

**RATIONAL CHOICE THEORY AND THE QUEST FOR ALTERNATIVE
POLICING SYSTEMS: A CASE STUDY OF UYO, AKWA IBOM STATE; NIGERIA**

Tunde Agbola^{1*}, Jenny Ntamark², Kayode Samuel¹, Olorunfemi Olojede¹

¹Human Settlement Unit, Research Directorate, Mangosuthu University of Technology, Durban,
South Africa

²Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Uyo, Uyo, Nigeria

*Paper Presented at the 19th South African Association of Public Administration and
Management (SAAPAM) Conference, Held at the University of Mpumalanga, Nelspruit,
14-17th May, 2019*

Rational Choice Theory and the Quest for Alternative Policing Systems: A Case Study of Uyo, Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria

Tunde Agbola^{1*}, Jenny Ntamark², Kayode Samuel¹, Olorunfemi Olojede¹

¹Human Settlement Unit, Research Directorate, Mangosuthu University of Technology, Durban, South Africa

²Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Uyo, Uyo, Nigeria

ABSTRACT

The Rational Choice Theory (RCT) emerged from the observed failure of 'rehabilitative technologies' and the increase in the officially recorded crime rates during the 1970's and 1980's. This encouraged the re-introduction of the criminal decision making process and thus the movement from the classical to positivist research in the analysis of criminal behaviour. The RCT assumes that all humans are rational, calculating (on a cost-benefit analysis) and with good knowledge of pain and pleasure. The former is based on the swiftness, severity and certainty of law enforcement apparatus while the latter is based on need, greed and or sexual appeasement, a combination of personal and situational factors that determine if crime will be committed or not. Extant literature shows that "before choosing to commit a crime, the reasoning criminal evaluates the risk of apprehension, the seriousness of the expected punishment, the value of the criminal enterprise, and his or her immediate need for criminal gain" (Siegel, 1992, 2005). While the action of the criminal may be individualistic, the consequence of his/her actions is social and could be inimical to the existence and nurturing of the social fabric. This is the rationale for the existence of law enforcement apparatus whose duty is to evolve how to reduce such activities or prevent them altogether. Unfortunately, the currently evolved strategies to achieve these such as target hardening (deadbolts, self-defence etc) and legal deterrents (police, mandatory sentencing and death penalties) do not seem to have the desired effects as criminal behaviours continue to increase in types and intensity. This paper examines alternate ways of policing Uyo, the capital of Akwa Ibom State in Nigeria through private security guards, armed guards, neighbourhood vigilante, neighbourhood volunteers, armed militia (area boys) and local watchnight. A combination of questionnaire, interview and focus group discussion methods were employed to elicit information from relevant stakeholders in addition to a penetrating analysis of secondary information. 1200 households were sampled from high, medium and low residential areas, six (6) Key Informant interviews were held while a FGD consisting of 12 people was conducted. Research results showed a loss of faith in the conventional crime fighting strategies and the willingness to involve non-state actors in crime prevention and possible eradication of crime in Uyo. The paper recommended strategies to enhance the use and application of non-conventional methods in crime fighting in the study area.

Key Words: Rational Choice Theory; Crime; State Actors; Non-State Actors; Alternative policing system; Uyo

***Corresponding Author: Tuñdē Agbola, babatunde.agbola@gmail.com**

Rational Choice Theory and the Quest for Alternative Policing Systems: A Case Study of Uyo, Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria.

1. The Urbanization-Crime Nexus: An Introduction

The UN-Habitat (2004) projects that of the 2.2 billion increase in the world's population between now and the year 2030, 2.1 billion people are expected to live in urban areas. Urban centres will absorb more than 95 per cent of the world's expected population growth by the year 2030. The projections clearly indicate a major trend toward urban life which implies that the future needs of the world's population will have to be handled largely within urban contexts. Urbanization increases interaction within the urban system through its numerous effective linkages but reduces the possibility of social control within the same urban centres.

However, since the urban setting provides anonymity which is a necessary ingredient to avoid detection, urbanization enhances the opportunities for the commission of crime (Harries, 1980). Increased diversity of land use is noted to offer high potentials for the occurrence of crimes while diversity makes law enforcement more difficult (Ntarmark, 2017). For instance, a neighbourhood which combines industrial and commercial land uses with single and multi-family dwellings harbour the potential for almost every possible crime. Urban system in conjunction with modernization potentially enhances crime patterns and opportunities through improved mobility, increased potential interaction, and increased physical environmental heterogeneity.

In addition, the emergence of exurbia encourages the movement of people from older to newer housing in the suburb leading to the creation of areas called the inner cities. These inner parts of the city tend to harbour the majority of the underprivileged, the under-employed and socio-economically disadvantaged neighbourhoods and people characterized with envy, frustration, deprivation and tendencies for all sorts of crimes. These factors influence the mode of interaction and also provide ways of justifying or rationalizing the hostility directed toward the supposedly privileged people. The juxta-positioning of the poor in close proximity to the rich creates a scenario captured by the Watchtower Bible Society (1996) and cited by Agbola (1997):

The poor cannot sleep at night because they are hungry; the rich cannot sleep because the poor are awake; when there is no more social injustices that breed crime, no more haves and have-nots, then, there will be no more assassinations, poison-gas attacks, or terrorist

bombs! (Watchtower Bible Society, October 8, 1996, p.11) and cited in (Agbola, 1997)

Therefore, any meaningful approach to urban safety and security must take into consideration the various interactions of social, economic and institutional behaviours within cities.

