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COMMUNITY BUILDING AS A RESPONSE TO INSECURITY; AN OVERVIEW OF NON-STATE SECURITY INITIATIVES IN IBADAN RESIDENTIAL NEIGHBOURHOODS

Abstract:

The paper presents an overview of the nature, types and modalities of the private security arrangements in Ibadan, Nigeria. It examines the structure of sub local level governance and the implication on urban management. Using the Neighbourhood association as the platform for evaluation, the study used structured questionnaire and indept interview to elicit information from the neighbourhood association executives. The questions asked include, date of establishment, the nature of activities engaged in and the security initiatives adopted by the residents. Neighbourhood associations are becoming strong sub local administration with separate regulation and different forms of social cohesion. The nature of jurisdiction boundary demarcation is such that it excludes the unwanted and the objectors. The administrative boundaries are large in initial inception and fragments into more homogenous groups. Different approaches were adopted for neighbourhood protection. The paper concludes that socio-spatial partitioning of urban area reflects the way people want to be governed in a country that is still looking for ways of resolving logjam in political grouping and democratic practice

Community building as a response to insecurity; an overview of non- state security initiatives in Ibadan residential neighbourhoods

1.0 Introduction

There is general concern for safety in most African cities including Nigerian. This concern has continuously given rise to the emergence of private initiatives in the prevention and the control of crime and incivility. The private initiatives arose as consequences of the failure of the state and her security apparatus to protect life and property of its citizens especially in most developing countries. Urban residents redefine urban space to mosaic of privately controlled territories with differently installed security strategies. These types of neighbourhood regrouping and redefinition of boundaries are increasing in Nigerian cities and results in transformation of urban structure and city space. The regrouping and realignment and redefinition of boundaries manifest in socio-spatial restructuring of urban space. The form of privatised and informal crime and social control mechanisms in most Nigerian cities include neighbourhood enclosures, neighbourhood patrol, vigilantes, private security or corporate guards, installation of closed circuit Television (CCTV), mob action and 'jungle justice'. Sometimes crime suspects had been killed or molested before police arrived.(Agbola 1997, Fabiyi 2004,)

Urban residents in Ibadan like other major urban centres in Nigeria are continuously regrouping in the residential neighbourhoods to fill the gaps of the security voids created by the inefficiency of the conventional police system. The activities of these non-state actors in informal social and crime controls within urban neighbourhoods place a question mark on the legitimacy of the government as the sole producer of security 'goods' and manager of urban public space. It also has the potential of complicating as well as jeopardising future urban governance and civic rights of other urban residents. Without proper regulation and control the aftermath of such informal control is close to chaos which could also undermine the power of the state.

The involvement of non-state actors in the provision of security was initially limited to the private companies, commercial centres and industrial areas in Nigeria. However when the levels of insecurity increased generally in the mid seventies in Nigeria, the informal non-state actors emerged to provide private alternatives to security provision in the neighbourhoods.

In order to pay for privately procured security alternatives, urban residents regroup and align themselves based on certain segregation factors which can be physical, social or economic to jointly contribute for purchasing security 'goods'. This form of regrouping and realignments constitute another forms of sub-local administration in urban setting. The fear of crime, and the general belief that crime-target is spatially and socially selective often serve as impetus for the realignment and repartitioning of urban neighbourhoods to manageable territories for sub-local governance. (Fabiya 2006). These regroupings and realignments are assigned different nomenclatures such as neighbourhood associations, resident associations and other local appellations or street names. However, within the context of this paper, all these groupings will be referred to as Neighbourhood Associations (NOAs). The physical manifestations of these regrouping may sometimes be in form of barrier and enclosures, or political demarcation, which are used to define members and outsiders. Though urban culture encourage individualism and anonymity,(Gan 1962, Williamson 2003, Wilson 1987, Zorbaugh 1929) the concern for safety of lives and property served as centripetal force and the basis for regrouping in residential neighbourhoods. This in a way challenges the theories of urban spatial structure and indicates emerging new forms of urban spatial systems in Nigeria

This paper attempts to examine the nature and types of social regrouping and networks in Urban neighbourhood especially as it relates to security of lives and properties in the cities.

