Urban Security Governance in Residential Neighbourhoods: A Researcher's Perspective

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Abstract

This article reviews studies on urban security governance in residential neighbourhoods with a view to improving the integrated security system in the residential neighbourhoods of cities in Africa and beyond. One of the social problems facing the globe, most especially in African nations, is insecurity, which varies from kidnapping to banditry, armed robbery, killings, bombing attacks, killer herdsmen, insurgency, militancy, Boko Haram and Jihadism. Urban security governance is emerging as an alternative framework to address the inability of state institutions to provide adequate security in towns and cities. Concepts of urban security governance and the broken windows theory, securitization, collective security, security governance, and citizens' participation provided the framework for the current study, while the systemic review of the literature was adopted as the methodology. Secondary desk data on urban security governance in residential neighbourhoods was used as the basis for explanation. The study revealed that the inability of the state to provide adequate protection made individuals, communities and businesses engage in different urban security approaches. Issues of weakness in urban security governance have resulted in the emergence of insecurity in residential neighbourhood areas. However, institutionalising urban security governance through the adoption of an integrated security system approach in residential neighbourhoods is highly recommended.

Keywords: urban security governance; residential neighbourhood safety; collective security; African cities

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Introduction

According to Giles (2011), the problem facing cities today is their expansion at an unprecedented pace as people abandon rural areas in search of better job opportunities which poses greater challenges to neighbourhood safety – especially in the developing countries of the world. Purpura (2002) opines that neighbourhood insecurity has become increasingly complex especially since the world is experiencing dynamic transformation and population growth coupled with the risk of violence and instability. The way many large urban regions are currently developing has destructive consequences for societal stability. Ineffective governance, exclusion and segregation lead to inequality, poverty and violence. Cities are becoming havens for international terrorist and criminal networks.

The evolution of insecurity in urban centres, especially during the last decade, has considerably altered human understanding of residential neighbourhood safety. The United Nations (UN 2013) has affirmed that contemporary security challenges in the residential neighbourhoods are not necessarily activated by worldwide war and interior clashes, but rather by incessant and determined neediness, atmosphere-related debacles, composed crime, human dealing, wellbeing pandemics and abrupt monetary and budgetary downturns. Therefore, residential neighbourhood insecurity gives rise to more intractable crises that are not only threatening individuals' wellbeing but often spill over into broader regional, national and international security threats.

According to Liao (2016), urban security governance is emerging as an alternative framework to address the inability of the state institutions to provide adequate security in towns and cities. This is happening from the global to the regional and individual levels, and from traditional military security to the newly rising non-military security management. Liao (2016) identifies urban security governance as the means to enhance neighbourhood safety when he claims that urban security governance is the application of urban governance theory to security issues in communities in order to foster safety. According to Sedra (2010), urban security governance consists of formal and informal community safety mechanisms (i.e., landlords, police, neighbourhood vigilantes, private security organisations, closed circuit television (CCTV), gated neighbourhoods, street lights, low and high wall fences, cul-de-sacs, etc.) that are used to ensure that security and justice are provided in a fair, responsive and effective way to all citizens. Such a broad approach to the rule of law includes community level partnerships and so-called governance nodes between citizens and law enforcement institutions. These partnerships serve to elaborate joint strategies to address the community's key safety and security concerns.

According to the Security and Defence Agenda (SDA) (2011), urban security governance requires a comprehensive strategy that spans the police and judiciary as well as other administrations at local and global levels, and addresses internal and external threats. The SDA's (2011) assertion is as a result of the growing challenges of urban

security issues which include: terrorism, kidnapping, bombing, organised crime, political and economic unrest, and climate change. Although provision of security is the primary responsibility of the government, this has always been denied sufficient political attention, thus tackling public security has remained highly challenging in towns and cities, especially today.

Problem Statement

Skaperdas et al. (2009) state that it is well accepted in today's world that neighbourhood insecurity exacts a high cost on global development. In about 60 countries, over the last 10 years, violence, crime, incessant bombing, terrorism, kidnapping, insurgency, and more have significant and directly reduce economic growth. It has hampered poverty reduction efforts and limited progress towards the Millennium Development Goals (UN 2000). About half of these countries experiencing security challenges are in post-conflict transition. The other half are experiencing high levels of violence crime, street violence, domestic violence, terrorist attacks, bomb blasts, kidnapping and other kinds of common violence that pose serious challenges to urban security. Muggah (2012) notes that a considerable number of middle- and lower-income cities exhibit above-average rates of neighbourhood insecurity. He expresses further that neighbourhood insecurity is becoming more widespread and chronic in many of the world's interest-growing cities particularly in Latin America, the Caribbean and Sub-Saharan Africa, but also increasing in South and Central Asia. While affecting all socio-economic groups in myriad direct and indirect ways, the burden of neighbourhood insecurity is heavy on the urban poor.

