrumental function to their lives. It is a means to an end. It is a means to earn the goods and services that are considered basic and legitimate for survival (Willis, 2006).

Secondly, for others, they rob in order to support a particular lifestyle they are living. This includes drugs and alcohol use, and for others the desire to live an opulence lifestyle, show-offs and gambling. Thio (2001) says that the decision to rob is based on the desire for money. Matthew (2012, p. 32) also hinted that the main objective or motivation for robbery is the “acquisition of money, preferably in the form of cash”. Money, as has been noted could be used to support both legitimate and illegal business. Some psychiatrists have asserted that armed robbers are virtually abnormal people, who suffer from a sense of inadequacy and failure. Therefore, they commit robbery with weapon as a way of seeking self-adequacy and power. Gabor, Baril, Leblanc and Normandeau (1987) have reported interviews with robbers where one of the participants hinted “When I have a gun in my hands, nothing can stop me. It makes me feel important and strong. With a revolver, you are somebody”. Although it cannot be gainsaid that the psycho-social tendency to commit robbery is real, money is still the ultimate, it comes before other reasons in the majority of cases (Matthew, 2012).

Greater number of robbers list money for drugs and other stuffs, and unemployment as the motivating factors for their criminal behaviour (Feeney 1986; Nugent et. al 1989; Gill, 2000). Money according to Matthew (2012) has different importance for robbers. For some robbers, the amount of money one succeeds in taking defines the status of the robbery.

Target Selection

Built into robbers’ quest for money is the selection of target. Target selection according to Thio (2001) is based on two factors. First, the value of the money likely to be obtained from the target--the lucrative nature of the

target--banks, fuel stations, market women en-route to purchase their goods and places where large sums of money are kept. This makes an individual who keeps large sums of money a potential target for robbers. There are many instances where people who had large sums of money were stalked from banks and airport by robbers and got them robbed. The second factor is the risk of apprehension. That is why robbers normally choose isolated buildings or houses, where the population is not dense, where they can easily flee and avoid central business districts.

Rational Robber

The notion of robbers being rational has not been fully exhausted. There are still disagreements about the extent of rationality demonstrated by robbers. While some criminologists support the idea of rational robber, others have refuted such notion of a rational robber. By a rational robber, the robber is depicted as rational agents operating according to the utilitarian cost-benefit principles. According to Cornish and Clarke (1986) who have been credited with modern rational choice theory, an individual commits crime after he or she has weighed the risk/cost and benefits associated with the crime. A number of writers (Conklin, 1972; Thio, 2001) have identified the decision to engage in robbery, the selection of target and the carrying of weapons and firearms as indicative of the rational decision on the part of robbers, and planning of how to execute the crime as manifestations of rationality. While amateur robbers are believed to commit robbery on the spur of movement, the more professional ones may take weeks to plan and thoroughly research the target. Thio (2001) concludes that robbery is “relatively rational and calculated as such, it involved making rational decisions” (pg. 355).

But Matthew (2012) and Tunnel (1990) disagree with the notion of rational robber. To Matthew (2012), the active pursuit of risk and danger is the most difficult aspect of robbery the rational choice theory needs to explain. Tunnel (1990) has observed that most robbers do not think or calculate the possible consequences of their criminal behaviour. They normally think of the anticipated positive benefits instead of the negative effects. They think about the money they may acquire. Matthew (2012) believes at best, robbers employ contingent rationalities (situational) and make decisions based on the robber's knowledge, experience and culture. Feeney and Weir (1975) reported that over half of the robbers they interviewed in prison reported no planning of the crime. Gabor, Baril, Elie, Leblance and Normandeau. (1987) observed that one in five of armed robberies committed by their respondents were not planned.

Weapon use and the Deployment of Violence

The deployment of violence in robbery and the attitude of robbers towards victims is one aspect of robbery that makes the crime dreaded among the citizens. According to Thio (2001), these are two phases of robbery as a violent crime. One involves the actual use of violence and the other entails plausible use of violence. He stressed that unarmed robbery is more likely to result in violence or injury to the victims because the suspect would have to use actual violence to subdue or get the victim to surrender his or her property. In a study by Feeney and Weir (1975), 66 percent of victims of unarmed robbery as compared to 17 percent of armed robbery victims were injured. The unarmed robberies are said to be more dangerous because victims are more likely to resist, even though armed robberies are more likely to result in the

victim's death. According to Attafuah (2008), the robber is ever ready to kill if he deems it necessary.

According to Matthew (2012, p. 36), robbers use "violence in order to impose control" or gain control over the victim. The use of violence has been found to be based on how victims behave during the robbery. Those who follow the instructions and commands of the robber and cooperate with the robbers are more likely to be spared the violence and potential injury if the suspect believes the interaction has been "frank and fair". Thus the use of violence is contingent on the nature of interactions between the robber and the victim (Attafuah, 2008). Robbers see defiance and attempt to resist (especially in commercial robberies) by victim as stupid and irrational because the money at stake is not theirs, thus they were not justified in their intervention efforts or resistance (Matthew, 2002).

Gill (2000) has observed that some robbers in the United Kingdom (UK) use "physical violence gratuitously" as a means of intimidation. However, the majority of robbers avoid the use of violence because it is considered undesirable. The use of violence is believed to be contingent on the type of offender--amateur or professional--and has also been observed to be relational and not situational as postulated by the rational choice theory (Shalom, 1997). It depends on the victim's ability to negotiate the outcomes with the robbers (Attafuah, 2008). He noted further that whether force or violence will be used is tied to the robbers' interpretations of the victim's "motives, words, gestures and other symbols"(p. 109). Thus, the deployment of violence in armed robberies is not necessarily on the offender's inclination only, but also contingent on the reactions of victims and the bystanders. The

resistance by victims and attempts by bystanders to intervene in the process has been identified to increase the chances of violence that may be deployed by the robber (Gador, et al., 1987; Wright & Decker, 2002; Mouzos & Borzcki, 2003; Matthew, 2012).

The manifestation of violence in robbery in Ghana and Nigeria can be extreme. For example, in one robbery incidence in Kastina State, Ala local government area in Nigeria, 13 people were killed in the attack (retrieved from/ www.yen.com.gh, retrieved 05/11/16). In September 2015, four traders were killed in armed robbery attack on the Gushegu-Kalaga road in the Northern Region of Ghana. Six others sustained various degrees of injuries in the attack. Not only have robbers been killing innocent civilians, they have also been killing police officers. In one such incidence, a police officer stationed at Bimbilla in the Northern Region of Ghana, was shot in the rib by armed robbers believed to be of Fulani decent. It was reported that the deceased tried to hide money in his pants. Unfortunately, one of the robbers saw him, took the money out of the pants and shot him (retrieved from www.ghanaweb.com; retrieved 05/11/16).

There are also some levels of violence deployed by the security agencies in their attempt to deal with the robbery menace. Headlines like “Police kill suspected robbers” commonly hit the media almost every week. The unfortunate aspect is that innocent citizens have also been caught in the crossfire and have had their lives brutally curtailed. The Taifa and Dansoman shooting incidents are still fresh in the memories of most Ghanaians. In these two incidents, about a dozen innocent citizens were shot by the military and the police all in the name fighting robbery. For example, a 33 year old teacher

who responded to a distress call to assist a colleague who had been attacked by robbers was killed by police officers who mistook him for a robber (retrieved from: citifm online.com/05/11/17). Men in uniform have not been spared in these reckless and needless killings. In September 2013, two police officers met their untimely death at Gomoa Pomadze near Winneba in the Central Region of Ghana when they were shot by another police officer who again mistook them to be armed robbers. The point of the fact is that the level of violence associated with robbery in Ghana is enormous. Some observers have hinted that the level of violence associated with robbery is due to the way and manner the police has deployed violence in addressing the robbery problem. In 2009, when the late president John E. Atta Mills took over the presidency, he gave support to the shoot and kill mantra. This, some believe, emboldened the police in their use of force and violence.

Not only do robbers physically maim their victims, they also sexually assault the victims. While Attafuah (2008) acknowledges that rape may occur sometimes together with robbery, they do not frequently happen together. However, there are a number of cases where robbers robbed and also raped their victims at gun point. Sadly, some of the robbers who were apprehended by the police were diagnosed with serious sexually transmitted diseases such as AIDS and syphilis. In March 29, 2016, the police arrested a suspect who was alleged to have robbed and raped a police woman and two bankers in the course of the robbery operation at Nungua in Accra (retrieved from www.you.com/9/12/17). Both electronic and print media are replete with such gruesome encounters with robbers in Ghana. This is what makes robbery the dreaded crime in Ghana.

According to Attafuah (2008) “rape is mostly committed by the impulsive, erratic or deviant robbers who lack self-control” (p. 114). He further noted that on some occasions, rape during robbery is part and parcel of the operational strategy of the robbers, deliberately meant to humiliate or punish the man of the house.

Robbery is a serious crime because of the violence and the use of deadly weapons that accompany the crime. The use of weapons such as knives, cutlasses, hammers and firearms are a common phenomenon associated with armed robbery. Weapon in this context does not only imply deadly weapons or firearms. By weapons, the study implies any tool that can be used or adopted to cause harm or instil fear in victims. The type of firearms which has been found to be used often in robbery in Ghana includes pistols, revolvers, locally manufactured pistol, pump action guns or shotgun and the dreaded AK 47 assault rifle. Robbers are more likely to use firearms in commercial robberies. The reason, as has already been alluded to is to put fear in the victims or force them to comply with their demands (Nugent et al., 1989, Mouzos & Borzycki, 2003).

John Conklin (1972) has asserted that weapons served four instrumental functions in the process of carrying out robbery. Weapons help to create a buffer zone between the offender and the victim. In addition, the weapon is used to intimidate the victims. If the attempt to intimidate fails, the robber may be compelled to use the weapon. Finally, the weapon is used to prevent bystanders, police, victim and witnesses from interfering with the robbers' escape. Some robbers believe that without a weapon, the victims may not comply or may prove stubborn (Luckenbill, 1981). According to Cornish

and Clarke (1986), Morrison and O'Donnel (1994) physical injuries are mostly likely to occur in cases where the victims resist the robbers. Blackman (1985) had posited that robbers obtain weapons, especially guns from sources that are hard-to-regulate. In Ghana, the craft and sale of locally manufactured guns are illegal, yet it is believed there are over six hundred gunsmiths scattered all over the country (Prah & Akonor, 2008). Some of the weapons that have been used for robbery, especially AK-47 assault rifles were obtained from corrupt security men, especially the police; others were stolen from the security services.

The Concept of Crime Prevention and Control

One area of key concern to modern day states is the need to bring to the barest minimum the incidents of crime and its effects on the society. The quest to reduce the rate of criminal victimisation and its consequential effects has always featured prominently in Ghana's political discourse. It is out of this concern and the need to help member countries improve the crime situations in their respective countries that UN's Economic and Social Council in 1995 and in 2002 adopted the guidelines on crime prevention. Based on research and practical experiences from many different regions and countries, the concept of prevention has shown that:

Well-planned crime prevention strategies not only prevent crime and victimization, but also promote community safety and contribute to the sustainable development of countries (UNODC, p 9, 2010).

This makes it imperative for member countries to put in place effective and responsible crime prevention mechanisms in order to enhance the quality

of its citizens' life (UNODC, 2010). The report further intimates that crime control measures have both short and long term benefits to the states in that it reduces the cost associated with using the criminal justice system and other social cost borne out of crime control. Crime prevention measures allow for a humane and more cost-effective approach to the problems of crime (UNODC, 2010).

Crime prevention is one of the major constitutional mandates of Ghana Police Service. Several approaches, techniques methods and strategies are adopted to reduce/control crime. Crime control and prevention are sometimes conceptualized as different but on other occasions seen as similar. This is the case because prevention efforts could lead to control and control efforts could also result in crime prevention. The term crime prevention is wider in scope, referring to all the strategies and tactics that are employed to deal with crime, while it might involve the police and criminal justice institutions, they may also be contingent on the physical and social character of local community (Van Dijk & De Waard, 1991).

Crime prevention and prevention of robbery are major goals of various governments and agencies within the criminal justice system. One can firmly say that the whole criminal justice establishment is part of an overall strategy to prevent crime through the legal sanctions it may impose on criminals and the threat of criminal sanction to potential offenders (Sacco & Kennedy, 2010). According to the UN guideline on crime prevention:

Crime prevention comprises strategies and measures that seek to reduce the risk of crimes occurring, and their potential harmful effects on individuals and society, including fear of crime,

by intervening to influence their multiple causes
(UNODC, p.4 2002).

The core principle behind prevention is adoption of multiple strategies to avert the risk of crime and its harmful effects on victims. The spirit behind prevention is more proactive approach--removing elements in society that have the potential to result to full blown criminal events. Even though, the guidelines note that the enforcement of laws, sentences and corrections also perform important preventive functions, it is not captured under the guidelines, because it has been given a comprehensive coverage in other United Nations instruments (UNODC, 2002)

The UN conceptual model on crime puts crime prevention at the doorstep of government. It notes that, it is the prime duty of all levels of government to create, maintain and promote a context within which relevant governmental institutions and all segments of civil society, including the corporate sector, can better play their part in preventing crime. This implies that crime prevention should not only be envisaged and dealt with at the national level, but sub-governmental bodies such as the regions, metropolitan, municipal and district assemblies should also have a role to play in the crime prevention scheme. The guidelines demand that governments ensure a “permanent place for crime prevention in their structures and programmes” (UNODC, 20110 p. 30). It has to provide the leadership and coordination between relevant government agencies and departments. Partnership is also considered a *sine qua non* to effective crime control. Thus government needs to foster partnership with civil society organisations, non- governmental organisations, professional bodies, business entities and all other stakeholders.

A key concern with government's role in crime prevention is the establishment of a permanent central authority tasked with the implementation of the crime prevention policy. Countries such as Canada, Chile, Sweden and Australia have permanent central national crime prevention agencies and have also passed laws to give these bodies the legal backing to operate. Chile's National Public Safety Strategy was established in 2006 within the Ministry of Interior and works in close collaboration with the education, labour, justice and the defence ministries (retrieved from: www.seguridadciudadana.gob.cl/17/09/2017). Within the context defined by the various states and their legal regimes, state or provincial governments in collaboration with the central authority are also mandated to put in place crime prevention programmes. It has been noted that countries and states need to tailor and adopt crime control measures congenial to their local conditions or situations. Shear replications of programmes according to the UNODC do not work because of differences in social "settings and constraints" (UNODC, 2010, p. 5).

The Basic Principles Underlying the Guidelines for Crime prevention

The UN Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime (2010) has eight core principles that must guide all crime prevention and control strategies. The principles are summed up as follows:

The first principle is government leadership in the crime prevention in their respective countries. All levels of governments are encouraged to play a leadership role in developing effective and beneficent crime prevention measures. Governments are also mandated to create and maintain the institutional frameworks for their implementation and review of the prevention strategies. The guidelines emphasizes that all governments should ensure that

there is a permanent central authority to spearhead the crime prevention efforts and have a crime prevention plan with clear priorities and targets. Countries like Canada, Chile, Germany, Australia and South Africa have all developed the permanent central authorities with the crime prevention responsibilities. Canada for example adopted the approach in 1994. The National Crime Prevention Centre is hosted by the Ministry of Public Safety and focuses on youth and gang related crimes. (Retrieved from <http://www.canada.ca/en/public-safety-canada.news/2018/05/08>)

Secondly, the guideline proposes socio-economic development and inclusion as means to prevent crime. Crime prevention considerations should be integrated into all relevant social and economic policies and programmes of government, including those that address employment, education, health, housing and urban planning, poverty, social marginalization and exclusion concerns. Particular emphasis should be placed on communities, families, children and youth at risk. In all, government should integrate crime prevention measures in all socio-economic programmes in that such programmes can ameliorate the crime situation in a country.

Thirdly, no single entity can solve all the crime problem of a country because the cause of crime is multifaceted. Therefore, cooperation/partnerships should be an integral part of effective crime prevention. Given the wide-ranging nature of the causes of crime and the skills and responsibilities required to address them, it behoves on duty bearers to bring on board all institutions and agencies that can play a meaningful role in solving the crime problem. This includes partnerships and working across ministries, departments and between authorities, community organizations,

non-governmental organizations, the business sector and private citizens. Such partnership should have clear mission. There should be trust among the partners, clear leadership structures and well-spelt out line of communications among the partners (Gilling, 2005).

Fourthly, issues about sustainability and accountability should not evade the attentions of those who seek to prevent or control crime. First, crime prevention requires adequate resources, including funding for structures and activities. Without dedicated budgetary support, programmes and activities mapped out to deal with crime cannot be implemented. Also, measures must be put in place to ensure that there is clear accountability for funding, implementation and evaluation, and for the achievement of planned results.

Fifthly, crime prevention strategies, policies, programmes and actions should be based on a broad multidisciplinary foundation of knowledge about crime problems, their multiple causes and promising and proven practices. It should be anchored on knowledge about the current crime situation and the multiple causes of crime and the potential preventive strategies, in order to select the right intervention, and it is important to consider policies and programmes that are already in place to enable one select the best option. This requires data which have been gathered from different sources. Effective crime control has observed that information on populations and housing, health profile data and victimisation data has been used in Latin America to reduce armed violence (OECD, 2009).

Sixthly, crime prevention and control should be a recipe for police state type of tactics and operational strategies. Effective crime prevention programme should be based on democratic principles and promote the rule of

law, human rights and due procedure which are recognized in international instruments to which Member States are parties and must be respected in all aspects of crime prevention. A culture of lawfulness should be actively promoted in crime prevention. Crime prevention should not be the basis for ruthlessness and repression of civil liberties and rights.

Seven, national crime prevention diagnoses and strategies should, where appropriate, take account of links between local criminal problems and international organized crime.

Eight, crime prevention strategies should, when appropriate, pay due regard to the different needs of men and women and consider the special needs of vulnerable members of society. Crime prevention measures have the potential of impacting some segments of the society.

Responses to Crime and Police Operational Strategies

Several models have been put forward by criminologists and criminal justice experts on how to address the problem of crime. Among them is the get-tough approach which involves hiring more police, handing down longer sentences and building more prisons (Sacco & Kennedy, 2010). Another is the public health and public safety approach which seeks to prevent crime through the institution of crime prevention measures. They include programmes that teach risk-reducing skills to large audience (Sacco & Silverman, 1982; Davis & Smith, 1994). The opportunity reduction approach is another model that focuses on how social and environmental factors could be harnessed to reduce criminal opportunity. Crime prevention through social development is another method espoused in modern day democracies. The method seeks to correct the criminogenic conditions such as poverty, lack of functional education and

employment that are assumed to be the root cause of crime. The last method is the Community-Based Policing strategy which is a type of policing that seeks to bring policing service close to those who need them and to resolve community problems.

The Get-Tough Approach

This approach to crime control is based on the rational choice philosophy which believes that criminals are rational people who always evaluate the cost and the benefit of crime before they commit it. Therefore, society should make sure that the cost/punishment of crime always outweighs the benefits that will be derived. In view of this, most people think that the best solution to crime is hiring of more police officers, handing down punitive sentences, building more correctional facilities or prisons and being hard on robbers even if it means shooting-to-kill (Sacco & Kennedy, 2010). In line with this approach, the Ghana Police Service has been increasing its numbers since 2000. For example, the staff strength of the service was increased from 23, 204 to 30, 635 in 2014. The police-population ratio has also improved from 1: 976 in 2011 to 1:777 in 2015. This is still far below the UN standard of 1:500.

This has led to increased police visibility and accessibility which is considered by the police as key to crime control. The police service has been equipped with new vehicles to help them in their crime prevention and control efforts.

In recent times, the Ghana Police Service has been tough on robbers by using greater fire power-AK 47 assault rifles. The assumption is that the rules of engagement have changed in respect to fighting robbery so the police

should also change their tactics. It is not uncommon for one to read from the print media headlines such as “Police gun down four armed robbers in Accra”

According to news report:

Gun battle between armed robbers and the police at Abossey Okai records two deaths with several others severely injured The armed robbers had robbed a Forex Bureau at Abossey-Okai escaping with a large sum of money The armed robbers, who robbed a Forex Bureau at Abossey Okai were seen firing into a crowd at the popular spare parts hub after an alarm was raised by the Forex Bureau attendant- a development which made the robbers shoot and kill the attendant and escape with an unidentified amount of money(retrieved from <https://yen.com.gh/41213-gun-battle-robbers-police-abossey-okine-kills-two-injures-five.html>. 12/02/2017)

There are countless occasions that the police themselves have also come under attacks and shot dead by suspected robbers. A case in point is the killing of a police officer during a shootout with a gang of robbers at Weija in Accra. Constable Charles Akatta, said to be in his late 30’s, sustained gunshot wounds during a shootout with the gang of robbers (retrieved from <http://www.myjoyonline.com/news/2015/January-7th/police-officer-shot-dead-by-armed-robbers.php>.12/02/2017).

The notion that the rules of the game have changed therefore the police service would have to change its operational strategy is obvious from the cases cited above. The use of “deadly force” have become more common in crime fighting approaches in recent times because it is seen as something that could potentially deter would-be criminals that they will not escape aggression of the

police even if they succeed in extricating themselves from the court process which often is the case in Ghana. The use of deadly force by the police is defined as the force that poses high risk of injury or even death to human targets (Alpert & Smith, 1994)

Some mandatory charging and sentencing have been implemented in some jurisdictions in order to ensure greater certainty of law. This process takes away any form of discretion from criminal justice agents in terms of how to deal with crime. The belief is that the greater certainty of law can lead to greater deterrence (Sacco & Kennedy, 2010). In most recent time, Ghana introduced what was called the nonbailable offences. They included murder, manslaughter, rape, defilement, narcotics and robbery. The law made it mandatory for people who commit these crimes to be kept in jail till their guilt or innocence is determined by a competent court of judicature. In the case of robbery in particular, most police officers complained that when suspects are released on bail, they go on robbery spree or commit more heinous crimes or jump the bail altogether. The law was recently contested in the apex court of the land and the court ruled that the practice of not giving suspects bail was in contravention of the fundamental principles of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana and therefore unconstitutional.

Even though, Ghana has not repealed the death penalty laws from its status books, the actual killing of those condemned to death have not been carried out since the 1980s. Some have called for the implementation of death penalty as the best punishment for those who commit major crimes like robbery.

Some are of the opinion that the criminal justice system is not the best solution to the crime problem in society. When crime cases increase, the normal response by the public is for the police to crack down on criminals by more arrest. However, not all police crackdowns on robbers have been effective. Sometimes these crackdowns generate their own problems for the police. For example, the killing of innocent citizens in the name of crime control can erode police-community relations and trust and may also put undue pressure on police officers to manipulate and distort facts (retrieved from <http://media.law.wisc.edu>. 14/02/17). The get-tough approach or model is closely linked with what is now called the zero-tolerance policing.

Zero-Tolerance Policing

There are always those who believe the crime problem in Ghana is as a result of lack of enforcement of the laws of the land. In fact, it is often said that Ghana does not need new laws but rather we need to enforce the numerous laws that are sitting in the country's statute books. Citizens often chide the police and other criminal justice managers for being too lenient with criminals. The zero-tolerance refers to the strict enforcement of the laws that the police sometimes ignore when exercising their discretionary mandate. It is always assumed by sections of the media and politicians that the core business of policing is fighting crime. This policy is well accorded in the 'crime control' or the professional policing model. Many politicians and the media houses have taken the position that the main business of policing is to fight crime and not to engage humanitarian gestures with criminals (Munch, 2007). Ismaili (2010) has observed that zero tolerance policing is "deployed to impress an audience" (p. 8).

Zero tolerance implies a system of criminal justice that punishes those who violate the law or commit crimes. It also involves severely punishing such petty crimes and other antisocial behaviours. Such a model is believed to be ideal in situations where laws and order has broken down, areas with high crime rates and where officers' safety cannot be guaranteed. The implementation of zero tolerance measures in New York City in the 1990s and in Liverpool is believed to have reduced crime rates in those cities by 30% to 50 %. (retrieved from <https://revisesociology.com-18/zero-tolerance-policing-an-evaluation.18/10/2016>).

Clamping down on minor criminals and criminal activities seem to be effective in preventing criminals from escalating from minor crimes to more serious ones. It is also important to state that police entities that adopt this method of crime control without other alternatives are likely to be mistrusted by the public over time (Ismaili, 2010). For that reason, it prudent for zero-tolerance methods to be time bound for and the need to reduce fear and panic among citizens (Ismaili, 2010).

Zero-tolerance model has some important advantages which includes the fact that it makes citizens and tourists and feel safe to move about because of the belief that the police are there to extricate from the society the least miscreant. The method has been one of the cheaper in comparison with other methods such as community policing and can have immediate and quick impact (retrieved from <https://revisesociology.com//zero-tolerance-policing-an-evaluation.2016/10/18>). Because of its quick results, the model seems to be popular with politicians and other criminal justice personnel.

Despite its obvious advantages, the model has been associated with a couple of challenges. Zero-tolerance can result in police brutalities, human right abuses and racism. In New York, it was observed that about 85% of those arrested under the zero-tolerance were Blacks and Hispanics. It has also been noted by some criminologists and criminal justice experts that the more the police resort to the use of brute force and aggressive policing, the more the agency becomes corrupt (Ismaili, 2010). Finally, it has been asserted that without the adoption of zero-tolerance methods, crime levels can be reduced through other strategies such as target hardening.

Community Policing

Gottfredson and Hirsch (1995) have noted that the ability of the police to control crime is limited because of the spontaneous nature of crime. Therefore, no increase in law enforcement can stop this phenomenon. Koenig (1991) and Bayley (1985) have shown strong evidence that there is no relationship or correlation between police numbers and the level of crime in society. They maintained that in most cases of robberies and burglaries, the offender does not care about the chances of being observed by the police. The offender sees an opportunity and seizes it. Community policing is one of the new approaches to crime prevention that has been implemented in some countries to help reduce crime rate. The United States Department of Justice defines community policing as a philosophy that promotes organizational strategies in the community to combat potential situations that might create public safety issues. Crime, social unrest and fear of crime are all public safety issues that community policing seeks to address (retrieved from: https://cops.usdoj.gov/pdf/vet_to-cops/24/12/2017).

