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**COMMUNITY-BASED SECURITY INITIATIVES AND THE
SUCCESS OF NATIONAL SECURITY MANAGEMENT IN
AFRICA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE KENYA AND
RWANDA EXPERIENCE**

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**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD
OF MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

NOVEMBER, 2020



DECLARATION

I affirm that this research is my original work and has not been presented for academic award or qualification in any other institution of higher learning. In addition, appropriate referencing has been made where concerned.

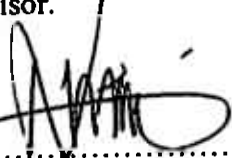

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my mother and late father for their many sacrifices to see me through to where I am today.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AfCFTA	— African Continental Free Trade Area
ANC	— African National Congress
ANSG	— Armed Non-state Group
APSA	— Africa Peace and Security Architecture
ASEAN	— Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASF	— African Standby Force
AU	— African Union
CAR	— Central Africa Republic
CBP	— Community-Based Policing
CEN-SAD	— Community of Sahel-Saharan States
COMESA	— Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
COVID-19	— Corona Virus Disease
CPC	— Community Policing Committees
DRC	— Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	— East African Community
ECCAS	— Economic Community of Central African States
ECOWAS	— Economic Community of West African States
EPLF	— Eritrean People's Liberation Front
GDP	— Gross Domestic Product
ICJ	— International Court of Justice
ICT	— Information Communication and Technology
IGAD	— Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IIAG	— Ibrahim Index of African Governance
ISS	— South Africa's Institute for Security Studies
NACOSTI	— National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation
NATO	— North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCBDA	— Nairobi Central Business District Association
NGAO	— National Government Administrative Officers
NRA	— National Resistance Movement
NRPP	— National Reassurance Policing Programme
NSAC	— National Security Advisory Council
NSC	— National Security Council
OCS	— Officer Commanding Station
ODP	— Odua People's Congress

PPP	— Public Private Partnership
PSC	— Private Security Company
QCA	— Qualitative Comparative Analysis
REC	— Regional Economic Communities
RPA	— Rwanda Patriotic Army
SADC	— Southern African Development Community
SAIDSA	— South Africa Intruder Detection Service Association
SAPS	— South African Police Service
SESA	— Small Employers Security Association
ToT	— Training of trainers
UK	— United Kingdom
UMA	— Union du Maghreb Arabe
UN	— United Nation
UNDP	— United Nations Development Programme
UNODC	— United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
US	— United States
USA	— United States of America
VIP	— Very Important Person

ABSTRACT

This research set out to explore community-based security initiatives and the success of national security management in the African continent. It also sought to assess the global role of this mechanism in managing national security and to tease out what could be learned and applied in Africa. It sought to isolate the similarities and differences of the impact of this approach on the achievement of national security administration in Kenya and Rwanda and sought to consequently propose suitable guidelines and plans to improve national security management in Kenya. The study was conducted in Nairobi and Kigali and Kiambu and Murang'a as well as the outskirts of Kigali. This study was anchored on the Contingency and the Broken Windows Theory since both capture the nexus between the environment and the actors of community-based strategy. The second theory captures the synergy that can be had out of collaboration between diverse state and non-state agencies within the community and how this can lead to achievement of national security especially when problems are identified early enough and pre-emptive action taken. The study adopted a comparative analysis design where a comprehensive examination of the mechanisms adopted by the two subject countries to reap the maximum benefit of security strategies owned and operated at the community level was done. The researcher targeted a population of 300 and utilizing Yamane's formula, sampled 172 respondents. Numerical information gathered by means of a survey was evaluated with the aid of comparative figures through SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences). Presentation of the results was made in proportions (out of a hundred), incidence as well as measures of central tendency. The study found an R-Square of 0.70, 0.92, and 0.86 for Kenya, Rwanda, and the aggregate respectively with the standard error of estimate being 0.23, 0.18, 0.23. This implies that community-based security initiatives (through vigilantism, private security, community policing) explains changes in success in national security management up to 70 percent in Kenya, 92 percent in Rwanda, and 86 percent in overall. It can therefore be concluded that, community-based security initiatives are key to success of national security management given that, community security is a people-centred approach to tackle interlinked peace, security and development needs. In addition, the initiatives do enable communities to be their own agents of change and empower communities to hold to account those who should be delivering their security and thus it is imprudent to make sweeping generalizations in explaining national security issues. As part of the recommendations, all stakeholders ought to be incorporated in critical decision-making processes that involve the wider society to positively impact on crime prevention, social disorder and fear of crime. Additionally, the age-old techniques for meting out justice resident within our cultures need to be harnessed rather than discarded and neglected

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.0 Introduction

National security as a concept denotes defence against bodily injury as well as the safeguarding of interests that harden us against attacks on our means of production and our participation in governance structures, which would occasion loss to the most important principles upon which the country stands.¹ Its meaning however, does not enjoy unanimity² with the majority understanding it to mean: being free from harm, jeopardy- whether occurring naturally or created by man; living in a non-threatening environment in our localities or within our region or in the world; being able to be care free, devoid of worries, tension or such other issues. The well-being of the citizen and that of the country is the focus of national security. This dual focus naturally prompts us to think about the connection of the nation and the state.³ In this context, when we talk about a country, we mean "a global species named sharing historic land, conventional myths and historical recollections, a mass public way of life, a common financial system and common legal rights and responsibilities for all its members."⁴ A state on the other hand is a political entity and exhibits certain characteristics as viewed through the Westphalian looking glass. A state strives towards nationhood but not many have succeeded, as a matter of fact, states were preceded in conception by nations. The sum total of the activities taken to reduce any possible harm, or risk, or attack (whether concrete or just hypothesised) that can disrupt the pace and tempo of the citizenry and their country is what is referred to as national security. It is therefore

¹ Romm J. (1993). *Defining National Security: The Nonpolice Aspects*. New York, Council of Foreign Relation.

² Buzan B. (1983). *People, States, and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations*. Brighton, Whitshief Books, p 6

³ Ibid Buzan p 45

⁴ Uzelac G. (2002). *When is the Nation? Constituent Elements and Processes*. *Geopolitics*. (Routledge)

apparent that a variety of interwoven issues are covered by this conceptual construction that affect the very existence of the nation at diverse spheres. These issues could be production issues, issues to do with the sacred, cultural issues, issues of ideology, issues of how to power production processes, issues to do with technology, how to feed the nation, risks to the citizens, inter alia.⁵

When security is not guaranteed, there is the possibility of going back to the condition described by Hobbes as 'state of nature'. He describes life under these circumstances of being constantly filled with dread, being confronted with serious risk of vicious conditions leading to one's demise as "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short".⁶

Regrettably, law-breaking and its attendant consequences is a fact of life that people have to live with the world. It disturbs and disrupts the people and the state.⁷ This sabotages the value and worth of the common person. The police are key suppliers of security and are involved in a major way in developing the circumstances in which production activities can thrive. In spite of this critical role, the interface between them and the vulnerable is weak and tenuous and therefore not fruitful, it exposes them (the vulnerable) to danger. As a consequence, suspicion can and does pervades the bond that's supposed to connect these stakeholders.⁸ Additionally, owing to the dynamic state of society and the criminal enterprise, it is necessary for policing agencies to upgrade and upscale their interventions over time and space in order to keep up with these changes and therefore remain relevant.⁹

⁵ Namwamba D. (2020). Class notes on 'Critical Thinking and National Security' presented on 30th April 2020.

⁶ Thomas H. *The Leviathan* (1660). Chapters 10–16. Retrieved on 12th October, 2019 from:

https://www.ttu.ee/public/m:inart-murdvec/EconPsv/6/Hobbes_Thomas_1660_The_Leviathan.pdf

⁷ Pagon, M. (2010). Organizational, Management and human Resource Aspects of Policing at the turn of the Century, in M Pagon (ed). (*Policing in Central and Eastern Europe*) pp. 48

⁸ Fleming, J. (2005). *Working Together: Neighborhood watch, Reassurance Policing and the Potential Partnership in Trends and Issues in crime and criminal justice in Australian Institute of Criminology*, pp.46.

⁹ Bangladesh Police (2015). *Community Policing: National Strategy for Bangladesh*. International Development. (European Union, DFID, UNDP) p. 3. Retrieved on 6th April, 2020 from:

The above scenario has spawned the need for security initiatives embedded in the community. This approach, is a theory and an organizational technique that allows innovative and collaborative efforts between local inhabitants and law enforcement officers in addressing issues that threaten security or cause bodily harm, such as law breaking and conflict coupled with deterioration in the city.¹⁰ This thinking is predicated upon the reasoning that the consumers of policing products ought to partake in the provision of the same. Furthermore, it is founded on the view that innovative approaches ought to be tried out to disentangle the security stakeholders from the straightjacket that is the traditional concentration on specific instances of lawbreaking to the broader concerns of the community.¹¹

1.1 Background of the Problem

Policing that is embedded in the community is defined as bringing citizens as well as preventing crime as opposed to models that concentrate on reacting to crimes after the fact.¹² The definition adopted by the USA Department of Justice, Office of Community-Oriented Policing Services, focuses on the joint nature of the approach to provision of security solutions amongst the police, citizens and other civil entities as it is reckoned to increase faith in the policing entities.¹³ Similarly, to Saferworld,

“Community-Based Policing (CBP) is a police strategy that brings together the police, civil society and local groups to create local responses to local security and security issues. This helps to enhance community safety, reduce crime and

https://www.nipsa.in/uploads/country_resources_file/1014_Community_Policing_National_Strategy.pdf

¹⁰ Ibid pp. 14-18

¹¹ Ellison K. (2004). *Stress and the Police*. (Illinois: Charles Thomas Publisher). p. 48

¹² Tillman, J. R. (2000). *The Effectiveness of Community Policing*. Eastern Michigan University School of Police Staff & Command, pp. 110-113.

¹³ US Department of Justice (2012). Community Oriented Policing Services. *Community Policing Defined*. ISBN: 978-1-935676-06-5, pp.69-72.

fear of crime, improve access to justice and develop more peaceful communities”¹⁴

Law enforcement has over the years gradually undergone a transformation and moved away from its conceptualization as a force to a more benign service-oriented public entity. Numerous police services all over the globe have now embraced community-based approaches to the discharge of their duties in order to escape the restrictions associated with an approach based purely on reacting to infractions of the law by citizens.¹⁵ Police rely heavily on public approval to maintain their legitimacy and they therefore have the desire for the citizenry’s concurrence for the services that they render since the citizens are the principals in the principal/agent relationship of government.¹⁶ One of the essential rights of a human being and that defines wholesomeness of life for the entire community is the safeguarding the sanctity of individual live and protecting their properties.¹⁷ Community-based security has become popular in recent decades as security practitioners and leaders of various communities seek effective remedies for guaranteeing citizens well-being and protection in both their areas of residence and work.¹⁸ Public security, which is the bedrock of economic growth and social progress, is anchored on guaranteeing the public their safety which in turn is an enabler for the provision of various social amenities such as decent houses, proper schooling, among others.

¹⁴ Saferworld, (2008). Implementing community-based policing in Kenya, p 2. Retrieved on 6th May 2020, from: <https://www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/publications/306-implementing-community-based-policing-in-kenya>

¹⁵ Department for International Development (2010). *Security, Justice and Growth*. British Council.

¹⁶ Sherman, L. W. (2001). *Consent of the Governed: Police, Democracy and Diversity*. In Policing Security and Democracy. Eds. Amir, M. & Einstein, S. Office of International Criminal Justice: Huntsville, Texas: pp.17-32.

¹⁷ Plant, J. B. & Scott, M. S. (2009). *Effective Policing and Crime Prevention: A Problem-Oriented Guide for Mayors, City Managers, and County Executives*, pp.35.

¹⁸ Bureau of Justice Assistance (1994). *Understanding Community Policing: A framework for Action*. Monograph NCJ 148457. Response Centre 633 Indiana Avenue, NW: Washington, pp.53.

There have been numerous attempts to reform the policing and greater security industry for African countries and to embrace new and creative methods of service delivery with a view to creating a safer, secure environment that is accountable and that respects the dictates of the law.¹⁹ This is not confined to African countries, other regions including regions previously affiliated to the defunct British empire have also been engaged in the same quest of creating new policing paradigms to react to changing contemporary security realities.²⁰ These countries have veered away from the traditional policing mindset to embrace community policing as their mantle in the current century. Kenyan security practitioners have not been left behind but have followed suit and customized this framework to its police work.²¹

The police tended to be the focus of guaranteeing tranquility and orderliness within communities in the traditional view, consequently ignoring important roles played by majority of society members. Gradually it therefore became paradoxical in that police inefficiency would solely be blamed for their failure in maintenance of social order. Yet as has been pointed out by some scholars and practitioners in police affairs, police are not exclusively in control of all that policing entails.²² Indeed historically, police work in the UK indicates it was successful in the 1900s and 2000s owing to the consideration given to the wider dimensions involved in policing that included community involvement in tackling crime. Alpert as well Dunham have sought in their scholarly works to persuade us that maintenance of social order cannot be created exclusively through policing.²³

¹⁹ Jonyo, F. & Buchere, P, B. (2011). *The Changing Nature of Security and Intelligence in Africa. A Theoretical Perspective, Challenges and Reforms*. Nairobi, Azinger Limited, pp.32-35.

²⁰ Fleming, J. (2005). *Working Together: Neighborhood watch, Reassurance Policing and the Potential Partnership in Trends and Issues in crime and criminal justice in Australian Institute of Criminology*, pp.46.

²¹ Republic of Kenya (2015). *Draft Guidelines for Implementation of Community Policing –Nyunha Kumi: Usalama Wa Msingi*. Nairobi: Government Printer, pp.92-112.

²² Reiner R. (2000), *The Politics of the Police*, 3rd Ed, (Oxford: Oxford University Press) pp 24-29

²³ Dunham G. Roger and Alpert P. Geoffrey (eds), *Critical Issues in Policing, Contemporary Reading*,

The Republic of Kenya has instituted wide-ranging changes in the security realm following many years of persistent clamour for wholistic re-engineering of how the sector interacts with the politics, the production processes, ICT, as well as law among other areas.²⁴ The requirement to involve *wananchi* in policing has since been enshrined in the Constitution and further legislated upon giving express guidance to the police in the country.²⁵ *Wananchi* are now able to learn about community-based approaches when police piggyback on public meetings organised by other public entities involved in security provision. This provides room for both the police and the society to get familiar with one another so that when the former is patrolling their neighbourhoods they (citizens) do not get apprehensive. Besides, the police get to understand the cultural foundations of the people within their duty stations.

The term community has had different and dynamic conceptualizations throughout the world, commencing with the modest meaning of a localized area to the contemporary intricate and multi-faceted phenomenon.²⁶ Community-based security planning should include communities across the simple-complex continuum, as all types of communities have been shown to benefit from this approach on.²⁷

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Across the globe, citizens live in fear because of the widespread lawlessness and insecurity.²⁸ Consequently, security agencies and other leaders in government find

Td ed. Miami: Waveland Press, Inc, 1993, p-367.

²⁴ Republic of Kenya (2010). The Constitution of Kenya. Article 244(e): *Objects and Functions of the National Police Service*. Nairobi: Government Printer, pp.62-63.

²⁵ Republic of Kenya (2011). The National Police Service Act. PART XI — *Community Policing Forums and Committees*: 70. Nairobi: Government Printer, pp.25.

²⁶ Brodgen, N. (2005). *Local Prosecutors Response to Crime, Alexandria (U.S.A)*: American Prosecutors Research Institute, pp.13-16.

²⁷ Mwaura, R. M. (2014). *Factors that affect Effective Implementation of Community Policing in Kenya: A Case of Kajiado North Police Division*. University of Nairobi, pp.52-53.

²⁸ Hahn., P. H. (2013). *Emerging Criminal Justice: Three pillars for a proactive Justice System*. (Thousand Oaks Sage Publications) pp. 65

themselves facing criticism and agitation for them to take appropriate action to protect their charges. The weak interaction and interface between law enforcement and the citizenry has often been identified as a contributory factor in this state of affairs.²⁹ Heightened lawlessness and criminality occasioning serious deaths, injuries (both physical and psychological)³⁰ and destruction of livelihoods and even physical assets has been recorded globally.³¹ All societies, neighbourhoods, ethnic groups, adherents of diverse spiritual groups are susceptible to injury and death from crime.³² There has been an upsurge in crime visited upon Kenyans which include petty crime against the person and property, homicide and extremist activities perpetrated by groups mostly funded from outside the country.³³ The remarkable growth in many sectors of the economy including in the innovative and creative sectors does not seem to have dented this trend. These current realities in the world therefore force us to seek to re-engineer our approach to dynamic threats. It is against this backdrop that the Kenyan security apparatus have sought innovative and inclusive methods to deal with the emergent threats.³⁴ The research was aimed at understanding how community-based security in Africa contributes to successful management of national security by focusing on how Rwanda and Kenya manage their security using the same approach and sought to tease out the similarities and differences in their methods.

²⁹ Keliing, G. L & Moore M. H., (2013). From political to reform to community: the evolving strategy of police. In: J.R. Greene and S.D. Mastrofski (Eds.). (*Community Policing: Rhetoric or Reality*, New York: Praeger Publishers), pp. 6-21

³⁰ Jacobson, J., OonagaSkirine, A. K., and Hunter, G. (2014). *Crime and 'community'*-Institute for criminal policy research, University of London, pp.71-74.

³¹ King, W. R., & Lab, S. P. (2010). *Crime prevention, community policing, and training: Old wine in new bottles*. Police Practice and Research, vol.1 (2), pp.128-134.

³² Spuy, E., and Rontsch, R. (2013). *Police and Crime in Africa: A Brief Appraisal of Structures, Policies and Practices*. Cape Town: Centre of Criminology, pp.116.

³³ Kenya (2014). *The Kenya Police Annual Report*. Nairobi: Government Printers, pp.52.

³⁴ Government of Kenya. Draft Guidelines for Implementation of Community Policing-Nyumba Kumi Usalama wa Msingi. (Nairobi: Government Press, 2015). p 1

1.3 Research Questions

- i. What role is played by community-based policing in national security management globally?
- ii. What role is played by community-based policing in national security management in Africa?
- iii. What impact does community-based policing have in Kenya and Rwanda's security as a nation?
- iv. What relevant strategies and plans can be proffered to improve community-based security approach's contribution to achieving Kenya's national security?

1.4 General Objective

This study's main objective was an examination of the nexus between the successful achievement of national security and community-based security initiatives in the African continent.

1.5 Specific Objectives were to;

- i. Study the role at the world level of security initiatives based at the community level, in managing national security.
- ii. Examine the role played by security mechanisms based and operated at the community level in achieving the security of nations in the African continent.
- iii. Make comparisons and divergence on the influence security approaches based on the local level on the successful achievement of the security administration in Rwanda and Kenya.
- iv. Suggest alternative strategies as well as policies that can enhance achievement of Kenya's security as a nation through the deployment of joint security mechanisms at the community level.

1.6 Justification of the Study

1.6.1 Policy Justification

This study's results will add into the body of knowledge on how joint security mechanisms at the community level can aid control of security in the African continent hence shape the future security sector coverage. The police departments of both Kenya and Rwanda can take advantage of the research to subject dynamics and its contribution to securing the continent. This is helpful in implementation of policies intended to enhance community -based security initiatives.

1.6.2 Academic Justification

This study described properly the orientation of the community-based security initiatives in Africa. Additionally, it creates more input on the literature available on community-based security initiatives hence improving the body of knowledge for the benefit of future scholars.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study

1.7.1 Scope of the Study

This study sampled Nairobi and Kiambu and Murang'a and was mainly concentrated in Kigali and its outskirts in Rwanda thus there was an attempt to capture the diversity of the two countries. The regions considered for the study were accessible and the respondents involved were of diverse financial, political and social status. The study's sample size was 172 respondents.

1.7.2 Limitations of the Study

The COVID-19 restrictions of movement hindered the researcher from traveling to Rwanda for the face-to-face interviews. Additionally, due to the constraints of conducting a research in a foreign country, the sample size was not as sufficient as expected therefore might impact the replicability or the results. The study's findings are constrained to the environment of the study region at the time of the study. The data involved needed to be handled with the utmost confidentiality. To conquer this, the researcher guaranteed the respondents that the data given was for institutional use only and had been authorized by NACOSTI. This made sure the respondents did not have any fears giving out information.

1.8 Literature Review

Examination of the writings/works in this field offered an understanding of the practical context as well as the theories used to explain performance of the research subject. In-depth scrutiny of the literature afforded the researcher the overview of the theoretic basis upon which investigations were hoisted. Additionally, it threw light on previous attempts at understanding the subject issue and how the results from those studies shape the current one. The quoted works/writing are diverse and include previous research, cyberspace quarterlies among other.

1.8.1 Role of Community-based Security Approaches in the World

The police force based at the community level has emerged as one of the most effective police tactic for most law enforcement officers and security agencies worldwide.³⁵ Various states have embraced it as it is a more effective way of creating confidence

³⁵ Tuffin, R., Morris, J. and Poole, A. (2014). *An Evaluation of the Impact of the National Reassurance Policing Programme*. Home Office Research Study 296. London: Home Office. Pp.28

among the citizens. Sherman articulates that community policing success is substantially dependent upon participants in the community and law enforcement sharing data on a continuous basis leading to accelerated safety inside the society³⁶

The essence of security is determined by the social balance of society and the intolerance of criminal undertakings.³⁷ In line with Bayely, individuals are advised to take effective action while they are victims of lack of trust. He further argues that it's impractical to have a police officer everywhere, and that's why they want to represent community-based security.³⁸

Community-based law enforcement calls for collaborative thinking about how to protect the community. This which include employee preparation, criminal assessment, strategy-setting challenges, cultural housing, the introduction of new technologies and cooperation between authorities. It is also tested as a tool that confirms teamwork between community and police relations.³⁹

In Kansas Metropolis (U.S.A.), the Police Foundation underscored the need to have an ecosystem of confidence, ability to test and exchange thoughts with the police and the outside world. The police foundation stated the vital role that the community has played in making the police a higher provider. The foundation has added that random street patrols and police presence would not be the first to dissuade crook activities. There was a need for the police to be involved about this. The police association discovered from their research that the police were expected to discover people's problems in the area, to paint with local people, and to find alternatives in the vicinity. The inspiration

³⁶ Sherman, L.W. (2011). *Attacking Crime: Police and Crime Control*. In M. Tonry and N. Morris (eds.), *Modern Policing*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. Pp. 14-21

³⁷ Bayley, D. H. (2009). *Community Policing in Australia: An Appraisal*. Working Paper. South Africa: National Police Research Unit. Pp.57

³⁸ Bayley, D. H. (2009). *Community Policing in Australia: An Appraisal*. Working Paper. South Africa: National Police Research Unit. Pp.57

³⁹ Mackenzie, S. & Henry, A. (2014). *Community Policing: A Review of the Evidence*. Scotland: Crown Copyright. Pp.22

recommended for an optimistic alternative to the police and the society in their thinking and practice. These protection modes have followed the following ideals: it is the responsibility of the police to solve problems and not merely to respond to incidents; the police should be concerned with issues of illness and incivility, in addition to those concerning critical crimes, and the police had to work collaboratively with local people to pick up their issues, ask for help and clear up their problems collectively.⁴⁰

King and Lab accomplished a study on coverage steering on guide to policing.⁴¹ The study's objective aimed at taking into account on security and accessible justice in developing countries. The study showed a shift in policing in developing nations in the nineteen nineties from an emphasis on enhancing education even as neglecting lengthy-time period strategic imaginative and prescient. There has been more emphasis on institutional development geared toward responsibility and sustainability of police services with little regard for a police provider that is responsible to community desires such as the poor and disadvantaged.⁴² The study noted that for community-based security to prevail, there was need for; technical steering on good practice, improved performance, effectiveness and sustainability and long-term institutional improvement. According to the study, there was little cooperation amongst various players inside the security departments. It additionally notes that there is no regularly occurring formulation of properly policing however it's miles viable to discover a number of ideas and standards to sell exact practice in policing. The application of the concepts varies substantially from one nation to another, subculture to lifestyle and urban to rural set up amongst other factors. After deliberations in a global symposium of police chiefs and

⁴⁰ Jacobson, J., et al. G. (2014). *Crime and 'community'* -Institute for criminal policy research, University of London, pp.19-24.

