

**THESIS TITLE:**

**COMMUNITY POLICING: EXPLORING THE  
POLICE/COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIP FOR CRIME  
CONTROL IN NIGERIA**

This thesis is submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Liverpool  
for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy.

By

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July, 2016.

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## **Statement of originality/certification**

This is to certify that this thesis is original and has not in any form been previously presented for any award whatsoever and is in fulfilment of the award of the Degree of Doctor in Philosophy (Sociology) at the Department of Sociology, Social Policy and Criminology of the School of Law and Social Justice, University of Liverpool United Kingdom.



## **Dedication**

This PhD thesis is dedicated to my beloved wife-Hafsat Hussein-Audu (Mrs) and children-Haneefah, Aisha, Fatima and Ruqqayat for their show of love and patience during the course of this doctoral program.

## Acknowledgement

In the context of my professed Religion-Al-Islam, I give special gratitude and adoration to my creator and Cherisher Allah (God) who has made it possible for me to be sound in health and all aspect of my life. It is to His glory that I have graciously witnessed a successful completion of my doctoral research programme at the Department of Sociology, Social Policy and Criminology University of Liverpool United Kingdom. If my family background is to be weighed on the basis of enabling financial resources, being in receipt of any levels of formal education should have been a nightmare. It is therefore an irony of fate that my educational career has taken me down to one of the Original Red-bricks institutions and Elite- Russell Group universities in Britain.

Prominent in my mind in this regard is the collective effort of members of my doctoral research supervisory team. First in this regard is the Lead-Supervisor Professor Sandra Walklate BA, M.tt, FAcSS (Eleanor Rathbone Chair of Sociology) and the Editor-in-Chief of the British Journal of Criminology and member- Dr Lynn Hancock. Although it is true that I personally designed the ideas in view of the prevailing increase in crime in Nigeria at the moment and which have developed into a thesis of this sort, this knowledge would have grossly suffered a setback but for the meticulous guardianship and constructive criticisms of my academic advisors. Apart from their world class expertise in the field of sociology in general and criminological/policing research in particular, their sense of professionalism, patience and consistency of thorough supervision have been exclusively an asset and a source of inspiration for my doctoral research career at the University of Liverpool. I have the rare privilege of being supervised by them and I have learnt a lot under their intellectual mentorship. I appreciate their collective effort in huge terms!!

In this regard, during my viva examination which was held on 24<sup>th</sup> March, 2016, I immensely benefitted from the constructive criticisms and invaluable suggestions of members of the team of examiners-The External Examiner and the Chair of Examiners-Barry Loveday, a Reader in Policing and Criminal Justice Administration at the University of Portsmouth UK. Also of note is the useful suggestions of the Internal Examiner -Dr Ross McGarry, a Senior Lecturer in criminology of war at the University of Liverpool.

During my time in the Department in Liverpool, I have gained a range of useful experience from notable academics. I am grateful to former Departmental Director of Postgraduate Research Professor Gabe Mythen; the incumbent Director of Postgraduate Research, Dr Susan Pickard; the Director of the International Criminological Research Unit of the School of Law and Social Justice (of which I am a member) and a world leading authority in youth crime and justice Professor Barry Goldson; the incumbent Head of Department of Sociology, Social Policy and Criminology and a leading expert in the Social Anthropology of Health and Illness Professor Jude Robinson; and our own expert on the Sociology of the crime of the powerful Professor David Whyte. Others are Dr Paul Jones; Dr Liz Turner, Dr Stephaine Petrie, Dr Karen Evans, Dr Michael Mair; Dr Andrew Kirton; Dr Leon Moosavi; Dr Roy Coleman and the Post-doctoral Research Associate Dr Dave Ellis. I am grateful to them all. I would like to acknowledge a range of services I enjoyed from the professional staff of the School of Law and Social Justice from the beginning to the end of my doctoral program in Liverpool. They are: Mrs Clare Horton, Mr Dominic Ventre, Miss Kayte Kelley, Mrs Gemma Davies. Miss Rebekah Hughes, Miss Leah Linton and Mr Joshua Bratt. Others are Miss Victoria James Mrs Jane Critchley, Miss Holly Nodwell and Miss Carly Bates. I give kudos to you all.

Also my colleagues like Caroline Ezekiel, Dr Dorothy Oppydy, Dr Louise Laverty, Dr Margarate Fine, Mr Will McGowan, Cerian Griffiths and others numerous to mention.

Again, it is interesting to note that this doctoral research has been recognised and entered in the records as a PhD research Project related to the '*Risk and Uncertainty*' by The Institute for Risk and Uncertainty University of Liverpool. Furthermore, it received a three-minute thesis competition Prize award at the Intellectual Property Summer Conference at the instance of the Department of Sociology, University of Lancaster UK. This is in recognition that this research is interesting and important to community's security needs. These awards and recognitions were not without a range of supports from organisations and individuals.

I would like to appreciate the Tertiary Education Trust Fund Nigeria and the University Management Committee of Kogi State University Anyigba under the Vice Chancellorship of Professor Hassan Salihu Isah for the grant of the overseas sponsorship in relation to this doctoral program in Liverpool. Also of note in this context is the former Head of Department of Sociology University of Ilorin Nigeria and former Deputy Vice Chancellor (Academics) Kogi State University Anyigba Professor Steve Metiboba as well as the Registrar of Kogi State University Anyigba Dr Abubakar Yunusa Idu. Others staff of Kogi State University Anyigba worthy of mention are Dr Akoji Ocheja, Dr S. U. Odoma, Mr Enema M. Achimugu, Mr Ocheni Abdullahi, Mr Gabriel Enejo Achoba. In the course of my doctoral studies, the emotional support of the following people is worth mentioning. My gratitude goes to Hajia Fatima Isah an accountant with the Edile Construction Company in Abuja, Hajara Hussaini-Nuhu (Mrs) and husband Nuhu Adam. My warm regards also to the management of Idah Local Government Council for the grant of Three hundred thousand naira only (N300,000.00) to complement the costs of doctoral field work in Kogi State of Nigeria. Further to these is the Support Fund Award No. 1006359 by the British Sociological Association in the

United Kingdom. The award dated 19th December, 2014 which amounted to the tune of £250 covers accommodation, flights, registrations and feeding costs enabled me to present my doctoral research paper to the wider audience of academic and professional sociologists at the Annual Conference of the Association that was held at the Glasgow Caledonian University, Glasgow in April, 2015.

I have also achieved similar *funding support award* (£250.00) from the School of Sociology, Social Policy and Criminology, University of Liverpool for presentation of research findings in meetings held in London and Liverpool. There were other similar different forms of supports: ‘Award of Waiver of Registration’ to the tune of five hundred Euros (500) to attend Sociology and Criminological Conference at the instance of World Academy of Science, Engineering and Technology in Paris June, 2014; The Meeting Attendance Award (Accommodation, feeding facilities and travel subsidy to the tune of two hundred and seventy Polis). This support was by the Committee on sociology, PAN; Institute of Philosophy and Sociology PAN; Merson Centre for international security Studies, Ohio State University USA; Department of Political Science, Ohio State University USA; Department of Sociology, Ohio State University USA to enable me attend the Nationalism and Conflict: Interdisciplinary Methodological Approaches Conferences and Workshop held on 10-15 December, 2012 in Warsaw, Poland.

There are Liverpool friends of Nigeria origin and well-wishers who have contributed in one way or the other towards my emotional wellbeing and the overall success of this project. I have to recognise late Dr Abeebe Salam Femi, Mr Moses D. Lugus, Joycelin Chinwe Okubuiro, Otokobong Thomas and many others which could not be mentioned here. I hugely appreciate them.

My late father, Musa Audu Alhassan Edili Oniku Malam-Mohammed (Omale) Abubakar Muhammed-Awwal whose sad event happened in June, 2009, was of fervent prayer to ensure that I complete my educational career in England. I could still remember vividly as he of the blessed memory used to ask ‘Aminu, when are you going to make your London trip? (Referring to the White man’s land) I foresee that you will make it. Your legs will touch the land’. He could not live to witness the ‘London trip’ but the ‘London trip’ has there after become a reality. It is my sincere prayer that his wishes were fruitful this day and in the future. I was brought up by my maternal grandfather, Late Alfa Musa whose sad event happened in February, 2001 and my late maternal grandmother, Titi Idachaba, whose sad event occurred in March, 2009. My late paternal grandmother, Anyegwu Onate was highly instrumental to the family’s survival history. I can still recall her loving dispositions towards me prior to her demise in 1991, when I was about completing my secondary education in Nigeria.

In the thesis draft which I submitted for examination, I had prayed that my mother Nana-Fatimah (Mary) Alfa, who has always been there for me in time of need and being the only surviving parent, be sustained in good health and peaceful life. Unfortunately and to my utter dismay, the first mobile phone call I received from one of my brothers at home in Nigeria, in the evening of 02<sup>nd</sup> of February, 2016 was a bad news. She was dead as she reportedly was ill for just less than half an hour. My ever supportive mother-in-law, Nana Aisha Abdullahi-Hussain is there for acknowledgement. As at October, 2011 when I was leaving Idah, my home town for England, I could not forget how she burst into tears as she was not sure of my meeting her alive upon my return after completion of studies. This speaks volumes of the deep-rooted love she has for me. I appreciate her emotional support and countless effort at raising her grandchildren.

## Abstract

The research aims to assess the impact of community policing as overseen by the UK-Department for International Development in Nigeria. This is informed by the increasing rate of crime such as armed robbery, kidnapping, insurgency, corruption and other forms of violence/terrorism in the country. There are perceptions about ‘police/public divide’ in which the members of public are not willing to cooperate with the police in terms of giving useful information that may assist in the prevention and control of crime in Nigeria. This situation has posed a serious threat to the Nigeria police’s ability to strategically position itself in order to perform a range of constitutional roles: protection of life and property as well as maintenance of law and order. Consequently, the UK Department for International Development in conjunction with the Nigerian government introduced community policing policy in 2002/3 to facilitate partnership between the police and community in order to provide safety conditions in the country. However, the prevailing reality suggests that the strategy, after a decade of its policy implementation in Nigeria, was not yielding the desired result because of what seems to be a lack of trust in the police by members of public. The study aims to establish whether or not there is trust gap between the police and members of the public. The available literatures do not adequately address this concern; hence the focus of this research is to examine the pattern of relationships between the police and community as co-producers of security of lives and property in Nigeria. The research adopts an interpretative framework to access the meaning attached to community policing from the perspectives of the stakeholders themselves. The empirical part of the study is qualitative in approach and engages the police and community in focus group discussions and individual in-depth interviews in Kogi State of north central Nigeria. The data obtained from field work have been analysed and the key findings in the context of these empirical data have indicated

that the desired positive impact of the implementation of community policing policy has not been fulfilled. This is as a result of the relationships gap between the police and community in Nigeria occasioned by the mistrust in the police by the members of public. This gap has a very dangerous implication on the country's desire to achieve a sense of community safety and security in Nigeria. The risk factors in this regard are that the prevailing family norms, values and the influence of community networks do not allow the community to report cases to the police. Perceptions of corruption by the police and community have negatively affected behaviours and the sense of trust needed to foster relationships among the stakeholders.

**Key words:** Community policing, police/community relationship and Nigeria



# Chapter One: Crime and policing in Nigeria

## 1.1 Introduction

This study investigates the impact of community policing program which was introduced and overseen in 2002/3 by the UK Department for International Development in Nigeria. This program seeks to promote collaboration between the police and the public for the purpose of bringing a re-assurance of community security and safety among the people of Nigeria and other stakeholders of the global community (SJG, DFID + British Council, 2010). This research has been informed by perceptions of changing level of crime and insecurity among stakeholders in Nigeria and the world. For example, there have been feelings among the citizens and foreign nationals alike suggesting cases of terrorism, kidnapping, inter-communal conflicts, advance fee fraud, human trafficking, drug trafficking and armed robbery among others (Dambazau, 2007; Civil Society Panel on Police Reforms in Nigeria report, 2012; Alemika and Chukwuma, 2003; Odekunle, 2010; Odekunle, 2014; Onyeozili, 2005; Rotimi and Ikuteyijo, 2012). The summary of crime statistics in Nigeria as presented by the CLEEN Foundation has indicated that the number of crime incidence such as child stealing, armed robbery and murder was two hundred and fifteen thousand, seven hundred and eighty-eight (215, 788) in 1987. The number of crime incidence rose to two hundred and eighty-nine thousand, one hundred and fifty six (289, 156) in 1993.

According to the National Bureau of Statistics of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the Annual Abstract of Statistics 2012 suggested that a total of one hundred and seventy two thousand three hundred and twenty six (172, 326) crime cases such as currency forgery, bribery and corruption were reported to the police in 2006. However, a total of one hundred and eight thousand, two hundred and forty five (108, 245) crime cases were reported to the police in 2011. Similarly in the victim survey carried out by the CLEEN Foundation in 2012, the

findings suggested that three out of every four Nigeria citizens have the fear of the likelihood of becoming victims of crime. This findings are suggestive of seventy five percent of Nigeria population in 2012 as against seventy-two percent in 2011. The same findings have also suggested that in 2012, the actual crime victimisation constitutes one in every three of the population. According to the United States Department of State Bureau of Diplomatic Security-2015 Nigeria Crime and Safety Report: Lagos, the perception of crime in the various parts of Nigeria has been alarming. This report stated that:

Crime is a risk throughout the country. US visitors and residents experienced armed muggings, assaults, burglaries, carjacking, rapes, kidnappings, and extortion...Home invasions remain a serious threat, with armed robbers threatening even guarded compounds by scaling perimeter wall...US citizens, Nigerians and other expatriates have been victims of armed robbery at banks and grocery stores and on airport roads during both daylight and evening hours...There remains a significant terrorist threat, especially in northern Nigeria. Efforts to combat terrorism and organised crime continued to prove challenging due to systemic corruption, limited operational capacity...The extremist group Boko Haram is suspected of, or has claimed responsibility for, most of the terrorist activity in Nigeria. Boko Haram carried out kidnappings, killings, bombings and attacks on civilian and military targets, resulting in over 4,000 deaths, injuries, and significant destruction of property in 2014. Ethnic and communal violence is endemic...kidnapping for ransom (KFR) continues to be a security concern nationwide and is a lucrative industry...Kidnapping incidents are under-reported, and the rate of unconfirmed kidnappings continues to grow. In March, 2013, a British expatriate was kidnapped at night while waiting for security guards to open the gate to his residence on Victoria Island after a US-sponsored event. In September, 2014, two American expatriates were kidnapped in the Niger Delta. The US Commission on International Religious Freedom estimates that approximately 14,000 Nigerians have died from sectarian violence since 1999, indicating that more Nigerians were killed by sectarian violence than by terrorism.

This report suggests that the people of Nigeria and nationals of other countries of the world are endangered species in terms of insecurity of life and property as well as abuse of fundamental human rights and freedom. In this kind of scenario, development activities hardly flourish. However there is a relative absence of reliable official crime records in

Nigeria so it is difficult to determine the actual number of crime cases (Marenin and Reisig, 1995). Despite this scenario, incidences of crime in Nigeria are being viewed as a threat to peace and leading to large scale loss of life and property as well as destruction of important social values in various parts of the country.

Ojo (2009) argued that there are over four hundred ethnic nationalities such as Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba, and Igbo before the Amalgamation in 1914 by the British Government to form a country now known as Nigeria. After a series of constitutional reforms as a result of persistent indigenous agitations for self-determination and a show of readiness on the part of British colonial masters to grant political power to the natives, Nigeria became an independent country in October, 1960 (Ojo, 2009). Ojo (2009) also noted that the country continued to pass through various stages of socio-cultural and political development, its multicultural characteristics and compositions were also perceived to be undergoing series of transformations. In the words of Marenin and Reisig (1995), Nigeria has witnessed a range of political instability occasioned by frequent military take-over of governance.

The country has robust history of socio-cultural, political and economic polarisations on the basis of ethnicity, religion, state of origin, class and ideological affiliations. Needless to state that these polarisations have implications that are related to social conflicts and tensions with enormous security risks in the country and beyond. These kind of socio-cultural structures have impacted on the pattern of policing and other relevant methods of social control and these patterns were prevalent until the era of colonialism when British colonial mechanisms of policing held sway. These multi-cultural compositions posed a lot of challenges to the system of policing and security in Nigeria (Dambazau, 2007). In the light of this study, it is pertinent to identify and provide understanding of the community and community policing which are considered as relevant to this research project.

## 1.2 What is community?

At this point, it is important to make clarification of the concept of community in view of its central position in community policing discourse. Community as a concept is contested and its definition is informed by which perspective is viewed. Mawby (1990:170) observed that community should be assessed based on criteria like territory, shared history, a common culture, or an established relationships. Ekong (2003:67-8) has defined community as an aggregation of families habitually living together within a definite geographical location more or less rooted in the soil they occupy, living in a state of mutual interdependence, supporting some basic social institutions and having some measure of political autonomy in relation to other communities. Ekong (2003) added that community comprises people within a common locality having shared interests and behavioural patterns, manifest mainly in the areas of production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services, socialization, social control, social participation and mutual support.

Wilmot (1987) cited in Walklate, (2006:171), in his own categorisation, suggested that ‘territorial community’ are those people who live in a particular area, the ‘interest community’ refers to the people that have something in common over and above geographical area in which they live, and the ‘attachment community’, that is people who have a sense of belonging to a place. According to him, the way in which people experience living in their community may comprise any or mixture of these categorisations at any moment in time and can change over time. Communities in Nigeria pre-colonial times hugely have shared in this range of socio-cultural characteristics such as tribes, families, occults and religion. These

socio-cultural arrangements have potential influences and links to patterns of police/community relationship among communities in Nigeria's post-colonial periods.

### **1.3 What is community policing?**

Before examining the transfer of community policing policy to Nigeria, it is pertinent to put in proper perspective a range of models in which community policing strategy have been identified by various authorities. This is important in view of the fact that the study itself is meant to investigate police/community relationship patterns and the nature of understanding of the concept among the stakeholders in order to ensure implementation of community policing strategy in Nigeria.

Community policing, problem-oriented policing and intelligence-led policing were part and parcel of the various movements for the improvement of policing structures. Such improvements are aimed towards creating the culture of service as against the reactional and authoritarian approaches (Alderson, 1977, 1979 cited in Tilley, 2010 in Newburn). According to Lyons, (2002 as cited in Dirikx and Bulck 2014), for law enforcement to be successful is heavily a function of people's willingness to report crime or any forms of suspicious activities, to seek for police assistance, and to also serve as informants or witnesses. Dirikx and Bulck (2014) have added that such cooperation in terms of eliciting of sufficient information was needed from the citizens in order to embark on effective provision of community safety and security. According to the observations of Siegel and Senna (1997:491), one of the most important changes in American law enforcement is the emergence of the community policing model of crime prevention. This was, according to them, based on the premise that police departments do not make efficient crime- fighting

organization when they operate alone. Police should gain the community trust, contacts and assistance of concerned citizens so the police can carry out their duties more effectively.

Siegel and Senna (1997:491) went further to say that the main police role should be to increase feelings of community safety and encourage area residents to cooperate with their local police agencies. This call is to support the need to provide solutions to the problem of crime and enhance public confidence. The need for an enabling institutional mechanism whereby the police can live up to their responsibility has informed the idea of community policing in the 1970s. The idea was developed in developed countries of the world-USA, UK and in less than a decade later, the idea was being transferred to the countries of Africa and other developing economies (Rowe, 2008). Hills (2014) argued that the act of policing has proved to be a dangerous job in its own right in terms of the risk of assassinations. As a result, there are growing assumptions that police officers at different jurisdictions share similar concerns. However, Hills (2014) still recognised the police officers need to accommodate substantial level of public distrust in order to succeed in the mandate of crime prevention.

Going by the words of United States Community Policing Consortium (1994 as cited in Ratcliffe, et al, 2005:326), community policing is collaboration between the police and the community that identifies and solves community problems. According to this contention, with the police no longer the sole guardians of law and order, all members of the community would have to become active allies in the effort to enhance the safety and quality of neighbourhoods. The implementation of community policing ideological framework requires focusing on issues of crime and social disorder through the delivery of police services. This includes aspects of traditional law enforcement, as well as prevention, problem solving, community engagement and partnerships (U.S Department of Justice, 2008:1). The strategy calls for a

police-community partnership and collaboration in crime fighting activities to ensure community safety.

The fundamental principles of community policing prescribe that there should evolve a platform whereby members of public are willing to cooperate and build partnerships with the appropriate authorities and this is achievable by allowing them access to security decisions that impact on them. In this connection, the police are expected to see themselves as part of the community and in similar manner community members are also expected to see themselves as part of the police which in turn results in pursuing crime reduction activities in the neighbourhoods (Okeke, 2006). Friedman (1992) has argued that many police forces throughout the world claim to practice community policing, but often the concept is misunderstood and misapplied. It is not untypical for community policing to be perceived as a single model or technical specification that can somehow be transplanted into any policing environment regardless of organizational or cultural context. Rather, community policing is a philosophy and value system against which policing objectives and performance are measured. Therefore, local models will vary and evolve according to the differing communities, whilst retaining and sharing the same set of core values.

According to the US Department of Justice (2012:5), police hardly solve public safety problems alone, but do so by calling for interactive partnerships with relevant stakeholders. The range of potential partners is large and this partnership can be used to accomplish the two interrelated goals of developing solutions to problems through collaborative problem solving and improving public trust. Indeed, community plays an important role in ensuring its own safety. Problem solving requires that police and the community work together in identifying neighbourhood problems and that community assumes greater guardianship of the neighbourhood (Leon-Guerrero, 2005:287). This is an indication of increasing importance of

the order-maintenance and service provision functions in the operation of police agencies (Ni (Phil) He, Zhao, and Lovrich, 2005:303).

Skogan (2006, as cited in Rowe, 2008) has suggested that community policing is a process rather than a product and embraces three key elements: citizens' involvement, problem solving and decentralisation. Trojanowicz and Bucqueroax(1990, as cited in Tilley then Rowe, 2008) emphasised that community policing is both a philosophy and organisational strategy to allow community residents and police to work together in new ways to solve problems of crime, fear of crime, physical and social disorder and neighbourhood decay. Friedman(1992:2-4) examined community policing as a policy and a strategy aimed at achieving more effective and efficient crime control, reduced fear of crime, improved quality of life, improved police services and police legitimacy, through a proactive reliance on community resources that seek to change crime causing conditions. This assumes a need for greater accountability of police, greater public share in decision making, and greater concern for civil rights. Rowe (2008) reaffirmed that one reason why community policing has not transplanted effectively to developing countries is that its adoption is primarily occasioned by the need to access international aid, and so the roots of community policing run shallow in these circumstances.

There is a more general conundrum that has implications for developed and developing countries alike, which imply that community policing is intended, among other things, to contribute to the development of social cohesion and capital. This means that qualities that are important to the success of the community policing itself. The phenomenon of community policing calls for meaningful understanding and relationship with the community in the areas of operation and decision making. Community policing also suffers from a problem of



buzzword adoption; where many policy agencies claim to be practicing community policing with little knowledge of the fundamental philosophy of the paradigm (Ratcliffe, et al 2005).

In the light of this, Wycoff and Skogan(1998:140) contended that community policing is based on elements which include 1-consultation- this is a situation whereby police put in place platforms for talking to residents and other community stakeholders about crime and other related problems requiring police attention, then community oriented priorities and ways to provide for their solution; 2-adaptation-this concerns the context in which the police are flexible in their approaches bearing in mind the cultural peculiarities of communities involved. Community policing decentralises decision making in a way that the various commands develop strategies to fit the particular problems of different societies. 3-mobilisation- this involves those forms of activities police undertake to enlist the assistance of the community to protect themselves and solve problems that generate crime.

The police resources are supplemented by the community to curb crime in the locality such as providing information, setting up of Neighbourhood Watch programmes, participation in crime prevention workshops, joining police-community advisory councils and financial contributions to crime prevention programmes etc. Okeke (2006) stated that by tradition, any operational strategy developed by the police department is expected to have general application without recourse to cultural peculiarities of the area involved. This philosophical position takes root similar to the Management by Objectives theory which in which employees of an organisation have willingness and motivation to put in their best mental and material resources towards enhancing the organisational objectives and goals. This is consequent upon realisation that the employees are involved in decisions making processes that have direct bearings on their concerns. This theory gives room for participatory action and trust building in the affairs of an organisation (Okeke, 2006).

Furthermore, Senna and Siegel (1997) have regarded community policing as potentially useful for a number of reasons. First, community policing strategy readily moves police officers from a position of anonymity in the patrol car to direct engagement with the community gives them more immediate information about problems unique to a neighbourhood and insights into their solutions. Second, it frees officers from the emergency response system and to engage officers more directly in pro-active crime prevention. Third, it assists in making operations more visible to the public while at the same time increases police accountability to the public. In addition, decentralizing operations allow officers to be more familiar with the specific workings and needs of various neighbourhoods. This is in addition to the needs of various constituencies in the community and to adapt procedures to accommodate those needs.

Despite the importance of community policing to the security needs of the contemporary world, Reiner (2000) logically presented more or less a major critique of this development. For example, Reiner (2000) argued that by virtue of the tactical disposition and nature of manner associated with the police work, there are inherent tendencies that police would fall prey to political influence. Reiner (2000) however argued that police should not be politicised even in the face of the prone operational uniqueness of the police organisation and governance. Reiner (2000) drew memory to some peculiarities of the police work and which have a range of implications on the practice of community policing. For instance, Reiner (2000) stated that police are closely connected with resolution of conflicts but usually through the power of coercion and criminal law. In other words, there are actions of the police which will certainly plugged individuals and groups into feeling of being policed against and to expect the police to command universal love among the public could be a mirage (Reiner, 2000).

These actions and inactions makes the police to inherently loose the necessary legitimacy and love of the public. For the police to gain legitimacy, it is not necessary that individuals and groups accept the police pattern of doing things in the society and that the police cannot serve the whole community if there is any need having a police at all (Reiner, 2000). The practice of community partnership policy encourages the police officers to perceive community members as partners in crime prevention and community safety and in the process improves relationships between the police and public. A shift in paradigms of the police's decision making and discretionary powers downwards to patrol officers has the capacity to place more authority in the hands of the people who best known community problem and expectations (Senna and Siegel 1997:491).

Innes (2003) has also justified community policing as follows: the police should serve the community by ensuring that police activities were driven by responding to the needs and desires of the community, rather than the interests of police managers; developing closer relations with the public would restore popular support for the police; Improve public relations would also have the effect of improving the police's ability to control crime, as it would improve the flow of local intelligence that is crucial in solving crime; community policing is also important in that, it is constitutive of one of the key trends in reconfiguration of the social control apparatus, whereby the engagement of community has been promoted as a key mechanism for the delivery of enhanced levels of control(Innes,2003:67-8).

The reasons for adopting the more proactive approach inherent in community policing are both philosophical and pragmatic. At the philosophical level, any police organization that seeks to serve democratic and humanitarian ideals must be, and be seen open, fair, apolitical, accountable and responsive to public perceptions and expectations. Such policing is characterized by the notion of police service rather than police force, where the most

significant benchmarks of performance are public satisfaction, trust, and confidence. Community policing, thus intended to institute a model and philosophy of policing that would re-establish a connection between the police and the community (Innes, 2003). According to Cheurprakobkit and Puthongsiriporn (2005:287), an earlier study of community policing conducted by the San Diego Police Department lends credence to the importance of two components of community policing: police-citizen partnership and problem solving. The study, as reported, found out that there are much stronger ties between the police and the community members and that was turned out to be more important resources for policing in the areas of encouraging police officers to develop creative solutions that led them to solve complex crime problems more effectively.

The implementation of community policing would promote service culture within policing institutions characterised by implementing favourable interpersonal behaviour, proper management of time, professional appearance, good conduct, well-organised work areas, job efficiency, proper management of good image of the police organisation through responsible and accountable leadership and satisfactory service for the clients, which in this case is the community (Cheurprakobkit and Puthongsiriporn, 2005:289). Putting this study in context, it is important to note that despite of the promising operational disposition of community policing as a strategy, Button, 2007, Rowe, 2008 have however argued that more often than not, this kind of strategy of policing, meant to ensure adequate security, have been less than successful.

According to this argument, the enabling socio-cultural patterns were not usually put into consideration as required at the point of introduction. Hence the policy is being introduced into social, political and economic context that are not conducive to developing civil society relations with the police service. The police maltreat innocent citizens instead of giving them

protection while communities treat police officers with suspicion, and consequently crime issues are not usually reported to the police authorities. As a result, there is a growing reliance on the private security industry to fill the gap between what the state can provide in terms of policing resources and the insatiable demands for policing service (Button, 2007:976). This has become a matter for great concern to both law enforcement officers as well as ordinary citizens who would like to feel assured of their safety. Under this scenario, the primary aim of fostering police/community collaboration suffers setback.

#### **1.4 A statement of the problem**

The Civil Society Panel on Police Reforms in Nigeria report (2012) reflects a range of concern about the divisions in communication between police officers and the public in Nigeria. The report suggests that this division in the police/community relationship has been identified as an inherent hurdle in the system of policing in Nigeria. This is in terms of the ability of the police to really position itself as the constitutionally recognised and trusted security agent to which citizens of all categories could take their security concerns in Nigeria. The public perception in relation to lack of public confidence and the corresponding cultural gap has assumed a level whereby members of community are not willing to give useful information to the police in the task of preventing and controlling crime in Nigeria. This situation has been identified as one of the main problems in the implementation of various policing policies and programmes and this actually led to the call for the introduction of community policing in Nigeria (Civil Society Panel on Police Reform in Nigeria Report, 2012).

Hills (2014) argued that the promotion of police and community partnership had been carried out by a range of politicians, practitioners, and criminal justice scholars who firmly believe in facilitating effective policing through partnership strategy. This kind of partnership strategy tends to serve as a means to build trust between the local people and the police. Hills (2014) stated that most of the countries of Africa that have engaged with community partnership approach to policing have not been as successful as planned. At the centre of both individual and institutional programmes there should be ethical policing as a matter of ideology. By the way, social problems should be perceived as issues of collective responsibility by the police and public in terms of identification, priority and problem solving (Hills, 2008). As part of demonstration of the tendency to ensure robust relationship between the police and community, various regimes of the federal government of Nigeria have stated the readiness to promote ideals of community policing in the country.

Conversely, there is an experience of the increase in the perceptions of crime and insecurity such as insurgency, kidnapping, armed robbery, youth restiveness and cultism in the country. This is a clear indication that the police-community partnership strategy introduced for relatively over a decade as argued by Dickson (2007), has not really achieved its original aims and objectives in Nigeria. To buttress this point further, even in recent times, there was an official policy statement credited to the President, Federal Government of Nigeria Muhammadu Buhari reiterating the concern of the government of Nigeria to give priority to community policing on the nation's security agenda. This Presidential speech was delivered at the National Security Summit held on the 17<sup>th</sup> August, 2015 held International Conference Centre Abuja, organised by the Sun Newspaper and Nigeria Police Force. At the occasion President Buhari stated thus:

‘...Today’s event represents a significant step in the effort of the new government towards redefining the policing and national security arrangements for our country. The significance of the event lies in its potential to galvanise community support and secure citizens’ consent for the Nigeria Police in advancement of their crime prevention and detection mandate. As stated in my inaugural address, we intend by the end of our four-year tenure to attempt to erect and maintain an efficient, disciplined, people-friendly and well-compensated security architecture. Effective policing of a society is dependent on the level of security consciousness of citizens and the strength of the understanding that exists between the Policing Agencies and the community. This explains why it is generally acknowledged that no police force in the world, no matter how well motivated, equipped or trained can successfully operate without the acceptance and support of the various communities. The need for community input to policing and crime management in Nigeria has even become imperative considering our current national security challenges in which kidnapping, armed robbery, murder, transnational crimes, terrorism, and other organised crimes have evolved to threaten our national values and overall progress as a nation...’(President Muhammad Buhari, 17 August, 2015)

In the light of this speech coming from Mr President, it is a pointer to the urgent need to foster collaboration between the police and the public so to reduce the risk of crime in Nigeria. However, as promising as this Presidential remark, this event was not the first of its kind to give prioritise to police/community partnership option in the country. Rather, successive administrative regimes from the time of former President Ibrahim Babangida, had also taken similar policy directions. The bane in this regard is the lack of fundamental knowledge of the nature, dynamics and risk factors associated with community policing in Nigeria as well as other sister countries of Africa. This lack of substantial knowledge about the culture that supports community policing has basically made its implementation absolutely difficult, not to talk of finding the suggestions to solve the problem of crime in Nigeria. Meanwhile, as noted by Hills (2014), to foster partnership between the police and community is also a function of trust, but that trust as a common denominator for this kind of relationship is problematic in Nigeria.

Despite the immediacy and enormity of the challenges associated with crime and insecurity in Nigeria at the moment, there has been surprisingly lack of adequate studies conducted on community policing involving all the stakeholders, that is, the police personnel and community members in Nigeria, and how its culture might be better improved, in terms of policy and practice. The study focuses on Nigeria in West Africa, the most populous black nation, south of the Sahara. However, this research would not cover entire population in the area due to size, time and financial constraints. The study therefore focuses on the police and community in Kogi State of the north-central region. In view of this problem, this study is concerned with the following aims and objectives.

## **1.5 Aims and Objectives of the Research**

The study aims and objectives focus on:

1. Considering the impact of community policing strategy overseen by the UK-DFID in 2002/3 in Nigeria.
2. Examining whether or not there is communication gap between the police and community necessary for the provisions of security in Nigeria
3. Providing policy makers and other stakeholders on policing and security with an enhanced knowledge of the nature, dynamics, risk factors in the implementation of community policing policy in Nigeria
4. Making valuable suggestions for a culture that supports the practice of community policing policy for crime control in Nigeria

In the light of need to fulfil the above mentioned aims and objectives, and to provide veritable answers to issues of which this research was concerned, this study has raised the following questions.



## 1.6 Research Questions

1. What does community policing mean as expressed in the views of police officers, community members and in official documents in Nigeria?
2. What kind of relationship between the police and community do these views suggest?
3. What problems do these views about community policing imply for the success of the community policing project in Nigeria?

## 1.7 Summary

This chapter has discussed an overview of the study, the nature of crime problem, the inter-connections between statements of problems, research aims, objectives and as well as questions in which the investigation is to provide answers. Fundamental concepts such as community and community policing have been explained in the context of this study. Chapter two focuses on the nature and dynamics of policing as it relates to Nigeria in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods and organisation of Nigeria Police Force in the modern sense. Chapter three has detailed the policy transfer of community policing in Nigeria and the contemporary challenges confronting community policing in the context of this transfer. Chapter four is then focused on research approaches and methodology, while chapters five; six and seven have addressed thematic analysis of the findings on the basis of empirical data gathered from doctoral fieldwork conducted in Kogi State of north-central Nigeria. Chapter eight focuses on general discussions in the light of these empirical findings and core issues that emerged in the context of these discussions. Chapter nine is the conclusion focussing on recommendations, concluding remarks as well as the implications of this study for further investigation.

## **Chapter Two: An overview of policing in Nigeria**

### **2.1 Introduction**

A range of views has suggested that the concept and principle of community policing in terms of underlining philosophy and practice have been part and parcel of indigenous African people and the pre-colonial Nigeria cultures in particular. For example, Dambazau (2007:224) pointed out that the principles of community and community policing were not new to traditional African societies. He maintained that socio-cultural structures and patterns of behaviour in the forms of respect for elders, the appreciation of extended family system, consciousness of the traditional values and a sense of collective responsibility and security within the community all combined to provide instruments of policing. According to Dambazau's (2007) view, there is an understanding that prior to the coming of the colonialists to the countries in Africa, the black people in Africa were in control of their societies in terms of checking behavioural excesses among members. Correspondingly, positive or negative sanctions were applied where and when necessary to ensure that norms and values were preserved, an indication that traditional societies in Nigeria had their own ways of order maintenance. Consequently, investigation of police/community relationship pattern and the meaning attached to community policing by the stakeholders is to some extent dependent on examining previous policing features of the community in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Nigeria. The evaluations of these policing dynamics are necessary in order to determine how historical antecedents of these institutions have impacted on the contemporary struggle to forge collaboration in the police/community relationship in Nigeria.

## 2.2 Family and kinship Institutions

In order to put pre-colonial Nigeria policing and patterns in proper perspectives, it is important to examine the nature and fundamentals of its social organisations. Against this back drop, prominent among organisations worth examining are family, kinship. Miachi (2000) argued that nuclear family is the smallest social unit but inseparably tied to the extended family system involving the lineage and the clan. According to Scott (2000:38), kinship institutions are those that are specifically concerned with defining and regulating the relations of descent that result from whatever blood relations are recognised by the members of a society. This is as defined by the culture and tradition of the people involved. Miachi (2000) further argued that all members of extra nuclear-family units in this context regard one another as brothers or sisters and a number of agnatic families combine to form a clannish system and a number of them may constitute a hamlet or even a village. According to Alemika and Chukwuma (2011), there are necessities for the preservation of social order, safety and social relations, through varieties of institutions and groups, both formal and informal, to ensure security and safety of members of community as well as conformity to its norms and values. It is worth highlighting that policing has to do with affairs in relations to the security of people, who reside in a geographical location, whether at clan, village, town, state or national level, provided that there have common interest of protecting their lives and property; and who have identified that certain acts are reprehensible to community wellbeing. The police must operate within boundaries because such boundaries determine legal jurisdiction, and based on area of coverage such as districts (Dambazau, 2007:247).

In most of traditional African societies, they were socio-culturally homogenous where almost everybody shares same language, norm, cultural philosophy and understood basis of life in similar perspective (Ejizu, 2011). This singular condition plays significant role in the

respective success stories of these societies in terms of their socio-political organisation and activities. Ejizu (2011) stated that for the traditional African people, the concept of community transcends beyond a social grouping of people that are bound together on the basis of common origin and common interest and values. It is a combination of both the visible and invisible worlds. According to this argument, within the same environment, there is the world of physical living and the world of the ancestors, divinities and souls of the children even yet to be born to the respective kin-group. Often, the members of such hamlets or villages trace their origin to common apical ancestors. As the spiritual guardians of their various communities and families, ancestors are believed to reincarnate in the new-borns, and could even be named after the ancestor believed to have reincarnated in the life of the child.

In this context, Ojo (2009:2) contended that ethnic groups are socio-cultural entities which, while inhabiting the same state, country, or economic area, consider themselves biologically, culturally, linguistically, or socially distinct from each other and in most cases view their relations in actual or potentially antagonistic terms. Among the Igbo ethnic group of the south-east Nigeria, village was the centre of activities where critical decisions that affect the communities were taken by the elders, usually selected from every family units based on seniority of age (Agbogun, 2011).

### **2.3 Traditional socio-political practices**

It is important to note that within institutions of family and kinship, there are other social practices that are of significance in terms of policing in the pre-colonial Nigeria. As noted by Okoh (1995:162), in all pre-colonial political systems, the purpose of society and governance were clearly articulated and understood by all and the promotion of welfare of the people was the fundamental duty of government. Thus, when harvest failed or epidemics befell a

community, it was the concern of everybody and common solutions were collectively found, and if necessary the oracle would be consulted. Each community operated with a minimum sense of fairness and justice for each member of the polity. Also of note is the observation of Okafo (2007) which stated that the social control mechanism in Nigeria and by extension in most of the African states is classified into indigenous and foreign. The emphasis in this case is that while indigenous social control institutions are centred on a range of traditions, native laws, customs and other aspects of cultures reflecting originalities of their being, the foreign dimension is English in origin and bears the fundamentals of European cultures and traditions. Similarly, Adedeji (2012) posited that policing and social control in the indigenous African sense is structured by well rooted cultural conditions citing the beliefs in ancestors among the people as one of the prominent. The position further noted that chastity before marriage-virginity, selflessness, sense of community sharing are some of the characters approved as a reflections of virtues of morality.

However, wickedness, stealing, falsehood, hypocrisies, disrespect for elders, killing, adultery and fornication are some of the items that are regarded as taboos, forbidden and disapproved of, not only to the world of living but among the dead who are believed to have allegiance to the welfare of the society. For example, among the Igbo society of the South East Nigeria, there is belief in reincarnation whereby their deceased members as well as ancestors do have a come-back to temporal life (Onyeozili and Ebbe, 2012). Akinwale (2010) buttressed this further that it is the tradition of most African societies that a reigning monarch have to go on self-exile, abdicate, or even to the extent of committing suicide if found guilty of what the community defined as serious offence against land. This goes to portray traditional institutions as recognising in-built mechanism to check power excesses and abuse. Customs derive their strength from the acceptance by members of community as obligatory on themselves, but those rules are largely unwritten. The source is therefore the recollection of

elders and others whose traditional roles enable them to have special knowledge of the customs and traditions of their people (Gasiokwu, 2004:42).

It is pertinent to argue that there are diverse influences on culture in terms of how people make sense of community engagement in policing. For example, in view of the role of Islam in the lives and cultural aspects of the Hausa/Fulani of the northern part of Nigeria, it suffices to claim that there are no significant lines dividing religion from morality in the African sense of the matter. According to Callaway(1987:379 cited in Olaniyi, 2011), the Islamic concepts as a means of legitimising political authority among the Hausa/Fulani of the northern part of Nigeria dates from the time of Muhammad Rumfa, who was the first acknowledged Muslim Emir of Kano between 1463 and 1499. The trends of Islamic forms of governance and social control were reinforced during the Sokoto Jihad (Islamic holy war) of the early nineteenth centuries led by Othman Danfodio. Elaigwu and Galadima (2003:6 cited in Olaniyi, 2011) noted that the 1804 Sokoto Jihad (Islamic Holy War) contributed to the spread of Islam in Hausa land and beyond, and in the process the emirate system was established. The emirs were made religious and political leaders of their respective domains, in the areas of education, administration and judicial issues purely on Islamic principles and best practice. Religion plays a crucial role in the ethical dynamics of their societies as ‘Allah (God)’ serves as ‘policemen’ (Ejizu, 2011).