Unfortunately and according to the UN-Habitat (2007), statistics of serious crimes reported in Nigeria rose from 251,055 in 1991 to 319,616 in 1993 and from 420,911 in 1995 to 544,505 and 591,489 in 2007, with a greater percentage occurring in highly-populated urban centres such as Benin, Port Harcourt, Abuja, Onitsha, Lagos, Ibadan, Kaduna (Agbola, 2004; Alemika and Chukwuma, 2005). More recent National Criminal Victimization and Safety Survey (NCVSS) conducted by CLEEN Foundation (2013) revealed that average robbery incidence increased from 17 per cent in 2012 to 18 per cent in 2013. When disaggregated by states, the results of the 2013 survey showed that Kaduna State recorded the highest of 43 per cent followed by Akwa Ibom State (42 %) and Cross River State (39 %) against the national average of 18 per cent.

This spate of crimes has overstretched the police force whose statutory function is to maintain law and order. Nigeria has a total of 371,000 policemen, policing over 170 million people. Out of this number, 269,164 are rank and file, a greater number of which are bodyguards to politicians, rich people, banks and other financial institutions (Okeke, 2013). Various researches and empirical studies have also averred that the police force, entrusted with the responsibility of maintaining public peace, safety and general security, have been overwhelmed and overburdened by the enormity of the crime problem (Olujinmi, 2005; Odinkalu, 2005; Mammus, 2010; Akuul, 2011; Ajayi and Aderinto, 2008; Pratten, 2008). Apart from the sheer magnitude of the crime problem, the ineptitude and inefficiency in the performance of police statutory duties, lack of resources, poor government support, poor conditions of services breed ill-motivated, ill-trained and ill-equipped workforce who are structurally distant from the people they are supposed to police (Okafor, 2007).

While the need to police the urban space continues to grow, the institution of the police is held in low repute, and does not attract the cooperation of the people. The society has, therefore, constructed parallel arrangements as alternative means of protecting itself from crime in order to meet the ever-growing security deficits and safety needs of urban residents (Ajayi and Aderinto, 2008; Adejoh, 2013). These parallel arrangements, without a

coordinated modus operandi between the various actors, have frequently resulted in a needless clash of roles, duplication of activities and threats to existing formal (state) crime prevention and control machineries. These clashes range from power tussle among various non-state actors operating within the same domain (Olatunji, 2014); extra-judicial killings of members of the non-state policing groups by the police (Nigeria policewatch, 2011); lack of access to resources that can aid the non-state actors in their operations (Agunbiade, 2016) and clamp down on non-state policing outfits by the police (Akpan, 2016).

Consequent on the above, this paper examined the content of the rational choice theory as one of the theoretical basis for the rising tide in crime and criminality in urban areas and appealed to the logic in the theory as a consideration to solve urban safety problems through partnership arrangements between the formal and informal policing systems.

2. The Rational Choice Theory: The Content and Context

Several concepts and theories have been used to explain the crime and urban safety activities in many contexts especially in explaining the level of partnerships existing between the different policing apparatuses (formal and informal) in the urban setting. While some are causal, some are mediating while some are yet refuted. These concepts and theories include the rational choice theory, routine activity theory and theory of collective efficacy (Ntamark, 2018) and many more. However, the theory adopted in this paper is the rational choice theory because of its attributory qualities in explaining criminal behaviour and its possible remediation or solutions as exemplified in the case study used in this paper.

The rational choice theory originated during late 18th century with the work of Italian “social-thinker” Cesare Beccaria. Further advancement in rational choice theory development was pioneered by sociologist George Homans in 1961 in which he laid the basic framework for exchange theory. In what seemed as an extension to his investigations into the rational choice theory, Homans used the hypotheses drawn from behavioral psychology to ground his postulations. During the 1960s and 1970s, other theorists (Blau, Coleman, and Cook) extended and enlarged his framework and helped to develop a more formal model of the rational choice theory.

Fundamentally, rational choice theory is an economic principle that assumes that individuals always make prudent and logical decisions that provide them with the highest amount of personal utility. Given the choices available, these decisions provide people with the greatest

benefit or satisfaction and are also in their highest self-interest. Impliedly, people make rational choices based on their goals and those choices govern their behaviour. Rational choice theory assumes that all people try to actively *maximize their advantage* in any situation and therefore consistently try to *minimize their losses*. The theory is based on the idea that all humans base their decisions on rational calculations, act with rationality when choosing, and aim to increase either pleasure or profit. It is thus the assumptions of rational choice theory about human behavior that made it a ready ally of numerous criminological theories and criminal justice interventions. In criminology, the rational choice theory adopts a utilitarian belief that man is a reasoning actor *who weighs means and ends, costs and benefits, and makes a rational choice*. This method was designed by Cornish and Clarke to assist in thinking about situational crime prevention.

Central to the rational choice model is the assertion that every person has a free will to choose between conventional behaviour or criminal behaviour and that crime can be controlled only if the fear of criminal sanctions outweighs benefit of a particular crime committed (Siegel, 2005). Further assertion of the theory is that, in choosing to commit a crime, the offender is completely rational and therefore takes decision to commit a crime. Siegel (2005) noted that several reasons why a rational offender could choose to offend lies within a very broad continuum of personal needs viz-a-viz greed, need, revenge, anger, lust, jealousy, thrills, and vanity.