⁴¹ King, W. R., & Lab, S. P. (2010). *Crime prevention, community policing, and training: Old wine in new bottles*. Police Practice and Research, vol.1 (2), pp.242-252.

⁴² Ibid pp.259-260.

executives from numerous countries, Casey, posited that the operating philosophy going forward, would have its fulcrum as that policing that is based at the local level.⁴³ Arising from the acknowledgement of the apparent dichotomy in what was professed as the perfect law enforcement model at the local level and what was practiced, the police chiefs shared the belief that the term is at times grossly misused and thus its effectiveness often questioned.

1.8.2 Community-based Security Initiatives in Africa

Community-based security has been adopted from western nations in Africa.⁴⁴ South Africa was the first nation to be led in introducing community-based security initiatives. After apartheid, South Africa adopted the democratic component of community-based law enforcement, including its values in the 1992 Constitution. There has been an increase in the level of crime and abuse in South Africa in areas such as KwaZulu-Natal and Transvaal. There was also evidence of collusion between the local police and criminals. The African National Congress (ANC) launched a campaign to work together to subdue and reduce crime in the affected areas. This culminated in the signing of an Agreement to secure peace in the country towards the end of 1994. This Agreement mandated law enforcement to be accountable, neutral and friendly agencies committed to reduction of crime through teamwork and partnership with local masses. Police have a duty to uphold the civil and constitutional rights of person. They had to balance the professional and truthful way between individual freedoms and collective security. Despite these expectations, however the Agreement was punished because it did not provide for a specific implementation process despite the concept of police principles,

⁴³ Casey, J. (2010). *Implementing community policing in different countries and cultures*; Sage Publications. Australia, pp.151-155.

⁴⁴ Ferreira, D. (2011). *Can today's police organizations effectively implement community policing? The Challenge of Community Policing in Rosenbaum, D.P. (Ed.), Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, pp.76.*

and did not provide incentives for compliance. The South African Police formed community liaison forums, which have been set up and run by police officers for "consultation" purposes. However, these methods have been of limited use and little success has been achieved. The forums have never resulted in any substantive feedback from either the positive response, willingness or cooperation of the police and community members.⁴⁵

Kasinge avers that security programs based on participation of locals were set up in Uganda in the late 1980s.⁴⁶ The program was piloted by the Old Kampala Police Division. Prior to the implementation of this program, there was widespread public frustration with police efficiency and increased illegal activity. Baker contends that the initiative was resurrected in 1993, when about sixty (60) police officers were qualified as community police officers, facilitated by British police officers.⁴⁷ The program also offered instruction to more than two hundred taxi drivers in community-based police as crime preventers in their communities by the year 1997. Community police officers have been recruited and trained to collaborate with local residents on crime prevention, crime identification, crime reporting, and knowledge sharing with the police.

Community-based defense, according to Fleming, requires community participation at both individual and organizational levels outside routine law enforcement.⁴⁸ Public defense includes local residents identifying their security needs and ensuring that they are taken over by the security apparatus and are mutually involved in the search for

⁴⁵ Mwangi, J. (2012). *The Need for a National Policy on Community Based Policing*. Oak publishers, Nairobi, pp.23.

⁴⁶ Kasinge, Q. (2015). *Funding community policing to reduce crime: Have cops grants made a difference*. *Criminology*, 2 (1), pp.7-32.

⁴⁷ Baker, T. E. (2009). *Intelligence-led policing: Leadership, strategies, and tactics*. Flushing, NY: Looseleaf Law Publications, pp116-118.

⁴⁸ Fleming, J. (2015). *Working Together: Neighborhood Watch, Reassurance Policing and the Potential Partnerships in Trends and Issues in crime and criminal justice*, in 303, Australian Institute of Criminology.

solutions.⁴⁹ Cordner points out that the successful implementation of community-based security services requires extensive and regular community surveys, baraza sessions, community meetings and daily interactions with advisory and business groups.⁵⁰ Reno, on the other hand, argues that the social organization of local citizens and their social groups also determines whether the city can properly resolve their security challenges.⁵¹ The expectations of community-based security, according to Masese and Mwenzwa The campaigns could not be carried out by the police on their own without involving local citizens.⁵² Masese et al. acknowledged that the police alone could not address public security issues and thus, there was a need for inclusive, collective and seamless joint interaction between law enforcement and locals.⁵³

1.8.3 Kenya's and Rwanda's Models of Community-based Security

Rwanda's supreme law of 2003, following amendments, lays down the principles of the police which form the basis for protection at the local level. The basis of service to the people include; preserving constitutional guaranteed liberties; helpful and smooth citizen and law enforcement interactions; accountability of law enforcement to citizens; sharing of the conduct of the law enforcement mission;⁵⁴ Similarly, Article 2 of the Police Act 2000 stresses the three constitutional values that require the police to protect, comply with and be accountable to the human rights guaranteed by the state.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ Wycoff, Mary Ann and Skogan K. Wisley, (2008). *Community Policing in Madison: Quality from the inside out*. December. Washington D.C: US. Department of Justice.

⁵⁰ Cordner, G. W. (2010). *Community policing: Elements & Effects, -Critical Issues in policing*. Long Grove, IL; Waveland Press Inc.

⁵¹ Reno, W. (2011). *Warfare in independent Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press. pp.91-93.

⁵² Ibid pp.95

⁵³ Ibid pp.97-98

⁵⁴ The Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda, pp. 289-290.

⁵⁵ Republic of Rwanda, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Rwanda National Police, Police Training School (P.T.S.) Gishari, Community Policing Training manual. pp.19

Security approach conducted jointly with the masses is viewed as a modern dynamic approach. The main focus is engaging locals for intelligence gathering to improve response time and more effectiveness either through arrests or other reasonable acts. This strategy also includes the removal of the bureaucratic roadblocks that impede the completion of the work. In addition, the mechanisms through which good work is rewarded and poor work sanctioned need a review so that in addition to policing operations, the police are assessed for community improvement and problem-solving.⁵⁶ In Kenya, the model officially got introduced on mid- 2005 by government to reduce crime.⁵⁷ The adoption of community-based policing initiative in Kenya was aimed at reducing crime, social disorders and fear, and increase safety and cooperation amongst the police and other stakeholders in the society. Substantial amounts of resources have been committed to this initiative geared towards training of the communities as well as the police on the modalities and intended levels of cooperation and the results envisaged by this initiative.

In Rwanda, the Community Police Directorate claims that the Rwandan National Police have dedicated themselves to working closely with the community not only to boost police efficiency, but also to include citizens who are then more inclined to co-habit with others peacefully devoid of fear given their increasing stake and control of their environment and community.⁵⁸ Crafting and executing society-based security interventions and strategies therefore becomes a necessary pre-condition for achieving the set objectives and ends. The understanding and expectation from the locals were that they would provide the police with information on crime in order to help them cope with

⁵⁶ Republic of Rwanda, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Rwanda National Police, Police Training School (P.T.S) Gishari, *Community Policing Training manual*, (un published), p.19.

⁵⁷ Masesc and Mwenzwa (2012). *The Benefits and Challenges Emanating from Community Policing*. pp.36-38.

⁵⁸ Directorate of Community Policing (2007). *Community Policing and Community Policing Committees in Rwanda*. Kigali: Directorate of Community Policing, pp.59-62.

policing and security issues. Policing proposed that boosting current stakeholder collaboration and partnership was necessary at the state and inter-state level.⁵⁹

In an account from Kenya detailing the introduction of society-based police, Saferworld noted that one of the main problems identified at the start of the Community-Based Police Program in Kenya related to skills and resource gaps within the various actors tasked with enforcing it.⁶⁰ The training program covers areas such as of the approach, the laws underpinning it, civil liberties, culture and its interaction, organizational imperatives, how to lessen if not stop law breaking and the police relationship. There is a great deal of focus on evolving corporate behaviour as well as the conduct of individuals including their attitudes. Based on the above, the various concerned actors developed standardized training resources for community training and law enforcement agencies.⁶¹

In an attempt to make the model a reality the Rwandan government approved establishment of the requisite structures countrywide and gave guidelines on the same in late 2007. Rwandan law enforcement and different stakeholders work collaboratively to deter crime through sharing information regarding acts likely to cause disorder. Within the community-based police system, National Police Chiefs in Rwanda frequently talk to the public about the overall security situation via the media to keep community members updated about their safety.⁶²

There are many successes of community-based police in Rwanda. They include decentralized police services and greater citizen participation. The establishment of Community Policing Committees (CPCs) has gained recognition and appreciation from

⁵⁹ Ibid pp.63

⁶⁰ Saferworld, (2008). Implementing community-based policing in Kenya, pp.123-124

⁶¹ Saferworld (2006). Kenya community-based policing Training pack, pp.217-220.

⁶² Community Policing Delivering Its Best", Rwanda National Police, (New times article of 1st August 2010). pp.52-55.

residents for their role in keeping their communities safe. People feel safe through the different tasks undertaken by these committees. Dispute mediation, family and group therapy, organized functional patrols and sharing intelligence on felons with police. Moreover, groups of youngsters were formed within learning institutions to deter lawlessness. Citizens were also encouraged to anonymously report and receptacles for this were put up in different areas. Toll-free phonedlines were launched to facilitate communication between law enforcement and citizenry. Sensitization activities were concomitantly rolled out within learning institutions and in the airwaves where 5 radio programmes have been broadcast on neighborhood polling. Other trainings and numerous meetings were held with members of religious entities. Hotels and pubs and other social places were also targeted as venues where locals could be sensitized. Open-air shows for young people and exhibitions by the police were staged.⁶³

1.8.4 Challenges and Opportunities in Kenya on Community-based Security Approaches

Kenyan law enforcement has embraced this approach, hence setting up an office to manage the strategy. The strategy enjoys legal recognition. This legislation prescribes the formation of various structures and membership thereof in every county. One of the challenges of the new structures at the county level is a misconception that they would interfere and leak intelligence and thus attracted quiet resistance. The public are seen as a hindrance to the goals of law enforcement and therefore should be sidelined. To successfully roll out the model of security conducted at the local level in first world countries in Africa requires a keen appreciation of local conditions. The requisite

⁶³ Police Training School (P.T.S) Gishari, Community Policing, Training manual, p.26, (un published).

organisational structures as well as management ethos must be right. This supportive foundation was lacking in Kenya.⁶⁴

Despite forming various organs to watch over law enforcement, it is only change of attitude of both law enforcement and locals that that can cause actual transformation according to Hill.⁶⁵ The author contends that legislative framework, structures and procedure changes in policing could not yield much without a change in perception amongst the police and the public. Hill believes that most people in the Kenyan communities have to a large extent approved the police “hard” way of dealing with criminals. Ogada notes that policing in Kenya is miles from transforming unless there is a societal change of attitude.⁶⁶ Many people in Kenya believe services of law enforcement are crafted for the comfort and protection of certain sections of the populace. Majority of the population see the police as an instrument for the mighty and powerful to oppress and make them achieve their goals with little care for those down the economic ladder. Civilians who volunteer information to the police feel at risk and betrayed by the police who cannot keep confidential the informers thus creating mistrust.⁶⁷ According to Hill, community policing succeeds in an environment where there is mutual confidence amongst locals and the officers of the law. Officers who enforce the law have to become part of the community and integrated so that they can understand the people and the environment where they operate.

In order to demonstrate commitment to this model of policing, the Kenyan government gazetted a task force to inter alia; assess improvement in securing communities, examine

⁶⁴ Kelling, G., & Coles, C. (2011). *Fixing broken windows: Restoring order and reducing crime in our societies*. Free Press, New York, pp.98.

⁶⁵ Hills, Alice (2009). *Policing in Kenya: A Selective Service* in eds. Mercedes S. Hinton and Tim Newton. *Policing Developing Democracies* Abingdon: Routledge, pp.237-239

⁶⁶ Ogada, L. M. & Roberg, R.R. (2012). Community Policing: A critical Review of Underlying Assumptions. *Journal of Police Science and Administration*, 17(2): 105-114.

⁶⁷ Ibid pp.116

and document best policing practices in different environments and jurisdictions and to coordinate the process of developing a national policy on community policing.⁶⁸

1.8.5 Knowledge gap

The researcher, while reviewing the literature, established that there is considerable scholarly work on community-based security initiative at various levels including global, regional, and local. Separate literature on national security management as a concept was also adequate for both Kenya and Rwanda. However, the reviewed literature has knowledge gap in terms of variable relationship since little literature was found to be linking national security management to community-based security initiatives at both conceptual and empirical levels.

Given that matters related to national security management are highly contemporary and dynamic, available and relevant literature covering the various concepts encompassed in the topic of the study are not current with most citation being over five years old. Additionally, there is little element of critical analysis and or contrast of the different arguments in the available literature. The literature review is thus more descriptive rather than critical. This study therefore seeks to fill these gaps.

⁶⁸ Kenya National Human Rights Commission, (2016). *Negotiating Sustainable Peace: National Security and Community Policing*; University of Nairobi, pp.58-59.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

The Contingency Theory and the Broken Windows Theory were the key theories used in this study due to their ability to explain the connection between the environment and community-based law enforcement actors.

1.9.1 Contingency Theory

Central ideas of this theoretical proposition help us understand core questions for effective implementation of police programmes that integrate community.⁶⁹ Contingency theory as a concept originally developed in 1967 out of a publication on Organization and Environment attributed to Lawrence and Lorsch.⁷⁰ Both authors showed through empirical study how different environments demand different requirements from organizations. Specifically, they emphasized how an environment riddled with uncertainty coupled with rapid dynamic market and technological conditions occasions a diverse set of challenges, compared to moderately static settings. Even though this theoretic proposition received great elaboration through the decades, its general orienting hypothesis suggests strategic choices and posture are predicated upon the specific settings in a particular environment, which means that it is critical that the internal workings of a particular entity must be in consonance with requirements of the operating environment for it to succeed in adjusting and thus achieving its objectives to the demands of their environments in order to achieve the best adapt. To paraphrase, the impetus that drives an entity's transformation for survival is domiciled in its exterior operating circumstances, especially the sum total of issues confronting it from its

⁶⁹ Singleton, R., Straits, B., Straits, M. M. and McAllister, R. (1988) *Approaches to social research*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp.56-58.

⁷⁰ Lawrence P. R. and Lorsch, J. W. (1967). Differentiation and integration in complex organizations. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, vol. 12, pp.1-30.

upstream and downstream value chain.⁷¹ At the foundation of this contingency theoretic construct Scott invites us to hold three factors constant. Their understanding can be beneficial in helping provide suitable interventions to counter problems encountered while implementing policing that is based at the community level: This is because organisation can be configured in various ways as no universal panacea exists; the optimal technique revolves around the conditions in the operating realm.

The first factor or assumption that is contested is the long-held opinion that certain universal rules and principles apply across time and space. This kind of thinking often finds itself in discussions on security that is based at the community with the result that it is taken for granted that there must be a particular set of guidelines indispensable in effectively rolling out such a programme. Though this might hold some truth for the central planks of the community approach, nevertheless, people commonly misunderstand the apparent applicability of guidelines as well as procedures across the board. The second assumption seeks to debunk the then contemporary perception of pioneering economic scholar who argued that there was no useful nexus between an entity's structural configuration and its output or success. Contemporary wisdom now generally holds that organizational architecture does indeed contribute to the output and success of an entity. This wisdom and its potential contribution is often disregarded or discarded in the discourse on the design and execution of policing based at the local level. A successful programme frequently needs adjustments of organizational make up of law enforcement departments, such as devolved decision making. It also features flattened hierarchies.⁷²

⁷¹ Scott, W. R. (2012). *Organizations: Rational, Natural, and Open Systems*, 5th ed., Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. pp. 96.

⁷² *Ibid* pp.97

The last of the suppositions is critical given that it elucidates the majority of issues responsible for problematic implementation of the model. Scott reiterated that organizational success is predicated on environmental adaptation. Therefore, specific features of a given operating environment ought to be taken into account. Similarly, the characteristics inherent in the people of the given locality must be taken into account for successful rollout of a community -based security programme.

1.9.2 The Broken Windows Theory

Kelling and Wilson were the original initiators of this theory. Following Lombardo's public tests performed in the year 1969, it was reported that miscreants and even regular citizens appeared to view undisturbed and unguarded public possessions as rendering themselves open to looting arguing that it was an indication of absence of interest or care in them."⁷³ Here as well as in other works that followed in 1996, Cole and Kelling used 'broken windows' to depict disorderly neighborhoods. The theory's main proposition is that small disorders, when ignored or when disregarded tended to cause an upsurge of fear of crime, decreased societal regulation and an increase in law breaking since a positive association exists between chaotic environments increased lawlessness. In addition, social impoliteness and rudeness, garbage strewn all over and other minor infractions underwrite the deterioration of neighborhoods that eventually contributes to serious crime.

A number of police forces around the world, such as the United States, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, have used this theory as a basis for community-based policing.⁷⁴ Keller agrees that law enforcement should form the bedrock of all other

⁷³ Ibid p 5

⁷⁴ Punch M. (2007). *Zero Tolerance Policing*. The Policy Press, Bristol. p19. Retrieved on 14 August, 2020 from:
https://infodocks.files.wordpress.com/2015/01/maurice_punch_zero_tolerance_policing.pdf

efforts geared towards security mounted by the citizens in their local area. When apparently minor infractions are dealt with, the incidence of criminal behaviour is potentially minimized.

The theory thus has a good fit given its ability to illustrate the mechanism by which local security structures working in concert with the police create peaceful and orderly communities and thus demonstrates the benefit of engaging the citizenry in managing national security. The idea also involves the practice of harnessing and mainstreaming an approach that seeks synergistic collaboration of diverse agencies.⁷⁵

The theory was criticized as a result of the negative reputation it developed out of the violent and extensive operations mounted in different cities such as New York to rid the streets of street urchins and the homeless. It thus came to be christened zero-tolerance policing. Several federal lawsuits were mounted in Seattle and other cities as a result.⁷⁶

1.9.3 Applicability of the theories

Both the contingency theory and the broken windows theory were found to be relevant to the current study. Whilst contingency theory has widely tried to address the independent variable (community-based policing initiatives), the broken windows theory has, on the other hand, tried to bring the link between both the independent and the dependent variable. Additionally, contingency theory is premised on three assumptions which are best applicable in organizational environment rather than a volatile mass. This is therefore consistent with the good-fit principle as noted above.

⁷⁵ Ibid, Punch p 17

⁷⁶ Ibid p18

Ultimately, the theory of broken windows tends to be stronger than the theory of contingency in solving the research issue for this study.

1. 10 Methodology of the Research

1. 10. 1 Design of the Research

A comparative study design was deemed appropriate for this study. It explored in detail the deployment of the strategy to involve citizens in policing in the two East African states under study. the methodology of deploying society-based policies to achieve the nation's security. This kind of analysis(comparative) allows comparison of single or multiple issues that the researcher is interested in within the two subjects in this case countries of Kenya and Rwanda.⁷⁷ Comparative study design was considered acceptable since the key objective was to tease out the similarities and differences of the two countries' management of security at the national level through the community -based looking glass.

1. 10. 2 Target Population

This is a definite group of people or events which are being investigated.⁷⁸ This study targeted 300 people to respond to our inquiries. These are respondents who have a practical 'feel' of the subject matter as they are people who interact with the issues of interest on a day-to-day basis in their duties. Some are in law enforcement while others are in community policing while yet others are in 'Nyumba Kumi' in Kenya and Rwanda. They can therefore be regarded as 'specialists' within our particular research parameters since they have a wealth of information to offer. The corporations

⁷⁷ Mugenda, O & Mugenda, A. (2012). *Research Methods; Qualitative and Quantitative*. 5th edition, Labis graphics Service, Nairobi, Kenya. pp.59

⁷⁸ Cooper, D.R and Schindler, P.S (2015). *Business Research Methods*, Tata McGraw-Hill, (8th Ed.), New Delhi, India. pp.5-8

considered were the Police in Kenya and Rwanda, Officers in the State Department of Interior and Citizen Services as well as their counterparts in Rwanda. Moreover, NGAOs (as the officers of Interior are referred to) are deployed at the lowest levels of the sublocation consequently exposing them to close interaction with wananchi and are thus with the local security situation. This makes them a rich source of statistics on different non-traditional safety interpositions such as those proposed and disseminated in the 1994 UNDP report on Human safety. these are pecuniary, nutrition, physical wellness and wellbeing, physical surroundings and political safety worries.⁷⁹

Table 1. 1 The Target Population

S/No.	Group	Targeted Population	Proportion (%)
1.	Officers Commanding Station (Kenya)	15	5
2.	State Department of Interior/NGAOs (Kenya)	50	17
3.	'Nyumba Kumi' leaders (Kenya)	85	28
4.	Officers Commanding Station (Rwanda)	15	5
5.	Officers in Internal Affairs (Rwanda)	50	17
6.	Community Policing Leaders (Rwanda)	85	28
Total		300	100

Source- Author (2020)

⁷⁹ United Nations Development Programme (1994). Human Development Report, p24. (Oxford University Press, New York)

1. 10.3 Sample Size

The nature of the study was comparative as it sought to target both Rwanda and Kenya's capital cities and nearby rural areas. From the entire population of 300 targeted in the study, the sample size obtained was 172 which was achieved through Yamane's formula. The sample size was 57% of the entire population. According to Kothari, this is sufficient as he avers that a well-selected sample that has roughly 30 percent of the whole population is adequate to generate generally reliable findings.⁸⁰

Where: -

$$n = \left[\frac{N}{1+N(e)^2} \right]$$

n: sample size

N: population of the study

e: level of significance (5 percent level of significance)

N: target population (300)

$$n = \left[\frac{300}{1+300(0.05)^2} \right]$$

Therefore, the sample size =172

Table 1.2 Sample Size

S/No.	Group	Population	Sample Ration	Sample size
1.	Officers Commanding Station (Kenya)	15	0.57	9
2.	State Department of Interior/NGAOs (Kenya)	50	0.57	29
3.	'Nyumba Kumi' leaders (Kenya)	85	0.57	48
4.	Officers Commanding Station (Rwanda)	15	0.57	29

⁸⁰ Kothari, C. R. (2014). *Research Methods: Methods and techniques*, 3rd Edition. New age international publishers. pp.18.

5.	Officers in Internal Affairs (Rwanda)	50	0.57	48
6.	Community Policing Leaders (Rwanda)	85	0.57	48
Total		300	0.57	172

Source; Author (2020)

1.10. 4 Data Collection Techniques

Since various techniques for gathering data or records exist, Cox alludes that the principle consideration in choosing any one of the available devices is dependent upon the attributes of the research topic, goals, design, predicted statistics and results.⁸¹ This is because every device collects particular facts. Purposive sampling was used so that the researcher could accumulate facts from the capital towns. The study amassed first-hand as well as second-hand records. First-hand info information was gathered from targeted people who responded to the set questions which, where feasible, was taken to them physically and where this was impossible, it was via the web. This particularly allowed the researcher to retain fidelity to the Ministry of Health guidelines on the containment of the Corona virus currently ravaging both countries and the world at large. The survey forms consisted of unrestricted questions as well as questions that restricted the respondent to particular set of answers. The study findings have been presented in a manner consistent with the objects of the same. Different segments were incorporated throughout the survey tool designed generate data on issues such as gender, age and stage of schooling. This enabled the researcher to recognize the character of the respondents, even as some other component focused at the network-based protection tasks and conditions that impact on the achievement of country wide safety control in

⁸¹ Cox, T. Jr., (2012). The Importance of research in determining organizational Effectiveness, *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 2, 4.

Africa. Further, it facilitated investigation of safety efforts based in the communities including their impact on the overall success of national security. Apart from primary data, other facts were also accumulated from case reports and reputable authorities reports, United nations courses, web sites, safety journals, periodicals and other writings from law enforcement in the two countries.