## **2.4 Masquerades, age-grade and ancestors practices**

Also of note in relation to understanding of traditional community engagements in policing is the role of institutions of masquerades and its associated age-grade and ancestor practices. Of particular point of reference is the central influence of these cultural practices on socio-political and security arrangements among many communities in pre-colonial, colonial and

post-colonial Nigeria. The case of Otite and Oginowo (2006:35) clearly illustrate well the point that the age-grade organisation in Africa was a system of government prior to colonial rule; it involves the youth and the elders in the making and maintenance of law and order and in the regulation of society in general. In addition to the obligatory role of maintaining the law of the land, the community accredited groups do perform some military duties in the forms of protecting the community against external incursions. The age-grade, ancestors' worships and masquerades system among the pre-colonial Nigeria societies were instances of socio-cultural patterns suggesting the practice of indigenous community participation in policing activities.

Furthermore, Okechukwu (2013) noted that the institutions such as the Age grade societies, Umu ada or Umu okpo group and the Masquerades perform various duties that have community policing and political implications. These range of community engagements in relation to security concerns are better understood in the light of the peculiar cultural background of the people directly connected to it. Opone (2012:58) emphasised that Enuani indigenous governmental administration is a combination of monarchy, village form of democracy and aristocracy. Although a gathering of all members, both the elders and youths in a village assembly are reflections of democratic principles. However the emphasis on male members at the expense of their female counterparts raises issues in relation to gender. In the assembly, vital issues affecting the community are decided upon. He further added that the chief Obi system represents the monarchical structure while the title Eze usually bestowed on the wealthy and the nobles reflects the aristocracy.

Each of these structures has clearly defined powers, duties, responsibilities and privileges. In these connections, masquerades are used as agents of policing within the context of societal cultures and traditions. The roles of age-grades includes the building of roads and of public houses and shrines, carrying out the instruction of elders in matters of Government and the

provision of police duties such as the maintenance of peace, protection of public and private property, the arrest of defaulters and the punishment of offenders. Closely related to structures that perform community defence functions is the case of Obaje Odidi, who acted as the head of the military group of the then traditional Igala community on the River Niger at the time, led a war against the invading White (British) men during the era of colonialism (Sydney Seton, 1927:29). The military and police exploits of Obaje Odidi and his encounter with the colonial agents were as a result of the loyalty and sophistication of his group as well as the unconditional defence of Igala Kingdom at the time. It was an indication that Igala Kingdom was an organised polity at least capable of defending itself against external threats.

According to the view of Miachi (1980:25), among the Igala people of the north-central Nigeria, Masquerades are sometimes directed to publicly discipline thieves, adulterers, and indolent people, the haughty and other related social behaviour defined as deviant. Regardless of the offender's gender, disciplinary measures could take any or some of several forms depending on the magnitude of the offence. Talking masquerades such as *Amuda*, *Egwu afia* or *Ajamalede* could publicly rebuke erring or disobedient members of society, calling out their names one after the other, cursing and warning them. The ritualized egwu afia chartings and warnings are usually taken even much more seriously as it is believed by all that prophecies and cursings at their instance come true. Miachi(1980) also asserted that among the Igala, masquerades or what have been regarded as incarnate beings are held to be the ancestors of the people coming out in grace and in love and sometimes in fury or anger but with purposeful corrective aims and objectives for the purification and re-ordering of a disorganization created by the living. Miachi (2012) has further asserted that in line with the African beliefs, a mask or masquerade is an incarnate being, conceptualized to originate from and belong to the world of the dead ancestors.



Thus, the concept and practice of incarnate being and ancestors were directly and indirectly rooted in and interwoven with the religion and cosmology of African people (Miachi, 1980:19). For instance, the masquerade *Abule* belongs to the class of noise making masquerades that come out by night and are, in principle, not seen by members of community. They are in a sense, *egwu* (ancestors), and speak with the shrill, stylized voices that are associated especially with the ancestors, this association with the ancestors of the land is one of the basic notion of Igala religion and the *Abule* masquerade is one of the few forms in which this notion is translated into a form of policing of sort. This set of assertions has been supported by the view of Ejiizu (2011) within the context of African policing and social control.

According to Ejizu(2011), there are taboos in place under the African traditional setting that are meant to take care of the need of the individual human person for his/her security of life and property, in the forms of, for example, stiff penalties for wilful murder of a person. The *Abule* come out from time to time in connection with the land festival to warn householders to be ready or to punish any man whose behaviour during the year consistently falls short of the standards set for a member of the community (Boston, 1968:155-156).

Onadeko (2008:15) noted that prior to the era of colonialism in Nigeria, there had been a system of arbitration through a range of indigenous institutions, which could be in the form of sanctions, taboos, customs and mores that were as old as the Yoruba people themselves. Yoruba people who mainly reside in the states of Oyo, Ekiti, Ogun, Ondo, and Lagos in the Western part of Nigeria and some parts of Kwara, Edo and Kogi in north-central region (Onadeko, 2008:16). However, Abdullahi and Salawu (2012:29) argued that during the Enlightenment period, the European voyagers, scholars and other sister agents of colonialism employed racially based sentiments through the adoption of some denigrating and derogatory

concepts on African-oriented system of policing. The argument moved a step further to state that concepts such as backward, awkward, barbaric and non-progressive, savagery, uncivilised, and rudimentary were tactically employed in order to make a mockery of any cultural, economic and political systems and practices that were not of Western origins and orientations.

Attesting to this opinion, Onyeozili (2005) stated that the advent of colonialism brought about the distortion of the traditional institutions and values that had previously sustained order maintenance, harmonious relationship, peace and the security of lives and property in the pre-colonial African communities. This rather idealised notion of order in pre-colonial times could appear very appealing to those who might have sympathy for the victims of colonialism at their respective territories. However, as these societies continue to undergo some changes and transformations arising from cultural diffusions and exchange, which has resulted to widening heterogeneity, one begins to wonder how the notion could have survived. There are contextual issues surrounding whether or not there could be any implications of colonial interruptions, and whether or not policing mechanism of these traditional societies would have assumed a way and dimension capable of providing security of lives and property expected among the Nigeria people of today cannot be answered. The prevailing cultural patterns at the time have also suggested that though some of the methods in use among the traditional societies are embedded in secrecy and in most instances gender biased, the relatively cultural homogenous status of these societies likely accounted for the relative success of these policing institutions. This is most especially when viewing it from the perspective that the existing beliefs were commonly held and shared, so everybody in the community perceived life from similar sense of perspective.

Despite the general cases of insurgencies in various part of the country there is a reflection of the relevance of indigenous, religion-based, and informal policing apparatus of various indigenous communities in Nigeria. There was a degree of variation between the indigenous community policing system and type of policing system regarded as nation-state policing brought to bear during colonialism and the impact of such variations can by no means easy to determine. This is viewed in terms of what role it stands to play in the effort to institutionalise the strategy of community policing within the context of contemporary Nigeria. However, considering the culture of impunity and pre-judicial methods mostly associated with operations of these informal policing institutions in Nigeria, positive contributions to efficacy of community policing practice is much in doubt. To reveal the extent of variation between the indigenous and colonial methodologies of policing, it is pertinent to analyse the policing patterns during colonialism in Nigeria.

## **2.5 Policing in Nigeria-The Colonial Period**

Having examined the pre-colonial and indigenous methods of policing in Nigeria, it is important to also examine the introduction of policing in Nigeria under colonial Britain. British colonial authorities ensured that various aspects of British cultures and traditions including politics, economy, and health as well as policing were introduced into their captured territories as a way of establishing British spheres of influence and domination. The introduction of modern and State-based policing apparatus by colonial Britain marked the era of variations in policing from the pre-existing pattern among the indigenous population (Butler, 1996:219).

In 1851, the British, with the aid of naval apparatus at their disposal, bombarded Lagos into submission. In 1861, the occupation was formalised and Lagos was proclaimed a British Colony. Due to unpredictable nature of security situation of the area at the time, Consul Foote then requested for the establishment of a Consular Guard of one hundred men to be permanently stationed in Lagos (Alemika and Chukwuma, 2011; Onyeozili, 2005). However, the proposal was not approved by the Foreign Office but it nevertheless marked the beginning of the idea to have a police force in colonial Nigeria. Following the demise of the Governor of the Lagos Colony, Consul Foote in 1861, Mr McCoskry was immediately appointed the Acting Governor. Though that the whole exercise was a well calculated one which predated 1861, it was the acting Governor that started the major move to establish the colonial police (Tamuno, 1970; Onyeozili, 2005). Alemika and Chukwuma (2011) argued that the British colonizers carried out their colonial projects by employing elements of violence and deceptions which resulted in the occupation of different societies that currently constitute Nigeria and this actually began in 1861 from the territory of Lagos. According to this view, as at 1903, they had colonized almost all the near four hundred ethnic nationalities in the country. In a related development, in April 1861, according to Tamuno (1970), the British Consul in Lagos obtained permission from his principal in London to establish a Consular Guard comprising 30 men. The Consul, the then Acting Governor of Lagos, Mr McCoskry organized and established the nucleus of the first police force, which marked the starting point of the modern police institution in the history of Lagos, and by extension, in the history of what later became known as Nigeria (Tamuno, 1970).

The Guards were augmented to one hundred men to form the Armed Police Force in 1862, following the movement of a battalion of the West Indian Regiment from Gambia to Lagos to complement the newly formed police force. Mr Henry S. Freeman assumed duty as the substantive first Governor of Lagos on February 22, 1862 with the setting up of four different

courts. The courts were staffed by police personnel charged with the responsibility of settling less serious cases; a commercial court handled cases of debts and breach of contracts. The commercial court was under the exclusive jurisdiction of the British merchants, underscoring the vested interests attached to it. The criminal court chaired by a stipendiary magistrate assisted by two relatively unlettered British merchants as assessors, handled very serious cases. The slave court, structured in similar manner to the criminal court, attended to cases deemed related to slavery (Ahire, 1991). Onyeozili, (2005) has argued that the implications of these judicial arrangements were that firstly, there was no representation of the indigenous people and secondly, the colonial government was deeply concerned about the vested interests of the private British businesses. In 1863, the numerical strength quickly rose to six hundred known as Armed Hausa Police Force because the body comprised mainly of Hausa speaking ex-slaves from Sierra Leone (Ahire, 1991; Onyeozili, 2005). Two years later in 1865, this small body of men became known as the Hausa Guard (Nigeria Police Force, 2011).

The operational structure of the British colonial administration, with particular reference to security, suggests that the police at the time were structured to perform military functions rather than the need to address conventional safety concerns of the indigenous people. Cole (1999) drew attention to the historical dimension of this trend and which determined the various approaches adopted by the Colonialists. Cole (1999) stated that though there is impossibility in generalising on the form of colonial type of policing, nevertheless there are identifiable differences and similarities in the structures and functions of colonial police forces. Fundamentally, policing activities in the colonies were informed by desire for global expansion of capitalism in the nineteenth centuries (Cole, 1999). According to Cole (1999), the Portuguese and Spanish occupation of Central and South America and the British and French settlements in North America, New Zealand and Australia in the nineteenth centuries. While civilian policing model was designed for the 'settlement' colonies of North America,

Canada and Australia, the para-military policing was used on the 'pacified' colonies of Africa, Asia, Central and South America (Cole, 1999). The motivating factors to establish policing in the pacified protectorates were reaction to the local resistance or acceptance to colonial government, protection of colonial economic interests and preservation of colonial political authorities. Onyeozili (2005) stressed that where the Africans were slow in accepting the new ways of doing things, the Whites made it as a point of duty to deal with militarily any resistant community as an example to other sister communities who may be planning resistance. This seemed to reflect the deliberate subjugating policy of the British colonial project at the time under review. How this method however has impacted on the future of policing in Nigeria is better imagined.

The Hausa Guards received its regularisation in 1879 following an Ordinance creating a Constabulary for the Colony of Lagos. On 1st January 1896, the Lagos Police Force was created and armed like the Hausa Constabulary. In 1901 the constabulary was absorbed into the West African Frontier Force (WAFF), thereby leaving the Lagos Police as the distinct police Force in Lagos. The new civil police comprised of a Commissioner, two Assistant Commissioners, one Superintendent, one Assistant Superintendent, one Pay and Quartermaster, one Sergeant-Major, eight Sergeants, eight Corporals, fifty first class Privates and one master tailor (Tamuno, 1970, Ahire, 1991). Ahire, (1991 cited in Onyeozili, 2005) argued that the paramilitary nature of the new police signifies the evidence of imperial authority in Lagos. Ahire further argued that the police performed beat duties at the trading depots of the British merchants, and they were subjected to frequent attacks from indigenous communities. While these developments were taking place in Lagos and part of the Yoruba heartland, the South-South region of the present day Nigeria now known as Edo, Delta, Akwa Ibom, River and Cross River States were declared the Oil Rivers protectorate in 1891 with Headquarters at Calabar where an armed constabulary was formed. In 1893 the area was

proclaimed the Niger Coast. A Constabulary, modelled on the Hausa Constabulary, was formed. It existed for six years and featured prominently in the British expedition to Benin in 1896.

In the Northern parts of the Country the Royal Niger Company, which was granted a Royal Charter in 1886 by the British Government, set up the Royal Niger Constabulary in 1888 with Headquarters at Lokoja to protect its installations along the banks of the River Niger (Nigeria Police Force, 2011). The Royal Niger Constabulary played an important role in British campaigns against Bida and Ilorin. When the British Government in 1900 following the transfer of administration from the Royal Niger Company proclaimed protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria, the Royal Niger Constabulary was split into the Northern Nigeria Police Force and the Northern Nigeria Regiment. In the South, the Lagos Police Force and part of the Niger Coast Constabulary became the Southern Nigeria Police Force in 1906 with Mr C. E. Johnstone as the Inspector-General. The bulk of the Niger Coast Constabulary formed the Southern Nigeria Regiments (Nigeria Police Force, 2011). According to the Nigeria Police Force (2011), after the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1914 both Police Forces continued to operate separately until 1st April 1930 when they were merged to form the present Nigeria Police Force with Headquarters in Lagos, under the Inspector-General Mr Claude W. Duncan.

As was stated much earlier, prior to the annexation of Lagos as a British Colony in 1861, and the subsequent establishment of a Consular Guard to protect British officials in the territory that later became Nigeria, traditional rulers like the Obas, Emirs, Atas, Chiefs etc., enforced laws and customs with the help of voluntary forces in their respective areas of jurisdiction (Olong, 2009:21). After the formation of the Protectorates in the North and South in 1914, both the Royal Niger Company and the Niger Coast Constabulary produced Northern and

Southern Nigeria Police respectively. In 1907 the Police Re-organization Scheme enabled the colonial government to consolidate its administration over the provinces by relying on the Traditional Rulers for the maintenance of security (Chiranchi, 2003:227-8).

The establishment of policing institutions in colonial Nigeria was a reflection of the indirect rule policy to reduce the running cost of administration. According to Tamuno's (1970:90, as cited in Alemika & Chukwuma, 2011:8) assertion, The Native Authority Ordinance (No. 4 of 1916) conferred on the Native Authorities the responsibility for maintaining order in their respective areas. Under it, they were allowed to prevent crime and arrest offenders by employing 'any person' to assist them in carrying out their police duties. Along the same line, their police powers were enhanced under the Protectorate Law (Enforcement) Ordinance (No. 15 of 1924). For instance, in the Northern part of the then colonial Nigeria, policing was a major preoccupation of the Native Authorities. The British adapted the pre-existing *dogarai* system of policing to work side by side with the government force. The functions of the Native Authority Police included: 1. The force shall be employed for the prevention and detection of crime, the apprehension of offenders, and the preservation of law and order, the protection of property and the due enforcement of laws, orders and regulations, with which it is charged; and 2. The force shall operate in collaboration with the Nigeria Police Force (Olaniyi, 2011:7). In Kano the policing of the Emirate through the *Dogarai* was considered imperative for the collection and payment of taxes, the arrest of criminals and to uphold native law courts. The rents and taxes for the running of native administration were remitted to the Emir's Treasuries *Beit-el-Mal*. Out of this, the Emir of Kano was placed on monthly salary of 400 pounds, his *Waziri* 100 pounds, *Alkali*(native judge) 50 pounds and the *dogarai* 1 pound per month(Temple, 1912 as cited in Olaniyi, 2011:7).



It is important to note that the legacies left behind by the Nigeria colonial policing experience are enormous and significant, and a deep understanding of these legacies speak volumes of the nature and dimension in the system of policing contemporary Nigeria. There are indications that in the process of colonial enterprise, the British colonial government established a policing structure with military colouration, primarily meant to preserve political and economic interests. The methods adopted by Britain suggested that Kingdoms and Empires in the colonised territories were captured piece-meal. Elements of force were employed where there were perceived signs of opposition or resistance. Moreover, the people of colonised areas believed that British colonialists were tactical, deceptive and subjugating in their approach and with very little interest in the natives. As a result, hatred, communication gap and inherent lack of trust and cooperation were institutionalised between the police and the policed with lasting consequences.

## **2.6 Post-Colonial Period**

The attainment of independence in 1960 established the Nigeria Police Force as a Federal Force under the 1960 constitution. The constitution also set up two bodies, the Police Council and the Police Service Commission. The Police Council was given the responsibility of appointment and promotion of personnel into the senior ranks. In 1963, when Nigeria became a republic, the constitution also retained the status of the Police as a federal force (Olong, 2009:21). Chiranchi (2003) also stated that even with the establishment of the Nigeria Police Force as primary agent responsible for law and order in the country, Nigeria continued to operate a dual, local, and national police system. The Local Government Police Force in the Western and Northern Regions were established in 1943. Nigeria's Constitution authorized establishment of such forces as long as the native population were employed, but only within the areas under the jurisdiction of such Local Government. In contrast to the perceived

contributions of Local Government system to the community development agenda of the Federal Government at the centre, the Local Government Forces used the privileges of the Local Government powers to victimise and terrorize political opponents and these tendencies informed removal of the structures (Alemika and Chukwuma, 2003).

The idea of removing the system of dual policing as a national policy in the post independent Nigeria was hatched under the military regime of Major General T. J.U. Aguyi-Ironsi, in line with his unitary policy at the time (Alemika and Chukwuma, 2003). The idea was relatively short lived by his subsequent assassination in another coup d 'etat in July same year. The military as an institution had an entrance into Nigeria politics through a coup on 15th January, 1966 which brought General Agwuyi Ironsi to power as the Head of the Military Government. Barely three months later after assuming power in March, 1966, what was called a Working Party on Nigeria Police, Local Government and Native Authority and Police and Prisons was formerly set up to carefully look into 'the feasibility of the unification of the Nigeria Police, Local Government Police and the unification of prisons in Nigeria...' (Alemika and Chukwuma, 2003:9). The intention of the Federal Military Government under Aguyi-Ironsi as regards the doing away of the multiple policing institutions within the Federation was revealed at the inauguration of the Working Party. In his public speech as cited in the Report of the Working Party on the Police and Prison Services in Nigeria (1966:2 cited in Alemika and Chukwuma, 2003) ` , the Head of State raised a range of concerns relating to risk factors responsible for 'producing a distorted image of the machinery for police administration in the minds of the Nigerian public and formulate concrete proposals for correcting any deficiencies..'. At the same occasion, a call was also made on Local Authorities to concentrate their respective focus on development schemes that are of immense benefits to the wellbeing of their various communities rather than spending resources maintaining organisation for police and other similar security outfits.

After the assassination of General Aguyi-Ironsi in another coup, General Yakubu Gowon assumed leadership of the Federal Military Government. Contrary to the expectation of the populace that the end of the previous regime would mark the end of the policy of unification of the criminal justice institutions, the recommendation of the Working Party Report was accepted by the Gowon regime, which led to the dissolution of the Local Government Police forces across the federation. According to Alemika, (1988), Tamuno,(1970), Rotimi,(1993), Ohonbamu,(1972) Ahire,(1993 as cited in Alemika and Chukwuma, 2003:10), the decision for the adoption of the report in favour of such dissolution was largely premised on the fact that the local police force was dominated by ill-qualified, poorly trained and poorly behaved personnel. Further to these are the perceptions that the local police institution were used by the traditional rulers, local government and politicians to torment and harass either their real or perceived enemies. In the Western Region of Nigeria, political thugs were recruited into the force, in the process innocent citizens who were adjudged as political opponents were largely arrested by the native authority police. This could be as a result of their mere tendencies for holding private meetings to discuss political matters, but more often than not, handcuffed, chained and marched on the streets in order to deter others who might be making similar efforts. These actions and inactions were carried out without regards to the fundamental human rights of those involved (Ohonbamu, 1972:75-76).

Rotimi (1986:119) as cited in Alemika, &Chukwuma (2003:11) suggested that it was a case of a wedge driven between the native authority policemen and the public in the Western Region because the policemen also capitalised on their status to oppress their fellow citizens through the instrument of bribery, blackmail and intimidation. The native authorities and their colonial mentors, the Residents and District Officers, applauded the policemen for their 'good' work. They only frowned at misdemeanours such as misappropriation of taxes and brutal treatment of culprits occasionally (Rotimi, 1986:119 as cited in Alemika, and

Chukwuma, 2003:11). Even in the Northern part of Nigeria, the situation in relation to unconventional use of local police apparatus was not different.

When party politics started in Northern Nigeria, the way and manner members of opposition parties in the 1950s were maltreated was a source of great concern. According to Ahire,(1993:257 as cited in Alemika and Chukwuma, 2003:11), native authority police forces earned notoriety by using undue coercion and intimidation to enlist support for the ruling party; deny opposition parties permits for rallies; disrupt meetings of opposition parties and generally enforce what was considered as obnoxious ‘unlawful assembly’ laws against politicians perceived to be in the opposition. This scenario accounted for the Nigeria police structure to lose relevance and confidence of members of the public and its eventual extinction. In a successive effort to build confidence and trust of the police in the minds of the people, the Nigeria Government had ensured that Nigeria Police Force, the constitutionally recognised institution centrally for the enforcement of policing regulations in the country was established. However, this policy has not impacted positively on the ‘police-public’ trust building.

## **2.7 The Nigeria Police Force**

The Nigeria Police Force is the statutory organisation charged with the responsibility of providing policing services in the country. The Nigeria Police Force is designated by section 194 of the 1979 and 214 of the 1999, and of the 2011(as amended) constitution, as the national police of Nigeria, with exclusive jurisdiction throughout the country. Constitutional provisions also exist, however for the establishment of separate Nigeria Police Force branches forming part of the armed forces of the federation (Nigeria Police Force, 2011). The constitution speaks in section 214 that-

‘There shall be a police force for Nigeria, which shall be known as the Nigeria Police Force, and subject to the provisions of this section no other police force shall be established for the federation or any part thereof’ (Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2011:118).

In view of the constitutional provisions as stated above, it could be argued that the official policing mechanism in Nigeria is embedded in military culture, with a very long chain of command structure. The police perform conventional functions, and are also responsible for the provision of supporting services to other internal security institutions such as the prison, immigration and customs services and for the performance of other military duties within and outside Nigeria as may be directed from time to time. Section 4 of the Police Act stipulated the functions of the Nigeria Police Force as: prevention and detection of crime, apprehension of offenders, preservation of law and order, protection of life and property, enforcement of all laws and regulations with which they are charged as well as military duties within or without Nigeria as may be required of them. For the fact that the statutory roles of the police are enormous, the same Act gave the police in Nigeria relatively commensurate powers in carrying out those roles.

The police have powers to: take measures to prevent crime, investigate crime, interrogate suspects, prosecute suspects, and to search property and persons in order to prevent crimes, detect or investigate crimes, detect and apprehend offenders and collect evidence for prosecution. Others are to grant bail to suspects pending investigations or arraignment in court, serve summons, and regulate processions and assemblies and to disperse illegal or unlawful procession and assembly. The job of policing in Nigeria, most likely the same way in other parts of the world, is being perceived as an arduous and risky task. It is therefore pertinent to assert that in the face of any prevailing circumstances, the police are perennially at work and often at odd times and in places of danger (Amadi, 2004).

Making reference to the risk and other unhealthy conditions surrounding policing as a profession, Kutiye and Ogunfola, (2003:190) have asserted that citizens take their security for granted until it is violated and when their sense of security is violated, they tend to blame the police for ineffectiveness. This perspective suggested that the core problem of the police force is that they are expected to eliminate or cure a problem that can neither be cured nor eliminated. The importance of the police and policing is as that of the society and it is in view of the fact that peace and order are necessary for human existence. All the analysis in relation to traditional social control institutions under reference seemed to contradict Manning's (2001) understanding of what constitutes the police as security apparatus in modern sense. According to Manning (2001), police are by design and tradition two-faced; they are bureaucratic organisations, rule-bound, procedure-oriented and legalistic. They were discretionary, with loyalty to a chief as a virtue, situation-wise expedient and deeply moralistic in practice. Modern policing characterised by being located in an organisation whose mandate is clearly prescribed and bounded by rules, prescribing training and regarding both acceptable behaviour of employees or employers expectations vis-a-vis condition of employment. Policing institutions traditionally are featured by a lack of specialisation where policing is only one aspect of an individual's occupational responsibility. But modern policing is characterised by both external and internal specialisation. By this, it means that police personnel are expected to work in law enforcement to the exclusion of other jobs, and even internally, there is less emphasis on non-crime and administrative responsibilities and more specialisation on scientific aspect of crime (Mawby, 1990:20).

## **2.8 The Organisation of Nigeria Police Force**

The Inspector-General of Police is the operational, administrative head and chief executive of the organisation, answerable to the president of the country. Under the office are six Deputy

Inspector-Generals of Police in charge of each of the six departments of the Force. The six departments are the operational units of the force in the day to day activities (Dambazau, 2007:232). Furthermore, the country is subdivided into twelve zones with each under the control of an Assistant Inspector-General of Police, which are then responsible to the Inspector-General of Police at the Force Headquarters, Abuja. The various State Commands are under the headship of the various Commissioners of Police and being assisted by the Deputy Commissioners of Police (Dambazau, 2007). The various departments of the organisation at the state levels are staffed by the Assistant Commissioners of Police as appropriate. Each of the various State Commands is further subdivided into Area Commands, usually made up of a combination of Divisional Commands, under the control of Assistant Commissioner of Police (Dambazau, 2007).

The Divisional Commands are being handled by the Divisional Police Officer (Superintendent of Police or officer within that category). In Nigeria, all the Local Government Council Areas or some large towns other than state headquarters are Divisional Commands (Dambazau, 2007; Nigeria Police Force, 2010). The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, as amended 2011, also established the Nigeria Police Council and the Police Service Commission to manage and supervise the police institution in Nigeria. According to the provisions of the Constitution, The Police Council consists of: (a) The President who shall be the chairman; (b) The Governor of each State of the Federation; (c) The chairman of the Police Service Commission; and (d) The Inspector-General of Police. The functions of the body as defined by the constitution are: (a) The organisation and the administration of the Nigeria Police Force and all other matters relating thereto (not being matters relating to the use and operational control of the Force or the appointment, disciplinary control and dismissal of the members of the Force); (b) The general supervision of the Nigeria Police Force; and (c)

Advising the President on the appointment of the Inspector-General of Police. (The Constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended, 2011).

The implication is that the 1999 constitution of Nigeria recognises only the federal police and constitutionally empowers the federal government to have absolute control on policing in all the 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory. The absolute ownership and control of police structures by the central government should be viewed as a complete paradigm shift in policing apparatus of the country. While bearing this in mind, it is important to remember again as earlier demonstrated that at inception of colonial domination in Nigeria polity in 1861; a number of police forces were established for the Colony of Lagos, the Niger Coast and the Northern and Southern Protectorates (Alemika, 2010). As from 1916 onwards, Native Authorities and Local Governments police forces were also established under the control of the traditional rulers respectively in the Northern and Western parts of the Nigeria. The consolidation and transformation of these forces at various times later led to their reorganisation into the Nigeria Police Force in 1930 with jurisdiction over the entire country.

Even as that, the federal police force co-existed with the local police authorities at their respective territories. The dual policing structure in Nigeria was forcefully abolished and absorbed into national police force on account of the tendencies of the politicians and traditional rulers to use the local police structures and institutions as instruments for victimisation and oppression of real and perceived enemies at their respective localities (Cole, 1999; Alemika, 2010). The political class inherited the hegemonic policing policy and practice. The post-independent Nigeria was characterised by continuation of colonial legacies in relation to policing and security management (Onyeozili, 2005:39). It is noteworthy that the British Royal Niger Company's Constabulary was used as a para-military police to forcefully implement the colonial wars of pacification in the name of signing treaties of protection with



the local chiefs. In the late nineteenth century, this activity resulted in the British annexation of vast hinterland of the present-day north-central part of Nigeria (Cole, 1999). Police in almost all African states, as against their historical origins and current cultural, economic, ideological and political contexts, began as instruments for colonial domination and control, which was inherited by both local and national elites after their respective independence (Marenin, 2009:349).

## **2.9 Conclusion**

It is pertinent to reiterate that this study intends to investigate meaning attached to community policing and the corresponding relationship structure between the police and members of public for crime control in Nigeria. Again, as earlier indicated in the introductory chapter of this research work, the growing police/public gap in Nigeria necessitated the introduction of community policing strategy in 2003 (Civil Society Panel on Police Reform in Nigeria Report, 2012, Dickson, 2007). This chapter has engaged in discussing the historical analysis of policing within the socio-cultural, economic and political context of pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Nigeria. There were contemporary issues and challenges perceived to have been produced by these historical contexts and processes and these challenges have hindered the institutionalisation of robust relationship between the police and community in Nigeria.

Notable among these challenges was that: first, this historical context of policing has suggested that during Colonial period, there was an adoption of English pattern of policing institution with its peculiar culture and tradition. This type of institution was completely at variance in terms of culture, philosophy and tradition with pre-existing policing institutions among the pre-Colonial indigenous population. There was no proven recognition and integration of the African pattern of policing in the scheme of things throughout the periods of

colonialism. There was a military pattern of policing adopted by colonial Britain to sustain political and economic motives instead of the police to provide services that are directly connected to the protection of human rights and dignity. In this context, police institution was used as instrument to suppress native population wherever and whenever cases of resistance by natives were noticed. Even when colonial Britain had granted political independence to Nigeria in 1960, the indigenous elite stopped at nothing but to adopt similar style through various forms of abuse.

This resulted in the use of police institution to intimidate and harass real or perceived political opponents and enemies as against the constitutional mandate of crime prevention and control of which the institution derives its legitimacy. Third was the top-down command structure of the Nigeria Police Force which tends to discourage the use of discretion and expeditious responses to community distress calls by police officers most especially at the grassroots level. This is much more of concern given the multi-cultural nature of Nigeria societies which calls for divergent of approaches to different parts of the Federation. The variant nature of adopted community policing traditions with the negative image of police in the eye of the public have not made the desire of stakeholders in the security project less successful in Nigeria. This is because there is uncondusive colonial policing heritage and low community confidence level in the police has significantly affected community perceptions. This range of issues has far-reaching implications on relationship structure between the police and community in their collaboration to achieve crime prevention and control in Nigeria. The next chapter focuses on the introduction of community policing policy transfer processes and the extent at which such transfer has impacted on the people's desire to foster police/community relationship and collaboration for crime control in Nigeria.

## **Chapter Three: Community policing in Nigeria and the policy transfer debate**

### **3.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter discussed the historical context under which policing in Nigeria has evolved and the impact of this context on dynamics of police/community relationship in contemporary Nigeria. The impact has a range of influence on the quest to introduce community policing project in the light of belief that the policing strategy could provide solution to the problem perceived to have arisen from the police-public divide in Nigeria. This chapter therefore focuses on community policing policy with particular reference to how this policy has been introduced and translated in Nigeria. This chapter discusses the various stages of community policing policy formulations and implementations by the UK-DFID+ British Council, the Nigerian's Security, Justice and Growth and in conjunction with the Nigeria police in Nigeria. Therefore, this chapter shall also examine a range of problems in this community policing policy translation and to make sense of these problems.

### **3.2 Community policing in Nigeria**

Nigeria returned to democratic rule in 1999 after several years of military interventions. The democratic periods in Nigeria have also witnessed an increase in the perceptions of the various form of crime and fear (Dambazau, 2007). There was a wide beliefs among security stakeholders that traditional methods of policing could hardly put the trend of crime and insecurity under control. Consequently, the Nigerian's Security Justice and Growth and as overseen by the UK-Department for International Development have made concerted efforts to commence the police-public partnership project of the policing institutions in Nigeria (UK-

DFID + British Council and SJG, 2010). According to the claims at the instance of the Nigeria Police Force (2010) significant progress has been made in the area of trying to reform the police organisation in line with the global tenets of bringing about democratic principles into the practice of policing in Nigeria. One of these efforts was through the implementation of a community policing strategy. In this context, the practice of community policing balances up the reactive-fast responses with the proactive problem-solving techniques centred on the cause of crime. It requires police and citizens to join as partners in the course of both identifying and effectively addressing these crime related issues.

Dickson (2007) has claimed that the official adoption of community policing strategy by the Nigeria police authorities in 2003 was aimed at keeping crime and criminality to a minimal level. In the view of Dickson (2007), since 2002/3 and 2004, community policing programme embarked upon by the government of Nigeria has its goal focussed on transforming the culture of the Nigeria police and its organisation through community-based policing and partnership. The project's point of emphasis was to engender what is termed as a culture of excellence in service provision, a deep sense of accountability on the part of individual officers in terms of their performance.

### **3.3 How has this been translated in Nigeria?**

Community policing cultural transfer in Nigeria was largely seen to be a process of modernisation rooted in the Western societies of Britain and America (Brogden, 2005:76). The ultimate goal being improved safety of life for the Nigerian people as well as the security of their valuable property. The US Department for Justice (2012) stated that community policing is a philosophy and strategy that has focused on providing solutions to the problems of crime and social disorder, through effective community-based police services. This

perspective of police service delivery has also included traditional methods in the enforcement of law, the prevention of crime and community engagement in identifying the causes of crime and effectively addresses these issues.

According to Dolowitz and Marsh (cited in Dixon, 2007:171), policy transfer means a situation whereby the knowledge about a particular policy, administration and/or related institutional and ideological arrangements in a particular political system and whether is in the past or at present, is used in the development of another political system. In addition, Dolowitz and Marsh (cited in Dixon, 2007:171) argued that policy transfer of a particular idea can either take place between political cultures or within the same country. In this case, the focus is on the evidence of international policy transfer of community policing strategy from UK/USA to Nigeria in particular. The transfer of any policy from one socio-cultural entity to another may involve some complications. Alderson (1978) who is perceived to have taken the credit of pioneering the concept of the subject of community policing stated that this type of policing strategy requires that all elements in the community, whether official or non-official, would conceive of the common good. According to Alderson(1978), this is in addition to joining the necessary force to produce a socio-cultural climate and an environment conducive to good order and the collective happiness of all the people within it and the what, when and how of the transfer processes are matters to be determined by the prevailing circumstances. Dolowitz and Marsh (cited in Dixon, 2007) stated that the modality for analysing the process of policy transfer involves addressing seven different but interrelated concerns:

- 1-The key actors or figures that are involved in the transfer

- 2 The policy to be transferred

3-Which geographical locations are the policies transferred

4-The various degrees of transfer

5-The motives of the actors behind the transfer

6-The prevailing restrictions and/or facilitating factors in the transfer process

7-and the policy transfer relationship with success and/or failure of its implementation process.

Reflecting on the observation of Lee and Haider (2011:3), many international organisations such as the United Nations and the European Union, donor countries and Non-Governmental Organisations have at various times contended that community policing is an alternative to the top-down, coercive, non-accountable, paramilitary policing. According to this postulation, community policing could help to put in place elements of social change and good governance and the key to instilling democratic norms in institutions of police. Lee and Haider (2011) have however stated that taking community policing as a policy to another social and political environment, most especially post-colonial and post-conflict societies within a global context should be treated with a great deal of caution. This is, according to them, because transplanting a western-oriented model without attention to indigenous cultural conditions, customary codes, legitimacy crisis of the state police establishments as well as local socio-legal structures may not bring forth the desired results (Lee and Haider, 2011:3). Hills(2008) has argued that community assistance in information gathering are some of the reason behind relative adoption of the strategy in the Western democracies such as the USA and the UK as well as other developed economies of Europe and its subsequent export to other developing economies of the world. For instance, Hills (2008) further argued that

nations of sub-Saharan Africa have to adopt patterns of policing which tends to tally with democratic form of governance, conflict management and poverty reduction. As a consequence, this informed the involvement of agencies such as United State Agency for International Development, European Union in the transfer of funding, technical expertise and resources aimed at internationalising considerable aspects of police practices and organisation in this Sub-region. Hills (2008) further stated that tracing back to the period of independence from Great Britain in 1960 to date; Nigeria is believed to have received a range of assistance equivalent of millions of British pounds and American dollars in the name of technical aids, training related projects and other forms of supports. In the view of Hills (2008), a typical example is the Access to Justice Programme whose seven-year sector-wide programme suggests a budget of £37 million.

The practical steps for promoting police-community relations was first introduced in Nigeria in 1985, following the Federal Government of Nigeria under the then President Ibrahim Babangida's approval for the police-community relationships, consultative committees and vigilante groups (Alemika and Chukwuma, (2000) cited in Hills, 2012:746). According to their position, the eagerness for the adoption of the Western-style community policing was stimulated by the publication in 2000 of a report by the Centre for Law Enforcement Education (CLEEN), a Nigeria-based Non-Governmental Organisation that raised concern for the need for a mechanism that could facilitate police-civilian interactions. As part of efforts to enhance the effectiveness of the crime fighting strategies in Nigeria, the return of Nigeria to democratic rule in 1999 marked the beginning of government efforts to bring about tenets of community policing. The significance of this is based on the fact that it is considered a major Western export to Africa, and it incorporates or carries along with it some elements of democratic values and techniques that must be properly transmitted and imbibed even though the complications it carries make it naturally prone to manipulations by those who hold the

keys of its implementation (Hills, 2012:740). The project was officially introduced in Nigeria in 2002/3, when some members of the Nigeria Police Force were sent to England, with the support of the UK-Department for International Development (UK-DFID) to study community policing as practised in the United Kingdom (Dickson, 2007). According to the mission statements of the Nigeria Police Force (2010), the resolve of the Nigeria Police Authority to call for the Community Policing as a strategy for crime prevention and control was informed by the conviction that its philosophical prescriptions and tenets could satisfy the requirements for enhanced service delivery and the need for community members to work in partnership with the police.

Hills(2008) is of the view that the need to systematically and comprehensively analyse the dynamics of police reform in Nigeria and Africa generally should be taken as a matter of emphasis in relation to assessment of the drivers and effects of reform and change. This need, in the perspective of Hills (2008) is imperative even though the realities suggest to the contrary, considering the prescriptive and normative approaches often adopted by stakeholders. However, the fact still remains that the necessary data to aid such cutting-edge analysis are usually politicised and hidden. Consequently, what is left at the door step of the potential analyst is incomplete and partial knowledge which invariably does not aid approaches in contemporary analysis of security problems (Hills, 2008). According to Taylor (1998 as cited in Yero, et al, 2012), there are problems ranging from lack of holistic approach to research on community policing to carrying out evaluations on specific programmes. In addition, there are indications of facile generalisation in terms of community policing policy implementation by government and/or other stake-holders in the security business and problem arising from full implementation. This is consequent upon the fact that community policing constitutes a paper issue in a number of countries. Apart from these, the relationship



between community policing and crime has proved difficult to handle most especially when looking at it from the background of cultural complexities.

Hills (2011) contended that community policing is an embrace of policing plural cultures where inter-communal and religious conflicts as well as other forms of crime abound. In this case, members of public who are supposed to partner with the police could also be a party to the crime, or that there are tendencies on the part of police to be influenced by the community values in a way which affect a range of decisions. Under these scenarios, community policing faces complications. Fundamental requirement of Community Policing is a decentralised neighbourhood based-structure and close relations with members of the community (Neighbourhood Policing - NP). In brief, this requires empowering of police personnel that have geographic ownership and accountability. The Inspector General of Police and members of command team have been able to recognise that Community Policing and Neighbourhood Policing enable intelligence-led targeting of the issues that matter most to communities in Nigeria irrespective of the prevailing circumstance (Nigeria Police Force, 2010).

Moreover, the Nigeria National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS, 2004:96) policy statement prescribes for change in the orientation of the police to improve the quality of service; and an increase in the use of scientific methods in policing. The use of scientific methods involve forensic science, lie detectors and computerization of vital information by relevant professionals such as sociologists, psychologists and criminologists to enhance the quality of evidence production and investigation techniques (NEEDS, 2004). The introduction of appropriate equipment, for instance, custom built vehicles suitable for sandy or marshy areas and to develop an exclusive communication system to improve police effectiveness. It also incorporates the building of capacity to train and retrain the police and involve communities in policing. The use of lethal weapons less often to control crowds, payment of all entitlements, and especially call and duty allowances

in a timely manner, and in hiring new officers, educational qualifications and the capacity for training and retraining will be paid the much needed attention. According to this policy statement, the overall goal was to effect a paradigm shift towards friendly, fair and firm interactions between the police and the public. This also serves to create a police force of dedicated people who have tendencies to abhor corruption in Nigeria. As presented by Austin (2010:3), the Nigeria Police Force Project Team developed a Community Policing Project Plan in 2004 with the aims to:

- a) 'To facilitate the development of Community Policing throughout Nigeria.
- b) To examine the policies, strategies, structures and organisation of the Nigeria Police, to ensure that the applicable principles and core values of Community Policing are enshrined in the professional performance, ethics and codes of conduct of the Nigeria Police'(Austin, 2010).

The Project Plan contains six corresponding elements that would assist in providing an enabling institutional mechanism for proper implementation of the Community Policing strategy. These are:

- 'Manage and deliver an awareness, sensitization and information sharing campaign on community policing;
- Implement Community policing training for officers in the States;
- Examine and develop current organizational structures to drive community policing;
- Examine and develop the current training and development function;
- Develop an intelligence-led policing style, including new technology and science; and
- Examine laws, police processes and procedures' (Austin, 2010:3).