In criminology discourses, a major assumption underlying the rational choice theory is that offending is a purposive behaviour, with the sole aim of the offender getting some benefits and rewards which in turn explains why criminals get involved in criminal events. In a broader perspective, the rational choice model seeks to offer explanation how the offender makes crime choices, driven by a premeditated motive *within a specific setting*, and how such settings offers the opportunities to satisfy that motive. Rational choice theory has an image of the offender who thinks before acting, even if only for a moment, taking into account some benefits and costs in committing the offense (Brantingham and Brantingham, 2003; Felson and Clarke, 1998; Jayamala, 2008). The followers of this theory posited that the offender's calculus is mostly based on that which is most evident and immediate, while neglecting the more remote costs and benefits of crime or its avoidance. Felson and Clarke (1998) therefore concluded that this is why the usual offender pays rather less attention to eventual punishment or the long-term impact of crime than to the immediate or proximate pleasures

offered by the offense or the risks that someone will thwart it on the spot. This perspective has given rise to followers of this theory asking each offender concrete questions about specific crime. For example, researchers have taken burglars around in cars, asking them specifically why they would pick one street and not another, one house and not another, one time and not another, and how they think about their specific illegal tasks.

There have been various off shoot models of this theory and these include: the rational actor, the predestined actor and the victimized actor. The rational actor model proposed that individuals choose whether to commit a crime based on perceived rewards and benefits. Here, crime could simply be controlled by increasing the penalty of offending (Burke, 2001). The predestined actor model proposes that criminals cannot control their personal urges and environment, thus committing crime. Control of crime using this model is hinged on changes to the biological, sociological and psychological environment of the offender. Lastly, the victimized offender model proposes that crime is as a result of the offender being a victim of an unequal society. In this model crime could be controlled by reforming the institutional and legislative frameworks of the society (Burke, 2001)

This theory is closely linked to *situational crime prevention*, which is explicitly designed to reduce crime opportunities. Situational crime prevention model posits that providing more opportunities to offenders to offend translates into increased criminal events. Impliedly, if withdrawing the opportunity causes crime to go down, then it becomes impossible to deny that providing more criminal opportunity causes crime to go up. In such a scenario, criminal events have been also assessed within the context of crime patterns. Crime pattern theory is a way of explaining why crimes are committed in certain areas. It upholds that crime is not random, it is *either planned or opportunistic*. According to the theory, *crime happens when the activity space of a victim or target intersects with the activity space of an offender*. Crime pattern focuses on opportunities within activity spaces where a rational choice model focuses on the offender choice. Both theories intertwine to explain criminal events within the urban setting. One of such opportunistic crime pattern theory is the routine activity theory.

While there are many arguments against this theory, especially those that argue that all criminals cannot be rationale in their thinking at all times, the authors of this paper are interested in the various solutions the theory suggests in curbing crime and criminality in the urban space. The theory not only allows law enforcement agents to know that there are hot

spots and the affordances of those spots, it also allows researchers to know the thinking profile of offenders and thus how to counteract their moves.

However, counteracting their motives cannot be left to the formal, traditional systems of policing alone due to their observed incapacities. Rational activity approach thus assumes that all defensible space strategies, secured by design and all opportunistic and environmental approaches to improve safety in neighbourhoods require surveillance strategy to work better.

There is therefore the need for all actors, formal, informal and civil society stakeholders to cooperate to fight crime and insecurity in different neighbourhoods. Hence, the empirical findings of a case study research presented in the next section discusses the results of a recent research on public and non-public actor collaborations in crime fighting in Akwa Ibom state of Nigeria.

3.0 Case Study of State and non-state actors collaboration for Urban safety and security in Uyo, Akwa Ibom State of Nigeria.

3.1 Akwa Ibom: The Context

Akwa Ibom State is located in Nigeria's Niger Delta, with land area of 6,900 square kilometres, and lies between latitudes 4° 32' and 5° 33' north and longitudes 7° 25' and 8° 25' east (Fig. 1). Akwa Ibom is bounded in the north by Cross River and Abia states, in the south by the Atlantic Ocean, in the east by Cross River State and the south-west by Rivers and Abia states. This strategic location makes Akwa Ibom State a centre of inter-regional trade and a melting pot of economic activities. Akwa Ibom State had a total population of 3,920,208 persons at 3.2 per cent annual growth rate, while the population of Uyo was put at 302,234 persons (NPC, 2007). The most striking characteristic of the population of Akwa Ibom State (and by implication Uyo) is its crude density (576.2 persons per square kilometre). Akwa Ibom State comprises 31 local government areas with Uyo as state capital.