Closed-ended questionnaire have been deployed in an attempt to limit the lack of relevance to the questionnaire objectives. According to Bailey and others, survey forms provide the researcher with answers for a collection of queries thus enabling the gathering of diverse information.⁸² The research was able to collect both firsthand information (primary) and information from existing sources (secondary) to enable it achieve the objects of the study.

1. 10. 5 Data Analysis

Information gathered through the survey instrument was evaluated using SPSS and then it was presented in form of means, percentages and frequencies. The data was displayed through charts and tables. Inferential statistics, correlation analysis and analysis of variance have also been conducted on the quantitative data. The study used descriptive analysis. Kirk and Miller state that, descriptive analysis utilizes a set of classifications for inferencing from data to their context.⁸³

1.11 Study Layout

Chapter one concerns the description and context of the report. It includes introduction, context of the problem, problem statement, research questions, research goals, general

⁸² Bailey P., Farmer D. Crocker B., Jessop D., Jones D. (2013). *Business Principles and Management*, 9th Edition, Day Limited, USA. pp.38-42

⁸³ Kirk & Miller (2016). *Principals of Management*, 3rd edition, London Publishers, London. UK. pp.141-143

purpose, study rationale, scope and limitation, literature review, knowledge gap, theoretical structure, applicability of theories, methodology and, finally, the arrangement of the study. Chapter two takes a look at the global influence and contribution in managing national security of security arrangements that are managed and operated at the community level. The subsequent chapter identifies contribution of the research's subject security structures at the community level in national security of the African continent. Chapter four deals with the similarities and differences in the success of efforts to secure Kenya and Rwanda nationally, that can be attributed to the deployment of methods and techniques that incorporate the citizens at the community level. In this chapter data is collected, analyzed and presented. Chapter 5 of the report, *inter alia*, summarizes the findings and suggests what else ought be studied going forward, from the insights gained in the research.

CHAPTER TWO

COMMUNITY-BASED SECURITY INITIATIVES IN NATIONAL SECURITY MANAGEMENT AT THE GLOBAL LEVEL

2.0 Introduction

The focus in this section is a global outlook towards national security management and the contribution to national security by approaches that are based and operated at the local level. National security as a concept depicting the modern-day idea of a tranquil and safe state has its origins in the Westphalian treaty that ushered in peace in Europe (1648) after the 30-year war. This concept birthed the idea of sovereign states administered and run by heads of state or other such supreme rulers, therefore creating a novel system and structure in the relationship between various countries as well as delineating the criteria through which a state could be acknowledged as such in the world. The 1933 Montevideo conference further fine-tuned this recognition criteria, citing a permanent population, a demarcated territory, a government and aptitude for inter-state engagements.⁸⁴

Thereafter, in spite of the above, there has been diverse interpretations of what constitutes a state. The processes and conceptualizations are also shaped by an array of theories: realism, liberalism, Marxism, constructivism etc. Realist preceptors like Hobbes, Edward Hallet Carr and Hans Morgenthau, occupy the position that the structure and system governing world and state relations described above is anarchistic as there is no organising central authority and that in this system the most significant actors are states. Because of their state-centric leanings, they view state survival and

⁸⁴ UNTC (1933). Montevideo Convention on Rights and Duties of State. Art. 1. (UNTC, Montevideo). Accessed on 13 August 2020 form: <http://treaties.un.org/pages/AdvanceSearch.aspx?tab=UNTS&clang=en>

elimination of any military threats as the most prominent concerns in national security.⁸⁵

The liberal perspective from contenders like Emmanuel Kant front a notion of states operating in an international environment. The states have also submitted themselves to a higher order. This creates a front for possibility to achieve international security where moral commitment and common good contribute to security. For liberalists, despite acknowledging that the state is sovereign, it is lacks autonomy. The state therefore operates in a space with other actors and institutions. All these need to cooperate as the state pursues its array of interests.⁸⁶

On the other hand, Marxists dwell on capital and capitalism as the axis to the international system. They are aliened to the notion of real sovereignty or national interest. In contrast, for Constructivists, security is relative. Security is neither material nor given but is ideational. Security is mutable encompassing functions of domestic conditions and international inclinations.

2.1 Global National Security Management

National security management is a disputed concept, like many other social science notions. Recently, experts in the security field but who are not engaged in traditional police work, have challenged the long-held views that the security of the nation can only be managed and assured by police using exclusive police tactics. This has spawned plentiful characterizations, seeking to broaden these definitions past the police doctrine. There has also emerged a need to reflect on the varying realities within the security sector, looking at both perspectives not only from the state at the center but human-

⁸⁵ Op cit (Buzan) p175

⁸⁶ Moravcsik, A. (1992). Liberalism and international relations theory. No. 92. Cambridge, MA: Centre for International Affairs, Harvard University, p 6-7. Retrieved on 14th August 2020 from: https://www.princcton.edu/~amoravcs/library/liberalism_working.pdf

centric security. Peter Drucker defines management to encompass; leadership, executing and directing, resourcing activities, communicating organizational vision and mission, and strategic planning in unpredictable environments.⁸⁷ Generally, national security management encompasses all plans that deliberately protect both the state and her citizenry from threats emerging both internally and externally. It fronts an assortment of continuous activities that states may undertake, enhancing their national security. These may be organizing, mobilizing and deploying resources addressing particular threats.⁸⁸ Different countries use different terminologies to describe these management plans such as, national security policy and strategy (Ethiopia), national security policy (the Philippines), national security strategy (UK) and even grand strategy (US).

The visualization of the plans and methods, through which a country is to secure its most important ends as a state, including how to navigate and endure harsh or uncertain external environments is what is described as a grand strategy.⁸⁹ The most important ends are categorized broadly in terms of interests such as physical existence, securing and protecting the country's production infrastructure, as well as securing the state's place in the community of nations. They also consider advancement of ideals and principles that the state holds dear. The selection of certain preferences over others which determines the type of plans to be implemented to achieve the set security ends is therefore the purview of national security management. A comprehensive and thorough national plan seeks to deal with issues regarding definite enemies of the state, explore their associates and/or players of consequence to the security of the state.

⁸⁷ Drucker P. (1986). *Management: Tasks, Responsibilities, Practices*. Pp 17-18 (Fitzhenry and Whiteside Ltd., Toronto)

⁸⁸ Sarkesian S., et.al. (2014). *United States Domestic and National Security Agenda into the Twenty First Century*, Greenwood Press, London, pp.3-5

⁸⁹ Boone Bartholomees, (2012). *US War College Guide to National Security: Theory of War and Strategy*, vol.1, Strategic Studies Institute, p.13-17.

Additionally, such a strategy should sufficiently appropriate of resources including identifying people with the requisite administrative skills set for successful implementation of strategies guaranteeing wholesome state protection, while enhancing a state's national interests.⁹⁰

Through time, the thinking and practice of national security management is changing. National security management has heritage originating from the military. "Strategy" originates from a Greek word *strategos*, with a stringently military connotation. Classical usage of *strategos* connotes the deployment of military tactics and maneuvers to wage war. Time has changed and this traditional orientation is gradually embracing more inclusive interpretations surpassing the initial intent. Contemporary strategy definitions are holistic, surpassing the military element of power, but bringing on board: economics, diplomacy and politics. This inclusiveness has been inevitable and has therefore led to broader application of the term beyond the narrow confines of the military and it should hence be conceptualized as such to reflect the new thinking. Similarly, it must naturally embrace tactics that involve policing and those that do not involve policing in securing the country and it should find comfortable usage either in peacetime or wartime.⁹¹ National security management involves a state's plan to coordinate application of the diverse tools of power to secure itself within both the internal and external environments.⁹² It should also consider its current and upcoming assessment of the options obtainable in light of the resources at its disposal.⁹³

According to Snider a blend of state objectives and ends, tactical ethos combined with a comprehension of what it is that the state really needs to secure, is imperative for

⁹⁰ *ibid*

⁹¹ Williamson Murray (2012). *Introduction on Strategy: In Making of Strategy: Rulers, States and War*. Cambridge University Press, pp.21-24.

⁹² Richard B. Doherty, (2013). The USA National Security Strategy: Policy, Process and Problems, *Public Administration Review*, No.67. vol.4.

⁹³ *ibid*

national security management in designing security strategies.⁹⁴ Other scholars who have made their contribution on the subject of grand strategy with more or less the same general arguments, include; Doyle,⁹⁵ Krasner⁹⁶ and Bull. Bull however, seeks to debunk the notion that national security and others decisions are always the product of meticulous and rational thought. He instead holds the view that they are in fact shaped by the exigencies of daily survival needs of governments and that they therefore sometimes lack longstanding considerations and planning. With these inadequacies, skilled ordering of priorities is not done correctly leading to ineptitude in making rational choices.⁹⁷

It is worth noting however that these are not the only issues impeding the crafting of a proper security strategy. Grand strategy is guided by certain theoretical underpinnings. There has been a debate about whether it is policy that guides strategy or vice versa. Deibel contends that strategy contributes to policy,⁹⁸ while Gray, contrary to this, asserts that Gray states that strategy guides policy. He urges continuous engagement between policy makers and policy implementors/strategists and observes that this does not often happen in policy formulation resulting in a disconnect, disjointed effort.⁹⁹ In their contribution to this discourse, Fought and Marcella observe that in all these arrangements within the tactical-strategic continuum, actors must contend with various constraints and therefore must choose within these parameters what is can be actioned to achieve the set policy objectives.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ Snider M. Don, (2015). *The National Security Strategy, Documenting Strategic Vision*, Carlisle, PA Strategic Studies Institute, USA. March, p.2.

⁹⁵ Doyle R. (2012). The USA National Security Strategy: Policy, Process, Problems, *Public Administration Review*, No. 67, Vol 4 p624

⁹⁶ Krasner S. (2010). An Orienting Principle of Foreign Policy. *Policy Review*, No. 163 p1

⁹⁷ Bull H. (2016). Strategic Studies. *World and its Critics*. World Politics No. 4. P 597

⁹⁸ Deibel Terry, (2012). *Foreign Affairs Strategy: Logic for American State Craft*, New York. Cambridge University Press, p.10.

⁹⁹ Colin S. G. (2014). *Modern Strategy*, New York, Oxford University Press, pp.17-23.

¹⁰⁰ Gabriel Marcella & Stephen Fought, (2015). *Teaching Strategy in the 21st Century*, Joint Force Quarterly, Issue no.52, 1st, p.57.

2.2 Viewpoints on National Security

States are faced with a diverse array of threats, hazards and susceptibilities and an analysis of the operating environment both inside and outside the borders coupled with the abilities and competencies that a state can assemble against them is the key consideration of the standpoint a state assumes. Membership in world bodies such as United Nations can protect a state to some degree as the UN encourages and attempts to preserve a peaceful, tranquil and secure world. The Security Council has a responsibility to maintain international peace and security in Art 24 of the UN Charter and has various mechanisms of actualizing its mandate such as; arbitration, court processes, use of diplomacy, interventions on the economy, military deployment to secure and /or enforce stability and tranquility, among others.¹⁰¹

There are also organisational mechanisms tied to particular regions, such as Africa and Asia that seek to protect their members. A classic example here is NATO which brings together several countries in North America and Europe. In this arrangement, according to their rules, “an armed attack against one or more”, “shall be considered an attack against them all”.¹⁰²

Some states choose to be defended and protected by others who have superior military and economic might. Japan has been in such an arrangement with the US since 1951 shortly after its defeat by the US in World War II. The United States maintains a troop presence on Japanese soil to protect it from any possible external aggression.¹⁰³ To this day, the treaty establishing this arrangement still exists and is crucial to Japan’s

¹⁰¹ UN (1945). *Charter of The United Nations and Statute of The International Court of Justice*. (UN, San Francisco) Art. 24, Chap VII. Retrieved on 12th August, 2020 from: <https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/ctc/uncharter.pdf>

¹⁰² NATO. (1949). *The North Atlantic Treaty*. Art. 5. (NATO, Washington D.C.). Retrieved on 12th August, 2020 from: <https://www.nato.int/nato-welcome/index.html>

¹⁰³ Maizland L. and Xu B. (2019). *The U.S.-Japan Security Alliance*. *Council on Foreign Relations*. Retrieved on 12th August 2019 from: <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/us-japan-security-alliance>

protection against a belligerent North Korea and imperialist China. The US government expanded its obligations under Article 5 to include cyber-attacks against Japan.¹⁰⁴

The majority of the states however elect to be exclusively self-reliant in defending themselves. This helps a state to develop its own capacity and resources and preserves national pride.

2.3 Human Security

In the 1994 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Report, Human Security is presented as a *people-centred* approach. The central idea of Human Security concept revolves around the idea of preeminence of man as the reference object of security. This contrasts with the nation-state's long-lasting prevalence as the principle reference point in national security. This new outlook however has progressively expanded security to include groups and international economic, environmental, institutional systems. The interests of humanity become a focal point, including enhancing or securing the conditions where the humans could live in freedom, peace and safety. They are also able to participate fully in the process of governance; can access resources including health, education and inhabit an environment guaranteeing their health and wellbeing. Human security gives prominence to the people's own perceptions of vulnerabilities and identifies needs of the populations under stress. It also it promotes knowledge-sharing.¹⁰⁵

Security means different things to different people. Generally, achieving 'security' entails protecting certain core values- human life, livelihoods, property et al, from

¹⁰⁴ Kyodo J. (2019). U.S. to defend Japan from cyberattack under security pact. *Japan Times*. Retrieved on 12th August, 2020 from: <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2019/04/20/national/politics-diplomacy/first-japan-u-s-sav-security-treaty-cover-cyberattacks/>

¹⁰⁵ UNDP [United Nations Development Program], (2014). *Human Development Report: New Dimensions of Human Security*. New York: UNDP.

disruption or harm.¹⁰⁶ Human security redefines the domain, scope, and method of the traditional approach to security in international relations. The domain refers to the type of security and its referents (whom/what to protect from harm). In the traditional approach, 'national security' involved protecting states' political independence and territorial integrity. It assumed that this protection would extend to states' populations. Human security advocates, question this assumption observing the many cases where states/governments harm their own populations. Resultant is a redefinition protecting individuals and communities, as well as states. The scope refers to the sources of insecurity the contingencies likely to harm the referents.¹⁰⁷ Traditionally, major insecurity sources lay in states' external relations and the major exigence was external aggression. Human security redefines the scope to include a wider range of eventualities that can harm individuals and groups directly or indirectly. The method refers to the strategies and policies implemented to achieve security. Traditionally, external aggression and external relationships were the source of major insecurity. Human security redefines the scope to include a wider range of eventualities that can harm individuals and groups directly or indirectly. The method refers to the strategies and policies implemented to achieve security.

In the traditional conception of security, the principal technique of security was via deterrence and compelling approaches involving mainly orchestrated through solo flaunting of armed force and/or in joint efforts with allies for the purpose of 'balancing power'. Other methodologies involved permanent arrangements encompassing multiple institutions and state for shared protection, like in the UN and others arrangements that cater to particular regions such as NATO (as noted above). The new

¹⁰⁶ Del Rosso, S. (1995). *The insecure state: Reflections on the state and security in a changing world*. *Daedalus*, 124, 175–206.

¹⁰⁷ King, G., & Murray, C. L. (2012). Rethinking human security. *Political Science Quarterly*, 116(4), 585–610.

paradigm that puts the human being at the fulcrum of national security however, appreciates that while the armed forces, threat-oriented strategies might have been successful in securing states, they often disregarded insecurity that was not of a military nature and thus may not have applied themselves fully in protecting individuals as well as groups. Human security thus seeks to devise new ways of protecting the latter.¹⁰⁸ Human security and human development are distinct but complementary. Human development is a process. It takes a broad long-term perspective and seeks positive outcomes in human-centred values (health and well-being, livelihoods, dignity, survival, safety, knowledge and so on) to improve the overall quality of life of individuals and groups.¹⁰⁹ Human security, by contrast, encompasses interdependent material and or physical as well as non-material, non-physical social, psychological and cultural components. Groups and individuals are objectively safe if they don't suffer actual harm and when they are not terrorized by the fear of such harm. While it may not be possible to provide absolute security, because we cannot eliminate everything that can possibly harm us, it is noted that security is subjective. Achieving security thus means that deliberate choice of contingencies to focus on be made according to a prioritized set of values. This further means that all security approaches including human security involve value considerations, judgements and choices about whom to protect from what.¹¹⁰ The critical consideration then for human security, isn't which insecurity causes should enjoy the highest ranking as proposed in the discourse between old (narrow) and new (expansive) conceptualizations, but which set of values are the critical ones and therefore deserving of protection.

¹⁰⁸ Rothschild, E. (1995). What is security? *Daedalus*, 124, 53–98.

¹⁰⁹ Taylor, Owen (2014). *Human security—conflict, critique and consensus: Colloquium remarks and a proposal for a threshold-based definition*. *Security Dialogue*, 35(3), 373–387.

¹¹⁰ Busumtwi-Sam, J. (2016). Architects of peace: The African Union and NEPAD. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, 7(1), 71–81.

2.4 Community-Based Security Approaches

These approaches when adopted and implemented help to secure the necessary buy-in for citizens to feel they are part and parcel of the management of their own security thus increasing the possibility of more interest in these efforts. The Broken Windows theoretical proposition advises against ignoring small problems at the local realm no matter how trivial as these subsequently snowball to bigger security problems. Well-managed local security can form the bulwark for mitigating against situations that have the potential to escalate to big issues that may involve conflict or violence and therefore guaranteeing sustainable stability and tranquility in the whole state. Gordon contends that the most critical component of security arrangements more so in societies emerging from conflicts is when locals have a genuine stake and thus feel they own the process or programme. When this is lacking all other externally driven initiatives lack legitimacy and are shorn of community confidence. Therefore, the main effort ought to be to engender a strong connection between law enforcement and other government organs with the citizenry instead of strengthening governmental structures.¹¹¹

2.4.1 Private Security

The gap arising out of the impossibility of providing a police officer to each individual across the country is often filled by private individual and entities. Those with the wherewithal to afford their services hire them but this means that such security officers/firms naturally answer more to the customers who hire them as compared to state law enforcement officers.¹¹² Arising from the agreements of the contracting

¹¹¹ Gordon E. (2014). Security Sector Reform, State building and Local Ownership: Securing the State or its People? *Journal of Intervention and State building*, 8:2-3, 126-148, DOI: 10.1080/17502977.2014.930219. Retrieved on 12th August, 2020 from: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17502977.2014.930219>

¹¹² Shaw, M. (2002). *Crime and policing in post-apartheid South Africa: transforming under fire*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press.

parties, clients of the private entities are viewed in a manner that portrays them in the right while anyone that opposes them as always wrong. Additionally, these entities can only help state law enforcement offices in securing localities and promoting societal harmony if this does not attract extra expenditure for their clients.

The private security industry is undefined and is less homogenous. It is a motley of diverse entities of different sizes selling different security products such as preventing law breaking, consulting on various aspects of security, cash-in-transit and many others. Their organisational set up, management philosophy, objectives and techniques are also varied.¹¹³

Bayley et al., have noted the rapidly expanding size and influence of the sector across the world in recent years.¹¹⁴ The French private security sector expanded to one hundred and sixty thousand personnel from a hundred thousand between 1982-2010. The Japanese private security segment expanded by a whole three hundred and ninety thousand guards to reach four hundred and sixty thousand between 1975-2003.¹¹⁵

China's private security business is booming with the largest numbers globally. This is partly attributable to under investment in safety and security of citizens coupled with increased crime figures. Private security practitioners have a well-documented history of playing an important role in arresting offenders.¹¹⁶ In some instances, non-state security entities outnumber the government ones; some operate without legal sanction and are called "heishi bao'an". It is however difficult to distinguish them as they don

¹¹³ Jones T., & Newburn, T. (1995). *How big is the private security sector?* Policing and society, 5(3), pp 221-232.

¹¹⁴ Bayley, D. & C.D Shearing (2001). *The new structure of policing: description, conceptualization and research agenda*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice.

¹¹⁵ UNODC (2011). *Civilian private security services: their role, oversight and contribution to crime prevention and community safety*, United Nation

¹¹⁶ Wang Lili (2002). *Number of Private Security Personnel in China Reaches 2.3 million*, China Procuratorate Net Security Risk and Private Sector Growth: A Survey Report.

official attire that is indistinguishable from the ones worn by the authorized companies.

These companies perform many functions such as cash-in-transit, surveillance, patrolling venues, escorting dangerous goods like explosives, personal protection and so on.

These entities are wholly managed, licensed and regulated by police. Additionally, official law enforcement officers are seconded to these entities to act as official legal representatives. According to Liu, private security organisations suffer from the dearth of the legal power to enforce the law and therefore find themselves at the mercy of government law enforcement officers when guarding big events such as sporting tournament.¹¹⁷

According to Waard, this sector does not enjoy a lot of support in the Nordic countries, attributing this to traditionally.¹¹⁸ This is because of the traditionally high safety incidence. However, France, Germany and Britain enjoy huge numbers of private security; as a matter of fact, police officers are outnumbered in Britain by private actors. This however does not mean they can challenge the police but rather work hand in hand to deliver security outcomes according to Waard.¹¹⁹

Increased pressures upon the law enforcement community has resulted in the privatization of some security functions in many places around the world and according to Stenning, inadequate law enforcement numbers has necessitated the recruitment of private security to plug these gaps, adding that the private sector is now globally recognized for its vital role in partnering with police to prevent as well as detect crime.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Liu Shanxun (ed.) (2005). *The work of the private security*. Beijing

¹¹⁸ De Waard, J. (1999). The Private Security Industry in International Perspective. *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*. Vol. 7. pp 254-261

¹¹⁹ De Waard, pp 278-280

¹²⁰ Stenning, P. C. (2000). *Powers and Accountability of Private Police*. *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*. Vol. 8, No. 3, pp 325 – 352.

The legal regime responding to the need to regulate the growing private security industry differs from country to country with various rights and obligations.¹²¹ Within the private security ranks in the Republic of Korea (South Korea), for instance, only 'special security officers' can carry firearms while 'general security officers' cannot, according to legislation.¹²²

2.4.2 Community Policing

Law enforcement is no longer the responsibility of the police exclusively. New forms of securing communities have evolved over time. Community policing is among the more prominent forms that have emerged. Formal and informal policing are the two broad categorizations of this form.¹²³ The former represents a devolved strategy used by national governments to meet its security obligations. The latter represents a n initiative that is not sanctioned by the state but that emerges out of felt needs where there are security gaps matters,¹²⁴ or disenchantment with the government's approach on security or absence altogether.¹²⁵

According to Onwudiwe and Wislet, groups that perceive inadequacy of police efforts to secure communities might take matters into their own hands and initiate a community form of policing, such groups can morph into vigilantes when force is included as a main strategy.

Formal Community Policing, on the other hand, means government is involved in the introduction of the strategy, it therefore flows from the top to the bottom and preserves

¹²¹ UNODC-UNHabitat (2011). Introductory handbook on the policing in urban space, United Nation Publications

¹²² Ibid

¹²³ Fleming & Wakefield, (2009). *The Sage Dictionary of Policing*. London, Sage Publishing.

¹²⁴ Wisler, D., and I. D. Onwudiwe (2008). Community Policing in Comparison. *Police Quarterly* 11(4):427-446, London, Sage Publishing

¹²⁵ Tilley, Nick (2003). Community Policing, Problem-Oriented Policing and Intelligence-Led Policing. *In Handbook of Policing*. Tim Newburn, ed. Pp. 311-339. Devon: Willan Publishing.

participation of the local people, if executed properly, lightens the policing load on law enforcement officers. The function of law enforcement as a sentry against crime can be transformed to a service when they (police) and citizens collaborate intensely through community-based policing.¹³⁰

The Chinese model of community-policing is modeled around communist principles and puts the people first. Moreover, the model depends on the people and how they are organised and enabled to solve their problems rather than the police as a crime-fighting strategy. For example, the Maoist teachings greatly support individuals who are masters of their destinies, thereby delegating to the communities and society generally police roles. Inculcation of the principles of peaceful and harmonious living is done through the family unit while the larger community socializes the individual on strong moral standards and the consequences of legal and community infractions. The Neighborhood groups administer the mechanism through negotiations, conflict determination, prizes, crime documentation and security awareness campaigns. In the same way, teamwork allows the neighborhood police to be more united, more loving, and to reward the most

¹²⁶ Wisler, D., and I. D. Onwudiwe (2008). Community Policing in Comparison. *Police Quarterly* 11(4):427-446, London, Sage Publishing

¹²⁷ Tilley, Nick (2003). Community Policing, Problem-Oriented Policing and Intelligence-Led Policing. *In Handbook of Policing*. Tim Newburn, ed. Pp. 311-339. Devon: Willan Publishing.