The paper therefore addresses the following questions in the context of Neighbourhood associations in Ibadan metropolis:

- What are the nature and types of emerging non state initiatives of crime control in urban residential neighbourhoods?
- What are the implications of these initiatives on space use, space ownerships and space management in urban areas?
- How do urban residents organise themselves to and achieve collective efficacy instil social norms and primary affiliation?

The remaining parts of this paper is divided into four sections, the next section examines methods of data collection and analysis. Section two discusses the emergence of Neighbourhood association in Nigeria and new forms of jurisdiction partitioning. Section three presents the plurality of security arrangement in Ibadan while section four identifies crime related socio-spatial adjustment in Ibadan Section five examines the Implications of private supply of security goods and governing services in Urban neighbourhood. The paper concludes with the recommendations for integrating neighbourhood distraction into conventional urban governance in Nigeria.

1.1 Methodology

Data collection methods used are basically two categories that include; structured interview and participants observations.

The neighbourhoods associations in Ibadan were sought, through a purposive sampling and their executive were targeted for interview. The questions asked include how, when and why the associations were established, and the functions performed by the associations as relate to security and crime control. The nature of security arrangement put in place in the neighbourhood by the associations, the relationship between the association and the police and other security agents in the cities.

Some neighbourhood associations (NoAs) in the study area were dormant, inactive or apparently extinct. Some were not forthcoming in releasing information about their activities while some gave inconsistent information; therefore such responses were jettisoned in the course of the analysis. Some resident associations encountered in the course of the study mis-interpreted the objectives of the research, therefore giving obvious false information. This group of information was equally dropped during the analysis. In the final analysis a total of 109 neighbourhoods associations' responses were used in the analyses. The information obtained was corroborated through participant observation where possible. During the interview 45.3% of the interviews were conducted with the neighbourhood associations (NOAs) chairmen in attendance, while about 54.7% of the interviews have core officials in attendance. Meetings were held with 11.0% of the associations.

1.1.1 The Study Area

Ibadan is located in the South-western part of Nigeria. It lies within latitude $7^{\circ} 19' 08''$ and $7^{\circ} 29' 25''$ of the equator and \ longitude $3^{\circ} 47' 50''$ and $4^{\circ} 0' 22$.It is the capital of Oyo State.

Ibadan metropolis comprises of five local government areas as shown in Figure 1. These are Ibadan North, Ibadan North East, Ibadan South East, Ibadan South west and Ibadan North West. Though the greater Ibadan extend beyond the boundary of the study area comprising of eleven local governments. The metropolis was carved out for this study. Ibadan metropolis an indigenous urban settlement is fast becoming heterogeneous society comprising of different nationals and tribes. See Figure 1



Figure 1 : Location map of Ibadan city in Oyo State, Nigeria

2.0 Emergence of Neighbourhood Associations in Nigeria and new forms of jurisdiction partitioning

Nigeria has a long history of urban culture (Talbot 1924, Mabogunje 1968, Dmochowski 1990)with cities like Kano, Ibadan and Oyo having over one hundred thousand people crowded in the city space even before the advent of the Europeans. The nature of urban governance in the cities under the traditional rulers like the Obas, Obis and Emirs provided for quarters and neighbourhood administrators such as the Chiefs, Akimis Baale, and Bale, (Mabogunje 1968, Olaniyi 2005,Fabiya 2005) At the introduction of colonial rule in the 18th century and the

installation of democratic systems during independence, the quarter chiefs, Bale and Baale, Akimis and Ezes became irrelevant in the new urban administrative dispensations. (their activities are limited to rural areas) They were replaced by the local government councils and their chairmen and councillors. Unfortunately, however, the conventional governance at the local level has been virtually absent or ineffective in most Nigerian cities. The official neighbourhood association was first noticed in Nigeria in the fifties in Lagos as landlord associations. The Landlord association which is a collection of home owners in a neighbourhood who had the sole objectives of improving the welfare of members and development of their communities, emerged in the 1950s when native urban residents club together to present their needs and grievances to the colonial provincial heads. The activities of these associations came into the lime light during the Lagos Slum clearance project in 1952. (Mabogunje 1968) The residents joined forces together in order to present their grievances to the board in charge of resettlement. Since then Neighbourhoods associations have been a popular phenomenon in many Nigerian cities. Shortly after independence however, urban Neighbourhoods Associations started to get involved in developing strategies to combat crime as well as meet other neighbourhood challenges in the seventies. Community associations in the rural areas are quite different in structure, norms and focus from their urban counterparts. The NOAs started as groups of individuals who are house owners in a particular neighbourhood clubbing together to attend to the welfare of such neighbourhoods, control of crime and the provision of infrastructure. For Example in Agbowo neighbourhood in the sixties the home owners formed the associations in order to secure their tenure from the threat that University of Ibadan would take over the land from them. With time the associations experienced break-ups and disintegration as soon as their tenure was secured. The new forms of the associations include both house owners and tenants and have security as primary concern.