These statements have the potential to improve the policing system of Nigeria for crime prevention and control. However, this desire for police-public partnership and modern approach to policing in Nigeria has not been achieved. According to Presidential Committee on Police Reform, as cited in Austin (2010), despite the fact that various policies and programs were put in place to reposition the Nigeria Police Force to meet the challenges of policing in the country, the experience has shown that the security situation was still far from being improved. This was manifested in the endless call to give the force the much needed reform it deserves. As a result, the Federal Government Authority had to set up the Presidential Committee on Police Reform in 2008, headed by a former Inspector General of Police, Mr M D Yusuf. Moreover, the Committee was tasked with the responsibility to review the reports of similar committee set up for that purpose in the past such as the Report of the Danmadami Committee. This was the Presidential Committee earlier commissioned to attend to the policing concerns of the country. The Committee Report could not be implemented to achieve positive result because of government instability in the country at the time.

The outcome of the review was expected to be incorporated into the report and to make recommendations that can meet the yearnings and aspirations of the Nigerian people in terms of security of life and property. The Committee deliberated extensively with the view to put into consideration many factors that is connected with community policing as a policing strategy for the twenty first century Nigeria. This Committee therefore was able to put up the following recommendations, which later got the approval of the Government. The Section 5.26 of the Government White Paper on the Report of the Presidential Committee on Police Reform (April, 2008) recommendation clearly noted the basic indices for the implementation of Community Policing in Nigeria – it states that:

- (i) 'There is need to adapt Community Policing to suit Nigeria's cultural peculiarities. Government should formulate a Community Policing Policy and Framework for the country, taking into account the cultural and political environment'.

Compliance with recommendation from Section 5.26 of the White Paper Report is yet to be achieved even that substantial progress has been made so far in this direction with the establishment of the Ministry of Police Affairs' Department of Community Policing. By this arrangement, the Department of Community Policing would liaise with all the relevant institutions to see to the practice of the strategy in Nigeria. The report at Section 5.26 further recommends that:

- (ii) 'All police officers should undergo training in the basic philosophy and practice of Community Policing'.
- (iii) 'The principle of Community Policing should be included in the curricular of all police training institutions'.

The Reform also has regarded Community Policing as a straightforward concept of shared responsibility between the police and the community, with a focus on provision of efficient and effective service. The Government therefore accepted the recommendation that:

- (IV) 'The police should establish effective police-community linkages from the lowest to the highest levels to ensure the implementation of crime prevention strategies and policing priorities of the various communities'.

However, this community policing policy initiative as overseen by the UK-Department for International Development has not been piloted at the various levels and segments of Nigerian

societies. This is either as a result of inadequate manpower resources or lack of the needed political will to implement it. This infers that the police should be participating in the community's security affairs as well as responding to the general needs of the community. Correspondingly the community members should also be delighted in participating in policing by sufficiently supporting the police in information gathering. One of the main enabling factors of public partnership is the development and strengthening of Police Community Relations Committees (PCRC) including increased and more representative membership, and various Neighbourhood Watch schemes. Recent and on-going achievements, according to Nigeria Police Force (2010) include: Further development of all the original activities mentioned above. Developing a Nigeria Police Force Integrated Management System, this includes an overall Nigeria police Force's Strategic Plan, Departmental Plans, and at both Divisional and State levels. To date, draft plans have been prepared for the Nigeria Police Force, 'F' Department, 'E' Department and many Divisions of the Force. The 'E' Department Committee of the Nigeria Police Force, facilitated by the Assistant Commissioner of Community Policing and Security Justice and Growth consultant made a comprehensive review of the entire police curriculum for optimum service delivery. Although this suggests lots of plans, the focus seems lost at the stage of implementation in view of the complex socio-cultural, political and economic circumstances in Nigeria.

Giving credence to personnel training, The Divisional Management Team (DMT) Course, in the view of Nigeria Police Force (2010) has been structured in such a way that it would last for at least four weeks – two modules would be taught for a period of two weeks each. The DMT members are required to implement some of what they were able to learn in their Divisions between the two modules. During the second module, they are expected to make presentations about the successes and challenges of their implementation to their colleagues and fellow tutors for feedback and further improvement. In addition, there was ratification by

the Inspector General of Police, of The Nigeria Police Integrated Intelligence Model. It then gave rise to authorised pilot of Level 1 Intelligence processes with special focus on local issues of the community.

### **3.4 Community policing pilot exercise in Nigeria**

Nigeria police force (2010) claimed that the first piloting exercise for the test-running of the Community Policing in Nigeria was officially launched in 2004 in six States of Benue, Enugu, Jigawa, Kano, Ondo and Ogun. Since Nigeria Police Force's inauguration of Community Policing, it has been enjoying the assistance and support of the Nigeria Safety and Security, Justice and Growth (SJG) Programme. This project was funded by the UK's Department for International Development – DFID). In partnership with Security, Justice and Growth programme, Nigeria Police Force has focused its operational activities on five key areas in the six pilot States of Nigeria: Nigeria Police Force service delivery through engagement of police and community partnerships, proper accountability and empowerment among personnel of the Nigeria Police Force and crime problem solving. This development includes the involvement of Nigeria's Informal Policing Structures (IPS - Vigilantes) in the five areas of focus. The same policy initiatives were later transformed into the Ten-Point Programme of Action of the Nigeria Police (Nigeria police force, 2010).

The Programme of Action which started in January, 2005 focuses on: effective crime prevention and control through intelligence-led policing, combat of violent and economic crimes, conflict prevention and resolution, community policing and police-public partnership. Others are zero-tolerance for corruption and indiscipline within the force, improved career development, salary and welfare packages to motivate police officers and thereby promote better service delivery and discipline. Another area worthy of attention is the re- organization of the investigation section of the police force, to ensure prompt and timely investigation of

cases. The policy statement also was set to contribute positively to improving the quality of justice delivery in Nigeria, empowering field officers operationally by devolution of powers to improve standards, reliability, consistency and responsiveness of the service. Another claimed effort in this context was the re-orientation of the Nigeria police force's public relations department to focus on improving public perception and image of the Nigeria Police Force (NCPCFA, 1990; NEEDS, 2004:64). The Nigeria Police Force (2010), in the light of the above has further claimed that measures were put in place to ensure that extensive sensitization and awareness campaigns have been conducted for members of the public. The targets in this case were: Police Community Relations Committee [PCRCs], Neighbour-hood Watch Groups, the media, National Union of Road Transport Workers, Market Associations, Motorcycle Taxi Riders, Parents-Teachers Association, community leaders and government agencies dealing with safety and security issues (Nigeria police force, 2010).

In addition, there were claims that relationships with Informal Policing System (community security alternatives initiative/vigilante groups) have also been developed and improved upon in many of the police Divisions in these pilot states. In the light of these claims, the activities have led to an increased collaboration between the police and the communities in various aspect of services delivery (NCPCFA, 1990). However, Fourchard (2008) has argued that the operational lines between vigilante groups and what the philosophy of community policing has brought to bear is blurring. Fourchard (2008) further argued that instead of perceiving vigilante structures as a mere response to the increase of crime and the corresponding inability of the police to cope in terms of production of crime reduction and security, it should be seen as a first attempt towards introducing some forms of image improving strategies for the implementation of community policing in Nigeria.

In 2007, the partnership extended to twelve additional States of Lagos, FCT, Cross River, Kaduna, Anambra, Edo, Bauchi, Kogi, Oyo, Imo, Katsina and Borno, bringing the total to

eighteen. Beside this, the Nigeria Safety and Security, Justice and Growth (SJG) Programme has been playing supportive roles to ensure that the Inspector-General of Police's vision to implement country-wide Community Policing was achieved (Nigeria Police Force, 2010). In 2008, the Inspector General of Police (IGP) recognised the symbiotic relationship between his 9-way Test and the tenets and practices of Nigeria Police Force's community policing initiatives in those pilot States. He therefore introduced Community Policing as both the strategy and philosophy of the entire Nigeria Police Force, in line with the 7-point Agenda of the Federal Government of Nigeria (Nigeria Police Force, 2010). Central to the programs of community policing is to bring the police back onto the streets.

Although community policing philosophy has been introduced and overseen by the UK-Department for International Development as a national policing policy for Nigeria, there is a huge task in connecting the policy with the socio-cultural realities in the implementation processes. Bearing this in mind, according to the Nigeria Police Force (2010), the various Police Divisions in the pilot areas of the country through 'F' Department's Community Policing Team have been among the key foci of the implementation processes. There has been a claim of grassroots mobilisation, sensitization and awareness campaigns being put in place for both police and communities (Nigeria Police Force, 2010). In addition, existing divisional management structures are being revitalised and developed, through training programmes, to accommodate and brace up the ethos of community policing principles and practices. The idea of Neighbourhood Policing with Dedicated Policing Teams (DPT) to manage micro-beats has been introduced as primary drivers of improved service delivery. According to Nigeria Police Force (2010) the following are the personnel structures established for that purpose:

- Divisional Intelligence Officers (DIOs),
- Conflict Resolution Officers (CROs),



- Community Policing Developers (CPD),
- Human Rights Officers (HROs),
- Community Policing Officers (CPOs),
- Community Safety Officers (CSOs),
- Vigilante Support Officers (VSOs) and
- The Neighbourhood Watch Officers (NWOs)

The Intelligence-led Policing (ILP) pilots have been introduced in 35 Divisions across Lagos, FCT, Kano and Kaduna. Divisional Intelligence Officers (DIOs) were trained in the concepts and processes of ILP and were mandated to transfer learning activities to their Divisions. Intelligence-led Policing (ILP) requires the Nigeria Police Force to, as a matter of policy, interpret the crime and disorder environment, including potential victims and targets; ensure police partners and police personnel implement appropriate action plans; and finally, guarantee that those actions have the required impact on the crime and disorder environment (Nigeria Police Force, 2010). All successive governments of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, regardless of which type or form, have been embarking on police reforms, with the promise to reposition the force for proper handling of crime prevention and control. However such effort hardly move beyond the limits of recruiting more personnel, provision of training and making available more money for the police which may not yield the expected results (Hills, 2012:746).

In the same vein, according to Nigeria Police Force (2010), a large number of these operational structures are in the Security Justice and Growth's supported States and in various stages of development and assessments. Divisional Managers have been given wide discretionary powers concerning tactical and operational issues affecting their Divisions (Nigeria Police Force, 2010). On the other hand, as a result of the traditional mode and hierarchical dimension of micro-managing police stations, few consultations were sought

from the members of rank and file of the force and the communities they police. To take care of these, according to the claims of Nigeria Police Force (2010), Divisional Management Teams were made to receive trainings in line with democratic norms and values, community policing and management as well as leadership techniques.

Apart from these, in the context of these claims they are being taught on how to handle issues relating to delegation of authority, action planning, performance measurement, performance management, partnerships, problem solving techniques and accountability. Moreover, the F Department training teams make adequate support and mentoring available after the training try to ensure maximum transference and continuity of learning processes to the participant's Division (Nigeria Police Force, 2010). The above intelligence piloting exercises represent the Nigeria Police design and policy drives to institute the culture of community policing for crime prevention in the country. However, whether progress has any positive bearing on security of life of Nigerian citizens of today is a matter for serious contention. Nevertheless, there is sense in the claim of Davis, Croall, and Tyrer (2005) that relationship between the police and the community is important to enhance not only police-community relations, but the effectiveness of the police organisation.

### **3.5 What are the problems in this transfer?**

Drawing on the analysis of policy transfer processes in relation to community policing in Nigeria, a range of challenges have been noticed. Spuy and Rontsch (2008:33) were of the view that the challenges confronting the Nigeria police and its resolve to meet the demand of accountability and effectiveness are enormous. Davis, Croall, and Tyrer (2005:165) asserted that despite the numerous potential benefits of community policing, the implementation has not been proved easy, and that full implementation would call for a total reorganisation of policing structure in which emphasis is

placed on prevention and service roles as against law enforcement and public order. It is therefore imperative to put these problems in their proper perspectives in order to determine areas of concern on the basis of this research project.

### **3.6 Influence of colonial legacies**

The political class inherited the hegemonic policing policy and practice. The post-independent Nigeria was characterised by continuation of colonial legacies in relation to policing and security management (Onyeozili, 2005:39). It is noteworthy that the British Royal Niger Company's Constabulary was used as a para-military police to forcefully implement the colonial wars of pacification in the name of signing treaties of protection with the local chiefs. In the late nineteenth century, this activity resulted in the British annexation of vast hinterland of the present-day north-central part of Nigeria (Cole, 1999). Police in almost all African states, as against their historical origins and current cultural, economic, ideological and political contexts, began as instruments for colonial domination and control, which was inherited by both local and national elites after their respective independence (Marenin, 2009:349). Hence, Onyeozili (2005) argued that western culture of policing was totally adopted without consideration for traditional values of community spirit, selflessness and service of which native mode of policing exhibited. This singular act had an adverse effect on the institutions of law enforcement in terms of mutual understanding and trust in relationships between the police and community in Nigeria (Onyeozili, 2005). O'Neill and McCarthy (2014) stated that there are reluctant attitudes of the police to foster partnership with members of public. This is manifest in difficulties encountered by police officers in terms of relinquishing their profession's traditional culture where para-military approach was in vogue with a more 'compromised' values and ethics that are in line with tasks and humane functions associated with partnership. According to Cole (1999), colonial experience has negative impact on the knowledge of roles and functions among police officers in Africa. Cole (1999)

further argued that while there are tendencies of post-colonial policing towards general law enforcement and other traditional police roles such as the maintenance of internal security of the nation, police welfare issues, problem solving and other aspect of community policing are significantly lacking in most of African's policing institutions.

### **3.7 Lack of adequate knowledge of public-oriented policing**

According to Marenin (2009:352), accurate knowledge of policing in Africa is often very limited. Marenin (2009) has justified his position relying on instances such as: few of the experts in policing were either foreigners or were natives who had their training outside the shores of their respective countries, the retention of colonial language as the lingua franca, which is totally different from the language widely understood by the native population and by implication most of notable publications officially released by policing authorities would be through the alien medium. According to Marenin (2009), even the junior police officers in Nigeria have misunderstanding of occupational culture in terms of core values and priorities. Further to this is that well over sixty percent of the Nigeria population are relatively and functionally illiterate in the western sense. This means that this population live without basic understanding of English being the official language of the post independent Nigeria.

This poses problems for the communication gap and formed a background for a dislocation of relationship between the police and local population in Nigeria (Zumve, 2012). This is in view of colonial legacies reflective of authoritarian culture among the Nigeria police personnel. This was further compounded with mismanagement of Nigeria police institutions by various military regimes and its impact in terms of communication gap between police and the policed. As a result, there was loss of police face-value in the eye of public.

### 3.8 Police and violence

Dambazau (2007) argued that brutal attitudes of the police in Nigeria have not been helpful in terms of attempt to create enabling platform for cordial relationship between the police and members of public in Nigeria. The operational activities of the police in Nigeria have been characterised by the treatment of alleged suspects with disdain and assault. This kind of police operational attitudes have reached a level where police personnel engage in illegal handling of innocent but suspicious members of the public under any guises. According to Dambazau (2007), examples of such kind of behaviour by police officers are the attempt to forcefully extort confessions from the alleged crime suspects. This could be in a disguised attempt of the police to prevent crimes and/or an expression of disgust towards a particular criminal suspect. Further to these is that it is a way of settling scores with some perceived enemies while some could be in the cause of committing a corrupt act (Dambazau, 2007:282-3). Other important voices in this regards are Alemika and Chukwuma (2003:13) who have also argued that the operational activities of the personnel of Nigeria police have been characterised by cases of extra-judicial killings of crime suspects in police cells and mostly without recourse to the rule of law and fundamental principles of the constitution. Closely connected to the colonial factor is the interventions of the military in the politics of Nigeria between 1966 and 1979(thirteen years) and 1983-1999(sixteen years). The military intervention in the political sphere has negatively affected the essence of the police institutions in Nigeria. More so that the police organisation was neglected under successive military regimes which perceived the organisation as a counter force that deserved to be weakened (Alemika and Chukwuma, 2003).

The government neglect of police was achieved through the suspension of democratic institutions such as the National Assembly, the Police Council, the Police Service

Commission as well as the recruitment and training of officers of the Nigeria Police Force for a very long period. Those who were left in the service were either dismissed or sent on compulsory retirement (Osayande, 2012). As stated in chapter two of this thesis, the creation of colonial police was a response to the perception of the British invaders that the natives were directing a range of riot and disorder against their interests. The advancement of the political and economic agenda of the colonial Britain was perceived as being facilitated by brutal violence; fraud, suppression and other acts of oppression against the indigenous people. Police institutions were used as instruments to conquer territories of various indigenous nationalities, established presence as they engaged in piece-meal deal which lasted for over a period between 1861 and 1903(Nigeria Police Force, 2010).

The indirect rule system through the Native Authority administrations had a range of social control institutions such as Native Authority police, Native Authority Prisons as well as the Native Authority Customary courts. These institutions used as instruments of domination and oppression during and after the colonial period. For instance, Fourchard (2008) has noted that until the fall of the First Republic in January 1966, the Akintola-controlled Western government of Nigeria, as at then, heavily used Local authorities, Native Authority police and Customary Courts as instruments to dominate and subjugate perceived political opponents. According to Fourchard (2008), what constituted police institutions were violent-inclined youths recruited basically for political purposes. The police in Nigeria are fond of acting under the cover of their political masters to create problems and in most cases with impunity. As a consequence, local police personnel had assumed a semblance of ‘restive youths in uniform’ playing roles of molestation and victimisation of target enemies. These target enemies could be members and/or agents of political parties perceived to have opposed to the political party in power at the time.

### 3.9 Informal policing institutions/Vigilante group

Police forces are government organisations charged with the responsibility of maintaining law and order, and to protect the general public from harm. The police exist to serve the people and it is therefore important that police activities should be people-oriented and reflect public interest. Their activities should meet the expectations of the people whom they serve (Soyombo, 2005). This Soyombo's (2005) standpoint is in agreement with Hills (2014) notion that the police's cooperation with the informal stakeholders is an emergent policy as a result of the multi-layered nature of the police profession. Further to these, Fourchard (2008) contended that the activities of Odua People's Congress(OPC), like those of the night guards in the colonial era and other sister vigilante organisations in the country are familiar to the members of the public. This is more or less consequent upon the fact that extra-legal and other practices considered uncivilised such as the use of charms were part and parcel of crime control cultures among the indigenous population in the twentieth century. At times, Neighbourhood Watches caught criminals and then handed them over to the Native Authority for appropriate action. Conversely, Fourchard (2008) argued that more often than not, crime suspects are believably subjected to inhuman treatment that could impact negatively the rest of their lives. These inhuman treatment could be in the form of abysmal torture, subjecting suspects to drinking of poisons, nailing of suspects on the head, beaten or killing, burning without recourse to judicial process. These kinds of activities have accustomed the local community members to a range of regimes that focus on eliminating those considered as undesirable elements. These undesirable elements could be people of other ethnic groupings, law breakers, and political opponents, and/or those who have not been obeying a range of curfew practices. Consequently, culture of impunity develops and tolerated at the expense of rule of law, while extra-judicial killings are perpetrated by security agents under the guise of protecting the community's best interest (Fourchard, 2008).

Despite of any real or perceived inadequacies of these informal policing structures in Nigeria, Zumve (2012) was of the view that informal policing structures are now being represented by a range of agencies such as Bakassi boys of the Igbo in the South East of Nigeria, the Hisba of the Hausa/Fulani in the North, and the Odu'a people's congress (OPC) of the Yoruba in the South West of the country among many others. Hills (2014:9), while reviewing the pattern of partnership policing as it affects Kano of north-central Nigeria, has suggested that the presence of socio-cultural and religious institutions have influenced the provision of policing services in the area. According to Hills (2014), the activities of alternative security providers have been encouraged by '...the apparent failure of the notoriously brutal, corrupt and ineffective Nigeria Police Force to provide adequate security and justice...' (Hills, 2014:9). However, Hills view seemed to contradict Onyeozili's (2005) perspective in this regard. According to Onyeozili (2005), colonialism had distorted elements of traditional institutions and values that were perceived to have previously sustained order maintenance in the pre-colonial African societies.

However, the emergence of the alternative community security institutions (vigilante organisations) has tended to question the relationship between the police/other law enforcement agents and members of the public in terms of crime prevention and control in Nigeria. The problem concerning the activities of vigilante groups in Nigeria is their acceptability to the police, in view of the fact that vigilante mode of operation has posed a threat to the state police in terms of sharing of the monopoly of violence. Moreover, apart from undermining police legitimacy in Nigeria, vigilante's activities could also resort to extra-judicial killings whereby furthering the already sour taste of the trust-gap in the police/community relationship (Fourchard, 2008). Adekanye (2012) further observed that at this level of the nation's development, there have been rising ethnic, religious and communal tensions. Adekanye (2012) added that the matter was becoming worse as the security agencies



such as the Nigeria police have problems in coping with violent attitudes of the numerous ethnic militias in the country. The militias groups have taken various forms of identity such as the O'dua Peoples' Congress (OPC) in the South-West, the Bakassi Boys in the South-East, the Egbesu Boys and the Meinbutsu in the South-South and the Arewa Peoples' Congress (APC) in the North. Adekanye (2011) further stated that these militia groups whose violent activities are already dragging the country's civil-military landscape. While the perspectives of Adekanye(2012) have laid much emphasis on the violent disposition of these ethnic militias, Rotimi and Ikuteyijo (2012) have also argued in relatively strong terms that they were notable security outfits entrenched in Yoruba ancestral tradition that tend to engage in magical methods of defence.

According to the view of Rotimi and Ikuteyijjo (2012), the use of charm and other occult powers of the vigilante institutions grant a range of acknowledged comparative advantages in security and crime prevention and control issues. This view reflects the enormous security challenge facing the country that ultimately called for the introduction of the policy of community policing. In the face of perceived or real failure of the police establishments to provide services that will guarantee crime prevention and control, the various informal and semi-informal policing structures have continued to operate in parallel with the official police organisation in Nigeria. Findings from Alemika and Chukwuma's (2004) work have suggested that what had been regarded as informal policing structures are in agreement with the political and socio-cultural practices of their respective communities. The policing groups, according to this contention, are founded on traditional practices of age-grade, divination and masquerade cults. Alemika and Chukwuma (2004) further stated that such groups are identified as informal only in relation to the contemporary state police system but not as reflected however in the consciousness and lived experiences of the people. Similarly,

Fourchard (2008) continued to emphasise that 'vigilante' was a term at the instance of the Nigeria police in the mid-1980s to substitute with 'hunter guard' or 'night guard', a similar structure hitherto in existence as system during the colonial period. It had the legal and authorised backing of the then government of Western Nigeria thereby paving way for its operation as a non-state form of policing in Nigeria. Rotimi and Ikuteyijo (2012) also observed that the Bakassi Boys, the Egbesu Boys and other sister organisations were at various points in time directly or indirectly engaged by their respective state governments in Nigeria. This was to assist the State government(s) in the maintenance of security of lives and property in their respective domains.

Corroborating with the assertion of Rotimi and Ikuteyijo (2012) on how community members have viewed the activities of informal policing institutions in Nigeria is the further evidence credited to Okereafoezeke (2003). In the view of Okereafoezeke (2003), Bakassi Boys are reputed to be functional and efficient in the area of crime prevention and control for the reason that the group has the ability to identify a criminal no matter what effort at concealing identity. According to this view, members of the group move from one community to the other fishing out criminals, arresting and punishing them. This perspective, though has recognised the unfortunate extra-judicial stance of their methodologies, appreciate their ability to significantly reduce the rate of crimes in the area (Okereafoezeke, 2003). For instance, even in the Northern part of Nigeria where Islamic mode of governance and policing held sway in the pre-colonial and colonial periods, the current realities of governance in the area have shown the pre-eminence of the implementation of Islamic(Sharia) modes of policing. In the light of this, Olaniyi (2011) further argued that the extension of these Islamic principles is the establishment of the Hisba Guard of the contemporary Sharia implementation in Kano state of Nigeria. Ahmad (1983:7 as cited in Olaniyi, 2011) stated that Hisba was established to cater for the security, moral, economic and public life of the people in line with tenets of Islam and

as clearly stipulated in the Sharia. According to Olaniyi(2011), Hisba institution is perceived as capable of guiding against corrupt, fraud, and dishonest tendencies of the people and tackle the problems of community security and policing of a moral order in accordance with the provision of Sharia (Islamic legal code).

According to Loveday (1999), within the United Kingdom, there are noticeable varieties of police systems and institutions (such as the Procurator Fiscal supervising police investigation activities in Scotland) independently in operation despite overwhelming influence of the government at the centre. Making reference to the findings of Mawby (1999) and Loveday (1999), it is worth-stating that despite that UK provides one of the best police services in the world, consequent upon a range of community distrust on the State Police a community-based system of policing has remained the preferred choice, key and significant features among the Jersey community in the British Isles. According to Mawby (1999), the Jersey community has a population of about eighty thousand people and this numerical strength has placed the Jersey as the largest of the entire Channel Islands in Britain. In the context of the 1974 Police Force (Jersey) Law which created legal framework for the police system currently in use, the community-based Honorary Police volunteers with the population of two hundred and eighty three(283) out-numbered the paid police with the numerical strength of two hundred and forty two personnel as at the year 1996. Structure wise, this volunteers operate directly under the control of the Anthony General. This arrangement has paved way for robust relationship between the community and the police in terms of accountability and governance in this part of the British Islands (Mawby, 1999). Also in this context, Loveday (1999) further stated that sequel to the Northern Ireland review, while the general arrangements concerning the police are removed from the mainland in the Channel Island, those constables elected locally in the Jersey and Guernsey work alongside with the professionally paid police forces. It is a thing of

special interest that the State of Jersey police in particular are expected to function alongside with the locally elected constables (Loveday, 1999).

Despite of the relevance of the informal policing organisations in Nigeria, it is worth highlighting that their existence has in one way or the other posed danger to the operational conduct of conventional police institutions. The observations of Rotimi and Ikuteyijo (2012) have illustrated well the point that the un-official policing organisations have experienced frequent clashes with the state-police organisations. The consequences of this are not only significant most especially to the crude means those informal policing institutions adopt in crime detection, but also for the instant judgement usually meted out to the victims without respecting the principles of human rights of all citizens regardless of the nature of their offense. Nevertheless, the impact of corruption on policing within the context of Nigeria is worth being examined.

### **3.10 Corruption**

There is mounting evidence that in Nigeria, police corruption is a cause for concern across jurisdictions in terms of policing and crime control. In this context, Alemika, and Chukwuma, (2003:14) have argued that police corruptions elicit serious concern for three significant reasons. Firstly, the police are expected to be moral as well as law enforcement agents. If the police who are employed to prevent and detect corruption and bring culprits to judgement are themselves corrupt, the society's crusade against corruption is guaranteed to fail. Secondly, the police exercise powers that have implications for the life, property, safety and freedom of the citizens. Where the exercise of such powers is contaminated by corrupt motives, the citizens feel exceedingly vulnerable, insecure, and powerless. Thirdly, police corruption is usually tantamount to extortion, a form of robbery or demand with the use of force. These dimensions of police corruption explain why the public is threatened by such practices. Under

such circumstance, a range of suggestions have been offered by various stakeholders about the impact of corruption on policing and the corresponding implications on the police/community relationship patterns in Nigeria.

For instance, Osayande (2012) noted that corruption which has gained access to the operational dynamics of Nigeria Police Force is found to be on a higher level in recent times. Osayande (2012) has reiterated that corrupt practices in the Nigeria Police Force have gone beyond the domain of individual officers. Osayande (2012) stated that officers are fond of involving in acts of negligence and collusion to collect monies and gratifications in order to facilitate the offenders or suspects' escape from custody. According to Osayande (2012), closure of case files, escorts of contra-banned and stolen goods, stealing of property from the crime suspects, victims of accident and taking bribes or gratifications in order to decline arrest of suspects are some the unfortunate indulgences of police officers in Nigeria. Osayande (2012) also noted that some of police officers are used to receiving bribes in order to arrest an innocent citizens who may be a real or perceived enemy of the bribe giver, supplying armed robbers with the police uniforms and arms for a fee. As noted by Cole (1999), there are inadequate or lack of political and democratic mechanisms in place to review police operations in their respective stations. This also includes lack of mechanism to facilitate the public in calling the police to account for decisions. By the way, of concern to the public is to have full knowledge of how the police choose to enforce the law as well as overseeing of operation of the complaints associated with various aspects of police work (Cole, 1999).

According to Osayande (2012), issues relating to leaking vital security information about the complainants to criminals for the purpose of receiving gratifications in return and stealing from the scene of crime or accident are common. Further to these is the culture of extorting money from crime suspects before bail is granted which ordinarily should have been free,

among many others and that is the more reason corruption in Nigeria has in no small measure affected the system of policing (Osayande, 2012:14). Cases of lack of proper consultation and coordination, agencies rivalries, police resistance, public mistrust and hostility and the emergence of another 'middle men and small elite' between the police and the public could crop up if not carefully managed. Some police officers use the opportunity presented by community policing project to dump their responsibilities. At times, police request villagers to patrol highways after major robbery operations and the ruling parties can manipulate the system to file against political opponents (Lee and Haider, 2012:3). Although the personnel and logistics related policies and practices have direct bearing on the US's need to actualise and address security concerns of its citizens, this can be drawn upon to determine the nature of attention being paid to the sector in order to ensure implementation of community policing policy in Nigeria.

Similarly, the findings of the Civil Society Panel on Police Reform in Nigeria report (2012) suggests that though the current police Inspector General has been alive to the need to curb corruption by dismantling road blocks as well as award of punishments to erring police officers, corruption is still found as the 'number one impediment to the effective performance of police functions in Nigeria and a cancer that has spread to every facet of the Nigeria Police Force..' (Civil Society Panel on Police Report in Nigeria report, 2012:12) The same report suggested that corruption has spread in the whole country but refused to be convinced that this serves as an excuse to justify corruption in the Nigeria police institution. According to Onyeozili, (2005:42), the personnel of Nigerian police exhibit the habit of extorting money from motorists at various road blocks and junctions on highways in the country. This road blocks are usually erected under instructions of the police superior officers who effect the posting. Apart from this corrupt practices of the police officers in Nigeria, police personnel are also busy receiving monetary gratification in order to influence justice in favour of the

concerned public that paid the highest bidder. Onyeozili (2005) argued that such attitudes had negatively affected the public image and integrity as well of the Nigeria police in terms of perceiving it as a corrupt law enforcement agency. However, opinions of police officers according to Onyeozili (2005) suggested that corruption though has become an infection which they find it difficult to dissociate, Nigeria citizenry also are affected and that corruption has never been an exclusive reserve of the police institutions in Nigeria. The suggested consequence according to Onyeozili (2005) is in tandem with the position of Dirikx and Bulck (2014). In an attempt to theorize on conditions surrounding people's perceptions and their willingness to report crime to the police, Dirikx and Bulck (2014) stated that if the people have the belief that police practice fairness in terms of decisions and treatment, they are likely to perceive the police as a legitimate authority that deserve the people's willingness to cooperate. This position is an indication that people might have tendencies to withdraw their sense of cooperation in terms of willingness to give information to the police should their personal encounter with the police suggest otherwise.

### **3.11 Personnel and logistics**

Despite the fact that the project of community policing as a strategy for solving crime related problems has been officially introduced in Nigeria(Dickson, 2007), the extent to which manpower resources of the police organisation are managed have overwhelming influence on the success or failure of the community policing project in Nigeria. A number of research studies have indicated that adequate provisions of personnel and other logistics are necessary for successful implementation of policing policies in several jurisdictions. For example, He, Zhao and Lovrich (2005:302) have consistently suggested that police agencies with increased percentage of commissioned police officers were more likely to implement community-oriented policing programmes than their counterparts without an increase in workforce size.

In the view of He, Zhao and Lovrich (2005), the need to boost personnel strength of the police and security scheme speaks volumes of the reason behind the largest federal grant programme in the US. Under the Crime Control Act of 1994 in the US is the Universal Hiring grant; the popular programme pays up to 75% of the cost for the first two years for each additional officer hired to carry out community policing activities as part of his or her law enforcement work(He, Zhao and Lovrich, 2005).

Hills (2008) argued that community policing as a strategy of crime control has become popular among donor countries and agencies and the recipient countries of Africa such as Ghana, South Africa and Mozambique. The assumed popularity of community policing programmes has been occasioned by the quest by donor's countries and agencies to reduce the socio-cultural, political and economic status of the recipient countries. Further to this is the donor's perceived achievement of loyalty of the benefitting nations on one hand and the hope among the benefitting nations of Africa to benefit financially as well as the achievement of political patronage at the instance of this community policing policy introduction at the other hand. However, there are no noticeable changes from their existing form as a result of inadequate training, under-resourcing and negative influence of inherent socio-cultural and political conditions. The same contention goes to suggest that the situation is particularly felt in Nigeria where the police are widely perceived as one of the institutions noted with corruption in a country that is also internationally prominent for high levels of unpredictable violence, ethnicity and religious crisis. In the face of this scenario, a police reform of this nature is not far from being superficially localised and ephemeral in nature.

This could be particularly significant given that the recruitment program of the police organisation in Nigeria suggests that it has been affected by some factors that inhibit the processes of policing crime. Alemika (2008:5) has reiterated that the human resources



management of any responsible organisation aims at realising effectiveness, satisfaction of the employees, achievable through manpower planning in the form of analysis of employees required and evaluating how an organisation's needs can be met through recruitment, employee training both internally and externally, and creation of incentive, discipline and appropriate deployment of personnel. According to Alemika (2008), these chains of personnel related decisions and activities are disconnected in the Nigeria Police Force.

For instance, it has been noted by Dambazau (2007) that prospective candidates available for recruitment into the police in Nigeria are usually not screened. This situation provides the possibility of recruiting persons of low academic background, questionable character and criminal records. In the Nigeria Police Force, the need of the organisation in specific tasks and expertise, the skill and the relative interest of officers, the need to match skills acquired in the course of training with deployment hereafter and the enabling infrastructures for the use of the skills acquired by officers in the course of the training are usually not taken into account. As a consequence, the implementation of the community policing strategy would likely suffer setbacks if the situation continues. For instance, while trying to point out a range of causes for the inability of various international supported police reforms in the country to meet up with expectations, Hills (2008) noted that the operational environment of police in Nigeria does not in any way suggest democratic reform. According to Hills (2008), the negative influence of poverty among the citizens and the under-resourced three hundred and twenty five thousand (325,000) police officers hardly can provide effective police services to a country as big and populous as Nigeria.

In a further development, one of the major obstacles to the implementation of community policing in Nigeria, according to Arisukwu and Okunola (2013), is lack of adequate empowerment of the police in terms of the necessary skills, through community policing

training components in order to achieve the target goals. They also recognised the fact that the emergence of democratic form of governance has placed priority on the part of police authorities in Nigeria in terms of training and operational strategies. In their view, this is because value of respect for human rights and the rule of law for carrying out constitutional responsibilities might be improved. Even the prevailing policing style does not help matters as public order strategy has not being accorded sufficient attention. A clear example of this is a case where in the face of rioting, there tends to be low police response and then followed by the excessive and indiscriminate use of force. According to Hills (2008), the worst case scenario is when reliance on arrest and inquiry is preferred to the development of genuine and sustainable preventive measures in solving problems. Reforming the police in a way that serves the essence of police/community collaboration may appear to have make a head way, however, what the realities in Nigeria tend to suggest is to the contrary.

To buttress point further, the Serving and Protecting with Integrity being the police slogan adopted under Sunday Ehindero, the then Nigeria Inspector-General of Police was meant to create an impression in the minds of the public in terms of police readiness to be public-friendly. Although the approach would have been a welcome development in view of the country's need for a people-centred police institution, however, the approach means little or nothing to an average police constable (being the lowest rank in Nigeria) whose entry salary per annum is within the range of about one hundred thousand naira (N100, 000.00), being an equivalent of seven hundred the US Dollars (\$700). As if this is not likely to be enough, apart from the stark reality of the salary being delayed, part of the earnings may have to be used in paying for the uniforms and other material logistics by officers themselves, and this is in addition to discouraging nature of other working conditions (Hills, 2008).

Although community policing prescribes for partnership of the police and public in the business of crime prevention and control, this collaboration needs to be on mutual trust and a show of respect between the parties involved. However this goal can be enhanced through appropriate community policing training (Arisukwu and Okunola, 2013). The assertion held the view that in the context of police institution, law enforcement as well as criminal investigation is perceived as one of the core aspects of the police functions. Community policing desk officers have been held in a less-important manner and so many of them that have interest for the community policing functions are looked at as complementary to the profession rather than the main essence of the police. In the same vein, organisations where community policing has a low rating, some police officers are tempted to be discouraged from taking-up on that kind of roles. This means that it is only a few of the available hands who show interest in the new role that would definitely gain cognate experience.

This is largely the reason behind the fact that the culture of community policing has been perceived to be relatively successful in a smaller settlements, suburban locations and the middle class societies more than the inner towns and cities where the necessity of demand for the police service is high (Davis, Croall, and Tyrer, 2005:165). Olusegun (2009, as cited in Chene, 2012:5) pointed that the relatively short span of community policing policy implementation in Nigeria, it has witnessed a number of challenges. These challenges could be in the form of negative interference of those considered as powerful members of the community who are mainly politicians and wealthy individuals. This negative influence used to manifests during the course of subjecting alleged criminal offender to the criminal justice system. Other notable factors are the problem of finance and the difficulties among the police personnel to positively change from their corrupt attitudes. It was further observed that negative image of the police in the eye of the public could hardly be wished away. Cheurprakobkit and Puthongsiriporn (2005:228) have further suggested that the reality of

poverty translated in the increasing gap between the ‘haves’ and the ‘haves-not’, and its attendant criminalisation of behaviours is capable of making police-community partnership project difficult at times. According to this view, the philosophy of community policing may likely fail to develop when many citizens are poor and by implication the much needed trust and confidence in the police may be lacking. This is an indication that such a negative experience can affect the necessary cooperation between the police and the public.

### **3.12 The influence of Ethnicity**

Davis, Croall, and Tyrer (2005:169) have argued that one of the major issues affecting policing and its policy is the kind of relationship that exists between the police and ethnic minority communities. There have been reported cases of the exercise of discretion which have led to discrimination and perceptions of ‘over policing’ as evidenced by frequent rates of stops, search and arrests more than expected. These trends have led to some levels of community dissatisfactions with the police among some communities (Davis, Croall, and Tyrer, 2005:169). The dynamics of pluralism in Nigeria society extends beyond ethnicity, making her plural feature a bit more complex and challenging and which tends to make the implementation of community policing tasking. For instance, apart from the problem of ethnicity, there are also pluralism of religious sensibilities and organisations. As a result, Nigeria as a multi-cultural country has the problem of integrating numerous and diverse ethnic groups that constitutes the federation (Ojo, 2009:4). Furthermore, Envgwom (2000:1) pointed out that since the late 1980s, ethnicity as practiced in Nigeria has assumed disturbing dimensions and that the most crucial of these are perceived marginalisation and agitations among ethnic minorities.

In a nutshell, Envgwom (2000:64) has pointed out that ethnicity by definition is a situation where a group of people, regardless of their numerical strength, but with different cultural and linguistic attributes from those of its neighbours uses this as basis of solidarity and interactions with others regarded as not of their own. Buttressing on ethnicity as one of important factors of relationships among citizens of Nigeria, Envgwom (2000) asserted that every ethnic group sees itself not only as distinct and unique but tends to develop social and cultural consciousness as a group in itself and for itself. The implications of ethnicity according to Envgwom(2000) in this regard is that feelings of marginalisation, whether real or perceived, breeds suspicion, distrust, heightens tensions and usually leads to conflict among the contending groups. This scenario is mostly felt most especially over the sharing and allocation of power and other national resources (Envgwom, 2000). Apart from the geographical and religious communities, Dambazau (2007:247) stated that there is also professional/workplace, recreational and cultural communities. In this context, the heterogeneous nature of Nigeria is an important factor in determining the kinds of meaning being attached to community policing by stakeholders in Nigeria as well as the corresponding police/community relationships.

### **3.13 The impact of Religion**

Hills (2012:740) drew the attention of the managers of the community policing policies that there is danger in over focussing on the specialised form of occupational knowledge and technical expertise. This specialised pattern has been at the expense of the way and manner in which Nigerian culture is influenced by their beliefs and practices of its one hundred and fifty five million people. This set of beliefs has impact on the various leaders and other adherents of the religions of Islam, Christianity and Traditionalism. Hills (2012:739) observed that the difficulties of transferring the norms and practices of community policing are very evident in

the West African sub-region. According to this point, democratic notions of accountability were not in agreement with the personalised patronage network and local interests, most especially in Nigeria. In the Northern part of the country where the Islamic Law (*Sharia*) is observed, the system of policing and governance generally cannot be separated from the Islamic cultures. For example, Hills (2011:50) was quick to examine that in the Northern city of Kano, the Nigeria Police Force, though even in the face of operational inadequacies in terms of logistics and personnel, plays its policing roles as defined by the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. However, the effort is more or less complemented by the state sponsored Islamic guards known as *Hisba*, and by self- help community protection groups such as vigilantes and trade associations. In addition, the Emir of Kano administers the traditional forms of dispute resolution and intelligence gathering.

Taking a clue from this scenario, Islamic religious views and beliefs is seen as a plus for policing effort of the government. However, the activities of the Boko Haram in the northern part of the country, in recent times hardly allows this position to consolidate as the adherents of other religions may nurse some elements of doubt and suspicion in terms of peaceful co-existence with their neighbours. For instance, the people of Nigeria have been living in an atmosphere of pain and fear occasioned by the violent activities of the Boko Haram insurgents. News-Watch July 4, 2011 edition, in its reports describing the activities of the group as ‘a thorn in the flesh of the nation’, stated that the insurgence of Boko Haram ‘is the dilemma facing many Nigerians as they come face-to-face with the alarming state of insecurity in the country. Even Abuja, the seat of power, which hitherto was regarded as Nigeria’s oasis of peace and comfort, is no longer an exception. It has witnessed four bomb blasts in the nine months. The last of the four cases of bomb explosions took place on June 16, at the premises of Nigeria Police Force Headquarters Abuja. The explosion affected the movement of people in Abuja’. The Boko Haram group, which, as reported, started in 2003,

in 'Hausa language' that is widely spoken in the northern part of the country means 'Western education is sinful'. The operations of the Boko Haram insurgents have been concentrated mainly in the northern states of Yobe, Kano, Kaduna, Bauchi and Borno. The group regards all who do not subscribe to the ideology of the sect, whether a Muslim or a Christian as unbelievers. It is reportedly believed to be advocating for the adoption of Islamic Law, popularly known as Sharia in all part of Nigeria.