Purpose of the Study

Increasing security challenges purposively necessitated the current study in order to create an awareness for professionals, policy makers and neighbourhood residents of the possibility of having an integrated security system approach that would serve as a deterrent to insecurity in residential neighbourhoods. To accomplish this purpose, the following specific objectives were considered:

- Examine the understanding of governance.
- Investigate the broken windows theory.
- Explore the concept of securitization.
- Examine the concept of good governance.
- Determine the application of security governance theory in urban security.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The concepts of urban security governance and theories of broken windows, securitization, collective security, security governance and citizens' participation provided the conceptual and theoretical anchor for the study.

The Understanding of Governance

According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP 1996), governance is the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority in the management of a county's affairs at all levels (urban included). It also stated further that governance comprises the complex mechanisms, processes and institutions, through which citizens and groups articulate their interest, mediate their differences and exercise their legal rights and obligations. The UNDP (1996) opines that governance is a broader notion than government by saying that governance refers to the process whereby elements in society wield power and authority, influence and enact policies, take decisions concerning public life, economic, social and physical development. In other words, governance involves interaction between the formal institutions (private and public) and those of civil society. The Asian Development Bank (2014, 52) examines governance from the perspective of a power exercise when it says that governance is the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development, which means the way those with power use that power.

Kaufmann, Kraay and Zoido-Lobaton (1999) describe governance as involving government, civil society and the private sector. In the urban context, this implies that the responsibility of managing cities' affairs is not limited to local governments but also includes a wide variety of stakeholders, such as: national and regional governments; the private sector; non-governmental and community-based organisations; and the media, professional associations and other members of civil society (see Figure 1). Each of these actors has a specific role to play based on its source of legitimacy and comparative advantage. The state creates conducive political and legal environments. The private sector generates jobs and income. The civil society facilitates political and social interaction by mobilising groups to participate in economic, social and political activities. Though each of the actors has its weaknesses and strengths, the major objective is to promote constructive interaction and strong partnership among all the actors (UN-ESCAP 2006).

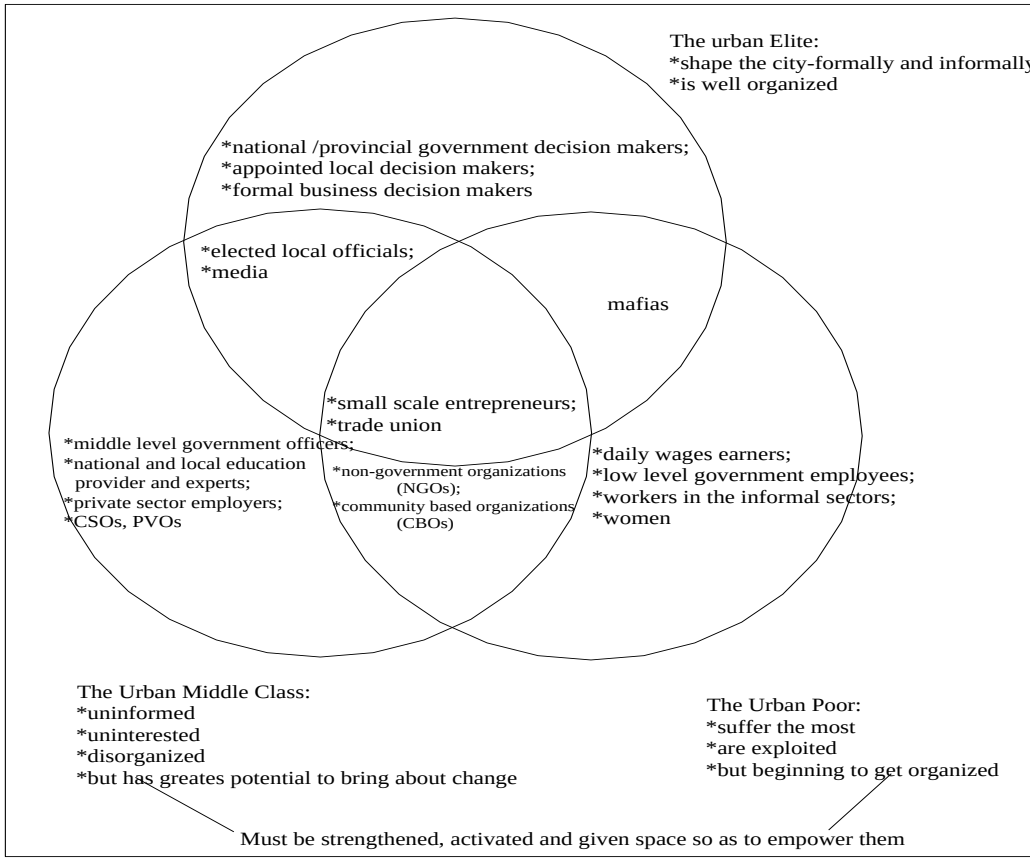

Figure 1: Actors in urban governance

Source: Adapted from UN-ESCAP (2006, 18)

Governance can be weak/poor or strong/sound. Weak or poor urban governance has contributed to the increasing crime rates in the residential density areas of the developing countries of the world from which Lagos, Nigeria's largest city, is not exempted, hence, security has become a governance issue (Lange 2009). The security dimension of city governance implies that there are adequate mechanisms, processes and systems for citizens' security, health and environmental safety and signifies that there are adequate conflict resolution mechanisms through the development and implementation of appropriate local policies on environment, health and security for the urban areas (UN Habitat 2004). As rapid urbanisation exacerbates the ability of authorities to enforce security and safety, crime and insecurity are challenging the governability of social institutions as well as the cohesion of neighbourhoods and communities (Lange 2009).