The input of government in the production of housing in Nigeria is insignificant while the corporate private actors appear to be uninterested. The consequence is that majority of urban housing units are built by the informal sector. Thus, most urban neighbourhood are a combination of house owners and tenants. The Landlord association has grown with time to comprise both the house owners and the tenants. Security appears to be the major issue of consideration in most of these neighbourhood associations. It is instructive to note that most neighbourhood association succeed in developing social cohesion as well as ensure collective affiliation among residents. The fear of crime or crime-threat is the primary currency used to secure participation within the neighbourhoods. Though there is freedom of association in Nigeria, the fear of crime and criminality have been used to coerce, encourage and intimidate urban residents into belonging to the neighbourhood associations in most cities. It is obvious that the neighbourhood associations

though may experience up and down times in most neighbourhoods they are quick to resurface and had come to stay in most Ibadan neighbourhoods.

The administrative structure put in place by the neighbourhood associations is diverse but far from being democratic, more than 63.2 percent appoint their leaders while a fraction 25.1 percent use election process to select the association leadership. In the remaining neighbourhoods the first landlord or the oldest in the neighbourhood retain the chairmanships and appoint committee members to work with him. The committee members retain the position until they decide to relinquish the positions. Generally change in leaderships in most of the associations is crisis free. The sub local level neighbourhood leaders are usually strong and powerful and wield strong influence in the neighbourhoods especially in the poor and lower middle class neighbourhoods. There are however records of breakaway and readjustment of administrative boundaries. The boundaries of an NoA can be small or big, in fact some administer or two streets. The boundaries of the associations can be very fussy and they continually readjust the boundaries to include the interested members and the perceived indifferents while they exclude the potential objectors. The boundaries of the associations are markedly obvious in the enclosed neighbourhoods where road closures in form of gates and barriers are both used as security device and as juridical demarcations.

Normal

3.0 Plurality of security arrangements in urban neighbourhoods

Security goods are inefficiently supplied in most Nigerian urban centres; the inadequacies of Nigerian police to handle increasing violent crimes in urban centre are obvious and appear in Newspaper headlines of the desperado nature of criminal activities and the half-hearted trail by the Nigerian police. More heinous crimes are being committed daily without serious security apparatus to tame them in most cities. Urban residents are consequently compelled to adopt different strategies to control crime both within residential apartment and urban neighbourhoods. The nature and types of security arrangement in residential apartment are directly related to the economic status of individual and the level of threat (real or perceived), different types of security arrangement in residential apartment in Ibadan include, CCTV, Closed circuit television, private security popularly called *mai-guard* that double as security personnel as well as gate- swinger, police protection and local charms and amulets and domestic servants or old members of family. It was observed that the uses of CCTV and police protection are restricted to the very high income residents and political officials. Apartments in the poor neighbourhoods and lower middle class are guarded mostly by, amulets and charms and the use of old members of the family as watch or informants.

While physical engagements with the intruders are often unpopular at the apartment level the security arrangement at the neighbourhood level often require enforcing crime control and crime fighting

At the neighbourhood level however the guarding actions shifted to night watch alone, and five types of security arrangement used include the following:

(a) **Night guards or watchmen;** most residential neighbourhoods in Ibadan have night watchmen who are usually recruited from outside the neighbourhoods. The popular patronage are the non natives such as Hausas and Fulani. However a number of them employ OPC¹ members.