In addition, community policing involves the use of partnerships between municipal agencies, businesses, individual citizens, non-profit groups and the media in order to develop methods to police the community. These organizations work together to address criminal matters and reduce crime. Instead of simply leaving it to the police force, community policing revolves around a philosophy that the entire community can and should help take measures to prevent crime. The assumption is that effective policing requires collaboration because in spite of the skills and training and considerable resources the police have, they need the citizens' collaboration to effectively control and prevent crime. One reason for this is that the number of police officers available at every point in time is limited.

These trends stress a contextual role for the police, one that emphasizes greater interaction with the community toward the resolution of persistent neighbourhood crime and disorder problems (Wilson & Kelling, 1982; Goldstein, 1990; Kelling & Moore, 1989). This newest approach in a long tradition of reforms has many implications for police role definitions, strategic and tactical operations and understanding about the limits of formal and informal social control. According to Bayley (1988, p. 226), community-based policing has four major components. They are community-based crime prevention, proactive servicing as opposed to emergency response public participation in the planning and supervision of police operations and the shifting of command responsibility to lower-level ranks. Aside these organisational and procedural alterations that must be pursued, the main emphasis of this model is on identification and solution of community problems (Sacco & Kennedy, 2012).

According to Goldstein (1990), community-based policing requires at least five changes in current police thinking, including the need for the police to open up to the idea of allowing other agencies to perform some of their traditional roles, replace them or to work in conjunction with the police. At the heart of community-based policing is the idea of neighbourhood team policing which allows police officers to be assigned to an area and assume greater responsibility and provide services more relevant to the community (Sacco & Kennedy, 2012).

The main challenge with this system is resource allocation and logistics. The use of alternative crime control strategies may also bring the police into conflict with citizens. The Ghana Police Service has the model of community police service but has still not been able to roll it out nationwide because of budgetary constraints. The model can also put the police in constant conflict with citizens, especially in areas where overzealous police officers over step their bounds and use authoritarian methods to achieve compliance. Police's constant engagement and interactions with community members could lead to the police being compromising in their work. Familiarity, it has been said, breeds contempt, but in this case it may breed corruption. There is also the temptation to brand every innovation policing as community policing because of its tremendous advantage it offers (Adams, 2006)

Community-policing places emphasis on partnership and collaboration among stakeholders especially police, community organisations and residents. The point to note is that "how residents' view the police have been found to have direct effects on involvement" (Pattavina, Byre & Garcia, 2006).

Scheider et al. (2003) also found that people's positive or negative perception about community policing directly affects crime prevention behaviour. While the police visibility in communities have also been found to improve residents' views about the police, it can also engender trust and confidence in the police service (Hawdon & Ryan, 2003).

Social Development

Crime prevention through community development has become one of the crime control models being espoused by some criminologists and police personnel as holding the key to making our societies safer from criminal acts. The model focuses on the repeat-offender and not the act (Gabor, 1990). It has been observed that a relatively small number of criminals are responsible for most of the crimes reported; they begin their criminal career early and end late. Even though not all criminologists favour this point of view, they are mostly in agreement that most criminals involved in violent crimes come from disadvantaged and socially disorganised background. Thus crime prevention strategies must seek to reduce crime by discouraging potential offenders and also strengthen them (Sacco & Kennedy, 2012). A number of researches have also found that most criminals come from disadvantaged background, have poor employment history, serious family problems and poor educational achievement (Sacco & Kennedy, 2012). These conditions, it is believed can provide the congenial environment for crime to thrive. This view is premised on the social problem assumption.

Crime is a social problem that requires not just individual effort but the collective action of all the stakeholders or all those affected by the phenomenon. According to Thio and Taylor (2012), a social problem is a

“social condition that is perceived to be harmful to more than just a few people” (p.6). Therefore crime control requires looking beyond the individual suspects and victims. The main goal of crime prevention through social development is to eliminate or reduce the environmental and social conditions that are believed to engender crime. Graham (1990) and Rosenbaum (1988) have argued that the best way to deal with the problem of crime is to fight poverty, unemployment, racism and other forms of social disadvantages.

In the view of Graham (1990), crime prevention policy and strategies must go beyond the criminal justice options and methods to include areas of family, education, housing and even health. The main aim of the social development approach is to prevent crime by correcting the criminogenic and other social condition that are assumed to be the main causes of crime through development(Sacco & Kennedy, 2002). The advocates of the social development approach assert that crime prevention is not the sole prerogative of social development or governmental agencies, rather it requires intergovernmental and private-public partnership.

To wit, both government agencies and private organisations responsible for health, family, employment policy, housing, must factor welfare issues into their programmes. While some studies from Browne and Williams (1998) show that social development approach works and have proven to very popular in United States and Europe (Waller, 1989 & Donzinger, 1996), some have critiqued the approach, especially the advocates of opportunity reduction believe that the social development advocates fail to recognise that crime is not homogeneous therefore it requires different strategies and interventions(Sacco & Kennedy, 2002).Others also question

whether governments will have the political will and fiscal space to commit resource to such a project while other competitive demands stare them in the face. In spite of these critiques, the social development approach is quite different from other strategies because it is the only one that seeks to deal with the root causes of crime (Sacco & Kennedy, 2002).

Opportunity Reduction

Opportunity they say makes the thief. From the Routine Activity theory point of view on victimisation, victimization results from the interaction of everyday factors namely availability of suitable targets, absence of capable guardians and presence of motivated offenders. “Only when people are ready, willing, and able to offend and encounter conditions favourable to offending are criminal events likely to develop” (Sacco & Kennedy, 2002). The model seeks to protect places, people and goods from victimization (Siegel, 2016) The focus of this approach is on modifying the conditions under which crime occur without altering the character of the offenders. Crime prevention through opportunity reduction is also referred to as situational crime prevention (Clarke, 1993; 1997).

According to Clarke (1997), situational crime prevention comprises opportunity-reduction strategies (1) that are directed towards specific forms of crime say burglary; (2) involve the management of, and design or manipulation of the immediate environment in a systematic and permanent way possible, and (3) make crime more difficult and risky, or less rewarding and excusable as judged by a wide range of offenders.

The strategy is built on the premise that crime is repeatedly opportunistic, thus it aims at modifying contextual factors to limit the

opportunity for criminals to engage in criminal acts (Wright-Myrie et al, 2016). The situational prevention approach seeks to increase risk and the cost of being caught and to minimize the benefits of crime. Five specific categories of situational crime prevention strategies have been identified:

1. Those that increase the effort of the offenders
2. Those that increase the risk for the offenders
3. Those that reduce the rewards for the offender
4. Those that reduce the provocation to the offender
5. Those that remove the excuse for offending

The model again assumes that the criminals are rational therefore they make their decisions to commit crime only after they have calculated the cost and the benefit of their action, therefore increasing the risk of arrest and decreasing the rewards of the crime (Clarke & Eck, 2003). The theory is implicitly built on two assumptions. One is that crime can be prevented if attention is paid to particular features and opportunity is also reduced through careful analysis (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1995). Two, the robber or the criminal is rational thus make decisions based on the costs and benefits associated with a particular choice of action (Sacco & Kennedy, 2012). One particular means of reducing opportunities and increasing risk is through target hardening which entails all the measures that are implemented to decrease the vulnerability of personal or household property (Sacco & Kennedy, 2012). Such techniques include redesigning public spaces and housing.

Intelligence-Led Policing (ILP)

Intelligence-led policing or what is called intelligence-driven policing is a new form of policing and for that matter crime control strategy. It did start

with the British Police Force in the 1990s (Gill, 1998). This new operational strategy or practice is still evolving in other parts of the world (Ratcliffe, 2003). The rise in crime rate during the late 1980s and the early 1990s resulted in the calls for the police to endeavour to be more effective and efficient in their crime control and prevention. The reasons behind this call for new police operational strategy were driven by both internal and external factors (Ratcliffe, 2003). One major external factor, according to the historical accounts, were the inability of the traditional reactive policing to counter crimes made possible by globalisation.

Globalisation removed some of the physical and technological barriers to crime, thus enhancing transnational-organised criminal activities. Internally, the increasing private security agencies and the success they were making made the state police look marginalised and thus losing their grounds. This crime prevention/control approach requires that police and other law enforcement agencies and managers rely on credible crime intelligence and data to direct police affairs and investigatory process and in dealing with transnational-organised criminals and other disrupting crimes in society. This model is a normal standard police crime prevention/control practice and management among the British under the caption “National Intelligence Model”.

The model stresses data collection and critical analysis to direct police operations and practices. The model assumes that proper intelligence gathering can enhance the police’s ability to prevent crime and to deal with prolific criminals and transnational organised crimes. According to Maguire (2000), these new policies are more than just catchy phrases but represent a rapid,

significant and widespread change in the business of policing that could have an immense impact on criminal justice in both the short and the long term. It is assumed that the policing will benefit from an intelligence-led, computer-driven approach which will enhance their crime prevention capabilities (Ratcliffe, 2001).

While the police may be aware of some the modern terms such as proactive policing target response, crime management, problem oriented-policing, they may not be aware of their real meaning. Maguire (2000) has pointed out that these policies are more than just catchy terms, but represent a change in the way the business of policing is conducted (Ratcliffe, 2001). However, a number of researchers have offered an alternative explanation for the bureaucratic enthusiasm for information gathering. Even though intelligence-led policing strives for greater excellence and efficiency in policing, it has been found to have some inefficiencies in its methods, and some even conflict with the ideals of intelligence-led policing (Ratcliffe, 2003).

Ratcliffe noted that the whole performance culture in many police services which seeks to measure everything possible may not augur well for intelligence-led policing (Ratcliffe, 2003). It may result in police trying to quantify anything countable or what they are being measured against. As was noted by Scott (1998), the performance culture among two divisions of London police resulted in the police focusing on measurable and quantifiable indicators and was pushed to reactive policing. Another problem noted about ILP is its heavy reliance on police informants and its financial implications (Dunnighan & Norris, 1999).The drive towards ILP should go with realistic

goals because irrespective of the measures which are taken, the ability of the police to control crime is limited, even though there are signs that some level of reduction in crime can be achieved (Heaton, 2008).

Informant-led Policing

The use of informants in security and crime control is as old as those behaviours that they seek to control. Irrespective of country or jurisdiction, police numbers are always less than what is desirable to get crime completely kept at bay. As been noted by Thetford (2012, p. 1)

There are simply not enough officers available to deter and detect criminal activities or to locate and apprehend criminals without assistance from citizens, particularly those associated with illegal activities. This need calls for extra 'eyes and ears'

It is out of this special case that criminal informants have become part and parcel of police operation and strategy combat crime. There are areas in policing and for that matter crime control that without criminal informant much would not be achieved. As Dorn, Murji and South (1992, p. 121) observed:

The single most important way of making drug cases is the use and development informants.. For drug agents, policing would be virtually impossible without informants

Describing an informant is critical to understanding the roles they play and the risk and dangers that come with it. Informants are called by several names including contacts, snouts, sources, agents, asserts, walk-ins and call-ins. Informants are those persons who have been recruited to pass on

information to police. These people actively seek potentially incriminating information on target groups and individuals and not just passing on information to the police (Jones-Brown & Shane, 2011; Miller, 2011). However, an informer is someone who simply passes on information to the police. They do not actively seek information, they may not be recruited and also may not receive remuneration for the information they give to the police. In this study, informant will refer to both informers and informants, those recruited and those who on their own volition decide to contribute to police work by providing information that they have been privy to. This is because there is lack of procedures and policy and law on how informants should be recruited, used and managed. These create inconsistencies in nomenclature and operational models. The use of informants is believed to be a more cost effective means of detecting crime especially organised crime (Williamson & Bagshaw, 2001). One cannot deny the role informants play in the work of the police globally.

However, the use of informants in policing can also create conflicts and legal challenges for the justice system. In countries where there are no formalised regulations and protocols concerning the use of informants, evidence adduced from informants may not be admitted to a criminal in court. Another issue is the motivation of the informants. Sometimes informants are only motivated by their own desire to escape from the firm grips of the law and not by a sincere desire to help the justice systems (Miller, 2011). Others are also motivated by money, revenge and police favour (Colvin, 1998). These parochial interests of informants could push them to fabricate stories and simply lie to the police in order to create positive impressions about

themselves. According to studies carried out on informants by Miller (2011), the motivation factor that seems to be a cause for concern is the criminal informant who is looking for favour from the police. This could lead to a situation where the police will be embodied with corruption or reversal of the police-informants relationships. That is, the police now become the informant who is protected by the criminal and offered incentives (Clark, 2001). Thus, it is of utmost importance for the police to establish the motives of the criminal informants who volunteer information (Lieberman, 2007).

Summary

In brief, this chapter touched on empirical information that is relevant to the study. They include robbery from the historical point of view, the conceptualisation and the nature of a violent and a property crime. The various control measures which the Police Service has implemented in the past to address robbery were also reviewed. In all, it may be an understatement to say that robbery has plagued our nation long before independence and the post-independence era. Several operational or counter measures to fight robbery have not worked as was expected so robbery remains a bane in our national discourse.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

Overview

Social research methods define how scientific investigations must be conducted (McDougal III, 2011). It requires a great deal of skill and sophistication (Binder & Geis, 1983). The term research refers to a wide array of activities including looking up for information in some documented sources or established sources (Crow & Semmens, 2008). According to Crow and Semmens (2008), criminological research entails the study of things that have been labelled illegal. Also, the researcher may learn about serious illegal activities and people who have committed serious crimes or offences. This may test the researcher's ability to abide by the ethical considerations such as confidentiality. The criminology researcher might also be found in the company of people considered undesirable, dangerous and sometimes vicious in society (Crow & Semmens, 2008). This can put the researcher in a dilemma or difficult situation.

This chapter discusses the philosophical foundations and the methods applied in the study. It begins with the philosophical foundations of the study and follows it up with a discussion of the study area. In addition, the research design is also highlighted in this section with particular emphasis on the study population, data sources, sampling procedure, data collection instruments and procedure, pre-testing of the instruments, the data analysis and ethical

considerations. Challenges encountered during the data collection and ethical considerations are also given attention in this section.

Research Design

The study adopted a multi-strategy design, what is popularly called mixed method with pragmatists-realists overtures. The rise of the mixed methods is attributable to the “recognition by researchers that it is possible to do a research with both quantitative and qualitative elements” (Robson, 2011 p. 172). Howe (1988) noted that combining quantitative and qualitative methods is a good thing because quantitative and qualitative methods are inseparable” (p.10).

Both strategies and methods can thus be combined in a variety of ways that enhance the investigation and give flexibility in the data collection processes. In the view of Hammersley and Atkinson (1996), the combination of both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods increases the consistency and accuracy of research analysis and the final conclusion. This type of approach was deemed relevant to the study because given the sensitive nature of crime, especially robbery in Ghana and its politicisation, the study needed to adopt mixed design to ensure that all related data is gathered to arrive at comprehensive findings and conclusions. According to Bryman (2006), research requires the ability to deal with complex issues and situations, thus:

A combination of research approaches is particularly valuable in real world settings because of the complex nature of phenomena and the range of perspectives that are required to understand them (p. 167)

Creswell and Plano (2007, p. 5) have firmly hinted that the central rationale for mixed methodology is that it provides better understanding of research problems than either quantitative or qualitative approach alone. Just like any other field of knowledge, there are other researchers who do not believe the mixed methodology is worth any attention in research. Gorard (2006) has noted that all methods of social enquiry can be subjective or objective therefore mixed methods assumptions do not offer us anything new.

Philosophical Underpinnings of the Study

According to Bryman (2006, p. 124) there is a “tendency to stress the compatibility between quantitative and qualitative research and a pragmatic viewpoint” For Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2005), pragmatic research is about learning to utilise and appreciate both quantitative and qualitative research. It provides flexibility in investigation technique elements (Robson, 2011). The pragmatist paradigm is part of the social construction or interpretive approach to social research which focuses on how people interpret their own social world (Burr, 2003). For Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003), pragmatism or the ‘philosophy of free choice’, is the most appropriate epistemology for mixed methods. The interpretivists approach emphasizes the world of experience as it is lived, felt and undergone by people acting in social situations (Schwandt, 2007).

The study does not seek cause-effect relationships or attempts an experimental study. Rather, it seeks a holistic account of how robbery has been controlled in Ghana over the years. It is because of this quest that the constructionist/interpretive paradigm is relevant to the study. With it, the situational contexts, the timings within which the policies and strategies were

enacted, and the subjective meanings and intentions within the specific programmes are all relevant to deciphering programme success or failure (Rowlands, 2005). Pragmatist research is often driven by expected outcomes and give the researcher the chance to choose and pick what is considered important to the study and how and what to research (Robson, 2011).

In view of the evaluative undertone of the study, the realist's generative mechanism is utilized in addition to the pragmatic stance. This allows the inclusion of philosophical and methodological approaches which work best for any particular research (Robson, 2011). Among the advantages of the realist approaches is their capacity to embrace both quantitative and qualitative methods of carrying out social research (Robson, 2011). Lipscomb (2008), McEvoy and Richards (2006) have noted that realism is a natural partner for multi-stage research. According to McEvoy and Richards (2006):

Mechanisms describe what is about programmes and interventions that bring about any effect. Mechanisms and interventions are often hidden, rather as the workings of a clock cannot be seen but drive the patterned movements of the hands. The realist concept tries to break the lazy linguistic habit of basing evaluation on the question of whether 'programmes' work (p.6).

This implies that there are always covert elements or mechanism with a system that ensures its overt action and yet they are often ignored or not accounted for. Pawson and Tilley (2008) further posited that:

It is not programme that work but the resources they offer to enable their subjects to make them work. This process of how subjects interpret and act upon the intervention stratagem is known as

*the programme 'mechanism' and it is the pivot
around which realist research revolves (p.6)*

The notion of mechanisms implies that there is the tendency for researchers to assume that say A is considered to have caused B if the occurrence of A is always followed by B. The realists see this positivist notion of causation as problematic because it does not give a direct answer to the question how and why (Robson, 2011). The realists have a different view of causation which they call “generative causation”. In this wise, the cause of A being followed by B is assumed to be due to the operation of one or more mechanisms that need to be unravelled. It is in this light that the study seeks to uncover the methods, strategies and policies which has been used to control robbery and the mechanisms through which they worked or failed.

Specifically, the sequential transformative design was used. With this strategy, priority was given to the qualitative data, that is, the qualitative data was collected first followed by the quantitative data. The first method of data collection in addition to the literature review was a content analysis of newspaper publications from 1993 to 2017. The information gleaned from these newspapers was mainly on how the papers captured how the police had been fighting robbery or proposed to fight robbery. This was followed by interviews with key stakeholders and informants whom the researcher presumed had vital information to offer and those who were appointed to grant interviews by their respective institutions. The qualitative data was given priority because it was expected to enhance the designing of the instrument for the quantitative data. This also informed the category of participants/respondents who were involved in the interviews. The final method was a limited survey of deviant samples (extreme cases or cases that

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significantly differs from the dominant pattern) which comprised the lower ranks of the police and the other security institutions. The views of these participants were elicited on the general crime situation in the country and on robbery in particular. The attempt to conduct a Focus Group Discussions for the police did not materialise because of mobilisation or organisational challenges on the part of the police service. The results were finally integrated during the analysis. The study was thus a blend of both quantitative and qualitative methods of social research.

The Study Area/Institution

According to Binder and Geis (1983), not only does conducting research requires experience and information about the topic to be investigated, it also demands that researcher gets familiar with the in and out of the agency to be studied, especially their operations and structure.

Gold Coast Police Force which was the forerunner of the current police service was formed in 1873. According to history, it was formed with a coercive military orientation. Because of this, personnel in the service were popularly called the “buga buga” boys, to wit “badly mannered boys” (Afari, 2004). This was because the personnel behaved very unreasonably to the point that they were said to be devoid of understanding and their reliance on the use of brute force and coercion was considered very unprofessional by the citizenry. The Force predates the country’s independence. The Gold Coast Militia and Police were known to have been put together by the British around 1831 by Captain George Maclean who was the governor of the Gold Coast. He formed the service from private troops guarding the coastal forts. By 1876, the

Force was renamed the Gold Coast Constabulary with about 700 men (Afari, 2004).

The Ghana Police Service is the main government agency tasked with internal security and crime control/prevention. It has since its establishment been at the forefront of the criminal justice system of Ghana. The service derives its current mandate and existence from Article 200 of the 1992 Constitution which states that there shall be a Police Service of Ghana and the Police Service Act 1970, Act 350. According to Article 190 of the Constitution, the Police Service is part of the public services in Ghana. This means that police officers cannot be “victimised or discriminated against for discharging their duties faithfully in accordance with the Constitution. They cannot be dismissed or removed from office or reduced in rank or otherwise punished without just cause. The framers of the constitution offered public servants these guarantees so that they can serve the nation without fear of intimidation from political office holders and also to ensure they exhibit professionalism in their conduct.

The 1992 Constitution further mandates the service to operate on democratic policing principles. In that regard, the GPS is said to be committed to a continuous transformation of its services from traces of its military and coercive policing profile into one operating on the democratic philosophy and international best practice of providing secure and peaceful community policing services among other strategies. The Police Service has established a Community Policing Unit (CPU) to coordinate the formation of CPUs. In most recent time, the service also introduced the intelligence-led policing strategy under Mr Paul Tawiah (former IGP) and the Visibility/Accessibility Units

(V/AU) under Mr Mohammed Alhassan (former IGP) to help reduce the crime rate in the country. The current IGP Mr. David Asante Appeatu has initiated the transformation agenda which seeks to make the service a more professional entity backed by ICT.

Legal Mandate of the Police Service

The Police Service Act 1970, Act 350 Article 1 (1) spells out the basic functions of the service and its mission. The Police Service is tasked to:

1. Prevent and detect crime.
2. Apprehend offenders.
3. Maintain law and order.
4. Protect life and property.

The Police Force (Amendment) Decree 1974, NRCD 303, made the Service self- accounting and the 1992 Constitution, Article 200(3), which created the Police Service as one of the public services of Ghana expected it to be “equipped and maintained to perform its traditional role of maintaining law and order”.

The functions indicated above form part of the core mandate of the Service. Most criminological research shows that the police spend only a small portion of their time fighting crime. A significant portion of their time is spent on resolving disturbances, service calls and other office duties (Reid, 2013) This make it evident that police work is more than fighting crime, yet it is in the area of crime combating that most of the citizens know them or encounter them. As a security service, it has service or organisational structure that defines the flow of authority and command.

The Ghana Police Service operates a professional model of policing. This implies that command and operational instructions emanate from the top to the bottom (Reid, 2013). Officers take instructions from their immediate bosses and superiors. Lower rank officers or the “men” have virtually no input to make into police operations apart from carrying out instructions from their superiors. The professional model is highly bureaucratic with a hierarchical structure with the police chief as the head and central authority (Reid, p.79, 2013). Heads, Director Generals and Regional Commanders report directly to the IGP whilst Division, Districts, Departments and Units report to their immediate heads. Under this model, departments are organised around specialised functions such as crime, traffic, and human trafficking. The chain of command is clear. Subordinate officers report to their unit/department heads. The structure relies on rules and regulations. Junior ranks or officers make little or no input in the development of the organisation (Reid, 2011)

As a security arm of government, the police service maintains a disciplined and pyramidal organisational structure with Inspector General of Police (IGP) at the apex of the structure. He is responsible for the day-to-day operation and administration of the service. The IGP is assisted by sixteen functional director generals including the Director General of Administration. Others are the Director Generals for the following: Research Planning and ICT, Technical, Welfare, CID, Operations, Legal, Human Resource Development and Services (GPS Annual Report, 2016). The Inspector General is also represented by 12 Regional Commanders who supervise the operations and control of the service in the regions, divisions, districts and the various stations and police posts.

The police was chosen as the study institution because it is by law the agency tasked with the implementation and designing of crime control policies and strategies, crime detection, arrest of criminals, investigation of criminal cases, and to a limited extent, the prosecution of criminal cases in court.

Study Population

As at December 2016, the Ghana Police Service had 11 regions, 81 divisions, 292 districts and 1079 station/posts. The manpower-strength was 33,213, meaning the police/citizen ratio of 1:833 with a national population of 27, 670,174 million. The approved UN ratio is 1:500(GPS Annual Report, 2016).Out of the total number, males were 24, 627 and 8,586 females (1:3). This shows that the service still maintains its male-dominated character. The study population was mainly all personnel of the service.

However, because the study focused on crime control policy and strategies, senior police officers from the rank of superintendent and above were targeted for interviews. The reason was that most of them have access to operational information and occupied managerial position. In addition, the officers should have been in the service before 1993 to qualify them to participate in the study. Per the permission letter that was given by the police service, I was tasked to consult the CID at the Police headquarters for further directions. At the unit, I was further assigned to the Anti-Armed Robbery Squared (AARS) for the study. Personnel from the Ministry of the Interior, Social Welfare Department, Ghana Immigration Service, Ghana Fire Service, the Ghana Prison Service, retired police officers, some police informants and the general public were also targeted.

Sample and Sampling Procedure

The rationale for using sampling in social research is that it is virtually not possible to conduct a census in most social investigations so a sample is selected from the larger population to allow for inference. Non-random purposive sampling and network or snowball sampling were used in selecting institutions and participants for the interviews. The snowball or networking and deviant case sampling were the main sampling strategies. The purposive sampling method was used to select, first and foremost the institutions to be studied and the participants on the basis of their relevance to the research topic and not their representativeness. The researcher used these techniques to build up a sample of a special population of officers both past and present in the Ghana Police Service and other participants.

Neuman (2011) has noted that three conditions are conducive for using purposive sampling. They include the need to select unique cases, members of difficult to reach population (prostitutes, experts and the police on special duties) and when researchers want to identify particular types of cases for in-depth investigation. While all police day-to-day activities could have impact on crime control, not all officers are directly involved in designing strategies for operation and crime control. These activities are limited to senior police officers and the functional heads of the various units at the headquarters. It was therefore considered not prudent to conduct a random survey to select respondents/participants.

Again, the study demanded that respondents/participants should have been in the service since 1993. The reason for this time frame was to ensure that participants had adequate knowledge and experience about crime and

robbery in particular. Pursuant to this, efforts were made to have the list of all the officers who had been in the service since 1992, but that could not be attained due to institutional challenges and security concerns raised by the police service including lack of time to compile them and also a possible breach of confidential information about employees in the service. After interviews with the designated officers, the researcher sought their opinions of other officers of repute who could participate in the study based on the qualifying criteria by using snowballing and the networking sampling techniques.