To recap on the trends, as at July, 2009, series of violent attacks were waged on the people of the north-eastern cities of Maiduguri and Bauchi. The violence resulted to the involvement of both the police and the army officials. About 800 people were killed. Subsequently, the founding leader of the group Muhammad Yusuf was later captured and died in the hands of the Nigerian police personnel. To make the matter worse, on August 26, 2011, a car bomb struck the United Nations building in Abuja in which about twenty-three people were killed and seventy-six others seriously wounded. The bomb blast also affected the ground floor and almost all the windows. Apart from these, there was an ill-fated Madalla church bombing that claimed several lives on the eve of Charismas on the outskirts of Abuja. In all these, members of the Boko Haram' claimed responsibility for the attack. These have resulted in the citizens living in an atmosphere of fear and insecurity and by extension a gradual decline of the Nigeria economy.

The implication of the development is that the country is becoming polarised along ethnic and religious lines. Apart from the fact that people of relatively different ethnic origins have seen one another as belonging to opposing groups, the relatively high level of illiteracy which tends to frustrate communication through the medium of English, the official language, has created limited sense of unity and understanding. For instance, a potential offender who is of Christian faith would perceive police personnel of Muslim background as agent of violent

Islamic sect Boko Haram, despite of the fact that the same Boko Haram group had one way or the other reportedly embarked on attacking some Muslim places of worship in Nigeria. The implementation of community policing requires not only the police-community cooperation but the cooperation and mutual confidence of the community members themselves, in respective of their beliefs and ethnic differences.

### **3.14 How do we make sense of these problems?**

This chapter focussed on showcasing the transfer of police/community partnership policy in Nigeria. There are nagging issues such as the reasons for actors' engagement in the transfer. It can be taken as a response to the problem of crime and the widespread dissatisfaction with the status-quo at one end and the direct or indirect coercive transfers undertaken at the behest of another nation or supranational institution at the other. Nonetheless, findings on the basis of analysis in relation to this chapter have suggested that government and other relevant stakeholders in Nigeria have realised that the adoption and implementation of community policing strategy was necessary in order to foster collaboration between the police and members of public so to bring about adequate provision of security. In the wake of this realisation, the authority of the Nigeria Police Force, the organisation that is constitutionally empowered to preserve and maintain the security of the nation, at the instance of various reform mechanisms have adopted the community policing strategy where both the police officers and the members of the community become co-producers of effective crime prevention and control in Nigeria. Despite this effort, the desire for achieving a sense of community safety among the people of Nigeria seemed to be elusive.

However, official introduction of the policy has a number of issues to contend with most especially in relation to differences between ideal and reality in the implementation project.



For instance, there are indications reflecting that despite effort at bringing the policy to bear in the country, some of the officers have viewed the project as a means to achieve attendance of conferences abroad. Further to this, there are fears among the police officers that implementation of the policy have become self-policing strategy which prevents them from benefitting corrupt-related activities. Even the sincerity of the political class is in doubt as some of them have adopted the policy in order to attract funding and patronage from international donors. It is a voluntary policy transfer based on the desire for international acceptance and the wish to develop a democratic methodology of policing to meet the needs of a democratic society. However, even in the face of these popular calls, the desire that the strategy would bring about safer environment where socio-economic and political activities blossom in Nigeria has not yet been fulfilled.

Various suggestions have reviewed that the transfer of the community policing policy to Nigeria, a socio-cultural setting that is at variance with the place where it originated from, would not be without its own challenges. To say the least, colonial and post-colonial policing experience in Nigeria has been a source of great concern as the para-military pattern of colonial policing has made the policing institution alien to the perceptions of the public in the country. As noted by Cole (1999), for example issues of brutality, police corruption, isolation and general inefficiency are problems encountered by post-colonial police forces especially in Africa. Apart from this, informal institutions of policing in most societies in the Southern part of Nigeria do rely on masquerades, ancestors beliefs among others, while in the Northern part of Nigeria where influence of the Islamic legal (sharia) code held sway, the absolute belief in the principles of Quran' an and the Sunnah (the traditions of the Prophet) are instruments to regulate social behaviours. Nigeria police and the Nigeria constitutional provisions, which are secular in nature, seemed not to have given adequate recognition to these patterns of beliefs and practices as basis of police official operation within the country's socio-legal framework.

However, reality suggested that the community policing project in Nigeria seemed to be far from reality because of the relative sour relationship between the police and the community in terms of collaborations.

### **3.15 Conclusion**

This chapter discussed the essence of community policing policy transfer in Nigeria in a broader perspective and how this policy has been implemented in the country. Also of pertinent to this chapter is the associated challenge in which the policy has been confronted with in the socio-cultural context of Nigeria. To this end, a range of concerns so raised and discussed in this chapter are the impacts of corruption, personnel issues, ethnicity/religion and influence of colonial heritage. Others worthy of note are: police and violence, lack of adequate knowledge of community policing philosophy as well as the influence of community and informal policing institutions on police/community relationship patterns in Nigeria. This chapter examined the inter-connections of these challenges and examined their respective impacts on community policing implementation project in the country. While some of these problems have their origins rooted in pre-Colonial and Colonial periods of policing, others have developed after political independence in the context of the country's security management.

On account of this chapter, the impact has direct connection with feelings of suspicion, distrust and lack of confidence between the police and community members in relation to collaboration for crime prevention and control in Nigeria. Although these theoretical views have suggested negative impact of these challenges on the country's effort in the context of the implementation of this policy, this study has based much more on empirical evidence to give credibility to this claim. This is based on seeking understanding from perspectives of all

stakeholders, which in this case are the police officers and community members at the appropriate socio-cultural terrain of Nigeria. The next chapter shall therefore focus on the methodology and philosophical approaches that have been adopted in the collection of relevant information to ensure that the empirical part of the study was fulfilled.

## **Chapter Four: Research Methodology**

### **4.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter discussed processes of the community policing policy transfer and the restrictions associated with these implementation processes in Nigeria. This chapter focuses on the methodology and approaches for data collection to provide the context for empirical aspects of the investigation. This discussion therefore focuses on philosophical ontology and epistemology as well as approaches that shaped the study. Furthermore, this chapter addresses research design and how the traditional ethical standards and principles of integrity, respect and beneficence have been observed in the course of this investigation. In addition, this chapter moves a step further in discussing research setting-Kogi State of the north-central region of Nigeria. This is in addition to rationales for choosing this location in view of the sensitive nature of this investigation. Also discussed are nature and the needs for focus group discussions and individual interviews adopted for the research, and how these instruments were used to engage participants on the field. This chapter have also discussed how the empirical aspects of this study have been transcribed, coded and analysed.

### **4.2 Research philosophy**

It is important at this stage to examine the philosophical basis of this study in order to determine appropriate strategies to achieve results that are reliable taking into cognisance the people-oriented nature of the research. There is a necessity to acknowledge engagements with epistemology (what it is to know) and ontology (what actually exists) in order to illuminate understanding of phenomena under investigation (Toren and Pina-Cabral, 2009:2). Ontology is concerned with the nature of knowledge. It is directly connected with claims as regards the nature and structure of being as well as theories of what actually exist (Marilyn and

Rawnsley, 1998). Bryman's (2012) stated that ontology referred to looking at a social reality through the perspectives of either objectivism or constructionist. According to the objectivist standpoint, a social entity has a reality that is external to the actor(s) and that the actor is governed by, and without a control over it. The constructionists' standpoint proposes that social reality is a product of the perceptions, experiences, opinions, perspectives and actions of the actors involved in the social process. By this, Bryman (2012) means social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished, produced and in constant state of revision through social interactions. Community policing involves a social mechanism to provide security and is inherently embedded in the nature of meaning attached to it by the society itself. Consequently, the perspectives of the various parts of the population are being informed by their respective orientations and understanding. Hence, it is only by recognising the essence of divergence of opinions and experiences on the part of participants that the researcher could access the culturally informed meaning attached to community policing in the context of Nigeria. Based on this philosophical background, the constructionist ontology has been adopted in carrying out the investigation.

Epistemological issues arise in order to provide answers to concerns in respect of which principle and perspective to use in studying the social phenomena. For instance, the epistemological position that recognises what should be studied using the principles, procedures and ethos of natural phenomena is positivism (Bryman, 2012). Further to this, in the context of this branch of philosophy are the ideological struggles in terms of possibilities and limitations to ability of human knowledge. However, according to Bryman (2012), interpretive epistemologists have come to be inclined with the belief that the subject of people and their institutions are fundamentally at variance with the natural science, and therefore require a different logic of research procedure. By this stand point, there is a difference between an emphasis on explanation and understanding of human behaviour. In the view of

Bryman (2012) making reference to Weberian perspective stated that sociology is a science which seeks the interpretive understanding of social action to arrive at a causal explanation of its cause and effects. Thus, epistemology is nevertheless mostly concerned to address probabilities of necessary conditions to justify beliefs and rejecting criticisms. Besides, there are ways of knowing that is inherent in knowledge that is systematically independent of human experience of others, while the acquired knowledge derived from sense experience. Knowledge acquired through the perspective of rationalism is consequent on the primacy of reason and therefore can be known based on theoretical reasoning without making reference to any realm of experience.

However, empiricism maintained that the justification of belief can only be substantiated through application of experience (Marilyn and Rawnsley, 1998). In the context of this study therefore, it can be argued that understanding the issue of cultural and communication gap between police personnel and community members in Nigeria has to do with how the people read meaning to their social environment. The study was conducted in qualitative research paradigm and within the interpretive theoretical framework of phenomenology. This framework focused on determining participants' perspectives on the meaning they attach to particular aspects of their social situations and understanding cause-effect processes (Deuchar, 2012:117).

As it is, phenomenology being the adopted research theoretical paradigms is one of the intellectual traditions that are strongly opposed to the positivist proponents. According to Bryman (2012), phenomenology initially attributed to the work of Alfred Schutz (1899-1959), largely influenced by Max Weber, is an intellectual philosophy that is mainly concerned with how people interpret and in the process make sense of the social reality. The phenomenological argument revolves around the belief that social reality and actions have

meaning for human beings and in that light also act on and to others on the basis of that meaning. In this case, adherents of phenomenology do have responsibility of gaining access to the view of the people from the perspectives, interpretations and world views of the people themselves (Bryman, 2012). The implication of this theoretical tradition on the research questions is that high importance is placed on the active involvement of people in reality construction. The ‘meaning-centred’ ontological and epistemological positions have influenced and determined the research design and strategies for the collection of data for this study (Bryman, 2012). The qualitative research methods have been adopted to appropriately serve the purpose of this kind of approach.

### **4.3 Research Ethics**

Procedures in ensuring adequate ethical standards were maintained in terms of promotion of support of good practice and provision of framework of principles. The Social Research Association (2003:15) stated that the integrity and conduct of social research is dependent on the cumulative behaviour of individual researchers and the consequence of their actions in the society at large. This point of view was supported by Bulmer (2008) while arguing that sociological inquiry has responsibilities not only to the ideals of the pursuit of truth, but seen to be objective in nature and the search for knowledge with regards to subjects of the investigation. Accordingly, the researcher has an obligation to conform to the ethical standards of the society in which the work is being conducted. The research is concerned with providing understanding on the meaning of community policing and the corresponding relationships in the views of the police officers and the community. It was carried out strictly in line with the required training, professional competence, academic freedom, integrity and methodology (BSC, 2008; BSA, 2002).

Tyldum (2012) has argued that participation in research without expecting any personal benefits is akin to volunteering for social organisations and that such participation is viewed as being for the good of the community and groups which the participants belong. Tyldum (2012) further argued that selfless participation in research could also be motivated by the desire for their views to be heard and to use the platform in order to promote issues of concern and importance, most especially when the study was perceived to be important to the community and the people involved. In this case, there is no anticipation of any immediate gain and gratifications associated with their participation. As claimed by Tyldum (2012), the importance and impact of any study is usually difficult to access most especially prior to fieldwork activity and results by virtue of contextual perspectives involved. However, in the view of this research, the study is meant for the advancement of knowledge in a way that the outcome could benefit humanity. The benefits of this study have wider bearing and implications both theoretical and in policy terms to the researcher, participants and including some of the public who are desirous of crime prevention, community safety and security of lives and property (Bulmer, 2008).

The reliability of the source of information either in the form of internet, research monographs or oral submissions for the research were thoroughly cross-checked. In addition, the works and contributions of other scholars were acknowledged as appropriate and have avoided unhealthy prejudice while carrying out the research. Efforts were made to try as much as possible to recognise, appreciate and protect the privacies, interests as well as the sensitivities of the participants. To this effect, pseudonyms were used to replace the real identities of participants. Also to note is the researcher's effort at ensuring the protection within the context of the prevailing laws of the fundamental rights of the police officers and the community members that participated either at individual in-depth interviews or focus groups discussions levels at the study area. The researcher's details of origin, academic and career



background and the purpose of the study were disclosed to the focus groups and individuals in order to avoid suspicions of any forms most especially that Nigeria at the moment is being faced with security challenges. Moreover, the aims, objectives, implications and the nature of the research are made known to them, in a clear terms and their informed freedom of withdrawal and consent obtained from them, within the purview of fidelity.

Bulmer(2008) has put it clearly that the doctrine of informed consent provides that persons who are being invited to take part in the research activities are free to choose to either participate or decline, having been given all the information about the nature and essence of the investigation. As contended by Lunnay et al (2014), adequate measures were put in place to ensure that participants in all the sessions (focus groups and interviews) were accorded respect and recognised their roles essentially in generating research outputs. In the course of the research the participants were empowered by making them aware of the sense of control they have over conditions of interactions. This aspect of ethical procedures was to ensure that participants (police and community) were comfortable to share with the researcher significant aspects of their social life experience. According to Nind et al (2012), fundamentals of research ethics require that ethical research should try as much as possible to ensure not only to avoid harm but also balance risk, justice, efficacy, and respect in order to promote quality, transparency and integrity. This is in realisation that research innovation and responsibility is associated with potential risks and complications which require that management skills should be employed (Lunnay, et al 2014).

The sessions were conducted in the day- morning and evening times, under an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity. The potential likely dangers such as harsh weather condition, accidents were identified and the necessary preventive measures were put in place. Bulmer (2008) suggested that the concern of social researchers has not only been the conditions under which

data are being collected but how they are stored and disseminated. According to Tyldum (2012), there is needed to consider possible consequences associated with breach of confidentiality. This is mostly of importance whenever potentially sensitive information were being recognised and tied to participant(s) in the study. Nevertheless, Tyldum (2012) stated however that more often than not, researchers do try as much as possible to promise their respective respondents of adequate confidentiality. This is in relations to try their possible best to ensure security of sources' anonymity.

As a result, in as much as researcher has tried to ensure that a high level of anonymity and confidentiality were maintained, there are instances which could be beyond the control of researcher or participants. The researcher as a matter of responsibility and within the context of this study has honoured assurances of confidentiality and also ensured that there was adequate security of information transmissions. The data collected, in this case were used for the purpose of the study and under no condition the individual identity of the participants be disclosed in the resulting analysis (BSC, 2008; SRA, 2003:54 and Bulmer, 2008). The researcher was honestly aware of all the prescriptions and otherwise, of the existing national laws and regulations, such as the Data Protection Acts, Copyrights and Libel Laws, and Patent Acts. In addition, the researcher being a student member of the British Sociological Association and British Society of Criminology is familiar with the various codes of ethics of relevant professional bodies.

The researcher has relied upon the confidence of the members of the public, promotion of that confidence without exaggerating the accuracy or explanatory power of the findings (SRA, 2003:22). Any disturbing intrusion into the personal lives of the participants in the research, or feelings of being wronged by the outcome of the study was also avoided. The study did not include vulnerable group as participants on ground of age, health, or disability. The researcher

did not enter into agreement that prevent the findings from being made open to the views of the public through publication or as feedbacks to the participants (BSA, 2002).

#### **4.4 Research Setting: Nigeria**

Any research activity, according to Walliman (2005) involves going out and collecting data through either observations, recording or measurements of the activities and ideas of the real people or experiencing events. The socio-cultural and political background of this study is Nigeria so explanations and analysis of this study were carried out in this context. Geographically, Nigeria is located in West Africa and is credited as the most populous black nation in the world. It is bounded in the East by Chad and Cameroon, in the north by Niger, in the south by the Bight of Guinea as part of the Atlantic Ocean and in the west by the Republic of Benin (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2014). Nigeria has abundant natural resources endowments which include among others: Metals (Marble, Gypsum, Kaolin, Barites); agricultural products: Maize, Cassava, Millets, and Cotton, Palm oil, Cocoa and with crude oil as the main stay of the economy (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2014).

However, because of the British colonial connection with the country, English is the official language across its length and breadth even though a number of the country's population may not yet be able to speak English as a result of low literacy levels. Apart from English, about four hundred native languages are spoken, but with some facing threats of extinction. Nigeria, officially known and called the Federal Republic of Nigeria is constitutionally a federal republic and administratively it comprised of thirty-six States and The Federal Capital Territory Abuja (see the map of Nigeria in the Appendix-8). Each of the States has three Senatorial Districts, with a number of Local Government Council Areas (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2014).

#### 4.5 Kogi State of the north-central Nigeria

For the purpose of this investigation, Kogi State of Nigeria is the actual location where the police and community participants were recruited and engaged with focus groups discussions and individual in-depth interviews. The field work activities were conducted primarily in order to access the participants' respective perspectives, views, opinions and understandings of community policing as an adopted strategy of policing for the twenty first century Nigeria on one hand and the nature of police/community relationships on the other. Kogi State, with the administrative headquarters at Lokoja is one of the thirty six States located in the north-central region of Nigeria. The State was created from Kwara and Benue States on 27<sup>th</sup> August, 1991 by the General Ibrahim Babangida administration (Kogi State of Nigeria, 2013). It has a total land mass of about 29, 833 Square Kilometres and considered the most centrally located of all the States in the country. Kogi State share boundaries with Nasarawa, Niger and the Federal Capital territory in the north, Benue State to the East, Kwara and Ekiti State in the West while it is bounded in the south with Edo and Enugu States (Kogi State of Nigeria, 2013). Economically, the main stay is agriculture and majority of the people are farmers. The common farm produce(s) are palm oil, cassava, yam, cocoa, cashews, groundnuts, maize and coffee. Mineral resources that are abundantly present in Kogi State are iron ore, petroleum, tin, limestone and coal. The State plays host to Ajaokuta Steel Company, Obajana Cement Company, Itakpe Iron ore Industry and a host of others (Kogi State of Nigeria, 2013). Although, the availability of abundant mineral resources suggested that the area has enormous socio-economic potentials, but for the relatively poor utilisation of these resources accounted for the widespread poverty among the people.

According to the provisions of 2006 census result, Kogi State has a population of 3,314, 043 people. Kogi State is of 29, 833km/sq landmass and with three Senatorial Districts namely:

Kogi East Senatorial District, with headquarters at Idah; Kogi West Senatorial District, with headquarters at Lokoja; and Kogi Central Senatorial District, with headquarters at Okene (Kogi State of Nigeria, 2013). Kogi State comprises of twenty one Local Government Councils altogether namely: Adavi, Ankpa, Ajaokuta, Bassa, Kabba/Bunu, Idah, Olamabolo, Omala, Ofu and Ibaji. Others are Dekina, Igalamela-Odolu, Ijumu, Kogi, Lokoja, Ogori/Mangongo, Okene, Okehi, Mopa-Muro, Yagba West and Yagba East. The major ethnic groups are: Igala, Egbara and Okun and a host of other minorities such as Oworo, Kankanda, Bassa Komo, Bassa Nge, Hausas and Nupe among others (Kogi State of Nigeria, 2013).

## **4.6 Justifications for the choice of research location**

### **4.6.1 Familiarity with the terrain**

The researcher has lived for over twenty years living at various times in this part of the country and the researcher's family are domiciled in the area. The researcher's familiarity to the geographical terrain of the chosen study location was an asset. This is important given the potential risk associated with the researcher's movement from one community to another to meet the research participants. The transportation and communication network of the study location and the modalities involved in the mobilisations of the respondents and other essentials of the fieldwork were considerably within the reach of the researcher. For instance, in Kogi State where the focus group discussions and individual interviews were held, the researcher has a good knowledge and understanding of the culture, including native language-Igala being widely spoken by the majority of the population in the area. Furthermore, the researcher has a personal car that aided him in the transportation activities without any hindrances usually associated with public vehicles. Nevertheless, the researcher has an

academic and professional background and the corresponding critical and analytical skills which were of asset to him in the course of this research work.

#### **4.6.2 Security considerations**

Apart from these, it is obvious that Nigeria is a country with enormous security challenges, which ordinarily has informed this investigation. Despite the fact that there is general high rate of crime and insecurity in Nigeria, the case study area is relatively peaceful, in terms of security of life and property. In addition to the English Language of which the researcher is versed in, the ability to speak the local dialect had make the community members to feel comfortable with the researcher in carrying out the data gathering activities. This potentially removed the risk of what the culture of the area in question could define as misbehaviour on the part of the researcher in a way that would offend the sensibilities of the people concerned and any other sources of suspicion that could affect negatively the progress of the investigation. The researcher was extremely careful and vigilant and the necessary security measures were being taken should any moves considered suspicious from anybody or group of persons arose.

As part of adequate precautions to ensure safety of the research activities, details of the researcher's contacts and locations were being held by the family members should there be cases of emergency. The doctoral research activities in Kogi State were being monitored by the members of supervisory team during and after the conduct of the focus group discussions and interviews sessions.

#### **4.6.3 Reduction of financial costs**

The cost of renting any hotel and commercial vehicles for the data collection most especially during the focus groups discussions was avoided. I also had personal contacts in many communities in the chosen State where I was accommodated should there was any delay or obstruction during the period of study. This became necessary in view of the lean relative resources at the disposal of the researcher during the period of data collection activities. The distance coverage was within the range that guaranteed daily return to the base after the daily exercise. For example, Idah to Anyigba took an average of an hour by car while Idah to Lokoja usually takes two hours by car. The same thing also applied to other Local Government Council Areas where the research was conducted in the State. However, as a result of the need to encourage the participants, transport fares of some of the community participants were reimbursed.

#### **4.6.4 Availability of sample of the study population**

Another is the availability of required generalizable data sample in Kogi State in relation to the population (Nigeria) under study. This concern though not the primary focus of qualitative inquiry, is imperative considering the fact that Nigeria is such a culturally diverse country. By the way, this need to achieve representative sample ordinarily requires the researcher getting in touch with communities and members of the police in other States of the country. However, there is multi-ethnic composition of the police organisation in everywhere Nigeria where every socio-cultural interest groups are represented. Even with the trends of migration and inter-marriages coupled with the influence of the religion of Islam and Christianity, which have spread to every part of the country, the fear of not getting in touch with the cultural diversity is reduced to the minimum level. The selection of the study area was able to put those factors except social class into consideration. In the context of the available time frame

and other constraints that are logistically related, those participants on hand were mainly drawn from middle class segment of the population.

For example, Kogi State, though located in the northern part of the country, is credited as a melting pot to so many cultural diversities in the country. The Lokoja/Kotokerfi axis and a number of communities in the State have a good population of Hausa/Fulani ethnic group. The Kabba/Egbe axis has the Okun Yoruba tribe and the Okene/Adavi axis has the Egbira. The East Senatorial District of the State has the Igala, Bassa ethnic groups. However, the State also has substantial population of the Igbo and other minority ethnic groups. There is hardly any ethnic group in Nigeria that is not being found in Kogi State. Furthermore, the cosmopolitan nature of the towns and villages in the State can be best described as miniature Nigeria where nearly all cultural diversities of the country are represented. Above all, considering the limited time available for the research, the mentioned advantages for adopting this study location have enhanced do-ability of the research project.

Kogi State Police Command is among the first eighteen States of the Federation that the policy of community policing was being piloted. By virtue of that, Kogi State plays host to the Desk Officers on community policing implementation project. As a result, in terms of access and the corresponding interests for the investigation could not be better imagined. Further to these is that there are several urban and rural communities in each of the Local Government Councils and each has at least a Divisional Police Headquarters and many other Police Stations and Police Posts. There are three Area Commands, thirty-two Divisions, ninety-one Police Stations, seventy-nine Police Posts and four Village Posts in Kogi State of Nigeria. According to the Annual Abstract of Statistics 2012, a publication of the National Bureau of Statistics of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Each of the Divisional headquarters is headed by the Divisional Police Officer of the Deputy or Superintendent of Police rank,



depending on the status of the Division. Idah being the East Senatorial District headquarters is playing host to the Nigeria Police Force Area Command headquarters, with an Area Commander of Assistant Commissioner of Police rank. The same for Kabba area of the State, also playing host to the Nigeria Police Area Command headquarters. Apart from these, Lokoja, the Capital of Kogi State, is the headquarters of Kogi State Police Command, with a Commissioner of Police. It also serves as the headquarters of the Zone 8 of the Nigeria Police Force, with an Assistant Inspector General of Police rank in charge.

#### **4.7 Data Collection Strategy and Approach**

From the perspective of Tyldum (2012), qualitative researcher usually seeks information that demonstrates relevance of cases and variations of issues in order to understand. It is important at this stage to explain strategies involved in the collection of data for the study in order to enhance understanding of the extent at which the necessary information was gathered. In this respect, there were collections of secondary data relevant to the subject of investigation.

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, this qualitative research is concerned to investigate how the stakeholders of the Nigeria security project, which include police personnel and community members, were making sense of community policing. Correspondingly, the study is concerned with how the stakeholders in local areas carry out the creation and management of security based on their shared experiences. The official discourse on community policing in Nigeria was accessed by contacting either through the respective websites of or visitations to the Research and Documentation Unit or the Police Public Relation Office, Nigeria Police Force Headquarters, Abuja, and the Ministry of Police Affairs, Abuja, for the gazetted blueprints on police reforms for Nigeria, Vision 20:20 Economic Blue Print for Nigeria and the Nigeria Police's policy documents on community policing. Some of the important data on

crime and community policing were received from the office of the Commissioner of Police at the police headquarters in Kogi State.

The researcher approached the groups of respondents and other individual persons, at their respective council areas or community, as the case may be, at various times by appointments booking with their respective leaders and members, letters of notification, visits, phone calls and emails. The researcher conveniently approached the participants with evidences of ethical approvals achieved from the University of Liverpool Research Ethics Committee, local ethics approval from the Commissioner of Police, Kogi State Police Command and Letter of Introduction at the instance of doctoral research lead supervisor. This strategy was considered cheaper, quicker, time-saving, and convenient with respect to the conduct of empirical aspect of this investigation.

However, in the light of this study, the participants were decided upon and drawn not on criteria of representativeness but on their respective roles in the community and their knowledge of policing issues given the overall purpose of the investigation.

#### **4.8 Research Instruments**

The research study is about examining the meaning of community policing as expressed in the views of police personnel, community members and in official documents in Nigeria. Also of concern is among others, to determine the kind of relationship patterns between the police and community as suggested by these views, and to examine the problems these views about community policing imply in relation to the success of the community policing project in Nigeria. In the light of these raised issues and concerns, the research instruments adopted to collect the primary data for this study are focus group discussions and individual in-depth interviews:

- Three focus group discussions with (6-8 police personnel) recruited from the officers of the Nigeria Police Force in Kogi State.
- Three focus group discussions with (6-8 community participants) recruited from community members in Kogi State of Nigeria.
- Ten individual in-depth interviews with (police personnel) in accordance with the police officers engagements with the community policing projects in Kogi State.
- Fifteen individual in-depth interviews with the community members in the State.

The inclusion criteria were focussed on participants who were over 18 years of age and were able to give informed consent independently. In addition, the participants were either community group member(s) and/or community police office(s). This recruitment strategy yielded a total of 64 participants for the study.

#### **4.9 Focus Groups Discussions (FGD)**

The choice of focus groups discussions as a research instrument was meant to satisfy the needs of this research inquiry. The tool is meant to generate data having considered the advantages and disadvantages of adopting this kind of research approach. It is also pertinent to state that the research tool also required complimentary approach- individual in-depth interviews in order to enhance credibility of the study. While providing explanations to focus groups discussions, Marshall and Rossman (1995) have stated that it comprised of groups of people usually numbered between four and twelve, who may or may not be unfamiliar onto one another. This can be selected on the basis of their share of certain features which are considered relevant to the question raised by the study. Marshall and Rossman (1995) have further argued that this kind of research tool, largely believed to have emanated from

marketing inquiry, creates an enabling environment for the expressions of various opinions and points of views. According to Marshall and Rossman (1995), focus groups could be conducted with different individuals and groups to pave ways for the researcher to identify trends in the perceptions and opinions expressed and revealed by careful systematic analysis.

Morgan (1998) has argued that the strength of qualitatively generated information lies on the use of guided group discussions for a rich understanding of participants' experiences and beliefs in relation to the subject being investigated. According to this position, focus groups discussions are forms of interviews where a moderator guides or directs the interview while a considerably small group of people engage themselves in discussions. In this case, discussions are on topics that the interviewer raised and what the participants actually say during the discussions in focus groups. In this connection, Cronin (2008) stated that a facilitator/moderator leads the discussions of the participating group members. The focus group lasted for about one and half to two hours and a tape recorder used to capture the proceedings which were then transcribed for analysis.

It is again important to note that the issues of this investigation were the nature of police/community relationships structure as well as inherent motives and meaning attached to the concept of community policing among stakeholders in Nigeria. It was then useful at this point to understand that these concerns were so complex a subject that required understanding of various range of opinions and perspectives on the matter in a relatively respectful and friendly atmosphere. The subject of study did not imply commitments beyond a level that the research could not keep, and besides being that it was appropriate for the participants (Morgan, 1998).

#### **4.10 The advantages and disadvantages of Focus Groups**

There are advantages and disadvantages associated with focus group discussions as instrument for the collection of empirical data. For example, reflecting on some of the merits in connection to this kind of approach, Marshall and Rossman (1995) reiterated that focus group discussions have the tendency to provide for social orientation and natural environment for the study to thrive. The relative capacities to produce results and cost effectiveness are also merits associated with adopting FGD (Bryman, 2012). However, the method is not without its problems. In the FGD approach, the interviewer had less control over the proceedings of the group discussion; and analysis of the data collected was part of the hurdles identified with it. Aside from these, recording of the event was time consuming; there was possibility of the two or more participants to speak at a time thereby creating an atmosphere of confusion. Furthermore, some of the participants found it difficult to express themselves under a group influence and also that some of them could even find it difficult to reveal some of issues related to their privacies (Bryman, 2012; Mashall and Rossman, 1995). In order to avoid the negative impact of FGD which might affect the reliability of the study outcome, individual in-depth interviews instrument were undertaken to complement in order to improve the quality of research results.

Individual In-depth Interviews as research instrument for data collections afforded the researcher the opportunity to probe directly into people's (police officers and community members in Kogi State) motivations and feelings about community policing at the individual levels (Calvert and Calvert, 1992). The researcher, in line with the position of Walliman (2011) prepared for the interviews through groundwork such as writing and issuing of letters of appointments, explaining the purpose of the interviews and the ethics surrounding the study and the presentation of the interview in the forms of building confidence, friendliness,

appearing sound and good in a manner that would be represent the good image of the institution of affiliation-the University of Liverpool. In addition, appropriate methods of recording the responses such as tape recording, note-taking and the completion of necessary consent forms were put in place.

#### **4.11 Focus Group Discussions /Interviews for the community**

FGD 1 comprised of five participants selected from the community in Idah and neighbouring communities of Ofu, Igala Mela/Odolu and Ibaji of Kogi State. Their selections were on the basis of the inclusion and exclusion criteria earlier mentioned. The researcher was able to identify and access community participants. The researcher had approached participants at their respective locations and they were very much aware of the research agenda. This was in addition to personal contacts earlier made by the researcher, based on familiarity with the study environment and the perceived importance of the study and its key asset to the current interest in the practice of community policing in Nigeria. On this basis, a series of appointments were arranged with the participants at various times. I initially invited seven of participants including females, but only five males attended the group discussion session held on 11<sup>th</sup> September, 2013.

In this study, there were also possibilities that the researcher had no adequate overview of the potential consequences but had to rely on information received from the participants during interviews and the content of consequent analysis preceding it (Tyldum, 2012). Hence, the researcher in this case started the focus group discussion session with an introduction stating specifically the name, university of affiliation and a brief on the nature of the doctoral research programme and investigation. It was then followed by giving them the Participant Information Sheet and the Consent Form. As experience of the researcher has suggested, the

participants were overwhelmingly comfortable with the contents and expressed willingness to participate in the discussion session and agreed to the use of voice recorder during the session. The FGD 1 lasted for about one hour and it was conducted in English language. Light refreshments were provided as a token to the participants and we enjoyed it together under a peaceful atmosphere. Similarly, FGD 2 session for the community participants was held at one of the popular Hotels in Anyigba by 4.30 pm on the 12<sup>th</sup> of September, 2013. A total of nine community members, comprising of seven males and two females volunteered to participate in the session. The choice of the Hotel as venue for the session was at the request of the participants, informed by my resolve to offer them light refreshments and soft drinks during the session and the strategic nature of the location in terms of access. In this case, participating members were drawn from Dekina, Okene, Ofu, Ajaokuta and Isunlu areas of Kogi State. This mode of selection reflected various socio-cultural interests, but without emphasis on social class, in order to enhance the quality of debate.

Again the nature of the study was explained to them, in addition to issuance of the Participant Information Sheet and the Consent Form as well. The discussion proceeded with open-ended questions in line with the research schedule designed earlier for the focus group discussion. They all consented willingly to participate in the discussion session and with the use of voice recorder. The community participants responded to questions asked in a relatively relaxed atmosphere. The session lasted for about one and half hours. FGD 3 session for the community members was held at Lokoja, the capital of Kogi State with seven participants, comprising five males and two females. Members of this group were recruited from Kotokarfi, Lokoja, Ijumu and Ogorimangogo and Ankpa areas of Kogi State. I was able to access them through their respective community leaders and their responses suggested that they were elated and found it as an opportunity to share and make their views about the subject of investigation known given the perceived importance of the study to the security

concerns of the nation. The interview sessions with fifteen community participants at individual one-on-one level were held at the respective venues determined by their respective choices. Twenty five respondents were interviewed, using unstructured and open-ended forms of questions to get their respective views, perspectives, sentiments and opinions on the subject under investigation. The view of Walliman (2011) suggested that the face-to-face interviews can be conducted in a variety of situations. Issues of sensitive concerns have not been noticed as the nature and peculiarity of this study would suggest. This method complements the focus group strategy and also addressed some of the deficiencies that might be associated with the conduct of focus group discussions in the course of this research.

#### **4.12 Focus Group Discussion /Interviews for the police officers**

Accessing the community participants was much easier than police participants because of the sensitive nature of the police organisation. Prior to the actual commencement of the field work activities, the researcher had approached the Commissioner of Police to the Kogi State Police Command for local ethical approval to undertake empirical data collection in respect of this doctoral research. The local ethics approval was part of the requirements for the Committee on Research Ethics of the University of Liverpool. At the start of the field work, the researcher also personally approached the Commissioner of Police, Kogi State Command for a Letter of Introduction to the various head of Police Divisions in Kogi State to enable access the police officers to participate in the focus group discussions and interviews sessions. The office of Commissioner of Police had much earlier sent advance copy to the respective Divisions prior to my arrival at the Divisions, to ease the researcher's identification and access to the officers in the areas.



The three focus group discussion sessions for the police officers were conducted the same day. After the first session, the researcher proceeded to a Division where a group of eight police officers who had earlier volunteered to participate in the session were waiting. They were comprised of five males and three female police officers of various ranks. The usual procedures were followed in relation to self-introduction and attending to the demands of the Participant Information Form and Consent Form. The police officers responded to the questions as reflected in the research schedules and based on their shared experiences in their respective policing career, knowledge and views of community policing. The researcher immediately left the Division for another Division, whereby a group of six police officers, comprising of five males and one female participant(s) were gathered for the FGD session.

Ten police officers were recruited from two different Divisional Police Headquarters. The interview sessions were conducted at their respective Divisions with the cooperation of the respective heads of Divisions. The interview schedules were administered on ten police officers, including those of superior ranks at their respective Service Stations Kogi State. Calvert and Calvert (1992) and Walliman (2011) have argued that interviews can be in a structured, semi structured or unstructured form, depending however on the nature of the subject under investigation. However, semi structured interview was adopted for this study in view of the fact that interview complemented the FGD exercise conducted in Kogi State of Nigeria.

The process in the approval of Ethics by the appropriate authorities, prior to the start of data collection exercise had created enabling interactions and necessary links and thereby facilitated the researcher's achievement of all necessary confidence and assistance with the police officers in respect of this study in Kogi State. The researcher had also personally paid a range of visits to the various Divisions in order to facilitate appointment- booking activities.

As early as 9 o'clock am (Nigeria time), the researcher was already at one of the Divisional police headquarters at Lokoja where a group of nine police officers, comprising of seven males and two females were set, ready for the FGD session. As a matter of routine, the researcher made a self-introduction and explained to the police participants the overview of the research in addition to the presentation of the Participant Information Form. After careful study of the Participant Information Sheet, they all signed the Consent Form and the session began immediately.

#### **4.13 Data storage and transcriptions**

It is pertinent to reiterate as mentioned earlier that tape recorder and field notes were used for the data collections within the convenience and informed consent of the participants. The data obtained from the field were transferred to the pass-worded PC and the handling was done in consonance with the data protection legislations. The data were carefully transcribed and the transcribed primary data were blinded on the researcher's pass-worded laptop/University password-protected PC. Thus, in addition to ensuring that no third party was privy to the stored data and in order to avoid identity disclosure, further to the precautionary mechanisms was to ensure that recorder was wiped clean at the time of study completion.

#### **4.14 Data coding and analysis**

It is important to note that the data were coded in accordance with various themes that emerged from the empirical engagements with participants. A comprehensive analysis was carried out using the open and selective coding processes in order to bring about results considered to provide an enhanced understanding of the subject of research. Thus, these

themes reflected the collective views and perspectives of police officers as well as community members that participated in the empirical study. It is imperative to note that in the process of analysing the views and perspectives of the police and community participants, pseudonyms have been used to protect their identities. Hence, those names mentioned in the analysis as regards empirical data are not reflections of the real names of these participants. The themes identified and analysed were: Beliefs about crime and participation to solve problem, Influence of informal policing institutions and other forms of community network, and the impact of corruption in the context of the police/community relationship in Nigeria. The findings based on these themes were explored in chapter five, six, seven and eight while chapter nine formed the conclusion aspect of the study.

#### **4.15 Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed methodology and approaches adopted for the study as well as the philosophical basis guiding the investigation. The research was conducted in the framework of constructionist ontology and interpretative epistemology. This is in the light of the quest for the investigation and understanding of meaning attached to police/community relationships. Correspondingly, a qualitative approach was adopted while focus group discussions and individual interviews were instruments for data collection, in fulfilment of empirical aspect of the investigation. The data collection activities were conducted in Kogi State of north central region of Nigeria where police officers and community members were engaged as participants in the study. The next chapters will address analysis of the empirical information gathered from the participants on the basis of various themes that emerged. The analysis and discussion of empirical data have also showcased relationships with the literature reviewed earlier in connection to the study.

It should be noted that the Participant Information Sheet is contained in Appendix 1, the Code of Ethics for researchers in the field of criminology is contained in Appendix 2 while the letter of approval of ethics from the University of Liverpool Committee on Research Ethics is found in Appendix 3. The Consent Form can be found in Appendix 4 and the focus group discussion and Interview Schedule with the police and community participants is in Appendix 5. A copy of the letter conveying approval of the local Ethics from the office of the Commissioner of Police, Kogi State Police Command Headquarters is contained in Appendix 6. The Letter of Request for local ethics approval to the Kogi State Command of the Nigeria Police Force is contained in appendix 7 while Appendix 8 is the map of Nigeria showing thirty-six States (including Kogi State) and the Federal Capital Territory Abuja.

## **Chapter Five: Police/community beliefs about crime and their participation to solve problems**

### **5.1 Introduction**

Previous chapter was concerned with discussing about the procedures involved in data collection in order to fulfil the empirical parts of the investigation. Therefore the provision of adequate understanding of the issue in terms of relationship patterns of the police and community requires engaging all the stakeholders involved, which in this case are the police and community in Nigeria. This chapter focuses on analysing the range of police and community perceptions about crime and patterns of their respective engagements and participations to solve problems. The analysis is based on feelings as expressed by the police and community participants in the study.

### **5.2 Community beliefs about crime problem**

The fifteen community participants interviewed have a shared perceptions of crime problem. For instance, Akojaa (this is a pseudonym) a community participant in the individual interview recounted his personal experience of robbery attack while in one of the commercial banks in his area. His views are illustrative:

Living around here has been problematic most especially as it has to do with crime. We are saddled with the problem of crime, in different dimensions and ways....The problems that we come across here are broad day bank robbery which we have been contending with. I was even a victim of one attack at Afri-Bank, but now known as Main-Stream Bank. Immediately I entered the bank premises on that fateful day, I heard several gun shots and at the end of the day, armed robbers came in and started shooting at people, I was inside the premises when my personal car I packed inside was shattered with bullets. The windscreen of my car was scattered (Interview transcripts, 2014; 42, male, and community member).