¹²⁸ Klockars, Carl B. (2005). The Rhetoric of Community Policing. *In Policing: Key Readings*. Tim Newburn, ed. Pp. 442-459. Devon: Willan Publishing.

¹²⁹ Ibid

¹³⁰ Bayley & Shearing, (1996). The Future of Policing, *Journal of the Law and Society Association*: pp.588, New Jersey, Wiley

peaceful members. Punishment is meted out to those who fall short of requirements through a semi-judicial and quasi-security mechanism. To deter crime together, local law enforcement thus essentially believes that the requirements for upholding community harmony is ultimately about the mutual societal concern of all individuals members of the community.¹³¹

The Brazilian people's distrust coupled with the sleaze in the ranks of law enforcement contributed to the emergence of policing at the community level. Various aspects of the approach have been adopted in different parts of the country depending on various socio-cultural and political environments. In the capital city, methods such as patrolling by foot, detection of safety concerns including providing interventions jointly with the local people haven adopted. Public safety commissions in Minas Gerais on the other hand use problem-solving techniques; proposed police policies and transparency mechanisms, devolved and integrated law enforcement set in the regions to evaluate patterns in law breaking and to craft realistic responses to criminal activity.¹³²

In Japan, police in the community law enforcement arrangement were spread out in more than 15,000 mini police establishments in different parts of the country. Less than half of the citizens visit law enforcement establishment physically, the majority prefer calling. Staff at the law enforcement establishments mentioned above patrol by foot as well as responding to enquiries of diverse nature, mapping security hotspots targeting social places and residences twice a year, pursuing crime reduction measures and performing security-enhancing inspections.¹³³

¹³¹ Ibid

¹³² Ibid

¹³³ Bayley, D. (1991). *The Police and the Community: The State of the Art in Community Policing: An International Perspective*. USA: State University of New York.

2.4.3 Vigilantism

A person attempting to portray him/herself as a defender of the masses' justice, can be described as a vigilante. In a failed justice system, such a person also defends people from arrests as well as penalties. Vigilance involves among others; 'coordinated extra-legal groups, whose participants take the law into their own hands.'¹³⁴ A vigilante may function alone or in collaboration with others. Vigilance thrives where the legislation has failed and the state is unable to protect its people. It shows the desire of the people for equality and justice.¹³⁵ Unfortunately, in many parts of the world, such as the United Kingdom and urban Nicaragua and Central Nigeria, vigilantes have also become rogues. Competition for room and power has been shown to be the source of violence among vigilantes. However, they will remain in society as community-based armed groups for the safety of communities where there is conflict and government is unable to provide assistance and security against outside troublemakers.¹³⁶ 'Bakassi boys'(Nigeria), 'Sungusungu' (Kenya) and 'Dark Justice'(UK) are examples of such groups.

Police forces are government agencies responsible for upholding law and order and for protecting the general public from harm. There is a police force to serve the people and it is therefore critical that the actions of the police be human-oriented and represent public interest. Their efforts should meet the needs of the people they represent.¹³⁷ This Soyombo view is consistent with Hills' view that police cooperation with informal

¹³⁴ Liverzani A. et al. (2009). *Vigilantism*. (Victory Briefs Publishing). Retrieved on 13th August, 2020 from: <http://ammonwiemers.weebly.com/uploads/1/5/1/3/1513778/marchaprilld.pdf>

¹³⁵ Ibid p52

¹³⁶ Schuberth M. (2015) The Challenge of Community-Based Armed Groups: Towards a Conceptualization of Militias, Gangs, and Vigilantes, *Contemporary Security Policy*, 36:2, 296-320, DOI: 10.1080/13523260.2015.1061756. Retrieved on 13th August 2020 from: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13523260.2015.1061756?needAccess=true>

¹³⁷ Soyombo, O. (2004). *Integrating Empirical Research in the Planning and Training Programmes of the Police: Options and Prospects*.

stakeholders is an evolving strategy as a consequence of the multi-layer existence of the police profession.¹³⁸ In addition, Fourchard argued that the activities of the Odua People's Congress (OPC), such as those of the colonial-era night guards and other sister vigilante groups in the region, are well known to members of the public. This is more or less due to the fact that in the twentieth century, extra-legal and other activities considered uncivilized, such as the use of charms, were part and parcel of crime-control cultures among the indigenous population.¹³⁹ At times, Neighbourhood Watches caught the offenders and handed them over to the Native Authority for appropriate action. Conversely, Fourchard claimed that more often than not, victims of crime are believably exposed to cruel treatment that could have a negative effect on them for the remainder of their lives. These inhumane punishments may be in the form of abysmal punishment, subjecting suspects to poison drinking, nailing suspects on the head, beating or killing, and burning without recourse to legal proceedings. These kinds of practices have accustomed local community members to a variety of schemes that concentrate on removing those deemed to be unwanted elements. These problematic elements may be citizens of other racial groups, law-breakers, and political rivals, and/or others who have not adopted a set of curfew practices. As a consequence, these practices morph into a habit of habitually disregarding the law as no punishment is melted and eventually this is inimical to the respect for legal rules and procedures, whereas extrajudicial killings are carried out by security agents in the pretext of defending the best interests of the nation.¹⁴⁰

Within the United Kingdom, there are noticeable varieties of police structures and agencies (such as the Prosecutor's Office for the Oversight of Police Investigation

¹³⁸ Hills, A. (2014). *What Is Policeness? On Being Police in Somalia. The British Journal of Criminology* Vol. 54

¹³⁹ Fourchard, L. (2008). *A new name for an old practice: Vigilantes in South-Western Nigeria, Africa* Vol. 78(1)

¹⁴⁰ *ibid*

Operations in Scotland) functioning independently despite the dominant power of the government at the core.¹⁴¹ Referring to the findings of Mawby and Loveday, it is worth noting that, despite the fact that the United Kingdom has provided one of the finest police services in the world, a system of surveillance domiciled within the community remains the preferred alternative, significant and critical features among the Jersey community in Great Britain, Ireland, the Isle of Man and the Hebrides. In the background of the 1974 Police Force (Jersey) Act, which provided a legislative basis for the police system currently in use, volunteers from the community-based Honorary Police with a population of two hundred and eighty-three (283) outnumbered the paying population of police with the numerical strength of two hundred and forty-two personnel as at the year 1996. Structure wise, these volunteers are directly under the supervision of Anthony General. This agreement paved the way for a strong relationship between the society and the police in terms of transparency and governance in this part of the United Kingdom. Also, in this sense, Loveday claimed that the sequel to the Northern Ireland review, although the general police arrangements are withdrawn from the mainland in the Channel Island, the constables elected locally in the Channel Island, those locally elected constables in Jersey and Guernsey operate alongside professionally remunerated law enforcement officers. Special note should be made of the fact that government law enforcement in this area operate alongside locally elected constables in particular.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ Loveday, B. (1999). Government and Accountability of the Police. In Mawby, R.L.(Eds) *Policing Across the World: Issues for the Twenty-First Century* London and New York: Routledge

¹⁴² Mawby, R. L. (1999). Variations on a Theme: The Development of Professional Police in the British Isles and North America. In Mawby, R.L. (Eds) *Policing Across The World: Issues for the Twenty-First Century* London and New York: Routledge

CHAPTER THREE

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE PLACE OF COMMUNITY-BASED SECURITY IN NATIONAL SECURITY MANAGEMENT IN AFRICA

3.0 Introduction

This Chapter explores the community-based security from a continental looking glass. It gives a detailed background of the threats to the continent's security as well as the existing continental arrangements to that guarantee security in African states. The continent continues to suffer insecurity such as military coups, contested elections and natural resource-based conflicts among others. The failure to successfully manage national security has proved inimical to the welfare and economic wellbeing of the continent's inhabitants and thus, in spite of Africa being well endowed with natural resources, it lags behind other regions of the world in development. Without the local communities' active participation in joint security interventions with the authorities, successful management of national security will remain unattainable and Africa will continue punching below her weight in the international arena.

3.1 Security Challenges in Africa

3.1.1 The Colonial Experience

Africa is a continent beset by a wide array of challenges that make the national security of its 54 countries difficult to achieve. The continent's countries have diverse historical experiences, geographic conditions and levels of economic development. It is therefore imprudent to make sweeping generalizations in explaining national security issues. Some of the challenges such as terrorism and climate change are relatively new while others such as tribal conflicts are older.

Achangkeng recognizes the colonial experience as a major determinant of conflicts in Africa and asserts that “the sources and consequences of Africa’s internal conflicts have their roots in colonialism, the subsequent processes of de-colonisation and state formation, and the ensuing crisis of nation building”.¹⁴³ He contends that the colonialists crafted the African state from diverse regions and ethnicities (which has sometimes led to secessionist movements, insurgency, boundary and irredentist claims) and that the economic, power and development differentials rendered the state conflictual. Cheeseman and Fisher argue that since the colonialists did not have enough personnel to man their colonies, they co-opted willing local leaders and powerful men and used force to help them subjugate and rule their communities. By arming and funding these groups, they diluted the checks and balances that existed hitherto and thus planted the seeds of repressive regimes. Mamdani seems to support this position when he quotes Lord Lugard, one of the architects of indirect colonial rule, who while giving advice on the same asserted that to craft a colonial infrastructure based on indirect rule, one needed to “find an influential local as chief.... train him on how to work through delegation, to be interested in the local wealth, back his authority his authority, and to imbue ethos of accountability and duty.”¹⁴⁴ Following the end of colonialism, the new African leaders found it difficult to assert their authority owing to the limited wherewithal to deliver services and ensure security.¹⁴⁵ The end of colonialism also meant that groups that had been separated before and checked by colonial power were

¹⁴³ Achankeng F. (2014). Conflict and Conflict Resolution in Africa: Engaging the Colonial factor. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*. p 12 Retrieved on 20th August from: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/284670618> Conflict and Conflict Resolution in Africa Engaging the Colonial factor

¹⁴⁴ Mamdani M. (1996). *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. (Princeton University Press, Princeton). Retrieved on 29th September, 2020 from: <http://www.istor.org/stable/j.ctvc77c7w>

¹⁴⁵ Cheeseman N. and Fisher J. (2019). *Authoritarian: Repression, Resistance and the Power of Ideas*. (Oxford University Press). Retrieved on 23rd September, 2020 from: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/337007365> Authoritarian Repression Resistance and the Power of Ideas/link/5dbff09792851c818028a76a/download

now thrust into open political competition which was further exacerbated by rural urban migration, struggle for jobs and inadequate urban infrastructure.¹⁴⁶ Some of these challenges laid the ground for the many military coups that have taken place in Africa starting with the coup in Togo on 13th January, 1963 to the most recent one on 18th August, 2020 in Mali in which Sylvanus Olympio and Ibrahim Boubacar Keita were overthrown respectively.

3.1.2 Poor Leadership and Governance

The African continent is bedeviled by weak governance and state institutions combined with poor leadership that often impacts negatively on the society, politics, and the economy. Lack of strong institutions upon which democracy is anchored and the neglect and defiance of legal precepts and accountability, creates breeding grounds for corruption and political turmoil. In recognition of this, both the Constitutive Act of the African Union and the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance underline the importance of adherence to democratic principles and good governance.^{147 148}

Democracy is underwritten by public participation; democracy itself is a type of governance in where power is recognised as being legitimately vested in the people in a manner that allows equal participation by citizens (either directly or through elected bodies) in the conceptualization, nurturing and crafting of legal regimes as contrasted with other forms of government such as totalitarianism, monarchy, oligarchy, theocracy

¹⁴⁶ Jenkins C. and Kposeowa J. (1992) The Political Origins of African Military Coups: Ethnic Competition, Military Centrality, and the Struggle over the Postcolonial State. *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 3, (Sep., 1992), pp. 271-291. pp 273-274

¹⁴⁷ AU (2000). Constitutive Act of The African Union. Art 3 & 4. Retrieved on 29th September, 2020 from: https://au.int/sites/default/files/pages/34873-file-constitutivonact_en.pdf

¹⁴⁸ AU (2007). African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance. Retrieved on 29th September, 2020 from: <https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/36384-treaty-african-charter-on-democracy-and-governancecc.pdf>

and others. Public participation includes societal, fiscal and cultural settings which facilitate the people to chart their own political destiny. It can be described as the deliberative process by which interested or affected citizens, civil society organisations and government actors are involved in policy-making before a political decision is made.¹⁴⁹ The participation of the people in determining the affairs of their government and their own civic affairs is an important aspect of constitutional democracy. Periodic elections that are free, fair and competitive, in order to give citizens a choice between different candidates offering competing agendas for the country, is one modes of citizen participation.¹⁵⁰ Okechukwu and Elekwa observe that African electoral politics has generally been disappointing over the years and that it has always generated unbridled resentments, illogical action as well as political turmoil. They aver that the best way to avoid this violence is to conduct elections that are free as well as fair.¹⁵¹

3.1.3. Endemic Conflicts

Africa is plagued by diverse conflicts such as natural resource-based conflicts, terrorism, conflicts caused by proliferation of small arms and light weapons and conflicts occasioned by poor management of political power, especially political succession. Bakken and Rustad have written extensively on these conflicts in Africa which have the effect of undermining national security and classified them into three, namely; state-based, non-state and one-sided conflicts.¹⁵² The most devastating type is

¹⁴⁹ Slijepcevic S. (2013). 'Public Participation as the Pillar of Democracy: The Role of Local Councilors in Croatia' *European Consortium for Political Research*. Retrieved on 29th September, 2020 from: <https://ccpr.eu/Events/Event/PaperDetails/4496>

¹⁵⁰ McDonald M. and John Samples J. (2016), 'The Marketplace of Democracy: Normative and Empirical Issues'. Retrieved on 29th September, 2020 from: https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/marketplaceofdemocracy_chapter.pdf Last accessed on 13th August, 2019

¹⁵¹ Elekwa N. and Okechukwu E. (2011). Post-Election Violence in Africa: A Comparative Case of Kenya and Zimbabwe. *The Indian Journal of Political Science* Vol. LXXII, No. 3, July-Sept., 2011, pp. 833-844

¹⁵² Bakken V. and Rustad A. (2019). Conflict Trends in Africa, 1989–2017. *Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO)*. pp5-14 Retrieved on 29th September, 2020 from: <https://www.prio.org/utility/DownloadFile.ashx?id=1987&type=publicationfile>

the state-based conflict and in this, at least one of the protagonists is a state government. Non-state has to do with other organised groups while the one-sided conflict is where violence is meted against unarmed civilians by groups that enjoy formal organisation or even the state itself. The two authors note that there were, for example, 18 state-based conflicts in Africa in 2017, spread out in 13 states; 50 non-state conflicts (the highest in any continents) and 23 incidents of one-sided conflicts. They cite the Rwanda, Nigeria, DR Congo and Somalia as some of the worst affected by state-based conflict at different times and Boko Haram as the worst perpetrator of one-sided violence in Northwest Nigeria as well as diverse groups in Central Africa Republic.¹⁵³ The report further notes the contribution of groups like Al-Shabaab in Somalia and Mozambique(Cabo Delgado) and IS in creating and fueling old conflicts in countries such as Libya, Tunisia and Egypt.

3.1.4 Poverty and Economic Decline

Even though Africa is resource-rich and is the second largest continent in population and size, its economic productivity has been so low that in 2013, it was ranked at the bottom of all inhabited continents with a total GDP of less than 30% that of the US.¹⁵⁴ Inadequate infrastructure, labour market imperfections, high debt burden, underdeveloped financial markets, underperforming public sector, inadequate social capital and a risky business environment have been inter alia, proffered by Collier and Gunning as the reason for this poor economic performance.¹⁵⁵ Without adequate

¹⁵³ Ibid Rustad

¹⁵⁴ Galace I. (2019). The African Satellite Market. *Satellite Markets and Research*. p 1 <http://satellitemarkets.com/news-analysis/african-satellite-market>

¹⁵⁵ Collier P. and Gunning W. (1999). Explaining African Economic Performance. *Journal of Economic Literature*, Mar., 1999, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Mar., 1999), pp. 64-111. Retrieved on 30th September, 2020 from: https://www.istor.org/stable/pdf/2564726.pdf?casa_token=NE7muB79B4oAAAAA:sMZDqig3EJKH4gGoHreZZymIbbo1i4AVXG2nWu9Bo6L4GsZosBmT4oOhZt0a5ar1Wk6xrk_z2VTrhocsUWfFYWO2_Yq401bPYsk5hw6BV7CSMsBCIA

resources, crime increases concomitantly with the increase in unemployment and poverty thus compromising Africa's ability to secure its people.

In recognition of the critical role economic development plays, the AU crafted Agenda 2063 aimed at helping focus the continent on, "a prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development"¹⁵⁶ To further consolidate the economic development agenda, the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) was created. It is expected to serve 1.2billion inhabitants in Africa.

3.2 Continental Security Arrangements

The AU has designed and adopted a continent-wide mechanism of conflict prevention, management. The arrangement, known as the Africa Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), also takes care of situations where there have been conflicts or where peace has been disturbed. Additionally, this mechanism picks and flags out early signs of conflict, deploy direct and indirect interventions, engage in diplomacy to prevent conflict where possible, foster adherence to democratic governance as well as provide humanitarian relief and manage disasters.¹⁵⁷

3.3 Management of Security within Regional Blocs

There are seven Regional Economic Communities (RECs) which double up as the Regional Mechanisms for security purposes in Africa namely; Southern African Development Community (SADC), Union du Maghreb Arabe (UMA), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); Community of Sahel-Saharan States

¹⁵⁶ AU Commission (2015). Agenda 2063; Background Note 1 p 6 Retrieved on 30th September, 2020 from: https://au.int/sites/default/files/documents/33126-doc-01_background_note.pdf

¹⁵⁷ African Union Commission (AUC) (2015). African Peace and Security Architecture. APSA Roadmap 2016–2020 p 12 Retrieved on 1st October, 2020 from: <https://au.int/sites/default/files/documents/37721-doc-2015-en-apsa-roadmap-final.pdf>

(CEN-SAD); East African Community (EAC); Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS); Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA).¹⁵⁸ The African Standby Force (ASF) is a tool that exists within these RMs in which states pledge troops to for a variety of interventions such as observation and monitoring and peace support whenever needed. It is based on five regional brigades, each with approximately 4,300 troops and some 500 light vehicles.

3.4 Types of Community-Based Security Initiatives in the African Continent

3.4.1 Private Security

This sector has expanded rapidly in the continent. A good example of this growth was recorded in South Africa especially in the nineteenth and twentieth century. The growth coincided with the withdrawal of the police from their foremost role of police work to political duties to keep the regime safe.¹⁵⁹ Private security naturally moved in to fill the space vacated by the state law enforcement. Furthermore, the state law enforcement which was thin on the ground, was handicapped by many challenges including graft, poor pay and incompetence. This has prompted a sizable chunk of the corporate world to look for protection of life and livelihoods from non-state actors. Shaw further noted that the regular law enforcement teams were outnumbered by non-state security providers by a ratio of three to one meaning the citizenry had a higher chance of interacting with these entities than with the police. Most of the operators in this subsector had a disciplined service background. These firms have a wide portfolio of

¹⁵⁸ Op cit, AUC pp 10-12

¹⁵⁹ Shaw, M. (2002). *Crime and policing in post-apartheid South Africa: transforming under fire*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press.

services including; VIP protection, sentry duty and cash escort among others. The sector is varied owing to the various specializations within it and as a result, twenty-two grouping have sprung up to represent the operators in this sector.¹⁶⁰ Partnership between these non-public firms has led to a reduction in crime and safeguarded life, livelihoods and property.

In Nigeria, it is hard to tell with certainty how many security entities there are as not all have conformed to registration requirements. These firms, some of which are wholly owned by Nigerians and some by foreigners, are estimated to be just under two thousand with a combined labour force of more than a hundred thousand employees. Increased income from extraction of fossil fuels, rising number of criminal activities and the ever-expanding gap between the rich and the poor has spawned a need for more security services. This reflects the fact that there is a direct relationship between increased criminal activity and the appetite for security products. The inability of law enforcement agencies to guarantee security, coupled with the suspicion with they are often viewed, further fuels demand for private security. To meet the increased demand for their services, these firms are improving on the technical skills of their employees and leveraging on technology to render better, more efficient services. Demand for private security is heavily driven by improved business and the presence of global entities and diplomatic community.¹⁶¹

Legislation has been enacted to manage actors therein, with a view to delineating the parameters within which they are to operate. Due to prohibition against usage of guns and corresponding high levels threats, a partnership has been crafted that allows police

¹⁶⁰ Ibid pp.25

¹⁶¹ Abrahamsen R., and M. C. Williams (2005). *The Globalization of private security: Country report: Nigeria* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

to work on a day-to-day basis with their civilian counterparts to harden and/or secure high value targets.¹⁶²

Gumedze and Baker have indicated in their study on PSCs in the African continent that the menu of services offered include;

“the classical physical protection of private and public properties, close protection of VIP’s, safeguarding ‘properties of strategic importance’, security for sports and music events.¹⁶³

They report that Kenyan citizens acknowledge this growing sector’s input in better security outcomes. Further, they argue the partnership has lightened the workload on law enforcement officers across the country hence plugging the gaps that existed hitherto.

The then head of the Ministry of Home Affairs for Tanzania opined in late 2013 that PSCs were now a recognised joint actor in securing the entire country. Acknowledging their rapid response capabilities and their contribution to tranquility in the country, the minister put criminals on notice as he believed their space for mischief was reducing.¹⁶⁴

The above observations are consistent with the observations on PSC in Botswana including the increased investment by global entities in order to cure the inadequacies of police. The sector has grown steadily in reach, sophistication and product range. However, their good work is sullied by allegations of involvement in crime and poor terms and conditions. They are also accused of operating outside the law. Furthermore, the majority of these entities are illegal. Unlike in most other countries, the legal regime

¹⁶² Keku, P and T. Akingbade (2003). *Industrial Security in Nigeria*. Challenges and Prospects for the 21st Century, Lagos

¹⁶³ Mkilindi A. Assessment of The Role of Private Security Companies in The Enhancement of Public Security: The Case of Ultimate Security Company in Kinondoni Municipal Council. Masters Dissertation, Mzumbe University, 2014 pp 22-23

¹⁶⁴ Ibid Mkilindi p 23

in Botswana permits PSCs to carry guns.¹⁶⁵ The government exhorts the players in the industry to self-regulate by creating networks within which all members can ensure that everyone is operating within the set legal confines.

3.4.2 Vigilante Groups

These are groups mostly composed of citizens who volunteer, operating with the mandate of communal consensus to fight crime. As a consequence of waning capacity expected from the police to curtail rising urban violence as well as crime, communal patrols or vigilantes emerged to secure communities. Rowe argues that this type of intervention is deployed outside the known state arrangements as it is propelled by a desire to protect and defend one's self. One of its characteristics is that it is an unplanned, spontaneous, often times vicious tool of controlling criminal behaviour.¹⁶⁶ Vigilantism involves dedicated citizens at the lowest stratum of society, crafted to collect intelligence on local crime. Membership is drawn from a cross-section of people, trades and professions.¹⁶⁷ Their effectiveness and input on security outcomes is minimal yet they take disproportionate risks.

In Nigeria, the nexus between law enforcement and the citizens is heavily coloured by non-formal security paradigms including vigilantism. There is a tendency to confuse vigilantism and community policing which is made worse by cultural differences in Nigeria. Graft and police brutality have been blamed for poor law enforcement in Nigeria.¹⁶⁸ This perception is partly responsible for the continued growth and popularity

¹⁶⁵ Molomo, M.G., Osei-Hwedie, B., Sebudubudu, D., Taylor, I. and S. Whitman (2004). Botswana. In Gould, C. and G. Lamb (eds) *Hide and Seek: Taking Account of Small Arms in Southern Africa*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, pp. 22-46.