In addition, the researcher also used his own contacts in the service to get to the respondents to participate in the study. These include former students and other personnel introduced to the researcher by key informants. A snowball sampling method was used to access participants who were on retirement for their inputs. Officers who were no longer in active service (IGPs and Directors of Operations) were included in the study because some of them initiated programmes and policies that are still being implemented by the service. The researcher used his contacts in the police to obtain the telephone numbers of these retired officers and later used the initial identified retirees to recommend others and provided their contacts.

A limited survey was conducted to ascertain how robbery is perceived by the rank and file of personnel and criminal justice institutions and ordinary citizens. The survey was conducted among sandwich students of Social Behaviour and Conflict Management, diploma and BA students, MA Peace and Development students and the MA Sociology of Peace and Security students. These sandwich students were from all the regions of Ghana and

they had in-depth appreciations of security/criminological issues. In addition, they represented the key criminal justice institutions that are difficult to reach, the Police Service, the Military, Customs, Prisons, Fire Service, Immigration Service, Community Development, the Judiciary, the Public Service and the Civil Service of Ghana. After obtaining the list of the students in that category from Students Records, 250 questionnaires were administered to all 250 students because the number was considered not too huge for a census to be conducted. Out of the total number, 151 of the respondents returned the questionnaires.

It is important to indicate that the study focused less on sample representativeness or on detailed techniques for drawing a probability sample. Instead, it focused on how the sample or small collections of cases or units will illuminate social life (Neumann, 2008). Sixty five interviews and key informant interviews were conducted in the security agencies using the interview guide. Table 2 captures the agencies and respondents interviewed for the study

Table 2: Groups and Agencies that Participated in the Study

Groups/Agents	Frequencies	Percentage
Police Officers	36	54.54
Ministry of the Interior	2	3.03
Prisons Service	2	3.03
Immigration Service	2	3.03
National Security	2	3.03
Fire Service	2	3.03
Army	1	1.51
Social Welfare	2	3.03
Refined Police Officers	15	23.80
IGPs Orderly Rooms	2	3.03
Ex-Convict	1	1.51
Total	66	100.00

Source: Fieldwork (2018)

From Table 2, the participants were made up of 36 senior police officers, 2 people from the Ministry of the Interior, 2 each from the Ghana Prisons Service, Ghana Immigration Service, National Security, and Fire Ghana Services. The others were 1 respondent from the Ghana Army, 2 people from the Department of Social Welfare and 15 retired officers from the Police Service. The breakdown was as follows: 2 Commissioners, 2 Deputy Commissioners, 2 Assistant Commissioners and 9 in the Superintendent category. These officers had served for a minimum of 25 years and a maximum of 36 years. One ex-convict was also interviewed. Two former IGPs agreed to participate in the study but much as I tried, I could not meet them at the appointed schedules for the interviews. In their place, two staff officers who served under the IGPs were interviewed.

Data and Sources

The first data source for the study was obtained through a thorough review of archival materials of national dailies such the Daily Graphic and Ghanaian Times (back editions) from 1993 to 2015 and other documents obtained from the police including the police annual reports, Strategic National Police Plan, the Five year Strategic Development Plan, Proactive Policing Paper (2013) and the Police Service and Regulation Acts. The Daily Graphic and Ghanaian Times were selected because of their national character, wider coverage and relative professionalism. Crow and Semmens (2008) have admonished that researchers should step back and consider the contexts in which the literature has evolved. This source was meant to provide information on history of robbery control policies and strategies were obtained from the content or the archival analysis.

The review therefore centred on identifying materials or information that could give the investigator some hints about how Ghana as a nation, through the police service has handled robbery in terms of the policies and strategies designed to control it and the context in which they were used. The information gathered informed the structure of the actual fieldwork, instrumentation and selection of respondents for the primary data.

The main concern was how to find cases that will enhance our understanding of the phenomenon under study. The study also relied on data on crime from all the corners of Ghana collated by the police service from 1993 to 2016 (Crime data from the Ghana Police Service). Other materials and data were gleaned from the Ministry of Interior which has the overall policy mandate for internal security and supervisory role over the police service, and the Department of Social Development which has quasi-criminal justice functions especially in juvenile cases.

According to Appiahene-Gyamfi (1998), data on crime and information about criminal justice matters in Ghana are hard to find because they are not kept in any “organized, systematic, or uniform manner”. He again noted that, this is not unique to Ghana. It seems to be a feature of most developing countries. They all have problems in the “acquisition and preservation of crime data and information”. Ghana is probably no different from most developing countries (Huggins, 1985; Appiahene-Gyamfi, 1998, p. 9). None of Ghana’s criminal justice agencies has reliable and comprehensive crime statistics for research, policing and planning purpose (Appiahene-Gyamfi, 1998). This is partly attributed to the lack of qualified personnel and inadequate resources to collect and store crime data. As a result, there’s

always the need for researchers to comb documents from various criminal justice institutions for information and statistics produced and kept by these criminal justice agencies.

The second phase involved interviewing of key personnel of the Police Service who have something to do with operations such as the patrols and visibility unit. Some of the people who participated in the study included personnel of the police service, the Ministry of Interior and the Department of Social Welfare, Attorney General's Department, Ghana Fire Service, Ghana Immigration Service and Ghana Prison Service. The views of personnel from these institutions on crime control policies and strategies were elicited through interviews (face-to-face and telephone).

In view of the sensitive nature of the issues under investigation, in-depth/key informant interviews were also used to gather some of the data from both past and present officers of the institutions listed above. With in-depth interviews, the respondents were asked to express their views about broad themes and they also made suggestions about other areas they deem important to be considered and suggested other persons for interviews and other sources of information (Yin, 2009). This method was considered appropriate if one wishes to explore a process or sequence of events, complex phenomena, elite studies and sensitive issues (Neumann, 2008). The method also allows the researcher to probe for details and observe the body language of the participants. The third data source (a limited survey) was conducted among sandwich students of the University of Cape Coast 2016/2017 to seek their views on the robbery situation in Ghana to inquire whether they believe in the

ability of the police to solve the problem and also find out whether they have ideas on how the police is dealing with the robbery menace.

Data Collection Instruments/Techniques

Data collection is one of the main thrust of scientific research (Pope et al., 2001). To do this, one has to use specific tools or instruments. Decisions would have to be made about which methods are best for a particular objective. The decision would also have to be informed by the theoretical requirements of the study (Crow & Semmens, 2008). Researching by reading and analyzing historical documents such as newspapers and other materials made available to the researcher provided a set of data for the content analysis component of the study. Nuerendorf (2002) defines content analysis as “the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics” (p.1). Bergs (2007) asserted that content analysis goes beyond the quantitative rubric. He describes content analysis as:

A careful, detailed, systematic examination and interpretation of a particular body of materials in an effort to identify patterns, themes, biases and meanings (p.303).

The researcher gleaned through these documents for information on how robbery has been handled by the Ghana Police Service and the context in which these measures were implemented. The documents reviewed include, the Daily Graphic, Ghanaian Times, and other private newspapers. Most of the materials were Daily Graphic and the Ghanaian Times because the past editions were readily available; they have a national character and a wider coverage. Other materials include annual reports, the Strategic National Policing Plan, police annual reports and research reports on the police. The

bound copies of the newspapers available at the Sir Sam Jonah's Library at the University of Cape Coast and other repositories were the main sources. Even though efforts were made at assessing other documents from the National Archives in Cape Coast and Accra, they did not yield much useful information for the study.

A special table was designed to capture the data according to themes such as “we encourage the public to provide us information, “an informer gave us a hint”, “we got a tip-off”, “prosecute the offender”, “put them before court”, “make them face the full rigours of the law”, “encourage the formations of community watchdog”, “neighbourhood committees”, “community policing”, “deal with them boot for boot”, “will take the fight to them” and others that were relevant to the investigations. The table had columns for the name of the newspaper, date of publication, the heading or title of the story, the name of the reporter, indications about how robbery should be handled, the officer who gave the information and the occasion. The main interest of the researcher was on hints the documents gave about how robbery should or has been handled.

The second method used was in-depth interview. A semi-structured interview guide was the instrument used to collect the data. Some key informants and personnel who were nominated by their institutions were interviewed using this technique. The instrument for data collection is believed to be popular with socio-legal studies, and its appeal stems from the fact that it does not appear to be demanding as other instruments such as designing a questionnaire (Crow & Semmens, 2008). Smellie and Crow

(1991) have listed a number of situations and conditions under which the use of semi-structured interview instrument is considered appropriate.

They include cases whereby one is researching a complex phenomenon that has developed over long period of time, or gone through stages of development. They also note that it is advisable to use this method when a researcher is doing what they termed as “elite studies”. This involves the powerful members of society, police officers, judges and senior members of organisations who may regard filling of questionnaire uncomfortable (Moyser & Wagstaffe, 1987). Crow and Semmens (2008) further opined that semi-structured interview schedule is most appropriate when one is researching sensitive issues such as victimisation and offending experiences. The study definitely meets all these criteria. Not only is robbery a sensitive issue, it is also very political because politicians have made political capital out of the high robbery rate in the past. There is also the assumption among the populace that robbery figures are sometimes suppressed in order to give governments and the Police Service good image.

Even though the use of semi-structured interview schedule comes with some disadvantages such as being expensive, time consuming and requiring a great deal of tact and interviewing skills, it was employed because of the unique advantages it offers. Among these advantages are: it allows for further probing and clarification, high rate of cooperation and response are possible. Finally, it allows for modification of questions in terms of the structure and sequence (Binder & Geis, 1983). The instrument had three sections, information on the bio data of the respondents, respondents' perceptions about robbery and knowledge on crime control strategies the police have been using

to control robbery for the period under consideration. The use of this method assumes that all the participants are knowledgeable in the area being investigated and also sought to encourage participants to make meaningful contributions to the research instead of seeking uniformity in responses.

A questionnaire was used for the limited survey of students in security and conflict management programmes. The questionnaire consisted three main divisions. It had a section on respondents' views about the general crime situation in Ghana, their knowledge about robbery and control measures.

Data Collection Procedures

The data collection was in two phases. The first phase was the collection of secondary data from back collections of print media. They included the Daily Graphic, Ghanaian Times and other documents obtained from the police service including their strategic plans and other relevant documents. These newspapers were sampled for the study because of their national character, the popularity of their stories and also their wide geographical coverage. Some documents from the National Archives were examined for information on how robbery has been handled during the pre-independence era but that section did not yield any relevant information.

The newspapers and other documents were carefully scanned for information on how robbery has been controlled in the past and the specific strategies that were used. The newspapers were obtained from the Sam Jonah Library within the campus of University of Cape Coast and others. Several visits were made to the library for a period of eleven months to access these materials. In all, over 2,830 newspapers were reviewed within the period. The researcher and his assistants gleaned through the materials for pieces of

information on robbery stories. Information on who reported the story, where it happened, the officer/person who gave the information and finally other information on how robbery should be handled were searched for. One difficulty with the process was that most materials were stuffy and caused a lot of discomfort and some allergic reaction especially, sneezing and flu. The second problem was that some of the newspapers could not be found or traced while others had been sent to the binding section for rebinding.

Given the poor record keeping and lack of due process and diligence on the part of institutions in the country to keep records, finding documents to support the police service's policies and strategies was difficult. However, our persistence in asking paid off with people graciously offering documents that were useful for the study.

The second phase involved the collection of primary data from persons who were knowledgeable in the area of crime control and prevention, people who have the legal mandate to engineer policies and strategies to ensure that robbery is reduced to the barest minimum, especially those working with the Ghana Police Service and other relevant institutions such the Ministry of Interior, the Department of Social Development, and academics who have researched policing in Ghana. In all, about 66 respondents were interviewed in this category.

The interviews were conducted using a semi-structured interview schedule and an interview guide. The semi-structured interview schedule was used for those who had time and showed eagerness to be interviewed. The interview was semi-structured because questions were reordered during the interview, wording of questions were flexible and interviewees were allowed

to answer questions and also make clarifications (Berg, 2008). In addition, the researcher factored into the interviews the special nature of each interviewee and the skills required (Crow & Semmens, 2008). The unstructured interview guide was used for the hard-to-get respondents so that they could talk more around the themes under investigation and also to allow for flow and reduce boredom. Most of the interviews were conducted in the offices of the respondents except in few cases where neutral grounds were used to ensure confidentiality. One important consideration for the venue of the interviews was that it should be held in an area the interviewee feels most comfortable and would not entertain any fear of being overheard by someone (Berg, 2008).

In all the interviews, the researcher started by engaging the respondent in a chat and making healthy comments about things in the immediate environment. The intention was to get the interviewees to feel at ease and also to create a good rapport (Berg, 2008). Monosyllabic answers such as “yes” or “no” responses were probed for “further and better” details as the cliché in Ghana’s legal system states. Some of the interviews were digitally recorded after approval has been granted by the respondents. Others declined digital recording of the interviews due to institutional and individual restrictions. For example, at the police headquarters, electronic gadgets including mobile phones were not permitted in the main building, and visitors were scanned with metal detectors at every floor of the building. When all the interviews were successfully completed, the researcher thanked the respondents for their cooperation and participation in the study.

Validity and Reliability Issues

There is hardly a consensus on how to achieve validity and reliability in qualitative research. Different authors have suggested different strategies to evaluate qualitative research. For instance, Neuman (2008) have stressed the rigour of methodology and also developed a checklist for assessing the appropriateness of the research questions, sampling, data analysis and interpretation. On the other hand, Denzin and Lincoln (2011) have emphasised the rigour of interpretation of results. Leung (2015) has suggested that qualitative researchers should look out for the appropriateness of tools, research processes, data collection and results. In the eyes of Stenbacka (2001), “the concept of reliability is misleading in qualitative research. If qualitative research is discussed with reliability as a criterion, the consequence is rather that the study is not good” (p. 522). Her concerns were that since reliability hinges on measurements, it has no relevance for qualitative research.

Patton (2001) was even more emphatic that the qualitative researcher put steps in place to ensure that validity and reliability are achieved in the course of designing a study. Lincoln and Guba (1985) believe in ensuring that research meets the validity and reliability test irrespective of philosophical or epistemological underpinnings of the study. They prioritised the attainment of validity as a condition for achievement of reliability. They did note that “there cannot be validity without reliability, a demonstration of the former (validity) is sufficient to establish the later (reliability)” (p.331). Patton (2001) has also affirmed that reliability is a consequence of validity.

In view of the mixed method nature of the study, a number of measures were taken to ensure that threats to validity and reliability in respect to both the qualitative and the quantitative methods were reduced to the barest minimum. Validity tells us whether the question item, or score measures what it is supposed to measure (Joppe, 2000). The following threats to validity were identified and some practical measures were instituted to reduce or eliminate them.

The first one was invalid questions. The instrument was structured in such a way that some of the questions had a logical flow. Sensitive questions were crafted in a way that does not hurt the feelings of the respondents. The second one was the potential for bias responses. The third concern was lack of co-operation from the respondents. Sometimes respondents misconstrue social research as an attempt to gather information for other purposes other than for its manifest intentions. As a result, prior information was sought from the police service, the purpose of the study was always communicated to the respondents before the interviews commenced. The researcher applied effective interpersonal and persuasive communication skills, showed respect to the respondents even when they were not responsive, was patient with them even when they sounded arrogant and bluntly rude.

Finally, there was a concern for lack of privacy and interruptions during interviews. The respondent determined the places where the interviews were conducted. They were encouraged to choose places where they will be most comfortable and confident to be interviewed.

Reliability measures the extent to which a method or a procedure produces similar results under constant conditions on all occasions (Bell,

2009). It is also considered to be the “the purity and consistency of a measure, to repeatability and the probability of obtaining the same results again if the measures were to be duplicated. The following measures were taken to ensure the reliability of the study. First and foremost the instrument was pre-tested. Some alterations were made to the questionnaire before the actual data collection. Coding was also done prior to fieldwork in order to minimise data entry challenges. Filter questions and repeat questions were used to check consistency in responses.

Access to the Study Institution and Participants

Berg (2007) has opined that one of the factors that a researcher must consider in selecting a research setting or site is whether entry or access is possible. Gaining access to persons, organisations and data is a crucial part of completing any research and especially in criminological research where one is bound to encounter security operatives whose attitude to research may be different. According to Crow and Semmens (2008), one of the major difficulties in conducting criminological research is gaining access to the site for the study.

In order to gain access to the Ghana police and its personnel, a letter was written to the IGP, Mr. John Kudalor for permission to conduct the study. I received a reply signed by the Director General in charge of Administration, DCOP Ransford Moses Ninson on July, 2016. The letter directed me to undertake the study with the CID headquarters. A meeting was scheduled and I met the Director and his administrator to discuss the research and concerns they had about the study. During the meeting, I was asked to clarify the rationale for the study and a couple of ethical concerns they had, especially

confidentiality, issues about deception and the potential for hurting the image of the institution with the research outcomes. In order to assure them of my candid intentions and desire to avoid anything untoward, I agreed to give them a copy of the final work for their study and action. On that basis I was given the green light to conduct the study.

However, when the field work was about to begin, I was told to hold on till the 2016 general elections were over. The actual field work began in May, 2017 with some of the retired personnel whose response helped me shape the main work. Overall, it took about 12 months to gain full access to do this research. It is in line with this that Burton (2000) has counseled that the earlier access is negotiated, the better so that if access is denied one can think of an alternative site.

In the course of the data collection, challenges in terms of access to some key units and personnel cropped up again. Therefore a new introductory letter was sent to the police administration in August, 2017 and copied the Ministry of Interior. In September 2017, the ministry wrote to the police service to assist me with the needed support and that paved the way for the completion of the data collection. Even though there were some “go and come tomorrow or some other day syndrome” on a couple of occasions, it is important to state that gaining access to the service was not based on any contact with any ‘big shot’ in high office as is normally perceived to be the case in Africa and elsewhere. It was rather based on following due process and the patience to endure the bureaucratic bottlenecks.

Pre-testing of Instruments

The instruments were pre-tested with 12 of the officers from the Elmina Police and the Visibility and Patrol Unit of Cape Coast District. This gave the researcher a hint about the level of understanding of the respondents on some of the questions. As a result, the instrument was reviewed. Some questions were deleted, others were reworded and others rearranged to enhance logical and sequential flow. The pre-testing also reaffirmed the need to concentrate the interviews on only senior officers, in that junior ranks were not very conversant with some of the policy issues that the study sought to investigate.

Data Processing and Analysis

Data gathered from fieldwork was edited, first in the field upon completion of each day's interviews. This was to help check for consistency and to correct any potential errors and omissions with respondents before each session was closed. Giving the hard-to-access nature of respondents and their tight schedules, editing and checking for discrepancies on the field was considered necessary to ensure the quality and accuracy of the data. Immediately after the data have been collected, a list of concepts and themes that emerged was created to assist with further manipulation of the data. The digital recordings were played backed immediately in order to check the sound quality of the recording and to correct any technical hitch before the next interview session.

During the interviews, extensive information was collected on various themes that emerged from the content analysis such as community policing, informants, logistic, operational strategies, get-tough and community

watchdogs and others that were not captured in the archival materials. The audio recordings were transcribed with assistance from two research assistants and a professional audio-typist. The collected qualitative data was properly coded and analysed with the aid of NVIVO 7 software for computerized qualitative data analysis. Thematic coding was used. The researcher tried to capture information, issues and 'chunks' that were considered important to the study (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). Put in another way, it is a procedure of resolving data into its constituent parts, to reveal its characteristic elements and structure (Dey, 1997, p. 13). Themes that emerged from the analysis were matched with the study objectives and questions.

The quantitative data was analysed with the aid of SPSS version 21. The software package was used to generate descriptive statistics in order to describe and generate tables and graphical tools to report the data outcomes. This was basically used to summarise data into percentages, means and some other descriptive statistics. The nature of the data does allow for a multivariate analysis or methods and hard statistical analysis. However, univariate methods such as frequencies and bivariate and cross-tabulation were applied to describe and make comparison among some variables.

Ethical Considerations

There are always ethical concerns, dilemmas and conflict that arise over the proper way to conduct scientific investigations (Neuman, 2008). So many ethical dilemmas confronted the researcher in the course of his investigations. After obtaining ethical clearance from the University of Cape Coast and my supervisors, the Ministry of the Interior and Ghana Police Service had to access the proposal before they gave green light. In any social

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science research, there is a likelihood of ethical problems because human beings are involved (Burns, 2002). Similarly, research ethics is crucial in maintaining public confidence, protecting research sources, and guaranteeing its position as a scientific study (May, 1997, p. 61). In view of the above, and before getting into the fieldwork, the researcher received ethical approval from the University of Cape Coast.

This research integrated the following ethical considerations as part of improving reliability of the research in the study. The first and foremost was the clear identification of the researcher and other members of the research team with tags and identification cards. This was meant to erase any wrong notion that may arise about why the study was being conducted and its purpose. Participants were informed that it was primarily meant to gather data for a PhD thesis in Sociology. The research procedures and processes were also communicated to the participants and their consent was formally sought before the interviews were conducted. According to Burns (2006), it is important for participants to understand the nature and purpose of the research and to freely consent to take part in a research and within their right to be aware of any possible risks and benefits that may be accrued from participating in the study. The respondents were allowed to raise questions or concerns they have and sign a consent form before the commencement of interviews. Interestingly, most of the participants found it unnecessary and therefore did not sign the form yet participated in the study.

One major fear of most of the participants was the issue of potential victimisation. Most were worried that the information they offer could be used against them by the service later. The researcher therefore had to reiterate the

guarantee of anonymity and confidentiality of the information provided. Because of this, officers' names were omitted from the records and replaced them with pseudonyms or fictitious names. The risks, discomfort and benefits that participants will derive were also communicated to them and their rights as research participants. For example, the researcher told the respondents that participation in the study was completely voluntary and they have the right to opt out at any point in time without any sanction.

While some of the participants expressed reluctance and were dilly dallying, others were very enthusiastic about participating in the study and its potential outcomes. Prominent was their view that the study can have policy implications for the police service and government action in crime prevention and control. Bosworth et al. (2005) indicated that people participate in research of this nature not because of personal gain but because of their desire to see social change and development.

Summary

This chapter sought to delineate all the methodological issues and the philosophical paradigm of the study. The study adopted a mixed methodological frame using both quantitative and qualitative approaches to secure the data. Content analysis, interviews and a limited survey were the main data collection tools. The Ghana Police Service was the principal study institution. The chapter gave background information on the Ghana Police Service and their core mandate as stipulated by law and how access was gained to these institutions to collect data. Issues about validity and reliability, ethical considerations and data management were also discussed in detail in this section. A couple of limitations that were ominous include the ability of

the study to capture the views all the district and divisional commanders of the GPS due to lack of cooperation on the part of the police service, and institutional secrecy did also not permit the service to give me some important document such as memos and minutes for the study. The inability to get any of the former IGPs to be interviewed was also another low point. However, with the interviews of their secretaries I believe the gap was somehow closed.

CHAPTER FIVE

FIGHTING ROBBERY IN GHANA: THE PAST

Overview

This chapter begins the data analysis and discussions. It covers three chapters. This chapter analyses some of the past approaches to fighting robbery. Following this chapter is the chapter six, which analyses the current operational strategies. The chapter seven deals with rethinking the policy and strategies used in fighting robbery in the country. This chapter looks mainly at how robbery has been handled in the past. Local newspaper reports on robbery were analysed for cues on the methods that the police have used or intended to use to fight robbery. Abrahamson (1983) has suggested that content analyses can be used to analyse all forms of communications or data. In the opinion of Crow and Semmens (2008), content analysis is often used as a supplementary method in a multi-method strategy.

The key goal was to find the strategies and policies that underpinned the control of robbery from 1993 to 2013 in Ghana mainly through the public statements those officials of the criminal justice or politicians and other statesmen made. The period spans two decades of constitutional rule and the study considered the period long enough for any evaluation of crime control strategies to be meaningful

To achieve this, over 3,756 newspapers and documents were reviewed for information on robbery and how it has been addressed. In all, over 724 robbery related crimes were captured from the documents and the newspapers.

The robbery control strategies that were found in the archives included using the criminal justice system, get-tough approach, informant-led approaches, patrols/hotspot, community policing and watchdog.

Criminal Justice Approach to Robbery Control

One of the oldest approaches to crime control has been that of the reliance on the criminal justice model. All modern democratic states have enacted laws or statutes that define which behaviours constitute crime and how such criminal infractions should be dealt with. The statutes also define specific punishment that the offender must suffer. Table 3 presents some of the strategies that have been used to control robbery in the country based on the content analysis

Table 3: Strategies that have been used in the Past to Control Robbery

Strategy	Count	Percent (%)
Criminal Justice Approach	274	38
Get-tough Approach	181	25
Informant-led Approach	145	20
Community Policing & Watchdog	80	11
Miscellaneous Models	44	6
Total	724	100.0

Source: Field work, Akonor (2017)

From Table 3, 38% (274) of the 724 robbery related cases prescribed the use of the criminal justice system to deal with robbery. The criminal justice agencies in Ghana include the police, the courts and the correctional institutions or the prisons. These institutions have their legitimate roles to play whenever criminal infraction occurs. For example, the police are by law permitted to arrest, investigate and prosecute, while the courts are by law supposed to adjudicate the matter independently. If an individual is convicted

and is slammed with a prison sentence, the correctional facilities come to “warehouse” such a person.

A number of the stories captured by the newspapers showed a strong preference for using the criminal justice system to solve the robbery menace in the country. For example, in a story reported by Michael Donkor in the 6th of May 2002 edition with the Daily Graphic captioned “Fast track Armed Robbery Cases”, a statement attributed to Brigadier Agyenfena suggested that the judiciary, headed by the Chief Justice, should set up special courts to deal expeditiously with robbery cases in order to avoid the longer delays that have become a feature of robbery cases. In line with this, one of the participants called Seth intimated that:

The ushering in of the 4th Republic and the 1992 Constitution was the reason for the change in policy and the reliance on the criminal justice institutions to deal with crime in Ghana. The constitutional dispensation did not permit the use of the killings and firing squad methods that were characteristic of the AFRC and the PNDC period.