The Broken Windows Theory

One of the aftermaths of weak or poor governance is disorder which has resulted in the broken windows theory which was introduced by James Wilson and George Kelling in 1982 (McKee 2013). They use broken windows as a metaphor for disorder within neighbourhoods. Their theory links disorder and incivility within a neighbourhood to subsequent occurrences of serious crimes. The broken windows theory is a criminological theory of the norm-setting and signalling effect of urban disorder and vandalism on additional crime and anti-social behaviour. The advantage of this theory over many of its criminological predecessors is that it enables initiatives within the realm of criminal justice policy to effect change, rather than relying on social policy. The theory states that maintaining and monitoring urban environments in a well-ordered condition may stop further vandalism and escalation into more serious crime. Earlier theories, such as social disorganisation theories and economic theories, offered solutions that were costly and would take a long time to prove effective, whereas, the broken windows theory is seen by many as a way to effect change quickly and with minimal expense by merely altering the police crime-control strategy.

The broken windows theory has had an enormous impact on police policy throughout the 1990s and remains influential into the 21st century. The most notable application of the theory was in New York City under the direction of former Police Commissioner William Bratton (McKee 2013). Prior to the development and implementation of various incivility theories, such as broken windows, law enforcement scholars and police tended to focus on serious crimes, that is, the major concern was with crimes that were perceived to be most serious and consequential for the victim, such as rape, robbery and murder. However, Wilson and Kelling (McKee 2013) take a different view when they say that serious crime is the final result of a lengthier chain of events. They theorise that crime emanates from disorder, and that if disorder were eliminated, then serious crimes would not occur.

McKee (2013) buttresses Wilson and Kelling's argument when he states that the prevalence of disorder creates fear in the minds of citizens who are convinced that the area is unsafe. This withdrawal from the community weakens social controls that previously kept criminals in check. Once this process begins, it feeds itself and that leads McKee (2013) to conclude that disorder causes crime, and crime causes further disorder and crime. McKee (2013) defines two types of disorder, namely: physical disorder and social disorder. Physical disorder is typified by vacant buildings, broken windows, abandoned vehicles, and vacant lots filled with trash. Social disorder is typified by aggressive pan-handlers, noisy neighbours, and groups of youths congregating on street corners. The line between crime and disorder is often blurred, with some experts considering such acts as prostitution and drug dealing as disordered while many other classify them as crimes. McKee (2013) is of opinion that these two types of disorder are both thought to increase fear among citizens.

The criticism of the broken windows theory is that there is little empirical evidence that disorder, when left unchanged, causes crime. To validate the theory in its entirety, it must be shown that disorder causes fear, which causes a break down of social controls (sometimes referred to as community cohesion), and this in turn causes crime. Also, crime must be shown to increase the level of disorder. Skogan (2015) provides strong support for the broken windows theory as he found that certain types of social and physical disorder are related to certain kinds of serious crimes in the urban residential neighbourhoods. The criticism of the broken windows theory led to the emergence of the securitization theory.

The Concept of Securitization

Buzan, Waever and De Wild (1998) observe that the origin of the concept of securitization is connected with the Copenhagen School and is seen as a synthesis of constructivist and classical political realism in its approach. The term "securitization" was coined by Ole Waever in 1995, but seems to have become common place, at least within constructivist studies of international relations. Abulof (2014) states that securitization acts involve three components which include: a securitizing actor/agent (i.e., an entity that makes the securitizing move); a referent object (i.e., an object (or idea) that is being threatened and needs to be protected); and an audience (i.e., the target of the securitization act that needs to be persuaded and accept the issue as a security threat). He further notes that if a given subject is securitized it does not necessarily mean that the subject is of objective essence for the survival of a given state, but rather that someone with success has constructed something as an existential problem. The ability to effectively securitize a given subject is, however, highly dependent on both the status of a given actor and on whether similar issues are generally perceived to be security threats, hence, the need for good urban governance.

Good urban governance is a sub-set of governance. It occurs when societal norms and practices empower and encourage people to take increasingly greater control over their own development in a manner that does not impinge upon the accepted right of others (UNDP 1996). Good governance is, among other things, participatory, transparent and accountable. It is also effective, equitable and promotes the rule of law. Good governance assures that political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society and that the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision-making over the allocation of development resources (UNDP 1996). Good governance is said to occur when societal norms and practices empower and encourage people to take increasing greater control over their own development in a manner that does not impinge upon the accepted rights of others (UNDP 1996).