(b) **Road closures:** road closures appear to be the cheapest form of security arrangement in Ibadan region. The approach usually adopted is the closure of gates between the 11pm or 12 midnight and open at 5 am. In most of the neighbourhood that adopt road closures the barrier or road closures are not manned at night. The curator merely locks the gates and keep the key till the following morning when gate will be opened. Most gates types are meant to prevent vehicular access. It was observed during the study that, about 24.5% of road closures neighbourhoods are in the high density areas, 63.8% in the medium density areas while 11.7% are in the low density areas. Road closures are not elitist in Ibadan as it is the case in other advanced cities.

(c) **Whistles and alarm systems:** In some neighbourhoods alarm systems are given to members to ward-off when a member is attacked other members blow whistle or operate the alarm systems to confuse the intruders and thus chase them away.

(d) **Police patrol:** though very insignificant and mostly unsustainable, some neighbourhood adopt police patrol by providing fuel and other logistics to the police in order to patrol their neighbourhood at night. The services are at best epileptic or fizzles out as the crime threat subsides

(e) **Vigilante:** Vigilante is restricted to the core and poor neighbourhoods in Ibadan metropolis. It involved the young men in the neighbourhood taking turn to keep watch over the neighbourhood. They go about with club, cutlasses and Dane guns. They are often ill equipped to match the sophisticated weapons of criminals.

(f) **Charm and amulets;** charms and amulets are common among the middle class and poor neighbourhoods. some of these neighbourhoods utilised the use of traditional charms and amulets to keep watch over the neighbourhoods. The individual who possess or claim to possess

¹ OPC is an ethno-political militia which started during the military regime as pressure group to protest against injustice. there is popular belief that they possess power to combat violent attack. With the installation of democratic governance some members find their way into private security

such prowess are often appointed as chairman (since most of these associations have their major emphasis on security) or leader of the security team.

23.1 Cost of crime control

The national budget allocation to the police in the year 2004 translate to an average amount of about 450 naira per head per annum spent by Nigerian government to secure a citizen , about 37 naira per month per head, In 2005 the allocation merely increased to 484 naira per annum per head.

In most urban neighbourhoods however, the average household in Ibadan through the NoAs in the poor and lower middle class neighbourhoods spend between 3,000 naira (\$24) and 5,000 naira(\$40) per annum as security dues and as much as 25,000 (\$200) to 50,000(\$400) naira in the upper middle and upper class neighbourhoods for both personal and neighbourhood security (Fabiya 2005). This is not unconnected with the fact that most neighbourhoods in Nigeria perceive government at the local levels as non existent or apparently ineffective. The ineffective local governance in Ibadan constitutes major impediments to the development of responsible citizenships in Nigeria. Residential property taxes collections are unsuccessful in most neighbourhoods but the payment of neighbourhood security levies are least evaded in most residential neighbourhoods, especially where the neighbourhood associations are effective.

The monetary cost is comparatively small to the social cost of these security initiatives on both non residents and even some resident. In the case of road closure approach, when gates are closed at midnight, the residents are forced to remain in the neighbourhoods until morning. They are also bared from using their cars during emergencies at night. The police cannot react to distress call also when callers are within enclosed neighbourhoods. Road closures at night often increase late night intra city movement as commuters make detour at closed egress points. Late night strangers have often been mistaken for criminals and had been embarrassed and even killed by overzealous night watchmen.

4.0 Socio-spatial distribution of urban residents in Ibadan neighbourhoods and security induced spatial adjustments

² OPC is an ethno-political militia which started during the military regime as pressure group to protest against injustice. there is popular belief that they posses power to combat violent attack. With the installation of democratic governance some members find their way into private security

Agglomeration and segregation refer to a process of clustering wherein individuals and groups shifted and sorted out in space based on their sharing certain traits or activities in common or equal status.(Fabiyi 2006, Adeboye 2003, Van der Zandern 1996,).

As towns grow to mega-cities there is often the associated ill of social inequalities, which is created by the growth in relative difference between the wealthy and the poor. The social inequality is generally associated with spatial segregation, (Aldrich *et al* 1989Gans1962, Fabiyi 2004). The people of equal economic and social status are distributed in space due to invisible hand of economic forces and government landuse policies. Ibadan metropolis is however characterised by different forms of segregation and alignment in space which can be broadly classified as follows:

4.1 Ethno-cultural enclaves

The segregation or grouping can be based on ethnicity; wherein members of the same ethnic group, finding themselves in a foreign land, choose to live in close proximity to one another, this arrangement is also called 'ethnic enclaves' (Boracich and Model 1980, Aldrich *et al* 1989, Adeboye 2003). Sabo, Ojoo, Oke ado, part of Mokola,Ekotedo-Iyaolobe are some examples of ethnic enclaves in Ibadan. Some of these residents belong to second or third generation of migrants.