He further noted that Ghana needed to show the world that it was committed to the democratic ideals enshrined in the 1992 Constitution. While the criminal justice model is one of the usual reactions to crime, this method seems not to be working for the police when it comes to fighting robbery. The police in some of their own reports have indicated that it is not easy for them to secure conviction against robbers in the law courts. For example, in the year 2016, 29,778 criminal cases were sent to the courts for trial. By close of the of the year, they had been able to secure conviction for only 8,379 cases which

represented about 28.1% of the cases, and 2.7% were acquitted and discharged. This implies that almost 69.1% of these court cases were still pending or still awaiting determination (GPS, 2016). It is also reported that out of the 177,241 complaints received by the police in 2016, 101,019 (60.5%) were still under investigation as at December, 2016. This trend of the police not being able to prosecute and secure convictions for suspected robbers is not limited to 2016. It is a perennial problem that is highlighted in all police annual reports.

According to Police Service Annual Report(2012),bottlenecks such as frequent adjournments, poor prosecutorial skills on the part of the police, lack of motivation and corruption in the system make it very difficult for the police to get the robbers convicted in the law courts (GPS, 2012). Others have recommended mandatory sentencing laws including handing down longer and harsher sentences to robbers so that they will virtually decay in the prisons. Statements like the “suspects will be arraigned before a court for prosecution” was far too common in the reports. This shows the extent to which criminal justice methods have informed the way robbery has been controlled in the country in the past. This should not be surprising because as a democratic nation, the rule of law and due process of law should be respected and adhere to. This means that the work of the police and other institutions of justice must be guided by written laws and not on the whims and caprices of individuals within the system. Therefore, using the courts and other criminal justice agencies to deal with robbery is definitely not unusual even though it poses challenges to the police.

One of the criminal justice measures introduced to control robbery in recent time was the “non-bailability” of certain offences which included robbery, murder, narcotics and sexual offence such as rape and defilement. This law was promulgated because the, police especially made a case for its passage. It was considered to be the surest way of ensuring that robbers and other serious offenders are kept in jail till their innocence or otherwise are determined by the courts. Another reason for making a case for non-bailability of robbery and other crimes were that more often than not, criminals on bail awaiting conviction go about committing more crimes and sometimes jump bail. Such practice of not granting bails to suspects till their cases were decided by the courts seems to have worked for the police, especially because it gave them some time to conduct detailed investigations into the robbery cases and gather evidence for prosecutorial purpose.

The unfortunate consequence of this practice was the massive overcrowding of prison facilities in Ghana with remand prisoners who were kept under inhuman conditions. Some of the prison facilities were so overstretched that they were more than 300 percent overcrowded (Ghana Prison Report, 2012). For example, the Nsawam Medium security Prison that was built to house 600 inmates was at a point in time occupied by over 2,000 inmates. A documentary by Seth Kwame Boateng of the Multimedia Group-Ghana on the harrowing conditions of inmates in some Ghanaian prisons brought to the fore the dangers associated with the non-bailable offences statute. The Chief Justice at the time, Mrs. Georgina Theodora Woode instituted the “Justice for All Programme” to trial the case of remand prisoners expeditiously. Some of the inmates had been on remand for more than twelve

years without trail. This also made human right lawyers to contest the legality of the section 96(7) Act 30 of 1960 at the Supreme Court of Ghana. The court by a majority decision 3-2, ruled that sections of Act 30 on non-bailable offences were illegal. This ruling has again limited the ability of the police to fight robbery because a good number of these criminals have been released on bail.

Unfortunately, some of the inmates who benefited from the Justice for All Programme have gone back to prison for committing more serious crimes. For example, the Ghana News Agency (GNA) reported in August, 2017 that two ex-convicts pardoned by the Justice for All Programme were rearrested and sentenced to a ten year jail for robbery and other related crimes. The criminal justice method of crime control seems to be very popular among politicians who need to show that they are serious and want to win the sympathies of electorate during elections. The use of criminal justice institutions to control crime comes at a huge cost to the state. As has been noted by the United Nations:

Well-planned crime prevention strategies not only prevent crime and victimisation, but also promote community safety and contribute to the sustainable development of countries. Effective, responsible crime prevention enhances the quality of life of all citizens. It has long-term benefits in terms of reducing the costs associated with formal criminal justice system, as well as other social costs that result from crime. (UNODC, p. 3 2010)

It cannot be denied that reliance on the justice system to control crime comes at a huge cost to the state in terms of the resources that have to be committed to fighting crime, keeping inmates and their maintenance. In addition, the cost of employing personnel to man the various intuitions alone is a fortune. Ghana has about 33, 213 police personnel that have to be maintained by the state all because of criminal activities. The police service is even planning to recruit an additional 20,000 in order to meet the UN 1:500 ratio which is the standard for effective policing. For example, in the 2018 budget statement, 2.6 billion Ghana Cedis was allocated to the Ministry of the Interior alone (GNA, 2017). Even at 1.8 Cedis a day per inmate, over 198.75 million Cedis was allocated to the Prison Service of Ghana (retrieved from [www.graphic.com.gh.general news/07/02/18](http://www.graphic.com.gh/general/news/07/02/18)).

While this method is costly, there turns on the investments in the criminal justice system have not commensurated with the capital injection. This is in the face of the fact that officers and inmates keep complaining about the inadequacy of the funds. This implies that while the use of the criminal justice agencies to deal with robbery may be convenient, popular and easy, it has major challenges including cost, the potential for abuse of suspects' rights and overcrowding in the prisons. It is in view of these concerns with the use of criminal justice institutions to control robbery that the UN proposes a more preventive and proactive approach to crime control.

Get-Tough Approach

Closely following the criminal justice approach to crime control was the get- tough approach. Even though this approach is part of the traditional criminal justice method or what is commonly referred to as zero-tolerance

policing, it has been singled out in this presentation for emphasis. The get-tough approach connotes ruthlessness, the police being hard on criminals especially repeat offenders and even killing “troublesome” offenders without recourse to due process of law or they being processed through the institutions of justice or being given a fair hearing. No excuses are allowed for the offences committed or the conditions under which they were committed. One of the mantras that occasioned the rise in robbery rate in 2009 was “shoot-to-kill”. Even the late president of Ghana, Prof. J. E. A. Mills was alleged to have given his blessings to the shoot-to-kill approach (retrieved from: <https://www.modernghana.com/news233725/in-defence-of-shoot-to-kill>).

Strict non-discretionary law enforcement is key to the success of zero-tolerance policing.

The get-tough or zero-tolerance approach takes inspiration from the “broken window” theory of crime. The theory states that if minor infractions or deviant behaviour are not dealt with on time, it gives the impression that no one cares and may create a state of lawlessness and social ills. As a result, such matters must be dealt with expeditiously or “nipped in the bud” before it gets out of hand (Denis, 1997, p.3).

From the content analysis, 25% of information gathered centred on the get-tough method of crime control with statements like, “we will deal with them ruthlessly”, “we will match them boot for boot”, “we will take the fight to their camp” and “we will flush them out of their hideout”. These statements on the surface sound very benign but beneath it is the manifestation of police’s real intentions and sometimes their frustrations. It is not uncommon for one to come across print media headlines like “Police gun down 3 suspected armed

robbers at Weija”, and “Suspected robbers killed in gun battle in Akasti” (retrieved from www.citifmonline.com/14/11/17).

Such headlines with the accompanying gory images of robbers shot by the police are often displayed on front pages of newspapers and the screens of some of the television stations in Ghana. Such images and incidents attract different reactions from the public. For some, the killing of robbers by the police reassures them that the police are on top of affairs and gives them a sense of security. It also tends to satisfy some robbery victims’ quest for revenge.

According to an officer from the Anti-Armed Robbery unit of Ghana Police-such incidents are not deliberate. She noted that they are often instigated by the robbers when they attack or fire shots at the police. In such cases, he said:

The rules of the game change from peaceful operation to a combat situation, therefore the police would have no option than to return fire as an act of self-defence.

A retired assistant commissioner of police also agrees with the notion that sometimes the killing of robbers in the course of police operations is not deliberate but is provoked by the robbers when they first attack the police. An assistant superintendent of police with the CID has a contrary view. He intimated that:

There are occasions when the police out of frustration, shoot-to-kill or even entrap some of the robbers just to kill them. Especially, those who have become notorious for committing

robberies and have been on the police wanted list for a long time.

He narrated a story about how his unit tried to entrap a notorious robber who had been arrested several times but could not get him convicted by the court. Out of frustration, they planned to entrap him and “just kill him”. Unfortunately for the police, he managed to escape during the operation. He alleged that this particular criminal always got his way because of the corruption in the justice system. He even accused some police personnel of being accomplices and informants to some of the criminals.

A victim of robbery noted that the revengeful attitude is somehow inherent in our national psyche because when citizens apprehend robbers they often lynch them. This is because some believe that if they hand them over to the police, they will not prosecute them or they will take bribe and leave them for lack of prosecution. The police also complain that often the victims of such cases do not follow up to assist the police with the prosecution or serve as prosecution witnesses. The police also sometimes express disappointments with processing suspect through the criminal justice system, especially, getting robbers convicted by the courts. While the police are quick to put the blame at the doorsteps of the courts for lack of understanding and support, the judiciary, on the other hand also asserts that police officers lack prosecutorial skills and poor investigation which often culminate in poor evidence during trial.

A private legal practitioner by name “Dee” noted that these are some of the major reasons why the courts have not been convicting robbers. She further noted that courts do not deal with hearsay matters. To secure a criminal

conviction, the guilt of the suspect must be established beyond “reasonable doubt” by the prosecutor. She asserted:

So whenever there are doubts or the prosecutor is unable to provide credible evidence to support his claims, or the defence lawyers are able to punch holes or water down the prosecutors’ argument or the position, the jury or the judge may not convict the suspects on the accounts of sheer suspicion.

The get-tough approach comes with mandatory prison sentencing for serious offenders, denial of bail and sometimes the police acquiring all the sophisticated gadgets and displaying what is normally called “show of force”. This approach definitely contributes to the rise in prison population and overcrowding because it leads to increase in confinement, holdups in jails and in correctional facilities. Some have asserted that the use of force could create or result in abuses of human rights and defeat the purpose of criminal justice which guarantees fair trial and rule of law (Sacco & Kennedy, 2012).

Another major problem with get-tough policing is that it tends to be more reactive instead of being proactive. As a result, it does not address the fundamentals of criminal behaviour (Sacco & Kennedy, 2012). Donzinger (1996) and Schendinger and Schwendinger (1993) have hinted that the get-tough policing is limited because there is no empirical support to the notion that investing more resources in the police or the criminal justice system necessarily leads to reduction in crime.

The major feature of this model is the use of deadly force where police sometimes become trigger happy or are quick to pull the trigger with least resistance when dealing with armed criminals. This posture has resulted in the

death of many innocent citizens who were mistaken for armed robbers. In a story posted on Ghanaweb (retrieved from: [www.https://ghanaweb.com/06/11/2016](http://www.ghanaweb.com/06/11/2016)), a police officer who was escorting passengers on a public transport was allegedly shot and killed in Dawadawa in the Northern region of Ghana. In recent time, police officers have come under reprisal attacks from armed robbers. Some of these attacks took place in broad day light while others were unprovoked. As it is said, violence begets violence, the police use of deadly force has also triggered a violent response from armed robbers to the extent that now every uniformed police personnel is in danger of violent attack. The sustained use of get-tough policing has resulted in the mainstreaming violence instead of crime prevention and control.

Informant-led Policing

One of the crime control strategies that is often touted by the police as contributing to their success rate is the use of informants or leads. Police work all over the globe requires the effective collaboration between the citizens and the police in order to achieve the desired outcomes. Because the police are limited in number, they cannot be everywhere crime is committed. But the citizens can almost always be privy to or chance on criminal events such as robbery. The importance of informants to police work is well-acknowledged by researchers such as Grieve (1987), Lyman (1987) and Marx (1988).

This model constituted 20% of the data collected from the newspaper content. Statements such as “the police acted upon a tip-off”; “someone gave us intelligence or a hint”, “through tip-off”, “appealed to the public to volunteer information” were some of the indicators of the use of informants. Built into the informant-led model is an incentive scheme to reward people

who volunteer information that leads to the arrest of wanted criminals. Eck (1983) has long suggested that there is the need for the police officers to combine the use of informants with patrols in their work. It really makes sense for the police to use informants to secure actionable intelligence for their work. This model of crime control may not be too expensive like criminal justice or zero-tolerance approach because of the relatively easy manner in which the police can procure tip-off, leads or informants.

That notwithstanding, the model has its own problems as it is succinctly captured in some literature. The main problem with this model in Ghana is that first and foremost, there are no formal regulations or guidelines on how informants should be procured, or who is qualified as an informant to be used by the police, and the terms of informant/police relations--what is permitted and what is not permitted. This has created room for the police to use their own discretion in dealing with informants. This lack of legal regulations can be perilous for both the informer and the police. One problem that confronts the police in using informants is how to establish the credibility of the informants and the information presented. Two key factors that would have to be used as a litmus test when using informants is that the credibility and reliability of the informants must be established (Lowe, 2015).

Another challenge with the use of informants is trust. Quite often than not, some individual "walk ins" or ordinary citizens who on their own volition provide information to the police alleged they were later betrayed by the police because they leaked the information to the suspects. This creates mistrust and suspicion among the public and unwillingness to offer the police tip-offs. It is because of the unwillingness of people to volunteer information

to the police that is why the police are forced to add cash reward as an incentive to entice people to volunteer information. For example, Kwame Asare Baodu reported in the 23rd September 2005, edition of the Daily Graphic that the Police Service has offered 5 million Cedis reward for anyone who will provide information that will lead to the arrest of five wanted robbers. In some jurisdictions like the United States of America, the identity of an informant is legally protected as a kind of 'privilege information' between the police and the informant. In such circumstances, an officer may refuse to disclose the identity of his or her informant even under oath. Identity protection is fundamental to protecting the source of knowledge (Miller, 2011).

It is not only the citizens who have problems with trust. The police also sometimes have difficulty trusting their "source" and the credibility of their information. They often encounter the type of informants Quantson (2006) calls "bogus informants". These are the people who present lies as information just to obtain vain glory and self-aggrandisement or just to meet some psycho-social needs. There are others who work for the police and the criminals as well. So they seek acquaintance with police in order to collect information for their criminal compatriots, while at the same time pretending to work for the police. There are others who also fabricate stories in order to get their enemies, competitors and opponents into trouble so that they have their way. The head of the Anti-Armed Robbery unit stressed during an interview that:

The cultivation of informants is crucial to police in fighting robbery. He indicated that he handled case a where an informant told the police that he knew the suspect behind a robbery incidence in the Eastern Region. So the police arrested the suspect on the accounts of the alleged informant. However, the informant later came to confess to them that he has been having sleepless nights because the suspect is innocent. His brother asked him to accuse the gentleman of the crime because they have a longstanding dispute with his family. So the gentlemen should be freed because he was innocent.

While the police cannot do without informants, it is important for police to double check the information passed on to them by informants before they act upon it. This will help reduce potential legal tussle over wrongful arrests and innocent people being made to suffer for offences that they have not committed.

Community Policing and Watchdogs Committees

Community policing has become a major crime control model which has been implemented in other countries such the US, Canada and Australia with different degrees of success. It is collaborative partnership between law enforcement agencies and relevant groups, individuals and organisation to solve community safety and crime problems. It operates on the recognition that the police alone cannot solve these problems (retrieved from <http://cops.usdoj.gov/pdf/vets.17/11/17>) Community policing featured about 80 times in the discourse on robbery control as captured from the content analysis. That is about 11% of the total data. Statements such as “the public

should pay attention to the formation of watchdog committees”, “police must improve their public image”, “the police must build rapport and meaningful interaction with public to enhance law enforcement”, “will improve the community policing unit of the service” and “neighbours must act as watchdog” were used. This model constitutes the least method captured in the content of the materials reviewed.

On the 13th of August, 2011, the Ghana Police Service launched the Community Policing Unit (CPU) with the aim of educating the communities on crime in order to make our communities safer. As the Deputy Commissioner of Police (DCOP) Mina Ayim highlighted, crime control is now viewed as a joint responsibility between the police and the public (retrieved from <http://www.ghananewsagency.org/social/ghana-police>). She noted that the Unit will partner and work together to prevent and reduce crime in communities.

Gottfredson and Hirschi (1995) have long observed that using the law enforcement methods to control crime was in itself limited because of the spontaneous nature of some criminal activities. This is because, according to Knoeig (1991) and Bayley (1985), there is no relationship between the number of police in a society and the level of crime. Community policing puts emphasis on direct involvement of police officers with community members. It is normally organized around less “rigid hierarchies and protocols, and attempted to address the root causes of neighbourhood crime with the assistance of the larger community” (Diamond & Weiss, 2009).

According to Assistant Commissioner of Police (ACP) Mrs Habiba Twumasi Sarpong, the Director of CPU, the police service introduced

community policing model as a tool to augment the activities of the traditional professional model which is hierarchical, bureaucratic and less proactive. The community policing model was supposed to bring on board ideals such as organisational transformation, community partnership and focus on problem solving. The organisational transformation requires that changes are made in the police structure and how departments operate (Diamond & Weiss, 2009). Unfortunately, the Ghana Police Service does not seem to have undergone any major organisational changes in line with the introduction of community policing. One of the organisational transformations that the police have to initiate is the rearrangements of departments on geographical basis or decentralisation of policing responsibilities.

The assumption is that if the police decentralise and reduce the reliance on the top-down approach to fighting crime, it will give its localised officers closer and more frequent contact with locals. This could improve police/locals relationship and lead to increased understanding of local concerns and priorities. Even though there is a whole community policing unit with the headquarters in Accra, it is still under the GPS without any form of decentralisation. The concept of Community Policing Assistants (CPAs) as a partnership between the Ghana Police Service and the Youth Employment Agency (YEA) has not fostered the needed decentralisation of police powers. The CPAs are still under the supervision of the GPS and take instructions from them. It is more organised to support the work of GPS than to solve community problems.

One of the commanders of the service noted that some of the personnel of the YEA have become errand personnel for the police, because

their roles within the law enforcement institutions are not well defined. As a result of this, community partnership which is critical to the success of community policing has not been built and its problem solving goal has also not been achieved. Part of the problem for the current state of community policing according a retired police commissioner is lack of proper conceptualisation of the model. According to a retired police commissioner:

The government and the Ghana Police Service have not been able to clearly conceptualise what they want to do by taking a cue from best practices elsewhere. The whole success of the model depends on what the IGP or the Minister for the Interior may sanction. (Interview with a retired commissioner of police, 2017)

Another reason that may account for the lack of full implementation of community policing has been attributed to the unwillingness of the police service to relinquish or delegate some of their powers to another entity or to open-up to the idea of allowing other agencies to perform some of their traditional roles (Sacco & Kennedy, 2002). Some of the police personnel also complained about the deviant behaviours of some of the YEA personnel.

In addition, it has been observed that how residents view the police have a direct impact on their involvement in community policing activities and its implementation in general (Scheider, et, al 2003). While it cannot be said that the citizens of Ghana are anti-police, there are communities and people who have had bad experiences with police and as a result marred their relationships. A human rights lawyer Erickus noted that:

Police brutalities and some misconduct have strained their interactions with some citizens and communities in Ghana. Killings of innocent people all in the name of fighting robbery and their attempts to cover up have created mistrust...the police cannot be relied upon. Again, the way they maltreat suspects does not engender community cooperation in dealing with robbery.

A key feature of CP is the formation of community watchdog groups or associations. This involves the police helping various communities that are threatened by the activities of criminals to mobilise and organise the members to police their respective communities. Watchdog is an individual or group that keeps an eye on a particular entity or a particular element of community concern, and warns members of the community when there is actual or perceived danger. Crime watchdogs are mostly concerned with the safety and protection of the community members from the criminal events.

Organising such groups require resources, including not only money, but also people and their skills, talents, time and trust. It also demands training, planning, time, and the ability to gain accurate information, communication and interpersonal skills. (retrieved from: <https://ctb.ku.edu/en/table-of-contents/advocacy/advocacy-research/act-as-watchdog/main/18/03/2018>). The watchdog system has also had its challenges. Key amongst them is the abuse of the watchdog role by some individuals. Some have turned their watchdog role into police/military entities, stepping out of bounds of their operations. Dr. Benjamin Kumbour, former Minister for the Interior, once told a story of how some of these community members

armed with pump action guns and tasked to watch the Ashogman estates in Accra ended up using those weapons to commit robbery in another suburb of Accra.

Others also become vigilante groups, abusing citizen's rights and engaging in extortions and "land-guard" activities. There are reported cases where the watchdog members have also come under attack from both criminals and security agencies. The Taifa shooting incidence where the police gunned down innocent four watchdog members cited earlier in the literature is a case in point. Apathy and mistrust among citizens have also not helped the success of the neighbourhood watchdog even though it could be a major breakthrough in the fight against robbery.

Miscellaneous Models

A number of models have been tagged miscellaneous because of the relatively small number of cases that were captured under those categories. Issues such as the provision of logistics, snap checks, training, welfare, professionalism, lack of personnel and motivation of personnel constitutes the miscellaneous. The miscellaneous constituted 6% of the cases captured, that is 44 out of 724 cases. One of the retired commissioner of police did hint that training, welfare and motivation are crucial for successful police work and for that matter crime combat.

He emphasised that training defines the personnel. What an officer is made of is basically a product of his training and the skills acquired during the training period. Thus, if the training and skills acquisition is compromised or is not rigorous, we may end up putting on the streets inefficient men. The police need well-structured and up-to-date training in areas such as weapon

handling, crime detection, intelligence gathering and prosecution of suspects. He lamented that if personnel do not gain skills in these areas, they cannot be effective and efficient in their work.

In report captured by the Daily Graphic on the 20th of March, 1999, the then IGP Mr Peter Nanfuri, in an address read on his behalf by Dr. K.K. Marfo during a training course for officers of the service urged the participants to act professionally and urgently on cases that are reported to them by crime victims. It is therefore not strange that the service has this as one of its core objectives in the Five Strategic Plan. It sought to achieve and develop a professionally competent police service through systematic recruitment of qualified staff and regular training and development of all staff (GPS Five Year Strategic Plan, p. 6, 2010). Mr. Asante Appeatu has also noted the importance of training programme to the service. He observed that the importance of training to the police service cannot be over-emphasised because the current professional skills and competencies of most of the personnel have dwindled and that it has impacted the performance of the personnel (retrieved from: <http://citifmonline.com/> 12/12/2017).

A sad story of a young police detective who was shot in the pelvic by a colleague in the course of arresting suspect was cited as one of the effects of lack of continuous education and training. A participant observed that:

On that fateful day, a police detective and a general duty officer were dispatched to arrest a suspect in a suburb of Kumasi. In the process of the arrest, the detective was shot in the pelvic by the colleague.

The officer said the unfortunate accident happened probably because the officer who was handling the weapon was not skillful in the use of the particular weapon or has not received any training on weapon drills since he left the police college. Another officer also indicated that a good number of officers do not want to handle weapons because they are not competent in its use. He cited a situation in which his colleague officer came to his apartment in the barracks and took his Ak 47 assault rifle to try it. He opined that the way his friend took the weapon scared him and had to shout at him to keep the nozzle of the gun down because there was evidence that he did not know how to handle the weapon. Upon inquiry, the friend confessed that since they left college he has not had the opportunity to use any weapon. What this short narrative seeks to pin point is that training, and for that matter in-service training, is crucial to the success of police work. Therefore when it is neglected, officers may not be able to deliver the kind of services that are required of them and crime control efforts may also not yield positive results.

Welfare and motivation matters are equally important in the work police do, in that they can lose their lives in the line of duty. Welfare issues such as police accommodation, insurance, health and other incentives were some of the issues that were said to be impacting the work of the police. It is in line with this that the IGP, Mr. Asante Appeatu in October, 2017, launched a welfare package for the service in order to boost the morale of the personnel as part of what he calls the "Transformation Agenda" (retrieved from <https://www.graphiconline.com> 2310/2017). Under the welfare package, police officers have been given insurance cover to the tune of 50,000 Cedis in the event of death and 25,000 cedis in case of an accident in the line of duty.

In addition, an officer who dies in the course of duty will have 3 of his/her children's education catered for from nursery to the tertiary level.

An officer in charge of operations noted that these developments in the service will go a long way to motivate personnel to go all out to service the nation. He said, the way the service handled the welfare of the "men" who died in the line of duty and their families was rather poor and undermined the morale of the personnel. They were not given any insurance cover and the worse of all was that the families of these individuals almost all the time were ejected from the police barracks without basic compensation and support apart from the gratuity that they received. He said that because of this, the police officers were not willing to confront robbers, especially for fear of being killed and not adequately compensated. He recounted a situation where robbery victims will call the patrol unit for help for instance from Kaneshie, yet they will not go in that direction but rather go to Odorkor or will delay so that by the time they get to the crime scene, the robbers might have left. He said he was confident that with this welfare package, the men will be encouraged to give their best for the country and be more committed to execute their mandated task.

It is a known fact that the Police Service has acute accommodation and logistical challenge with a number of officers leaving in private rented apartments that do not have standard facilities like washrooms and other utilities. Since the country was ushered into the Fourth Republic, various governments have made efforts to retool the service to enable it perform its constitutional duties. Yet, they still lament the inadequacy of logistics and

request for an improvement in the logistics situation of the service. An officer in charge of the visibility section of the service stated:

Simple gadget like bullet proof vest is lacking. Even though we have some, they are so heavy that the men complain about back pains and other discomfort when they use it. We cannot do without them especially when it comes to crime combat because these robbers are heartless and they will want to cause havoc. Even though there are modern ones that are lighter and user friendly, we do not have those ones yet. They brought some but my checks indicate that they are not fit for purpose.