At the Millennium Summit General Assembly of the United Nations in September 2000, world leaders committed to the Millennium Declaration of the United Nations, which set key objectives for the 21st century on good governance. The set objectives include: eradication of extreme poverty and hunger; achieving universal primary education;

promoting gender equality and empower women; reduce child mortality; improve maternal health; combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases; ensure environmental sustainability; and develop a global partnership for development (Abdellatif 2003).

The Concept of Good Governance

According to Maldonado (2010), the concept of good governance emerged at the end of the 1980s, at a time of unprecedented political changes. The collapse of the Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989 set off the disintegration of the Soviet Union which consequently led to the decay of the political and economic alliances of the Eastern bloc. These political changes created the breeding ground and gave way for a serious discussion on how a state has to be designed in order to achieve economic, social and physical development. The idea of governance and good governance is reflected in the definition of urban governance when Srinivas (2015) states that urban governance is an inclusive process in achieving a quality of life sought by the residents of cities, especially the disadvantaged, marginalised and poor. However, in the opinion of Hieu and Hoai (2013), urban governance is expressed as the coordinating efforts of stakeholders using the government's power to orientate, adjust and monitor the operation and development processes of urban entities. They express further that urban governance sees to the development and implementation of policies and plans to allocate resources appropriately; ensures the standardised provision of basic services/utilities; protects the legal rights of citizens and firms; ensures the rule of law, common order and social values; and protects environment quality in order to create and sustain a sound urban quality of life. The fundamental ideal from these definitions of urban governance is that it aimed at the human settlement management discipline to enhance quality of life for urban dwellers.

According to Hieu and Hoai (2013), there are four aspects that feature urban affairs for governance in order to create and sustain a sound urban quality of life, namely: infrastructural development, utility provision and delivery, social and physical environment and use of power. These four urban features can be used according to Hieu and Hoai (2103) to measure the performance of urban governance in towns and cities of the world.

Srinivas (2015) states that many facets of good urban governance and its relevance to all aspects of city management and the delivery of urban goods and services related to security and safety call for in-depth efforts to educate and raise awareness on issues related to governance at all levels of a city or urban area, from a community to a region. These efforts need to develop ownership of governance at the local level to ensure acceptability and effective implementation. Further, Srinivas (2015) states that building on existing and ongoing efforts to incorporate the tenets of good urban governance in city management on issues related to security and safety (policies, programmes, projects and plans) requires action by all urban stakeholders and the development of a set of tools and resources, and for broad capacity building in good urban governance.

For the actualisation of sustainable urban security and safety in residential density areas, Buzan, Waever and De Wild (1998) identified five political sectors of good governance in which a securitization could take place, namely: military, political, economic, society and environment. However, securitization could easily involve more than one of these sectors. It is assumed that the adoption of collective security idea in residential neighbourhoods would help in the actualisation of sustainable urban security and safety.

According to Heywood and Macmillan (2015), collective security can be understood as a security arrangement, political, regional or global in which each state in the system accepts that the security of one is the concern of all, and therefore, commits to a collective response to threats to, and breaches of peace. Collective security is more ambitious than systems of alliance security or collective defence in that it seeks to encompass the totality of states within a region or indeed globally, and to address a wide range of possible threats. The ideas and principles of collective security can be adopted in Lagos megacity in order to address the security challenges.

The Novartis Foundation for Sustainable Development (1996) states that the characteristics of a good urban governance include: legitimacy of government (degree of democratisation); accountability of political and official elements of governments (media freedom, transparency of decision-making, accountability mechanism); competence of governments to formulate policies and deliver services; and respect for human rights and rule of law (individual and group rights and security, framework for economic and social activity, participation). For the past 10 years, urban governance has been increasingly deemed as a superior framework of explaining the changing structure in the fields of urban security planning and management. Security governance is therefore suggested as an alternative theoretical paradigm in looking at neighbourhood, urban, national, regional and global security practices (Liao 2011).

The origin of security governance could be traced back to 2003 which was first proposed by Krahmann (2003) in examining the shift of security policies in Europe and North America. Krahmann (2003) states that it is obviously difficult to specify which or how many dimensions have to be fragmented for a policy-making structure to qualify as governance rather than government. Furthermore, several dimensions clearly show that a new system of security governance might be emerging in transatlantic area, namely geographical dimension, functional dimension, distribution of resources, interest dimension, normative dimension, decision-making and policy implementation. Krahmann (2003) further opines that the complexities reflected by these dimensions cannot be fully grasped by the concept of security regime, security community or multi-polarity, but security governance.

Liao (2011) defines security governance simply as the application of governance theory in security studies. Based on the theoretical discussion and empirical observation of security and governance, he further defines security governance as a process during which security capacity can be strengthen through an effective governing mechanism.

According to Webber et al. (2004), security governance comprises five features, namely: hierarchy; the interaction of a large number of both public and private actors; both formal and informal institutionalisation; relations between actors that are ideational in character, structured by norms and understandings as much as by formal regulations; and, finally, collective purpose. Webber et al. (2004) further express that security governance involves the coordinated management and regulation of issues by multiple and separate authorities, the interventions of both public and private actors (depending upon the issue), formal and informal arrangements, in turn structured by discourse and norms, and purposefully directed toward particular policy outcomes.