The community participants' views in the interviews overwhelmingly supported community views in a group context. Participants in the three focus group discussions with the community also shared the feelings that are reflective of crime problem. This view reflected the arguments of Dickson (2007) and Zamve (2012) which stated that the implementation of the police/community partnership as a strategy of policing in Nigeria has not been able to achieve the prevention and control of crime. A typical example is the expression of Americana. He has a range of experience with activities of the police officers in the area. According to him, armed robbers have become the regular visitors of the community and it has come to a level that an average member of the community could hardly take a sleep without being apprehensive. Americana (not the real name of this participant) however has this to say:

I live here in Anyigba community doing my work. On several occasions, there are cases of criminal activities in the town. There was a time in this town when it became clear that to have a comfortable sleep in the night hour was a mirage. We were always expecting visitors (referring to criminals) who normally visit without notice. Armed robbers do visit in large numbers at a time. (Focus Group Discussions transcripts, October, 2013; 50, male community member)

The perceptions of crime problems have earlier been reflected in the literature. For instance, Adekanye (2012) suggested that there are incidences of crime and insecurity in the form of kidnapping, armed robbery and terrorist activities and perceived highly among Nigerian people. This has made it necessary for citizens to resort to private and other extra-ordinary security measures to find solutions to crime problem. However, in the second session of the focus group discussions held with the community, there was a lone but dissenting opinion on perceptions of crime. The feelings of a participant suggest that the perceived high level of crime is based on the fact that community have developed poor attitudes towards the police. Patricke has this:

The problem ranges from poor attitudes of the community towards the police. This has led to a situation where police are no longer motivated to put in their best for the interest of the community. Some of us that are looking through the lens of reality are busy sensitizing the community on the need to cooperate with the police (Focus group discussions transcriptions, 2014; 35, male, and community member)

According to claims by the community participant, the perceived lack of community collaboration with the police suggests that the beneficiaries are those adjudged to be of criminal tendencies. This is because of the community's belief that police can hardly notice the presence of any criminal suspects without community's support and cooperation in the area of information provision.

Meanwhile, this view with regards to lack of the community interest in giving the police desired cooperation and this has accounted for the perception of crime problem. Further to this is the realisation of the necessity on the part of community members to take it as a responsibility in ensuring community mobilisation for positive engagement with the police in order to achieve collaboration. This general view and one opposing voice by community participants are in agreement with the earlier position of the US Department of Justice (2012) in the literature. This position has stated that police can hardly address public safety concerns alone, but by interactive partnership with community and other stakeholders. This is, according to this view necessary in order to ensure improvement on trust and developing solution to solve problems. However, these reasons for lack of community cooperation with the police have not been adequately addressed as the expressed views have suggested.

### **5.3 Nature of crime risks and dangers as police see them**

Focus group discussions held with police officers suggested that they shared between themselves overwhelming views about crime problems. Remember that Dambazau (2007), The Civil Society Panel on Police Reforms in Nigeria report (2012), Alemika and

Chukwuma(2003), Odekunle(2010), Odekunle(2014), Onyeozili(2005), Marenin and Reisig(1995), Rotimi and Ikuteyijo(2012) have raised concerns about crime problems in various dimensions in Nigeria. Some of the crime issues as reflected in their views revolve around kidnapping, armed robbery operations on the road, banks and other strategic locations. Other form of crime problems mentioned were cultism, the Boko Haram insurgency, communal violence and other forms of terrorist activities and other offences which are being considered potential threats to peace and security.

The ten police participants in the interview were of feelings with their counterparts in the group context in terms of how police do go about solving problems in their respective areas of jurisdictions. A typical example is the case of Akono Onokon(not the real name), a police officer that was almost approaching his retirement period. The narrative of Inspector Onokon is an indication that the police personnel are being mobilised to respond to distress call arising from robbery incidences. However, on the basis of what he has said, it has also suggested that there are tendencies of the police to lose their lives whenever there are police open confrontations with the armed bandits in the area. For instance, one of the major outings to confront those considered as armed robbers have resulted in the loss of lives of three serving police officers. It is then suggestive of the fact that the robbers might be in possession of weapons considered to be more sophisticated more than those ones at the disposal of the police or that the police have not received the required level of training to face such kind of challenge thereby putting the lives of the police in potential danger. In the process, this has negative impact on the sense of wellbeing of serving police personnel in terms of confidence level and ability to prevail on similar occurrences and the police response rates to crime. The community members could also have some doubts in the ability of the police to bring the criminals who might have violent tendencies to check. Onokon's account is illustrative:



...Like the incidence of robbery that happened in Idah here in 2008, immediately we heard of the incident, the Divisional Police Officer and some of us had to mobilize our men, go there and got the situation under control in spite of the fact that we lost about three of our men during the operation... (Interview transcripts, December, 2013; Police officer, 59, male)

Also of note is the observation of Ajimola:

Our work is risky and you may live among criminals without knowing it (Focus group discussion transcripts, January, 2014; police officer 35, male)

The risky condition of service surrounding police work as expressed above have an overwhelming influence on police attitudes in relation to their interactions with their community counterparts. This suggests that police officers have feelings of unsafety in the hands of public. This is particularly as a result of the police inability to differentiate between criminals and responsible citizens.

Buttressing these feelings with regard to the nature of risk associated with police duties is the view of community participants who have at one time or the other witnessed some of the risks and life threatening experiences police officers have been exposed to in the course of performing their constitutional assignments. As these views have suggested, police officers have fallen victims of physical hazards and death in the hands of criminal gangs and these gangs are usually not made to face full wrath of the law. The fate of the affected police officers' and their dependants can only be better imagine, as some of the dependants and their children have found it difficult to have access to education and other necessities of life. This scenario has largely mirrored thinking among police officers about the nature of trauma and fear attached to their working condition and the corresponding impact on motivations to put in their best in area of crime control. The view of Assiah is a case in point:

In April 2007, in one of the Nigeria general elections in Idah (Ega Ward), an officer (police) that have put in 33 years of service to sanitizing evils in the society, that has few years to his retirement, he was killed in cool blood. Nothing has happened to the person that killed him. The murderer is roaming about freely. The police officer is dead; his children are suffering, his relatives, and wife all suffering.... But if all of us have agreed or ready to work together as a team and they are ready to protect the identity of whoever give police information, then our society will be at peace. There will not be violence any longer; there will not be thug, armed robbery, rape or any abnormal behaviour any more(Interview transcripts, 2013; 51 and male community member).

In the context of the above view as raised by a community participant, police officers usually face shootings by armed criminals and have been subjected to life that is associated with risk and tribulation. There is lack of relative concern of the government to give police officers adequate protection such as life insurance and remuneration in the course of performing their legitimate duties in Nigeria. As closely reflected by this community participant, a situation whereby citizens have chosen to live with impunity even to the extent of taking the lives of serving security officers without the required response from government in terms of ensuring that the principles of rule of law were observed could be worrisome. The failure on the part of government to provide insurance cover for the victim's survivors tends to discourage police officers from committing their time and energy to the job of policing in Nigeria.

What is clear is the confident manner the police respondents were in their attempt to showcase the situational reality surrounding their work. According to the police participants, in addition to the dilemma of how to go about bringing the incidences of crime to it barest minimum, the task of how to relate with colleagues on the job has appeared to be another concern. Just like it has been previously observed by Manning and Redlinger (1977 as cited in Reiner, 2010) concerning the mandate of police profession, the expectation is that issues related to crime are supposed to be adequately handled to the satisfaction of the public in terms of safety and security. However, the shared feelings among the police officers suggested that there are a number of challenges on the way to meeting up this professional obligation. Also of concern

is the perceived problem associated with interactions most especially among professional colleagues. The feelings of police officers illustrate well the point that maximum cooperation and mutual assistance were needed from among the colleagues in order to actualise the mandate of crime prevention and control. A clear instance is the views expressed by a member/participant in one of the three focus group discussions held with the police. The participant is a relatively young officer attached to one of the Divisions. Olunge, a participant hereby reports:

I am an officer of the Nigeria Police serving here. My experience of policing in this area spans through seven years. I have served in many Divisions of the State. There are so many issues to contend with. There are challenges of how to interact with the fellow police officers, the challenge of how to interact with the community....then the challenge of how to handle issues of crime and criminality. This is the primary calling of our profession. In this community, there are issues of cultism on ground, bank robbery, traffic offences and domestic violence, Boko Haram insurgencies/terrorist activities and others too many to mention...(Focus group discussion transcripts, police officer, 27, male; January, 2014)

Also to be deduced from the views as provided by Olunge is the challenge associated with the police interactions with community members. The importance of community cooperation with the police in crime prevention cannot be overemphasised in view of the role community play in bringing vital information about criminal suspects. The police perceptions suggested that the issue of the police having challenges in their engagement with members of public are certainly not helpful for the practice of community policing.

#### **5.4 Problem of youths as police officers see them**

On the basis of claims of Arowa (not the real name of the police participant), politicians are fond of making use of uneducated youths and who are at the same time largely influenced by poverty to perpetrate violence and rigging during electioneering activities. According to this claims, the youth are armed with dangerous weapons to go into killing and/or maiming any

perceived political opponents. The efforts of police to bring those involved to book are more often than not, frustrated by the 'big ones' behind these crime suspects. This goes to suggest that government overwhelming control of the police apparatus have become the likely avenue to subject the police to the whims and caprices of those considered to be 'in power'. Consequently, there are instances of compromising the essence of the rule of law of which the police was meant to enforce. This scenario is an indication that such a kind of frustration could lead to low response rate by the police in terms of meeting the collective yearnings and aspirations of the crime control needs by members of public. The failure on the part of the police to do justice to any crime situation, regardless of the inhibiting factors has created distrust in the police/community relationship. At the same time, some of the community members are not even free from this scourge as some of them have capitalised on their position of influence to manipulate policing machineries to their advantage. The narrative of Yarowa Sulaimanu is worth examining:

The problems are not far from what we are experiencing on daily basis. Apart from the conventional crime waves to contend with, there is this issue of youth thugs. The politicians make use of the youth, most of them uneducated and had suffered from the menace of child abuse, to wreak havoc during electioneering period. Some of the political god fathers use to even give arms and ammunitions to the thugs to either intimidate political opponents. Some of them go into killings. Whenever the police come into it that is when you discover that some of the political leaders are behind the matter. Police are being frustrated in most of the cases (Focus group discussions transcripts, December, 2013; Police officer, 46, male)

The police officers' perceptions in group context were corroborated by the police respondents in the ten individual interview sessions in the area. According to the perceptions of the respondents, the youths in the area are fond of committing a range of criminal activities such as house breaking and other behaviours which are being considered as a disturbance to public peace. In as much as there is significant perceived share in the beliefs among the police respondents which are to a reasonable extent, suggestive of high incidence of crime in the

area, the police also have a perception of the community expectations. There is an indication that community expected the police to be alive to their constitutional responsibilities of ensuring that crime problems are being prevented and controlled.

However, the police are believed to be capable of being professional if there is much needed cooperation from the community members in terms of making information available to the police. The problems, in the view of participants were being complicated by youthful exuberance, usually exhibited in their adolescent stage of life. For example, Simion Jema is an officer in the police and has put in ten years in his chosen career. He has this to say when asked of what are the main problems:

We have problems here. All these youths we have in Anyigba are problems, most especially at puberty stage of their life. This is what spurs them into committing crime. Issues like house breaking, public disturbance are some of the problems we have here. As police officers, wherever you find yourselves, you must do your own best. People look at us as professionals. People expect us to put a stop to criminal activities (Interview transcripts, Police officer 29, male; January, 2014)

As pointed out by Simion, policing experience in the area has been shaped by problematic behaviours of the youths who, according to this perception, have not been properly given positive orientation. Although members of the public have seen the police as professionals in handling crime problem, the reality has proved to the contrary as the police have lacked the required capacity to ensure this expectation was realised.

## **5.5 Community participation to solve problem**

It is important to examine community patterns of consultations whenever members are confronted with crime problems. The shared responses of fifteen community participants in the interview sessions have indicated that there are few community members that have been reporting crime incidences to the police to attend to crime problems. However, there are wide-spread expressions of

preferences to consult with the community elders and other forms of informal policing institutions as alternatives mechanisms to settle their security problems. In addition to this, Friedman (1992) has again reiterated in chapter four of this study that community policing as a philosophy of policing prescribes for achieving effective control of crime, reduction of fear among the citizens through improved police services. Friedman (1992) has particularly emphasised reliance on community resources, police accountability, improved public share in decision making with the police and greater concern for the advancement of human rights. In contrast, and as these data have illustrated, community participants' views were suggestive of shared understanding in reporting to the vigilante and other alternative security institutions and including the family structures to sort out their crime problems. Going to the police comes mainly only under condition of necessity since the police is the only known law enforcement agency in the country. As the available evidence would suggest, there is an indication that putting the police in the picture of consultation is more often than not; consequent upon the realisation that police remains the constitutional institution for handling criminal related issues in the country. From the perspectives of community participants in both individual and group contexts, there is evidence to support that, though there are calls for the public to cooperate with the police, but the problem lies in the negative attitudes of the community members. Bringing to focus the contention of Hills (2014:9), trust in the relationship between police and the public is low throughout Nigeria. Similarly, there are strong feelings among the community participants so far suggesting that police/community collaboration as a strategy of policing crime in Nigeria is still being confronted with the problem connected to communication gap as a result of lack of trust in the police by members of public. For instance, Danjuma has reported that:

The community members here do organize local security in the form of vigilante group to solve the problems of crime in the area. Of course if there are any problems, the community tries as much as possible to rally round each other for assistance..... The normal place to go for possible solution is the police station. The police force in Nigeria is the constitutionally recognized avenue where the issues concerning crime are professionally handled. However, any average community member is not ready to approach the police for help. Everybody in this area

has lost confidence in the ability of the police to prevent and control crime in this area. There has been, in recent times several calls for the community involvement in policing. It is a very good development in this country. The policy is good but the problem lies with how to go about the implementation (interview field notes, 2013; 52, male, and a community member)

The informal policing mechanisms such as the vigilante are perceived as the alternative avenue through which to solve the problem of crime in the community. Apart from the fact that police needed to be consulted on the issue, such consultation was much more intended to follow the laid down procedures of the criminal justice system in Nigeria. This is irrespective of whether or not vigilante operators have met the community expectations in terms of response and potency. Although despite the fact that Friedman (1992), US Department of Justice (2012), Okeke(2006), Ratcliffe, et al(2005), Nigeria Police Force(2010) among others have in their respective point of arguments demonstrated appreciation of the importance of community policing in the prevention and control of crime, Rowe(2008) has recognised a number of factors such as variation of cultural environment and inadequate understanding of their peculiarities, which tended to hinder the policy transfer processes to other cultural contexts. As a point of reference however, Friedman (1992) has argued that the concept of community policing has more often than not been misunderstood and misapplied by those who have claimed to practice it. Among the interviews conducted, the case of Muhamedan Abaja has some interesting dimensions worth noting here. His own experience was centred on how he was able to survive armed robbery attack. Recounting his encounter with me, the interview session attracted the attention of his spouse and some of his children because the session was held in his private residence. He then narrated his personal ordeal thus:

..... the only problem we do have here is that quite often we experience criminals trying to dispose us of our valuables. E.g. I personally encounter some boys who came to our house with guns, met me, wife and children, then took some large sum of money, they even went away with my car and that same night about few kilometres from here, they also shot a guy, so we experience we are managing it in our own way including my phones, they

did not know that my aunt was inside, then she retain her phone and I then took her phone and called a vigilante group as we have around here.....First of all, we went to the leader of the vigilante group in our community here, then we robed minds for advice, then we invited police into it. Because a car was involved; my car was snatched by the robbers. We had to involve the police, if not, by the time the police get hold of the car the police would come and say, so you are the owner of the car the thieves are using and you did not report it to the police. The thief can use the car for another operation. The police are the right place to go but we use to go to the vigilante first because..... You cry out, people come around. The police have constitutional duty of protecting the citizen and one cannot run away from that fact. No arrest was made. I definitely had to go to them. They took information from me but nothing came out of police investigation (Interview transcripts, 2014; male community member)

The perspectives captured by interview participants have similar shared feelings of the community participants engaged in the three focus group discussions. The major theme surrounding this argument is that the participants share the assumptions that they are much more favourably disposed to settling their problems internally without reporting any matter to the police. Consequently, they prefer going to the community institutional apparatus such as the elders, traditional chiefs and the vigilante groups to seek for help rather than going to the police. Drawing primarily on collective feelings of community participants, it does not amount to cheap generalisation to infer that the community are not to be enjoying the confidence of the police or that the police are not having the trust in the relationships with the community which they tend or assume to serve. For instance, Jatolaja is an indigene of Okene Local Government Area of Kogi State, but a resident in Anyigba community. He categorised where he goes in the incidence of any problem. In spite of the fact that most of his feelings were indicative of hatred for the police, he was mindful of the constitutional mandate of the organisation. When asked to state where will he go to whenever he has some challenges, he remarked thus:



...How can there be no problem? There are problems here and there. As at now, nobody seems to be at rest....Community is there to consult whenever I have anything suspicious.....If it is land matter, I go to traditional institutions, and if it is a criminal case, then the police is the last resort (Focus group discussion transcripts, 2013; 34, male community member)

In Anyigba community, life has not been all that easy. However we are trying to cope with life. Cases of bank robbery have been rampant. Land disputes have also been in vogue. There is vigilante, there are traditional institutions and there are other security agents that are being contacted whenever there are problems. I do go to what I called alternative security arrangements in the community. Police is only the last resort despite being the constitutionally mandated agency to attend to the problem of crime in Nigeria. (Focus group discussion transcripts, 2014; male, 44, Community member)

In view of the response from the community participant, his approach to solve problem is determined by the category of case in question. Land issues are referred to the traditional institutions for redress while crime cases are taken to the police but as a last resort, meaning that police institution would be approached only on condition of necessity and lack of alternative in the resolution of the crisis at hand.

## **5.6: Police pattern of engagement with the community**

According to the views of police participants, consulting the community members for relevant crime information should be seen as a conventional thing to do, most especially in view of the importance of information to crime prevention and control. However, there is perception among police participants which suggested first, that community members lack the basic understanding of the police activities. Secondly, it has been observed by police participants that there is trust gap in the police's relationship with community members despite the availability of anonymous suggestion boxes to facilitate information management. Based on this premise, the perceived community inability to accept the police as partners in crime

control have negatively affected this relationship. Apart from these, the police narrations also suggested that community members have feelings of dissatisfaction in terms of police responsibility in the provision of community safety and security. In the face of what may be described as an expression of frustration on the part of the police participants, it was therefore suggested that the willingness of the community members and their leaders alike to come forward to the police with ideas of what they think might be good for them could be a step further in the right direction. The view of Yero Ibrahim Jalala, who is a participating Police officer, is illustrative:

If not that the community is not cooperating as expected of them, the right place to go to should there be any case is the community. Then the court of competent jurisdiction is another area to appreciate when the need arises. This is because the court of law is where the interpretation of law takes place. To my own understanding, community does not understand the police. Community does not see us as partner in crime prevention. We have suggestion box where you can drop message even without writing your name. If you the community do not do that in terms of supplying information, both the police and community would be affected. So if information is given and crime is prevented or control, everybody will sleep well. What we are facing is what Nigerian known very well. They know what is wrong with Nigeria. Let them do what supposed to be the solution. Like now, we have been trained but the community fails to understand the police. Community feel is not enjoying security; if they can come together for a lecture (police having interactive sessions with community members) and tell us what is good for them, chief, community leaders, youth leaders etc. I think it would be better.... (Focus group discussion transcripts, January, 2014; police officer, 32, male)

Similarly, the feelings of the ten police participants in the individual interviews tend to validate what their counterparts in the group context have offered. The general consensus amongst the police participants was that the trust-gap and corresponding refusal of community members to report crime to the police has been described as frustrating, disturbing and surprising, most especially again, in view of the police reliance on information from community members to solve crime problem.

...However, to a larger extent, they are not cooperating. The community does not see the police as partners in progress in the act of policing the environment. The reason, to my own understanding is not far from the manner of operations entrenched by the policing system in Nigeria (Interview transcripts, 2014 January, Police officer, and 44, male)

Taking a clue from the opinions of the police participants, some of the problems that have been identified is firstly the inability of the community members to cooperate with the police in terms of giving useful information which can assist in preventing and controlling crime. Second, the prevalence of illiteracy among the people in the area and the poor parental upbringing reflective in youth's restiveness. Third, the youths' dispositions to cover-up crime activities most especially if those involved are of 'their own' family and/or close relations. What is worth highlighting here is that instead of taking the police as a first point of call and even as a safe-haven whenever there is problem, community members will do everything humanly possible to run away from the scene where ever the attention of the police has been drawn upon.

This is suggestive of the fact that the police are not earning the necessary trust and confidence of the community in the relationships for crime prevention and control in Kogi State of Nigeria. The transfer of policies significantly related to community policing in Nigeria has been frustrated by lack of trust in the police by members of the public (Civil Society Panel on Police Reform in Nigeria (2012)).

This very scenario has, correspondingly, perceived to have affected the disposition of the community members in terms of giving useful information to the police for the prevention and control of crime in the area. The police perceived refusal on the part of community members to report adequately incidences of crime have adversely affected police crime records. Because recording of crime was low, there is belief that it reduces police ability to control crime. The case of a police participant in the interview is relevant here, for instance, a

superior Police Officer Omole Ijebu. He is by all standards an experienced senior police officer and a stakeholder in one of the police divisions. His narratives have also supported the fact that there are perceptions of an increase in incidences of crime problems and that members of public have negative attitudes to report crime. This is more pronounced should a member of the community is said to be involved. He states:

Policing around here is not usually easy because from the few months I have served here.....things are not easy. The youths here cannot control their anger. They grow violent easily and often do operate criminally with cutlass. The main problem we do have here is that member of the community find it difficult to come to the police whenever they have problem. Like as I have observed, some of them cover themselves. They hardly report cases that concerns one of their own. Or if any of them have an accident, they quickly come in, take away those involved so that the police do not even come to know about it. One wonders why? Our records are not straight and crime keeps on increasing because the people are not ready to cooperate. They are not relatively ready to give relevant information to the police (Interview transcripts, January, 2014; Superior Police Officer, 57, male)

Several police participants offered a range of testimonies relating to the necessity to consult the community as part of their information getting strategies. Others were quite significantly of the view that members of the public are not interested in giving information to the police, two police participants specifically in the third focus group discussions considered to be representing minority voice suggest that the attitudes of the community in the area of information volunteering have been in the past years negative. But this trend has improved significantly in recent times as a result of changes in the police style of community engagements. Odumegu Akumagba reports thus:

We largely rely on tips-off from the community members. In the past, the community members were not cooperating with us but now our effort towards sensitizing the public has yielded fruitful results. Most of the successes recorded so far can be attributed to community policing approach. Even recently, this police station made a major breakthrough and we attribute it to the community. Before now, police officers used to move in vans and other operational vehicles to nab them (criminals) out but now we achieve that through information

from the public, we sit down in our offices and we do have information about the hideout of the criminals. We the police use to commend the efforts of the community. The challenge we are having is that here is a developing community and so crime is also on the high side but with the community cooperation, we do succeed.....We go to the community and the court depending at which stage a particular case is at as moment(Focus group discussion transcripts, January, 2014; police officer;37, male)

In as much as this view seemed to be in the minority, one thing that is clear is that the view is reflective of ‘refusal to report’ as a trend in the attitude of the community. However, what is unique in this regard is that the perceived positive change in the disposition of community to cooperate with the police might have been as a result of, according to claims of the respondents, the relative change in how police engaged with the community. The minority opinion goes to support that the attitudes of the police towards the community have considerable correlations with the corresponding attitudes of the community towards the police in terms of collaboration activities for the prevention and control of crime. For instance, Morgan and Newburn (1997 cited in Newburn and Reiner, 2012) emphasised that the emergence of community policing was rooted squarely on the growing acceptance that the police at their possible best could more often than not only provide a very partial solution to the problems which they tend to confront. This is because the police cannot be everywhere at a time in terms of who does what and how, and invariably the need to provide answers to ‘why the gap’ then becomes obvious.

Despite the claims of improved police/community relationship, there is a considerable perception among police participants of increase in the level of crime in the area. But this increase in perception of crime problem among police officers has been blamed on economic development. In this case, the main concern here is that the perceived positive change of attitudes of the public towards the police is being noticed by a handful of the police respondents. The issue to contend with is how to find out those factors responsible for the prevalent perception in the trust gap between the police and community in the area of study,

this time, not from the perspectives of the public, but from the feelings of the police. It is assumed that the police have been engaged in one way or the other with the community members in the interaction process in the task of promoting community safety and security. Alidu therefore remarked thus:

Insecurity feeling among the community about giving information to the police is understandable. Traditional/village head are cooperating. From the look of things, the fear is that they feel that if information is leaked to the criminal, they may be harassed. We do educate them that crime prevention is partnership business and in this case trust is number one. PPRC-Police Community Relation Committee composed of concern members of community. Now people come to volunteer information and help. If the police can have the trust of the community to get information, then what follows is the analysis of that information. The problem is to know to establish the necessary trust. Sometimes about a couple of months ago, we, the police in this Station, had to call for a meeting of traditional rulers and ward heads to discuss issues about crime and safety of the community (Focus group discussions transcripts, January, 2014; Police Officer, 40, male)

In a related development, perceptions also indicate that any complaint brought before the police probably by the victim of any type of crime, or whoever has the feelings of been offended by one act or the other is handled in a way consonant to the criminal justice procedures. According to the views expressed by the police participants, there are obviously some incidences of crime depending on its nature that have to be reported to the police. In such a situation, the normal process of law is followed by involving other components of the criminal justice system such as the court and prison. The view of Dansomi is illustrative:

...The Divisional Police Officer is equal to the task. Station officers on the counter receive complaints from the public who feel offended by one way or the other. The complaints are being recorded and at the end arrests are made and interrogation follows. If the merit of the case is established, and there are corresponding evidence, then the accused is charged to court for prosecution. The essence of prosecution at the court of law is for the law to take its course. Sentences are being awarded ranging from imprisonment or with an option of fine or both, depending on the magnitude and nature of the offence. However, if there is want of evidence against the accused

person, he/she is discharged and acquitted (Focus group discussion transcripts, police officer, 27, male; January, 2014).

To some extent, there is an indication that the number of reports that the police receive and attend to is a function of the community's dispositions to the police in Nigeria Kogi State.

The police in the area have their own pattern of responding to crime and other related issues. According to the views of all of the participants on the 'how' question in sorting the problems of crime in the area, the police under normal circumstances get tip offs from the members of public, most especially victims. Personnel mobilisations for routine patrol activities are another way to put criminals on check. In addition, the various departments in the police organisation are structured to facilitate responses to whatever problems on the way of the police in area of jurisdictions.

It was being described as unfortunate the perceived poor attitudes of the public towards giving the police useful information that could lead to the arrest of criminals in the area. As a consequence, the police response rate to emergency situations is likely not in tandem with the expectations of the community as regards crime control. It also goes to indicate that there should be a considerable level of preparation as regards logistics such as fuel for vehicles, which are necessary to facilitate the police daily activities and the training to that effect. These logistics are too low to meet up with the demands of crime control efforts of the police officers in a way that could satisfy the yearnings of the members of public, hence calling for the vigilante's help in this regard. In this context, Mohammed Igboekem reported that:

I have been policing this town for the past nine years. I was posted from Sokoto State. We are looking for ways to practice community policing. Community policing is a good innovation, but the problem is lack of cooperation between public/police, some of community members say they are with fear, they seem not to give information because they do think that giving information to police is expensive, the reason is that they are not well guided. They feel, giving the information, after it may be revealed. So information management seems to

be the problem. ... Our patrol teams are on the road all the time even if the issue of inadequate fuel for our vehicles has been perennial. We seek for the assistance of the community vigilante groups. Complainants come for assistance at the police counter every now and then (Focus group discussions transcripts, December, 2013; Police officer, 50, male)

In addition, according to the views of Raheemllahi, there is perception that apart from the usual reports about crime made available by some of the victims, police do go to where there are perceptions of crime incidences to make arrests and engage the suspects in interrogations to determine who commits what, when and how, within the boundaries of the law. The view is also an indication that at times, victims of crime who happened to have reported a crime within a range of time, might himself/herself again turn around to ask for a withdrawal of the reported case as a response to pressure from the concerned stakeholders. It is however perceived that it is the duty of the police to do the necessary thing in order to bring the culprit to book so as to serve as deterrent to others who have similar behavioural inclinations in the future.

Whenever there are incidences of armed robbery, students' riots, etc., every forms of crime has jurisdiction, every police officer is always performing duty all the time whether in the office or not. If there is an incidence of crime either at the beer parlour or on the road sides etc., as a police officer you have to scrutinise those involved and release whoever is clear of this vices without further delay. That is those incidences that is criminal in nature/civil as the case may be. If nobody reports the matter, the police have the right and authority to enter the matter. At times you see somebody reporting a particular crime matter to the police in the morning and then come back in the evening thereafter to say 'sir we have settled the matter'. If the case is criminal in nature, the police should be able to prosecute the matter that is as 'Commissioner of police Vs. Mr. A'. It does not mean to favour any particular individual or group of persons but to allow peace to reign and by using this to serve as deterrence to other members of the public (Interview transcripts, January, 2014; Police Officer, 47, male)

Although the generality of community members do not necessarily have useful information for the police, there is a perception that the public are the most reliable means of achieving



information gathering activities that can be used to solve problem. On this premise there were claims that institutions for improved police/community relations have been formed in the area.

Raheemllahi, was of the view that:

If we visit the scene, we do interrogate etc. We do have Police Public Relations Committee, not based on tribe/religion. It is made open to individuals of repute. Police are not magician, spirit. We do depend on the public to solve problem of the community (Interview transcripts, January, 2014; Police Officer, 47, male).

Police participants have also claimed that police carryout duty without being biased on the basis of religion, class and tribal sentiments. According to the views of these participants, it is only by the cooperation and partnership of community members that police's successes could be recorded since police were not magicians. However, the extent to which cordiality of the police/community relationships are achieved is a matter left for doubt. Apart from these, there is other range of problems such as 'top-down' organisational command structure which tends to engender a situation that abhors this use of discretion in the force. The top-down command structure has prevented officers from taking a decision under emergencies as situation demands.

...Even if a case is reported to you as an officer, superior officer might act on it first. Decentralize the operation of policing. You must convey it to the appropriate quarters first before taking any reasonable action. This is bad after all. No freedom to voice any case out without the head (Focus group discussions transcripts, December, 2013; Police officer, 50, male)

Taking a clue from the organisational structure of Nigeria Police Force (NPF, 2010) as noted in chapter two, there are clear indications of hierarchical structures of police institution at various levels without due consideration for socio-cultural peculiarities of different communities in Nigeria. Drawing from the view of the police participant under reference above, it is reasonable to argue that there are relatively low motivations for the use of

discretion by police officers to solve crime problem whenever the need arises. In this situation, the implication is that no matter the level of training received and magnitude of their intelligence, officers would rather leave crime victims to their fate than to exercise discretionary powers but only to get themselves indicted in the process. Any members of public would not base the police's inability to respond quickly to their plight on 'reporting to superior first' syndrome, but on the shared assumption of the police lack of competence and this would have significance on trust gap between the police and community members who have access to this kind of situation.

## **5.7 Conclusion**

The chapter is concern with police and community perceptions in relation to crime problem in the area of study and the corresponding pattern of participation to solve problems. The general perceptions of community participants have indicated that there are high feelings of crime problem such as armed robbery, kidnapping, and insurgency among others and that crime problems have become a source of concern to the people in the study area. Feelings among the police participants were also suggestive of crime related challenges and this tends to reflect the reality of crime situation in Nigeria. Community participants though with reservations, have viewed that community members have considerable attitudes to report crime issues to the police. This is in most times there are special needs and conditions to do so. But more often than not, participation to solve problem of crime is preferably directed towards various community structures such as elders, chiefs, ancestors (the living dead) and community security organisations. This is instead of approaching conventional police formations constitutionally put in place for the purpose of crime prevention and control. Nevertheless, approaching the police becomes necessary only whenever there are issues considered to be beyond the reach of community members in terms of legal and constitutional power to handle such cases. Despite of the evidence of shared ignorance among the police

participants in their mode of engagement in terms of friendly relationship with community members, there is an overwhelming perception reflecting their claims and tendencies to consult community members to solve crime problem.

But the police have expressed concern for the reluctant and negative attitudes of community members in terms of willingness to provide vital information necessary to achieve the prevention and control of crime problem. In the context of available empirical evidence, there are indications that community patterns of participation to solve crime problem were determined by a range of shared socio-cultural beliefs and values relatively connected to the indigenous policing institutions which were perceived to have been predominant in the pre-colonial Nigeria. At this stage of study, there are findings of Mawby (1999) and Loveday (1999) as earlier analysed in chapter three that could be a good pointer here. For example Mawby (1999) and Loveday (1999) stated that the government of Great Britain has achieved reputation as provider of one of the best policing services anywhere in the world. Nevertheless a range of community's sense of distrust on the State Police has occasioned a situation where a community-based system of policing remained the preferred choice among the Jersey community in the British Isles.

A clear and sufficient understanding of these shared values will certainly inform opinion about the nature and disposition of stakeholders in relation to their views on community policing in Nigeria. In view of these scenarios where there is communication gap between the police and public, there is likely to be a low impact of community policing initiative overseen by the UK-DFID in Nigeria. The next chapter will address community and police perceptions in relation to a range of informal policing institutions.

## **Chapter Six: Considering the impact of informal policing institutions**

### **6.1 Introduction**

This chapter is concerned with discussing informal policing institutions and their impact on relationships between the police and community. The analysis is informed by the views and perceptions of police and community participants involved in empirical aspect of the investigation conducted in Kogi State of Nigeria. The informal policing institutions and sources of community network identified for discussion are the family system, ancestors and incarnate being practices, religious, tribal/ethnic and political party influence as well as activities of community security organisations. Also of concern here is how these indigenous socio-cultural institutions have impacted on stakeholders' views about the meaning attached to concept of community policing and its effect on police/community relationship as well as the problems these views have suggested.

### **6.2 Influence of family values and norms as community members see them**

There are serious socio-cultural and traditional dimensions to the reluctant attitudes of community members in reporting crime cases to the police whenever and wherever an offending behaviour involves a member of the family. There is a shared feelings among the fifteen community participants in the interviews that have suggested inherent attitudes of the public that are strictly based on the pre-existing culture. For instance, based on the cultural norms and values within the family system and community in Nigeria, crime are preferably settled among themselves. In other words, cultural requirements demand that criminal offence that tend to involve and would likely implicate any of the family members and/or other close relations, the public, even including the victim(s) are discouraged and/or prevented from getting the crime reported to the police authorities.

It does not necessarily mean that family members are above the law of the country. Worthy of note here is that nuclear family is a social unit, tied to the extended family system, kinship and clan. This institution is culturally defined by blood which is used as a basis to regulate behaviours and conformity to norms in the society (Miachi, 2012; Scott, 2000; Alemika and Chukwuma, 2011). As the views of the community participants have clearly suggested, the central point to note in this context is that any cases believed to be ‘family affair’ are not likely to be allowed to be subjected to conventional methods of the criminal justice system in Nigeria. However, the perspective of community participants is that there are forms of alternative dispute resolution mechanisms in place which are in agreement with indigenous cultural requirements.

Recalling the argument from the reviewed literature about the pre-existing structures of social control, Onyeozili (2005) stated that colonial experience brought about by the British government resulted in distorting the traditional institutions and values. According to this point of view, these institutions and values were more or less of significance in terms of order maintenance and harmonious relationship in the pre-colonial African communities. Community participants’ claims are based on community member’s perceptions and beliefs in culturally-rooted approach to dispute and crisis resolutions. It is perceived as going against the tenets of community norms to take issues which are ordinarily believed to be a ‘family matter’ to the police. This becomes fundamentally worrisome whenever such report to the police was made without giving the family a range of opportunities to act on it in the first instance. It is only in the event that the case gets worsened that the attention and assistance of the police may be sought so to satisfy the demands of the law and other relevant constitutional requirements in Nigeria. The narrative of Moha Agboni illustrates this:

We used go to the para security organisation known and called vigilante for security assistance. If it is an issue that has to do with family, we go to the elders for amicable settlements. There are issues that have to be taken to the police even though this could be the last resort....in Nigeria, we respect the cultural patterns of doing things well including the handling of security matters. Issues that can be resolved within the family system will certainly not go to the police, until it goes out of hand. Going to the police as a matter of immediacy is culturally an abomination in our community and Nigeria generally. Without reporting to the family, you cannot go to the police (Focus group discussions transcripts, 2013; 32, male community member)

According to the widely held views among the community participants in the focus group discussions, apart from the influence of vigilante institutions, an issue to be explained at later section of this chapter, family institutions have an over-bearing roles to play much influence in the affairs of the public in Nigeria. The collective perceptions held among community participants are also indications that every member of the family will not feel comfortable with whoever has reported crime incidence involving family and/or close relatives to the police authority for prosecution under any guise. This becomes seriously an issue, should the family level has not been exhausted to see that beyond which limit could portend danger to the parties involved in the light of the law in Nigeria. A reference point to this perception is the scholarly explanation in chapter two of this work suggesting strong inter-connections between family and policing among traditional societies in Africa. For example, among the traditional African societies, strong values and respect for extended family institutions, elders and a sense of collective security by the public, all provides socio-cultural structures of policing and social control (Dambazau, 2007). Bringing the argument of Ejizu (2011) in chapter two into bearing in this regard, this range of views is informed by the common beliefs that community as a concept is beyond the social groupings of people bound together on the basis of origin, values and interests. The understanding of this view is that community is a combination of both visible and invisible worlds, the world of the physical living (visible being) as well as world of ancestors (invisible being), and divinities. Further to this scenario is

that of significant importance are the souls of children and children yet unborn within the context of kinship groupings. Remember, the perspectives of Adedeji (2012) have suggested that virginity, selflessness, and community sharing dispositions are approved as reflecting virtues of societal decency and morality.

A show of disrespect for elders, killing, adultery and fornication, act of stealing and corruption as well as hypocritical and falsehood tendencies attract disapproval from not only the living but also the dead members who are believed to have a share and allegiance to community welfare (Adedeji, 2012). This implies that ancestors serve as spiritual guardians of their respective communities and families and are believed to reincarnate in new-borns and this kind of belief system is strongly held among the traditional African people (Ejizu (2011). However, in chapter two, it was suggested that traditional laws and conventions in a number of instances contradict the laws and conventions of the West of which modern policing sufficiently represents (Okafo, 2007). As part of demonstrating recognition of this ideological difference between indigenous people and modern conventions in terms of policing, community participants viewed that even the police have in some instances granted community members' requests for family settlements of disputes. The views expressed above also have a similarity with the perspectives of Anemali Achiii. He reported that:

Chief is alternative. Family is a factor as settlement ground and not the police. If you take your immediate brother to the police, they will not take it kindly with you. They see you as a bad person. Police normally grant their request (Focus group discussions transcripts, October, 2013, 38, male community member)

The above scenarios have the backing of the community participants' views under individual interviews context. The feelings expressed by the community participants have to do with various forms of crime such as the Boko Haram insurgencies, kidnapping etc. Domestic violence for instance usually perpetrated by spouse against the intimate partner or/and close family member(s). In this regard, the prevailing cultural norms of the society do not allow for

seeking redress in the criminal justice system especially the police. It then implies that despite the negative impact that domestic crime has on the police/community relationships, the existing crime data with the police will not reflect reality in the various communities. The incidence of this type of crime is prevented from being reported to the police on 'family ground' affect justice and policy formulation meant to reduce the incidences of this type of crime at the level of stakeholders and government of Nigeria.

In the light of this, it is sufficient to suggest that the police in its modern sense in Nigeria was a colonial creation. For instance, Dambazau (2007:224) emphasised that the underlining principles and practice of community norm and by extension what is today being known as community policing were not new to traditional African communities. Dambazau (2007) has also stated that the socio-cultural structures and patterns of behaviour often characterised by respect for elders, the practice of extended family values, and consciousness of the traditional peculiarities and a sense of collective responsibility, team spirit and security within the community are institutions that produce the basis of policing and social control. Dambazau's (2007) argument has been reinforced by the belief that prior to the coming of the British colonial masters to what is today regarded as Africa the natives were believed to be in total control of their various communities. Positive or negative rewards/sanctions were believed to have been applied where and when necessary to ensure that the societal standards were preserved. Hasaha, a female participant said:

For this type of case, it is being regarded as domestic case. The normal place to go to is the community elders for possible solution to the problem. However if the case becomes perennial and the efforts of the community seemed unyielding, it will definitely resort to the police. However, the attitude of the community members towards the police is surprising. This is because the police are the platform where formal procedures for criminal prosecutions are launched. For instance, in my own case, on so many occasions, the matter had been to the community without any hope of being settled. When it obviously became serious and I was living at the risk of



my life, with the approval of my husband, I reported the matter to the police. At the police station, I told them that those giving me a tough time of my life (trouble) are my brothers-in-law. And that I do not intend any forms of prosecution and/or punishment on any of them but all I need is for the police to call them, warn them so I may have my peace. The police did that and made them to write an undertaking, promising with every sense of assurance that they (referring to the troubling brother-in-laws) will never repeat such kind of action (trouble) against my person in the future. Could you believe that my husband was exorcised (forcefully removed) from the family membership (as a form of traditional punishments for going against the norms of the land) for giving me the approval (the go ahead by supporting me) to take police action against his brothers? The family elders are in the know that what these brother in-laws are doing is wrong (also against community's norms) but that no matter what (despite these punishable behaviours of these guys), the police should not have been involved in the case. The family members are taking it as if police are not human beings constitutionally meant to maintain peace through this kind of intervention (Focus group discussion transcripts, October, 2013; 40, female community member and house wife)

As the perception of the community participants indicate, it took her a long period of time to get to the police as regards her perceived ordeal because of the socio-cultural rules and regulations outside the boundary of the constitutional frame work. Even at that, before she could muster courage to report the case to the police, the permission of her husband had to be achieved. It is also a reflection that should her resolve to report to the police does not get the approval of the husband in the first place; it is likely that the police can hardly get to know what was actually going on in the area. Even though that the necessary effort was made at reporting, the prevailing norms inherent in the community had not also allowed her to subject the matter to conventional prosecution at the court of law. Instead, she prefers the matter to end up at the level of 'verbal warning'. If the police was willing or insisted to give the matter a professional follow-up to serve as deterrent to others, it might or would in most cases come to a stage where the complainant herself may not show sufficient interest in terms of supporting the case with evidence necessary for its adjudications process. Taking the case of the brothers'-in-law presumed misbehaviour to the police would certainly subject her to the

wrath of the family by getting her completely ostracised for perceivably offending the norms and values of the community.