The lack of logistics has been one of the major constraints to effective crime combat in Ghana. Different regimes have made efforts to meet the logistics needs of the police. For example, a respondent indicated that the service lacks adequate logistics such as vehicles and communication equipment. She noted that even though President Akuffo Addo has promised about 100 Toyota Corolla vehicles to augment their fleet of cars, she believes that is not adequate given the number of station that they have to serve and the fact that some of the stations need more than five vehicles for them to be efficient. She also noted that given the nature of roads in the country and the rugged terrain that police would have to navigate in the course of their operations, four-wheel pickups or sub-urban vehicles (SUV) would have been more suitable. Government continues to assure the service that it will provide the necessary logistics and resources to enable the Ghana Police Service to perform its constitutional mandate (retrieved from: <http://www.ghana.gov.gh>).

One area that officers complained was impinging on their work and morale was delayed promotions and lack of due procedure in promotions. An officer who has been on his current position for 7 years said that when he was posted to his current station, he was active and enthusiastic about his work. For instance, previously, he used to visit the various check points in the vicinity three times before daybreak to ensure that as it were, the boys were at post. He stressed that now he visits once and goes to sleep because there is no motivation. Some people have been promoted without first going to Winneba Command Training College while others are still marking time even though they are due for promotion. As he put it:

It is not so much about the financial rewards that go with promotion that I am looking for or seeking to achieve, but rather the psycho-social satisfaction, the self-fulfilment and the self-actualisation. This, you cannot put any value on. It is the motive force behind my action (Ike)

While it was not clear from the documents how long these methods were used and the various epochs, it was clear that the much of the get-tough language were captured in the 1990s. However, the narrative shifted towards a more democratic policing language probably because of the ushering in of the Fourth Republication Constitution in 1992.

Effectiveness of the Crime Control Models

One of the questions that the study sought to answer was whether the various crime control models used in the past worked in reducing the rate of robbery in Ghana. This question was very difficult to answer because the various methods that had been applied to combat robbery were not applied

with specific time indications to make it possible for one to do any scientific assessment of their successes or failures. An officer with the research department of the service observed that they normally rely on the crime data that are compiled by the Information and Statistics Bureau of the CID, and feedback from the general public and intelligence as indicators to measure their success or otherwise. He was however quick to add that it can be problematic because as he said, there are issues with the validity of the crime data that the police compile.

The study shares his view that using crime statistics compiled by the service to determine the success of crime control programmes is deficient because of a number of factors. In the first place, the crime statistics recorded by the police annually is based on only reported cases. That is, cases that crime victims report to the police only. It is therefore obvious that if a crime victim chooses not to report crime incidents to the police, it will not be captured in the police data. As has already been highlighted in the literature, most people do not report crimes to the police because they think it is waste of time, others also do not trust the police and some people also do not believe in the ability of the police to deliver on their mandate.

The study also supports the view that it is inappropriate for anyone to use solely reduction in crime rate to measure the success of a crime control programme by the reduction in crime rate because there no fixed times within which implementation starts and ends to enable evaluation to be conducted. In addition, the police service adopts a multi-model approach to crime combat. This means that at every point in time, more than one model may be in operation so it will be very difficult to delineate or isolate the effect of each

model for scientific assessment. As has been noted in other jurisdictions, such data is subject to manipulations by the institutions that compiled them.

An officer from Sunyani in the Brong Ahafo Region hinted that sometimes in order to create certain impressions in the eyes of the public and also to gain some political advantage, crime figures, in particular robbery, is “doctored”. He cited a case where his superiors would ask them to record robbery as burglary just to create the impression that all is well in that particular area. While there are deliberate attempts on the part of some officers to manipulate crime figures, some of the distortions are rather technical in nature. For example, if a robber robs five households in the same compound or apartment within same period, according the police, it will be recorded as one robbery. However, if the same robber robs five households in the same compound at different points in time or days, it will be captured as five robberies. These challenges therefore make the data computed by the police service unreliable to be used in the evaluation of crime control programmes. Thus a more reliable source of crime data is required for successful evaluation (Siegel, 2016)

While the validity issues that plague the police official crime data make full reliance on it difficult some have suggested, based on the these figures that the get-tough or zero-tolerance models and informant-led policing were the most effective in dealing with the robbery problem. Their assertions were based on what happened during the AFRC/PNDC military regimes. Robbers were dealt with harshly and swiftly. Because of that, one former cadre of the regime opined:

Robbery levels were very low because the system was the no nonsense type. Robbers were shot at the Teshie shooting range once arrested and sentenced by the National Tribunal headed by My Agyekum--you dare not--you will either be killed by firing squad or by hanging at Nsawam. But, sorry to say this, the democracy thing is not helping matters and we need to look at it again. Immediately you touch a robber, human rights advocates will talk and talk ahhhhhh!As if the police are rather the problem.

There were a couple of respondents who were of the same opinion that robbery situation has become worse because of the introduction of democratic governance and the enforcement of due process and human rights by the courts. Thus if we can go back to the military era arrangements, the robbery rate will reduce. The question that those who hold this notion fail to answer is, if the military system as some believed eradicated robbery, why then has it resurfaced? As has been noted, the get-tough is most useful when you want quick results but it cannot eradicate the problem of robbery. At best, it displaces the crime geographically or specially. It is therefore imperative for more comprehensive structures and mechanisms to be put in place to tackle robbery in a more constructive manner.

Summary

Information on robbery gleaned from print media presentations show that several models of crime control have been used in different combinations to address the problem of robbery in the country. Prominent among the models were the criminal justice, the get-tough or zero tolerance, the informant-led policing, community policing models and others labelled as

miscellaneous in the study. These crime models, according to the respondents have had different success rate when one uses the crime rate of the country as a standard to determine. The study contests the assumption that once crime rate falls then it implies crime programmes put in place are working because that data is fraught with some technical and methodological inaccuracies. .

CHAPTER SIX

FIGHTING ROBBERY IN GHANA: THE PRESENT

Overview

This chapter is the second component of the analysis which explores the institutional arrangement and mechanisms in place in terms of policies and strategies to fight robbery in the recent time, that is from 2012-2017. Crime control/prevention involves a continuum of activities that the police have been engaging in since its inception as governmental agencies mandated to fight crime. Through the content analysis of the local print media reportage and other documents on robbery, the study was able to capture some of the methods that have been used to control robbery from 1993-2013. As has been stated, fighting crime is more of a continuous engagement that involves the police service implementing measures that are considered relevant for a particular setting and for a particular crime.

This means that robbery combat is not one-stop event where a programme is rolled out and its impacts are evaluated before the next project. Robbery prevention and control has been more of a multi-model measure or programme where at any point in time, more than one crime control model is in operation. In view of this, the 1993-2013 epochs which is a two decade period was only delineated for analytical purposes. This is because the study assumes that a two decade period is long enough for any programme to bear results and to gather substantial data for the study.

The data for the analysis was gathered through interviewing key stakeholders and informants in the Police Service, the Ministry of the Interior, lawyers, social welfare officers, personnel of the listed security agencies, retired police officers, civil society and other key informants to solicit their views on the subject under investigations and the way forward. A survey was conducted among 250 sandwich student from different background to obtain their views on robbery and its policing. In particular, the study discusses the kind of knowledge that has informed crime control in Ghana, with particular reference to robbery and to also determine whether the country has a crime control policy and interrogate the processes that were adopted to arrive at those policies.

Brief Profile of the Respondents

The profile of the respondents in the survey is presented here for the purpose of meeting aspects of the canons of thesis writing in University of Cape Coast even though they are not of any immediate relevance to the discussions and the results. The study's main interest was in the policies and the method that have informed robbery control in Ghana. The views of this deviant sample who do not meet the criterion for the key informant interviews were elicited to capture how Ghanaians perceive robbery and the police efforts to fight it. In all, 151 respondents returned their questionnaires for the analysis. They were made up of 98 (58.3%) males and 63(41.7%) females with ages between 24 -55 years. The gender representation in the census generally reflects the male/female ratio in the University of Cape which is between 33-40 percent (UCC Basic Statistics, 2017).

All the respondents were literate with the minimum level of educational attainment being secondary school level and the highest being masters degree level. The respondents came from different occupational backgrounds including the security services (56)-(migration, police, customs, prisons, BNI, private security organisations), civil and public services (51), and the private sector (16) and Social workers (28). The respondents were given the option to indicate whether they want to be mentioned or cited in the work. Out of the 151 respondents, only one indicated that thesis can cite him and went ahead to provide his full name and contact details. As a result of this, almost all the names provided as part the analysis are fictitious in order to protect the identity of the respondents.

General Public's Views on Robbery

As Karmen (2013) observed, robbery is the most feared and hated of all street crimes. This notion was also confirmed by the most of the respondents in the survey. About 102 (67.5%) respondents ranked robbery as the most feared crime while 47 (31.1%). indicated murder was most dangerous crime. The head of the Anti-Armed Robbery Squared (AARS) also and his assistant unequivocally confirmed that robbery is most feared crime in the country. This is because it has the threat of the use of force and violence fused into it (Mathew, 2012). It is also an act that can potentially leave its victims with various degrees of injury to even death because it mostly entails a face-to-face encounter with people who may be completely strangers or familiar. Robbers may also be armed with all types of weapons from a simple knife to Ak 47 assault rifle. The question about the fear of criminal victimisation was posed to the respondents in order to ascertain whether robbery indeed is the

most feared crime in Ghana, and for that matter if it should occupy the attention of academics, policy makers and other stakeholders.

Some of the reasons the respondents (42%) gave for listing robbery as the most dread crime were that the ordeal that robbers take their victims through and the resultant trauma are enough to send chills down the spine of most people. Some of the participants (39%) mentioned in particular the cruel “victim management style” that may involve physical assault, intimidation and threats of use violence of all forms including rape and death when events do not proceed according to the robbers’ “game plan”.

A detective sergeant with the CID named Sgt. Low, stated:

Because it [robbery] involves the use of deadly weapons - which they [robbers] use to put fear... into lives of the victims and their valuable property taken in a minute. Robbery may lead to physical harm and psychological trauma and economic loss of one life savings.

Another detective corporal with the same unit also noted that the likelihood that the victims may be raped or sexually assaulted makes robbery a dreaded crime. Interestingly, most of the participants were less worried about the loss of their properties than their lives which they claimed are worth sacrificing all the other life goods for. Only 8(5.3%) of the participants in the survey were worried about the loss of their property while the 103 (68.2%) were more concerned about the loss of lives in the course of robbery. A respondent quoted a scripture from the book of Job 2:4 to buttress her point: *So Satan answered the Lord and said skin for skin. Yes, all that a man has he will give for his life.* This according the respondent, implies that when it comes

to choosing life as against property, the devil even knows that it is prudent to choose life and lose your property because life goods are only relevant when one has life to enjoy them, she indicated. The primary motive behind robbery is theft of the victims' property, yet sometimes, the situation can get out of hand and the victim is maimed badly or killed in the process. Whether a robber is armed or not armed, they can leave their victims with different levels of harm because of its confrontational nature and that is the main reason why most people have high apprehension for robbery (Karmen, 2013).

Some of the respondents also hinted that the way the media especially the FM stations report on robbery contributes to their fear of robbery. They were particularly worried about the way some of the media houses hype the stories and would give all the vivid descriptions about how the robbery was executed and the way the victims were maltreated. A couple of the respondents were particularly worried about the fact that not much will happen to the suspects in terms of arrest and prosecution. These and many other issues that border on the safety of victims during robbery were some of the reasons that the participants gave for their fear of robbery. As has been indicated, robbers may injure their victims first, to intimidate them to accede to their whims and caprices and second, they may also harm when the victims refuse to cooperate with them or resist the operation (Karmen, 2013). The fear most of the people had for robbery stems from the negative impacts it has on the victims and the general public such as death and sexual abuse of victims, lost of property and the psychological trauma. The fears and the anxieties of the citizens are further worsened due to the fact that the respondents/participants do not believe in the potency of policing methods especially the zero-tolerance

and the criminal justice approach and have thus resorted to self-help such as acquiring guns, employing private security, fixing electronic surveillance gargets and brute handling (lynching) of suspected robbers as a deterrent measure and a statement that robbery will not be tolerated.

Respondents Views on the Level of Robbery and its Effects

The views of the respondents were sought on the rate of robbery and its effects. While the police service often use their statistics on robbery to convince Ghanaians that robbery incidences are low, the respondents had contrary view. For instance, the head of AARS was emphatic that crime rate has dropped. However respondents held contrary views as indicated in Table 4.

Table 4: The Views of Respondents on the Level of Robbery

Views of robbery	Frequency	Percent (%)
Very high	62	41.0
High	50	31.0
Quite high	33	21.9
Low	5	3.3
Very low	1	0.7
Total	151	100.0

Source: Field work, Akonor (2017)

From Table 4, about 144 (94.4%) of the respondents cumulatively indicated that robbery rate is high with only 6 (4%) indicating it is that robbery levels are low. In addition, 132 (87.4%) of the participants did hint robbery incidence had been reported in their vicinity during the past six months. This clearly shows the contrary views of the citizens on robbery against that of the police. As of the respondents called Ziga noted:

The police do not live in the country so they can say what they like. But if they really lived in this country they will not dare come up with the figures they always put out there. They are just not doing what they are paid to do.

It was observed by the a respondent that it is the high rate of robbery cases reported, and the inability of the police to prevent and arrest suspected robbers which have contributed to the insecurity situation the country now finds itself, and has heightened the fear and apprehension of the citizens about this common law crime. The programmes manager for Foundation for Security and Development in Africa (FOSDA), as civil society observed that:

The inability of the police to deal with the robbery problem in the country has further worsened the small arms situations in the country. More people are acquiring guns--most of them illicit--with the aim of protecting themselves and their property which ends up compounding personal safety and security. It's really a vicious cycle.

Other respondents expressed similar concerns about how the need for personal protection is pushing people to acquire guns. The high level of robbery definitely has implications for community safety and social life of the people. A director the Department Social Welfare hinted that robbery has affected night life especially in Accra and other urban centres.

National Crime Prevention/Control Policy

Crime prevention and control is a key national security agenda for every country that seeks to guarantee the safety of its citizens and their welfare. It thus behoves on such governments and nations to put in place a

national framework or policy to guide the gamut of activities which must be implemented to reduce or control violent crimes such as robbery. United Nations has enjoined its member states and governments to play a leadership role in developing crime prevention policies, strategies and programmes in their respective jurisdictions (UNODC, 2010). It was in line with this proposal by the UN that the study sought to find out whether Ghana has a crime prevention/control policy in general and in particular, any policy or programme for the control of robbery.

Even though the review of back editions of newspaper gave some hints about police operational strategies, there were virtually no specific government policies on robbery captured by the newspapers. My interaction with the Chief Director of Ministry of the Interior confirmed that the ministry and for the matter Ghana, has not developed any crime control policy in its strict terms. In her response to the questions on whether the country has crime control programme or policy, the director said "I haven't sighted anything like that, maybe the CID will have a plan". The ministry has supervisory role over all the agencies that are tasked with ensuring internal peace and security including the Police Service, Fire Service, Prisons Service and Immigration Service. Given her privileged position and oversight responsibility over these agencies, if there were any such documents or policies it would not have evaded the attention of the director or the Ministry of the Interior.

When the same question was posed to the head of AARS, he said the police have a policy for crime control but he could not provide a documentary support to his claims. He rather said the policies are scattered in various documents and directed me to consult the statistics and the Information

Bureau Unit of the CID and the Public Affairs Directorate for further checks but those checks did not yield any positive results.

Apparently, what the officer was referring to as policy was the various police operational strategies that are borne out of best practices from some advanced countries. In particular, he cited the Strategic National Policing Plan of 2010-2014. While the plan delineates some strategies to improve police operations in Ghana, its key goal is to improve the efficiency and professionalism of the personnel in the service. It falls short of being an integrative national plan, drawn after multi-national consultations. Holistic national crime control plan involves all the entire agencies under the Ministry for the Interior in respect to crime prevention and control. Unfortunately, Ghana has not found it prudent to develop a national crime prevention/control policy or plan as it has been done in the areas of youth development, disability and the rest.

Lack of a comprehensive national crime control plan or policy hampers effective programme process and outcome evaluation because of the absence of clear programme conceptualisation and objectives. It has been observed that irrespective of whether a researcher is conducting a process and/or outcome evaluation, it is very crucial for the evaluation design and research methods to be determined early in the life of the project (AIC 2012; Weatherburn, 2009). Therefore, in the absence of such policy benchmarks, it may be difficult to set out appropriate research design and methods at the onset of crime evaluation study.

Some of the respondents were of the opinion that Ghana does not need to reinvent the wheel in that there are so many advanced countries which have

developed policies and models that it can adopt. A retired commissioner called SAK reiterated that:

Ghana must seek the assistance of global partners. We live in international community or global village so we can rely on other countries with the best practices to fix the crime problem. There are countries that will share their experiences with us if we approach them.

Some of the participants did not see the need for a national crime prevention and control that adopt multi-sector approach in fighting crime. Those who believe that Ghana should rely on its international partners to deal with robbery menace or to build our crime control policies, programmes and capabilities may not be far from right. As a nation, we can always rely on the goodwill and support of our partners to surmount common social problems including robbery.

However, this study wishes to differ from that view point. This is because it is quite erroneous for anyone to think that we can always import programmes and ideas from abroad and imbibe them hook line and sinker. Even though robbery is a common social problem confronting both the developed and developing countries, it is imperative to stress that the conditions which contribute to the festering of robbery in Ghana may not be the same as those in other countries. From the literature, crime such as robbery is influenced by individual traits, social, economic, cultural, developmental and other intricate factors.

It is as a result of this observation and the need to incorporate local exigencies into crime control/prevention policies that the UN proposed that

crime control focus should shift from determining what works to understanding the mechanism through which projects work and inclusion of local needs (UNODC, 2010). As is succinctly captured in the guideline:

The economic and social circumstances of a country, its level of development and its capacity, as well as its political history, are all factors that will influence the needs of that country, the crime problem it faces, the feasibility and appropriateness of interventions (p, 5)

Context is definitely important. The social context within which these crimes occur is crucial in designing programmes to mitigate it. It is in the light of this that the study supports the view that the country needs a crime prevention/control policy which has been crafted based on the local needs and conditions.

Extent to which Crime Control in Ghana Knowledge-Driven

Another important element that is closely connected to the development of crime control policy is the kind of knowledge that informed the policy or the strategies so designed. Knowledge is important in every field of endeavour including the area of crime prevention. It is in view of this that most advanced countries spend huge sums of money on research projects. The UN Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime proposes that:

Crime prevention strategies, policies, programmes and actions should be based on broad, multidisciplinary foundations of knowledge about crime problems, their multiple causes... and proven practices (p, 47).

The study therefore probed the type of knowledge that has informed robbery control in Ghana. While some of the police officers interviewed were of the

opinion that crime control in Ghana is knowledge-led or evidence-based, they could not specify the kind of knowledge-in terms of theories which underpin robbery control efforts except to say that they normally gather relevant intelligence to guide their day-to-day operations. Knowledge-driven crime control measures are very relevant to crime combat because different criminological theories have different prescriptions for crime control.

There are in fact different causal factors to robbery that requires the collection of data from a broad range of sectors and sources, (UNODC, 2010). Given the fact that the official crime data do not capture all the crimes that are committed in a jurisdiction due to poor reporting and other challenges, dependence on such information for planning, policy formulation and programme design geared towards arresting the robbery menace can be problematic if not a recipe for failure. A prudent crime control programme that is knowledge driven must seek to gather the relevant information on the size and scope, and analyse the causes of crime and propose possible solutions (UNODC, 2010).

Even though the service has a research department, its mandate is nebulous and bereft of resources and the freedom to operate. Its shadowy stature and the fact that it has become a kind of dumping grounds for the “undesirable elements” in the service is worrisome. An officer lamented:

That unit is supposed to be a vibrant section of the service where they can provide management with important research feedbacks to guide operations. But look, it has rather become a kind of a desert area where they send people whom they want to frustrate because of their so called political affiliations. Look at the officer currently

put there, he's operational man yet because of his alleged dealings with the previous administration, they have sent him there to waste away.

The 2016 Annual report of the service has stated that the research and planning unit has the main responsibility of providing the police administration with innovative policy direction through scientific research methods, analysis of the organisation data, planning and implementation of research findings and application of technology to administrative and operational strategies. It supports the other directorates with empirical research findings that guide the formulation of policies. It has also been tasked to monitor and evaluate other organs of the service (GPS Annual Report, 2016). While this information looks very good and promising, the real issues on the ground are quite different. The unit has not been able to fulfil its mandate because of lack of logistics, funding and support from the police administration. He noted that research is capital intensive so the service will need the support and collaboration of other entities in order to achieve its mandate.

A knowledge-led crime control programme is more likely to succeed than the "business as usual" approach to crime control. This is because such a system is more amenable to scientific evaluation and sustainability. Again, a couple of the respondents reiterated their earlier position that once a programme developed and tried elsewhere has been successful, it can be adopted and implemented here in Ghana. Once again, the study wishes to differ from such position because as already stated, we cannot have a one-fit-all model to solve the robbery problem. Ghana needs to scientifically assess

the robbery problem in terms of its nature, extent and possible remedial measures. That is the way most of the modern and advance societies that see crime as a feature of all modern nations go.

Working in Partnership to Fight Robbery

Even though building partnership is difficult, it is very important in crime control since the police cannot do all the work so it has to liaise with other institutions and stakeholders to fight robbery. Fighting robbery requires government, and the police, to partner a broad range of sector. The UN Guidelines on crime prevent has also stressed that:

Cooperation/partnership should be an integral part of effective crime prevention, given the wide-ranging nature of the cause of crime and the skills and responsibilities required to address them. This includes partnerships working across ministries and between authorities, community organisations, non-governmental organisations, the business sector and private citizens (UNODC, p. 87: 2010)

From the foregone, crime is not the sole responsibility of the police because it has so many underlying causes; it therefore requires the support of all and sundry. It is in view of this that the study sought to inquire from the police administration the kind of partnerships it has built with other institutions to fight crime in the country. Almost all the participants mentioned the cooperation that the police service has with the Ghana Armed Forces (military). Table 5 highlights the response the respondents offered on the question of police cooperation with other institutions

Table 5: Institutions that the Police have been Partnering to Fight Robbery

Institutions	Frequency	Percent
Military	110	72.8
Fire Service	10	6.6
NCGs	5	2.6
Community	21	13.9
Private security	6	3.9
Total	151	100.0

Source: Field work, Akonor (2017)

The data in Table 5 shows that 72.8% (110) of the respondents mentioned the military as one of the institutions that the police have been partnering with to fight robbery. Others mentioned the communities, the Fire Service, Private Security Agencies and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). The Police have had a long standing relationship with military for a very long time. According to the Chief Director of the Ministry of the Interior, the police have been collaborating with almost all the other institutions under the ministry to tackle crime, especially robbery, and when it comes to elections monitoring. In responding to a question on the role of the military and national security apparatus in crime control, she intimated that military only comes in to assist the police in performing its duties as when the need arises and especially when matters have escalated from a minor incidence to a full scale conflict or war.

The head of the AARS also indicated that the military assist the police in conducting highway patrols and swoops. He noted that at a point in time the military were withdrawn from the highway patrols because of some internal challenges. But as and when the military is needed to support the police in

fighting crime, they come in to offer help. He said that the military comes in to augment the work of the police during critical times when an issue has gone beyond policing to a national security matter or has become national concern that immediate action is needed to address it. A case in point is the illegal mining operations which was destroying our water bodies and for that reason became topical issue.

Whiles it sounds good to hear that the police collaborate with other institutions to fight robbery, the level of collaboration with other institutions and bodies are not broad enough. The partnership or collaboration is only limited to law enforcement issues only. Police can build other forms of partnerships with the communities that are crime prone to ensure that they are involved in crime control and prevention efforts beyond the law enforcement engagement.

The Current Institutional Arrangements and Mechanisms to Fight

Robbery in Ghana

Robbery has indeed become a bane in Ghana's national security and safety. The most recent incidents recorded in Accra and Tema industrial areas have once again exposed the country's level of unpreparedness to deal with such national emergencies. The social common uproar and disappointment that the citizens expressed formed the basis the study to look at the current institutional arrangements for dealing with robbery in Ghana.

According the Chief Director of the Ministry of the Interior, the ministry and its subordinate agencies are the institutions mandated to control crime in Ghana, but the primary agency with the responsibility to handle violent crime such as robbery is the Ghana Police Service. The Police Service

Act 1970, Act 350 Article 1 (1) spells out the basic functions of the service and its mission. The service is tasked to: prevent and detect crime, apprehend offenders, maintain law and order, protect life and property. She indicated that even though other agencies under the ministry such as the prisons, immigration and fire services assist the police in some situation such as election monitoring and order maintenance duties, they do not have direct crime control responsibilities as the police do.

Therefore from the institutional point of view, the Ghana Police Service is the primary constitutional body mandated to fight crime and antisocial behaviours in our society even though other bodies may from time to time assist in this effort.

Security Councils and Crime Prevention/Controls

In interrogating the institutional arrangements for crime control in Ghana, my attention was drawn to the role of the security and the intelligence agencies (national, regional and district security councils) in the maintenance of law and order. These agencies were cited by a couple of participants and respondents as a model of crime prevention/control agencies. However, a critical examination of the law that governs the operations of these bodies does not seem to suggest its crime prevention focus. According to the Security and Intelligence Agencies Act-1996 (Act 526), Article 1, there shall be the National Security Council referred in the act as the Council consisting of the president, the vice president, ministers holding portfolios of interior, finance, foreign affairs, defence and other ministry that the president may determine. The Inspector General of Police and two other officers including the Commissioner of Police responsible for CID are also members and all the

heads of other security agencies in addition to three other persons that the president may appoint. The core functions of the Council according to section 4 of the Act include:

- a) Considering and taking appropriate measures to safeguard the internal and external security of Ghana.
- b) Ensuring the collections of information in relation to the security of Ghana and the integration of the domestic, foreign and security policies relating to it so as to enable the security services and other departments and agencies of government to co-operate more effectively in matters relating national security.
- c) Assessing and appraising the objectives, comments and risks of Ghana in relation to the actual and potential military power in the interest of national security.
- d) Taking appropriate measures regarding the consideration of policies on matters of common interest to the departments and agencies of the government concerned with national security.