Liao (2011, 3) opines that security governance increasingly encompasses multi-dimensional indirect relationships with plural and dispersed societal entities. He identifies the following six dimensions of security governance:

1. Actor – both public and private, governmental organisations and non-governmental organisations, national, regional and global organisations properly participate in urban security/safety process and assume consequent responsibilities;
2. Direction – order of authority is distributed into three, namely, top-down, bottom-up and horizontal. The traditional top-up administrative line should be changed; the bottom-up approach is a good source of information feedback; and horizontal interaction is integral to inter-organisational communication and security sector reform;
3. Channel – this is obedience by authority and where hierarchical power is surpassed by mutual trust, joint vision and negotiation. More efficient urban security management is realised through a well-agreed goal;
4. Form – flexible and soft elements are brought into urban security management style. The traditional strict and formal orders are replaced with interpersonal negotiation and discussion;
5. Model – security governance has more than one model. It is context-specific. To what extent and in what level that security governance could be adopted and applied largely depends on the key factors of that context, such as human resources, legal environment, and the development of civil society;
6. Scope – security governance can simultaneously find its empirical cases in the neighbourhood, urban, national, regional and global range.

What needs to be stressed here is that each dimension might take a variety of forms and different extents along a range of the theoretical constructed framework.

Application of Security Governance Theory in Urban Security

According to Liao (2011), the application of security governance theory in urban security is known as urban security governance. Urban security governance derives

from the evolution of criminality between the 1960s and the 1990s, when an exponential increase of criminality in the world took place (Findlay 1999). As mentioned by Pelham (2014), in a span of 30 years, humans have gone from a chronicle of crime as an exception to a chronicle of everyday crime, while images of the innocent are replaced by those of permanent and imminent dangers. Around 1995, the level of criminality in developed countries stabilised and, in the past decade, has even declined. Nevertheless, in the majority of developing countries, delinquency has continued to either grow or stabilise, albeit with a higher level of violence (UN Chronicle 2013). The UN Chronicle (2013) further expresses that the exponential rise in crime between the 1960s and the 1990s was characterised by a phase of economic expansion in industrialised countries, which countered the theory that poverty is the principal cause of crime. According to the UN Chronicle (2013), there is no correlation between crime and poverty, which it explains by saying that the phenomenon of urban crime is multi-causal and derives from different variables depending on the urban context. In effect, it is social fabric and the institutional and historical dimension of each city that explains variation of crime rates in a determined period.

In contemporary times, there is less attention on the use of arms and ammunitions in the protection of towns and cities from threats to the development of policy measures that are aimed at protecting people and territories from man-made and natural threats otherwise called urban security concept. Urban security governance is understood as the absence of a serious threat with regard to criminality and the subjective perception of protection through various structural and local factors (UN Chronicle 2013). This definition of urban security governance buttresses the view of the European Organization for Security (2013), when it states that urban security governance encompasses measures aimed at protecting people, infrastructure, processes and assets within urban spaces from man-made and natural threats. Urban security governance is explained further by the European Organization for Security (2013) as a variety of solutions, services and technologies for urban critical infrastructure protection, command and control and transportation security can make valuable contributions to security smarts, sustainable and resilient cities and services for free, prosperous inhabitants. Martin and Murard (2014) describe urban security governance as a shared target, synonymous with public tranquillity and peaceful enjoyment of public spaces for people. Urban security governance cannot be inclusive, collective and successful without the full participation of the citizens in terms of decision making, policy formulation and implementation especially on issues that border on security and safety.

The root of citizen participation can be traced back to ancient Greece and Colonial New England. Before the 1960s, governmental processes and procedures were designed to facilitate external participation. Citizen participation was institutionalised in the mid-1960s with the late President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society Programs (Cogan and Sharpe 1986). The Ohio State University fact sheet cites Cahn and Camper (1968) on the three rationales for citizen participation, namely: that merely knowing that one can participate promotes dignity and self-sufficiency within the individual; it taps the

energies and resources of individual citizens within the community; and citizen participation provides a source of special insight, information, knowledge, and experience, which contributes to the soundness of community solutions. These rationales influence the benefits of citizen participation to the planning process in terms of: information and ideals on public issues; public support for planning decisions; a reservoir of good will which can carry over to future decisions; and a spirit of cooperation and trust between the agency and the public (Cogan and Sharpe 1986).

It is assumed that citizen participation is a desired and necessary part of community development activities that is required for community betterment. Citizen participation can be approached or defined in many ways. Spiegel (1968) defines citizen participation as the process that can meaningfully tie programmes to people. However, Andre, Martin and Lanmafankpotin (2012) define citizen participation in a broad perspective as a process in which ordinary people take part – whether on a voluntary or obligatory basis and whether acting alone or as part of a group – with the goal of influencing a decision involving significant choices that will affect their community. The opinion of Cogan and Sharpe (1986) on the meaning of citizen participation is in line with that of Andre, Martin and Lanmafankpotin (2012) when they say that citizen participation is a process which provides private individuals with an opportunity to influence public decisions and has long been a component of the democratic decision-making process.