¹⁶⁶ Rowe, M. (2008). *Introduction to Policing*, London: Sage Publications Ltd.

¹⁶⁷ Brogden, M. (2014). Commentary: Community Policing: A Panacea from the West. *African Affairs*, 103/413, 635-649

¹⁶⁸ Hills, A. (2011) 'Policing a Plurality of Worlds: The Nigeria Police in Metropolitan Kano': *African Affairs*, 111/442, 46-66 Oxford University Press, on behalf of Royal African Society down loaded from <http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/> at the University of Liverpool 6/6/2012.

of vigilantism and other community based-security approaches as people seek solutions to their problems.¹⁶⁹

Vigilante institutions are patronised by community members in view of community's input in its formation and daily operation. Fourchard has sought to trace the history of the conceptualization of vigilantism and traces it back to the police in Nigeria where he argues that the concept was recognised by the government in the West of the country around the middle of 1980s.¹⁷⁰ Magical tools have found themselves in this debate where Ikuteyijo and Rotimi assert that ancestral traditions have always embraced the use of magical tools and that these tools have given an edge to those groups that practice vigilantism to control crime activities.¹⁷¹ This edge enjoyed by vigilante institution is informed by indigenous community values and norms. This comparative advantage has to say the least, been informally recognised in a way thereby constituting a form of parallel security institutions to the conventional police in Nigeria. The form of recognition is on the basis of shared beliefs among members of the public that this kind of para-security structure has the ability to discover where criminals are hiding much faster than regular law enforcement officers in the country.

Community participants' views have reflected the informal status of vigilante institutions despite a range of recognition by certain official state structures in certain territories. It is to be noted that the informality ascribed to vigilantism should be seen in the context of the modern state police system,¹⁷² however, these structures based on cultural traditions, cults etc., reflect the real-life experiences of the respective groups.

¹⁶⁹ Soyombo, O. (2004). 'Integrating Empirical Research in the Planning and Training Programmes of the Nigeria Police: Options and Prospects

¹⁷⁰ Fourchard, L. (2008). 'A new name for an old practice: Vigilantes in South-Western Nigeria' *Africa* Vol. 78(1)

¹⁷¹ Rotimi, L. And Ikuteyijo, K. (2012). 'Community partnership in policing: The Nigeria Experience' *Police Journal*, Vol. 85, Issue 2 pp. 123-132

¹⁷² Alemika, E. E. O. and Chukwuma, I. C. (2008) *Analysis of Police and Policing in Nigeria Lagos, Nigeria CLEEN Foundation for Justice Sector Reform.*

Fourchard raises concerns regarding the detrimental operations of these organisations especially the real risk of their becoming a potential threat to the claim in the monopoly of violence by the state apparatus.¹⁷³ In the view of police and community participants, the pre-judicial and crude approaches in the operational activities of vigilante organisations have demonstrated that close supervision is needed by the police to ensure moderation and adherence to the rule of law and dignity of persons as well. This is in furtherance of the contention that African socio-cultural heritage has been regarded as primitive and savage in the view of colonialists. Additionally, the Nigeria constitutional provisions have not adequately recognised the existence in the country of these informal and homegrown institutions.¹⁷⁴

3.4. 3. Community Policing

Novel forms of law enforcement have evolved over the years. Government-affiliated policing based and operated at the local level is the most dominant in modern nations. There are two divisions of this strategy, namely; official and non-official.¹⁷⁵ Official is the strategy that fully involves the government in its efforts to decentralize their policing obligations. Informal Community Policing, on the contrary, is community-initiated and often happens without the government's influence.¹⁷⁶ (see a deeper description of the same on page 43).

In African countries, a major presence of a multiplicity of armed non-government actors or groups such as; armed bands, groups engaging in vigilantism, groups embedded in

¹⁷³ Fourchard, L. (2008) 'A new name for an old practice: Vigilantes in South-Western Nigeria' *Africa* Vol. 78(1)

¹⁷⁴ Abdullahi, A. A. & Salawu, B. (2012) 'Ibn Khaldun: A Forgotten Sociologist?' *South African Review of Sociology* Vol 43; No. 3 South African Sociological Association PP. 24-40 Routledge and University of South Africa Press

¹⁷⁵ Fleming and Wakefield, (2009). *The Sage Dictionary of Policing*. London, Sage Publishing.

¹⁷⁶ Wisler, D., and I. D. Onwudiwe (2008). *Community Policing in Comparison*. Police Quarterly 11(4):427-446, London, Sage Publishing.

cults, entities contracted to provide security on a private basis, bands engaged in organised crime, tribal/religious/regional armies, military arms of political parties, militias, Islamic fundamentalist and rebel groups conducting rebellions, insurgencies and secessionist agendas make policing a difficult task. The political scene is further muddied by such groups with the concomitant violence which severely undermines the safety of the communities in these areas and compromises government's capacity to guarantee security. Particularly militias, rebel groups and Islamist militant groups have been major actors in the ethnic, regional, religious and political conflicts, resource conflict and insurgency movements in Algeria, Angola, Burundi, the Central Africa Republic (CAR), Chad, the Democratic Republic of Congo.¹⁷⁷ Although ANSGs have existed in Africa in the pre-colonial, colonial and immediate post-independence periods, there has been resurgence since the 1990s, with groups being formed for dissent, resistance, civil defence, and struggles for self-determination, political reforms and resource control. Also, notable has been the persistence and seeming entrenchment of this phenomenon in some countries such as the DRC, Somalia and Sudan where rebel groups have become a significant threat to domestic security.

The increased incidence and activities of these ANSGs raises serious concerns about the institutionalization of violence as a means of redressing grievances, its widespread use and abuse by state and non-state actors, the exposure of the citizenry to vicious violence, and the loss of state monopoly over the use of violence. Violence also weakens the capacity of the state to provide the *res publica* (particularly democracy, public security and general welfare), and an environment that allows basic needs to be met. These and the possible linkages with human insecurity, humanitarian crises, development and governance crises, instability and conflicts, are among the reasons for

¹⁷⁷ Okumu W. and A. Ikelegbe militias (2010). *Rebels and Islamist militants, human insecurity and state crisis in Africa* (Ed) Institute for Security Studies

a growing interest in critically interrogating and understanding the phenomenon of ANSGs in Africa.¹⁷⁸

Most ANSGs are either unstructured or loosely structured hierarchical organizations, whose members, usually between a hundred and some thousands, are trained in the use of modern light weapons by retired and disengaged military, police and other security agents. Their arsenal usually comprises traditional weapons, assault rifles (the most popular being the AK-47), machine guns, rocket-propelled grenades, bazookas, hand grenades and explosives.¹⁷⁹

ANSGs have a variety of characteristics and peculiarities. Some have been well organized, cohesive and disciplined, with a clear hierarchy and command and control structures, closely knit cells, well-coordinated systems, strict rules and decentralized operations. Some have clear objectives, a strong ideological foundation, political education and a framework of rules and regulations that guides operations and behaviour of followers as well as visionary, clearheaded and effective leaderships who weld the groups together, and inspire and sustain them. Among these are the National Resistance Movement (NRA) in Uganda and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) in Eritrea. Clapham has noted that groups exhibiting these organizational and leadership characteristics were able to achieve success in the battlefield, a fair level of governance in the territories they controlled, positive relations with communities and local people and eventually attained their objectives.

Baker, in his evaluation of policing in African states, examines a mechanism that he calls multi-choice policing in Uganda and Sierra Leone that is akin to community policing but less formal. It seeks to augment police efforts where government lacks the

¹⁷⁸ Ibid pp.83

¹⁷⁹ Samuel Kale Ewusi (2012). *Weaving Peace*, Essays on Peace, Governance and Conflict Transformation in the Great Lakes Region of Africa, Trattford Publications.

capacity to offer services especially in urban areas. He argues that these 'choices' range from military anti-crime units, market traders' associations, taxi and mini-bus unions, private security companies, youth groups to mobs that administer mob injustice to suspects of various crimes because they doubt the police's commitment and ability to do their work.¹⁸⁰ While examining models of policing in fragile states, Baker suggests that community policing as understood under the Western model failed in Liberia and cites a local model run by customary chiefs in South Sudan as a success. The paper argues that in the South Sudan model, it is local people offering policing and being assisted or condoned by the police as opposed to the Western model in which the police are assisted by locals. Baker reports that when the Liberian model was replaced by the Sudan model there was huge improvement in policing.¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ Baker B. (2006). Beyond the State Police in Urban Uganda and Sierra Leone. *Africa Spectrum*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (2006), pp. 55-76. Sage Publications, Ltd. Retrieved on 1st October, 2020 from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40175113>

¹⁸¹ Baker B. (2009). A Policing Partnership for Post-war Africa? Lessons from Liberia and Southern Sudan. *Policing & Society* Vol. 19, No. 4, December 2009, pp 372-389. Routledge. Retrieved on 1st October 2020 from: <http://www.tandfonline.com/action/showCitFormats?doi=10.1080%2F10439460902871330>

CHAPTER FOUR

COMPARING AND CONTRASTING THE IMPACT OF COMMUNITY-BASED SECURITY INITIATIVES ON THE SUCCESS OF NATIONAL SECURITY MANAGEMENT IN KENYA AND RWANDA

4.0 Introduction

This chapter examines national security management in general in each of the two countries before zeroing in on the community-based security initiatives. It also examines how each country conceptualises the challenges in national security and the ways and means through which national security is achieved. It compares the social economic and political environment in the two countries as these have a bearing on the success of community-based security initiatives. It then examines first the secondary then the primary data on community-based security initiatives and attempts an analysis of the same focusing on the objectives of the study.

4.1 National Security Management in Kenya

According to Ole Weaver, one of the proponents of the Copenhagen school of security studies, something becomes a security problem, when it is defined or framed as such, in other words it is securitized.¹⁸² Securitization can also be viewed as extreme politicization, meaning it ranks highest in the non-politicized, politicized and securitized issues continuum.¹⁸³ National Security in Kenya is defined by Art. 238 of the Kenya mother law as “the protection against internal and external threats to Kenya’s territorial integrity and sovereignty, its people, their rights, freedoms, property, peace,

¹⁸² Weaver O. (1993). *Securitization and Desecuritization*. Centre for Peace and Conflict Research. Retrieved on 15th October, 2020 from: <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/b533/06c2174b76280c42b5ea14993d79774a7f94.pdf>

¹⁸³ Buzan B. et al. (1998). *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. (Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc, Boulder) pp 23-24

stability and prosperity and other national interests".¹⁸⁴ Inherent in the above characterisation lies the recognition of the dynamic nature of national interests. National interests represent the country's needs as well as intentions that are usually based on an assessment of prevailing situations. They are usually classified into survival interests (such as sovereignty and territorial integrity, economic prosperity and the safety and security of the citizens which cannot be negotiated), vital and peripheral interest.¹⁸⁵ The flexible nature of the definition therefore lends itself to accommodating emerging threats such as the current Covid-19 pandemic which is a serious threat to the lives and livelihoods of Kenyans. Additionally, Prof. Macharia Munene argues that 'security' and 'interests' are complementary concepts. While security can mean the survival of a geo-political unit such as Kenya and 'interests' can mean the values that separate it from any other, 'interest' is the most important because the rationale for security is to secure 'interests'. It is therefore critical for those entrusted with safeguarding the country's wellbeing to have a sharp clarity of the country's national interests.¹⁸⁶

In order to provide national security, the country deploys its instruments of national power which include diplomacy, information and intelligence, the military, police, NGAOs and its economic power. These are in turn supported by the elements of national power such as geography, human capital, technology, political structures, leadership and the national psyche.¹⁸⁷ The Constitution of Kenya under Art. 240 establishes the Nation's Security Council (NSC) to superintend Kenya's Defence Forces, the National Intelligence Service and the National Police Service with a

¹⁸⁴ Kenya Constitution 2010 Art. 238

¹⁸⁵ NDC (2020). Kenya's Grand Strategy 2020-2025. (Unpublished) pp 7-8

¹⁸⁶ Munene M. (2011). Reflections on Kenya's national and security interests. *Journal of Language, Technology & Entrepreneurship in Africa Vol. 3 No. 1. pp 274-283*. Retrieved on 15th October, 2020 from: <https://www.ajol.info/index.php/jolte/article/view/66726>

¹⁸⁷ Ibid pp 13-14

requirement that the NSC services be devolved as appropriate.¹⁸⁸ Under this devolution principle which is part of Art. 10.2(a) on National Values and Principles and which also includes the principle of public participation, other organs are created and cascaded from the national level to the regions, counties, subcounties, wards, locations and finally the sublocations. H.E. the President further issued Executive Order No.3/2014 in May 2014 delegating his powers to direct and co-ordinate the National Government functions at County level to County Commissioners in order to *inter alia* promote peace and security. These powers are vested in the president vide Art. 132(3) (b) of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 as read with Section 7(2) (d) of the National Government Co-ordination Act, 2013. The Executive Order directed the County Commissioners to chair the County Security Committees, to enhance peace, security and the rule of law and to promote good governance, accountability and participation of the people.¹⁸⁹

The first national organ after the NSC then is the National Security Advisory Council (NSAC) and the lowest is the sublocation peace and security committee. The lowest two structures, that is, the locational peace and security committee and the sublocation peace and security committees include members that give greater expression to the idea of community-based security as they incorporate, village elders in the sub-location, chairperson of sub-Location community policing committee, chairperson of sub-location business community and the sub-Location chairlady of *Maendeleo Ya Wanawake*. However, the location committee does not have elders. All these organs manage security issues in their respective areas of responsibility including peace building, conflict management, disaster response as well as facilitating information

¹⁸⁸ Op cit. The Constitution of Kenya Art. 240

¹⁸⁹ Office of the President. (2014). Strengthening of the National Government Coordination Function at the County Level. pp1-2

sharing within and between agencies and organs. Each organ makes recommendations to the next organ on issues it is unable to solve at its level.

The Scheme of Service for NGAOs, expressly requires these officers to promote the same, promote community policing as well as the *Nyumba Kumi* initiative.¹⁹⁰ Similarly, as observed earlier, the National Police Service Act devotes Part XI to the issue of community policing in which problems are identified and solved jointly. Art.244(e) of the Constitution required the police to promote and foster deliberate linkages with communities.¹⁹¹

4.1.1 Security Challenges and their Mitigation in Kenya

Although Kenya has been relatively stable in the last decade, it is faced with a myriad of security challenges, the most current being the Covid-19 pandemic. According to the Ministry of Health, Kenya has a total case load of 39,184 as of 8th November, 2020 with 26,426 recoveries and 728 deaths.¹⁹² The main challenges are general crime, terrorism, corruption, cyber insecurity, money laundering, organised criminal groups, intercommunal conflicts, negative ethnicity, land and boundary disputes, drug trafficking, illicit brews and substance abuse, smuggling of contraband and counterfeit products, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, influx of illegal aliens and undocumented immigrants, food security issues exacerbated by invasion of locusts and other invasive species, poaching and wildlife crimes, road traffic fatalities and injuries and maritime security threats. Other challenges include the debt burden, unemployment, high cost of energy and underdeveloped infrastructure.

¹⁹⁰ Public Service Commission of Kenya (2015). *Revised Scheme of Service for National Government Administrative Officers*. p 25

¹⁹¹ Republic of Kenya (2010). The Constitution Art. 244(e).

¹⁹² Ministry of Health Kenya. Retrieved on 8th November, 2020 from: <https://www.health.go.ke/>

Kenya has attempted various approaches to surmount these challenges over time with varying degrees of success. Mumo Nzau and Mohamed have catalogued Kenya's security challenges from independence to the present day as well as how the state has addressed the same through the four regimes of Jomo Kenyatta, Daniel arap Moi, Mwai Kibaki and Uhuru Kenyatta. While noting that security challenges have been dynamic over time, they contend that successive regimes have formulated a security policy response through rather static legal, institutional and administrative structures. Additionally, they note that regime security seems to have largely been given higher priority over state security. This has led to less than stellar performance in mitigating insecurity in Kenya. They also tease out some of the recurring security challenges such as lack of national unity and cohesion that seem to be a common thread running through the four regimes since independence. This in addition to corruption and terrorism has been identified as the greatest challenge facing the country by President Kenyatta before the advent of the Covid-19 pandemic. Nzau and Mohamed advocate for a radical rethink that recognises democratic security governance as the path to better security. This means the national government should desist from its overzealous grip on national security but rather seek to build partnerships with the county government and other non-state actors especially at the grassroots level.¹⁹³

In its current Strategic Plan, the Ministry of Interior and Co-ordination of National Government outlines measures taken to enhance its efforts to secure the country. These have been taken in the context of the new constitution and Vision 2030. They include investments in science and technology, police mobility, street lighting, police housing and welfare, improved access to registration and immigration services, training and

¹⁹³ Nzau M. and Mohammed G. (2018) "The Challenge of Securing Kenya: Past Experience, Present Challenges and Future Prospects," *The Journal of Social Encounters: Vol. 2: Iss. 1, 37-59*. Retrieved on 15th October 2020 from: https://digitalcommons.csbsju.edu/social_encounters/vol2/iss1/4

legislative reforms. It also cites future plans to further improve performance such as installation of surveillance cameras in Mombasa, Nakuru, Kisumu and Eldoret, modernisation of ICT facilities in penal institutions, equipping the National Forensic Lab, construction of National Police Service Hospital, construction of an additional six prisons, digitization of all State Departments operations, installation of the National Integrated Identity Management System among others.¹⁹⁴

4.1.2 Community-Based Security Initiatives

As observed above the constitutional and legal framework underpins the implementation of community-based security initiatives in Kenya. This is especially due to the realisation that in a democracy, the governed must participate in the way they are governed. It also means that government is alive to the reality that the people know what it is that they want. Additionally, with regard to physical security, it is not possible for the police to be everywhere in the Republic and therefore it is imperative to have the input of the citizens themselves. When problems are jointly identified and resolved, the possibility of sustainable success is higher. It is against this backdrop that various community-based security initiatives have emerged or been implemented in Kenya.

4.1.3 Community Policing in Kenya

The model envisaged under police-community collaboration transcends traditional policing models. It puts a premium on the value of actions geared towards entrenching order, comfort and the general welfare of the neighbourhood. In order to achieve set security objectives, it is critical that law enforcement officers generate mutually

¹⁹⁴ Ministry of Interior and Co-ordination of National Government: Ministerial Strategic Plan 2018-2022 pp15-52

trustworthy links that imbue the locals with faith in their joint activities.¹⁹⁵ The links ought to be predicated on the faith and acknowledgement of the part that everyone ought to play in order to flag out the most urgent issues as well as design appropriate interventions to the identified issues. It is important to acknowledge that law enforcement officers are but just one of the many government entities that are involved in dealing with law breaking, social disorder and other such issues. Indeed, in the 2015 Guidelines for Implementation of Community Policing: *Nyumba Kumi Usalama wa Msingi*, government entities including; Judiciary, the Revenue Authority, the Civil Aviation Authority, Immigration, the Wildlife Service, National Environmental Management Authority, among others, have been roped in and defined as policing agencies.¹⁹⁶ Police-community collaboration has been a dominant discourse within the administration of not only the public but also the private realm for close to 30 years. It is crucial for all patriots and public-spirited individuals to make their contribution in the defence of the motherland.

The Kenya police creates the understanding that community policing works by creating a rapprochement between the police and the community about their role in crime prevention; Supplementing police patrols through private guards and neighbourhood watch groups; Providing educational, capacity building, enhancing Kenya Police personnel and members of the community to enable constructive participation in addressing the problems of crime; Forming community policing victim support centres and training response teams (units); Improving street lighting (security lights) to reduce crime (the use of adopt-a-light programme for the slum population). Moreover,

¹⁹⁵ Muchira, J. M. (2016). *The Role of Community Policing in Crime Prevention: Kirinyaga County, Central Kenya. Master's Thesis*. Mount Kenya University.

¹⁹⁶ Government Printer, Nairobi (2015). *Draft Guidelines for Implementation of Community Policing- Nyumba Kumi Usalama wa Msingi*. p 1

community policing aims at evaluating community policing programmes; Giving special attention to vulnerable groups who include women and children that are crime prone; Share responsibility and decision-making as well as sustained commitment from both the police and community, with regard to safety and security needs; Encourage enhancement of accountability of the police to the community they serve; Conflict resolution between and within community groupings in a manner which enhances peace and stability; further basing problem solving activities on a consultative approach that constantly seeks to approve responsiveness to identified community needs.¹⁹⁷

As previously observed above, it is not only the police that are involved in securing the country. Novel paradigms have evolved to augment the state's protection efforts, though community policing is still currently the dominant state structure with a binary conceptualization, namely; casual and official approach.¹⁹⁸ The former's principle characteristic is that it is routinely conceived and operationalized separately from the government's ambit while the latter is expressly sanctioned by the state in order to devolve and involve the locals in the security function.¹⁹⁹

There has been a challenge of getting a widely-accepted definition of community policing, thus impacting on its uses, relevance and contextualization. Community policing is seen among researchers, as an attempt to professionalize the democratization of the police service, while others focus on the improvement of the quality of interaction between the real owners of sovereign power and their agents in the policing realm. Marenin, cognizant of this conceptual gap, avers that contestations on the conceptualization and measurement of whether or not a policing arrangement fits the

¹⁹⁷ Kenya Police (2014). *Community Policing*.

¹⁹⁸ Fleming & Wakefield, (2009). *The Sage Dictionary of Policing*. London, Sage Publishing.

¹⁹⁹ Wisler, D., and I. D. Onwudiwe (2008). Community Policing in Comparison. *Police Quarterly* 11(4):427-446, London, Sage Publishing.

definition of community policing ought to prompt scholars, pundits and the police to reassess what community policing ought to look like when applied in the real world.²⁰⁰

Community policing was first introduced locally on a trial basis in the year 1999 through an association of among others, the police, Kenyan and global NGOs and Nairobi Central Business District Association (NCBDA), government entities like the precursor of the Kenya School of Government, Kenya Institute of Administration.²⁰¹

The non-state actors included; the Ford Foundation, Safer World Initiative and New York Institute of Security (Vera). Following the inaugural launch in Kenya, the then Provincial Administration (now restructured and rechristened NGAO) was ordered to roll out the same in their areas across the country. Subsequently, a new national strategy on the same was crafted and unveiled at Ruai, Nairobi in 2005.²⁰²

All members of the police in Kenya are legally obligated to not only participate in law enforcement requiring joint efforts with communities, but to use the same as the template or an all-encompassing philosophy in all their security plans and actions.²⁰³ In spite of the implementation of this approach, there are critics who argue that the wholesale adoption and roll out of a model developed in the West is flawed as it fails to take cognizance of the different social, political, economic and cultural circumstances, in the Third World.²⁰⁴

Community policing is understood differently by *wananchi*, professionals in the law and order field as well as in different government documents. Mwananchi Community Policing Handbook sees community policing as policing system that permits the police

²⁰⁰ Marenin O. "Foreword" in Wisler D. and Onwudiwe I. (2018). *Community Policing: International Patterns and Comparative Perspectives* at p.8

²⁰¹ Ibid p.599

²⁰² Ruteere M. Mutahi P., Mitchell B., & Lind J., (2013). *Missing the Point: Violence Reduction and Policy Misadventures in Nairobi's Poor Neighbourhoods* Evidence No. 39 (IDIS: Surrey)

²⁰³ Kenya Police (2014). *Community Policing*.