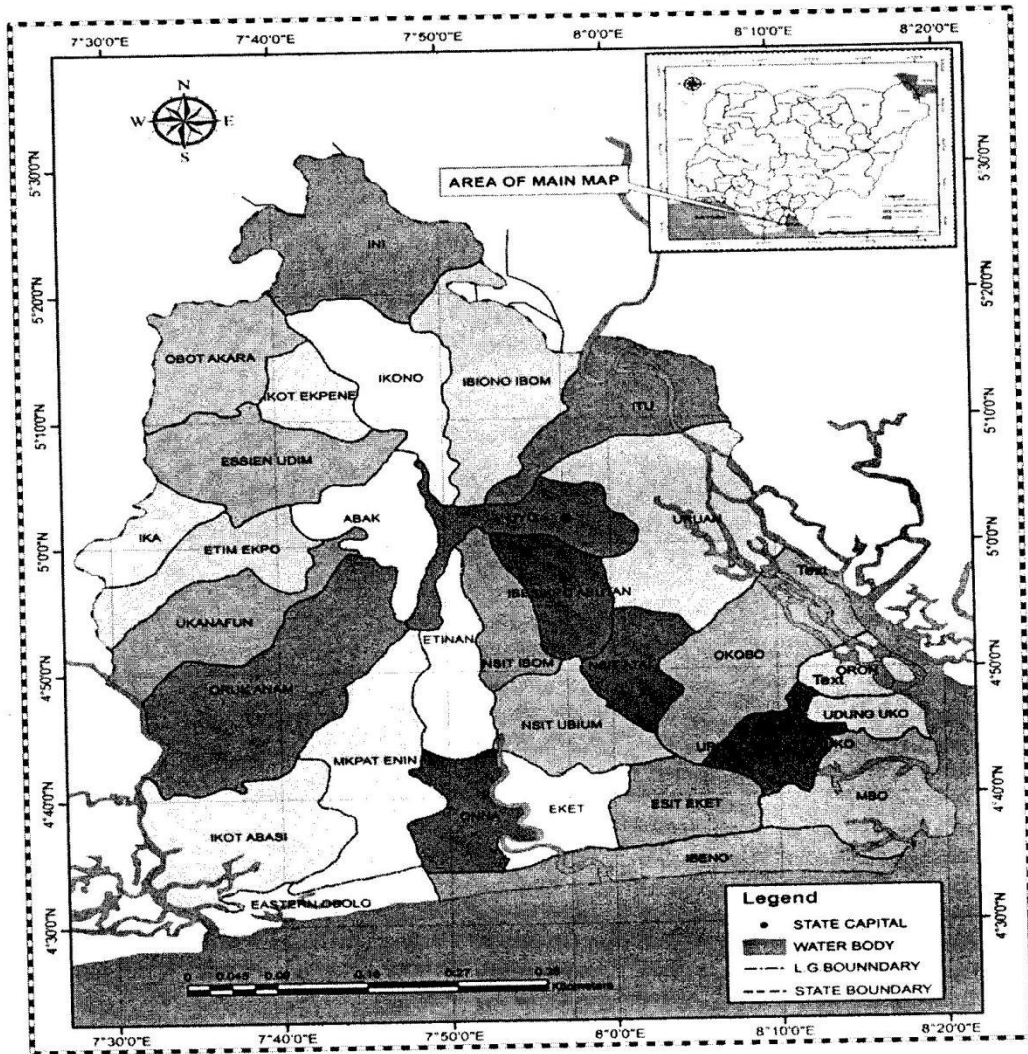


Fig 1. Map of Akwa Ibom State (Nigeria Insert).

Source: Ministry of Lands and Surveys, Akwa Ibom State, 2015.

Politically, the State is subdivided into three senatorial districts, namely Uyo Senatorial District (North West) with headquarters in Uyo, Eket Senatorial District (South) with headquarters in Eket and Ikot Ekpene Senatorial District (North-East) with headquarters in Ikot Ekpene (Fig.2).