Similarly, claims on the basis of community participants have also suggested that the fear of being negatively labelled tends to prevent most of community members, including the victims, from reporting crime cases to the police. The most worrisome is that the female participant engaged in the interview session is educated and middle class category. Hence putting this situation in proper perspective and despite the level of her status in the society, how much more of the poor and uneducated community members.

Also of note are the views of Julinaku in the context of marriage-oriented form of family norms. The female participant has noted that family form of settlement does not involve imprisonment as a form of punishment. However, expression of disgust and other sanction recognised by tradition would normally apply whenever a member of the family has fallen short of community standards. But even at that, the view has pointed that the traditional pattern of adjudication have tended to compromise fundamental human rights of women as this is often biased in favour of their male counterpart. For instance, according to the views of Julinaku:

Every matter that involves me and my husband or other members of the family, as the norms demand is normally referred to the elders for amicable settlements. Obviously, they do not have prison to put whoever is wrong. Instead, expression of disgust and disapprovals seemed the pattern. And such methodology of adjudication is being guided by the rule of traditions and culture of the people. In most cases, such rules are gender biased in favour of the men and at the expenses of their female counterparts. The police was supposed to be the appropriate way out. However, the police at their level may even advise in favour of settling the matter at the family level because the application of the conventional laws and principles in this case would affect negatively the marriage bond. If the law is allowed to take its course, my husband would have been made to serve the punishment attached to some of these domestic crimes he has been committing against my person. However,

how do I go about it when my children are here? Everybody is saying that I should leave everything because of my children. The society sees it as a taboo to take the father of your children to the police (Interview transcripts, 2013; 35, female community member)

As noted by Julinaku, reporting any concerned matter to the police was to be the most appropriate thing to do but that the prevailing cultural imperatives would not allow that to be carried out. According to this view, institution of marriage is bonded with responsibilities and these responsibilities would not allow the parties involved to take their case to the police, unless the case is extreme. The implication of this belief is that should any of the party involved indulge in contrary action, the entire community would see it as a taboo. This kind of practice would certainly prevent individuals from reporting a case to the police thereby widening the police/community gap in communication. Furthermore, community have their own mind-sets that support the alternative conflict settlement mechanisms in place in view of the non-internalisation of convectional laws in the minds of the people. The perspective of Dann is worth noting:

...When the police are not respected for who they are we are likely to face challenges as we move on....If I have to go to the police, I have no choice but I cannot take law into my hands. However I must tell you that we in the community have a mind-set to have alternative conflict management strategies. At the community bit if it goes by and control, where do we go from there. They prefer settling the matter within themselves. At the point of arrest, they intervened; saying that they can handle the matter...family ties is strong at the community. We have law that does not go to the heart of the community. People can overlook law when it comes to family affair. You have to protect your brother. There is moral crisis we are facing in ties control. You can be influenced, ostracized. The generality of the community member care holding certain views about something one have to be very diplomat and political. We are still contending with whether to marry colonial norm into our traditional culture. It is very strange for women to report family violence issue to the police. Family is the first point of call. Even men have to go to family. There is internal mechanism to resolve conflict.

Further to the reflection of how a range of family values and norms hinder the community willingness to report crime to the police are the socio-cultural impacts of social stigma. It is imperative to note at this stage that there seem to be a clash of cultures between the indigenous native laws and customs and the conventional laws of England that were made prevalent during Colonialization process. Certain kinds of offending behaviour such as rape are hardly made known to the police not necessarily because of whether or not there are perceptions of brutal or corrupt attitudes among police officers. According to the expressed views, there are cultural implications attached to allowing certain cases to be identified with a person most especially when it has to involve public knowledge and attention.

There is a belief among the community members that whenever an incidence of, for instance rape, the lady involved stands to suffer opprobrium/shame in the eye of the public not minding the injury. Such a lady might not be patronised for marriage by prospective husbands in the community if people get to know about it. The victim is likely to be messed up at the end and the alleged offender may get away with the atrocity. To make the matter worse, the litigation requirements of rape in the court of law is so tedious that ‘proving beyond reasonable doubt’ for a case of rape to be established would no doubt subject the victim to what she does not ever bargain for. In order to avoid that, many victims and the may be parents of the lady involved might choose to maintain the culture of silence than to engage in a rather fruitless exercise. According to Dann:

Stigmatization is a very sensitive is another sensitive issue. We are looking at the African and Nigeria perspective. Thousands of crime of rape, It has been an unfortunate issue. Most of the crime usually goes unreported. They maintain a culture of silence. The parent isn’t that they have keep silence over it. It is so immense that young ladies who are victims of rape put them in emotional/psychological position (Interview transcripts, 2013; 40, male community member)

The results of study demonstrated that community participants most especially the female members, there are indications that cultural practices and other related influence have hindered them from making rape incidence known to the police, including the victims as well. This is largely connected to the prevailing negative experiences in the hand of their fellow community members and even the police. Reporting rape cases to the police is being perceived as furthering the pain associated with victimisation. For instance, Civil Society Panel on Police Reform in Nigeria Report (2012) findings had much earlier suggested that issues of rape and other forms of sexual exploitations and abuse of female suspects in custody by policemen have contributed to the increasing cultural gap between the police and public in Nigeria.

### **6.3 Community's view on the influence of community network**

Adding to the impact of family norms and values on the attitudes of community members in relation to their resolve to report crime to police is the influence of people's membership of various community-based institutions such as tribal and ethnic groups, religious organisations, cult groups as well as other professional bodies, political parties and civil society networks in Nigeria. Members of these groups have tendencies towards showing solidarity and support to their respective fellow members by concealing information regarding fellow member either under police investigation or trying to frustrate police activity under a situation such fellow member is put under police custody as a result of commission of one crime or the other. This is in the light of beliefs that an 'injury' on the image of a member is taken as an 'injury' on the name and image of the group and by this, members of these groups take delight in protecting their members from being arrested at the expense of the provisions of rule of law. This feat is achieved by stakeholders through mobilisation of resources and personnel both at

the realm of community and police organisation as well since membership of these community institutions cut across every aspect of social lives of citizens regardless of career choice of individuals. A clear instance of this kind of community perception is the remarks of Nuhuba, Idrisab, Anemali Achii and Dann respectively in both individual and group contexts:

Divisional Police Officer is aware of the case. One Igbo man I lived with assaulted my wife, and my wife took them to police station, people of Igbo police took side with the accused on tribal ground. There was a time again my wife injured my child and I reported her to police, there was an intervention of the family and the case was brought back home and I was blamed for that action (Focus group discussion transcripts, January, 2014; 42, male community member).

A criminal suspect happens to be the celebrated son of an Elder (special title in Christian religious institution) in a church where the Divisional Police Officer in-charge of the community is also a member; this automatically marks the end of the criminal case against the son strictly on the basis of religious connection. Community norms and customs will not allow or permit us to take brothers or close relations to the police. If so doing, then community takes you as an ever-lasting enemy (Focus group discussion transcripts, January, 2014, 42 and male community member).

A situation when somebody assaults you and you decide to report to the police and may be an arrest is made along the line, but on discovering that the accused person is of the same religious affiliation with the man (prosecuting police officer) would turn the case upside down to frustrate your effort. Again, whenever a superior police officer of Hausa background has discovered that the case involves persons of his own ethnic origin, the next thing you will hear from the superior police officer to the subordinates is: 'please I have special and passionate interest in this case, strike out the case'... (Focus group discussions transcripts, October, 2013, 38, male community member)

Places a lot of role in the community level and ethnic group seek to identify and tend to protect fellow identity. As an Igala man, having an affair with Igbo person, mobilization is carried out along ethnic line and ensure that ethnic group that carries the majority is protected. There is always tendency for religious dimension. Muslim and Christian give support by showing sympathy for their fellow person in religion. People have been so poor. Such people suffer social injustice because you are poor; no resources to even go to the police. Poor report a crime committed by the rich? Money answers (Interview transcripts, 2013; 40, male community member)

The instance of Nuhuba is a reflection of not only family influence on police case but an impact of tribal sentiment on police disposition to act professionally. A neighbour who is of Igbo ethnic group has been perceived to have assaulted his wife and what was required of him was to take a police action on his erring neighbour. However, police officers on duty are incidentally of Igbo extraction and have then decided to unduly favour the accused (fellow Igbo) on the basis of tribal affiliation. Feelings of tribal sentiments among police officers have become veritable tool and as means to compromise the ethics of police profession. But needless to say that tribal sentiments by police officers are to the detriments of police image and trust building in the eye of the public in Nigeria. In similar context, Idrisab has viewed that once a police officer is a member of a religious organisation and there is any criminal case which involves a member of his/her faith(religious) group, there is inclination to drop the case. Dropping the criminal case on the premise of police bias to religious and community links implies putting an end to further prosecution at the criminal justice system in Nigeria. This is in the light of overwhelming influence of religious institutions on the police in Nigeria. This is consequent upon the inherent religious belief shared among the members that giving protection and a cover-up to your fellow member of religious organisation usually attracts heavenly reward. Worthy of note in this regard is the argument of Ojo (2009) in chapter two that Nigeria is a multi-cultural country with varieties of ethnic and religious groups. Consolidating on this point of view is the tendencies of these groups to dominate one another in the context of their competitions for relatively scarce resources. These competitions for power and limited economic resources among ethnic institutions have more often than not, resulted in mutual suspicion, mistrust, contentions and conflicts in Nigeria.

As a consequence, the interplay of these patterns of influence have fostered, in strong terms, misrepresentation of meaning attached to community policing and occasioned by mutual suspicion, mistrust and lack of confidence among the police personnel on one hand and

between the police and members of the public in the other hand. This is in view of the negative impact of this range of ethnic and other socio-cultural influence on policing and sense of police/community cooperation to ensure protection of fundamental rights and dignity of the citizens in the country.

#### **6.4 Community security institution (vigilante group)**

There is an overwhelming influence of informal security structures and institutions such as vigilante groups on contemporary police-public partnership approach in Nigeria. As can be seen in the above remarks, community members have perceived patronage of vigilante institutions as their own meaning of community policing rather than engaging the conventional police in their crime prevention and control management. For a better understanding of this perspective, it is important to note the previous submission of Soyombo (2005) which stated that police is a government organisation responsible for the maintenance of law and order and to protect the public against social harm in Nigeria. In contrast to this sense of understanding, Hills (2011) in the study of policing as it concerned Kano of northern part of Nigeria has already asserted that there is an influence of cultural diversities on policing in the area. There is failure of the police to adequately prevent and control crime in Nigeria largely as a result of corruption, brutal attitudes. The perceived ineffectiveness to meet adequate security and justice needs of the citizens had encouraged activities of the alternative security providers in Nigeria (Hills, 2011). Consequently, the Vigilante institutions have assumed a prominent dimension as an alternative security providers in Nigeria. Identifying the relevance of community-based vigilante structures, Ilorin has observed that:

In our own environment here, whenever we have problem, we go to traditional ruler in Ankpa town and the village vigilante institutions. In our own case, we are relying more on vigilante institutions than the conventional police agency because even though police do disagree on this, police officer who is relatively a stranger and which is not originally of our community would not be able to know the criminals in our community more than



ourselves. If there is an issue, some people prefer going to the vigilante because they seem to know where the facts are hiding. In the case of police, the police would tell you come today, come tomorrow; because of the corruption inherent in the system. Because we have come to realize that we have vigilante, this is where we go to and once there is a case, it is brought before the traditional rulers for settlement. It is effective. This is because, as I earlier told you, the community in question is not as large as urban setting where there is a high level of individualism. In the rural community, everybody knows each other. One family knows the members of the other family and by implication, if a stranger comes around; we should be able to identify who does what, when and how? Whose family the person stays with before a particular offense was committed. Let me give you a typical example. There was a case of a man who takes his adopted father to the police. The police were trying to take the matter up. The community after looking at the merit of the case intervened and said that this matter shouldn't have come to the police in the first place, this case supposed to have been settled by the community themselves and the parties involved apologized to each other (Interview transcript, 2013, 45 and male community member)

On this account, vigilante institutions are patronised by community members in view of community's input in its formation and daily operation. Fourchard (2008) has hitherto argued that 'vigilante' was the term adopted and managed by the Nigeria Police Force in the mid-1980s and had a recognition by the then government of Western Nigeria. Rotimi and Ikuteyijo (2012) have asserted that the use of magical instruments which are deeply rooted in ancestral tradition of the people have more or less given the vigilante groups a range of comparative advantages in crime control activities. This comparative advantage 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 more than the police in Nigeria. A clear demonstration of this claim is the assertion of Rotimi and Ikuteyijo (2012) and Okereafiozeke (2003), who have identified the Egbesu Boys, Bakasi

Boys and other sister para-security organisations as enjoying a range of supports from the state governments in their respective areas in Nigeria. This range of supports is informed by the vigilante's perceived potency and ability to perform duties with particular reference to crime prevention and control management.

These narratives by Ilorin have indicated that there is public's preference for consultations with the community security organisation more than reporting a case to the police. This, according to these narratives is fundamentally in the light of undue delay and procrastinations usually experienced whenever a crime case is taken to the police. This is in addition to other unprofessional behaviours by the police which have plunged members of the public to develop lack of confidence and mistrust in the police personnel in Nigeria. In the case of vigilante group whose membership is largely controlled by traditional rulers and other trusted community leaders, they are perceived as having better understanding of the environment than the conventional police officers. However, according to the view of a community participant in the individual interview realm, who is also a member of vigilante group in the study area, despite the efficacy of vigilante's activities in the area in relation to maintenance of community safety and security, police officers have not been willing to give this para-security group enough support. In this context, members of vigilante group giving cooperation and useful information to the police is considered a very risky venture. Recounting his experience:

...This is because without the police, you cannot succeed. The police cannot operate without information. Without information, no criminal can be arrested. Though because of the corruption in this community when you go there sometime they do not follow it. In some cases, their sense of sincerity could be compromised because of corruption. If the criminals give police money or any forms of inducement, the police may not act on useful information any more. Last time, one of the vigilante groups in my community went and gives the police information and at the end of the day, the same person that volunteers information was arrested. How did it happen? A vigilante man saw that there was shop that was left opened. The unusual openness of the shop was

discovered and then reported to the owner of the shop. Later there was a case of burglary in the shop. The owner of the shop had to intimate the police of the vigilante person, and all we heard was that an arrest was made. It is very unfortunate.... (Interview transcripts, 2013, 35, male and community member)

As the expressed views above have suggested, the operational capacity of vigilante group is usually viewed by police officers as informal in nature and hence the police are not willing to treat the activities of vigilante with the seriousness it deserves. In most cases, any information made available to the police by community vigilante members are usually treated by the police with suspicion and disdain. Hence there are tendencies among vigilante group members to share feelings that due to trust gap between the police and vigilante groups, they (community vigilante members) could become victims of the police/community partnership initiatives in Nigeria. Community participants in the focus groups have also emphasised on the frustrating experience of vigilante members in the hands of police officers as a result of vigilante's constitutional and operational limitations in Nigeria. Again, Americana has observed thus:

The community oriented vigilante groups and the police. But the vigilante members have proved to be more reliable than the police, but that they (community vigilante groups) operate with limitations in terms of legal and logistics supports. We are no longer friendly with the police. We organize vigilante to help the police. Police do frustrate our effort. The police are used to sabotage the effort of the community in this part of Nigeria. When we need police intervention, police do come after the attack of armed robbers. Police are not representing well the good intention and image of the government in their engagement with criminal suspects in the country (Focus group discussion transcripts; 2013).

Community participants' views have reflected the informal status of vigilante institutions despite a range of recognition by some State government in their respective territories in the country. As Alemika and Chukwuma (2004) have observed before, the informal status of the vigilante and other security organisations are being ascribed only in the light of modern state police system. Alemika and Chukwuma (2004) had claimed that the informal security

institutions which are founded on traditions-masquerades, cults, age-grades and divinations are being managed by the socio-cultural and political structures of their respective communities and in line with the lived experiences of the people.

However, Fourchard (2008) has raised concerns about the pre-judicial operations of vigilante organisations and them becoming a potential threat to the claim in the monopoly of violence by the state apparatus. 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 supervisions were needed by the police to ensure moderation and in agreement with the rule of law and dignity of persons as well. This is in furtherance of Abdullahi and Salawu (2012) contention that African socio-cultural heritage have been regarded as primitive and savagery in the view of colonialists, the Nigeria constitutional provisions have not adequately recognised the existence of these informal and indigenous security institutions in the country.

## **6.5 The problems of Community Values/Norms as Police officers see them**

In the course of looking for solution to the problem of friction in the police/community relationships in Nigeria, family tie as a socio-cultural factor tends to reoccur/reflect in the feelings of the police. This may be connected to the prevalence of extended family system in Africa and Nigeria in particular. In the previous sections of this chapter, Dambazau (2007) and Onyeozili (2005) among others have provided explanations concerning the nature and dimensions of how pre-colonial socio-cultural heritage have influenced the policing mechanisms of the indigenous African people at various points in time. Further, Adedeji (2012) stated that policing and social control among the native Africans are structured and well rooted in the beliefs in ancestors and other socio-cultural conditions. Again, Okafor (2007) has asserted that the policing mechanism in Nigeria at the moment can be classified into indigenous and foreign. In this context, Okafor (2007) had earlier observed that

indigenous policing institutions of African people are rooted in traditions, customs, and native laws and conventions reflecting originalities of their being while the foreign methods adopted cultural patterns that are European in origin.

Reflecting on the narratives and perceived feelings of the police officers, the issue of security was seen as the responsibility of every citizen and everybody was supposed to be responsive in terms of giving information that would likely assist the police achieve crime cut in the area. However, the perceived socio-cultural trend is that issues that concern close relations of the community members are not reported to the police. As views of police participants would suggest, this has got to a level that even though the case has been reported to the police, there is a tendency that family members lobby pre-maturely for a drop of the case. This involves not only the family of the victim or the concerned stakeholders but even the victims of crime themselves and other similar community considerations may likely prevail on the police to effect withdrawal and eventual drop of the case. It then implies that the withdrawal of the case from the police is a way of preventing it from going into the stage of prosecution at the court of law where trials are supposed to be carried out and award of sentences made effective. However, a criminal offence, apart from the injury on the victim is also constitutionally an offence against the state and the police have the capacity to prosecute even without the support of the victim. As a consequence, should the victim is not giving support at the trial/prosecution level, there is likely that the needed evidences have not gathered momentum that would eventually achieve result. For instance, a police participant in the interview session, Yunus Jack is of the view that:

I am an officer attached to this police Division. Police cannot work effectively in the community without the support and cooperation of the community. You know, we are police officers and we are certainly not magician in any form, so is the situation in other police Divisions across Nigeria. Security is everybody's business. As a policeman, we work with the information that community members give us.....In this community, most

especially in Anyigba here, our main problem in Anyigba is theft, bank robbery etc. Apart from these, there are a lot of cultural problems some of us have noticed among the community members. For instance, if a criminal case involves any of their close relations and/or fellow community members, they(referring to community members) will make sure that they frustrate the police from getting access to the full and important information that would lead to the arrest of the alleged offender (Interview transcripts, January, 2014; Police officer, 32, male)

It could be deduced that the family members of the victim and even the victim him/herself may be fond of concealing the information regarding incidence of crime from the door step of the police. In this case, it might have little or nothing to do with the negative perceptions in terms of behavioural or attitudinal disposition of the police personnel towards the public. The preference of the members of public to conceal details concerning crime issues that have to do with a family member seem to be inherent in the family values and mores. Similar views were also prevalent among the police participants in the group context. This is the narrative of Joyscing a female participant:

Members of the public find it difficult to report criminal cases to the police most especially if they do not have the trust of the operating police officers involved. Secondly, if a case involves one of their family members, they (members of the public) try as much as possible to conceal it from reaching the police. They see it as a taboo to say or report to the police anything that is likely to implicate their relations. It is a major cultural problem we the police officers as a matter of reality have to live with. There is an incidence in my village recently. The thieves came to the house of one of my male neighbours and carted away his belongs. Because he knows and trusted me and he also knows that I am a uniform person. I have to call for the attention of my senior colleagues in the area. That is, by calling on the patrol team, some arrests were made and something positive came out of the arrest. During investigation, the identities of those behind the incidence were disclosed. All this happened because of the level of trust. If community stays on their own without volunteering information, they cannot get what they wanted (security provision by the police) (Focus group discussions transcripts, 2013; 28 and a female police officer)

The popularly held views were a reflection that police might not be effective in carrying out professional assignments without the corresponding cooperation from the community

members in terms of giving the necessary information. The discursive snapshot is a reflection of the debate that took place among the individual interview participants. This goes to infer that family and kinship values and other related socio-cultural practices among the community members in the area serve as a discouraging factor in the information flow between the police and community. This also implies that should perpetrators of crime happen to be a son/daughter or close relation of the 'community head' might be a 'license' for evading justice in terms of the likelihood of the victim not taking police action. It can be however inferred that the practice of culture of impunity by those considered of being in privileged positions in the society would affect negatively the collective morale of the police in discharging their duties and even the less privileged that have fell victim of crime. The expression of a participant, Smanu Alhaji is a living testimony to it:

Police is not witch and we cannot be everywhere at a time. Kinship ties are the reasons why! We were perceived as enemy in terms of seeking for community cooperation. Someone may commit a crime but later it may be discovered that the suspect is the son or relative of the community head....At times they come to us saying that they would have loved given the information but the fear of passing it across, there can be information leakage thereby putting their lives in danger... There are a lot of things need to be put in place. Awareness among the community to disclosing the identity of criminals is necessary. You people should call community members to order and be given serious warning. If serious criminals is noticed or suspected, then they should be forwarded to the police. Community people are not helping matter. Police are doing their best. Whenever there are evidences we need to prosecute the criminal, such evidences are always truncated by the community either because of their close affinity (Focus group discussions transcripts, January, 2014; Police officer, 22, male)

Just like the perceptions of community participants both in the individual interviews and focus groups contexts have indicated in the previous sections of this chapter, notable also in this regard is the police perceptions of the influence of certain kinds of belief systems and patriarchal family structure which does not permit most especially women to report crime to the police until approval is sought and granted by their respective husbands. In this case, even

if the perpetrators of a certain crime were the husbands, for instance, cases of domestic violence, the fate of the victims, under this kind of circumstance hangs in the balance. An instance of these perspectives is the remarks by Egba and Amindu:

There are some bottlenecks in term of values and norms. Wife cannot report directly to the police without seeing or receiving permission from the husband because of religion inclination and beliefs (Focus group discussions transcripts, December, 2013; Police officer, 50, male)

Everybody in the police believed that religion and ethnicity have influence on their job (Focus group discussion transcripts December, 2013, male, and Police officer).

The inclination for seeking permission of the husband is informed by the prevailing traditional and religious beliefs shared by the people across generations. Police officers, in their attempt to secure valuable information from community members have been confronted with the compromising attitudes of crime victims who are found within the purview of marriage institutions. Further to this is the influence of various religious and ethnic groups on professional activities of policing in Nigeria. Members of these groups have tendencies for mobilisation of resources to frustrate the police in their effort to bring perpetrators of crime to justice. Despite the expectations of police's adherence to the provisions of the constitution and rule of law, their individual ethnic and religious identity have impacted negatively on their job thereby result in a lot of compromise. The implication on the police's relationship with the community members is that the level of confidence and trust among stakeholders who are of different ethnic and religious affiliation would be limited.

## **6.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has analysed the perceptions of police and community participants in relation to the nature of informal policing institutions in Nigeria. This is in addition to the impact of these informal institutions on patterns and meaning of police/community relationship to



achieve community security in Nigeria Kogi State. On the basis of perceptions among the community participants, there are strong indications that there are preferences for engaging community based structures such as family heads, chiefs, ancestors and community security organisations (vigilante groups) much more than engaging the conventional police to solve crime problems. Among the police participants, there is also an overwhelming share of beliefs suggesting that community members are not willing to report crime involving any of their relations on the basis of family and marriage, at times even the victims.

Further to this is the influence of a range of other community-based network such as membership of religious, tribal, professional, occultist and incarnate being, political party and gender groups and structures. Members of these institutions do not easily report crime cases which have involved fellow members to the police, their sense of solidarity suggested that members would not relent in frustrating any moves aimed at indicting their fellow members in the context of police report. Social stigma has also been identified as playing prominent roles in preventing the concerned community members and even the victims from making some crime concern such as rape cases known to the police. This is directly connected to various adherences to indigenous beliefs, values and norms which are strongly held among community members. Despite the fact that British colonial administration have introduced colonial/state pattern of policing and have been sustained even after political independence in Nigeria, the native conventions and laws still endured and have placed modern policing mechanism as an alien in the eye of the people in Nigeria. Hence, the modern brand of community policing initiatives advocated and overseen by the UK-Department for International Development (UK-DFID) stands to suffer setbacks in terms of policy implementation and impact.

In the context of the study's emerged themes, apart from the influence of these informal policing institutions and other prevailing community networks, is the participants' perception

of corruption. It is therefore pertinent that the next chapter have to examine the impact of various dimensions of corruption on the police and community. The examination of impact of corruption is in the context of their respective perceptions underlining the meaning of community policing and the risk factors associated with police/community relationship for crime prevention and control in Nigeria.

## **Chapter Seven- The impact of corruption**

### **7.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter was concerned with the analysis of police and community participants' feelings as influenced by informal policing institutions and other community oriented networks. Also of concern in this regard was the impact of these feelings on the police and community's pattern of relationship and their respective views of community policing philosophy in Nigeria. The chapter therefore analyse issues about corruption among the police and community participants in relation to its impact on police/community relationship to control crime. This chapter will address their views on the influence of corruption in the light of police culture of violence and logistics condition of policing in Nigeria.

### **7.2 Community beliefs about police corruption**

To determine the community perspectives and views about community attitudes towards the police, all the community participants in the three focus group discussions have shared perception of police-corruption. This shared feeling of police corruption has been cited as reasons for their reluctance in reporting crime incidence to the police. According to their views, activities of the police are directly or indirectly linked to corruption and that the issue of corruption has made police attitudes less trustworthy. As mentioned in chapter three, Osayande (2008) reiterated concerns in relation to how corruption has not only become central among risk factors inhibiting police performance in Nigeria, but that it has gone beyond the level of individuals. As the data below have clearly illustrated, the views reflect the feelings that giving information about crime to the police will result in assisting the alleged offender to evade justice because the police are perceived as enabling the alleged criminal to evade arrests and prosecutions. The community participants' claims have further suggested that the case would be turned against the complainant at the end. As previously

noted by Osayande (2012), there are clear cases of bribe-taking, information leaking, extortion and other corrupt tendencies among police officers in Nigeria.

However, just like as previously observed by Alemika and Chukwuma (2003), what makes police corruption worrisome is the fact that the police remain an institution for regulating the behaviours of others, as demanded by the mandate of law enforcement, in the community on behalf of government. The police are being looked at as the agent of government and whatever it does represents the naked disposition of government in the eye of the public. It is believed that even if other institutions are found culpable of the act of corruption, police officers at least by the peculiarity of their profession were expected to be exceptions. This assertion has lost sight of the fact that the personnel of the police organisation are also human beings too, that are susceptible to any socio-cultural conditions prevalent in an area. A clear example in this regard is the views expressed by Mussy:

Police is the last point of call even though is the constitutionally recognized body to handle the problem of crime in Nigeria...Police in Nigeria is corrupt. They are not helping matters. There was a time some of my family members were arrested by the police and as an eldest in the family, the chief said I should bring the matter home for settlement, police said I should give them money. Again there was a day robbers came to attack us in our own house, we went to the police, and police asked how many guns did robbers have? Robbers took money away. Some fell down and somebody took it to the police, he was put in the police cell. Again, the last time my in-law, died and I was very tired while returning from the burial place, coming on the way home during the night period, on seeing the police on the road, I thought I am protected, they demanded for money from me. I do run away from whoever introduced his/herself as police because of their corrupt attitudes..... Nepotism; corruption is the order of the day. A criminal happens to be the son of an elder in a church where police Divisional Police Officer attends....that would be the end of the case... (Focus group discussion transcripts, 2014; male, 44, Community member)

The issue of police corruption has shaped the community's sense engagement with police officers to solve problems of crime in Nigeria. As indicated by Mussy's view above,

professional duty of police officers have been affected by corruption tendencies and this attitude has compromised policing standards in Nigeria. To start with, Mussy has claimed that a member of his family has been involved in police case which demands that law should be given its due. However, family influence has set into the matter, and instead of police persistence in ensuring that the principle of law should prevail, resorted to demanding of bribes from Mussy. Police corruption is endemic as bribe culture among the police in Nigeria would not allow the public to have positive meaning and understanding about police work.

This is in terms of unrealistic knowledge of the police's ability to prevent and control crime as well as the police's inherent internal problems in Nigeria. The desire for extortion from the public has also accounted for the arbitrary hurling of suspects into police cells even when there is an opportunity to treat them otherwise. The culture of police corruption has plunged community members into mutual hatred of the police and this has an enduring negative implication on police image and would instigate the public in refusing to volunteer useful information that could assist the police in their crime prevention and control activities. In the light of understanding the impact of community's perception of police corruption on community's attitude to report crime to the police, the views of Friday, another participant is illustrative:

.... When I report a case to the police, they (referring to the police) phoned the accused person by saying that so, so and so people (informants) have reported you to the police. You (referring to the suspect being advised by the police) better run away from home. I reported a case to the police, but within just a second, police phoned the accused person. The same police said lets go there (where the suspect could be located and possibly be arrested), but before we could go there, the person (suspect) had run away. On the side of the community, as a public, you may end up spending five days in the police cells for bringing information to the police. Wherever a family member commits a crime, do not go to the police, go to the family elders because police are not good. If you take the matter to the police, the family members will not be happy with you. Please do not come home. You are a threat to the family...., police itself are corrupt. If your brother is a policeman, fear him. He can incite

armed robbers to rob you and your brother in the police will share the same money with armed robbers. I cannot allow any of my children to become police. I count you out of my children. They can kill you..... They are not good and will never be good.... (Focus group discussions transcripts 2014; male, 52 male community member)

The widely held perceptions of community participants in the group context are in agreement with what community participants have to offer in the interviews. The views of the participants in the fifteen interview sessions draw on similar feelings of corrupt practices in the police. These expressions demonstrate how the corrupt attitudes of the police have affected the sense of courage in the minds of community members. In this context, it has to do with the negative effect on stakeholders among the community towards giving information to the police. As a reminder, Onyeozili (2005), Civil Society Panel on Police Reform in Nigeria Report (2012), Osayande (2012), Dambazau (2007) and Alemika and Chukwuma (2003) have strongly noted that corruption has impacted negatively on policing in terms of image and professionalism as it relates to Nigeria. In other words, considerable large number of the participants engaged in the interview and focus group discussions evinced resentment for giving information that may assist the police to track down the activities of the criminals. Central to this perspective is the community participants' shared views that an attempt of the public in volunteering information about criminals to the police would amount to committing suicide. This is based on possibilities of the reported criminal suspects developing anger and vendetta on the police informant(s).

Community participants are of the opinion that the police, more often than not, do have inclination for linking such information to the criminals. They argued that for the simple reason that the police personnel are rife with corruption; most of the police are even close friends of the criminals. Apart from the institutionalised fear on the part of community members, occasioned by leaking the volunteered information to criminals, some of them have sensed that any information made available to the police could be used against them. For

instance, there is no immunity that covers the giver of information from any forms of investigation should there be traces in that regard. It is possible that an individual or group of persons may be party to a certain offending behaviour but could be among the first to give 'arranged information' to the police. The search light knows no boundary when it comes to tracking down whoever may be found liable.

The bottom line is that human behaviour is far from being predictable, and cannot actually be treated as such. However, the situation in Nigeria has gone beyond normal and conventional demands of justice. If the criminal justice system such as the police is handled in a manner that appeals to common sense, it hardly degenerate to this kind of level where an average community member abhors how information are being managed by a very sensitive security apparatus of a nation. The perceptions of the participant have much more provided explanation to the reasons why the community members hate in reporting crime issues to the police in Nigeria. For instance, the perceptions of Ada Federation are also relevant here to add to the picture of how the community feel about the alleged corrupt dispositions of the police and how such dispositions have impacted on the attitudes of the community in the relationships for crime prevention and control.

When Nigeria was a bit good, if there is a crime case reported to the police, the police in it official capacity make arrest and then prosecution follows. The culprit is brought to book. However in Nigeria of today, an average Nigeria citizen may not be ready to make any criminal case known to the police because, it may end up in a dimension you did not expect or envisage. There is wide spread corruption in the system of policing in Nigeria. For instance, the police, after taking bribe from alleged criminal offender/suspect, may be fond of giving technical advice to him/her (crime suspect) on how to evade justice. A police officer again as a prosecutor in the court of law or as an officer in charge of criminal investigation, will criminally connive with the suspect in custody to destroy evidence that could stand against him/her, all to the detriment of the complainant. At the end of the day, the case is turned upside down and what you see is the complainant wrongly turned to the accused

overnight and vice versa. Hence, the necessary trust in the police is lost (interview field notes 2014; 47, male community member)

From the perspective of these community participants, exhibiting attitudes of corruption by police officers in the handling of police recruits is capable of generating concerns in terms of filling the police organisation with persons of low quality both in terms of morality and academic competences. The newly recruited police personnel become the new set of available hands in the police organisation. Exposing this set of people as first experience in the institution of crime control reinforces corrupt tendencies in them right from the start.

The findings of this study have suggested that there are acts of bribery and corruption and which have become the pattern of socialisation in their policing career. Just like the observation of the participant above, the Nigerian police are part of Nigeria, any cultural patterns of the larger society is likely to have a spill over effect on all other existing subsystems. If the police in Nigeria are said not to be in the good book of the community, the community members themselves equally be aware that some of the men and women in the police organisation are disciplined and patriotic enough to carry the banner of corrupt-free crime prevention and control to the admirations of the public. However, those in that kind of category fall under minority and can hardly make tangible impact in relation to projecting the good image of the police at the moment in Nigeria. Comrade Isiadom reported that:

Police is a nice job to do but the police make use of their uniform for two ends. The police defraud the government and the community they are serving in Nigeria. 'I want to ride a car, build houses'... They abuse their offices.....How can a police recruit who had paid over a hundred (N100,000.00) thousand naira as bribe for the recruitment into the police will not do everything humanly possible to collect the money back while doing the job?...The implication is that less qualified candidates are recruited into the job of policing....Nigeria Certificate of Education Bachelor of Science/Education, Masters of Science /Masters of Arts holders are defrauded during recruitment exercise into the police career. Some of them (referring to the recruits) went to the extent of borrowing the money. Effort is made to pay the money back through dubious means..... If you as a



university graduate in Nigeria have paid as much as three hundred thousand naira to get the police job, whom do you think we (members of the public) complain to? ..... (Interview transcripts, 2014; 50, male community member)

Confirming the assertion of Dambazau (2007) concerning manifestations of police corruption in recruitment activities, claims on the basis of what respondents have said suggested that corruption is manifested in how the police carry out recruitment into the organisation. To start with, the fifteen interviewees shared the assumptions that there are cases where citizens of the country were being initiated during recruitment exercises through collection of bribes and other forms of corrupt tendencies. This is an indication that an organisation that supposes to be the standard bearer of crime control in the country is now perceived to be enlisting recruits through corruption-laden approach. This implies that the new recruits have every valid reasons to see police-corruption as the normal ways of life in the police career, nevertheless being against the constitutional norms and moral expectations of the police institution in the country.

Furthermore, the influence of corruption is being perceived as pronounced as a result of the associated roles political office holders' play in the system of policing in Nigeria. For instance, Agbonika expressed that:

...and Corruption and influence of the politicians: the accused may have connection to the top echelon. If the police are ready for information, they should not take bribe... (Focus group discussions transcripts, 2013; 32, male community member)

Agbonika's view has concern for how those occupying political positions have dispositions for influencing police officers on issues of special interest. Under this consideration, should a case involving an individual connected to politicians, the victim of crime stands the chance of being overwhelmed as a result of influence attached to these privileged positions. Again the remarks of Dann deserved attention:

The community is part of the community complexity in the whole arrangement. Some of them are not ready to cooperate with police. See the police as bedrock of corruption in the society. There should be rule of law. Police should be given the power to enforce these laws. We expect the government to put police in the right direction. For mutual trust the police are to avoid nurturing suspicious attitudes (Interview transcripts, 2014; 38, male community member)

Making reference to the above remarks, it could be deduced that Dann, a community participant himself in the interview context, was picking on the negative contribution of fellow community members to the police's ability to carry out its function effectively. Although those community members have perceived the police as corrupt, the continuation of that direction would definitely worsen the security situation of the country. Dann has expressed worry over the kind of situation in which police have found themselves in relation to lack of freedom to exercise rule of law and lack of support from the government in that direction. However, he was still curious about the need for the police to demonstrate integrity in their profession in order to avoid being treated with suspicion by members of the public in that regard. As a reflection of details of corrupt disposition of police officers in Nigeria, was of the view that: The observation of a community participant in group context, Jattolaja is illustrative:

There are areas where if they (referring to the public) see police, they have seen a potential enemy. Again, those in the Government use the police as instrument of destruction-(that is using the police against the real and/or perceived enemies of the government in power). Then that's why community hates the police. If police hear from both sides, but you run to police station, the police will take side with money giver. Wherever there is a posting of new Divisional Police Officer, the influential community members will carry bags of rice, yam, and then goat, hen, cow, etc to give him (the police officer) as gifts so they(the public) can have their way always in terms of having an overwhelming and corrupt influence on the police officer. Police are not reliable. Divisional Police Officers so fight for nice posting. They are looking for what they will eat, chopping and looking for money and not fighting crime any more... (Focus group discussion, 2014; 32, male community member)

The views of community participant under reference above have indicated that police corruption has become rife partly as a result of some undue influences during posting of new officers to their respective areas of assignments. While police officers have formed the habit of lobbying for 'juicy' posting at the headquarters through bribes, on assuming office, influential members of the community have also formed the habit of giving all manners of 'gifts' to the newly posted police officer in return for one favour or the other during tenure of office of the concerned police officer(s). In this manner, those influential members of the public who have bribed their way through can easily operate with impunity without being subjected to the rule of law and the demand of justice.

Having put this in perspective, it is also imperative to suggest in view of the community participant's statement below that policing pattern during the period of British colonialization in Nigeria was better-off as regards police corruption than the post-colonial policing in Nigeria. The earlier forms of policing was a bit in line with the British model since at that time, the influence of the British policing culture was still dominant until early seventies when 'things began to fall apart' as a result of menace of corruption and other associated social vices in Nigeria. Yusuf is another voice to reckon with. The arguments of some scholars about activities of colonial operatives have been contradicted by the view of the participant reflected below. Let us have a look at what he has said:

We go to the family or community elders and the security agents, depending on the nature of the problem... (Cut in...Why?)...The police in Nigeria as we know them, police in the colonial periods were good and were more organized at that time. But from 1970 onwards, the police in Nigeria had derailed because of the negative influence of corruption in the society. The police, by the time you give them uniform, they tell you, you are my friend and we are your friend. They do take information to the criminal and later they turn around to accuse them. They may delay you there, they ask you to give them money...They have their faults; they used police to exploit the masses. Family people refuse police; it is because of the way police operate. There are some cases if at family level, could not settle it, the case is forwarded to the police. During the IBB (Nigerian President

Ibrahim Badamonsi Babangida) time, some police officers were executed because some ammunition was supplied by the members of the force to the criminals. The complaints start from Police College. You see somebody pay amounts to be given this and that etc. sex, money, females, if you refuse stands to be disqualified, gratification everywhere.... When they are ready to drop their corrupt ambitions, character, then community policing will work. We have had in Nigeria, so 56 are killed innocently because of ₦20. Because if try sleep in the police station with large sum of money, police kill the person and take the money. Instead of giving protection to the citizens, the reverse is the case..... (Focus group discussion transcripts, 2014; 45, male community member)

These comments above demonstrate that there is widespread perception of interference negatively with the process of policing in Nigeria. It is also an indication that police have become a willing tool for manipulation in such a way that the police are presumably being used to harass or intimidate those perceived to be political opponents during and even after election periods without recourse to the rule of law. Claims on the basis of what the participants have suggested reflect that those in political positions that are supposed to provide leadership in order to ensure order maintenance in the society are also perceived to be involved in upturning the due process of the law. It can be argued that since the police serve as agent of the government for law enforcement functions, it is hard on the part of community to have confidence in the police. His claims are in line with the report of Jattolaja:

...My mind continues to boil and boil. Police e.g. the last election in my side(referring to place of origin), the person contesting election for the Local Government chairmanship mobilize police to burn down the houses and property of the political opponent. There are areas where if they (public) see the police, it is like they have seen enemy. Government uses the police as instrument for the destruction of perceived and /or real enemy. Then that is why community members hates the police... (Focus group discussion, 2014; 32, male community member)

The use of police as an instrument in the hands of government to intimidate citizens has not been helpful in Nigeria. Community members would not easily discover some of the underlining factors such as lack of police autonomy of governance behind any police

doings/undoing. Nevertheless, what only remains permanently as impression in the minds of the public is that police in Nigeria are erroneously or otherwise perceived as unfriendly, repugnant and offensive. This community impression about the police is without basic understanding of some of the discouraging internal problems associated with police work in Nigeria. The long term implication is that the process of trust building in the police/community relationship is not likely to be achieved by stakeholders involved. Again, what Tariy, a female participant has observed in interview have similar bearing:

...there is corruption everywhere these days in Nigeria society...The issue of rape; child labour etc. is very common in this part of the country. Police are not attending to the issues as expected of them....God fathers' has catch deep into election matter; the police have godfather (people of high influence/wealth, mostly politicians in the society) they would like to please. E.g. issues of cultism. Cultist go scout free because of Godfathers. That is the situation in this country and it is very unfortunate...' (Interview transcripts, 2014; 24, female community member)

Tariy's concerns were based on police attitudes towards pleasing their respective god-fathers instead of satisfying the ethics of their profession. Some of these police officers have been recruited into the police organisation with the 'help' of these god-fathers in Nigeria. This undue interference during police recruitments has created an atmosphere of impunity and allowing money to influence certain police decisions and actions related to national security. With this kind of awareness on the part of public, there is an erosion of police confidence in the police/community engagement to prevent crime.