From these core functions listed, looks as if the agencies do not have any direct crime control responsibilities. But a critical observation indicates that the section 12 1(c) states that the agencies shall protect the state against threats of espionage, sabotage, terrorism, hijacking, piracy, drug trafficking and similar offences. In an interview with an operative (Jake) of the Bureau of National Investigation (BNI), he said the law gives them a abroad mandate to enable them operate in whatever ways to assist in crime prevention by providing the police with actionable intelligence to aid their work in cases

involving transnational organised crime such as arms smuggling, drug trafficking and terrorist threats.

He emphasised that the regional and the district security councils are structured to deal with general security concerns irrespective of where it comes from. He stressed that it does not need to operate as a crime control agency of the type proposed by the UN. He noted that the operations of the various security councils (national, regional and district) fall far short of that. He stressed:

A matter of criminal nature becomes a concern of the regional and the district security councils only when it becomes widespread and matter of public concern or when public opinion wades in and the citizens demand solutions, or when by our evaluation it has the potential to jeopardise security of the state, and let me add that when politicians get alarmed by it, and lastly, when the media hype it or sensationalise it. Apart from these scenarios that I have given, crime is the day-to-day headache of the IGP and his men.

He further opined that that when issues connected to crime are tabled at the meetings of the various councils, the members will brainstorm about them and offer suggestions to address them. In most cases he said, the police commanders will be tasked to brief the meeting and their own proposed plans to resolve the matter before other members will make contributions. But in all, whatever decision that will be taken by the councils, it will be implemented by police with the support of other agencies when the need be.

In respect to robbery, he observed that when the nation experienced increased cases of highway robberies, it became a national concern therefore

districts and regions where they were rampant were tasked to develop strategies to deal with it. In all these cases, it was the police that spearheaded the operations with the support of the military and with the Bureau of National Investigations security personnel providing the leads or intelligence. From the narrative so far, it is clear that the police service of Ghana is the forerunner when it comes to crime control especially robbery in Ghana, therefore it is important for the study to uncover its current operation strategies towards fighting robbery in the country. Having reviewed its past operational strategies from 1993-2013, the study considered it worthwhile to probe the current operational strategies to find out what has changed and whether the service is succeeding with its efforts to fight robbery in Ghana.

Current Robbery Control/Prevention Methods

It is quite common for the Police Service to review its strategies periodically and roll out new programmes and strategies to tackle the crime menace. According to the head of the ARRS and the director of operations, the police service has specialised units dedicated to fighting robbery aside the general police duties. The unit includes, the National Highway Patrol Unit (HPU), the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF), National Special Weapons and Tactics (NSWAT), Formed Police Units (FPU), Counter Terrorism Unit (CTU), Visibility Units (VU), Community Police (CP) and the National Protection Unit (NPU). These units including the AARS have been at the forefront of fighting robbery in the country. He stressed that they have been involved in patrols, hot-spot policing, swoops and special operations (mounting of check points or barriers, motor bike and foot patrols, snap checks and public order management).

The newest innovation in the police quest to fight robbery and other crime is the introduction of the inauguration of the Police Emergency Command Centre in Accra to enhance police operations such as emergency call-taking, speedy response to crimes and maintaining peace across the country. The centre is equipped with advanced communication gadgets including CCTV cameras, digital (eLTE 4) trunking network, amongst others. This, according the Public Relation Officer (PRO) of the service will help the police to respond to issues such as robbery, vehicular accidents, murder, and fire emergencies across all regions quicker. This digital intervention is meant to mitigate the shortfall in personnel which stood at stood at 23,000.

He also hinted that the NSWAT units at the headquarters in collaborations with the various regional patrol teams have been combating the activities of armed robbers and other criminals in the urban centres and other crime prone areas of the country. In addition, the patrol units at the headquarters and the various patrol units in the regions and districts have been authorised to conduct day and night patrols and snap checks in all the regions as part of the robbery control programme. Various police check points are mounted at vantage points within the regions and regional capitals and major towns manned by armed police personnel at night. Sometimes they do so with the support of the military. Finally, the service also conducts swoops and special operations to help restore calm and to flush out criminals and organised criminal entities in the country.

From the head of AARS, the service still relies on some of the traditional policing methods such the get-tough, criminal justice, informant-led and community policing approaches to combat robbery and other related

crimes such as car snatching and narcotics. However, he hinted that the major shift in their operational strategy has been the introduction of the Visibility and the Accessibility model introduced by the then IGP Mr. Mohammed Alhassan in the year 2012 and the Transformational Agenda in 2017 by the current IGP Mr. Asante Appeatu. The Transformational Agenda which is at its inception stage seeks to reform the service and make it more professional in its operation by relying on ICT and democratic policing principles.

Visibility and Accessibility Policing

Policing has taken different dimensions in response to the increasing complexities of crime and its transnational nature. The Ghana Police Service under the leadership of the Inspector General, Mr. Mohammed Alhassan, introduced a model of policing in 2012 called the Visibility and Accessibility Policing as a panacea to the crime problem and most especially to check robbery which had become a social problem. Even though the service had over the years implemented several strategies such as patrols, snap checks, intelligence-led, informant-led policing, get-tough or the zero-tolerance and the community policing to combat robbery, the visibility concept was unique because of the public attention it attracted. The visibility/accessibility approach to crime control was hailed by many stakeholders and was highly commended by the general public as a timely initiative and a novelty in the police efforts to deal with robbery.

The model involves smartly dressed police officers armed with all their accoutrements and positioned at important locations in the major crime-prone cities in the country. Visibility or being seen is an important part of

policing all over the world. It is a strategy that is used to elicit certain response from the citizens. According to Cook and Whowell (2011, p. 4):

Public and private policing personnel, their uniforms, vehicles, badges, signs, cameras and other paraphernalia are used, in part, as symbols to communicate particular messages and evoke particular emotions in onlookers.

Such high emotional arousal can be used to elicit support for the work of the police in times of national crises. Such a system gives some reassurance to the citizens that the police are in control and they should remain calm and all shall be well. In additions, such a system of policing serves a good public relations function as the citizens will have direct contact with the police in public spaces where they ply their normal businesses.

According to an officer in charge of the unit in the Central Region, the system of visibility and accessibility policing was meant to improve the time within which the police respond to crime emergencies and increase the number of police personnel that respond to such emergencies. It was believed that such a system will enhance the effectiveness of the police (Siegel, 2016).

Hughes (2007) has observed that policing in recent decades has assumed a “preventive turn” which implies that police are more inclined to putting measures in place to prevent or deter crime before it becomes an event or public incidence. The deterrence goal hinges on the notion of rational criminal who is sensitive to variations in criminal opportunities and the cost/benefits analysis. Thus criminals will respond to high visibility of the police in public places such as shopping malls, market centres and buffer areas in traffic intersections and refrain from criminal acts. Developments in this

area have largely been structured by growing political concern about the fear of crime and the apprehensiveness of law-abiding citizens to enter, work, live, relax, window-shop or simply spend longer than absolutely necessary in particular public spaces (Cook, 2010).

The police deter crime when they engage in acts that increase the perceptions criminals have about the certainty of being caught in the act and punished. For example, strategies that use the police as sentries such as hot-spot policing, are considered particularly effective. A criminal's behaviour is more likely to be influenced by seeing a police officer who is armed, with handcuffs and electronic communication gadgets far more than by a new law that increases sanction for criminal acts (Siegel, 2016).

Theoretical Underpinnings of the Visibility/Accessibility Model

In order to get the rationale and the philosophical foundations of the model, I asked the police respondents whether they were given any orientation about the rationale, theoretical, and the philosophical foundations of the model. Sadly, almost all the respondents said they were not given any such orientation, neither were they given any policy document or even a leaflet about the model. Therefore they had no clue about the implications of the model. In my interactions with an officer who was the first to handle the visibility group, he also said he had no idea about the rationale and the theory behind the model. He intimated that it was handed down from the top without any input from the lower ranks and middle level officers who were the main implementers.

He supported the idea of officers being schooled on the philosophical and the theoretical underpinnings of some of the strategies that are implemented by the police to fight robbery. He hinted:

I do not know what informed his idea of visibility and accessibility policing. We were just there when they brought about 300 hundred men and women who have just passed out from college. They just brought them to the headquarters and I was asked to take care of them. I asked what I should do with them so they said they will be used for operations so I should train them. One day, I was there when Mr. Alhassan asked me to bring the men to be deployed to flashpoints and hotspots in Accra because he wants the police to be visible. It would have been nice to know all the academic details because elsewhere such as Italy, they do it.

Whiles much could not be gathered from the respondents about the philosophical and theoretical foundations of visibility, some information gleaned from the literature indicates that visibility policing in general operates on the assumptions that the presence of the police in strategic public space, urban areas or crime prone zones is a sign of the police's readiness to combat crime. It also has the propensity to deter criminal acts in general. This is because the potential criminal is assumed to be rational in his/her assessment of the cost and benefits and thus he/she will not commit crime if the risk of apprehensions far outweighs the benefits that will accrue from the crime (Adler, 2013). So the police patrolling, driving around in well-marked cars and dressed in their full combat gear is supposed to send a signal to criminals that

they will be dealt with according to law if they are apprehended (Siegel, 2016). These assumptions are in line with the policy implications of the choice theories such as the rational choice, situational crime prevention theories, deterrence and incapacitation theories. The deterrence strand of the choice perspective says that the greater the certainty of apprehension and punishment, the lesser crime rates (Tomislav & Sloan, 2002)

A number of studies have supported the view point that the police' presence in public spaces reduces crime (Kovandic & Sloan, 2002; Marvell & Moody, 1996; Blake & Coupe, 2005; Loftin & McDowell, 1982). According to Siegel (2016), while in general cities with more police citizens experience lower levels of crime, the mere presence of the police on the streets may not be enough to prevent or deter crime. He notes that the manner in which the police conduct their operations may be more important than sheer routine patrols. Blake and Coupe (2005) did note, proactive and aggressive police operations and improving response time are more likely to achieve the needed results of reducing crime than routine patrols.

It is important to state that the visibility model, just like other models has its challenges. Just like other models proposed by the choice theories, the visibility/accessibility's ability to reduce robbery is limited because it does not address the underlying socio-cultural conditions that contribute to criminality. In addition, visibility policing can lead to displacement (the relocation of crime from one place, time, target, tactic or offense to another as a result of police crime prevention activities) of crime as the criminals will now choose to operate in areas not covered by the police. Finally, it is also not too safe to reduce crime prevention to only a kind of impression management, model

where the police are stationed in public areas as a display of force. Other aspects of policing that are not so visible such as intelligence gathering, order management, and provision of services may not be positively rated.

Theoretical Underpinning of Police Operational Models

It is important to note that all the methods listed as being used by the police to fight robbery are borne out of the get-tough or the zero-tolerance approach and the criminal justice approach which also derive their source of theoretical inspirations from the choice theories. The choice theories assume criminals are rational people who evaluate the cost and benefits of the crime they intend to commit before they do so. In addition criminals weigh information on their personal situation or needs and the risk associated with committing a specific crime (Siegel, 2016) Therefore, in order to prevent crime, the cost associated with offending should be made severe enough that crime will become unattractive or costly than the benefits. This method has great appeal to politicians because it makes them look more purposeful and serious to deal with crime problem in societies that have been gripped by fear of crime. Although the officers could not stipulate the theoretical underpinnings of their operations, the study believes that from the policy implications of the choice theories stated in the theoretical review section of the study, the choice theories and its propositions on crime control have had tremendous influence on crime control in Ghana. Much attention has not been given to others such as those borne out of the trait theories, social structure, social process theories, critical criminology and the developmental theories and their policy implications.

This once again brings to the fore, the problem of lack of knowledge-driven approach to crime control in Ghana. While it is clear that crime control measures and policing have mostly been shaped by different philosophical and theoretical leanings, we have not been prudent in understanding the foundations of the models we adopt as against the exigencies of our environment. Which the study earlier referred to does not augur well for a country that prides itself as the gateway to Africa and a beacon of democracy. The study will not give any further attention to the models already discussed in chapter five because of the exhaustive way they have already been handled. Rather, greater attention is paid to the Visibility/Accessibility models and the “Transformation Agenda” which is still at its inception stage.

The Effects of the Visibility/Accessibility Policing on Robbery

One area of the study that was difficult to assess was whether the models have worked or have been effective. This is because there were no policy documents on the model to guide any evaluation study such as this. As the first commander of the unit said, the first goal of the model was to make the police visible and to reduce crime. He was emphatic that the visibility goal has been achieved 100 percent. He stressed that it worked because the public began to talk about their presence in all the regional capitals and other flashpoints and were commended by the media that had hitherto lambasted them for their ineptitude in fighting robbery.

But on its achievement in the reduction of crime rate, his response was yes and no. He said “yes” because from the year 2013, which is barely a year after the introduction of the strategy, to about 2015, the general crime levels dropped by 5,000 incidents. This statement was also highlighted by the former

president John Mahama when he was addressing the press at the Flagstaff House in Accra on the 12th January, 2016 (retrieved from <http://citifmonline.com2016/01/12>). "I can say on record that, per the crime data we collected or received, it worked: Robbery also reduced even in Accra and Kumasi". He also indicated that areas that were noted for high rates of robbery started experiencing reduction in the reported incidence. The data from the police service on robbery for the 2013 and 2014 seems to support his assertion. Table 6: captures some reported crimes in Accra within the period.

Table 6: Reported Cases of Three Major Crimes in Accra (2013-2014)

Cases	2013	2014	Percentage change
Robbery	255	125	-100.4
Murder	45	39	-15.3
Rape	512	142	-261.9
Total	814	306	-166

Source: Ghana police Service (2017)

From Table 6, all the major crimes--robbery, murder and rape--recorded within the period in Accra where the model was piloted experienced a decline. According to some of the respondents from the police service, it was as a result of the introduction of visibility and accessibility policing model. This may sound good and strong evidence in support of the assertion that the visibility concept worked. The commander responded "no" because while the national figures look good, he opined that they received reports that showed that some of the regions that were not previously known for robbery started experiencing robbery (displacement). He mentioned regions such as the Western, Eastern and Brong Ahafo. He also hinted once the police were

preoccupied with issues in the so called flashpoints, other areas that were left without police protection became vulnerable to criminal activities.

An analysis of crime figures prior to the introduction of the model also shows that the rates started decreasing significantly from 2007 (see Table 7). Therefore, it may not be appropriate to attribute the decline in crime rate solely to the introduction of the visibility and accessibility policing. The data captured in Table 7 shows that in 2012 when the visibility was introduced, robbery incidents changed by -8.7% that is from 1,233 to 1,126. However, this negative growth in robbery cases was not maintained in the following year-- 2013. The recorded case for the year rather increased from 1,126 to 1,235 that is about 9.7% increase. It dropped again in the year 2014 (-9.6%), then increased substantially in 2015 (26.4%) and dropped marginally in 2016. The study did observe that the impact of visibility has not been consistent per the data presented in Table 7.

Table 7: National Robbery Rates from 2006-2016

Years	Recorded cases	Percentage change (%)
2006	1,949	51.8
2007	1,413	-27.5
2008	1,449	2.5
2009	1,373	-5.2
2010	1,258	8.4
2011	1,233	-0.02
2012	1,126	-8.7
2013	1,235	9.7
2014	1,116	-9.6
2015	1,411	26.4
2016	1,379	-2.3
2017	1772	26.8
Total	16,714	24.78

Source: Ghana Police Service Annual Reports, (2006-2017)

So from the Table 7, the data do not seem to project any solid success with the strategies employed to fighting robbery. The pendulous changes are signs that there is the need to reconsider the methods, strategies and the techniques so far adopted to fight robbery in Ghana, because they are not working as expected. Coupled with the fact that most of the respondents did not believe crime figures that are captured by the police are a true reflection of criminal events.

When the police respondents were asked to indicate their positions on whether the country will succeed in controlling robbery if it continues to use its current methods, strategies, or techniques. The majority (78.6%) indicated it will not work, while 21.4% indicated, it will work. This implies the very people who are at the centre of crime control do not even believe in their own

methods in dealing with robbery. Those who indicated in the negative that the current methods will not work explained that crime rate in general is not declining and robbery specifically has remained quite high.

The Mechanisms through which the Models Worked

Understanding how a crime control model works to reduce crime such as robbery is very important in understanding what it takes to bring crime figures down. It is in line with this that the study inquired from the respondents who believed that the models have worked to give their views or express their opinions on how and why it the models worked. That is, the “mechanisms” by which the crime control models especially informant-led and visibility policing worked is at the core of this subsection of the study.

In the positivists’ orientation, researchers are more likely to assume that ‘A’ caused ‘B’ if the occurrence of ‘A’ is always followed by ‘B’. Realists often see the positivists’ conception of causality as problematic because it does not answer the question how and why (Robson, 2011). The realists view of causation which they term “generative causation”, says that the fact that the cause, ‘A’ is always followed by ‘B’ should be assumed to be due to the operation of one or more mechanisms that need to be unravelled.

It is in this light that the study sought to uncover the mechanisms through informant-led and the visibility policing worked or failed. From the discussions with the respondents/participants, the study gathered that the informant-led policing as a model of crime control works through the creation of what in local parlance called “oyaa-soro-oyaa” syndrome to wit “mutual suspicion” among the criminals.

Robbery activities by criminal groups require some level of loyalty to group norms for the group to stay in '*business*' for a long time. It is in view of the need for loyalty that some robbers go to the extent of forcing its members to swear an oath of secrecy and also punish those who divulge information to non-members. One of the respondents hinted that anytime robbers notice that some of their kingpins have been arrested by the police via informant-led policing strategies and have secured *fine intelligence* or information, it creates suspicion among the members of the criminal group. Trust is a key factor in the operation of these criminal elements so when they have reasons to distrust each other, it breaks their front and for some time, they may cease from their criminal activities till they can form new groups.

On other occasions, some members may choose to operate as lone rangers which according to the officer, is not a very effective strategy. Others also go underground for some time till they are sure their safety will not be impaired if they show up. According to the officer, this kind of situation naturally brings down the robbery rates temporary till the police can put long term measures in place to deal with the problem. He also stressed that some, out of this situation do not return to the crime again because they cannot trust anyone in the *business*. In my interaction with a former robber who is now a pastor, he affirmed that it was this kind of mistrust that made him stop robbery, and whiles trying to find something to do got *convicted by the Holy Spirit* and became a pastor.

The visibility model on the other hand, with all of its challenges, is believed to have worked as well. At least, in the areas where the officers were stationed, incidence of robbery and other related criminal activities reduced

says the head of visibility policing in the Central Regional Command of the Police service. Thus the question was posed. What were the mechanisms through which the visibility model worked? The position of the study is that, the introduction of the visibility model might have contributed to the reduction in robbery rates and other crimes because first and foremost, the presence of the smartly dressed police officers could have latently signalled to the public that all is not well with the society in terms of safety and security of the public in such places so they need to be more careful. That is, the citizens interpreted visibility policing as a sign that the manned areas were high risk zones thereby prompting them to be *situational aware* and also take steps to ensure their personal safety. Such security alertness on the part of the public can go along way to reduce both active and passive precipitation of criminal victimisation.

Another mechanism through the model might have chalked some success was that the presence of the police gave the public an assurance that those places were safe, therefore more people were attracted to those areas thereby creating some natural guardianship. Robbers in general do not like heavily congested places because it may put obstacles in their way in their attempt to escape from the crime scene. As Conklin (1972) observed, robbers normally use weapons after the completion of the crime to keep victims, witness and sometimes police officers from impeding their escape. Therefore, robbers would not like to operate in an area where their escape will be interrupted by artificial or natural circumstances. In addition, the worst fear of robbers is not about being apprehended by the police or serving long jail term, rather it is about being lynched or shot dead. Interestingly, such crowded areas such as markets and car stations offer the inducement for mob action because

of the anonymity. In extreme case scenario, the presence of the police in such strategic areas could wrongly signal to the public that the place is not safe therefore they will avoid such places. This may reduce criminal opportunities available thereby bringing the crime in such zones down.

Challenges to Fighting Robbery

Fighting robbery in Ghana has been fraught with serious challenges that, according to some of the respondents/participants, have impeded all genuine efforts to bring robbery problem under control. A couple of challenges to fighting the robbery problem were highlighted by the participants/respondents during the interviews. They included lack of logistics, low morale, the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the country, corruption in the criminal justice system, poor spatial planning, lack of national identification system, the influx of migrants from the sub-region and lack of social development. In this section, some of the challenges are discussed in detail and they include lack of logistics, proliferations of small and light weapons and the influx of migrants or foreigners.

Lack of Logistics

Logistical support for policing activities has remained a major discourse in the annals of Ghana's crime control efforts. Governments over the years have tried to provide the police with the necessary resources to protect the country from criminal activities. Control of robbery in general and armed robbery in particular has been on the agenda of all governments. However, according to some of the participants, this desire has not been matched with the needed resources to enable the police to prevent the rampant robbery attacks that have plagued the society. The Archer Commission's Report on the

Ghana Police Service in 1997 observed that the service was undermanned and its personnel were also ill-trained and ill-equipped. According to the report, morale and motivation of personnel were at all-time low. The report recommended immediate steps to be taken to improve the situation.

While the service acknowledges the vast contributions of various governments since the inception of the Fourth Republic, the service is still grappling with inadequate resources. A retired commissioner of the service (SAK) noted that inadequate resource is still a major setback to the police's efforts to fighting robbery. He recalls that the situation was so bad in the 1990s and that it made the government set up the Archer Commission. He observed that in the year 2000, as part of the recommendations of the commission, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) government provided the service with almost 600 Peugeot vehicles to facilitate police operations and in combating robbery in particular and other crimes such as the "mysterious killing of women" which had created insecurity conditions in the country at the time. He again observed that this was a good step but other items such as weapons, bullet proof vest, and other accoutrements were still lacking.

In 2010, Mr. Martin Amidu who was the Minister for the Interior also bemoaned the problem of inadequate logistics besetting the service as huge setback to police efforts to fight crime. He lamented that as at the time, the service needed about 5,000 vehicles to operate efficiently but it had only about 950 vehicles (Ghana News Agency, 2010). Up to date, the service is still grappling with inadequate logistics. In his recent comments on the state of logistics, the IGP, Mr. David Asante-Apeatu identified lack of vehicles and accommodation as a major hindrance to the work of the police. He cited a

situation whereby five police personnel have access to only one weapon. The head of AARS also indicated that the government has been gracious to supply them with some of their needs but still ask for more. He said his unit has just one vehicle, yet their operations cover the whole country. He called for the provision of more robust vehicles to enable the police respond to crime emergencies with dispatch.

Some of the units that have vehicles also complained about fuel to power the vehicles. A Corporal with the NSWAT unit said that with the introduction of visibility policing, their ration of fuel was cut. As a result, their operational ability and their movement have been hindered. He opined that sometimes when they receive emergency calls, their boss had to find a way of getting fuel to power the vehicles. This story was not different from the case of other district and divisional commanders. They all have similar complaints about of the amount fuel supplied to them for operational purposes. Due to lack of fuel they have all developed ingenious means of getting fuel for crime control. Sometimes they have to rely on their benefactors, such as district assemblies, business entities in their respective jurisdictions and the kindness of individuals to procure fuel to run their vehicles. While the study acknowledges these concerns as legitimate, it is also important to stress that sometimes such resources meant for police operational assignments have not been put to good use. Some of the respondents were also worried about the way and manner the police use resource for other purposes other than their legitimate task of fighting crime. One respondent cited a case whereby the commander made the patrol vehicle as his personal car and was not always available for operational duties. Indeed judicious use of the little resources that

the service receives will go a long way to improve their operational efficiency. Other needs such as bullet-proof vest, appropriate attire and footwear were stressed by some of the participants as some of the logistics that they lack.

Easy Access to Small Arms and Light Weapons

Robbery in Ghana has assumed a dangerous dimension because of the use of lethal weapons. According to the director of AARS, most of the robberies committed in the country are armed robberies which mean that weapons are involved. As Thio (2001) observed, there are two phases of robbery as a violent crime, and this involves the actual use of violence and plausible use of violence. Attafuah (2008) contends that the robber is ever ready to kill if he deems it necessary. This implies that the level of violence that may be deployed during robbery will increase if the robber already wields a weapon. It has been observed that robbers in Ghana are always found with sophisticated weapons including AK 47 assault rifle, pump-action guns, pistols and locally manufactured pistols. According the National Commission on Small Arms and Light Weapons of Ghana (2018), there are over two million and five hundred illicit guns in circulations. Respondent from AARS, also confirmed that about 80% of the weapons used in armed robberies are the locally manufactured pistols, followed by the pump-action guns and other imported pistols, shotguns and AK 47 assault rifle. He Noted that:

Because of the easy access to guns, any person can get up and point a gun at you and rob you of your property. Without these guns, most of the criminals will not dare to do what they are doing now. Because they think they have fire power, they even attack our men and kill them. With guns and the ingestion of Tramol (Tramadol),

they become dangerous and will kill anyone who dares hinder their operations.

Indeed, recent events in respect to robbery attacks in the country have amply shown that robbers are becoming more daring and dangerous because of the way innocent victims have lost their lives in the hands of robbers. Most of the victims according to the police were shot by robbers. In the year 2016 for example, a total of 79 lives were lost as a result of armed robbery. Fifty of these deaths were innocent victims including five police officers. Twenty four were armed robbers “who engaged the police in a gun battle”, seven female victims were raped at gun point and two hundred and twenty nine victims sustained various degrees of injury (GPS Annual Report: p.36, 2017). This confirms Conklin (1972) position that the purpose of using weapons in robbery is to intimidate the victim and also to secure space to operate but if they all fail, the robber may use the weapon to harm the victim. Thus with weapons, the lives of police personnel, victims and even robbers themselves are in danger of being cut short violently.

The Influx of Migrants

The role of migrant elements in the robbery problem remains a hot issue. Quite often than not, fingers have been pointed at the Nigerian and the Fulani elements even though migrants from other ECOWAS countries such as Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger have also been fingered in some of the robbery cases recorded. Local newspaper headlines are often flooded with stories such as: Police Arrest 2 Fulani Armed Robbers (The Ghanaian Times), Fulani Armed Robbers Kill Three persons in Attack (Retrieved from www.Yen.Com. GH/21/10/17).