²⁰⁴ Ruteere M. & Pommerolle M. (2013). "Democratizing security or decentralizing repression: The ambiguities of community policing in Kenya" *African Affairs*, 102: 587-604

and community to cooperate to tackle issues of wrongdoing and as well as to provide security. The Handbook further delineates the boundaries of the concept by flagging out what is not covered by community policing such as vigilantism. It states that it is not a forum for doling out retribution, or to make money, nor should it be used to advance any partisan political agenda. It is not another separate government and service within it does not attract remuneration.²⁰⁵ The 2017 National Police Service Community Policing Information Booklet defines Community Policing as:

“the approach to policing that recognizes voluntary participation of the local community in the maintenance of peace and which acknowledges that the police need to be responsive to the communities and their needs, its key element being joint problem identification and problem-solving, while respecting the different responsibilities the police and the public have in the field of crime prevention and maintaining order”.²⁰⁶

With regard to the *Nyumba Kumi* initiative, the information booklet distinguishes it from community policing by stating that;

“Nyumba Kumi” is a Swahili phrase meaning ten households, though not literally. The Nyumba Kumi clusters cut across the various shades of society regardless of creed, political persuasion, ethnicity, race, gender or any other similar affiliation. Nyumba Kumi provides a framework that anchors Community Policing at the household/basic level. The concept is aimed at bringing Kenyans together in clusters defined by physical locations.”²⁰⁷

Chimera and Likaka in their examination of the execution of this model found that 80% of the population they sampled and who answered their questions cited lack of sufficient information as an impediment. A dearth of data necessary to nip crimes in the bud, hampered the output of the local committees. This itself arises from inadequate communication infrastructure. Productivity and output of the committees was thus

²⁰⁵ Ministry of State for Provincial Administration and Internal Security (Mo-PAIS) (2014). *Mwananchi Handbook for Community policing* (Nairobi: Government Printers)

²⁰⁶ National Police Service (2017). National Police Service Community Policing Information Booklet. p 4

²⁰⁷ Ibid p4

generally compromised in that while they were able to detect and recognize felons and illegal goings-on, they could not relay the information to the right parties.²⁰⁸

Gaps in the state's ability to provide citizens' personal security often catalyzes the desire to initiate community policing.²⁰⁹ Wisler and Onwudiwe aver that a gathering that perceives the police as declining to act where they are expected to act, ordinarily is tempted to assume control over issues and start a community type of policing. This arrangement could easily veer towards vigilantism if power or force is injected into operations as a critical or necessary tool. This type of community policing that wells up spontaneously from the community is often triggered by a failure of the state to maintain fidelity to the principal-agent relationship that presupposes that the state will exercise exclusive control of instruments of legal coercion that is at the heart of the social contract of the state.

4.1.4 Private Security in Kenya

In recognition of the critical contribution of non-state players in providing protection, the Government of Kenya enacted the Private Security Regulation Act in 2016 with a view to creating order in the sector. This would be done through proper vetting and registration and setting up of standards. The requirements of registration for private security service providers such as training in security matters, certificate of good conduct, certificate of discharge and or clearance for previous members of the disciplined forces are set out in Part III and Part IV of the Act.²¹⁰ The Cabinet Secretary

²⁰⁸ Chimera, J. M and Likaka, L (2014): Community Policing Implementation by Security Agencies in Njoro Sub-County, Nakuru, Kenya. *International Journal of Research in Social Sciences* Vol. 4, No.8. 87

²⁰⁹ Tilley, Nick (2003). Community Policing, Problem-Oriented Policing and Intelligence-Led Policing. *In Handbook of Policing*. Tim Newburn, ed. Pp. 311-339. Devon: Willan Publishing.

²¹⁰ National Council for Law Reporting (2016) Private Security Regulation Act
p 15. Retrieved on 13th October, 2020 from:
<http://www.kara.or.ke/Private%20Security%20Regulation%20Act%2013%20of%2016.pdf>

for Interior was categorical that, “only private security providers who have been security vetted and cleared will be considered for licensing by March 31, 2020,”²¹¹

The sector has enjoyed rapid expansion across the nation in recent times. It is a substantial actor in the country’s security architecture as noted by a former member of the bench, Philip Ransley at the conclusion of an exercise in which he led a team working on how to reform the police. He noted that within a broader definition of policing, the sector contributed by providing service majorly in watching over properties, cash-in-transit, responding to distress calls, investigative assignments, VIP protection among other.

In their article on the relationship between the police and the private sector, Sarre and Prenzler point out that unlike public entities, the public good is not the motivation for their activities as they are in business. This therefore means that their focus is on their customer consistent with the saying ‘he who pays the piper call the tune.’ Though they acknowledge that the sector does indeed make a contribution to general security, they nonetheless observe that it is those who pay who are able to enjoy these services while those who do not are left disproportionately exposed. However, this should not be blamed on them as their services merely seek to plug a gap left by the government security apparatus. Recognising the pivotal role, the private security plays and the fact that it is here to stay, they argue for a symbiotic relationship with the police that recognises their constitutional and legal mandate on security matters while at the same

²¹¹ Muriuki M. (2019). Citizen Digital. Retrieved on 13th October, 2020 from: <https://citizentv.co.ke/news/govt-begins-vetting-of-all-private-security-firms-307304/>

time remaining cognisant of the role of private sector that would ultimately allow the police to focus more on fighting crime.²¹²

As noted above the private security sector has grown immensely in scope and power and has always been there even before the advent of formal policing in various forms. This growth in the sector is projected to grow even further. Currently, over a thousand companies with different focus areas are in operation. These are able to employ over half a million Kenyans accruing over Ksh. 300b every year. The sector is to be found everywhere in the country and is the first port of call for many people as well as businesses.²¹³

In Kenya, increased crime and the deterioration in state capabilities to deliver services coupled with a corrupted system especially in the period 1980-1990 led to an ever-enlarging non-state security sector. It was also at this time that the Breton Woods institutions rolled out the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPS), which triggered a drastic decline in public sector spending. Due to the fading capacity of the state to offer its people opportunities, individuals found themselves needing to protect themselves. This decreased government spending spread also to the defence sector, thereby exposing people to many dangers. Corruption and mismanagement of public funds, however, persisted unabated, thereby exacerbating the situation. This state of affairs created fertile grounds for crime, thus providing an opportunity for private protection, organization of diverse group to keep watch over communities some of which mutated to vigilantes. Considering that most organised non-state is a corporation; only financially able citizens are able to hire these services. Conversely, both the poor and

²¹² Sarre, R. and Prenzler (2000). The relationship between police and private security: models and future directions, *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*. 24(1) pp. 91-113

²¹³ Nkaari, M. (2018). New Era for Private Security Firms. Retrieved on 13th October, 2020 from: <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/commentary/article/2001294543/the-new-private-security-regulatory-regime-a-catalyst-for-industry-transformation>

the homeless, the slum dwellers and the unemployed remain vulnerable to both crime as perpetrators and victims.²¹⁴

The rise in individual prosperity an attendant increase in the number of fenced-in residential area has, according to Prenzler and Stenning, witnessed a concomitant increase in the number of non-state security entities which play a critical role in securing these areas.²¹⁵

As Abrahamsen and William have pointed out, non-state entities primarily supplement police efforts in protection of business corporations and individual citizens. These entities enjoy high visibility in the entire world in their protection duties. Additionally, they consult for global companies and the diplomatic corps on threats, risks and other issues on their properties. They also secure sports stadia, aviation facilities, petroleum supply chains and financial establishments.²¹⁶

The increase in the use of PSC services can be related, in a debate, to the security needs of the different sectors of Kenyan society. Unfortunately, there is currently no or limited literature available in this regard, as academics and other researchers have completely ignored PSCs as subjects worthy of scholarly inquiry.²¹⁷ Krahmann's claim that the success of PSCs, as shown by the growth in the turnover of the industry, has shown that people and businesses are not only willing to tolerate private use for individual safety,

²¹⁴ Abrahamsen, R. and Williams, M. C. (2005), *“Globalization of Private Security Country Report: Kenya”*, Report prepared for The Department of International Politics, University of Wales.

²¹⁵ Prenzler, C., & Stenning, P. (2009). “Private Security: Implications for Social Control”. *Social Problems*, Vol.30 (5), pp.493–506.

²¹⁶ Abrahamsen, R. & Williams, M. (2007). *Securing the city: Private security companies and non-state authority in global governance*, International relations.

²¹⁷ Simelane, H.S. (2007). *The State, security dilemma and development of the private security sector in Swaziland*. In: Gumedze, S.(ed.) *Private security in Africa: Manifestation, Challenges and Regulation*. Nairobi, Kenya

but also that they respond positively to the opportunity to take care of their own security is very right in the Kenyan situation.²¹⁸

In Kenya, the provision of various security products by different organizations and individuals with monetary considerations as opposed to security provided by government or government agencies is considered to be private security. It is thus a private good, rather than a public good.²¹⁹ This means that the sector arises from the need to resolve the gaps resulting from the government's inability to protect everybody using established machinery, including the police, intelligence and defense forces. The sector is a major player in the labor market and has a presence throughout the world despite its greater prominence in cities and urban centres. Its product range is wide, including property watches, cash escorts, and sporting and cultural events.²²⁰

4.2 National Security Management in Rwanda

The period following Rwanda's independence period was characterized by recurring conflict among the countries two major ethnic communities arising from contestations on government authority. The most macabre of these happened in 1994 where 800,000 Tutsi minority and the moderate Hutus, were killed in three months. This was caused by the shooting down of a plane carrying then Rwandan President Juvinal Habyarimana as well as the President of Burundi, Cyprien Ntaryamira shortly after the plane was cleared for landing at Kigali airport on April 6 1994.²²¹

²¹⁸ Krahmann, E. (2009). *Private security companies and the state monopoly on violence: A case study of norm change?* Frankfurt.

²¹⁹ Safer World (2008), "*Implementing Community Policing in Kenya*", Nairobi, Kenya. February 2008.

²²⁰ Wairagu, F. Kamenju, J. and Singo M. (2004), "*Private Security in Kenya*", Nairobi: Security Research and Information Centre.

²²¹ Sellstrom T. et al. (1998). *The International Response to Conflict and Genocide: Lessons from the Rwanda Experience*. (The Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala) p 51 Retrieved on 13th October, 2020 from: <https://www.oecd.org/countries/rwanda/50189653.pdf>

Before the mass killings, the Agreement in Arusha, Tanzania in 1993 bringing together Rwandan State and Rebels brought to an end the 3-year internal violent conflict ushering in the restructuring of the protection regime for the country by combining state operatives and rebel government security forces and rebel formations.²²² Subsequent to this fusion, the state embarked on the transformation and professionalization of law enforcement, intelligence and the defence forces. Focus has been put on the training of human rights security staff and community engagement programmes. The government has prioritized the justice system in order to resolve law and order problems. This work was short-lived as it was interrupted by the outbreak of mass killings in 1994, crippling main elements of the social order in Rwanda, its manpower, organizations and community solidity. These events impinged on plans to secure the country after the macabre killings. Consequently, the subsequent transitional governmental arrangements encountered headwinds in their efforts to build state structures, maintain stability and tranquility in society, establish functioning government structures and spur production activities.

After he was installed in 2000, the current president put the country on a course to craft a new mother law. This was inaugurated in 2003. It was intended that the Constitution would be the foundation upon which the state would be built and it would also be used to firm up Rwanda's democracy ideals and credentials. An economic blueprint targeting year 2020 was also authored together with other plans on how to increase wealth. Article 158 of the Constitution provides for national defense and security bodies such as the police, the military and the intelligence. One of the most common threads in security management in Rwanda is the concept of local solutions to local problems. The

²²² The Republic of Rwanda, Arusha Accords 1993.

Constitution under Art 11 expects 'Rwandans, on the basis of their principles, to set up home-grown structures to deal with issues that concern them.'²²³

4.2.1 Security Challenges and their Mitigation in Rwanda

One of the biggest security challenges in Rwanda was the 1994 genocide. Consequently, this event has continued to shape Rwanda's view of security. Security is therefore a priority. Rwanda has used a hybrid model of security to mitigate its challenges. The model is a mixture of "a modern professional and disciplined police force with the informal social control mechanisms of popular justice."²²⁴ The model arose out of the experiences of the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) in which they realised early on that they needed to win "the hearts and minds" of the local people if they hoped to win. Since they were so few and not properly equipped, they relied on the people for food, intelligence as well as cover about the enemy's whereabouts. Without this support, they would not have succeeded. This marked their induction into community policing or the idea that local people must be incorporated in decision-making, security and justice mechanisms.²²⁵ It is for this reason that Defence Minister Kabareba has stated that crafting, execution, management of any government strategy shall consider past Rwanda genocide. Police forces shall ensure that it shall no happen again. Nationally, all priorities revolve around achieving this and countering anything that could give rise to genocide patterns.²²⁶

²²³ Constitution of Rwanda (2003) as amended. Accessed on 14th October, 2020 from: https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Rwanda_2015.pdf?lang=en

²²⁴ Baker B. (2007). Reconstructing a Policing System Out of the Ashes: Rwanda's Solution. *An International Journal of Research and Policy Volume 17, 2007 - Issue 4*

²²⁵ Ibid

²²⁶ Defence Minister's Remarks (General J. Kabarebe), at National University of Rwanda while addressing community members on the occasion of marking 1994 Genocide.

Rwanda's security challenges include general crime, drug-related crimes, environmental hazards, drug-related crimes, civil unrest, terrorism threats, road traffic accidents, cyber insecurity and restive neighbours especially DRC Congo among others. Rwanda has been more than equal to the challenge and has transformed itself in less than two decades. The country has recorded remarkable reconstruction since the genocide for example lifting more than one million people from poverty from 2006 to 2012, recording huge improvements in health care and innovation, successfully addressing gender imbalance in leadership with the most number of women in the national assembly in the world among other achievement.²²⁷ Rwanda has also been hailed for its innovative judicial plan aimed at punishing the perpetrators of the macabre mass killings. This innovative court system (*Gacaca*) focused on trying to make people accountable, to entrench the rule of law and to hasten prosecution. The system was modelled upon an age-old cultural method through which dispute were resolved. This is a local mechanism that predated colonialism. Although *Gacaca* officially finished its work almost eight years ago, it can be remembered for years to come because of its extraordinary accomplishments including 2 million hearings all done inside a seven-year period, exceeding the expectations of Rwandans, East Africans and the world.²²⁸ In spite of its widely-acknowledge success, critics argue that the system in some cases was inclined to strengthen ethnic chasms and that it is often viewed as a victor's justice.²²⁹

²²⁷ Grant M. (2015). Quiet Insecurity and Quiet Agency in Post-Genocide Rwanda. *Etnofoor*, Vol. 27, No. 2, Security pp. 15-36 (Stichting Etnofoor) Retrieved on 13th October 2020 from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43656017>

²²⁸ Rubasha H. and Bizumuremyi I. (2012). Lessons from Rwanda's National and International Transitional Justice: The Case to Improve Regional and International Perspectives of Justice. Pater retrieved on 14th October, 2020 from: <https://asf.bc/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/Rwanda-Situation-Analysis.pdf>

²²⁹ Longmann T. (2009). An assessment of Gacaca Courts in Rwanda: Peace Review. *A journal of Social Justice* p304-305 (Routledge. Accessed on 14 October 20202 from <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/cper20>

4.2.2 Community Based Security Initiatives

As noted above, Rwanda adopted community-based security approach to the management of security and adopted the mindset of self-help during the liberation struggle and even after the new administration took over after the end of the genocide. The inaugural Police boss in re-engineered Rwanda government when addressing the issue of policing alluded to this fact when he said that;

“the model chosen was the community-building approach which emphasized social as opposed to legal action thus recognising informal social control mechanisms, in addition to modern policing, as a critical component of restoring and maintaining social order.”²³⁰

4.2.3 Community Policing in Rwanda

Rwanda has incorporated a model designed to secure the community that integrates members of the public. The mother law and police legislation have made the requisite provisions to make this possible.²³¹ Rwanda’s economic blueprint (Vision 2020) embraces decentralisation as one of its guiding principles.²³²

Apart from all the other structures that give life blood to the idea of community policing, the youth are organized in anti-crime clubs in schools, the establishment of a proposal encompasses various areas for criticism from the general public, the establishment of additional telephone hotlines for police and people in general. School services were also sharpened, and five radio television programs were transmitted on the city police. The preparation of coaches (ToTs) for 900 CPCs was introduced in March 2010 at the Nkumba Training Center. These included delegates from the clergy

²³⁰ Op cit Baker p 3

²³¹ Republic of Rwanda (2005). Ministry of Internal Affairs, Rwanda National Police. Police Training School, Gishari, *Community Policing Training Manual* p19-20

²³² Ibid p.20

and other religious groupings. Shows for young people were also staged in national stadia.²³³

Neighborhood Watch is another very common method of community policing. Neighborhood Watch typically includes community members getting together in small groups in a local residence to exchange information on local crime problems, share crime reduction measures, and create neighborhood monitoring and crime reporting plans. Initial Neighborhood Watch meetings are often organized by crime prevention officers from a local police department or community organization. Subsequent meetings involve presentations and sessions of property target hardening and the establishment of phone trees for surveillance and support. Members also discuss feelings and perceptions of local crime problems and develop solutions to deal with them.²³⁴ Rwanda Community police also stage 'town hall' style meetings that allow knowledge sharing and identification, review of issues with a view to ranking them in the order of priority for action.

Community police work in Rwanda requires autonomous police work and broadened public participation. The Implementation of Community Policing Committees (CPCs) has given rise to patriotism and deference on the part of people as a result of including them in the defense of their areas and improved their sense of security. It has also contributed to constructive prevention of crime through improved collaboration between residents and the police, making the police more visible and more successful. CPCs working with former commercial sex workers have made it easier for them to leave their business and be rehabilitated and reintegrated into the community. They became a reliable source of criminal intelligence and helped to indict them. Citizens

²³³ Police Training School (P.T.S) Gishari, Community Policing, Training manual, p.26, (un published)

²³⁴ Trojanowicz, R., & Bucqueroux, B. (2010). Community policing. *A contemporary perspective* (Cincinnati, Anderson Publishing Co., 2010).

have created a great deal of trust with the police, as attested by the Rwanda Governance Scorecard 2014, which shows that 94 per cent of the population trust the Rwandan National Police. In support of these reports, the 2015 Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG) ranked Rwanda number one out of 54 countries with a score of 85.1 per cent on the Reliability of Police Services metric in the Personal Safety category.²³⁵

4.2.4 Private Security in Rwanda

Abrahamsen argues that it is near impossible to estimate how many security entities operate in Rwanda. Additionally, avers that approximately one thousand to two thousand security entities operate in Rwanda with a combined workforce of more than one thousand people even though some have not sought legal recognition as required. Some security entities are exclusively owned by Rwandans while other are international such as G4S. The majority of entities of with security products are having their staff professionally trained and have invested in ICT to improve tracking, radio communication as well as armored vehicles to boost their products. The increase in the number of international organisations and the expansion of the commercial sector has proved a boon for private security. This is also partly because the Rwandan Police are frequently stretched out because of their numbers.²³⁶ Parliament has legislated on this sector and put out requirements that the companies must fulfil to be registered. Since the private firms do not use firearms, they frequently need to partner with the police on a need basis.²³⁷

²³⁵2018 Ibrahim Index of African Governance. Retrieved on 14th October, 2020 from: <https://mo.ibrahim.foundation/news/2018/2018-ibrahim-index-african-governance-reading-results>

²³⁶ Abraham, M. Francis (2012), *Modern Sociological Theory: An Introduction*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press

²³⁷ Keku, P and T. Akingbade (2013). *Industrial Security in Rwanda*. Challenges and Prospects for the 21st Century, Kigali

The existence of a huge pool of unemployed people in the labour market means there is a ready pool of potential workers for the sector. Many workers in the sector therefore have formal schooling with a number having gone beyond secondary school. However, the remuneration is low and generally workers do not get what they deserve and the condition of work can do with a bit of improvement. There are no set remuneration levels and companies pay depending on their particular circumstances meaning some people get less pay for the work.

4.2.5 Social, Political and Economic Comparisons

Kenya and Rwanda are situated East of Africa where the East African Community enjoys their membership. A total of approximately 12.7million (2020 estimates) people inhabit Rwanda in an area of 26, 338sq km while Kenya has a population of over 47 million (2019 Census) occupying 580,367sq km. Government in the two countries operate a presidential system and a bicameral parliament, however Kenya does not have a prime minister as in Rwanda. While Kenya has 45 ethnic communities, Rwanda has only 3. Kinyarwanda (93%), French and English are the official languages while English and Swahili are the official languages in Kenya. Kenya is the economic hub in the region with growth of about 5% on average and with a GDP purchasing power parity of \$163.7billion compared to Rwanda's \$24.68billion GDP (purchasing power parity). GDP per capita is however not much different with Kenya having \$3,500 and Rwanda having \$2,100.²³⁸ Kenya was recently ranked as a second world economy. Kenya was ranked the 95th (out of 140) most competitive country globally in the 2019 Global Competitiveness Report while Rwanda was ranked at position 100.²³⁹Rwanda

²³⁸ CIA. The World Fact Book. Retrieved on 14th October 2020 from; <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rw.html>

²³⁹ World Economic Forum (2018). *Global Competitiveness Report*. Retrieved on 14th October 2020 from: <https://tradingeconomics.com/kenya/competitiveness-rank>

outperforms Kenya in many areas, for example, it is ranked at position 38, compared to Kenya's 56 in the World Bank's World Ease of Doing Business Report, 2020.²⁴⁰ It is scored 83% compared to Kenya's 70% in the Gallup 2018 Global Law and Order rankings.²⁴¹

4.3 Data Analysis

4.3.1 Secondary Data

Globally, numerous police-services have now embraced policing that integrates the community into its operations as a measure towards overcoming inherent shortcomings domiciled in a purely reactive law enforcement strategy.²⁴² Law enforcement personnel rely heavily on public approval for the maintenance of their legitimacy and need to persuade the public to seek their consent to be governed.²⁴³ The safety of one's person and security of one's property are widely viewed as basic human rights and are essential to the community's overall quality of life.²⁴⁴ Community policing has gained momentum in the last three decades as policy and community leaders search for more effective ways to promote public safety and to enhance the quality of life in their neighborhoods.²⁴⁵ When the citizens feel reasonably safe, economic development, government finance, public education, stable housing, and basic services get easy to provide as security and safety remain a foundation for development.

²⁴⁰ The World Bank. Doing Business 2020. Retrieved on 14th October, 2020 from: <https://www.doingbusiness.org/en/rankings?region=sub-saharan-africa>

²⁴¹ Gallup (2018). Global Law and Order. Retrieved on 14th October, 2020 from: <https://www.gallup.com/analytics/267869/gallup-global-law-order-report-2019.aspx>

²⁴² Department for International Development (2010). *Security, Justice and Growth*. British Council.

²⁴³ Sherman, L. W. (2001). *Consent of the Governed: Police, Democracy and Diversity*. In Policing Security and Democracy. Eds. Amir, M. & Einstein, S. Office of International Criminal Justice: Huntsville, Texas: pp.17-32.

²⁴⁴ Plant, J. B. & Scott, M. S. (2009). *Effective Policing and Crime Prevention: A Problem-Oriented Guide for Mayors, City Managers, and County Executives*, pp.35.

²⁴⁵ Bureau of Justice Assistance (1994). *Understanding Community Policing: A framework for Action*. Monograph NCJ 148457. Response Centre 633 Indiana Avenue, NW: Washington, pp.53.

In Africa, security sector reforms shape an innovation that is implemented to reconfigure the security architecture of countries with a view to improving security of life and property in transparent, accountable manner consistent with the rule of law.²⁴⁶ Most Commonwealth countries continue to operate in a difficult and dynamic environment requiring innovative approaches on securing communities.²⁴⁷ Commonwealth countries, including Kenya, have subsequently embraced a new approach that puts joint police/public frameworks at the centre of law enforcement.²⁴⁸

Old-style law enforcement approach tended to focus exclusively law enforcement personnel as guarantors of public order, thus ignoring the critical other members of the public played. With time a paradox evolved when police gradually failed to maintain social order and were hence blamed for their inefficiency. Yet as Reiner and other scholars and practitioners in police affairs have been pointed, successful policing is not really exclusively done by the police.²⁴⁹ Indeed the history of police work in the UK indicates success of the police emanated from consideration of the wider dimensions of policing that included community involvement in tackling crime. Scholars posit that law enforcement alone cannot create and maintain social order.²⁵⁰

4.3.2 Primary Data

This section presents a comparative analysis of primary data for both Kenya and Rwanda in descriptive and inferential statistics. The section is organized into

²⁴⁶ Jonyo, F. & Buchere, P. B. (2011). *The Changing Nature of Security and Intelligence in Africa. A Theoretical Perspective, Challenges and Reforms*. Nairobi, Azinger Limited, pp.32-35.