There are some neighbourhoods that are dominated by particular nationals such as migrants from Ghana, Togo, Liberia, Benin republic, Cameroon among others. Some of these international immigrants have ownership status of properties.

4.2 Land use and housing policy factor

Land use policies of government are another major factor sorting out people in space. Such polices such as land use scheme or Master plan when land is allocated on the basis of income or race through government policy, it can encourage segregation and corresponding social exclusion to non members of the neighbourhoods. Private and public organisations do have housing schemes or development where people of different occupational and professional status are grouped together in different parts of the urban areas. There may be junior staff estate, senior staff estate or managerial staff estate. This procedure can also be found in government or institutional housing programmes such as barracks, Universities and other public agencies. The concentration of residents of a particular social, occupational or professional class in certain precincts in the city often serves as pivot for social and spatial exclusion of outsiders and foundation for primary affiliation.

4.3 Socio-temporal class agglomeration:

Due to city expansion different parts of the city develop at different times. The residential mobility is associated with the income mobility of urban residents. When people of equal economic class migrate to a part of the city based on the facility available and the ability to pay for the service. With time age and reduction in economic capacity as the economically active households retires and the children move out of the neighbourhoods, the area becomes residential enclaves of retirees and old people. There is generation-shift of residential neighbourhoods as land price determines the economic status of people that are attracted to particular neighbourhoods. There can also be succession of residential neighbourhoods when a given social class is partly or completely replaced by another social class who are stronger economically and buys over the properties thus displacing the existing class who have hitherto moved down economic ladder. Examples of these can be found in Old Bodija, Agodi GRA, Iyaganku GRA and Oluyole Estate. Most residents in these areas are old retirees and sometimes new arrivals who bought over property.

4.4 Mixed neighbourhood agglomeration:

Apart from the agglomeration factors identified above there are a number of mixed neighbourhoods socially and development wise. With only few exceptions in Ibadan, poor neighbourhoods often intermix with good neighbourhoods or lie side by side. People of different social, economic, ethnic, educational and occupational status live together in the same or adjacent neighbourhoods.

Majority of the residential neighbourhoods in Ibadan metropolis falls within this categories of agglomeration. Though these segregation forces are well understood (Fabiya 2005) a new force of alignment is emerging, where people regroup and redefine residential boundary based on common fear of insecurity.

4.5 A new force of realignment and segregation

The fear of crime (real or perceived) is increasingly regrouping people socially, spatially and administratively in Ibadan neighbourhoods. Residents of the same level of fear or perception of danger in residential neighbourhoods are likely to form a common front to fight perceived danger and enforce social control within the sub group Fabiya (20004.) When people of the same social group club together to provide security apparatus, it is often designed exclusively for members of the group and inevitably creates condition of segregation and redefinition of boundaries within the neighbourhood subsystem with separate policies and administration.

In Ibadan neighbourhoods there is continuous fragmentation of physical and social space to create jurisdiction for NAs administrations where series of control and security strategies are put in place.

4.6. Resulting social and juridical fragmentation and social cohesion

The activities of the neighbourhood association results in redefinition of boundaries of neighbourhoods which can be physically demarcated like in the case of road closures or administratively demarcated. (Fabiya 2004, Fabiya 2005). The following are the types of neighbourhood administrative boundaries observed in Ibadan metropolis:

The neighbourhood association territory boundaries are quite varied; they range from small to big and very large. The basis for the jurisdictional partitioning of the neighbourhood association include the nature of street network, residents of like minds and the experience of crime or crime threat. Social-class similarity and the presence of objectors are major factors for delimiting NoAs administrative boundaries. It was observed that there were no cases where ethnicity or nationality was used as basis of fragmentations though some neighbourhoods are homogenous in national or ethnic context. It may also depend on the discretion of the initiator(s) of the associations and the physical limitation of the urban street networks. In some cases, the road network patterns clearly dictate the boundaries of NoA (27.2%). Some NoAs stated that the territorial boundaries are demarcated based on convenience for administration and easy monitoring for the security personnel since most of the associations were formed for security reasons. There are numerous breakaways and thus changes in boundaries. Three models of association boundaries could be deciphered in Ibadan as presented in what follows:

i) Single street or cul-de sac associations. :Single street or cul de sac association are ubiquitous in Ibadan. They are mostly informal and mostly do not change leadership frequently. A group of residents in a single street or a close may decide to close off the street in order to prevent crime.

ii) Quarter/compound Neighbourhood association: Quarter/compound Neighbourhood associations are common in the Core regions and high density neighbourhoods. Such as Oje, Beere, Oranmiyan and Isale osi. The indigenous quarter are patrilinear and they are translated to neighbourhood associations. The oldest landlord in the neighbourhood retain the chairman position until he wish to relinquish it through old age or ill health.

iii) Multiple-street neighbourhood association.: When neighbourhood are socially and economically homogenous, it is possible to develop collective responsibility. The multiple street neighbourhood associations are usually large and are more democratic than other two types earlier discussed.

4.61 Social cohesion and primary affiliation

The NAs in Ibadan neighbourhoods are emerging as strong sub-local power bases and mimics conventional government in their activities and administrative structure. The residents are forced to adopt certain behavioural pattern such as retiring home early, being ones brother's keepers, which are effective in preventing the incursion of crime from outside, and also discourage the development of criminal networks within neighbourhoods.

Community spirit and collective action are major in ensuring safer neighbourhoods especially where the state instrument is either absent or ineffective. The community spirit and primary affiliations are more frequent within small neighbourhoods association boundary and when they are demarcated by road closures. Privatisation of security apparatus in urban neighbourhoods inevitably erodes social anonymity and encourages social cohesion among urban residents. The theory of social anonymity in the city is punctuated by the non-state strategies for crime control by the NOAs in Ibadan.

4.6.2 Legislative environment

Privatisation of public space and security presents conflict between right to access by all and right to protect by few. It is unlikely that the neighbourhood associations can perform the role of crime and social control without infringing on the right of others without or make some costly mistakes. On the other hands if all residential roads are accessible to the public, they will be abused, overused and tend to suffer from the tragedy of urban common (Hardin, 1968, Webster, 2005). These two extremes could only be resolved through appropriate legislation based on aspiration of the general populace. In Oyo state (the state where Ibadan is located) there is Mobilisation of community development committees Edict of Oyo state 1987, which provides for the formation of neighbourhood association and setting up of community development committee charged with the responsibilities of keeping watch over the community and collect information in respect of persons with criminal tendencies and pass such information to the police for purposes of detection of crime within their communities.

The edit however was ill structured and devolved power of neighborhood security to the vigilante group without prescribing the agency to monitor, control or regulate the activities of these neighborhood vigilantes.

The neighbourhood association seems to have different criminal code from what is available in the national criminal code. For instance a number of crimes are often over looked in the neighbourhoods even if the NoAs are aware of these such as domestic violence, Forgery, drunken driving, incest, while some actions that are not criminals in the national criminal code are

often labelled as crime in some neighbourhoods such as commercial motorcyclist entrance into the neighbourhoods, hawking, and late night or drunken stranger.

The NoAs also construct different images for labelling criminals or potential ones. Such images include dressing, appearance, steps, looks and the period of entry into the neighbourhood. These labels apparently show a thin line between innocent stranger and criminals especially for untrained mind. This approach to identifying suspected criminal has the potential of criminalizing poverty, casual dressing or late night hang on. Training can be provided by the state authority for all members of the private security personnel, vigilantes and other stakeholders on the rudiments of crime control and managements.