For any citizen participation programme to be effective, Cogan and Sharpe (1986) suggest that it must meet legal requirements; the goals and objectives must be clearly articulated; it must command political support; it must be an integral part of the decision making structure; it must receive adequate funding, staff, and time; it must identify concerned or affected publics; and it must delineate clear roles and responsibilities for participants. However, the SDA (2011) has identified three research questions on citizen participation that have yet to be answered by researchers today, namely:

1. What are the strengths and weakness of current mechanisms of citizen participation on security challenges?
2. How does citizen participation fit in with representative democracy to address issues that borders on security?
3. What constitutes an effective process of citizen participation, and how should it be assessed in order to enhance security and safety of towns and cities?

According to Hicks (2015), in order for cities to become the stable, secure, equitable and prosperous living environments that people demand, citizens will need to craft effective mechanisms of urban security governance. It is, therefore, assumed that effective citizen participation is consequential to urban security governance. However, in order to address the issue of urban insecurity in the residential neighbourhood densities of the developing countries of the world, there is the need for the practice of good urban governance. Srinivas (2015) states that focusing on local action, multi-stakeholder coalitions will have to be built that monitor and evaluate actions towards

good governance, and will advise and guide implementation. To do this, broad participation and partnership among all local stakeholders in the development of good urban governance will have to be ensured at local level. Srinivas (2015) further opines that efforts towards institutional and administrative reform will have to be initiated, and be widely accepted and implemented. Action for networking and resource sharing will have to be taken so that the intended impacts of good governance are achieved.

Methodology

The current study was based on secondary desk research. The methodological approach used a systemic review whereby secondary materials and information on urban security governance in residential neighbourhoods' safety studies were systematically reviewed, assembled, critically appraised and synthesised while relevant findings and conclusions were drawn on the basis of the report. The study adopted Eykelbosh and Fong's (2017) steps in systematic review of literature, namely: develop a research question; identify key words; identify databases and sources of information; construct a search query; document search results; identify the relevant papers and articles; and repeat searches. Journal articles, reports, chapters in books, online publication and so on that are relevant to urban security governance were reviewed, critically appraised and synthesised in arriving at the findings and conclusions in the study. However, caution relating to publication bias, database bias, source selection bias and paper selection bias in literature search were taken into consideration. Multiple sources of secondary data and information were used as control against these biases in order to ensure logical findings and conclusion. This was carried out by triangulating and substantiating analysis from multiple references. The researcher also ensured other experts in his field of study scrutinize the write-up of the study for coherence and readability. In this regard, literature on indicators, approaches, conceptual and theoretical framework in urban security governance of the developed countries was compared with the developing countries. The study adhered to ethical standards by citing every source of data and information consulted in the identified Journal articles, reports, chapters in books, and online publications.

Findings

The study findings indicated that, despite the popularity of CCTV, evidence of its crime and violence prevention capabilities is inconclusive (Piza, Caplan and Kennedy 2014). Research has largely reported the effect of CCTV as "mixed" without explaining this variance. This study has contributed to the literature by testing the influence of several micro-level factors on changes in crime level within CCTV areas of Newark, New Jersey, and fewer cities in developing countries. The methodology adopted view sheds, that is, the geographical areas that are visible from a location. In the study, view sheds denoting the line-of-sight of CCTV cameras were the units of analysis (N = 117). Location quotients, controlling for view shed size and control area crime incidence, measured changes in the level of size crime categories, from the pre-installation period to the post-installation period. Ordinary least squares regression model were used to test

the influence of specific micro-level factors, such as environmental features, camera line-of-sight, enforcement activity, and camera design on each crime category.

The results were as follows: Firstly, the influence of environmental features differed across crime categories, with specific environs being related to the reduction of certain crimes and the increase of others. Secondly, CCTV generated enforcement was related to the reduction of overall crime, violent crime and theft from auto. Thirdly, obstructions to CCTV camera line-of-sight caused by immovable objects were related to increased crime, theft from autos and robbery. The findings suggested that CCTV operations should be designed in a manner that heightens their deterrent effect. Specifically, police should account for the presence of crime generators/attractors and ground-level obstructions when selecting camera sites, and design the operational strategies in a manner that generates maximum levels of enforcement.

The Safe Cities Index (2015) carried out a study on assessing urban security in the digital age in 50 cities in both developed and developing countries of the world. The report is based on an index composed of more than 40 quantitative and qualitative indicators. The study measures the relative level of safety of a diverse size of the world's leading cities using four main categories of safety, namely: digital security, health security, infrastructure safety and personal safety. Every city in the index is scored across these four categories. Each category comprises between three and eight sub-indicators, which are divided between security inputs, such as policy measures and level of spending and outputs, including the frequency of vehicular accidents. The findings showed that encouraging examples of crime prevention have emerged. In Lagos State, Nigeria, the establishment of a public-private partnership to mobilise resources from the government, the private sector and private citizens (the Lagos State Security Trust Fund) is shifting the focus from policing to a broader community response. Strategies have included improved social services and the redevelopment of public spaces.