According to the head of AARS, the Fulani normally operate in the middle and the northern parts of the country while the Nigerian criminals mostly operate in the southern sector. Some of the participants hinted that because of the free movement of people and goods within the ECOWAS states, some criminals from other countries have taken an undue advantage to commit crimes here. The director of AARS hinted the foreign elements are also involved in some of the highway robberies. He said in recent past, the CID headquarters busted 24 suspected criminals who were of Fulani extraction. They were suspected to be a syndicate that provided information on the movements of passengers and buses from Accra to the other parts of the country and were also suspected to be involved in cross-border crimes. This story about the twenty four Fulani was also captured by Graphiconline.com. An officer with NSWART unit observed:

...the Fulani are more prone to killing and raping their victims than other criminals because they are very vicious and quick to deploy violence as a strategy to manage their victims...

While this was a common belief among the police participants, there was no data from the police to support this assertion that Fulani are wicked than other robbers who are not of Fulani extraction.

An officer with Ghana Immigration Service expressed concern about the way foreigners can enter Ghana without much restraint, only to commit crimes and get away with it. Indeed, there have been several reports about some foreigners who have been caught engaging in crimes including robbery in Ghana. He said:

Ghana is considered in international circles as a cybercrime hub, yet most of the guys who engage in these crimes in Ghana are Nigerians who are illegally residing in Ghana.that is [they] without resident permits or [had] expired permits. Hardly do these criminals regularise their stay in Ghana with us.

He also cited the arrest of over twenty six suspected Nigerian cybercriminals at Madina-Zoomlion area by the Divisional Police through a tip-off. It has also been confirmed by the police service that the robbers who shot and killed a police officer in cold blood on the 13th of July, 2017 at Lapaz, a suburb of Accra were all Nigerians. The officer was shot without any provocation in broad day light while carrying out their lawful duty on bike patrol. An officer with AARS hinted that in almost all the landmark robbery cases in the country, there are Nigerian suspects involved. He promised to provide the statistics to support these claims but they were not forth coming at the time the report was being submitted. Some of the respondents also opined that there are some of the criminals who come to Ghana purposely to commit robbery. It is in the light of these developments that some have suggested that Ghana needs a national identification card to make it easy to identify Ghanaians and non-Ghanaians to help curb criminal activities in the country. While the role of foreign elements from the ECOWAS sub-region cannot be discounted, it seems that the matter has been overhyped. In the world over, history has made us to understand that foreigners are often made to bare the blunt of all the negative local mishaps. The Holocaust and xenophobic attacks black Africans in South Africa are cases in point.

Lack of National Identification System

The issue of proper national identification (ID) card or system has featured prominently in a number of discussions on crime control and prevention in Ghana. Some of the participants held the view that if Ghana issues National ID cards, it can help in the fight against robbery because it will be easier to identify locals and foreigners. They were of the view that if the country has a national ID, criminals cannot commit some of the crimes they are committing in the country because they can easily be identified through the data stored in the national data base. The key assumption is that national ID cards can foster a culture of control positively. It can also help identify people who have past record of criminality.

A regional commander of Ghana Immigration Service (Tia) was worried about crossed-border criminal activities including robbery and the difficulty they have in identifying and locating suspects. He said:

Security and crime control requires more sophisticated national ID cards based on biometrics...to enable the police to track and profile suspected criminals and for surveillance purposes.

While some have concerns about the potential abuse of national ID cards such as using it to racial profiling some groups of people, and have therefore called for controls and safeguards. Identity management has become a major issue in crime prevention and control (Lyon, 2007). Some of the participants expressed worry about the way foreign nationals acquire Ghanaian passport with ease because we have no national ID. A prison officer also pointed out some of the challenges that the lack of national ID create for

the service. She said people who commit crimes and are convicted will just change their names when they are arrested for reoffending. She cited the case of a gentleman who served in Sunyani Prison as an adult convict but is currently serving a jail term as a juvenile in the senior correctional facility in Accra. Some amount of surveillance is considered necessary for the protection of society. According to Lyon (2007), surveillance is the “focused, systematic, and routine attention to personal details for the purpose of influence, management, protection or direction”. Undesirable elements such as robbers can be tracked using different identity tools. It is believed that a national system of identifying the citizens and foreigners will go a long way to improve the robbery rates and the safety of the people of Ghana. A commander of immigration also lament:

Ghana has become haven for criminals who use this place [Ghana] to cool off and lunch cross-border criminal operations. This is the situation because it is not easy to identify who is a Ghanaian and who is not... Whoever comes to the country from the other neighbouring countries want to claim nationality [citizenship]. ...and there are politicians in this country [Ghana] who will jump to their defence... of such illegality.

Others have contrary views on the compulsory national identification card. They asserted that the possession of national ID cards cannot be the panacea to robbery in Ghana because evidence from other countries such as the UK and Spain that have national ID cards still suffers from crime and terrorists activities. While it is true that the mere possession of a national ID

may not solve the robbery problem, it may be useful in addressing the problems of identity theft, tracking and profiling criminals in the event that a crime is committed.

Summary

This chapter looked at the current institutional arrangements for fighting robbery in Ghana. The Ghana Police Service has put a number of measures in place to address problem of high rates of robbery in particular and crime in general. According to the head of the ARRS and the Director of Operations, the police service has specialised units dedicated to fighting robbery aside the general police duties. The unit includes the National Highway Patrol's Unit (HPU), the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF), National Special Weapons and Tactics (NSWAT), Formed Police Units (FPU), Counter Terrorism Unit (CTU), Visibility Units (VU) Community Police (CP) and the National Protection Unit (NPU). These units have been involved in patrols, hotspot policing, swoops and special operations, mounting of check points or barriers, motor bike patrols, foot patrols and snap checks,

The Visibility/Accessibility model was given special attention because of its novelty and the public attention it attracted. The method, even though had its shortfall, it was hailed as successful by the police service based on crime data collected from 2012 to 2016. Critical analysis of the statistics however suggested that the model has not been all that successful in dealing with robbery because the decreases in the robbery rates have not been consistent. Some challenges that the participants perceived impinged negatively on crime control efforts were also put forward including the lack of logistics, influx of migrants, proliferation of small arms and lack of a national

identity card. In all, most of the methods being used by the police to fight robbery are unfortunately reactive and that is of part of the reason why the problem still persists. There is therefore the need for us to rethink these strategies and methods designed to fight robbery.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FIGHTING ROBBERY: RETHINKING THE POLICIES AND THE STRATEGIES

Overview

This chapter is the final section on the discussion and analysis of the data. It looks at how effective the police have been in fighting robbery. The section also seeks to address a very critical question of whether the police have been effective in their efforts to fight robbery in Ghana. It first and foremost looks at how the police assess their performance and the problems associated with the assessment criteria. The study introduces three other variables that should be included in the assessment rubric of police work. As part of the rethinking of the policies and strategies to fight robbery, it proposes a four-pronged approach to deal with the crime problem in general and robbery in particular.

The data presented on robbery and efforts to control it have not shown any appreciable reduction in figures. In fact, a report by the police even shows that in the year 2017, the country recorded 26.8 percent increase in the reported cases of robbery and sadly, the 2018 report may not be better because the figures already gathered are high in the first two quarters (GPS Crime Statistics , 2018). This definitely calls for rethinking of all the strategies of crime control. It is in line with this objective that the following section has been scripted.

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Fighting Robbery in Ghana: Policing Effectiveness

A number of observations were made in the previous analysis. Among them were that, the police over the period under consideration have relied heavily on a handful of strategies including criminal justice approach, get-tough and informant-led policing to deal with the robbery menace. Unfortunately, all these models are very limited in their ability to arrest robbery because they are all borne out of the classical/rational choice policy and theoretical foundation. Because of their belief that criminals are rational in their decisions making, they recommend some harsh treatment including the death penalty, strict incarceration policy and deterrent measures such as police patrols, “three strike and you’re out” sentencing policy which demands that people who commit felonious crime for a third time and are convicted must be given a mandatory life sentence (Siegel, 2015; Adler et al. 2016).

The criminal justice institutions, especially the courts, have been quite stern in respect to robbers. For example, Daily Graphic on Wednesday 23, 2006 reported that five armed robbers were jailed for 320 years with hard-labour by the Accra Fast Track High Court for robbery and conspiracy to commit robbery. Another robber by name Attaa Ayi was also sentenced by the same court to 277 years for robbery in 2006. These harsh sentences were supposed to deter robbers and other criminals from committing crimes. The death penalty that used to be meted out to robbers prior to the 1990s did not deter people from engaging in robbery. Even more heinous acts of robbery have been recorded ever since then.

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Obviously, as was stated in the literature, such methods of crime control seem to be popular with politicians because it can have immediate

results. However, its achievements are short-lived because it does not attack the root cause of the problem and thus not sustainable. Gottfredson and Hirschi (1995) have long observed that using the law enforcement methods to control crime was in itself limited because of the spontaneous nature of some criminal activities. Other methods such as community policing which puts emphasis on direct involvement of officers with community members is much more recommended as a viable option. This is because it is organized around less “rigid hierarchies and protocols, and attempts to address the root causes of neighbourhood crimes with the assistance of the larger community” (Diamond & Weiss, 2009, p.7). Giving attention to community policing could be less costly and also get community members to participate in policing their own community because the police cannot do it alone.

In addition, the police lack the personnel and logistics to man every corner of the society. Ghana is still lagging behind in terms of meeting the UN standards for police-population ratio of 1:500, but with 2015 population estimate of 27, 679,174 for Ghana, the ratio is still around 1:833. Community policing, if it is properly structured and organised, can help build trust, improve police/citizens cooperation and might ease some of the pressure on the police.

Informant-led policing has been found to be very useful in combating robbery because it is less costly and easy to procure. The literature amply recognised the role informants can play in securing evidence against organised criminals such as robbers (Greer, 2002), but the information is not free. At times, police are made to pay for such information, by either parting away with money, protecting other criminals as prosecution witnesses or rewarding

them with reduced sentences. It cannot be denied that the use of informants have resulted in the arrest some of notorious robbers such as Ataa Ayi, Combian and Kumasi Ataa Ayi. By all indications, these robbers could not have been arrested without the “leads” from police informants. The police must not only rely on informants, but on a strong intelligence gathering to deal with robbery. The service must have a unit well-equipped with modern gadgets and capable of collecting credible and actionable intelligence to guide police operations.

Proactive versus Reactive Policing

Another observation was that police operational strategies have been mostly reactive instead of proactive. Proactive policing seeks to stop crimes long before they occur instead of reacting to crime after it has been committed (Siegel & Senna; 2007, Siegel & Worrall, 2017). A number of studies have pointed out that aggressive patrols may help reduce crime (Siegel & Senna, 2007). One of the major complaints against the Police Service has been their inability to respond on time to crime emergencies. Almost all the time, they are late in their response to such emergencies. However, most of the participants were of the view that the police must prevent robbery through proactive measures such as the use of intelligence gathering, patrols and situational crime prevention measures and community policing methods.

In addition, the police also tend to focus on the criminal event instead of the criminal, and the crime as a social process (the socio-cultural conditions that may trigger criminal acts). Quite often, the police wait for crime to occur and then respond by moving to the crime scene to gather forensic evidence and other materials to incriminate someone. Eyewitnesses and the victims are

interviewed at this stage to find out whether they have any suspects in mind. Based on the information gathered at this stage, the police may proceed with the investigations, arrest suspects or contact their informants to get some leads. As Matthews (2012) noted, the police may decide whether the case is worth pursuing or not early at this stage of the investigation. An investigator (DSP YB) also hinted that:

Because of the volume of work on us [police], if we visit the crime scene and do not get good leads, we tend to close our minds on the case because by the time you leave that scene another case is waiting for you to address. You may sometimes be fortunate to chance on information that may lead to the arrest of suspects in an earlier reported case especially during interrogation of other suspects. We only take a case seriously if it has political connections or gains wide public attentions and our reputation is at stake. Other than that it's business as usual.

This reactionary approach is part of the reasons why the police have not been able to arrest robbers. The citizens always get frustrated by the police's inability to arrest robbery suspects and the red-tape they are made to go through without any results. The husband of a senior police officer narrated his own encounter with police when they were attacked by robbers in 2017.

Mr. OA said:

No one would ever think that our home will come under attack and it will take the patrol team over 32 minutes to respond. The patrol team came long after the robbers have finished the operation and had left. I told her [the wife] if

this is how your people respond to their senior officers who are being attacked by robbers, then I do not know what they will do to the ordinary Ghanaian. My brother,[the interviewer]you can't believe it! It is appalling and frustrating that they [police] are not living up to their responsibilities.

There is a general notion among some Ghanaians that the police act with dispatch only in cases involving high profile persons such as politicians and their own members. Most people still remember how all the suspects who were involved in the killing of two police officers in 1999 at Ablekuma, a suburb of Accra were uncovered and arrested to face trial. The most interesting aspect of this story was that, 12 years down the line, one of the key suspects Kwasi Kwei was arrested by the police to face the law. It is sad to say that many people have been attacked by robbers in different places in the country yet, the police have not been able to arrest any suspects. This gives cause for concern and weakens the trust that the citizens have in the service to protect them. Thus the police must rethink their methods by engaging in proactive methods which seek to pre-empt crimes from occurring.

Measuring Policing Effectiveness

The police service mostly uses the drop in robbery cases to measure how well they are doing and the effectiveness of their robbery fighting methods. As has been stated in the analysis earlier, the police are quick to point out that they have succeeded in their fight against robbery because for a particular period, reported cases have dropped. Internally, they also use the cleared-up rate, which is the number of cases that are detected annually. It has already been noted in the study that it is not sufficient to use the robbery rates

alone to measure policing effectiveness because the official crime data do not capture all the actual cases of robbery committed in a period. It only captures those cases that are reported to the police. This means that those cases which are not reported to the police by victims will not be factored into the data. Even if we consider the clear-up rate as a measure of police effectiveness, the service's performance has always been abysmal. In the year 2016 for example, of the 177, 241 crime cases reported to the service, 166, 839 (94.1%) as true cases, 36,042 representing 21.6% cases were "closed as undetected" which means that no suspect was arrested in connection with those cases, therefore the case became naturally moot (GPS Annual Report, 2016).

Matthews (2002) has noted that there are problems with using clear-up rate to measure police effectiveness:

...because crime can be cleared-up without any direct police detection work being undertaken"... the context, type of offenders, seriousness of the crimes...will all independently affect the clear-up rate irrespective of police activity (p. 110).

It is in view of these facts that the study suggests the inclusion of arrest rates and conviction rates as measure of police effectiveness. The inclusion of these additional variables worsens the abysmal performance of the police service in fighting crime in general and robbery in particular. It is the cherished desire of most victims of robbery who report the incidents to the police that at least an arrest will be made. A participant shared her experience as a victim of robbery to buttress the desire of victims. Gina said:

When I reported the matter [robbery] to the police, I was expecting that at least they [police] will say they have arrested someone in

connection with the matter [robbery]. But I did not hear anything from them [police]. I kept visiting the station till the detective got fed up and told me that I should not come there again...they will call me if they get [arrest] someone. It has been three years and I have not heard from them. The last time I tried to check on the status of the case, I was informed that the detective has travelled.

The frustration and bureaucracies which people experience when dealing with the police is one of the main reasons people do not report crimes to the police. The study also sought to inquire from the police the number of arrest they made each year on robbery cases that were reported to them, unfortunately, they could not give exact figure except to say the figure is "quite substantial"

On using the conviction rate as measure of police effectiveness, one issue that crops up was whether it should be measured against true cases or only cases that were sent to court. True cases are those ones which the police have established a *prima facie*, believes that it has merit or it has all the ingredients of a crime and can be pursued at court. If a case reported does not pass this preliminary test, it is refused by the police. Criminal conviction is secured only when the police send a case to court and are successful in prosecuting the matter and the court has also come to the conclusion that the accused is guilty of the offence. At this stage, the court can sentence the suspect to a fine, prison custody, death or bonded to be of good behaviour. Securing a conviction in court means the police would have to do a thorough investigation and get incriminating evidence against the suspect and prove the

guilt of the suspect beyond reasonable doubt. That is not an easy task at all says a police prosecutor, “it calls for diligence, attention to details and good prosecution skills”.

Information gathered from police annual reports from 2014-2016 shows that the Ghana Police has not been doing too well in securing conviction for criminal cases sent to court within the period indicated. Table 8 depicts the information on cases sent to court out of the number of true cases reported.

Table 8: Number of Cases Sent to Court out of the True Cases Reported

Years	True cases	Cases sent to court	Percentage (%)
2014	197,902	35,037	17.7
2015	176,091	36,138	20.5
2016	166,839	29,778	17.8
2017	191,770	24,350	12.6

Source: Ghana Police Service Annual Report (2015, 2016 & 2017)

From Table 8, it is observed that the number of cases that were sent to court for trial was less 20 percent of true cases. For example, in 2017, only 12.6% (24,350) out a total of about 191, 770 cases were sent to court for trial. The police inability to present cases before the courts for trial is considered one of the major weaknesses of the institution. An officer with the CID unit explained it as follows:

Master! The work is not easy o. You see, we [the police] are poorly resourced. We have no vehicles to go to the crime scenes on time to collect the evidence needed for prosecution. We [the police] often rely on the victims for help

which is not right but what else can we [the police] do? We [investigators] were three but one has gone on mission, but they have not brought someone to replace him.

While these concerns often expressed by the police may be right, others were of the opinion that the police's inability to send greater percentage of cases reported to court is as a result of corruption, political influence and pressure on *police time*. Corruption is believed by many to be one of the main reasons why the police do not send cases to court. This is what a private legal practitioner (Doro) puts it this way:

The police sometimes settle these cases at their own level...at the stations for pecuniary (financial) reasons. Normally, if they receive misdemeanour cases... and the parties are willing to settle the matter out of court for obvious reasons... they do not want to waste their time going through the criminal justice procedures, they may take money and ask the parties to settle or they facilitate the settlement. There are occasions when chiefs and other opinion leaders of the communities may also come in and withdraw some cases for settlement.

While she acknowledged that such practices were not acceptable in some situations such as domestic violence, she stressed that it still happens, especially when money changes hands. Others mentioned the political pressure that is exerted on the police by politicians when their relatives or "party foot soldiers" are arrested for criminal offences. An inspector of the police service (George) said that political pressure is one of the main reasons

they do not send cases to court. He said that sometimes they receive calls based on what he termed as “order from above” which instruct them to drop cases against some suspects. He cited a case whereby they arrested people riding unregistered motorbikes and without licenses. He said in less than 30 minutes after the incidence, his superiors called that they have an order from above to release the suspects. Others also cited the Attorney General’s Office that they also contribute to the delay in sending cases to court. Sometimes the AG’s office delay in giving their advice on dockets sent to them for their legal opinions.

The issue of securing conviction for criminal offences at the courts is very crucial to the work of the police service and law enforcement. Getting suspects convicted means that their cases have been duly examined based on the principles of justice and they have been found culpable. Table 9 shows the number of cases the police sent to court and the rate of convictions they had for the period under consideration. In the table, the picture looks quite improved in that the police were able to secure convictions for 44.5 percent of the cases sent to court in 2015 and the least being 28.1 percent in 2016. This is an improved situation just on the face of it.

Table 9: Number of Cases Sent to Court and Convictions Obtained

Years	True Cases	Convictions	Percentage (%)
2014	35,037	13,177	37.76
2015	36,138	16,084	44.5
2016	29,778	8,379	28.1
2017	24,350	7,753	31.8

Source: Ghana Police Service Annual Reports, (2014–2017)

However, if we consider the fact that cases sent to court form a small percentage of all true cases recorded, then it may not be out of the norm to conclude that the police service has not been doing well in securing conviction for crimes committed and thus they have not been effective. Even though, these figures are not limited to robbery, it is the candid position of study that securing convictions for robbery is a kind of microcosm in macrocosm therefore, the picture will not be different from prosecuting and getting a conviction for robbery which may require more diligence and forthrightness in obtaining evidence to back the prosecution.

It is in the light of these, that the study proposes a rethinking of the policy direction and redefinition of the whole national and local structures for the country to make a headway in its fight against robbery in particular and in general crime, in order to make Ghana safe and the true gateway to Africa as we pride ourselves in of late.

Fighting Robbery: Theory and Practice

The theoretical framework (Figure 1) in page 69 shows that crime is a product of three large scale factors namely: trait factors (biological and psychological), socio-cultural or environmental factors and developmental factors. These factors interact in complex ways to produce criminal motivation (the desire or the propensity to commit crime). Criminals can derive their capability from socio-cultural, trait, and developmental factors or a combination of two or all the three of these factors. From Figure 1, once there is a capable or motivated offender and criminal opportunities crop up without any intervention between the criminal motivation and opportunities, then

crime will occur. The criminal events then triggers a response, in the form of counter strategies by society and the individuals concerned.

The effect of the counter strategies is supposed to then feed back into the society, shape developmental process and the cycle continues. This typifies the wait-and-react or the reactive method of policing whereby the police always wait for something to happen before they are called into action. Unfortunately, it has not been very helpful because it does not address the root of the crime problem. Reactive methods such as the criminal justice approach and the get-tough or zero-tolerance operational strategies which the police often use also do not tackle the root cause of crime and not preventive enough. This unfortunately makes the criminals to always be ahead of the protection agencies and the victims of crime in particular.

There is the need for the society and the police to adopt a paradigm and operational shift in order to be successful in its fight against robbery and crime in the country. The four pronged operational approach to curb robbery derived from the analysis and presented in Figure 2 is proposed as an alternative to the current model. The model should be seen as relational and as sequential because crime control always entails the applications of different models or strategies at a particular time.

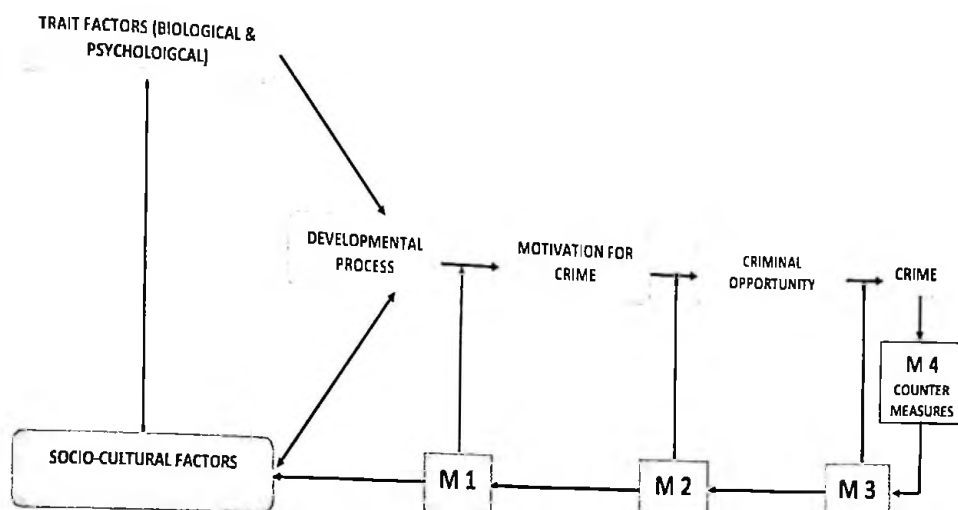


Figure 2: The Four-Pronged Robbery Control Model (M)

From Figure 2: M1 is the first level of crime prevention measure that the study proposes. The measures should aim at reducing the factors that can motivate criminal. Factors such as societal expectations and the get-rich syndrome, experience of criminal enterprise and living in an environment or culture where crime is acceptable, peer pressure, coercion, lack of education and poor employment prospects. Belief that crime in general is not bad or wrong, or the rationalisation that everyone is a thief especially politicians and the middle class workers, can be a major criminal motivating factor that must be eradicated from the mindset of the population through education and sensitization. Reorienting the entire society and the segments of the population that are at high risk of criminal motivation is key to fighting robbery in Ghana. The police can collaborate with other institutions such as the educational institutions, health institutions sector, family therapy organisations, non-governmental organisations, civil society organisations, the courts, social welfare and other stakeholders to reduce criminal motivations by helping to improve the environment in which our young people grow and get their orientations. For example, youth who show early signs of criminality and

antisocial behaviour can be made to attend special clinics with the support of parents and anger management programmes and skills that could help them better manage their personal crisis.

It is assumed that if personal problems such as bad temper can be treated in its early stages, it will not develop to the level where it can become a bother for the individual and the society as a whole at a later time. Graham (1990) and Rosenbaum (1988) have also opined that the best way to deal with the problem of crime is to fight social disadvantages such as poverty, unemployment, racism and the rest. Crime prevention policies and strategies must go beyond the criminal justice options and methods to include areas of family, educational, housing and even health (Graham, 1990). To Sacco and Kennedy (2010), crime prevention programmes must aim at social development (prevent crime by correcting the criminogenic and other social condition that are assumed to be the main causes of crime). Thus measures to develop the individuals' aspirations and mould desires or preferences and his/her environment can go a long way to prevent crime. It cannot be denied that developments along an individuals' life course are crucial in the development of criminal tendencies therefore it will be worth society's while to put measures in place to address these concerns.

A second level of crime prevention (M2) should be at the level of empowering the individuals and the entire populations that are at risk of criminal victimisation stemming from robbery to reduce their risk or vulnerability. This may include efforts made at reducing criminal opportunities that may be inherent in the environment. Risk-focused crime prevention was borrowed from medicine into criminology by pioneers such as

Hawkins and Catalano (1992). Several opportunity reduction measures can be designed for the particular populations that are at risk of robbery. It is believed that:

Only when people are ready, willing, and able to offend and encounter conditions favourable to offending are criminal events likely to develop (Sacco & Kennedy, 2002).

Measures can therefore be taken to protect places, people and goods from victimization (Siegel, 2016) The focus of this approach is on modifying the conditions under which crime occur without altering the character of the offenders. Crime prevention through opportunity reduction or what is also referred to as situational crime prevention is very useful in deterring criminals (Clarke, 1997). Simple measures such as providing lights in dark areas in communities, target hardening measures which make it difficult for criminals to gain access to targets such as using unbreakable glass doors, and employ measures to increase the risk of arrest can be very helpful. The notion is that if the risk of apprehension is high, the rational criminal is most likely to refrain from committing the act (Siegel, 2016; Adler et al., 2014).