Prono's point of view has indicated that corruption issues have made police officers to abandon their duties to seek gratifications from the wealthy citizens of the country at the expense of justice. He is of the view that people pay for police service in a corrupt way and without bribes, one can hardly get results in terms of the necessary police support in Nigeria. Below is the narrative of Prono for a point of reference:

However our experience is that any time a case is brought to the police, money or other forms of gratifications would be demanded from us before any serious attention is given. Otherwise the case would be pending. Meaning that if one does not have monetary energy to back up complain on the table of the police, it is considered a forgotten issue. Because of this, people hate the police and this kind of attitude of the police gives room for manipulations. It is a matter in the hands of who owns the financial strength. The performance of the police is poor and unreliable. It is not peculiar to the police in this area alone; it is the same throughout the country. Obviously, I used to be scared of the police even more than the armed robbers. If you dare bring/report any criminal cases to the police, you should not be surprised that the case is turned against you, most especially if the police know that the other person (accused) has something(money and/or any other gratifications) substantial enough to offer them(police). The whole thing boils down to corruption. There is absolute corruption in the system of policing in Nigeria (Focus group discussion transcripts, January, 2014; 36, male community member)

This point of view is suggesting that police favour can be achieved on the basis of financial strength of the concerned public members regardless of merit of the case of which they were concerned. In the context of this viewpoint, demands for money have subjected police officers to all kinds of manipulations, poor performance and that is the more reason people have to develop lack of confidence and fear in the police. Adding more to this is the view of a female community participant, Ayaja:

What I understand with police is that last year I had a case with a girl and I reported the case to police. The girl bribed the police in the process. The girl gave them her body for sex. The police again demanded money from me. So next time if I have a case I would not go to police again (Focus group discussion transcripts, January, 2014; 32, female community member)

In the case of Ayaja, her views have reflected attitudes of male police officers towards demanding sex from female community members who have at various times encountered with the police. This is particularly of concern in view of the peculiar nature of police constitutional mandate. Demanding sex from female suspects would imply that any female community members would evade justice should she decide to give out her body for sex as

gratification in return for a compromise of the law. Corrupt tendencies of the police in Nigeria have affected their reliability and sense of fairness in the eye of the public. In order words, some of the female community members that are not favourably disposed to submitting herself for sex would be victimised. Victimisation can be in a way of turning a case against her and this singularly have negative impact on the community's sense of cooperation with the police in Nigeria.

### **7. 3 Police relationship with other officers: Corruption as an internal police problem**

It is the views of police officers interviewed or engaged in focus group discussions that various dimensions of corruptions have been the corner stone of their activities. Against this backdrop, the police officers think that those of them who are inclined to practice in line with professional ethics have in one way or the other been influenced or forced into the debris of corruption. As the feelings of police participants would suggest, the forces of corruption have transcended beyond the boundary of the police organisation. It has reached a level that cutting through the lines of police-corruption is a huge task. His remarks seemed to be reflective of other colleagues on the subject of corruption in the system of policing in Nigeria.

There is an indication that any police officers, who have decided to demonstrate uprightness in professional conduct, will not survive in the hands of corrupt colleagues the profession of policing in Nigeria. The views have demonstrated that individual(s) concerned are usually framed up detrimental to their career building efforts. A police participant in the interview context, Ohiaclomen Ajasayatan reports that:

...And it is all about corruption. The community sees the police as corruption personified. But the issue is this- the community seemed not to be lying after all. I quite agree with them. If they see us as corrupt, then the

confidence level is low and would result to so many things in the process. Within the force, if you are trying to be upright in a way, count yourself as potential enemy of the system. On several occasions, it is on record that members of the Nigeria Police Force had excelled in other international Policing operations. But the opposite is the case in Nigeria (Interview transcripts, 2013; police officer 35, male).

This has a harming effect on perceived enemy most especially when those in the leadership position have vested interest in the matter. For instance, by the time, as a relatively junior officer, might resort to raising issue bordering on non-payment of a certain kind of allowances, however, such moves stand to be counterproductive if such allowances and other entitlements were high jacked or put on hold by the leaders. It would not only get to the hands of the perceived beneficiaries, those behind any protest be ambushed and dealt with using the existing administrative machineries of the organisation. The observation of Ohiaclomen Ajasayatan is again illustrative:

At the international level, corruption does hardly exist. The forces of corruption can send you to the untimely grave or frustrations along the line. When I say the system, it is not the buildings in the police or the guns. It is the human beings in the system. Imagine a situation whereby an officer is found to be obstructing the success of corruption in the system, a trap may be set to frame you up. If you are owed allowances, you are told to kindly wait for your own time. As at today, the police owed me duty allowances of not less than six hundred thousand naira and there is no hope of collecting it. The so-called money released from Abuja hardly go down to where the money is best utilised (Interview transcripts, 2014 January, Police officer, 44, male)

Apart from that, the tendencies for corruption have been perceived as one of the main obstacles to the implementation of policy believed to be capable of facilitating police/community relationship in Nigeria. This is in view of the practice of police/community partnership option being a policing ideology to enhance the prevention and control of crime has been identified by police participants (see the quotes below for details) as an instrument to check corruption even among the personnel of the police organisation. According to this view,



police officers were mostly interested in such policy for the purpose of achieving opportunities to attend training programmes abroad, but could do anything possible to truncate the progress of its implementation. The non-payment of allowances has the potential to damage the personnel morale and could have a negative impact on police sense of productivity in terms of response to crime on demands. This is to be a way of giving the community justification for their perceived negative attitudes towards the police in the information gathering effort to solve crime problem. These statements have also reflected that police can enjoy the cooperation of the community on the condition that police corruptions have to be addressed in Nigeria. Corruption in the system of policing, as the expressions of the police participants have suggested, connects other forms of behavioural challenges on the part of police. These challenges have tended to run contrarily to the nuances of relationships with the community in Nigeria. Ohiaclomen Ajasayatan continued:

Some of us that entered the system as graduate are at loggerheads with the old schools. It is not all of us that are happy with this development. I still remain myself. For instance, when community policing was introduced, some officers saw it as opportunity to attend some sorts of training abroad. They attended the training and came back. Some experts from UK and US came to train some of our people in the act of community policing, they got the certificate of attendance. At the end of the day, it was an addition to their Curriculum Vitae. Now what happens? Nobody is ready to promote the ideals of community policing because it will assist not only in curbing crime among the citizens but will also do some justice to the issue of corruption in the system. The system is seeing community policing as a burden (Interview transcripts, 2014 January, Police officer, and 44, male)

However, the forces of corruption may likely not be limited to the domain of the police alone. Another point to note is the need to appreciate the peculiar nature of police work, at least as the views of the officers would suggest. According to comments presented by the police participants, what the public might take as being an influence of corruption may not be the likely correct interpretation. For instance, by the nature of police duties and responsibilities,

once there is arrest of an alleged criminal, the rule of law requires that the accused should be granted the right of bail, except in special critical cases and whenever he/she is charged to court, the verdict of the court is obeyed and respected. This is suggestive of the beliefs that the accused or alleged offender is considered innocent until found guilty by any court of competent jurisdictions. The complainants, in most cases at the instance of anger/emotion and ‘rush to conclusion’ dispositions, would like their ‘wishes’ to prevail at the expense of justice and fundamental human rights of the person involved. The efforts of any responsible law enforcement agents such as the police are to ensure a measure of neutrality and fairness within the ambit of the law. However, such strife for justice and fairness on the part of the police could be an object of misinterpretations in terms of branding it as mere display of corrupt attitudes.

#### **7.4 Community beliefs about influence of corruption on police violence**

Similarly, there tends to be shared views about how corruption is also manifested in the culture of brutality among the police in Nigeria. Here, there are a range of issues concerned with police brutality and far reaching implications on the police/community relationship patterns. A critical look at various dimensions of police brutality, it suggests that corruption have a domineering influence on the extent of its occurrence in the police organisation. The narrative of Prono is instructive:

Furthermore, the police in Nigeria are so brutal in their character. They do not have enough moral discipline that can assist them in their professional calling. I could still remember sometimes ago, I was in my car; there was a guy standing by the side of a police officer on the major road. On seeing the guy, the police passed an instruction that the guy should run away from there or he will be fired. They guy queried that why must he run away from the place? To everybody’ surprise, the police opened fire and shot on his left hand side of the leg. There was wound incurred as a result of the bullet penetration. There was blood coming out of the wound. The guy was shouting and most of us there were afraid. When the police officer in question was asked of why he should open

fire in that manner, he shamelessly remarked that the guy was trying to disarm him. Some of us that were living witnesses complained to the police authority in the area, they quickly came and took their colleague away, pretentiously shouting on him. The action of those police personnel that came was suggestive of the fact that the officer concerned was to be brought to book. However, after three months had passed away, the same police officer was reposted back to the same beat to continue his work. Nothing was heard of the brutal tendency of the police officer. We suspect a cover up of the event. Now, what if the guy died? It would have ended like that. We do hear of accidental discharge without any serious remedy. The unbridled behaviour of the police most especially in the area of brutality is suggestive of the fact that there is no proper monitoring of the arms and ammunitions at their disposal (Focus group discussion transcripts, January, 2014; 36, male community member)

Prono's experience has suggested that police in Nigeria have tendencies for using fire arms and other combat equipment to incur injuries on whoever the police have perceived to be resistant to their whims and caprices and also to intimidate innocent citizens with impunity. Some of the actions and inactions of the police have been corruptively given cover-ups by their colleagues and superior as well without taking any necessary steps to bringing officers to book in order to avoid future occurrence. According to this view, police officers concerned have not been properly monitored as regards their handling of weapons in their custody. This implies that any members of community that have been exposed to this kind of experience would have feelings of doubt in the sense of responsibility, security, honesty and accountability of the police. Similarly, Americana also has a view on the matter:

Brutality of police is illegal; police write a statement under duress without the consent of the suspect. If the police know their job without brutality, people would have liked the police. They allow some dubious members of the community to use them. The police should not be brutal so people will not be scared of them. The police should not allow people to use them abusively (Focus Group Discussions transcripts, October, 2013; 50, male community member)

.... Another major un-doings in the system of policing in Nigeria is the way suspects are being handled in custody. There is no principle of human rights in their operational dictionary. Suspects are being given the

beating of their life to get money and/or confessions on crime they may or may not have committed in the first place. Torturing of suspects is the name of the game. There is hardly any successful interrogation of crime suspect by the police without element of torturing being involved. So we do not trust the police any more....  
(Focus group discussions transcripts, 2014; 28, male and community youth leader)

As perceptions of the community participants suggest, it could be argued that brutality and torture as forms of violence are likely instruments to get bribes or other forms of gratifications from the crime suspects at the expense of justice. The brutal attitudes of the police personnel are responsible for the perceived frictions in the police relationships with the community. Moreover, it is important to note the argument of Dambazau (2007) and Alemika and Chukwuma (2003) with regard to brutal and extra-judicial killing dispositions and attitudes of the police in Nigeria and which have negatively affected police/community relationships. In this case, if the police can have a change in their alleged attitudes, then there are tendencies that community change their own supposedly hateful tendencies towards the police.

Out of the fifteen interviews held with the community participants, only two have dissenting opinions on the issue. Looking at the community sense of feelings as reflected in the views of participants, it is pertinent to reflect that the issue of police brutality is much more connected with the existing social reality than the perceived individual dispositions of the police personnel. Firstly, claims that police brutality was not peculiar to the Nigeria police and that it is a global phenomenon speak volumes of how socially acceptable such practice might be. Nevertheless, wherever there could be a range of issues bordering on police brutality is leaving much to desire. The feeling also indicates that it could be practiced in other parts of the world, however what comes out of the deal in terms of community safety concerns should be seen as paramount.

Again, as previously stated by Dambazau (2007), Osayande(2012), Alemika and Chukwuma (2003) in chapter three of this study, many years of military incursions in the political

leadership of Nigeria, have being identified to be responsible for such hard posture of the police operational system. According to this point of argument, the military factor is

In the same vein, Alemika and Chukwuma (2003) have reiterated previously that given the perception that police as a counter force, the successive military regimes have weakened the police institutions in Nigeria. Although that the Nigeria democratic experiment has not gone along way, military regime over the years in the country are believed to have impacted on the socialisation patterns of the citizens in terms of shared military style of doing things, the police formations in the country were not spared. Dickson (2007), Nigeria Police Force (2010) have stated that in 2003 Nigeria government officially introduced the policy of community policing in Nigeria, and it means that the country was barely four years into the democratic fourth republic. This implies that the community policing template is typically for democratic terrain and for the fact that the practice of democracy is still at the preliminary level, so the police institutions will continue to experience set back until substantial progress is made to that effect. Reflecting this scenario, Dann was of the view:

Of course, the issue of police brutality is not limited to Nigeria police alone. We have discovered we know that all over the world, we hear of brutality checked Nigeria history. We have military hanging over mentality (militarized). The way police is treated by the people is a thing for concern should be considered for. We first came out of military regime to practice democracy. Everybody is becoming aggrieved about the police. Police are ill-treated, no dignity of labour, no salary – transfer of aggression. He sees a defenceless civilian, as responsible for his own misfortune. Civil somebody, human right group should do something about the police (Interview transcripts, 2014; 38, male community member)

However, there was a dissenting opinion about the perceived brutal disposition of the police in Nigeria. This opinion reflects the military and traditional tendencies of the police, which would have an adverse impact on the kind of culture desirable of trust building in the police/community relationship. The community participant in this context believes that the

police should not be blamed of any inherent problem in the area and that the perceived refusal of the members of public to disclose criminal hides out should not be seen as the fault of the police. His mood has also given credence to the perceived militarily style of policing as being the only way out of solving the problem of crime. Michael has therefore expressed his point in the following words:

Why? What I understand about policing is that majority of Nigeria are shifting blame on police. But community is not helping the police to carry out assignment properly. 50 – 55% of them are illiterates; they are scared to make accurate report about the hideout of hoodlums, criminals. They feel that reporting case may amount to frequent re-appearing in the police station. Communities are not ready to help the police fix out criminal revealing hideout but unitarily syndrome of the community.....If the police are brutal, there are reasons why a security operative will prefer such method. Human beings do not hear word. The police use force on you if you do not obey simple instructions at the police station. The law is supreme. If you do not use force, you hardly get result. If police said do this and you do not obey, they use force on you (Focus group discussions transcriptions, 2014; 35, male, and community member)

Michael is among the participants in one of the focus group discussions with the community in the area, has noted that the alleged brutal dispositions of the police in Nigeria were normal at least in principle. The participant's opinion, which courts the amazements of the rest of participants, was not pretentious about his perspective on the issue. The understanding is that citizens can only take the law serious through the instrumentality of police violence and that achieving confessions from criminal suspects were mostly through duress-oriented interrogations at police stations. After all, the culture of brutality in policing has not assisted in producing an atmosphere where democratic norms flourish. This has created tension in the police/community relationship in Nigeria.

## 7.5 The use of force and violence on crime suspects as police officers see it

Again, there are instances of perceived use of force or element of coercion on crime suspects. The explanation here, according to the police officers view, is that the level of sophistication in terms of weapons at the disposal of those considered as criminals requires what is regarded as ‘minimal use of force’ to achieve results. The view of Egbaa is instructive:

...There is no sense in the public saying that police are brutal. Armed robbers carry gun, rapists are violent in nature. At times, community says this is armed robbers kill him/her. If the robber suspect is charged to court, he enjoy bail, public say police are corrupt. Police has no power to kill anybody (Focus group discussions transcripts, December, 2013; Police officer, 50, male)

The perceived brutal attitudes of police officers have been informed by the peculiar nature of police work. The belief among the police officers is that police work is risky and a question of life and death in the hands of criminals. Armed robbers, rapists and other violent offenders are perceived as carrying guns and other dangerous weapons whenever confronted with the police. However, despite that police, in conventional terms lack powers to kill any law abiding citizens, community members have been involved in inciting the police to kill at the instance of their whims and caprices. Police participants are of the view that in the face of temptations, they are duty bound to allow the principles of the rule of law to prevail, and by doing that judiciary have to be involved. Charging suspected armed robbers to court demands that due process of law is followed but corruption set in at that level which results in the suspect enjoying bail overnight, community members are fond of attributing the blame to the police without trying to know how system of the Nigeria criminal justice are working.

However, Dambazau (2007) had earlier suggested that brutal attitude of police in Nigeria is one of the most serious risk factors that prevent police/community relationship to flourish in Nigeria. A better understanding of police brutality and culture of violence in Nigeria and the effect on the

police/community relationship in Nigeria can be achieved by seeking the earlier contributions of scholars (please see chapter two). As a point of note, Onyeozili (2005), Alemika and Chukwumma (2011), Tamuno (1970), Ahire(1991) and Ohonbamu(1972) have emphasised how the Colonial masters have used police institutions as instrument of oppression, subjugation against the native population who were perceived as being resistant to British domination at the time. This Colonial oriented legacy has impacted negatively on police's sense of interactions with the community. This negative impact has resulted in the community perception of police as an alien institution instead of the constitutional mandate of crime prevention and control in order to ensure community safety and security. According to Cole (1999) as stated in chapter two of the research study, colonial experience and orientation among the police personnel has negatively impacted on the knowledge of roles and functions among the police in Africa and other third world countries, including Nigeria. In this context, Cole (1999) argued that though there are proclivities and influences of post-colonial methods of policing towards law enforcement generally and other traditional police roles and functions such as the maintenance of internal security of the nation, police logistics and welfare issues, problem solving, community engagements and other aspects of community policing are significantly lacking in most of African's policing institutions, including Nigeria.

However, According to Dambazau (2007), brutal culture of the police in Nigeria is usually associated with either a motivation to extort confessions usually from crime suspects who have not undergone the conventional procedure of criminal justice system or an expression of hate and personal anger towards a particular suspect. Further to this is that it could be a way of settling political and other related scores among community members, while some have various dimensions of connection with act of corruption. Drawing on the earlier assertions of Zumve (2012) (see chapter three), it is imperative to state that most Nigerians lack trust and confidence in the police as a result of their being perceived by community members as alien, corrupt and oppressive agents in the hands of government. In addition, this development accounts for failure of the Nigeria police to meet with the crime and security challenges. In



the light of empirical findings of this study, the scenarios have left some negative impressions in the minds of those who have innocently or otherwise fell victim of torture in the hands of police, in the name of the use of what is termed ‘minimal use of force’. Further to this is the predominantly negative police image being perceived to connect to increasing tendencies of brutality. The long term implication is that the police are likely to be perceived by the community as not reliable, not living to their constitutional responsibilities and as such are mistrusted thereby prevent the community from getting closer in terms of reporting crime to the police.

## **7.6 Police views about impact of corruption on logistics**

There are various dimensions of police perceptions that have suggested that most of the perceived logistic problems confronted by the police are corruption related. The view goes to reflect that the laid down procedures for recruitments into the police are hardly followed as a result of some influences from those considered to be in positions of authority. It goes to pave the way for the less qualified hands, in terms of education and morality, to have their ways into the main streams of the police organisation. The empirical findings are evidence to demonstrate Dambazau’s (2007) argument that during recruitment, police in Nigeria are fond of not vetting candidates’ credentials which have paved way for persons of questionable backgrounds. It is an indication that the prevalence of less capable personnel in the system of policing negatively affects competence levels in terms of response and strategies that are imperative to engender crime control in the area. Apart from that, the achievement of robust relationship with the community requires effective management and leadership techniques as well as a clear demonstration of customer relations skills on the part of the police personnel. This may be possible if there are educated hands that have the basic knowledge of human

behaviour and the workings of society generally in order to effectively carry out such a task.

According to Tijaniba Tanko:

There are problems that I cannot enumerate. Firstly, it is like wrong set of people were being recruited into the force on daily basis. It is not about my immediate area of assignment alone but on the general note. If illiteracy is dominating the activities of the police in Nigeria, then what do you think will be the behaviour of the personnel towards the community members they are serving? The work of police requires high level of intelligence and sense of courage and culture of service. Demonstrate culture of service calls for knowledge of it. Interview should be merit. Posting should be in line with area of specialization. Recruitment shouldn't be on quota system. ND, HND, NCE are the requirement, but some of those who we graduated together from the college, they cannot even write their names. Should there be any attempts to disqualify them from the training colleges on ground of incompetence, you will then here phone calls from Senators, Ministers and other top government functionaries from Abuja that 'these people should be returned back to training' (Focus group discussions transcripts, 2013 December; Police officer, 21, male)

According to the perspectives of Tijaniba, illiteracy and mediocrity have continue to dominate activities of the police in Nigeria as a result of what has tended to transpire in the recruitment exercises usually conducted by the force management. This view has suggested that though the minimum academic qualifications for entrance into the police were Diploma, National Certificate of Education but this standard are usually compromised on the basis of influence by the powerful elites in the society. Those who hold political offices and other government functionaries that were supposed to be standard bearers have turned to manipulating their way and ensuring that their cronies were recruited into the police even at the risk of not being qualified for the job of policing. In this case, even after the completion of training at colleges, posting of personnel is not usually effected on the basis of merit and areas of specialisation but in favour of 'where is likely to be juicy' among the prevailing police divisions in the country. This is meant to satisfy the curiosity and interests of those at the positions of influence. The principle of quota being observed in any recruitment exercise have not helped matter at hand since the practice, though recognised by the constitution, would ensure that all

parts of the country should be adequately represented regardless of whether they are competent or not. Similarly, Egba has this to say on the issue:

Why inviting those not qualified for training in the name of quota system without the basic qualification. A politician wakes up and presents candidates on the basis of 'whom you know' while the son of the poor cannot try that. It is not so anywhere in the world and if ever, Nigeria is the worst (Focus group discussions transcripts, December, 2013; Police officer, 50, male)

From Egbaa's perspective, recruitment into the police based on 'whom you know', and usually in favour of the sons and daughters of the affluent in the society to the detriment of their counterparts in the poor category. Egbaa, irked by the perceivably ugly experience has expressed doubt that such trends have not existed in any parts of the world. Based on the claims of what the police participants in the three focus group discussions have said, the problem of logistics have continued to pose challenges to policing in Nigeria Kogi State. Making reference to Alemika's (2008) point of argument in chapter three, despite that satisfaction, manpower planning, training and evaluation of human resources are crucial to organisation performance, the maintenance of the necessary personnel standards are disconnected in the Nigeria Police Force. The shared views of the police officers have clearly demonstrated that the police organization is being faced with a range of logistics problems in terms of equipment and welfare packages. Police officers' perceptions suggested that the job of policing carries with it a life threatening risk which deserved to be well catered for but that the perceived failure to provide the necessary logistics in the area of prompt payment of adequate salary and other allowances for the police personnel are perceived as some of the reasons for the police avoiding risk taking should there be of any security challenge. For instance, the views of Ezu Sam reflect the nature of the problem:

Logistics and welfare are problems. Police are under paid. The job of security is life and death. Not everybody would want to take that risk (Focus group discussions transcripts, January, 2014; Police officer, 23, male).

In this case, as the expression of feelings of participants would like to suggest, any emergency situation usually create fears and anxieties in the minds of police personnel because of their shared beliefs that the weapons at the disposal of the perceived criminals are more sophisticated than those in possession of the police. Worthy of note in this regard is the argument of Arisukwu and Okunola (2013), reiterating that lack of empowerment through adequate training components has hindered the necessary skills and community engagements to control crime among the police in Nigeria. Ogwuche remarks thus:

We cry to the government to supply us the necessary equipment to work with. We are in the modern era and most of the old ways of doing things are no longer relevant today. There used to be annual budgetary allocation for the police to fund operations. However, the question as to whether or not there is utilization of the allocation is open to debate. Most of the allocated funds will not be spent on the police as a result of corruption. When we saw a mask at the back of our Divisions we thought that things like is coming but far from that. Anyway, we make use of the little at our disposal to make head way (Focus group discussion transcripts, October, 2013; 23, male police officer)

And SimG also has this to say:

I am about 10 years in service. I was given 1 belt, trouser, and shoe. At times, there used to be about ten (10) shoes and belts for (two hundred) 200 personnel in the police force. We do buy them from the market by ourselves. It is not done. Everything should be allowed to come down from the top to the bottom of the police hierarchy. The requirement for recruitment is National Diploma, Nigeria Certificate of Education etc. In the north some came without ordinary level result but in the south the different is the cape. So call the commandant of the college 'this is my candidate please etc. All this have affected performance of the police (Focus group discussion transcripts, January, 2014; 24, male police officer)

The far-reaching implication is that in a case of any community distress calls for police assistance, police officers think that it is a call to commit suicide because of the life-

threatening situation. In this case, the police are left with an option of putting up strategies on how to protect their lives first and foremost. As a consequence, police officers leave the defenceless members of public at the mercy of the lawless criminals. The general perceptions are that there is little or no logistics and other necessary working tools to operate with as required by the profession. Again, a police officer and a participant in the focus group discussions, Oguminudu adds to similar voice:

The only thing is that because of the inadequate equipment to work with, whenever there is emergency, most especially armed robbery incidence and there is a distress call to that effect, one does not feel comfortable. We have our life, some of us have children and wives and members of the nuclear and extended family to cater for. It is annoying to work under a very risky and dangerous environment. No matter the grade of training received, if there are no adequate working tools to work with, it is like inviting enemy to come and take one's precious life(Focus group discussions transcripts, January, 2014; Police officer, 22, male)

At the level of police participants in the interview, the issue of logistic problems have also been unanimously perceived as prominent. There are reflections that police lack adequate welfare packages such as provisions of decent accommodation, functional health and life insurance mechanisms, sophisticated equipment and other related arsenals to carry out crime management strategies and functions. It is worth noting that Hills (2008) had earlier echoed that the poor and under-resourced police officers have affected the effective policing of the populous country as Nigeria. For instance, Saheel Idrisa was of the view that:

Logistics, personnel welfare is important. Here in this country. If a police man dies in active service, he is never taken care of by the federal government. In advanced country, if similar thing happens, everything about the deceased is taken care of including the liability of his/her family – academic rights etc. Sometimes some go on patrol and meet robbers with more sophisticated weapon and courage, then; you have to run for your dear life. At times when a police man living in the barrack dies, even the serving members of the force would be mounting pressure on the family to pack out of the place...hence, if you as an officer say to those serving under your command 'go down there and catch thieves', there is panic here and there among the police personnel because everybody is afraid of his/her life (Interview transcripts, December, 2013; Police Officer, 45, male)

Echoing comments made by other police officers, Saheel Idrisa views have mirrored a range of police feelings of neglect and lack of concern for their welfare and logistics in Nigeria. A situation whereby the deaths of police officers on active service have not received adequate attention of government. This is in terms of death benefits, accommodation and educational rights of the deceased's children and other dependants. It is claimed among the police officers that a situation where a deceased police officer had lived in police barrack, unfortunately, not only that government will issue a directive to the members of the family effecting a 'quitting notice' within short time, but that even the serving police officers will be lobbying for a quick implementation of such directive so that they could benefit from the highly limited number of accommodation resources available to the police in Nigeria.

This scenario has created an atmosphere of low confidence level among police officers as regards engaging perceived criminals in physical combats whenever the need arises. The far reaching implications of this perception may be that low morale sets in to negatively affect the police response to distress calls by the members of public who might be confronted with security challenges in the area. The community might feel less satisfied in terms of police fulfilling its constitutional obligation of ensuring that there is considerable degree of safety and security of lives and property.

### **7.7 Community views on police logistics**

Although one of the primary concerns reflective of police officers perceptions is the problem of logistics, some of the community participants have perceptions of police working conditions as pathetic. Despite that community participants have expressed resentment over the perceived general negative attitudes of the police in Nigeria; some of the community participants, in the course of their interactions with the police are also familiar with the nature of police working conditions. Community participants shared the feelings that problem of

logistics and poor working conditions have been perceived as partly contributing to police inefficiencies. The following expressions are of interest to this perspective:

Muhmora has it that:

This afternoon, the MOPOL (Mobil Police Unit in charge of riot and other violence control) could not go out to check the excesses of armed robbers because they were complaining of lack of special duty allowances. Government cannot fund the police effectively and that is why the police are fearing criminals (Focus group discussion transcripts, 2013, 34, male community member)

Akojaa's perspective also reflected that:

The police may bring out excuses of no fuel in their operational vehicles, battery, torch light, enough money etc., and instead of facing at all of these messes in the police, we prefer going to the vigilante group for assistance. At times, police men go on sandals or slippers. They do not have boot to ware, no enough uniform (Interview transcripts, 2014; 42, male, and community member).

Oguntoyin further says:

You can imagine armed robber carrying high weapon when a police man is carrying less sophisticated weapon they have no alternative than to run away for their dear lives(Interview transcripts, October, 2013, 23, female community member).

Looking at these views from the perspective of community participants, this is indications that not only the police officers themselves but even community members have been exposed to the moral, logistics and professional weakness of the police institutions in Nigeria. In view of their perspectives, members of public are living witnesses to a situation whereby police officers struggle to purchase working tools such as uniforms, shoes, torch lights and boots by themselves. This is instead of the government on behalf which the police officers are working. Therefore, trust and confidence building in the police and for a sustainable community

relationship is on the basis of consolidating the human resources apparatus of the police institutions in Nigeria.

## **7.8 Inadequate Training opportunities in the police**

Closely related to this kind of logistics problem is the inadequate knowledge of community oriented policing philosophy and relationship to achieve crime control in Nigeria. The respective comments of participants-Abuminu and OkaMu below have demonstrated this:

My view about community policing is that we are lacking the necessary orientation. When people lack the orientation, there cannot achieve people oriented security. Nigeria Police Force should make it known to the public of the need to join hand with the police to control crime. Police is not working towards modern worlds...The problem is not only about orientation but lack of confidence. Not everybody knows about community policing among police officers not to talk about the community itself. Knowledge of community policing is necessary (Focus group discussion transcripts, October, 2013, male, police officer)

And

... Giving relevant and enough orientation to the police about the whole things are necessary... (Focus group discussion transcripts, Jan. 2014; 24, male Police officer)

On the premise of these remarks under the group context, some of the police officers in Nigeria have no adequate knowledge of the philosophy of community policing and the proper methods of its implementation. This range of views have reflected the Marenin (2009)'s claim, as presented in chapter three that policing in African countries has been characterised by lack of adequate knowledge of it among the professionals in the system and such a development has constituted one of the main problem of security in the region. Meanwhile, the Nigeria Police Force (2010) as noted in chapter three has earlier pointed out that the government of Nigeria, upon introduction of the community policy in 2003 sent some police



officers to the UK and subsequently the US for training about the fundamentals of community policing.

This move was meant to ensure the transfer of the knowledge to other police personnel in Nigeria. However, there was a rather scanty numerical strength of the officers that attended the overseas training and coupled with the lack of consistency in the training policy on the part of the Nigeria police management. As a consequence, the desired result in terms of proper training and orientation in the tenets of community policing for police officers in Nigeria was far from being achieved. Earlier in this chapter, as reflected in the views of police participants, such training abroad was only to achieve promotion and overseas trip-related allowance rather than the training in its original sense. According to the views of this participant, even members of the public are not left out in the ignorance as most of community members have not been given proper awareness in the rudiments of police functions as well as what roles were expected of the community.

## **7.9 Beliefs about police working conditions as police officers see them**

Apart from the relative lack of adequate knowledge of community policing in Nigeria, another challenge perceived by the participants is in connection with the manner in which the police control mechanism is handled by the government in Nigeria. In the context of police participants' views, many institutional platforms such as the National Assembly through the Senate Committee on Police Matters and its equivalent in the Federal House of Representative, Presidency through the Police Service Commission, Federal Ministry of Police Affairs etc. are used to control the activities of police in Nigeria. Demonstrating these points are the respective remarks of Ogen Olu and Okamarmus:

I believe the problem is that people do not have trust in the government. Police is seen as the agent of government. There is a transfer of aggression here. The control system is too complex. National Assembly,

Presidency, etc are all involved in the control of policing institutions. This is not proper (Focus group discussion transcripts, 2013, 24, male, police officer).

The main challenge in police force i.e. that no motivation to carry-out our duty effectively. In a situation where directives are given by superior officer in rank and if you grant to go by that directive, another person will give his/her own...Multiple control system of the police should be avoided so a sense of independence on the part of the police is built(Focus group discussion transcripts, October, 2013; 26, male police officer)

At the level of police officers themselves, multiple and incoherent directives from their superiors have brought in some confusions as regards what to and what not to do at a particular time. This arrangement has tended to create complexities in area of focus and sense of direction among police officers. Lack of coherent directives and the use of police discretion have not only accounted for fragile and low level motivations among police officers but also for the numerous delays of police response to community security concerns in Nigeria. In his regard, community members have little or no idea of some of these internal challenges confronting police personnel in Nigeria. Hence, what are left on the door step of members of public are the community perceptions of police inefficiency, police incompetency, police corruption since there would no chance for proof of innocence.

#### **7.10 Beliefs about police's political interference as community see it**

Even among the community members, there are widely held views that some of the police's Constitutional functions have been taken away by other similar agencies and this has brought a far reaching negative implications in relations to low morale among the police personnel in Nigeria. Some of these decisions that resulted in other sister agencies sharing functions with the police in Nigeria have been taken on sheer political ground without the corresponding merit of the case. This kind of scenario has debilitating effect on the nation in view of the sensitivity of such security functions. As Dan has viewed:

The law that set up police should go beyond it. There is duplication of functions among the Federal Road Safety Commission, Economic and Financial Crime Commission, Transport Department of the Federal Ministry of Works and Housing, Civil Defence Corps and Drug Law Enforcement Agency among others have taken much of police functions from Nigeria Police Force. Duplication is so arbitrary that our police are left to do minor work of arresting a criminal (Interview transcripts, 2014; 38, male community member)

As the views of above community participants would suggest, some of constitutional functions of the police have been taken away to other similar organisations created by the successful government in Nigeria. For instance, as earlier discussed in chapter two, there are Transport, Fraud and Criminal Investigation, Drug Units of the Nigeria Police Force (Nigeria Police Force, 2010) in charge of transportation, financial crimes of the country. However, at the moment financial crimes are being handled by the Economic and Financial Crime Commission, transportation issues are handled by the Federal Road Safety Commission and Transport Department of the Federal Ministry of Works and Housing while drug related crime are specifically taken charge by the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency. In addition to these is the newly creation of the National Security and Civil Defence Corps that has been charged with the responsibility of controlling pipeline vandalism in the country. This duplication of functions among various security institutions has tended to weaken the police in Nigeria in terms of focus, management, funding and logistics. Almost all the erstwhile functions of the police have been taken over by other organisations thereby leaving police officers without clearly defined roles anymore. Jattolaja was also of this opinion on the issue:

...the government at the top should show the right kind of treatment as per empowering the police. A situation whereby the police have multiple mechanism of control is discouraging. There should be minimal degree of intervention from the top echelon so that at every level, discretion is promoted. But modality to curb any police excesses or abuse that may arise should be clearly defined. Independence of police operation is a related issue for consideration. There should be relative decentralization of police operation in the country. Internal mechanism to check police excesses e.g. police robbery on the road etc. and those collecting bribery from police recruits (Focus group discussion, 2014; 32, male community member)

As a reflection of community participant's view on the matter, Jattolaja has supported the grant of autonomy to the police as a way to enhance police professional engagements. Also important is the need to discourage undue interference by the political class but to ensure decentralisation of police institutions in the country. However, the study have shown that while raising concerns about activities of the 'top echelon', the tendencies of the police to abuse any power which are bestowed on them should not be ruled out in its entirety. In view of this, the internal mechanism to control police excesses is as imperative as the grant of this control autonomy. The collection of bribes on the road, taking of bribes from police recruits are all considered dangerous to the police sense of autonomy, but that such feat can only be achieved should there be checks and balances in the system of policing in Nigeria.

### **7.11 The bureaucratic nature of police organisation**

There are understandings among community members is that there is no significance in the need to call for attention of the police, should the police cannot respond to an outcry for rescue from the hands of criminals at the appropriate time. The community's perception of the police low responses level also account for the reason community members have lost confidence in the Nigeria police. This has resulted to unnecessary delays in most of the job of policing in Nigeria as community on their part have refused to give the necessary sense of cooperation. The call for the decentralisation of police institutions by participants is in favour of the posting and recruitment of natives to police their environment. This is premised on the belief among the citizens that police officers can only police where they can understand better. From a point of view, such an arrangement can check corruption in the system of policing in the country. According to Ilorin:

There is this case of a known criminal who evade being prosecuted because the police said that there was no clear evidence against him. Whereas, as far as the community membership is concerned, there is this belief in oneness, ancestral worships. And if the police find evidence, prosecution follows. In the Court of law, what you

hear is come tomorrow....A case that supposed to be adjudicated within a period of two months may still linger for ten years. At times, the parties involved in the disputes may have died along the line. I think we should also commend the African ways of doing things because colonialism has gone deep into our system. Right now there is what we called Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR). When you look at the whole thing, alternative dispute resolution is the African ways of handling crisis where you sit down on the round table, take a decision and it is binding on everybody.... Let me quickly add that every Nigerian is clamouring for state police. The tin-line is drowning between state police and community policing because the federal police officer is operating at a place he/she does not know much about. Somebody posted from Akwa Ibom to police in Kaduna, how you expect the person to understand the terrain of his/her duty post. It hinders the operational capacity of the police. Again the police job has been infiltrated with crimes called corruption. If you give information to the police, the police would ask you to come and write statement of how you get about the information. This is what prevents people from giving such information. If the information is even given, what is the guarantee that the police will treat this information with utmost confidentiality it deserves? This is another challenge that keeps people out of the game of giving information (Interview transcripts; 45 male community members)

However, the view of this community participant has a counterpart. It is also argued that the peculiar nature of the country does not warrant decentralising the foremost security apparatus of the nation because of the level of immaturity of the stakeholders (police and community) in vogue. He contended that the police could be used as instrument by those in positions of authority to oppress, terrorise those they have grouped as political opponents. According to this position, the problem of the police in Nigeria is not over centralisation but in the obvious lack or inadequate facilitating environment. A community participant, Adeleke's feelings were of reflection here:

If you bring state police, it will worsen security situation of the country. We need to understand the nature of things in Nigeria. It could be used as tool for the politicians taking the advantage to oppress and punish the so-called opponents. If not that police are not given better environment to operate, they could perform better (Focus group discussion transcripts, October, 2013; 24, male, community member)

There are expressions of feelings among police participants signifying that the nature of organisational structure of the police in Nigeria remains one of the factors inhibiting better performance. The narrative of Isiak is instructive:

Even if a criminal case is reported to you as a police officer, superior officer(s) must have to act on it first. There is no decentralization in the operations of policing in Nigeria at the moment. You must convey it to the appropriate quarters and continue to live at the mercy of directives. There is no freedom to take action on any case without sufficient consultations with the head office (Focus group discussions transcripts, 50 and a male police officer)

As these feelings would suggest, there are strong indications that such structure does not permit the use of discretion on the part of the police at the grassroots level. They have to wait for a directive from the top management centrally located at the capital, before taking any vital decisions. As a result, so many issues would be pending regardless of the urgency such an issue may call for. This explains why the police, more often than not have appeared at the scene of crime long after the perpetrators might have gone wild.

## **7.12 Conclusion**

This chapter has addressed issues concerned with community and police perceptions of corruption and the impact on fundamentals of police/community relationship to achieve security and community safety in Nigeria. The overwhelming views of the police and community participants have indicated that police officers in Nigeria are corrupt and that corruption has impacted negatively on the police officers' sense of professionalism in terms of ethics and operations. Further to these is that police officers have viewed corruption in police organisation as a reflection of corruption in the wider context of Nigeria. There has been proven lack of adequate resources as is the case among other relatively poor and developing countries of the world to cater for the logistics and other operational needs of police officers. However, the perceptions of police participants have suggested that there have been a relative

non-implementation of budgetary allocations originally designed to service the logistics needs of police institutions in Nigeria. As this perception of corruption problem would suggest, the non-implementation of this budgetary provisions have been carried out by both at the realm of government and police hierarchy as well and these have hugely accounted for the perennial problem of logistics in the police institutions in Nigeria.

Similarly, corruption has also impacted negatively on the police culture of violence against the general public. Colonial policing legacies have been viewed as playing a role in this context in which the police was used for victimisation and suppression of native populations in Nigeria. Under this circumstance, those native populations that were perceived as resistant and opposed to the British's socio-cultural, political and economic domination. Although this legacy has impacted negatively on pattern of policing in relation to police interactions with the public, corruption has been largely perceived as having a link with numerous cases of police culture of life-threatening torture, rape, harassment and other forms of violence on crime suspects under police custody.

Any members of the public that have been victims of police extortions and/or torture will certainly be placing the police as an institution on the wrong side of history. Consequently, there are far reaching negative implications of these scenarios on the police image and information-seeking relationship and collaborations with members of public. Under this scenario, the trust and confidence level in the police by their community counterparts would be low. The low level of trust definitely creates an atmosphere of communication gap between the police and community members as well. Consequently, this contributes to an enduring rift between the police and citizenry of Nigeria thereby making community policing a project without any mark of success in terms of policy implementation and positive impact. The next chapter will deal much discussing all the previously analysed themes and this discussion will form the conclusion aspect of this study.