²⁴⁷ Fleming, J. (2005). *Working Together: Neighborhood watch, Reassurance Policing and the Potential Partnership in Trends and Issues in crime and criminal justice in Australian Institute of Criminology*, pp.46.

²⁴⁸ Republic of Kenya (2015). *Draft Guidelines for Implementation of Community Policing –Nyumba Kumi: Usalama Wa Msingi*. Nairobi: Government Printer, pp.92-112.

²⁴⁹ Reiner Robert, *The Politics of the Police*, 3rd ed, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp.26-28.

²⁵⁰ Roger D. and Geoffrey A. (1993) (eds). *Critical Issues in Policing, Contemporary Reading*. p 367 (Miami, Waveland Press Inc.)

subsections including response rate, background information, private security, community policing, vigilante groups, and national security management. Other subsections include other security issues, as well as inferential statistics.

4.3.2.1 Response Rate

Table 4.1: Response Rate

	Kenya		Rwanda		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Response	71	82.6%	58	67.4%	129	75.0%
No response	15	17.4%	28	32.6%	43	25.0%
Total	86	100.0%	86	100.0%	172	100.0%

The researcher administered 172 questionnaires to community members drawn from police service, national administration and *Nyumba Kumi* initiatives from both Kenya and Rwanda. Those that were adequately filled and returned were 71 (in Kenya) and 58 (in Rwanda) making a total of 129 responses. This translates into an average proportion of response of 75.0% illustrated through Table 4.1. Maria (2018) recommends a response rate of at least 70 percent which is highly acceptable for a face-to-face survey. Therefore, an overall response rate of 75.0% was considered adequate to generalize findings of this study.

4.3.2.2 Background Information

Background information was based on distribution of respondents by their gender (Figure 4.1), age (Figure 4.2), and their level of education (Figure 4.3). Also analyzed was whether the respondent is a member of any community-based security initiative in their respective country (Figure 4.4).

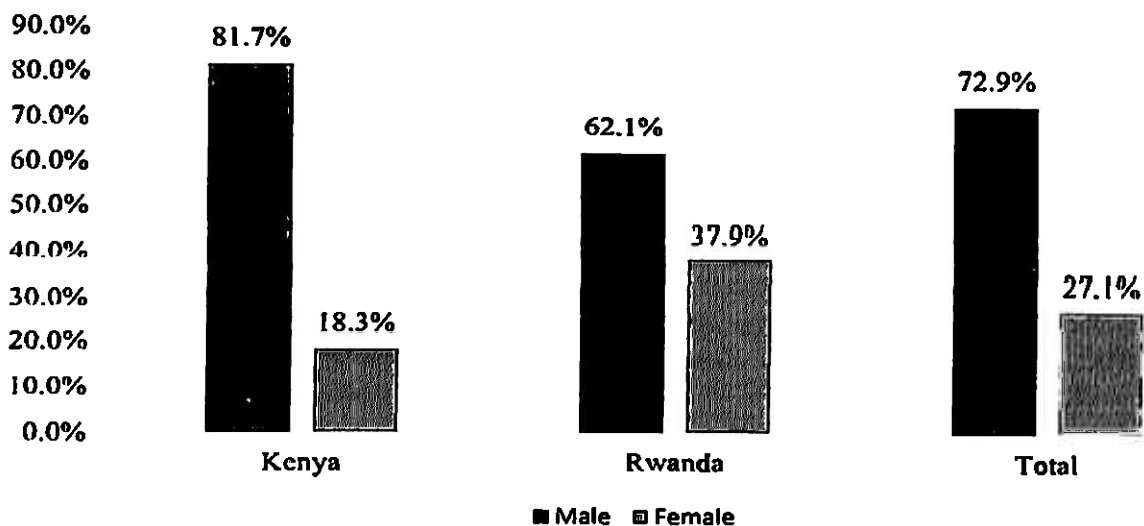


Figure 4.1: Gender of the respondent

As shown in Figure 4.1, the male population (72.9%) in both countries was larger than that of their female counterparts (27.1%). There was, nonetheless, higher representation of male respondents in Kenya (81.7%) compared to Rwanda (62.1%). This implies that majority of those involved in national security management for both countries are male. This distribution is expected given that in most communities, the security roles are more partaken by male as compared to female.

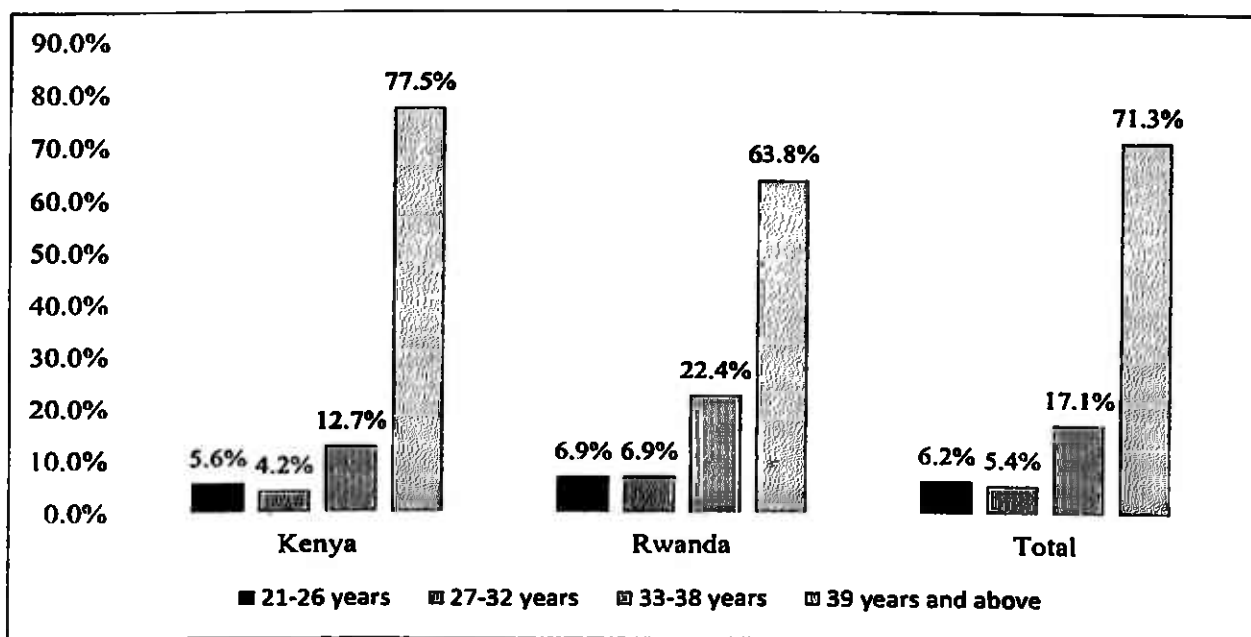


Figure 4.2: Age of the respondent

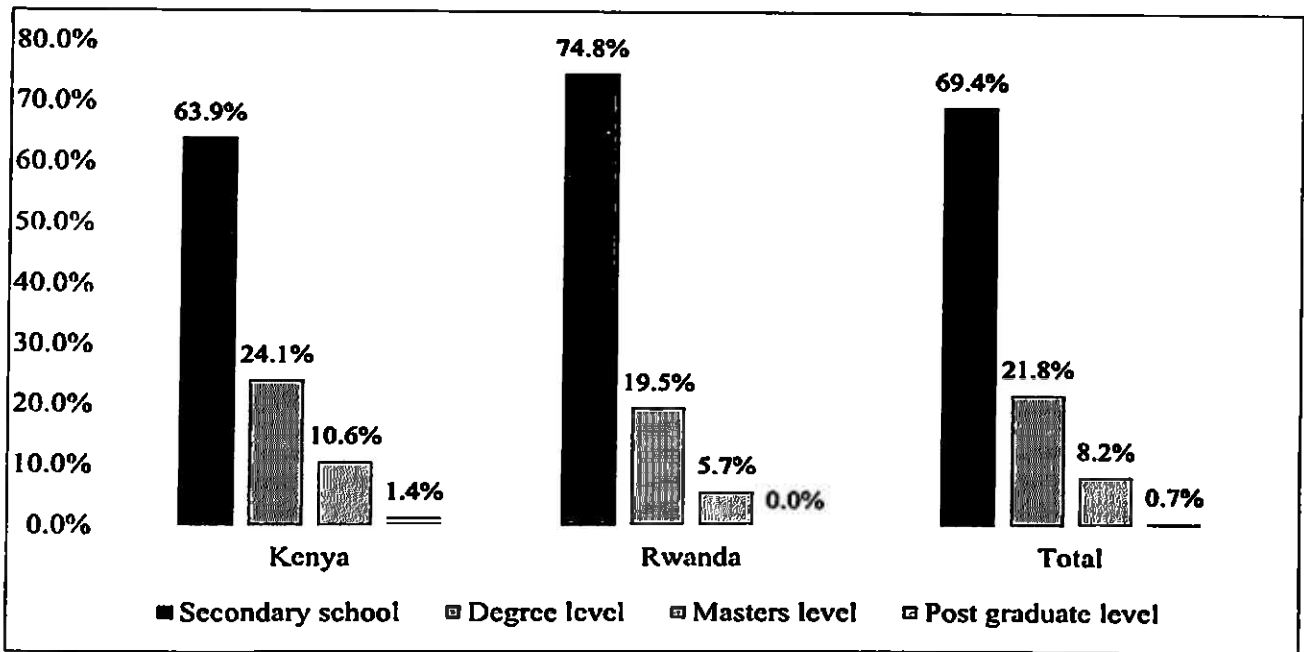


Figure 4.3: Education level of the respondent

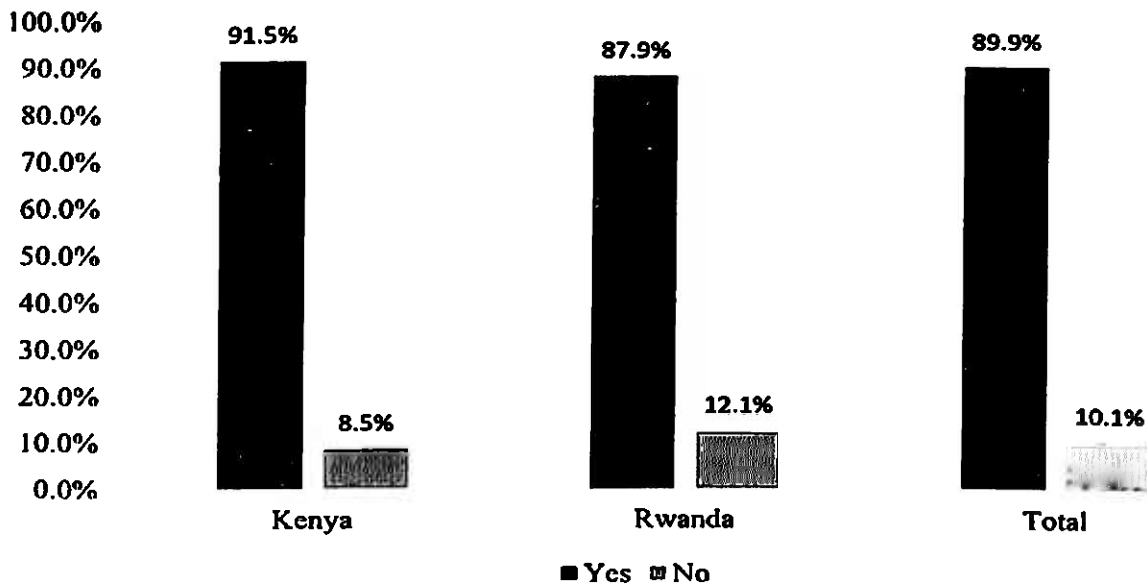


Figure 4.4: Whether the respondent is a member of any community-based security initiative in their respective country

4.3.2.3 Private Security

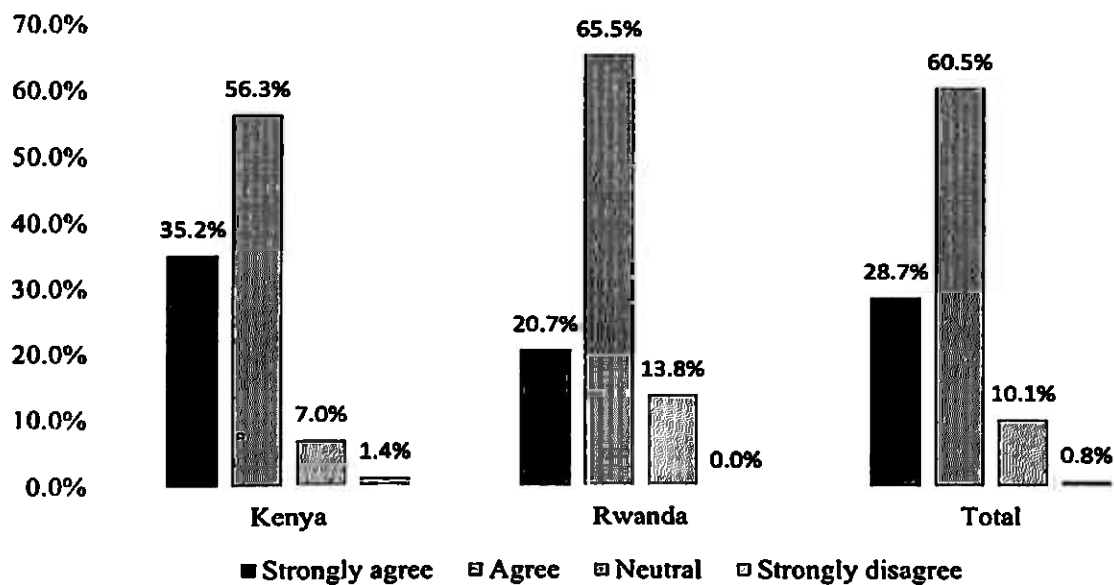


Figure 4.5: Private security initiatives have helped in curbing crime in the respondent's respective country

4.3.2.4 Community Policing

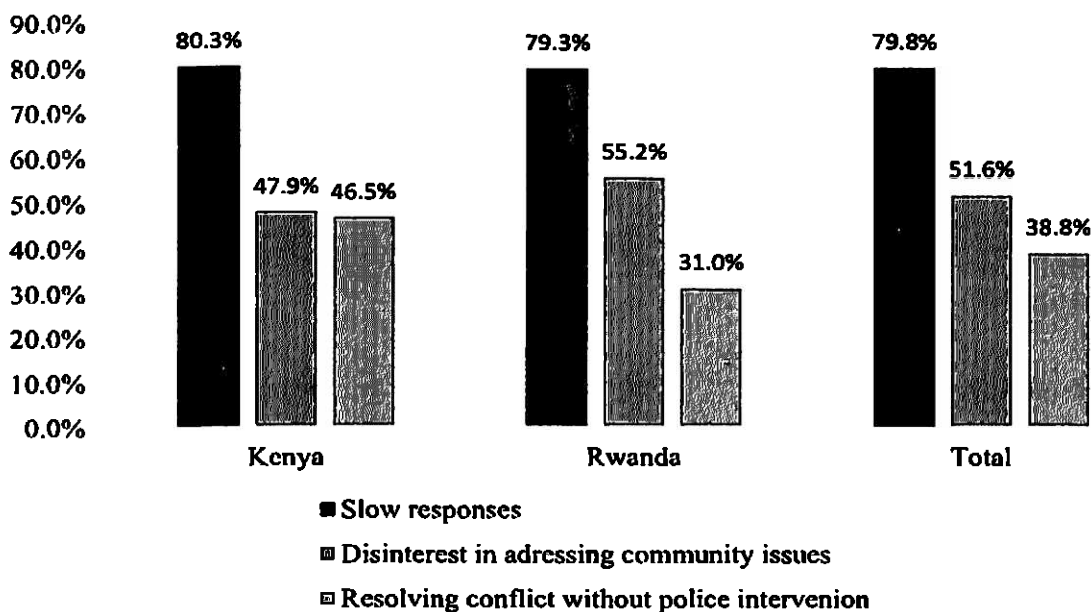


Figure 4.6: Challenges encountered by the community members relative to police and community relationships

As shown in Figure 4.6, the most common challenge in the respondents' area of study (Kenya and Rwanda), is slow responses (79.8%). Disinterest in addressing community issues (51.6%) follows, while resolving conflict without police intervention (38.8%) is last. This study shows us that the relationships between the community members and the police is not well established due to the poor response of the police once the members of the community call out for help. Should they improve on the responses, then they would greatly help in national security management.

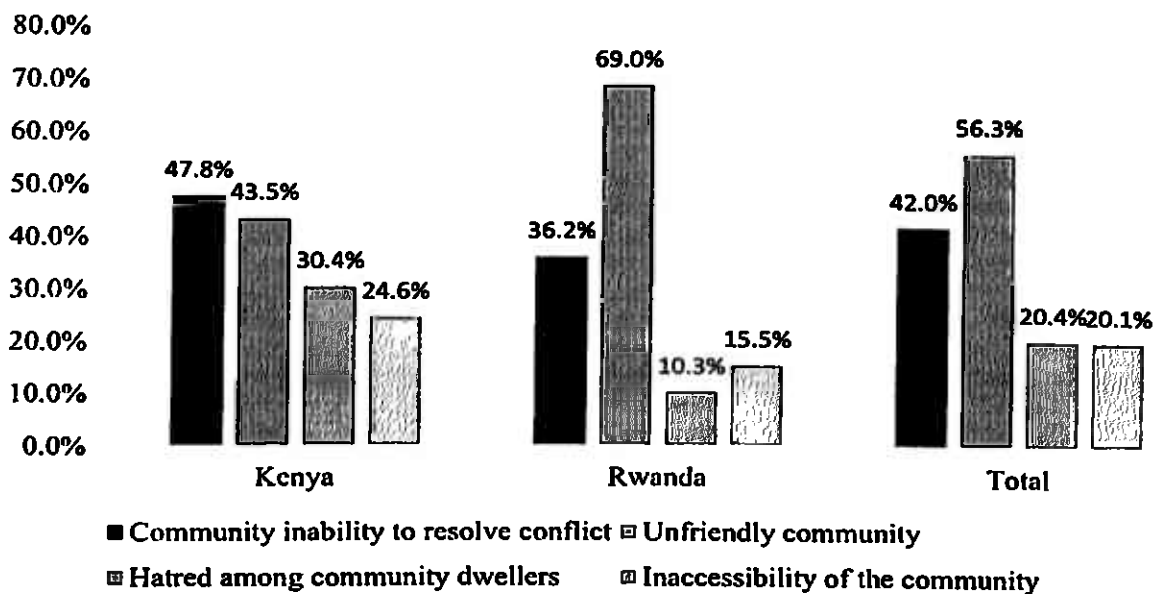


Figure 4.7: Reasons for the challenges encountered by the community members relative to police and community relationships

As in figure 4.7, the leading challenge encountered by the community members relative to the police is unfriendly community (69.0%) in Rwanda, while that in Kenya is the community's inability to resolve conflicts (47.8%). These challenges affect both parties (the community and the police) therefore becoming a barrier of communication. These challenges lower the success of national security management

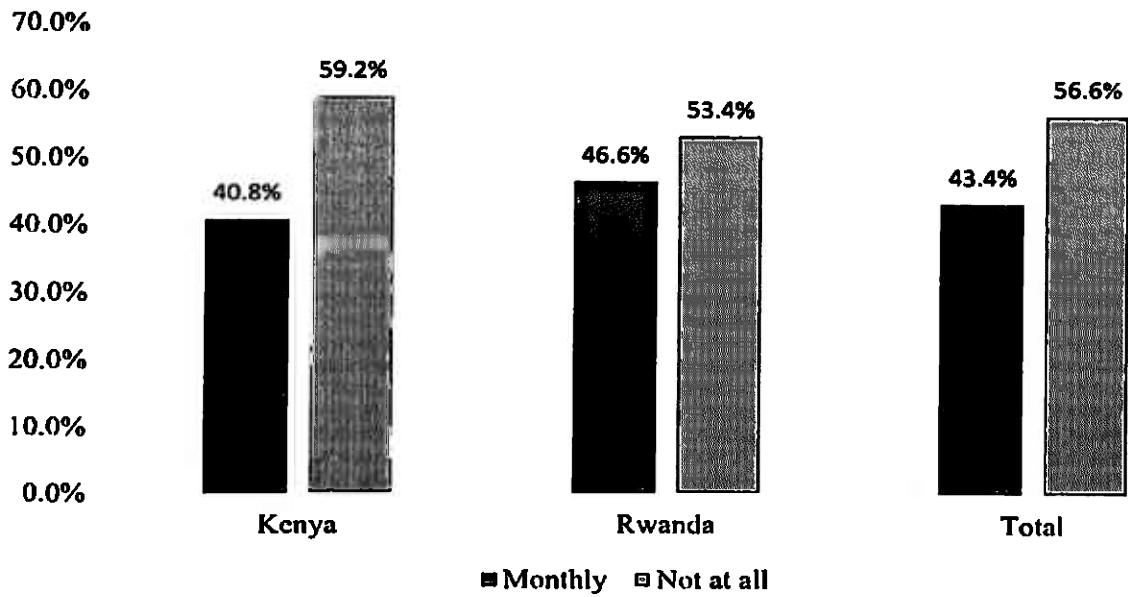


Figure 4.8: Frequency of community meetings with the police

From figure 4.8, community meetings with the police are not frequent. The total which does not meet up with the police for both Kenya and Rwanda are at 56.6%. This would justify that the relationship between the community members and the police is not well established and would not lead to the success of the national security management.

4.3.2.5 Vigilante groups

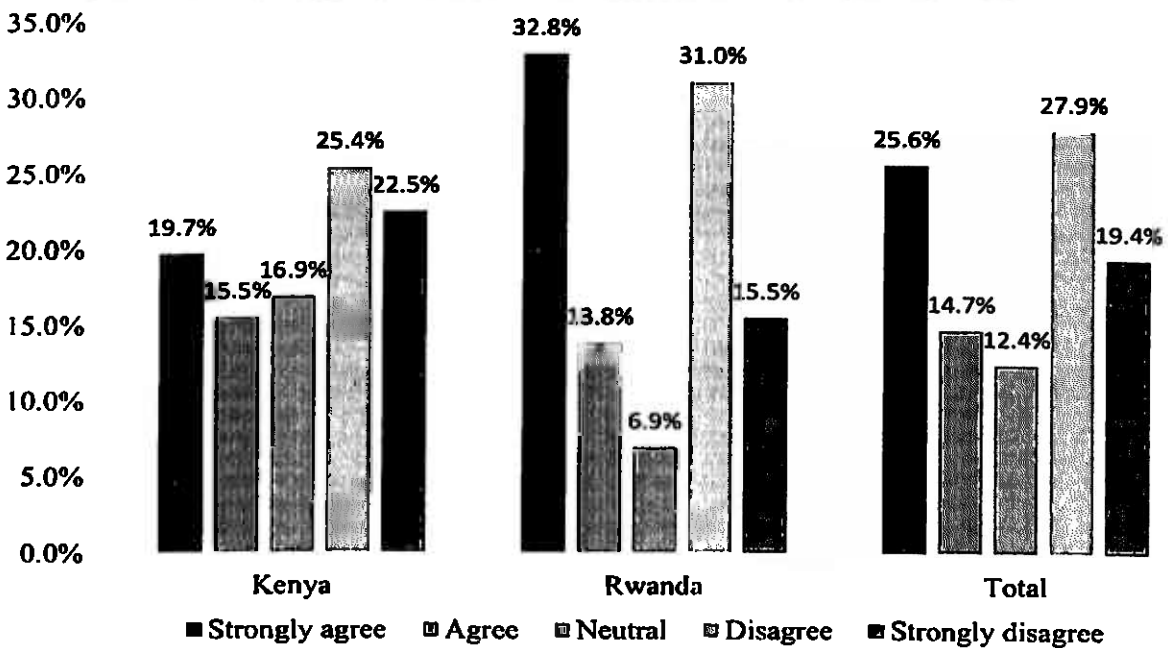


Figure 4.9: Respondent's opinion on whether vigilante groups have helped in curbing crime in their respective country

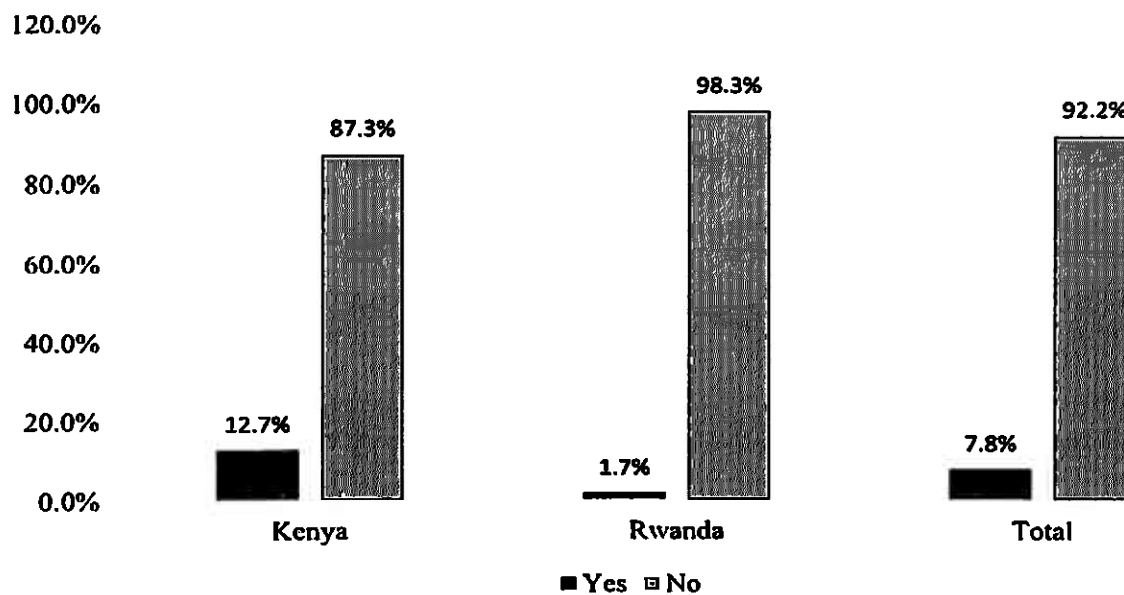


Figure 4.10: Presence of an active youth vigilante in the respondent's area

From figure 4.10, presence of an active youth vigilante in the countries where the case study was conducted is minimal.