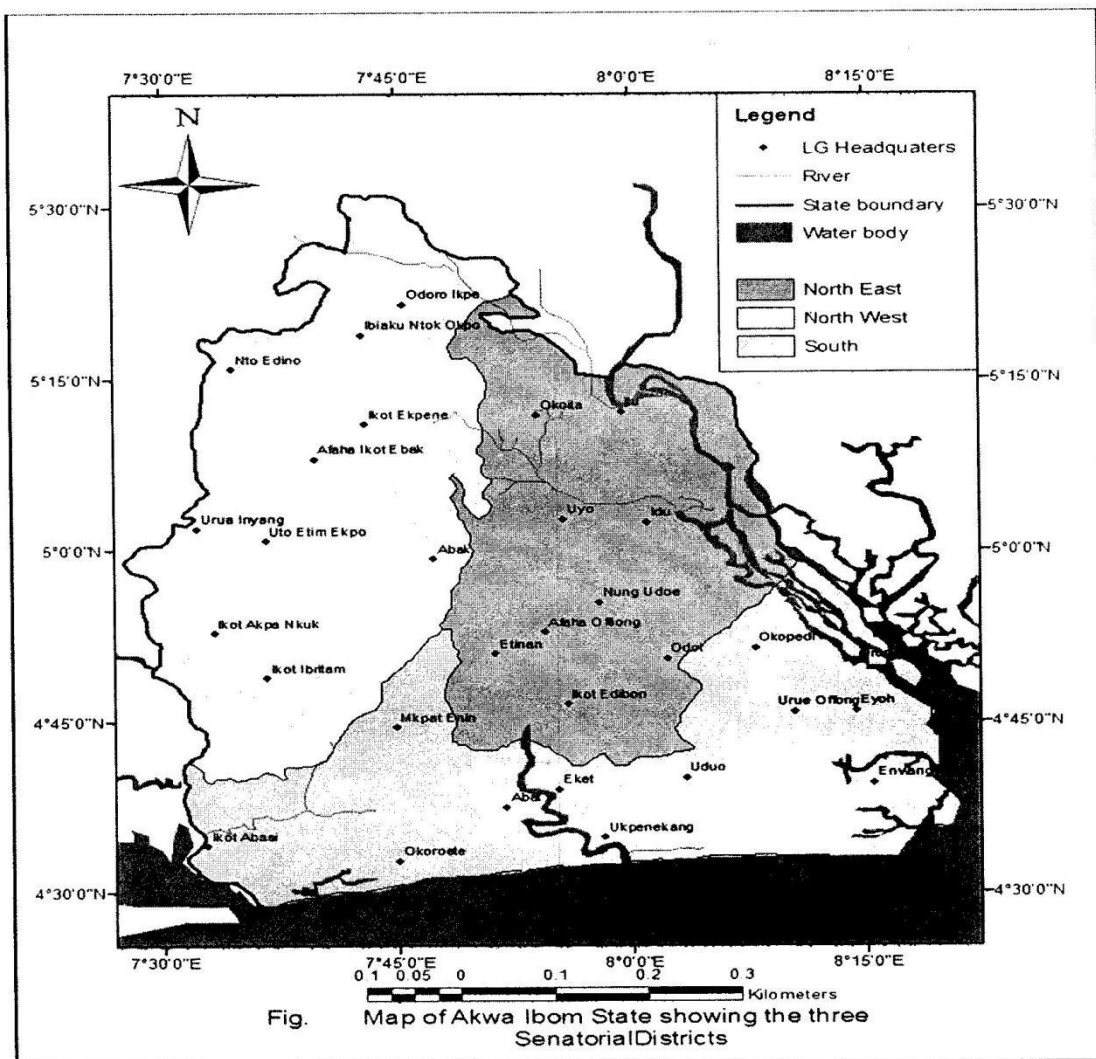
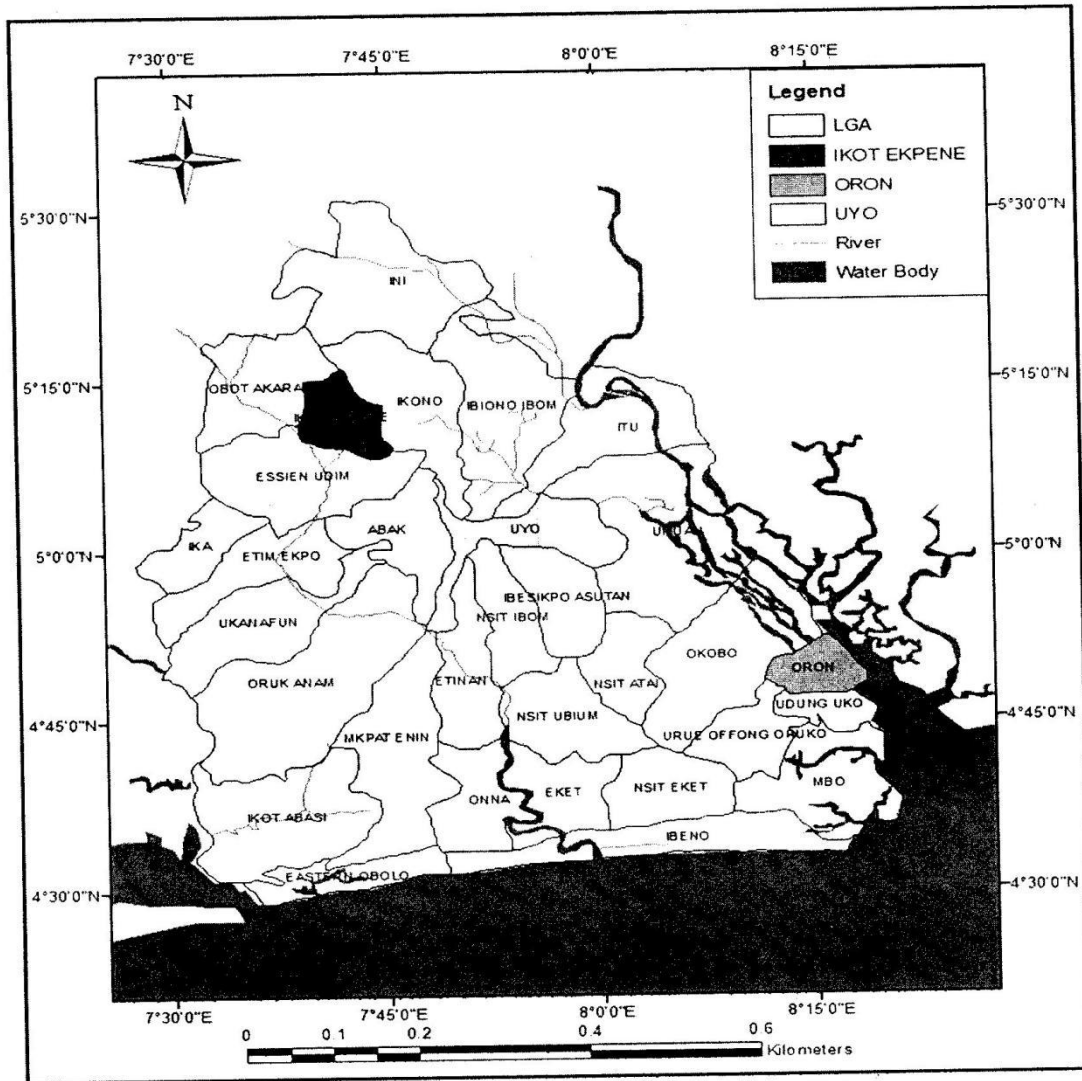


Fig 2. The three senatorial districts in Akwa Ibom State.