5.0 Private supply of security goods and implication on sub-local level governance

Webster (2005) clearly differentiates public goods from privately provided goods. Security of lives and properties is an example of commonly consumed public goods but are both privately and publicly supplied. Publicly consumed goods may not necessarily be supplied adequately by the state, on one hand but can also not be effectively supplied by entrepreneur (Foldvary 1994). Without state intervention, the economic interest of private actors will make security to be undersupplied or not supplied at all. This is mainly due to the fact that if the non state business concern supplies security goods it becomes difficult to exclude the non paying members of the public. Unless the fee paying subscribers are prepared to internalise the cost of providing security to the non fee paying members, it will be difficult to achieve evenness and balance in the supply of security goods. Other side of the coin is that the profit motives of the non-state providers will encourage exclusion of the non-contributors resulting into different forms of social segregation and socio-spatial readjustment of people in space. However because of the jointly consumed nature of public goods, the entrepreneur finds it problematic to exclude non-contributors without infringing on their fundamental rights.

Security of life and properties is one of the state duties and public goods that are jointly consumed by the urban populace but are not uniformly provided in urban space. When the state failed to adequately supply this goods or the supply is not evenly distributed; it gives room for the participation of profit making entrepreneur who intend to maximise profit through the interplay of the demand and supply.

The best approach in resolving the paradox of the publicly consumed goods that are not effectively or adequately supplied by the state is the intervention of an agency that have the outlook of state in supply of public goods but wear the garb of *entrepreneur* in the distribution and consumption of public goods. We argue in this paper that the Neighbourhood associations adequately fill this void. The collective associationism among urban residents operate as pseudo- state in supply of security goods and internalising the cost of *indifferents* and *objectors* yet they act as profit minded entrepreneur in the demand for service and distribution of security goods in the neighbourhood.

Urban areas have a number of jointly consumed goods such as infrastructure, services, space, air and culture. (Webster 2005). That is why they need to be carefully managed. Few urban public goods are truly ubiquitous, most are exhaustible and can degenerate or depreciate if not properly maintained. They are also not consumed equally by all citizens. The amount of public goods available to an individual or group depends largely on the physical and social distances to these public goods. Most urban public goods are consumed not by *the public* but by *specific publics* – often defined by location and social context. If streets are not managed by the residents it becomes the haven of street kids or criminals, the consequence on the residents along the street is far grater than effects on other members of the society. Therefore the street in the neighbourhood though a public goods is not equally consumed by all members of the publics. Private management will ensure that the street or neighbourhood environments do not degenerate or depreciate socially and in economic value.

Hardin 1968, and Webster 2005 had observed the tragedy of common resources in tyher popular concepts in a grazing communities in what they called “tragedy of the commons”. They postulated that Individual grazers pursuing their own interest will eventually destroy the common resource, since the benefit gained from grazing an extra cow is captured in full but the cost of doing so is shared with all other grazers. Urban ‘commons’ (streets, parks, rivers and so on) in most cities are subject to the same calculus and inevitably degrade as a result. The right to use a street also implies a cost that is shared by others. Many people use common facilities for small personal gains and impose costs that are unrelated to the size of those gains. Though streets are public goods and should be open to all road users, however the public access to neighbourhoods has negative effects on the residents. The benefits derived by public trying to use neighbourhood access to link other major roads are not commensurate to the social and economic cost on the residents. The infringements on the privacy of the residents in a neighbourhood cannot be compared with the benefits accruable to the commuters who want to use the roads to connect other mains roads. The demand for efficient security of lives and properties call for input from private agents.

Politically provided civic goods and services are necessarily delivered at average levels – to meet the demands of the median voter and are susceptible to capture by the more wealthy and powerful. Neighbourhood goods and services supplied in a competitive market should offer choice and value for money that government, by definition, cannot.

Demand for these shared public goods reduces with distance from them. Security goods are not equally required by the public, the demand relates to social and geographic location. Police presence which stands as public supply are also geographically limited based on the present level of technology and expertise in Nigeria. The security risks of the rich is higher than that of the poor. The risk increases when the rich neighbourhood lies side by side with poor neighbourhoods as the case is in many neighbourhoods in Ibadan. There are pockets of poor neighbourhoods adjacent or within good neighbourhoods. The security goods demanded by the rich will inevitably be higher than the poor areas. While the goal of public goods supply in Nigerian state is *evenness* or uniform distribution, therefore it becomes necessary that the shortfall be paid for by the rich.