Welsh and Farrington (2009) examined 93 studies on surveillance systems to see how effective they are at reducing crime and deemed 44 to be sufficiently rigorous for inclusion. Many of the studies were based in the United Kingdom (UK), United States (US) and several African countries. The analysis found that surveillance systems were most effective in parking lots, where their use resulted in a 51% decrease in crime. Systems in other public settings had some effect on crime, such as a 7% decrease in city centres and in public housing communities and a 23% drop in public transit systems, but the results were not statistically significant. When sorted by country, systems in the UK accounted for the majority of the decrease; the drop in other countries was insignificant. Therefore, they concluded that whole surveillance cameras can be effective at 0.05% significance in specific contexts, such as parking lots and public transits system, but the potential financial and societal costs require greater research.

Hillier and Sahbaz (2012) adopted space syntax techniques to analyse a comparison of residential burglary and street robbery in the street network of a London borough. The results are presented against a background of current issues in urban design under discussion between the New Urbanism movement and the design against crime community: street or cul-de-sacs, mixed use, permeability and density.

McLean, Worden and Kim (2013) examined the impacts of public surveillance cameras on crime and disorder in Schenectady, a medium-sized city in the Northeastern United States. Camera impact was assessed by analysing monthly counts of crime and disorder with related calls for service that occurred within each camera's 150-foot view shed as an interrupted time series, with the interruption at the time that the camera in question was activated. Counts of incidents between 150 and 350 feet of cameras were also analysed to assess displacement effects and diffusion of benefits in public locations was also estimated on street crime. The study suggested that cameras have had effects on crime; even more consistent effects on disorder; and that the visibility of cameras is associated with their impact on crime and disorder.

Caplan, Kennedy and Petrossian (2011) assessed the impact of CCTV on the crimes of shootings, auto thefts and theft from autos in Newark for 13 months before and after camera installation dates using camera installation sites and round-only selected control sites. They found that strategically placed cameras were not any different from randomly placed cameras at deterring crime within their view sheds; there were statistically significant reductions in auto theft within view sheds after camera installations; there were significant improvements to location quotient values for shooting and auto theft after camera installations; there was no significant displacement; and there was a small diffusion of benefits, which was greater for auto thefts than shootings. Furthermore, the system of cameras in Newark is not as efficient as it could be at deterring certain street crimes; and some camera locations are significantly more effective at 0.05% best than the others.

Cerezo (2013) found that the installation of CCTV in the historic centre of Malaga in Spain was the main crime prevention initiative implemented in the city during the past few years. Using a quasi-experimental design with a pre/post test, data was collected from interviews with CCTV operators, police officers and local authority officials, and from surveys of pedestrians and shopkeeper. The team also examined police crime data and CCTV incident data. The results were discussed in terms of three hypotheses relating to crime reduction, displacement and public security: (a) the use of cameras reduces the levels of crime, whether property crime (robberies and burglaries), crimes against people or both; (b) some of those crimes are displaced to nearby areas within or close to the city centre where there is no camera coverage but where there are similar opportunities to commit crimes; and (c) people claimed to feel safer in the city centre after dark after the cameras were introduced. Thus, CCTV contribution to crime and violence prevention is 0.05% at best.

According to Waples, Gil and Fisher (2009), crime displacement is a concern often raised regarding situational crime prevention measures. A national evaluation of CCTV has provided an interesting test-bed for displacement research. A number of methods have been used to investigate displacement, in particular, visualisation techniques making use of Geographical Information System (GIS) have been introduced to the identification of spatial displacement. The results concurred with the current literature in that spatial displacement of crime does occur, but it has only been detected infrequently. Spatial displacements were found not to occur uniformly across offence type or space, notably the most evident spatial displacement was actually found to be occurring within target areas themselves.

Park, Oh and Paek's (2012) study in South Korea found that, along with the perceived high expectations of CCTV as a crime deterrent, there is also a growing controversy over its potentially unexpected limitations. For example, the crime displacement (the presence of CCTV will change the locations of crime and its total number will not change) and the diffusion effects of crime control benefits (the crime prevention effect of CCTV may filter through to neighbouring areas) are the representative controversial issues. The aim of the study was to verify the crime displacement and the diffusion of benefits of open-street CCTV by analysing the crime tendencies empirically. The result showed that the crime prevention effect of CCTV was significant at 0.05%. The number of robberies and thefts in the areas with CCTV installed reduced by 47.4%, while the areas without CCTV showed practically no change in the number of crimes. The crime displacement caused by the CCTV was either not found or inconsequential and the crime rates in the neighbouring areas also decreased slightly.