Source: Ministry of Lands and Surveys, Akwa Ibom State, 2015.



Map of Selected Study Areas in Akwa Ibom State

Fig 3. Selected study areas in Akwa Ibom State.

Source: Ministry of Lands and Surveys, 2015.

3.2: Data and Methods

The study delineated Akwa Ibom into three senatorial districts (Uyo, Ikot Ekpene and Eket senatorial districts (Fig.2). One urban centre (Uyo, Ikot Ekpene and Oron) was purposively selected from each of the senatorial districts. Each of the three selected study areas served as the sampling unit for data collection. There are 112 localities in the Uyo Capital City Development Authority, 65 localities in Ikot Ekpene Local Government Area and 23 localities in Oron Local Government Area (NPC, 1991). These added up 200 localities from which forty localities were randomly selected for the entire study. One thousand two hundred households were randomly sampled from high, medium and low residential areas of the three selected urban centres.

Table 1 presents the sampling profile for the study. It shows the 2006 population projected to 2014, the number of households and the sample selected for the study. These were supplemented with focussed group discussion (FGD) and Key Informant Interview (KII) as shown in Table 2.

Table 1. Number of households in the selected study areas

Selected Study Areas	2006 Population Figures	2014 Projected Population Figures	Total No of Household	1% of households selected	Total Number of Residential/Mixed Residential Buildings	Total Number of Streets/Roads in Sectors
Uyo	305,961	521,278	70,714	707	69,183	5,807
Ikot Ekpene	143,077	286,075	30,481	305	29,846	2,582
Oron	87,461	144,466	18,952	189	18,611	897
Total	536,499	951,819	120,147	1201	117,640	9,286

Source: NPC, 1991; NPC 2006; author's fieldwork, 2016.

The second set of questionnaire was administered on the state actors. A total of 19 questionnaires were administered on both state and non-state actors. One questionnaire each was served purposively on each of the Divisional Crime Officer (DCO) in Uyo, Ikot Ekpene and Oron. The Public Relations Officer (PRO), Community Policing Unit of the State Police Headquarters, Uyo was also interviewed. Other state actors interviewed were the Head of Intelligence, NSCDC and the Head, Private Security Guard Department, NSCDC. For the non-state actors, one representative each of the selected private guard companies, neighbourhood volunteer groups or neighbourhood vigilantes were selected for interviews.

Table 2. Interviews and FGD with state and non-state actors in the 3 study areas

Study Areas	Number of persons interviewed during key Informant Interviews (KII)	Number of persons interviewed during In depth Interviews	Number of FGD sessions	Number of persons
Uyo	9	13	1	12
Ikot Ekpene	6	8	1	8
Oron	5	7	1	8
Total	20	28	3	

Source: Fieldwork, 2016.

Data obtained from this study were analysed using both quantitative and qualitative methods. Quantitative data were analysed with the aid of Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS v. 20). Descriptive statistics used were (Cross-tabulations, mean, median, standard deviation and Chi-square). Qualitative data from FGDs, KII and IDI were content-analysed. Information were transcribed and analysed along themes coined for the discussions.

4.0 Discussion of Research Findings

From the information gleaned from the literature and corroborated by the present study, all defensible space strategies, secured by design and all opportunistic and environmental approaches to improve safety in neighbourhoods require surveillance strategy to work better. This is the main thrust of the rational choice theory. This paper hereby advocates that improved surveillance is the strategy that would best ensure improved safety of neighbourhoods. This entails a crime prevention approach through the creation of groups dedicated to preventing crime among residents, better policing, and improved relationships between the police and the community where state and non state actors work together collaboratively. This is the thrust of the case study in a research conducted and documented by Ntamark (2018).

Some of the major findings from the research are that target-hardening is still widely accepted among households in Akwa Ibom State as shown in 37.3% of the respondents securing their dwellings doors/windows protectors. Another 23.2% preferred to secure their dwellings with external walls/fences. 21.7% would prefer human guards to be present within their environment despite target hardening efforts within their dwellings. This is in

conformity with the proposition of the rational choice theory that opportunities must not be created for criminals to prey on easy targets.

Table 2: Most Preferred Protective options in Houses in Akwa Ibom State

Protective Options	Counts	Percentage (%)
Target Hardening + Human Guards	246	21.7
Doors/Windows Protectors	424	37.3
Wall/Fence Reinforcements	263	23.2
Guards dogs	37	3.3
Electronic Gadgets	56	4.9
Traditional Methods	38	3.3
No response	72	6.3
Total	1136	100.0

Source: Field Surveys, 2016

High preference of human guards according to the survey is predicated on the fact that despite target-hardening on buildings, respondents still felt insecure and are still vulnerable to attacks frequently. Although, quite a number of respondents feel safe after putting in place physical security wares in their dwellings (47.7%), the study shows that those who still felt unsafe even after putting such in place constituted quite a significant percentage (52.3%). This percentage would most likely seek for improved security environment by accessing alternative security arrangements provided by non-state actors.