The chances that individual will participate in collective action in a neighborhoods depends on the inherent attributes of the individuals and the strength or importance of the collective goals. People participate in collective actions if they have grievances and there is potential threat. (Oropesa 1992, Venkatesh 2000). Olsen et al., (1989) examined collective action in their study of neighborhood associations and looked at the relative importance of neighborhood cohesion, community satisfaction, perceived neighborhood problems, perceived effectiveness of neighborhood organizations, perceived community problems, participation in political organizations, and demographic characteristics in predicting neighborhood association participation. And found out that the influence of these were very weak on participation rather community ties which is based on how long one has stayed in the community.

Olson 1965 propounded the logic *theory of collective action*, that the larger the group the less likely it is to be organised successfully. This is because despite the obvious benefit accruing from collective action; a rational man will prefer to be a free rider. The proposition of this theory suggests that if NoAs operate mainly on the voluntary membership; it is likely to be less efficient and ineffective, as average residents would rather not participate in resident association. This proposition is further reinforced by the nature of anonymity and casual relationships that exist in typical urban centres. Though empirical and anecdotal evidences suggest that the participation rate in all NoAs is generally low, (Barton and Silverman 1987), yet NoA continue to grow in

numbers in residential areas of major urban settlements of the world. In Ibadan though some of these associations are ailing, they often resurrect spontaneously when there is threat.

The fear and experiences of crime in urban areas result in social regrouping and redefinitions of boundaries of *good* and *bad* regions, *dangerous* and *friendly* neighbours, *social* and *antisocial*, *good* norms and *bad* norms, and signs and images of potential danger. However collective efforts to fight crime necessarily need to clearly or intuitively define these boundaries in a manner acceptable to members to achieve collective participation in crime fighting and crime prevention. The process of defining boundaries and social regrouping usually result into formal association in different apparel, forms and nomenclatures. The genesis of Neighbourhood associations (NAs) in most neighbourhoods is far from being systematic; it is either subtle or sometimes spontaneous. Neighbourhood associations (NA) are largely voluntary, and yet require financial subscription from members, participation rate will be expectedly low since it is inconsistent with the typical human nature.

The chances that individual will participate in collective action in a neighborhoods depends on the inherent attributes of the individuals and the strength or importance of the collective goals. People participate in collective actions if they have grievances and there is potential threat. (Oropesa 1992, Venkatesh 2000. Olsen et al., 1989) examined collective action in their study of neighborhood associations and looked at the relative importance of neighborhood cohesion, community satisfaction, perceived neighborhood problems, perceived effectiveness of neighborhood organizations, perceived community problems, participation in political organizations, and demographic characteristics in predicting neighborhood association participation. And found out that the influence of these were very weak on participation rather community ties which is based on how long one has stayed in the community. In Ibadan, it was observed that fear of danger (real or perceived) are strong cohesive force in the residential neighborhoods.

6.0 Conclusion

In the final analysis, the willingness of NAs to intervene for common good depends in large part on condition of mutual trust and solidarity among members. The installation of security arrangement in urban neighbourhoods by the NAs, has brought a new dimension to social structure, relationships and liveability of the city in Ibadan but also imposes some norms and convention. It introduces behavioural patterns that enhance and strengthen social cohesion, good behaviour and responsible citizenships in Ibadan

In Ibadan residential neighbourhoods, public authorities are loudly absent and apathetic, revealing the prominence of self-organisation as the dominant mode of urban regulation. Under the condition of liberal law or no law at all, the residents are quick to develop rules, laws or

convention in their neighborhoods, these laws however may be a pointer to knowing how a set of people want to live together in a neighborhood. NAs administration has the potential of redistributing urban residents into their pure structure which can enhance urban managements. We recommend that the police need to collaborate with the neighbourhood association to educate them on issues relating to human right violations, and the strategies of community policing and crime watch.

The arrangement of people in space and the demarcation of social and spatial grouping of urban residents are a pointer to identifying effective local administration that is effective in a country where there are many unresolved issues on the jurisdictional partitioning and the democratic practice at the local level. The respect and the allegiance commanded by the NAs executive are comparable to the local government chairmen and the councillors, yet the neighbourhood associations executive are more visible in city neighbourhoods than the conventional government. Neighbourhood associations thus reflect how people want to be governed, while the Local government political leadership reflects alien or imposed administration which fails in many area at the local level. Social cohesion and primary affiliation in the neighbourhood is fast becoming Nigerian urban culture as most urban area in Nigeria sleep early.

6.0 References

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