4.3.2.6 National Security Management

Table 4.2: National Security Management

Category	Kenya (Mean)	Rwanda (Mean)	Overall (Mean)
Defence from internally and externally-generated threats to the country's borders and self-determination and control	4.23	4.48	4.36
Securing the people in the country from threats emanating from within or without	3.92	4.10	4.01
Upholding of people's right and freedoms	3.88	3.65	3.77
Promoting ownership of properties	4.08	4.11	4.10
Existence of peaceful environment	3.74	4.23	3.99

From the results for Kenya, safety from dangers generated from within or without has been highly realized (mean = 4.23). Other factors included security from threats coming from within or without the borders to the people inside Kenyan territory (mean = 3.92), upholding of people's right and freedoms (mean = 3.88), promoting ownership of properties (mean = 4.08), and existence of peaceful environment (mean = 3.74). When this level is compared to that of Rwanda, the success for the latter is higher with mean respective mean being 4.48, 4.10, 3.65, 4.11, and 4.23 for defense from risk and harm that comes from within or without, the country's security of national borders and self-rule and control, upholding of people's right and freedoms, promoting ownership of properties, and existence of peaceful environment.

4.3.2.7 Inferential Statistics

Inferential statistics were based on variable relationship statistics as given by correlation analysis, coefficient of determination, analysis of variance and regression coefficients.

a) Analysis of the Correlation

In order to find out the linear association amongst each variable against another, correlation techniques were deployed. This is depicted through Tables 4.3 and 4.4. Pearson Product Coefficients of association for these relationships were derived at 95% confidence level, 2-tail test.

Table 4.3: Correlation analysis (Kenya)

		Private security	Community policing	Vigilantism	Success of national security management
Private security	Pearson Correlation	1.00	-.248*	.332**	.314**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0.04	0.01	0.01
	N	71	71	71	71
Community policing	Pearson Correlation	-.248*	1.00	-.392**	.604**
	Sig (2 tail)	0.04		0.00	0.00
	N	71	71	71	71
Vigilantism	Pearsons Association (Correlation)	.332**	-.392**	1.00	0.16
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.01	0.00		0.08
	N	71	71	71	71
Success of national security management	Pearson Correlation	.314**	.604**	0.16	1.00
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.01	0.00	0.08	
	N	71	71	71	71
Nb; *Association(correlation) is significant at the 0 .005 level (2—tailed)					
Nb; *Association (correlation) is significant at the 0 .01 level(2—tailed)					

Most of the variables were found to be positively correlating to each other. Those that were positively correlated included private security versus vigilantism (.332**), private security versus success of national security management (.314**), community policing versus success of national security management (.604**), and vigilantism success of national security management (0.16). There was negative correlation between community policing and private security (-.248*) as well as vigilantism and private security (-.392).

Table 4.4: Correlation analysis (Rwanda)

		Private security	Community policing	Vigilantism	Success of national security management
Private security	Pearson Correlation	1.00	.382**	.468**	.654**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0.00	0.00	0.00
	N	58.00	58.00	58.00	58.00
Community policing	Pearson Correlation	.382**	1.00	.759**	.891**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.00		0.00	0.00
	N	58	58	58	58
Vigilantism	Pearson Correlation	.468**	.759**	1.00	.792**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.00	0.00		0.00
	N	58	58	58	58
Success of national security management	Pearson Correlation	.654**	.891**	.792**	1.00
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.00	0.00	0.00	
	N	58	58	58	58
Nb; *Association(correlation) is significant at the 0 .05 level (2—tailed)					
Nb; **Association(correlation) is significant at the 0 .05 level (2—tailed)					

All variables were found to be positively correlating to each other. Success of national security management had a correlation of .654**, .891**, .792** for private security, community policing, and vigilantism respectively. All correlations were significant (p-Value<0.05)

b) Coefficient of Determination

The statistical measure the study used that shows how close the data are to the fitted line of regression line is called coefficient of determination (R-squared). A figure of 100% depicts a model that explains all the variability of the response data around its

mean. In this study, Coefficient of determination was used to determine the extent to which explanatory variables (predictors) explained any change in the predicted variable. That is, the proportion of change in success of national security management that is explained by community-based security initiatives.

Table 4.5: Coefficient of Determination

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
Kenya	0.83	0.70	0.68	0.23
Rwanda	0.96	0.92	0.91	0.18
Total	0.93	0.86	0.86	0.23
a. Predictors: (Constant), Vigilantism, Private security, Community policing				
b. Dependent Variable: Success of national security management				

Results in Table 4.5 show an R-Square of 0.70, 0.92, and 0.86 for Kenya, Rwanda, and the aggregate respectively with the standard error of estimate being 0.23, 0.18, 0.23. This implies that community-based security initiatives (through vigilantism, private security, community policing) explains changes in success in national security management up to 70 percent in Kenya, 92 percent in Rwanda with average being 86 percent. Additionally, this implies that a higher proportion of success in national security management in Kenya is explained by community-based security initiatives.

c) Analysis of Variance

Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) makes use of the p-value in the ANOVA output to determine whether the differences between some of the means are statistically significant. Thus, it determines whether any of the differences between the means are statistically significant, compare the p-value to the significance level to assess the null hypothesis. The null hypothesis states that the population means are all equal. Usually,

a significance level (denoted as α or alpha) of 0.05 works well. A significance level of 0.05 indicates a 5% risk of concluding that a difference exists when there is no actual difference. $P\text{-value} \leq \alpha$: The differences between some of the means are statistically significant. If the p-value is less than or equal to the significance level, the researcher rejects the null hypothesis and concludes that not all of population means are equal. For this study, analysis of variance (ANOVA) was generated to determine the spread of the mean of variables and in particular spread between variables and spread within data.

Table 4.6 Analysis of Variance

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig
Kenya	Regression	8.42	3	2.81	51.12	.000a
	Residual	3.68	67	0.06		
	Total	12.10	70			
Rwanda	Regression	18.11	3	6.04	194.47	.000a
	Residual	1.68	54	0.03		
	Total	19.78	57			
Total	Regression	43.48	3	14.49	263.30	.000a
	Residual	6.88	125	0.06		
	Total	50.36	128			
a. Predictors: (Constant), Vigilantism, Private security, Community policing						
b. Dependent Variable: Success of national security management						

As shown in Table 4.6, $F\text{-Calculated}(3, 67) = 51.12$ for Kenya, $F\text{-Calculated}(3, 54) = 194.47$ for Rwanda, and $F\text{-Calculated}(3, 125) = 263.30$ for overall success at 2-tail test and 95% confidence level. Results also show $p\text{-Value} = 0.000 < 0.05$ for each of the

three models. This confirms that community-based security initiatives significantly explain success in national security management.

d) Model coefficients

This was done to generate regression models as shown in Table 4.7

Table 4.7: Model Coefficients

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
Kenya	(Constant)	0.68	0.23		2.90	0.01
	Private security	0.22	0.04	0.41	5.61	0.00
	Community policing	0.42	0.04	0.85	11.44	0.00
	Vigilantism	0.13	0.03	0.36	4.74	0.00
Rwanda	(Constant)	0.81	0.19		4.37	0.00
	Private security	0.28	0.04	0.34	7.56	0.00
	Community policing	0.40	0.04	0.66	10.87	0.00
	Vigilantism	0.12	0.06	0.13	2.07	0.04
Total	(Constant)	0.43	0.13		3.20	0.00
	Private security	0.26	0.03	0.36	8.93	0.00
	Community policing	0.42	0.02	0.61	18.25	0.00
	Vigilantism	0.19	0.02	0.40	10.09	0.00

a. Dependent Variable: Success of national security management

For the overall model, as shown in Table 4.7, when all the predictors (that is private security, community policing, and vigilantism) are held constant, success in national security management would remain at 0.43. In addition, when private security increases by 1 unit, an additional 0.218 units would be achieved on success in national security management. The same case happens when community policing and vigilantism separately increase by 1 unit leading to increase in the success of national security management by 0.26, 0.42, and 0.19 respectively. All the predictors had p-Value < 0.05 at 95% confidence level implying that they were all individually significant in influencing success in national security management. This once more positions the three variables as significant predictors for success in national security management.

The models for Kenya and Rwanda can be summarized as follows:

$$Y = 0.68 + 0.22X_1 + 0.42X_2 + 0.13X_3 \dots\dots\dots \text{(Kenya)}$$

$$Y = 0.81 + 0.28X_1 + 0.40X_2 + 0.12X_3 \dots\dots\dots \text{(Rwanda)}$$

$$Y = 0.68 + 0.22X_1 + 0.42X_2 + 0.13X_3 \dots\dots\dots \text{(Overall)}$$

Where Y is the dependent variable (success in national security management), X_1 = private security, X_2 = community policing, X_3 = vigilantism. In summary, success in national security management will vary because the conditions under which community-based security initiatives are employed in a particular country.

4.4 Chapter Summary

The influence of security based and operated at the local level on the successful achievement of national security in the two subject countries was compared as well as contrasted in this chapter of the research. R-Square of 0.70, 0.92, and 0.86 for Kenya, Rwanda, and the aggregate respectively with the standard error of estimate being 0.23,

0.18, 0.23. This implies that community-based security initiatives are more effective in Rwanda compared to Kenya by at least 22 percent. The gap in the goodness of fit for regression model between the two countries could largely be explained by the challenges that two countries try to address. For instance, Rwanda adopted policing methodologies based at the local level to address the challenge of genocide that rocked the country in 1994 and thus they immediately made national security management as the priority²⁵¹.

In Kenya, in contrast, the community-based policing initiative were piloted almost a decade later (2003) to majorly address assorted security challenges including terrorism cyber insecurity, and organised criminal groups. Other challenges included money laundering, land and boundary disputes, intercommunal conflicts, negative ethnicity, drug trafficking, illicit brews and substance abuse, smuggling of contraband and counterfeit products among others. Generally, community-based policing initiatives explains a vast portion (86%) of any change in security management for both Kenya and Rwanda and allocating only 14 percent of the change to other variables not considered in this study.

Regarding the analytical models, findings confirm the significance of the community-based policing initiatives in explaining national security management. For the case of Kenya, when community-based security initiatives are maintained at zero, success in national security management will remain at 0.68 units (on a scale of up to 5 points). A unit increase in private security in Kenya would lead to an increase in success of national security management by 0.28 units. At the same time, a unit increase in

²⁵¹ Baker B. (2007). *Reconstructing a Policing System Out of the Ashes: Rwanda's Solution*. *An International Journal of Research and Policy* Volume 17, 2007 - Issue 4

community policing and vigilantism in Kenya would lead to an increase in success of national security management by 0.40 and 0.12 respectively.

For the Rwandan context, when community-based security initiatives are maintained at zero, success in national security management will remain at 0.81 units 0.68, which is smaller than that of Kenya. This implies that there is a small proportion of success in national security management that can be attributed to issues not considered in the current research compared to Kenya's case. A unit increase in private security in Rwanda would lead to an increase in success of national security management by 0.22 units. Concurrently, a unit rise in community policing and vigilantism in Rwanda would lead to an increase in success of national security management by 0.42 and 0.13 respectively.

In overall, community policing is one of the community-based initiatives that has led to success in national security management in both Kenya and Rwanda. given it has the highest variable coefficient. This effectiveness would be best explained by the fact that community policing creates an understanding between both police and the community that eventually generates trust in their neighbourhood. This trust ultimately places responsibilities on each of the two partners which is crucial for identification of needs and priorities, as well as developing an effective feedback system that is capable of solving the identified problems.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of Findings

In summarizing the findings, the study notes that the first objective was to study community-based security initiatives role in national security management globally. It was found that most countries in different regions have embraced various community-based security initiatives to coalesce citizen and law enforcement forces efforts in developing local solutions towards their security concerns. However, the initiative is least developed in the Nordic countries where crime incidence has traditionally been low. The contribution of these initiatives in curbing law-breaking activities, reducing safety problems and social disorders, especially in the third-world countries has been immense. They have also played a critical part in rooting out terrorism and money laundering in developed countries. This can largely be explained by the fact that economic performance of these countries has been highly reliant on the stability of national security and thus residents are able to access basic services and amenities including public education and basic housing. The information that is shared between police and local communities has also helped police improve crime prevention at national level and thus improving neighbourhood safety through increased police patrols especially in the developing countries at the global level. In spite of the fact that many developed countries enjoy higher police- to population ratio than in Africa, it was established that it is not possible to have a policeman per individual and therefore it is imperative to collaborate with the citizenry.

The second objective was to examine community-based security initiatives' role in national security management in Africa. Community-based security initiatives, mainly through police-community partnership, were found to be instrumental in tackling a

range of security problems in Africa. Most of these are contemporary national security challenges in most of the countries ranging from social issues like violent criminal activity meted against certain genders to a lack of faith and confidence amongst law enforcement personnel and the locals as well as inter-tribal animosity or illegal spread of firearms. Findings also indicated that, community-based security initiatives have taken a proactive approach to security challenges faced within African nations as opposed to traditional and reactive policing methods. It was also found that in many African countries there was a long history of policing or security arrangements deeply embedded in the culture and thus modern policing can leverage on this heritage to mount successful interventions that incorporate communities. This might explain why many current approaches include community engagement in the process of formulation and implementation of security initiatives. It was interesting to note that in parts of some countries such as Nigeria use of magical instruments in policing is reported and that such magical instruments when incorporated incorporate in policing actually work as these practices are deeply embedded in culture and the lived experiences of these communities.

The third objective sought to do a comparison of the influence of security approaches based and operated at the local level on successful management of security management in the two subject countries. It also sought to tease out what was different in implementation of this approach. The study found that protection against internal and external threats to the country's territorial integrity and sovereignty has been highly realized (mean = 4.23). R-Square was found to be 0.70, 0.92, and 0.86 for Kenya, Rwanda, and the aggregate respectively with the standard error of estimate being 0.23, 0.18, 0.23. This implies that community-based security initiatives (through vigilantism, private security, community policing) explains changes in success in national security

management up to 70 percent in Kenya, 92 percent in Rwanda with average being 86 percent. Additionally, this implies that a higher proportion of success in national security management in Rwanda is explained by community-based security initiatives.

F-Calculated (3, 67) = 51.12 for Kenya, F-Calculated (3, 67) = 194.47 for Rwanda, and F-Calculated (3, 125) = 263.30 for overall success at 2-tail test and 95% confidence level. Results also show p-Value = 0.000 < 0.05 for each of the three models. This confirms that community-based security initiatives significantly explain success in national security management.

The fourth objective sought to suggest alternative strategies and policies in community-based security initiatives in national security management in Kenya. The study found that national governments can fight poverty through economic empowerment as a strategy to curb security issues in their respective economies. Besides, findings suggested to the national governments to ensure there is adequate democratic space to check any possible illegal grouping that are politically aligned. Moreover, policies on punitive measures taken on safety and security crimes should be enhanced.

5.2 Conclusions

From the findings, it was established that the security approach in the study is principally geared towards fighting terrorism and other criminal activities. This has been key in promoting safety in the economically developed nations in the whole world such as UK, US, Japan and Australia and even other countries not in the first world, such as Brazil. The study established that random police patrols and police presence may not be the best in deterring criminal activities and that therefore, there was need for the police to be proactive.

The findings indicated that the community-based security initiatives have to a great extent assisted in creating the social order to achieve successful national security management in Africa. These initiatives have subsequently improved security of life and property in transparent, accountable manner consistent with the rule of law within the African countries.

The findings further reported that the community-based security initiatives have been largely successful in the national security management for both Kenya and Rwanda. Whilst community policing has been the most successful and vigilantism being the least successful; the relationships between the community members and the police is not well established due to the poor response of the police once the members of the community call out for help.

Finally, the study revealed that the success of national security management is largely attributed to community involvement in security management given that this is a people-centred approach to tackle interlinked peace, security and development needs. In addition, the initiatives do enable communities to be their own agents of change and empowers communities to hold to account those who should be supplying their security. The researcher therefore proposes deepening of the involvement of the community in their security, coupled with improved management and oversight of the private security sector. This will help combat emerging challenges including the use of terror as a weapon and climate change as well as older ones such as tribal conflict.

5.3 Recommendations

From the findings, the study revealed that most of the contemporary security challenges are prevalent in Africa. The study therefore recommends the need for a more proactive and transformed police services in African countries. More training should also be

organized to instill the spirit of police-community partnership amongst both the community and police forces and thus facilitate an environment of common humanity and neighbourhood as well as ease of identifying local problems and nearby solutions. Similarly, governments should ensure they develop legal frameworks, including sufficient oversight for the private security, that are in tandem with community aspirations leading to optimistic police and the community mindset and practice.

All stakeholders ought to be incorporated in critical decision-making in the wider society in order to secure the requisite buy-in and to reduce the damage by crime and yield a positive impact in crime, societal chaos and the stress caused by crime. Additionally, the wealth of cultural mechanisms of resolving conflicts domiciled in communities ought to be tapped into instead of being discarded and disregarded. These mechanisms should seamlessly be incorporated at the preliminary stages of litigative processes and be subjected to judicial mechanisms only when solutions are not exhaustive at this particular stage.

At global level, adequate international security standards should be developed to regulate both private security sector and vigilante groups, whether they are formal or informal. Moreover, such standards, if domesticated in Kenya and Rwanda, would ensure that there is smooth and effective integration of both the public and private security apparatus for successful national security management.

Finally, the study recommends that, there should be a decentralization of the police command and create subdivisions of the police force that can effectively include the community in dealing with crime especially for countries with devolved governance like Kenya.

5.4 Suggestions for further studies

Given the findings and limitations of this study, the researcher suggests as further areas of study that a across-sectional survey in African countries with diverse characteristics be conducted.

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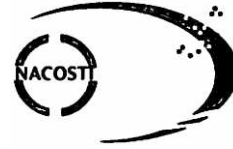
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APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE

I am an MA student at UoN. I am carrying out a research study on, *Community-Based Security Initiatives and the Success of National Security Management in Africa: A Comparative Study of the Kenya and Rwanda Experience*. Data in this process is strictly for research. I hereby request for your assistance in responding to the following questions to assist in my study.

Please read the following guidelines;

Please tick (✓) or use any other convenient mark to show your preferred response.

Please provide as necessary the responses in the open-ended section in the given space.

Section A: Background

1. Country

Kenya []

Rwanda []

2. Gender

Male []

Female []

3. Age

15-20 years []

21-26 years []

27-32 years []

33-38 years []

39 years and above []

4. Education level

Secondary school []

Degree level []

Masters level []

Post graduate level []

5. Are you a member of any community-based security initiative in the Country?

Yes []

No []

Section B: Private Security

6. Private security initiatives have helped in curbing crime in the Country?

Agree Strongly []

Agree []

Neutral []

Disagree []

Disagree Strongly []

7. According to you, to what extent have the following functions of private security been applied in security management in your country? Use the scale of (1-Not at all, 2- Less extent, 3- Reasonable extent, 4- Large extent, 5- Very large extent)

Category	1	2	3	4	5
Patrolling streets and neighbourhoods					
Regulating public access control to building.					
Protection of life and property					
Rapid response to electronic alarms					
Others (specify)					

8. Based on your opinion, please state the extent to which the following private security measures promote crime control. Use the gauge of (1-Not at all, 2- Less extent, 3- Reasonable extent, 4- Large extent, 5- Very large extent)

Category	1	2	3	4	5
Visible presence of private security guards in public places (Shopping malls, Banks, etc.)					
Closed-circuit television in shops/business places.					

Visible security signboards indicating that the premises are electronically monitored by a private security company.					
Stationary surveillance by private security officers in marked vehicles.					
Creating a culture of crime awareness among citizens.					
Escorting money in armored vehicles.					
Omnipresence of private security guards.					

Section C: Community Policing

9. In your opinion, to what extent have the following aspects of community policing been applied in national security management in your country? Use the scale of (1- Not at all, 2- Less extent, 3- Reasonable extent, 4- Great extent, 5- Very great extent)

Category	1	2	3	4	5
Community policing initiatives					
Community-police patrols					
Attitude of the people					
Others (specify)					

10. What are the challenges encountered by the community members relative to police and community relationships?

- Slow responses. []
- Disinterest in addressing community issues. []
- Resolving conflict without police intervention. []
- All of the above []

11. What are the reasons for these challenges in the community?

- Community inability to resolve conflict []
- Unfriendly community []

- Hatred among community dwellers []
- Inaccessibility of the community []

12. How often does the community have meetings with the Police?

- Daily []
- Weekly []
- Monthly []
- Not at all []

Section D: Vigilante Groups

13. Vigilante groups have helped in curbing crime in the Country?

- Strongly agree []
- Agree []
- Neutral []
- Disagree []
- Strongly disagree []

14. Is there an active youth vigilante in your area?

- Yes []
- No []

15. If yes, explain their work in national security management?.....

16. State the rate of effectiveness of joint community-based security initiatives in your area by the help of the scale of (1-strongly ineffective, 2- ineffective, 3- not sure, 4-effective, 5- strongly effective).

Category	1	2	3	4	5
Private security					
Community policing					
Community courts					
Vigilante groups					

Section E: National Security Management

17. Kindly rate success of the different aspect of national security management in your country for the last 5 years based on your observation (1-Highly unsuccessful, 2- Unsuccessful, 3- Not sure, 4- Successful, 5- Highly successful).

Category	1	2	3	4	5
Protection against internal and external threats to the country's territorial integrity and sovereignty					
Security for the people inside the territory from risks coming from within or without					
Upholding of people's right and freedoms					
Protecting and promoting ownership of properties					
Existence of peaceful environment					

Section F: Other Security Issues

18. Other than issues of physical security and crime, what other issues do you think contribute to insecurity at the community level

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

19. What measures are members of the community taking to solve the issues identified in (18) above?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Thank you very much.

Research Project

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