The third level of prevention (M3) aims at reducing repeat victimisation which can be very traumatic for those victims especially given the crude victim management that sometimes robbers take their victims through. It may also be prudent for the police to think about measures that can help reduce the propensity for repeat victimisation. This may include providing special safety and security tips and skills to such individuals and communities. They should also be helped to improve the safety and security of their property and treasured items. More especially, those are not restraint by

the M1 and M2 measures and go ahead to commit crimes and are apprehended would still need the support of society. The fact is that most prison inmates will be released back into society after serving their sentence, therefore such individuals would have to be treated in and out of prison so that they do not become recidivists or repeat-offenders. Diversions programme that take criminals away from correctional facilities such as probation and aftercare programmes should be prioritised because repeat offending is major setback to crime prevention measures.

The final level (M4) which has been the police's first line of actions should rather be the last resort. The criminal justice and the get-tough models to crime control as already stated must be utilised only when these other measures have failed. Given the less expensive nature and its human rights sensitivity, the police are more likely to make a lot of gains in approaching robbery control from the preventive mode than the conflict and reactive mode. The police should also think of modifying their reaction to criminal events in terms of its law enforcement mandate. The police in its enforcement activities tend to concentrate on the event and not the criminal and the entire social processes that culminated in the act.

The approach to robbery control should be proactive; the police have to spend most of their time on prevention strategies such as using informants and gathering intelligence to get criminal suspects arrested. Police patrols are useful in apprehending criminals. Yet it is not enough to arrest robbery. The socio-cultural factors are borne out of the kind of social interactions that an individual is exposed to such as socialisation, the physical environment and spatial arrangements. The zero-tolerance approach at this stage must still be

guided by due process of law and civility. The tendency for police and other law enforcement agencies to take the law into their own hands or engage in brutalities must be discouraged as they only breed violence and public safety concerns.

Summary

In the session, the study assessed policing effectiveness that is, whether the police have been effective in their efforts at controlling robbery. Several measures have been implemented since 1993 to fight robbery in Ghana yet the menace seems to not to abate. The study fretfully observed that the police have not been doing too well on the three variables. The service often relies on the crime rate and the number of the cases reported annually to assess their operational effectiveness of their activities. However, the study found this method to be deficient because some people do not report crime cases to the police for obvious reasons. The police for example are able to secure convictions for just about a half all the cases that go to court including robbery. It is against that backdrop that the study suggests a rethinking of the policies and the approaches to control robbery in Ghana in order to arrest the increasing robbery rate. A number of alternative approaches have been suggested to deal with the increasing robbery incidence in the country. They include a four-pronged measure to deal with problem of crime in general and robbery in particular.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This section presents the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study.

Summary

The study set out to interrogate the policies and strategies that Ghana, via the Police Service has used to control robbery from 1993 to 2017. Of particular interest in line with the research philosophy was to find out the institutional arrangements and the mechanisms through which the strategies worked. The study also sought the views of the general public on robbery and its prevention/control measures. The main question that guided the study was “What type of policies and strategies have informed robbery prevention and control in the country?” The mixed method was the main research design. Three data collections tools namely archival method, questionnaire and interview guide were used to collect data for the study. These tools were employed because they were considered most suitable in procuring the data needed for the study.

Main Findings

The following findings based on the study objectives have been extrapolated from the study:

Firstly, the Ministry for the Interior, Police Service and the general public consider robbery as a major crime for intervention which implies that

they would want to see measures taken to address robbery as soon as possible. The participants/respondents indicated that the effects of robbery are so damaging that no person should be allowed to experience the traumas of robbery encounters. Most of the people have developed high apprehensions for robbery because of its negative impacts such as death and sexual abuse of victims, loss of property and the psychological trauma some victims experience. The fears and anxieties of the citizens are further worsened due to the fact that the respondents do not believe in the potency of policing methods, especially the zero-tolerance and the criminal justice approach, and have thus resorted to self-help such as acquiring guns, employing private security, fixing electronic surveillance gadgets, intolerance for strangers and some migrants from the neighbouring countries, and brute handling of suspected robbers.

Secondly, in spite of the general apprehension and fear of robbery among the public, the country has no crime prevention/control policy or plan to deal with robbery and other common law crimes as is the case in some countries such as Nigeria, South Africa, Canada and Germany. There are no clearly stated goals or target for crime control activities in both the short and the long term. This shows a general lack of government leadership in the quest to fight robbery. It looks as if duty-bearers have not prioritized robbery for major national intervention. Fighting robbery still remains an afterthought in our national affairs and that is the more reason why the police mostly wait for crime to occur before they react. It was observed that some of their proactive measures such as the visibility and patrols have been able to foil some of the highway robberies yet, the menace still remains potent as recent robbery

incidences in Accra during 2017 have amply shown. Robbery rates increased in total and month by month against that of 2016 figures.

The police have over the years employed some strategies, principles, techniques and crime control models to deal with robbery. Through the review of archival materials especially the newspaper back editions, the following policing operational models were discovered as having been used by the police to deal with robbery. They include the criminal justice methods, get-tough approach, informant-led policing, community policing, watchdog committees and others. The most used ones were the criminal justice methods and get-tough or zero-tolerance approach. Even though these methods have been found not be effective in dealing with robbery, they seem to be popular because it can achieve quick results in the short term but they are not very effective in the long run because of their reactive nature. Thus, it is not able to tackle the root causes of the robbery problem.

Further, the study found that in fighting robbery and crimes in Ghana, the police have adopted the various operational models and strategies without consulting important stakeholders including those in the criminal justice network. In other words, the level of partnership the police service has with other stakeholders or agencies such as the army, civil society organisations, community based organisations, ministries, departments and media entities was weak. Although the police traditionally collaborate with other agencies such as the army, BNI and other security agencies, it is on adhoc rather than permanent basis. It should not be out of the norm for the police to partner with agencies such as the communities, district assemblies, private security/policing firms and transport companies to fight robbery.

Scientific knowledge drives crime control and prevention in our modern world. This is due to the fact that crime has become more sophisticated and transnational. Without knowledge-led approaches to crime control, policing efforts will not produce the needed outcomes. The study discovered on the knowledge-driven objective that police have been fighting robbery with different models without much appreciation of the theoretical and the philosophical underpinnings of those models. Operational models are adopted based mostly on the fact that it has worked elsewhere and not based on a thorough analysis of the local conditions and situations. The police have not given this idea of extensive and inclusive knowledge-driven approach to crime control much attention due to lack of financial support to their research department and also lack of appreciation for the role that research and knowledge play in modern policing.

In addition, the study also found that, programmes are introduced in the service without frontline officers being briefed on the theoretical and philosophical background of the models to enable appreciate the models better. New programmes and strategies are rolled out without the evaluations of existing police operational strategies. For example, the participants from the service could not give any definite answer on whether the service did evaluate the intelligence- led policing under former IGP Paul Tawiah Quaye before the visibility model was introduced.

In line with its crime control mandate, the service has a number of institutional arrangements aside the general police corps to deal with the robbery in the country. The study established that right from the police headquarters, the Anti-Armed Robbery Squared (AARS) under the national

CID has been in existence since September 1984--close to four decades. This is a dedicated unit at the headquarters to handle all robbery related matters across the length and breadth of the country. In addition to the AARS, the police service has specialised units dedicated to fighting or assist in fighting robbery. The unit includes the National Highway Patrol Unit (HPU), the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF), National Special Weapons and Tactics (NSWAT), Formed Police Units (FPU), Counter Terrorism Unit (CTU), Visibility Units (VU), Community Police (CP) and the National Protection Unit (NPU). This underscores the police service's resolve to put the problem of robbery under control and the police service must be commended.

Another discovery of the study was that even though the police service has adopted community policing approach to fight robbery, the headquarters of the unit is in Accra. The service has not been able to roll out the programme in its totality, especially in respect of giving the units the independence to operate and become more viable in its activities. A key element in community policing model of crime control and prevention is organisational transformation, community partnership and problem solving. First and foremost, the police service has to initiate organisational changes in terms of its structures, functions, roles and operations in order to make community policing a viable entity. Again, it must be willing to delegate some of its functions to the community policing units and task the units to focus on solving community related crime and anti-social behaviour problems. The current order, whereby the community police unit is still under the direction and tutelage of the Ghana Police Service is a misnomer. The National Youth Agency (NYA) personnel sent to the unit have virtually become appendages

and errand boys of the police in their respective station. There are places where the officers in charge are not certain of what to do with personnel. This trend is untenable because police-community partnership may hold the key to the problem of robbery.

The study also found that the police measure the success of crime control efforts in terms of reduction in crime rate or crime statistics/data such that when they record a reduction in robbery it is considered a sign of the success of their operational methods or operational strategies. However, it was discovered that the citizens do not believe the figures the police put out there as a true reflection of what is on the ground. In their first quarter report on robbery in 2018, the service acceded to the fact that the figures recorded are higher due to effective and efficient means of reporting crime in recent times. This means that the figures reported can go up if the police improve on its data collections system and on the methods for reporting robbery to the service.

Also, as part of assessing policing effectiveness of robbery, other variables such the clear-up rate, the arrest rates and the conviction rates were used instead of the police traditional crime rate. Sadly, in all the variables indicated, the police do not seem to be doing too well. The study observed that only about 20 percent of all true cases end up in court. Out of this, the police are able to secure convictions for less than 50 percent of those figures.

Finally, some challenges were identified as affecting the ability of the police to fight robbery in Ghana. These challenges included lack of logistics, proliferations of small arms and light weapons, influx of migrants and lack of national identification cards. Easy access to guns by robbers as result of the proliferation of small arms, especially the locally manufactured ones which

according to the police constitute about 80% of all weapons used for robbery, was considered a major impediment to the fight against robbery. The involvement of Nigerians, Burkinabes, the Fulani and other citizens from the ECOWAS sub region was also highlighted as a challenge. It was observed in almost all the major robberies recorded in Ghana that some citizens of these countries have been involved.

The study also found that the police service has introduced an innovative electronic surveillance technology in its quest to fight crime called the Police Emergency Command Centres in Accra which covers four regions: Greater Accra, Central, Western and Volta. The Kumasi Command Centre, which is near completion, will also cover Ashanti, Brong Ahafo and Eastern Regions, while the Tamale Command Centre covers Northern, Upper East and Upper West Regions. This is really a forward looking approach to crime prevention which must be commended. The system is capable of monitoring the activities of people in public areas in the selected regions and cars on some of the public roads.

Conclusions

The study captioned: Fighting robbery in Ghana: Rethinking the Policies and the Strategies was conducted with the aim of assessing the various policies, strategies and institutional arrangements put in place to fight robbery which is one of the major crimes that is giving the police a great deal of headache. A number of documents were reviewed to explore the study objectives. From the information gathered so far, it can be concluded that policing in Ghana is badly skewed towards maintenance of law and order without the application of other novel policing practices. If the police continue

to rely on its traditional methods of get-tough, law enforcement, informant-led policing tactics, it is likely the fight against robbery may not be won as it is anticipated. It is in line with this that the study believes a rethinking of the whole crime prevention and control policies of the country should be given a second look by rethinking the current operational regimes and the policies underlying policing in Ghana.

The crime control efforts of the country will not fare well if it is not informed by clear-cut policies and goals which are borne out of research and crime prevention genre. The crime prevention mode of police, which requires the police to work towards ensuring that crime is truncated through proactive measures. This also requires law enforcement agencies to make decision based on careful data analysis in order to establish patterns of crimes and the steps needed to forestall them. The police service needs to harness the benefits of modern technology such as geospatial technologies which will go a long way to help address the robbery problem.

The police service needs to move to the predictive policing--any policing practices that uses information and advance analysis to inform forward planning and actions. It must enhance its traditional operation and practice such as problem-oriented policing and community policing. Evidence based interventions are more likely to improve public safety and reduce the rate of robbery. For example, in spite the popularity of the visibility and the accessibility model, its impact has not been assessed and yet a new programme captioned the "transformation agenda" has been rolled out.

The service has committed dedicated and skillful personnel whom if given the needed resources, motivation and the independence to operate, can

achieve a great deal for the country especially in dealing with robbery and its related matters. Yet, lack of logistics and political pressure, have made the service to lag behind in its efforts to make Ghana safe from criminals and other domestic insecurity situations that confront the citizens. In brief, fighting robbery in Ghana has not been planned, purposeful and well-articulated as national issue that requires immediate and dedicated attention. Crime control in Ghana seems more an afterthought than planned, purposeful and knowledge-driven venture.

Individual trait factors such as attitudes and preferences which can provide the motivation for crime cannot be disconnected from criminal behaviour. For example, if an individual is unemployed he/she can rely on his/her or networks and family members to find a job. But with large scale unemployment, it will require government and businesses (public and private) to fix the problem. Such issues assume the social problem tag—social conditions that affect large number of people or are harmful to more than just a few people (Thio & Taylor, 2012). Socio-cultural factors such as poverty, joblessness and lack of access to vital social resources can affect the development of criminal values and criminal acts. Thus creating a sound socio-economic environment where people can find their role in lawful engagement can go long way to address the crime condition in the country. Crime control through social development should be given a key priority in all the efforts to fight the robbery problem.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are proposed on the basis of the major findings of the study for stakeholders' action and considerations.

Policy on Crime Prevention and Control

Government of Ghana, via the Ministry for the Interior has to develop a national strategy or policy on crime prevention to guide the enforcement activities of the Ghana Police Service. There is the urgent call for government to ensure that crime prevention measures are factored into programmes and projects that are rolled out. All government agencies--from the ministries to the district assemblies--should be orientated to consider crime prevention as a key item in their activities. The government should endeavour to set up a national crime control commission which will be responsible for drawing all the policies and the strategies for the crime prevention/control agenda of the country. Such a body must be composed of people from different but relevant backgrounds who can contribute meaningfully to the work of the agencies.

There should also be a permanent central authority with the responsibility to implement the crime prevention strategies/policy that will be drawn. This permanent body should have the responsibility to facilitate crime prevention at the national, regional and the district levels. For a start, the operations of the regional and the district security councils can be expanded to accommodate the crime prevention function.

Government to Engage Stakeholders

Cooperation and partnership is considered a key element in crime prevention efforts. Partnership and cooperation are essential to successful and effective crime control and prevention. This is because, given the fact that crime is caused by multiple factors, its solutions will also demand that broader consultations are made with all the institutions of society whose activities may

result in the production of crime and robbery as well as those whose operations or activities may be impacted negatively by robbery.

Government should try and engage a wide range of groups and agencies--both public and private sectors--in fighting robbery and crime in the country. For instance, government must engage the communities, district assemblies, private security firms, providers of utility services such as electricity and the courts. Multi-sector engagement is crucial to fighting the robbery problem in Ghana because robbery affects different sectors of the society in ways that may not be appreciated by police or government till interests of various groups and stakeholders are brought on board in the planning and the implementation of those projects. Even though such partnerships can have its own problems such problems can be pre-empted by laying out a clear purpose for the partnership and its intended outcomes. Mistrust is one of the main challenges that could defeat partnership building, especially with the police to prevent crime. Thus building trust among the partners will go a long way to ensure that the stakeholders such as the business sector, government agencies, private security operators and the other security agencies beside the police contribute their quota to the crime prevention efforts.

Knowledge-led/driven Crime Control

While the police have been implementing some measures such as the get-tough or the zero-tolerance, the criminal justice, informant-led, and visibility and accessibility approaches to fight robbery in Ghana, it has not bothered to consider the theoretical and the philosophical assumptions of these models and whether given the local exigencies, they will fit our situation. It is

service sometimes tends to pay more attention to officers who arrest hardened criminals than those who perform order maintenance and routine police duties.

Operations of the Community Policing Unit must be Reviewed

Special attention must also be paid to the community policing model and the National Youth Employment Agency model. The current model of community policing should be reviewed to serve the purpose for which it was instituted. Most especially, the model should be decentralised to the level of the district assemblies and be empowered to solve local crime problems of their respective areas. They should not be attached to the Ghana Police Service; they should operate at the same level as the municipal guards and only report cases such as robbery and other felonious crimes to the police for their action. The success of this programme also will depend on the willingness of the police to allow community policing units to perform some of their traditional functions for them. At the moment that seems not to be the case; the police are still holding on to their traditional roles which is making null and void the good intentions of the programme.

Assessing Policing Effectiveness

The police have been using the crime rate and the crime data they collect based on reports made by the public to measure the effectiveness of their operations, but it is important to include other variables because of the problem with crime data generated by the police and mostly for the fact that most people do not report crimes to the police for reasons such as lack of confidence in the police to arrest suspects and falsification of the data and technical errors. The police must therefore include the clear-up rates, that is, the number of cases that are detected, the number of arrests made and the

number of cases sent to court and the number of convictions that they secure for such cases. As the study detected, the police have not been faring well in all the areas indicated which means they will have to up their game to ensure that crime rate, especially robbery, is reduced to the barest minimum. There should be clear standards for assessing the police and the work that they do.

Cultivation of Informants for Police work should be Structured

Informant-led policing was touted as one of the most effective methods that the police have been using to arrest robbers in the country, yet the whole process of informant cultivation and police-informants interaction is not structured. The use of informants has resulted in the arrest of robbers such as Ataa Ayi and Combian who would probably not have been arrested. In spite of the controversies over the use of informants, government and the police service should do well to review the use of informants for police work to reduce some of the controversies that surround it, especially those that concern the ethics of the use of informants and its role in policing. Treating criminal informants with kid gloves and the use of money to get informers to talk to the police which is still a hot potato issue can be resolved through an act of parliament.

Logistics Support and Welfare Matter should be Addressed

Given the important role the police play in fighting crime such as robbery and in making our society safe, it is unfortunate that they lack the needed resources to operate. Government must retool the service to enable it to perform its constitutional mandate. Police welfare and motivation is also important to the performance of the police work. Police welfare issues such as accommodation, insurance and promotional issues should be improved.

Welfare package and insurance cover for those who lose their lives in the course of duty must be sustained, improved and extended to those who excel in procuring intelligence to boost the morale of the “men”. More robust vehicle and sub urban vehicles purposely built to fit the Ghanaian terrain should be procured for the service to improve their movement and response rate to crime emergencies.

Introduction and Improvement in Electronic Surveillance Systems

The introduction of police emergency command centres in the country is highly commendable and must be encouraged and improved to cover the whole country, especially the various entry points that some of the robbers have been using to commit cross-border crimes. One defect about the current system is that the three clusters of regions are not interconnected. This implies that officers in Accra cannot monitor events in Ahsanti region directly. They have to rely on the regional command to track such criminal activities. Given the syndicated and transnational nature of some criminal activities, it will be prudent for Accra to have a national command centre where events and criminal activities in the whole country can be monitored. In addition, corporate bodies should be encouraged to mount electronic cameras and CCTV systems in and around their premises to facilitate detection of criminal activities and criminals.

Contribution to Knowledge

The Four-prong Crime Control Model developed as part of the rethinking is a novelty that can be used by all levels of society to address crime. This is because the model combines both theoretical and practical approaches to address the robbery menace in Ghana. In addition, the

interrogation of the crime control policies and strategies from 1993-2017 is in itself an addition to the repertoire of knowledge on crime prevention and control.

Suggested Areas for Further Research

In the course of conducting the study, some interesting areas were discovered that are highlighted here for further researcher agenda. An experimental study should be conducted to test the effectiveness of some crime control models such as problem-oriented policing in preventing crime. Another area that needs further studies is police numbers and crime control. A study will have to be conducted to determine the correlation between police staff strengthen or numbers and crime reduction.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RESPONDENTS

Preamble: This questionnaire is meant to gather data on how robbery has been dealt with or handled by the Ghana Police Service from 1993 to date. This study is being conducted as part of the requirements for the award of a PhD in Sociology to the candidate. Thus, all information provided will be used for that sole purpose. It is assured that your identity will be protected to the utmost; confidentiality is guaranteed. Unless a participant wants to be cited (indicate by ticking the reference box), all information provided will be protected from second user's access. I therefore seek your consent to solicit your views on the topic; Fighting Robbery in Ghana; Rethinking the Policies and the Strategies.

Do you want to be cited in the study? Yes [] No []

Instruction: tick the appropriate box or write the answers or responses.

1. Can you please comment on the general crime situation in Ghana?

.....
.....

2. From your view point, do you think that crime rate in Ghana is

Very High [] High [] Quite High [] very low [] Low []

2b. Please can you mention some of the criminal activities you know off

.....
.....

3. Which crime/s do you think Ghanaians fear most? Robbery []
Burglary [] Murder [] Rape [] others (state)..... []

4. Why do you say that this /these crime/s is feared most in Ghana? Explain?

5. Have robbery cases been reported in your community/ town/ village?

Yes []

No [] if no continue from Q 7.

6. If yes, how often?

Very often []

Often []

Quite often []

Not often []

Less often []

7. Do you think robbery is a threat to the safety and security of the people in Ghana?

Yes []

No []

8. Please comment on why you think robbery is or not a threat to the safety and security of the people in Ghana

.....
.....
.....

8b. Is robbery a threat to community safety? 1 Yes [] 2 No []

Explain.....

.....
.....

9. Have you ever fallen victim to robbery?

Yes []

No []

9b. When was the last time you were robbed?(eg a one month ago)

10. Would you agree with the statement that the robbery rate in Ghana is increasing?

Highly Agree

Agree

Quite Agree

Highly Disagree

Disagree

11. Would you agree that the data captured by the Police on robbery is far lower than the actual cases?

Highly Agree

Agree

Quite Agree

Highly Disagree

Disagree

Strategies for Robbery Control

12. Are you aware of any policy of government past and present meant to control robbery in Ghana? Yes

No

13. If yes, please list these policies or explain them.

.....

.....

14. Do you know of any crime control method or strategy that the police have been using to control robbery in Ghana? Yes No if no skip to Q 20

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEWGUIDE

1. Can you please comment on the general crime situation in Ghana?
2. From your view point, do you think that crime rate in Ghana is
- 2b. Please can you mention some of the criminal activities you know off
3. Which crime/s do you think Ghanaians fear most?
4. Why do you say that this /these crime/s is feared most in Ghana? Explain?
5. Have robbery cases been reported in your community/ town/ village?
7. Do you think robbery is a threat to the safety and security of the people in Ghana?
8. Please comment on why you think robbery is or not a threat to the safety and security of the people in Ghana
- 8b. Is robbery a threat to community safety?
9. Have you ever fallen victim to robbery?
- 9b. When was the last time you were robbed?(eg a one month ago)
10. Would you agree with the statement that the robbery rate in Ghana is increasing?
11. Would you agree that the data captured by the Police on robbery is far lower than the actual cases?

Strategies for Robbery Control

12. Are you aware of any policy of government past and present meant to control robbery in Ghana?
13. If yes, please list these policies or explain them.

14. Do you know of any crime control method or strategy that the police have been using to control robbery in Ghana?

15. If yes, please list some of the methods you know of.

16. Do you think that these methods or policies have worked as expected or planned?

17. Please comment on why you think they have worked or they have not

worked 18. Which specific method or strategy do you think have worked most and why? 19. Which ones have not worked at all and why?...

20. Which of the following crime control methods have you heard of?

21. Which of these methods do you think have been applied to the control of robbery in Ghana? Please list them

22. Which one has been the **most** effective and why?

23. Which one has been the **least** effective and why?

24. Do you agree with the statement that Ghana is not winning the war on robbery?

25. What do you think accounts for the high rate of robbery cases in Ghana?

Poor upbringing

• Others.....

26. What do you think can be done to address the robbery problem in Ghana?

For Police and other Security Personnel only

1. Do you think that crime control in Ghana is informed by research?

2. Do you think that key stakeholders are consulted before crime control policies or plans are implemented?

3. Which agencies are specifically consulted and included in the crime control strategy or policy planning? Please list them.

4. Would you agree that when planning for crime in Ghana, broad consultations are made?
5. Do you think that the country will succeed in controlling robbery if it continues to use its current method or strategy? []
6. Please explain the reasons for your response:
7. Is the current strategy sustainable?
8. Explain your answer
9. How often do the police review their crime control/ prevention plans
10. As a security personnel what do you think is the best way to deal with robbery in Ghana

APPENDIX C

BIO DATA OF PARTICIPANTS

1. Sex of Respondents Male Female
2. Age.....
3. Highest of Level of education
4. Occupation/Status/Professional
.....
5. Your institution and Unit (say, Police-CID)
.....
.....
.....
6. How many years have you worked with your employer?
7. Your current rank in the service.....
8. Do you want to be cited in the study? Yes No
9. If yes write your name.....

Thank you for participating in the study.

APPENDIX D

ROBBERY CONTROL STUDY CONSENT FORM

FIGHTING ROBBERY IN GHANA: RETHINKING THE POLICIES AND STRATEGIES

You are being asked to take part in a research study of how ROBBERY has been controlled in Ghana from 1993 to 2017. I am asking you to take part because of your knowledge in the subject area is considered important to the successful completion of the study. Please read this form carefully and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to take part in the study.

What the study is about: The purpose of this study is to learn about the policies and strategies that have been used or are being used to control crime and in general and robbery in particular.

What we will ask you to do: If you agree to be part of this study, we will conduct an interview with you or you will be asked to complete a questionnaire that will take about 30min-45min to complete. With your permission, we would also like to tape-record the interview.

Risks and benefits:

I do not anticipate any risks to you participating in this study other than those encountered in day-to-day life.

There are no immediate benefits that may accrue to you but the entire society may benefit from the knowledge that will be gained from the study because the information gather can help address the robbery problem..

Your answers will be confidential. The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report we make public we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify you. Research records will be kept in a locked file; only the researchers will have access to the records. If we tape-record the interview, we will destroy the tape after it has been transcribed, which we anticipate will be within six months of its taping.

Taking part is voluntary: Taking part in this study is completely voluntary. You may skip any questions that you do not want to answer. If you decide not to take part or to skip some of the questions, it will not affect you in any way. You are free to withdraw at any time.

If you have questions: For any further questions or concerns you can contact the researcher conducting this study Mr. Edgar Takyi Akonor on 0244089124 or email eakonor@ucc.edu.gh. You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records.

Statement of Consent: I have read the above information, and have received answers to any questions I asked. I consent to take part in the study.

Your Signature _____ Date _____

Your Name (printed) _____

In addition to agreeing to participate, I also consent to having the interview recorded digitally or manual form.

Your Signature _____ Date _____

Signature of person obtaining consent _____ Date _____

Printed name of person obtaining consent _____ Date _____