The study also revealed that there is a feeling of safety which respondents have after putting in place physical protective measures on their buildings. From the study, 36.7% felt fairly safe, 11.0% felt very safe while 17.3% did not feel differently. 34.1% felt fairly unsafe and 0.9% felt very unsafe even after putting on physical protective measures to harden target of criminals in committing crime in their dwellings. The same results apply to the different study areas. The implication of the findings for the study supports the hypothesis put forward by the routine activity theory, which asserts that the presence of a capable guardian near a crime target is essential in preventing the occurrence of crime. Target hardening, according to Harries (1974) is only to lengthen the time (ti) until a capable guardian arrives. The percentage of human guards as a safety measure in the study areas as an extra effort to safeguard dwellings alongside structural installations suggest that non-state actors presence as surveillance strategy could be used to boost security.

On whether respondents perceived that crime prevention and control by human agents is superior over individual buildings reinforcements and target hardening, the results shows a near even percentage distribution of responses. 45.6% respondents admitted that human surveillance was superior while 54.4% maintained that human surveillance is not superior and cannot replace the role of building reinforcements. The implication of these findings is that safety and security of urban environment may not come from narrow prescriptions of one policy response but a combination of several viable approaches.

The study also examined the preference of respondents for either state or non-state actors in an event of criminal incident. Those that would exclusively call the police constituted 26.0% while those that would exclusively call any of the hybrids of non-state actors constituted 72.0%. Further disaggregation of the data showed that those that would call private security guard companies were 5.9%, armed guards were 8.9%, local watch nights were 3.6%, neighborhood volunteers were 48.4% while those that would call neighbourhood vigilantes were 17.2%. The remaining 16.0% indicated interest in non of the non-state security arrangements.

On the mode of organization of neighbourhood watch groups, respondents who asserted that street level organization was more prevalent in their area were 56.6%, those who asserted that it was based on groups of street level were 18.6% while 24.6% noted that vigilantes and volunteer activities were organized at community levels.

Access control into neighbourhoods determines how much egress and ingress of criminal events are sustained within neighbourhoods. The study revealed that neighbourhoods without access control constituted 59.2% of all roads/streets sampled, gates and metal cross-bars constituted 0.2% of all accesses, temporary cross bars made of local palm fronds constituted 11.9%, earth bumps constituted 9.3% while various hard and soft strategies to control access in the study area formed the remaining 19.4%. The implication of this finding for the town planning profession is that planners/urban designers should incorporate street architecture capable of controlling neighbourhood accesses into layout/structure plans.

The study further observed that sustainability of non-state activities in ensuring safety of neighbourhoods is dependent on the degree of collective efficacy existing among residents of any neighborhood. Neighborhood landlord association, where they exist, is key to choice and maintenance of any preferred option. State actors would prefer to work with the leadership of communities or neighborhoods where instructions are given to those who volunteer to watch

over the neighbourhoods. Other findings revealed the relationship between the existence of landlord associations and the level of collective efficacy in the neighbourhoods selected for the study. From the result of analysis of data of field data, 10.6% had no idea of the existence of landlord association in their neighbourhood, 40.8% had landlord association in their neighbourhoods while 48.6% said that they do not have landlord association in their neighborhoods. The finding corroborates Fabiyi (2004) assertion that a viable neighbourhood landlord association is paramount for organization of the activities of the non-state actors. The study also revealed that landlord associations were most active in the medium income low density neighbourhoods while collective efficacy, which is incidental to forming and maintaining landlord associations, were weak among residents in organized residential estates.

3.0 Conclusion

Theories are often used to explain and predict occurrences and to solve nagging problems. The rational choice theory as explored in this study has attempted to explain most common criminal behaviour and also suggest possible ways of solving some of these problems. The content and context of the theory have been exemplified in the case study of Akwa Ibom where target hardening in concert with other precautionary and collaborative measures (the activities of non-state actors) have been evolved and used to curb criminal activities and enhance urban safety and security. There is therefore the need for the government to evolve a framework fore security sector reform for the integrating of the various non-state actors into the mainstream of such reform to appropriately co-ordinate the activities of various actors for improved security service delivery.

The proposed security sector reform will entail a mix of options as put forward in this research. For this proposal to be effective, this will require enabling laws for each of the options and an umbrella law to co-ordinate the activities of all the actors in a synergistically sustainable manner. Such laws should view all actors as partners who do not erode the monopolistic stance of the state actors but delegated partners whose duties sum up to the composite whole.