Discussion of Findings

The discussion of findings draws highlights from UN Habitat (2007), where the physical design, such as gated communities, low-wall fences, observatories, operation cul-de-sacs, and management of the built environment, play a role in either facilitating or diminishing opportunities for crime and violence. More so, effective urban planning, design and governance should seek to manipulate the built environment in ways that are intended to reduce or even eliminate the opportunity to commit crimes. Perry (1998) asserts that the neighbourhood unit was embraced for its community idealism and many of the public sectors in those countries which were exposed to the theorem have since adopted its purpose of protecting and promoting the public health and of considering the safety and welfare of citizens. The assertion of Perry (1998) revealed that blending neighbourhood unit principles with CCTV operationalisation can be used as a planning instrument to foster security and neighbourhood safety in the cities of Africa and beyond.

Killgren (2015) states that urban security features are in contrast to high perimeter walls and fences; instead, security requirements are achieved through landscape design, such as large ponds, low garden walls with bench seating and differences in elevation that

create natural, unobtrusive barriers. Purpura (2002) states that architects play an increasing role in designing crime prevention into building plans. He further opines that environmental security design, such as natural and electronic surveillance of walkways; parking lots; windows and landscaping that enhance visibility; improved lighting; and other architectural design that promote crime prevention, can be adopted as security measures in towns and cities.

As a new technological approach to urban security governance, millions of CCTV cameras have been installed in streets and businesses throughout the cities of Africa, Australia, Asia, the US, and so on with the stated goals of reducing crime and increasing public safety. The UK is one of the most enthusiastic proponents, with an estimated 1.9 million cameras installed in 2011 – one for every 32 UK residents – and the number continues to rise. Chicago reportedly has at least 15 000 cameras installed in one of the largest US networks – which has prompted civil liberties groups to express strong concerns – while in New York, cameras are increasingly found both on public transit as well as in businesses and even high-end residences (Bulkeley 2009). The installation and operation of CCTV in the towns and cities of Africa is a great challenge especially where there is a prevalence of exclusion, weakness of civil society and failure of the state due to corruption. Purpura (2002) suggests an integrated security system approach as part of physical security strategies in controlling and operating security devices in a geographical setting. For example, computer-based systems, such as access controls, alarm monitoring, CCTV, electronic article surveillance, fire protection and safety system, environmental monitoring, radio and video media, intercom, point-of-safe transactions, and inventory control, that are installed within facilities should be controlled and monitored by operators and management at a centralised work-station or from a remote location. The integrated security system approach is user friendly and relatively affordable for operationalistion in cities of the developing countries.

Dewitt (1997) views residential neighbourhood security and safety beyond the integrated security system approach and has come up with the idea of comprehensive security to mean the total well-being of the elite and the communities in which they dwell. This he explains by saying that the elite have organised themselves in ways which improved the likelihood of survival whether through conflict avoidance, conflict management, or the ability to defeat the common enemies of terrorism, crime, violence and any other social menace. This view buttresses the opinion of Moser (2004) that interventions to address security challenges is a form of criminal justice that seeks to control and treat economic violence, and the public health (epidemiological) approach, which aims to prevent social and economic violence at primary, secondary and tertiary levels. New approaches such as conflict transformation and human rights reflect increasing concern with political and institutional violence. Recent recognition of the importance of more integrated, holistic approaches has opened the door to cross-sectoral approaches such as citizen security and urban renewal.

Purpura (2002) further opines that one of the notable 21st century security challenges is terrorism. There is the need for a rethinking of defence and security strategies to meet these threats, even though security professionals are on the front lines, facing not only terrorism, but also a variety of crimes. Through improved education and training, increased professionalism and creativity it is hoped to go a long way in helping the professionals to provide a safe environment. Moreover, to address security challenges, countries should strengthen their mechanisms and institutions of governance; and emphasise the democratic control of the security sector, on the one hand, and the professionalisation of the security sector as responding to the security needs of the citizens, on the other hand. In the final analysis, the proliferation of informal security providers represents a potential and real security challenge, if they are not integrated within the overall framework of security sector governance.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The study established that safety is currently a cause for much concern internationally. The public good and a precondition for development have reduced inequality. Being and feeling safe contributes immeasurably to people's quality of life, especially for those who are marginalised and most affected by violence. Further, the study established that weakness in urban security governance has resulted in the emergence of insecurity in residential neighbourhood areas, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa where less attention is given to urban security governance and residential neighbourhood safety. The prevalence of politics of exclusion, weakness of civil society, and failure of the state have resulted in bad leadership. Ogboi and Eze (2013) support this claim through the response to the growing threats of crime and the inability of the police to provide adequate protection have forced individuals, communities and businesses to engage in different urban security governance approaches.

Therefore, making plans for residents in the cities could help them to organise neighbourhood self-protection groups through vigilantes. This would ensure residential neighbourhood safety in urban areas. It is evident from the study that the different approaches used in urban security governance, such as the integrated security system approach (CCTV, street lights, etc.), have informed safety and security in residential neighbourhoods. However, institutionalising urban security governance through the adoption of an integrated security system approach in residential neighbourhoods is highly recommended.

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