REFERENCES

- Adejoh, P. E. 2013. Informal security structures and community crime control in Lagos State, Nigeria. Ph.D Thesis. Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.
- Agbola, Tunde. 1997. *Architecture of Fear*. IFRA, Ibadan: African Book Builders.
- Agbola, Tunde. 2004. A study of urban violence and insecurity in Abuja. *Journal of the Nigerian Institute of Town Planners* 17.1: 59-77.
- Agunbiade, Y. 2016. Akwa Ibom Vigilante Group Seek Release of Donated Patrol Vehicles. September 28, 2016. Retrieved Nov. 12, 2016 from <http://www.informationng.com/2016/09/akwa-ibom-vigilante-group-seek-release-donated-patrol-vehicles.html>
- Ajayi, J. O. and Aderinto, A. A. 2008. The Nigeria Police and crime control in Lagos metropolis. *African Journal for the Psychological Study of Social Issues*. 11.2 :145-160. Retrieved 18/5/2014 from <http://www.ajol.info/index.php/ajpssi/article/view/34157>
- Akpan, A. 2016. Police outlaws Ayade's Green Cadets, threatens arrests. The Guardian Newspaper. Thursday, November 17, 2016.
- Akuul, T. 2011. The Role of the Nigerian Police force in maintaining peace and security in Nigeria. *Journal of Social Science and Public Policy*. Volume 3, March 2011 Cenresin Publications. Retrieved 12/6/2014 from www.cenresin.org / THE ROLE OF THE NIGERIA POLICE FORCE.pdf4
- Alemika, E.O. and Chukwuma, I.C. 2005. *Criminal Victimization and Fear of Crime in Lagos Metropolis*. CLEEN Foundation Monograph Series No.1, 2005.
- Brantingham, P. J., and Brantingham, P. L. 2003. Anticipating the displacement of crime using the principles of environmental criminology. *Theory for practice in situational crime prevention*. M. J. Smith and D. B. Cornish Eds. Monsey, NY: Criminal Justice Press. 119-148.
- Burke, R.H. 2001. *An Introduction to criminological theory*. Criminal Justice Review pp. 377-381
- CLEEN Foundation. 2013. Public Presentation of Findings of the National Crime Victimization and Safety Survey, 2013 by CLEEN Foundation. Retrieved 23/08/2014 from <http://cleenfoundation.blogspot.com/2013/10/public-presentation-of-findings-of.html>
- Cornish, D.B. and Clarke, R.V. 2003. Opportunities, precipitators and criminal decisions: A reply to wortley's critique of situational crime prevention. In Smith, M.J. and Cornish, D.B. (eds). *Theory for practice in situational crime prevention*. *Crime Prevention studies*, No 16, Monsey, NY: Criminal Justice Press: 41-96
- Fabiyi, Seyi. 2004. *Gated neighbourhoods and the privatization of urban security in Ibadan Metropolis*. IFRA:University of Ibadan.
- Felson, M. and Clarke, R. V. 1998. Opportunity makes the thief: Practical theory for crime prevention. In B. Webb (Ed.). *Police Research Series Paper 98*. London, UK: Policing and Reducing Crime Unit Research, Development and Statistics Directorate.
- Harries, K.D. 1980. *Crime and the environment*. Springfield, Illinois: Thomas.
- Jayamala, M. 2008. Trends and spatial patterns of crime in India: A case study of a district in India. Ph.D Thesis. Annamalai University, Chidambaram, India.
- Mammus, K. 2010. Challenges and Prospects of Policing: Edo State, Nigeria in Perspective. Study Mode.
- National Population Commission. 2006. National Population Census Result. Legal Notice on the Details of the breakdown of the National and State Provisional Totals. Lagos, Nigeria: Federal Government: FGP71/52007/2500(OL24).

- Nigeria Police Watch . 2011. Outrage in Akwa Ibom as police “extra-judicially” murder two vigilantes. August 29. Retrieved 24/08/2015 from <http://www.nigeriapolicewatch.com/2011/08/outrage-in-akwa-ibom-as-police-murders-two-vigilantes/>.
- Ntamark, J. J. 2018. State and Non-state Actors Partnerships in Urban Crime Control and Prevention In Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria. Ph.D Thesis. Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Ibadan, Nigeria. 204 Pages + xiv
- Odinkalu, C. A. 2005. When did the police become (y)our friend?: changing roles of civil society in promoting safety and security in Nigeria. *Proceedings of the National Summit on Crime and Policing in Nigeria*. Alemika, E. O and I. C. Chukwuma (eds). *NOPRIN and NPF*.
- Okeke, V.O.S. 2013. Community policing, vigilante security apparatus and security challenges in Nigeria: A lesson from Britain and Igbo traditional society of Nigeria. *British Journal of Arts and Social Sciences*. ISSN: 2046-9578, Vol.14 No 2.
- Olatunji, D. 2014. Three injured as vigilante groups clash in Ogun. May 20, 2014. The Vanguard Newspaper. Retrieved online from <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2014/05/3-injured-vigilante-groups-clash-ogun/>
- Olujinmi, A. 2005. *Keynote Address: Crime and policing in Nigeria*. *Proceedings of the National Summit on Crime and Policing in Nigeria*. Nigeria: NOPRIN and NPF. Alemika, E. O and I. C. Chukwuma (eds).
- Pratten, D. 2008. The politics of protection: perspectives on vigilantism in Nigeria. *Journal of the International African Institute*. *Africa* 78(1), 2008. Doi: 10.3366/E0001972008000028. Retrieved online muse.jhu.edu/login?auth=0&type=summary&url=journals/Africa_the_journal_of_the_international_african_institute/vo78/78.1pratten01.pdf
- Siegel, L. 2005. *Criminology*. California: Thompson Wadsworth.
- UN-Habitat 2007. Enhancing urban safety and security. *Global Report on Human Settlements*. London and Sterling, VA: Earthscan. Retrieved online from <https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/files/urbansafetyandsecurity.pdf>
- Wynne, T. 2008. An investigation into the Fear of Crime: Is there a link between the fear of crime and the likelihood of victimization? Retrieved from www.internetjournalofcriminology.com.