## **Chapter Eight: A connection of police/community relationship in Nigeria**

### **8.1 Introduction**

The previous discussion drew attention to corruption being one of the themes in connection with determination of police/community relationship patterns in Nigeria. This was as being perceived by both the police and community participants engaged in the study and which have been validated by literature. This chapter therefore engages in discussions of the findings of various themes in line with data that have been previously analysed. Attention has also been drawn to a range of suggestions made by the police and community participants in order to reflect the stakeholders' in relation to the way forward in the context of community policing policy implementation in Nigeria. Further to this is the reflection on these findings and stakeholders' suggestions. Thereafter, recommendations viewed as important have been proffered and these are followed by conclusion and implication for further research.

### **8.2 Discussion**

#### **8.2.1 Crime problem and stakeholders' patterns of engagement**

The premise of this study was to investigate the meaning of community policing according to perspectives of the police and community in Nigeria. Also of concern to this study was the investigation of police/community relationship according to the perspectives and views of police and community and what the impact of the inherent problems in the relationship suggest for the implementation of community policing in Nigeria. Based on the findings of this qualitative study, a number of themes came to light. Among these themes is the crime situation in Nigeria Kogi State and pattern of participation of the police officers and community members towards solving the problem.



The views of community participants at both individual and focus group discussion sessions shared in their perceptions of the increase and nature of the crime problem in Nigeria. Also among the police participants engaged in similar pattern of the investigation, there were overwhelming views on the increase of crime problem in Nigeria. Prominent among these understandings of the crime problem in Nigeria are kidnapping, child and human trafficking. Others are the Boko Haram insurgency and terrorism, armed robbery, inter-tribal and intra-communal conflicts, cultism, political unrest, youth restiveness and issues related to domestic violence. The police and community participants' views have indicated that these crime problems have not only led to several blood-lettings, killings and loss of precious lives and property, these crime problems have also become the main menace to citizen's sense of dignity and human rights. For example, media reports have claimed that the Boko Haram insurgency alone most especially in the northern part of Nigeria has taken about fifteen thousand lives and has rendered millions of people in the area homeless in their own land. This is in addition to the Boko Haram annexation of the five Local Government Council Areas of Nigeria territory, in the size of the present Belgium while hundreds of young ladies have been kidnapped in the town of Chibok. This kind of condition has plunged the country and its people into a culture of fear and feelings of insecurity and with a huge negative impact on economy and sense of social cohesion.

In providing answers to the question with regard to the kind of meaning attached to the concept of community policing in the views of police and community would suggest, there are a range of shared perspectives on the subject. Findings of this study have shown that while the police have demonstrated shared ignorance of understanding of community policing philosophies in terms of policy and practice, there are also misperceptions of the concept among community members as well. For instance, though police officers perspectives reflect preference for adoption of community policing as a strategy that would ensure community

collaboration was achieved, however it is widely viewed by police officers as a way to 'softening' and 'weakening' operational methods of the profession. Similarly, the kind of meaning community members attached to community policing is that community security institutions are better arranged according to the norms, native laws and customs of the people rather than the involvement of the conventional police. This is in direct contrast to the fact that the law establishing Nigeria Police Force gives the agency the power to enforce the law, preserve the sanctity of the constitutional provisions, maintenance of peace and security of the country.

The empirical data have provided evidence to support that police officers have perceived the community policing programme as directly connected to reporting crime and official misconduct irrespective of who is involved. This is a clear indication that should any police officers were involved in corruption activities in the course of carrying out assigned duties would not be spared regardless of the status of officers in question. This scenario has a self-destruction effect on the personnel of police institution and government functionaries directly connected to the implementation of policing policies in Nigeria. This again serves as a potential obstacle to police sense of occupational freedom for indulging in corruption even within the system of policing and by implication an obstacle to the police using corrupt means of survival in the contemporary system of policing in Nigeria.

In the light of providing answers to the question in connection with the nature of relationship pattern between the police and community members as the empirical data so analysed in chapter five have clearly illustrated, there are community feelings of reluctance in approaching the police in terms of volunteering information considered necessary to achieve crime prevention and control. Among police officers involved in the study, even in the face of substantial ignorance and misunderstanding of the concept of community policing, there are

overwhelming police views in support of police willingness to rely on community members and seeking for useful information in their professional act of crime control. However police perceptions have revealed that more often than not, despite police officers effort at reaching out to the community for valuable information, police have not been enjoying the cooperation of community members in relation to reporting crime incidences to the police for arrest and prosecution.

Consequent on the review of various perspectives of the police and community participants in this study, my contention therefore is that there is communication gap inherent in the relationship between the police and community in their collaborative effort to solve crime problem in Nigeria. The implication is that despite the UK-DFID's overseen police/community partnership initiatives in 2002/3 as a strategy to address the police/public divide in Nigeria, the communication gap between the police and community still persists. So far, not only that the persistent communication gap between the police and community suggests a defeat of the original objectives of introducing the policy initiatives, many participants have however connected the persistence of this gap between the police and community to the crime problem. This therefore accounts for the feelings of insecurity across the socio-cultural, political and economic divides in Nigeria. This study has illustrated that there were cases of community's refusal to report crime to the police, instead community participants preferred to consult with the community-based structures and other related informal policing institutions.

### **8.2.2 Contending issues of socio-cultural influence**

A range of socio-culturally related reasons have been provided by the police and community participants as being responsible for the way they participate with policing. For instance, there were numerous occasions where both community and police in the interviews and focus

group discussions have invariably described issues on grounds of family bond. Others in this category are stigmatisation, marriage, and system of cult, incarnate being and ancestors' worships, beliefs in witchcrafts, patriarchy, and community network. In addition, a range of cultural beliefs and practices do not in any way encourage reporting of crime incidence that may likely implicate members to the police. These socio-cultural imperatives have tended to frustrate policing of the area in terms of achievement of evidence and ability of the police to ensure that principles of professionalism were upheld. The consequences of this are hugely significant for the need on the part of victims to being consistent with claims of offence, even to serve as witness in order to ensure potent prosecution at the court of law. It is important to note that the recourse to community patterns of conflict resolution and mechanism of crime control is guided by extant norms.

At this junction therefore, it is imperative to appreciate the findings of Mawby (1999) as noted in chapter three of this study. Bringing the contention of Mawby (1999) to perspective, the government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain provides one of the best policing services in the world. Despite this, upon some levels of community distrusts on the UK State Police, a community-based system of policing has remained the preferred policing option, and significant characteristics among the members of the Jersey community in the British Isles. According to Mawby (1999), the Jersey community has a population of eighty thousand inhabitants and this demographic feature has significantly placed the Jersey community as the largest of the entire Channel Islands in Britain. As earlier stated, the community-based Honorary Police volunteers out-numbered the paid police as at the year 1996. In terms of organisational structure, the volunteers operate directly under the control of the Anthony General and this has facilitated cordial relationship between the police and the Jersey community in terms of accountability and governance in this part of the British Islands. This

is in accordance with the 1974 Police Force (Jersey) Law that created the legal framework for the police system currently in use (Mawby, 1999).

The central point to note in this context is that there are native laws and customs, reflected in the form of age grade systems, religion, values and mores. Furthermore, there are other socio-cultural exigencies of various societies that have predated amalgamation of Nigeria as a politically independent country. Although police is being recognised as the constitutionally mandated organisation to enforce the laws of the country, police as it is in Nigeria is viewed by members of public as an alien institution and does not represent the true culture of the people. According to perspectives of community participants, there are beliefs among the people suggesting that those conventional laws adopted by the Nigeria Police Force in modern sense, are typically of British origin, and did not recognise African/Nigeria traditional perspectives of law enforcement. Resorting to police by community members becomes necessary only when there are noticed legal implications perceived as a risk to the individual or group involved should the offence is not reported to the police in the first instance.

Although, the available literature has indicated that there have been emergence of informal community security outfits and vigilante groups such as Hisba, Egbesu, Oduduwa Peoples' Congress in the various parts of the country, such emergence was predicated on community outcry for policing alternatives in view of prevailing increase of crime problem in the country. Apart from the beliefs among community members that the emergence was as a result of police inability to cope with the rising level of crime, this was also regarded as reflections of the relative potency of these indigenous policing structures in Nigeria. In the context of this qualitative study, empirical evidence suggested that the emergence of informal security outfits clearly reflected the parallel recognition and appreciation of indigenous mechanism of policing in the context of pre-colonial Nigeria. The provision of constitution of the Federal

Republic of Nigeria does not share this range of powers of the police with any community security institutions in Nigeria and by implication does not have a share in the traditional philosophy of policing and social control as believed and practiced by the native people.

In this case, informal security organisation can function under close monitoring of the police in Nigeria. Some of the perceived police/community variations in operational mechanisms are believed to have created negative impression on police by members of public thereby affecting the patterns of relationship necessary to achieve police/community partnership in Nigeria. The dilemma then lays in the fact that police/community relationship patterns to support community policing best practices require harmonisation of police and community cultures. The required police/community collaboration and partnership can only be achieved provided that both cultural realms do not exist at parallels but have a share of methodological philosophies of policing in Nigeria. In whatever form however, a number of actions and inactions of these informal policing institutions have been however regarded as pre-judicial, crude, and uncivilised and are not tenable in the realm of the conventional law of contemporary Nigeria.

### **8.3.3 Corruption as a factor**

Community participants' views in the focus group and individual contexts have indicated that police are corrupt and unreliable. The corrupt attitudes of the police are believed to have affected negatively their sense of professional conduct and community confidence level in the police in terms of ability to meet up with crime control mandate. A clear instance is the community beliefs that police are fond of leaking the identity of informants to criminals'. It is common among police officers that bribes are sometimes demanded from crime suspects' thereby compromising standard and fairness in the system of criminal justice in Nigeria. Although police participants are unanimous in their views in relation to the impact of

corruption on policing in Nigeria, police perspectives have moved a step further to identify its internal and societal dimensions.

According to police officers' view, apart from the corrupt attitudes of some officers which are believed to have impacted negatively on police image, officers of the Nigeria police force are being confronted with a number of corruption-related challenges in the police organisation. In this context, corruption activities among the police are in the form of extortions and demand of monies and other valuables such as sex in the case of females, property from crime suspects, motorists and other members of public, mostly as gratifications for compromise. This corruption are in strong terms exemplified by destroying of tangible evidence by police in order to frustrate and reduce potency of prosecutions of crime suspect at the law court, and leaking of vital information to suspected criminals. Even as police corruption has taken a slogan as representing police undoing in Nigeria, police officers have perceived this kind of police corruption as part of their internal problems.

Further to this is the community beliefs that corruption also underlines some situational attitudes of the police. First of all, it is a common place knowledge shared among participants that police are brutally violent in attitudes and that crime suspects are interrogated under duress without recourse to fundamental human rights of citizens. The police participants are of the view that minimal level of force is required to achieve confessions of criminal suspects because of the peculiar nature of criminal law enforcement system in Nigeria. According to the view, some offences such as rape are difficult to prosecute so needed a kind of special mode of interrogation to get results necessary for prosecutions at the court of law. Although colonial policing legacies suggestive of the police institution used by British as army of occupation are believed to have influenced the police operational methods, the perceived brutal attitudes of the police have a range of connections with corruption. There are

community perceptions reflecting police brutal attitude as instruments to instil fear in the minds of public members in order to achieve corrupt-related gratifications such as money and sex in return so to avoid inhuman treatment.

In a related development, the participating police officers perceptions also suggested that political class and those considered as highly influential citizens as well, due to lack of institutional independence of police organisation, are in the habit of using their position to take on the police as instrument to demonstrate their status, to intimidate perceived enemies or political opponents. Consequently, the perceived police corruption and maltreatment of community members in the hands of police have a number of implications in terms of the kind of meaning police officers attach to community policing. Police officers believe that police operations are being regulated by laws and conventions which are at times at variance with some of the operational methods adopted by community security institutions. In the light of this qualitative study, this socio-cultural scenario has little or no direct connection to community perceptions of police corruption or brutal attitude. Instead, the perception of police-corruption and other believed negative attitudes of the police have only reinforced and consolidate this set of beliefs among community members.

#### **8.3.4 Logistics and working conditions**

Another important point worth-noting is the lack of welfare to take care of police personnel and logistics to handle sophisticated crime issues and this issue was hugely of concern to the police participants in the study. These problems, according to the perspectives of police participants, have affected police motivations and by extension the corresponding response to solve community's crime problems. This has been identified as being partly responsible for the trust gap in police/community relationship patterns in Nigeria. On the basis of what the police officers' views have indicated, it can however be argued that in most cases corruption



is directly and indirectly connected to inadequate provision of police welfare packages and logistics.

Lack of adequate logistics to ensure optimum police performance is not necessarily just because these issues are not being addressed in the police budget, but that at the various points of implementation the problems of corruption have at every stage set in, most especially at the echelon of the organisation and political realm as well. Empirical evidence has suggested that police officers are exposed to career hazards internally on account of corrupt attitudes of their superiors and colleagues alike, as salary delays and at times salary non-payment, non-merit based recruitments exercises carried out by the police institutions, non-payment of allowances and other entitlements, denial of promotions, accommodation and other logistics problems are directly and indirectly connected to police corruption in Nigeria.

In addition, officers were also of the view that perception of police corruption is a reflection of corruption in Nigeria as a nation. On the basis of claims among police participants, community members are fond of corruptly influencing the police in order to evade justice.

### **8.3 Core issues**

Despite the community policing policy initiative as overseen by the UK-DFID in Nigeria in 2002/3 with the aim to foster police-community partnership in the country, the communication gap between the community and police is still real. This gap in communication has assumed a life-threatening dimension and is impacting negatively on police/community collaboration to achieve crime reduction in Nigeria. The feelings of participants are reflective of high perceptions of crime problem in the study area. Insurgency, armed robbery, kidnapping, corruptions and domestic and other forms of violent crimes are believed to be common. There is relative lack of trust and confidence in the police by

members of public. The community and police attested to the fact that more often than not, community members have not demonstrated willingness to volunteer by giving useful information to the police for crime prevention and control. To add credence to this, community even prefers resorting to the traditional avenues and other forms of informal policing believed to be indigenous institutions for security provisions. Noteworthy is the vigilantes and other forms of community security support institutions prevalent in the country. In most cases, community resort to going to the police for assistance, could be for the reason that police enjoys constitutional or statutory powers when it comes to issue that borders on internal security of the nation.

The prevailing family norms and values have hindered the victims of certain kinds of offending behaviours such as domestic/family violence and other issues considered as community matters from bringing the case to the door step of police. Membership of community-based institutions such as Mosque, Church, ethnic groups, gender, class, cult, political party, professional bodies alike have been used as a platform to compromise and evade justice. Furthermore, it is regarded as taboo in very strong terms among members of the community to report family members and other close relations to the police; instead the matter is preferably handled by the traditional or family institutions of policing and social control. However, this scenario has compromised the position of conventional law and its associated system of punishment in Nigeria. All these factors are hardly considered at the time of enacting any law to curb any offending behaviour, not to talk of policing or enforcing it. There is overwhelming evidence indicating community feelings of inefficiency about the police in Nigeria. Based on the findings on the basis of community claims, the police personnel are believed to be inefficient, unreliable and cannot be trusted.

However, there are cases of police perceptions suggestive of inadequate facility to train recruits and serving police officers as well, in line with police prescriptions and standard. Apart from this, the inadequate welfare packages to motivate officers of the force are also identified as one of the major hurdles against police performance. Police believed that poor logistics have negatively affected response rate to solve crime problem.

As against the beliefs that the refusal of the public to give useful information to the police was hinged on the perceived negative attitudes of the police, there are other strong socio-cultural factors. There are crime cases such as rape that carry with it some feelings of stigmatization most especially if such a case is reported to the public or police. In such circumstance, the family of the victim(s) or even the victim(s) hardly goes to the police for the fear of giving it public attention. In this case, this has little or nothing to do with behavioural disposition of the police.

The feelings of the participants were suggestive of the fact that the police are seen as agents of colonialism and government. People tend to be more comfortable with the traditional mode of 'doing things'. The pre-colonial policing experiences have shaped the minds of public against the police in Nigeria. The perceived weakness of the police among community members of today might have contributed immensely in reinforcing this tendency forth-with. Consequently, such situation creates mutual suspicion between the police and community members. Although during colonialism in Nigeria there were areas of strengths and weaknesses of policing pattern in place, little or no effort was made at integrating the values and norms of the natives into the colonial policing system. The perceived failure of the stakeholders of policing in Nigeria to integrate parallel world views in policing accounted for the communication gap between the members of community and the police.

Furthermore, there are community perceptions indicating that the police in Nigeria are corrupt. According to this range of perceptions, police are believed to be corruptly leaking security information to criminals who also enjoy good friendship with the police officers. In addition, there are tendencies that police's professional ethics are compromised for monetary and/or other form of gratifications. There are cases of corrupt and faulty recruitment procedures in the system of policing which have at various instances encouraged hiring of 'bad eggs' into the police personnel in Nigeria. However, corruption according to the views of police participants has become a risk factor negatively influencing activities of policing in Nigeria. However, there are police perceptions that have suggested that in addition to the perceptions of corrupt attitudes of police officers in their relationship with the Nigeria public, it is also an internal problem. In a related development, while the introduction of community policing is perceived among police officers as a ploy to 'weakening' tenets of the profession, it has been viewed as a veritable platform only to attend courses and other related meetings abroad but not implementation. While the government has seen the introduction of the project as only a strategy to achieve recognition and funding support from international donors, as evident in the lack of sufficient political will in favour of its implementation, police officers have perceived community policing as a potential threat to their 'own way' of doing things, as this could serve as means of policing the police after all. Further to these, police views have suggested that corruption in the police organisation reflects what happens in the larger society as even members of the public are not completely left out of blame.

Again, police officers were consistent in identifying lack of logistics and welfare issues as one of the risk factors largely responsible for their inefficiency, which in turn has partly accounted for perception of low confidence level in police by the public. Even though this lack of logistics claim can be taken merely as the usual and popular excuse for non-performance among personnel of not only the police but of other institutions across professions, in as much

as it should not be seen as ground design to undermine the importance of logistics in policing. A clear demonstration of this is that despite of budgetary provisions to cater for logistics over the years, most of the so called budgetary provisions for the police have not been implemented. There are cases whereby budgetary provision for a number of welfare packages, training opportunities for police officers and other vital logistics necessary for best practices have suffered setbacks and a host of other internal challenges in police organisation as a result of corruption.

The community expected the police to be alive to their constitutional responsibilities of ensuring that crime problems are being prevented and controlled. However, the police are believed to be capable of being professional if there is much needed cooperation from the community members in terms of making information available to the police. This is in addition to the much needed forms of logistics supports such as equipment and police personnel welfare that are considered necessary for crime investigation and patrol activities. There are instances of police engagements at the various international peace keeping operation of which the Nigeria police personnel were believed to have excelled. On the basis of this perception, such operational excellence was believably informed by professional conduct of activities devoid of corruption at the international arena. Those at the level of nation's governance are being accused of corruption as well as culture of impunity. Incidentally, the control of policing system is also in the hands of the people believed to be in government and this tends to worsen the situation. This also suggests that doing justice to the incidences of corruption within the police organisation without at the same time providing solution to the problem of corruption at the societal realm would likely not yield the desired result.

Other notable factors in the view of community participants are the tendencies of the police for brutality/culture of violence and lack of respect for fundamental human rights of the citizens. This range of attitudes is believed to have developed from colonial experience of policing and the periods of military incursion in Nigeria political history. However, the police instead did not see the issue of brutality from such perspectives. It is viewed, according to the police participants, that every individual crime suspect requires minimal use of force to achieve confessions necessary to effect prosecution at the court of law. Police participants were also of the view that corruption remains one of the main risk factors in the activities of military style of policing in Nigeria. For instance, there are community beliefs reflecting that police have resorted to adopting instrument of coercion to enforce confessions from crime suspects without recourse to the need to respect fundamental human rights of the citizens. The perceived coercive and brutal methods of policing in Nigeria as previously stated have been largely attributed to impact of the hitherto British colonial style of policing. This implied that the police institutions were used as instruments to militarily subjugate indigenes against any perceived resistance.

Directly connected to this is the impact of successive military interventions in the governance of Nigeria as a politically independent country, in which there was an overwhelming neglect of the police and other corresponding democratic institutions over those periods. However, on the basis of empirical evidence, apart from the afore-mentioned risk factors, there are indications to also suggest that violent culture among police officers partly have corruption-related motivations. This is evident as some of the perpetrating police officers use violence as a means to achieve extortions from the public. The same point of argument indicates that contrary to what community participants perceive as brutality and culture of violence on the part of police, police make use of 'minimal level of force' to achieve confessions from 'notorious' criminals because of the peculiar nature of law enforcement situation in Nigeria.

#### 8.4 Community suggestions to solve problem

Having reflected on the claims on the basis of what community respondents have perceived, it is therefore imperative to access the feelings of community participants in terms of the likely suggestions in solving these problems. These suggestions, which in the thinking, are community conditions in the probable trust negotiations for an enduring sense of cordiality in the relationships with police which may be necessary to produce a better policing for Nigeria. Obviously, all the participants share a range of feelings that the police should be transformed to embrace improved community relations and culture of service. They equally support the idea that such a transformation cannot be achieved unless there are provisions of logistics, equipment, and sustainable welfare packages for the personnel and other necessary working conditions. Apart from these, government should try as much as possible to give the police more sense of autonomy to carry out its duty without much interference. The control system of the security institution should be made less cumbersome than it is currently structured to give room for the use of discretions and professionalism.

During recruitment, the police should consider morals and educational qualifications rather than on share favouritism and money which are in vogue. There is a dilemma in the preference for relative autonomy for the police. The president of the country carry out appointment of the Inspector General of Police of the federation and since the office of the president is purely an elective one; he/she by virtue of the constitutional provisions is a politician, and the leader of a political party. If the president has the power to appoint and remove the operational head of the police, being the chief security officer of the country, definitely, the tendencies to use the institution to his/her advantage could be rife. The question of ensuring better relationships among the stakeholders in the security sector may be a main challenge. Uyidu observes:

As a matter of fact, because of the constitutional provisions that have assigned security matters to the police in Nigeria, we have no alternative than to work with them. The community leaders, vigilante groups and other stakeholders in the society, let us show understanding, there is need to work and cooperate with the police. Let us concentrate on issues that unite us and lay less emphasis on issues that divide us. Understanding among those two groups would enhance better performance. There are problems which the police as an organization used to face....Government do not give them (referring to the police) free hand to operate. Part of their problems is government. There should be free hand. People that should be recruited into the police should be credible, knowledgeable enough and trusted. There must be people that are trustworthy. There should be funding of the police in Nigeria. For example, there was a case of armed robbery incidence about fifteen kilometres from Ankpa, the police, on getting the information only realized that they had no serviceable vehicle, no enough fuel for their car and there are no enough personnel to carry out their job. Before you can blame somebody for not performing well, give him/her all that is required by the job. Naturally, in African society, there is this land dispute, chieftaincy tussles in most cases inherited from their respective forefathers. These are issues that can cause tussles. At times, there could be a particular lady which a particular police officer may be interested in and a member of community may also be interested, these are issues that bring about conflict of interest between the police and community members. Leadership positions, women, land, chieftaincy struggle etc. These are issues to contend with (Interview transcripts, October, 2013, 55, male community member)

Community members have suggested that government should give the police sufficient equipment and the freedom to carry out their constitutional duties without undue interference. According to this view, ability of the police to perform is a function of giving the institution enough support by not only funding it but should ensure that the right calibre of people with integrity, academic competence is recruited into the system. In addition to these, it has also been suggested that:

I suggest that the community should be sensitised in favour of taking the police as part and parcel of the community system. The police should not be perceived as mutual enemy of the community. I want to believe that the brutal attitude of the police in the past had created a sense of negative prejudice in the minds of the community against the police. The police on their own part should as a matter of necessity stop all manners of behaviour that is presenting them in a negative way before members of the public. The police should stop



corruptions and other forms of unethical conducts. The government in Nigeria should try as much as possible to fund the police in order to make policing effective. Apart from these, there should be in place a kind of improvement in police community relations to... (Focus group discussions transcripts, 2013; 32; female community member)

A sense of mutual cooperation between the police and community, as viewed by the participant above is based on positive awareness of the process in the perception by the community members in seeing the police officers as part of them. This possible through sensitisation programme and other relevant community based advocacies. Similar campaign should be launched for police officers so they can be aware of the negative implications of their brutal and corrupt attitudes, among which is putting the police image in bad light.

Evidence of community perceptions suggested the need for a complete decentralisation of police organisation. This is taken as the underlining philosophy behind what is needed for a smooth running of policing business concerned to address crime in Nigeria. However, considering the nature of Nigeria social environment where average citizens have demonstrated shared immaturity in handling issues that border on trust, decentralising the police will subjects the organisation to the whims and caprices of those who are power drunk at the grassroots level. The issue at hand is how to negotiate workable trust in the relationships among the stake holders for the practice of community policing project in Nigeria. As it is, decentralisation of police operations is one of the major cardinal points of the community policing policy as entrenched at the level of its origins in the USA and the UK. However, considering the peculiar socio-cultural contexts under which it has to operate, as it was stated earlier, going into such a venture may have boomeranging effects on the vulnerable population in Nigeria. The popular fear is that governments at the lower levels may use the police as tools to harass the perceived enemies in the society. What remains sacrosanct is bringing the machineries of policing to the door step of the community where security

issues of the community can be handled collaboratively. This would promote confidence-building and security among the stakeholders involved. Moreover, such an arrangement can assist the police in identifying crime history of a good number of family units in the community since it is much easier for the community members to be familiar with what happens at what time and under which circumstance. According to Ralisi:

It depends on the introduction of state police and community policing so that policing is brought to the door step of the people of the community. Like the people of Ankpa use to have a proverb that you do not expect a stranger to know your environment more than yourself. The estranged police officer is using 10 years to study the environment; crimes must have already been committed. But if it is somebody within this community, he/she can take up the responsibility of preventing and controlling crime. Community is about communal living..... The fear of this is that 'this is the son/daughter of this person' would deter everybody from committing crime. It has to do with protecting the image of the family. The issue of one coming from far brings about perpetual fear and mutual suspicion. There are cases where a known criminal from a community goes to another community to enlist into police job. There are no records of the person involved. Criminals are recruited. The criteria for enlisting in police are, educational qualification, height, be of Nigerian origin etc., no emphasis on criminal records because there are no records anywhere. The moral character is not given attention. There was a case in Lagos where a young police officer collected about two hundred dollars as bribe from someone. The dealings were unknowingly tape recorded by someone by their side may be a journalist. It was aired on the television and reported in some of the national dailies. It does not end there. A panel was set up by the police authority and the guy in question was dismissed. It was after the dismissal exercise that they got to know that the certificate the officer (dismissed) used to enlist into the force was not even his own. He had used the fake certificate for over twenty years. What kind of character should you expect from the person in question? Nigeria should move from colonial pattern of policing to community policing. Review the Nigeria Constitution to accommodate community policing and state police (Interview transcripts, 2014; 40, and male community member).

The Ralisi's contention is that localisation of policing would encourage police officers to have access to full knowledge of various backgrounds of individuals resident in a particular community in relation to the determination of criminal and moral records or otherwise. In the

face of police officers that are relatively strange to the operating environment can only result in low quality work since the cultural implications of crime-centred community behaviours cannot be understood in its proper context. This can be achieved by connecting the country's constitutional provisions to the cultural realities of the native population instead of the Colonial patterns currently in vogue. Above all, the need for the police to exhibit the service-oriented attitudes has been identified by the community participants as being salient for the cordiality of police/community relationship in Nigeria. Enegbani has this to say:

I am of the view that the police authority should try as much as possible to ensure that the job of policing is handled professionally. The issue of indiscriminate arrests of innocent citizens can send negative signals to the members of the public in a manner that prevent them from cooperating with the police. Another way of solving the problem is to avoid brutality of all kind. Members of the public should be treated in a relatively humane manner and with regards to fundamental human rights of the citizens. Community members should be made to feel saved in the hands of the police. The culture of service should be entrenched in the police organisation in Nigeria. The police should behave in a responsible and civil form without losing the ethics of their profession. There should be platform for improved police-community relations to reduce suspicious patterns of policing (Focus group discussions, 2014; 33, male community member)

Community perception of how community-based relationship by the police should be entrenched, as reflected in Enegbani's view is that police officers in Nigeria should adopt professionalism in their practice by avoiding mishandling of crime suspects in police custody. Respect of the individual's fundamental human right is crucial but without losing sight of the traditional standard and best practice. The police embrace of service culture is not in any way conterminous with softening the policing service but this was necessary in order to promote mutual understanding between the police and members of the public. The police in this light should see the community members as direct beneficiaries of their service while leaving the community with impression that police is for the community's security at all times. The

improvement of police's relationship with the community has huge contribution to the removal of inherent suspicion among the main stakeholders of the community policing implementation project in Nigeria.

....But the vigilante has proved more reliable if not that they operate with limitations. ..We are no longer friendly with the police. We organize vigilante to help the police. Police do frustrate our effort. They sabotage the effort of the community. When we need police intervention, police do come after the attack of robbers. Police are not mediating well between government and criminals. Brutality of police is illegal; police write a statement under duress without the consent of the suspect. If the police know their job without brutality, people would have liked the police. They allow some dubious members of the community to use them. The police should not be brutal in attitudes, so that people are not scared of them. The police should not allow people to use them abusively.....

(Focus group discussion transcripts, 2013, 42, and male community member)

## **8.5 Police Suggestions to Solve Problem**

The police participants in the focus group discussions and interviews sessions were unanimous in their enthusiasms in terms of readiness to offer a range of suggestions in order to solve problems. Despite of the prevailing relative ignorance of community policing concept among the police officers, they seemed to be exploiting their wealth of experience in the police job to make suggestions on how to attend to the issue on ground. What they have perceived as relatively sacrosanct is the need to form lasting and enduring synergy between the police and members of public so crime can be prevented and control. The police alone, regardless of any level of professional competences and even sophistication of equipment are not able to handle crime issues without full collaboration with the community. Their concerns reflect beliefs that members of the public in the community would be at an advantage in terms of the knowledge of the physical and socio-cultural environments most especially that some of the police personnel certainly do not have cultural affiliations with the community where they are serving. Cooperation of the community with the police brings about police awareness

of the records of the individual family units which can be a source of background check to determine previous attitudes towards crime. This range of suggestions may be valuable in the sense that the area of study have tended to lack statistics about the crime records of citizens to really identify dynamics in terms of crime prone-behaviours. Magaji Alfa's view is a reflection of this:

If there is cordial relationship between community and police, one would definitely expect true synergy for crime prevention and control. This is because police alone cannot do this thing alone. They must partner for good results. Community members know themselves more than the police, their norms, value system, culture and traditions etc. The police, most especially those of us that are not originally from here are not conversant to the terrain. However, community can cooperate with the police by giving information, about them. Some can even tell the police about background data of each family unit. For example, family 'A' has record of housing breaking, car theft etc. So if somebody from that family commits offence, police can trace the background easily because the data is already there (Interview transcripts, January, 2014; Police Officer, 55, male)

The responsibilities of the community members for ensuring improved police/community relationship have appeared one of the main concerns of the police officers that were engaged in the study. Accordingly, community members should be encouraged to volunteer information to the police for crime management and this, in his view can be achieved through effective socialization/orientation activities until such ideology becomes part and parcel of the society. The perceptions, under a group context indicate that because of the inherent community hatred for the police, they have tendencies to conceal information about crime suspects. In addition to these, the view also suggests that there is need to give the police adequate funding so as to cater for the necessary equipment-patrol vehicles, uniforms and other forms of welfare packages so that distress calls can be well addressed whenever the need arises. Ogumale therefore reports that:

The type of information for crime prevention should be given. Community should not beat up police officers. The restive attitude of the community against arresting police officer is not encouraging. The readiness to give

information should be inculcated to the minds of the community. They should stop conniving with them or concealing information as per identity of criminals in their midst. There should be adequate funding for the police in Nigeria. Provide patrol vehicles to combat crime. The common flag uniform, we have not seen them. Distress call can be attended to if we have enough equipment (Focus group discussions transcripts, December, 2013; Police officer, 23, male).

Based on the claims of what has been said, giving the police and community members the basic orientations about the ideology governing the kind of collaborative relationship that is capable of producing community safety. In addition, the provision of the kinds of equipment which are in line with the modern trend around the world is another action that has to be paid enough attention and the recruitment of more hands into the system to take care of over-stressing. The suggestion to make maximum use of the media and traditional institutions, as well as the internet facilities to stimulate awareness about the need for the community to forge mutual trust and solidarity in terms of relationship with the police and other security agencies to achieve crime cut for the benefit of the community as a whole. In the opinion expressed above emphasis should be laid on organizing conferences, seminars and workshops at the local, state and federal levels in order to inculcate the ideas of police/community partnership to the minds of the people including the police themselves. The opinion of Aminudu is another salient case to consider here:

My view about community policing is that we are lacking the necessary orientation. When people lack the orientation, there cannot achieve people oriented security. Nigeria Police Force should make it known to the public of the need to join hand with the police to control crime. Police is not working towards modern worlds. Even the present Inspector General of Police is trying, the equipment is not enough. There has been an over-stressing of police duties as a result of inadequate personnel in the organisation. The problem is not only about orientation but lack of confidence. Not everybody knows about community police among police officers not to talk about the community itself. Knowledge of community policing is necessary. Awareness campaign should be launched so the public are aware there is such department in the force. The Chiefs, Emirs and other traditional heads should call and educate their community members about the need to give information to police. Internet world, media houses, address of police websites should be updated regularly for public consumption about the

necessity for community policing in Nigeria. Annual Conferences for each Local Government Areas of the State should be organized by each of the Local Divisions (Focus group discussions transcripts, January, 2014; Police officer, 22, male).

There is also a perception which clearly indicates the need to foster a sense of understanding, unity and cooperation with the community members to achieve what is considered as positive results in terms of crime prevention and control. The community should try as much as possible so as not to take laws into their hands and that whenever there are issues of concern which might border on security; relevant police approvals or permits should be obtained. It is suggested that the community security support organisation can work hand in hand with the police in a way that crime suspects apprehended by them can be handed over to the police to handle in a more professional manner. Moreover, a situation where the criminals are fond of carrying arms and ammunitions that are much more superior than those that police are working with could instil fear and lack of confidence in the police, which might have a telling effect on the police response to crime or distress calls by members of public. Hence, a call is made on government and other stakeholders to really equip the police and at the same time giving attention to personnel recruitment. For instance, Yunus Jack was of opinion that:

There should be unity between the police and community. This is possible through understanding. The community should not take law into their hands. Issues of concern should receive approval of the police for proper handling of security issues. Through cooperation, we can learn from each other. The member of policemen here are not enough. Sometimes, they organize internal security, they hand over to us for prosecution. All of us are working together as a team. Federal government should recruit more people into the police force. At times, the robbers carry arms and ammunition that is more superior to the one police is carrying. So the federal government should consider equipping the police (Interview transcripts, January, 2014; Police Officer, 32, male)

Police officers were particularly more focussed on how to curb the issue of corruption in the system of policing in Nigeria. Corruption as one of the major challenges facing the police in Nigeria has been identified as a general problem of Nigeria. According to their suggestions,

the issue of corruption should be tackled from all fronts and with all available energy by the government and all other concerned institutions in the country. They support the current disposition of the Inspector General of Police on the issue of the removal of police road block on high ways. The politicians and other key players in leadership positions should allow the rule of law to prevail irrespective of whoever is involved. In addition, effort should be made towards rebranding the image of police by giving details to personnel management issues as prescribed by law. This also includes respecting the principles guiding the organisation and where there are issues of concern, the necessary reforms have to be put in place by authorities in order to achieve provisions of community safety and security. Ohiaclomen Ajasaya made an expression illustrative of these perceptions:

The problem with corruption is that it is a Nigeria problem. The society is corrupt and that is why the Nigeria police are corrupt. Everybody is busy condemning the police because the police supposed to be the chief guidance of the law. Police service is viewed as on behalf of the government and once there is a setback at that level, there is a tendency for concern. To solve the problem of corruption, the government should develop concern and sincerely deal with it headlong. The incumbent Inspector General of Police seems to be serious in the job of rebranding the image of the police. He has removed roadblocks and he is busy putting in place mechanisms to check the menace of corruption in the force. However, can he do it alone? Let rule of law must be allowed to prevail. The politicians are not helping matters in this regard (Interview transcripts, 2014 January, Police Officer, 44, male)

This view has indicated that though corruption has been identified as a wider problem of Nigeria society, police being the institution of law enforcement should be seen as government standard bearer. Police represent the image of government and should be treated as such regardless of the prevailing circumstance. This largely account for outrageous concern about any moral and attitudinal misdemeanours on the side of police in Nigeria. There is also an indication that in as much as everybody is calling for police correction, this feat cannot be achieved exclusively without the cooperation and support of every citizen and government of



Nigeria in terms of positive change of attitudes in view of the imperativeness of security and community safety concern.

## **8.6 Conclusion**

In this chapter, there has been discussion and analysis of contending risk factors in the relationship between the police and community in Nigeria. Notable among these risk factors are socio-cultural and informal institutions such as the family, ancestors' worships, and community network. Others are the impacts of corruption and how corruption has influenced perceptions of the various stakeholders in the scheme of things. In the context of this empirical study, suggestions of the community and police participants have also been discussed in the context of their respective perspectives. The next chapter shall be focused on recommendations and conclusion in the light of discussions of the findings as presented in previous sessions and chapters.

## **9.1 Chapter Nine: Conclusion and Recommendation**

### **9.2 Introduction**

The findings based on claims of the community and police participants have indicated that there was a range of mutual suggestions perceived to be capable of solving problems in terms of trust and capacity building among stakeholders in the Nigeria security project. Furthermore, the study has been able to draw on overall findings to suggest areas of concerns to enhance understanding of how to bring the police/community relationship under enduring pattern, as well as mutual readiness to ensure that successful implementation and practice of community policing for sustainable provision of security was achieved in Nigeria. Some of these suggestions reflect the need to pay attention to the following:

### **9.3 Recommendations**

In the light of theoretical and empirical evidence analysed and discussed above therefore, it suffices to state that the government and other relevant stakeholders of Nigeria security project adhere to the following suggestions. This is important in order to ensure that community policing strategy impacts positively in terms of crime prevention and community safety in Nigeria. These suggestions are:

There should be strong advocacies to integrate the indigenous policing mechanisms with the activities of conventional policing institutions. This range of advocacies suggested the integration of useful aspects of traditional institutions with the official security structures. This suggestion was necessary in order to promote the harmonisation of strategies to ensure the prevention and control crime as well as other instances of devastating conflicts in Nigeria. However, the modalities for its actualisation are not clear because the provisions of the

Nigeria police Acts and other relevant operational documents in Nigeria have not been created to give permission for an informal approach to police administration in the country. Consequently, the appreciation of the socio-cultural patterns of policing and social control of indigenous people provides community with the ability to cooperate in terms of giving useful information that would assist the police organisation in crime prevention and control.

There should be a political will on the part of government and other stakeholders to implement principles of community policing as a strategy to achieve crime cut in Nigeria. The necessary reforms to that effect should be carried out in a manner that it would become the general norms of policing in the country. Playing politics with community policing should be seen as trivializing issues which border on security of the nation. The existing curriculum in the various police training schools, police colleges and police academies should be redesigned, enhanced and tailored in tune with dictates of community policing philosophies and best practices across the world. Principles and practices of community policing should be included in the general and civic studies programmes and curricular of various universities, civil service personnel training programmes of various ministries and parastatals as well as other defence and security institutions in Nigeria. Other places worthy of inclusion in this regard are the curricular of colleges of education, polytechnics, mono-technics, secondary schools and colleges as well as primary school across the country.

This is for overall dissemination of this kind of policing ideology among the children, young people, youths, adults and the elders and other stakeholders of security project in Nigeria. There is need for the involvement of expertise on community policing in terms of world class research advocacies, to initiate, design and deliver the curriculum is vital in this regard. Through this approach, those serving in the police organization would have the exposure to the culture of service. This is in terms of regarding the community members as customers/consumers of security of which the police are providing as required by the ideology

of community policing. Such similar training gestures about community policing should also be extended to the community members most especially those involved in the community security support and other related civil society groups/youth organizations at the local and grassroots levels. This is to enable community members gain useful insights about the ideology and best practice of community policing while at the same time taking notes of socio-cultural peculiarities of their respective environments.

The government and other stakeholders should ensure full implementation of policies and programs that are focussed on community orientations that support community policing in the country. There should be serious campaign advocacies that tend to promote awareness among the populace in a way that would stimulate their beliefs that the police personnel are human beings like them. And that they are there to serve them in order to bring peace to the community. Whoever has lodge any complain to the police should be seen as somebody looking for peace and order and not pieces. The police personnel are being paid from the tax payer's money to serve the interest of the community. The police institution should be allowed to play its role in ensuring that an individual or groups of persons does/do not take the law into his or her hands. The total implementation of the principles of rule of law is vital to the practice of police/community collaboration as a strategy of policing crime in Nigeria. This is because it is one of the best ways to improve confidence levels among community members on police personnel.

I suggest government should adequately equip the police personnel in terms of funding to cater for welfare issues, logistics, training and other emoluments which may be capable of enhancing the morale of police personnel for effective performance of police duties. The salaries and other welfare issues of the police should be adequately reviewed and taken care of at all times. There should be an improved relationship between the police and the

community they are serving for maximum information flows. Community members should evolve a sense of security consciousness through awareness creation so they are able to detect people with questionable characters in their midst and make necessary report to the police authorities regardless of the family closeness and community network so crime can be prevented and controlled. The way forward requires that there should be drastic restoration of good governance at all levels of the society through better poverty alleviation schemes. Government should find a way of improving the living standard of the police so that people would feel secured in the environment. There should be enhanced and sustainable institutionalization of zero tolerance for corruption in the society and in the system of police force in Nigeria. Police should guard against corruption through discipline by the Inspector General of Police and at the various police hierarchies. There should be enabling committee or taskforce to monitor activities in the police organization.

Parents should imbibe their wards with the tenets of societal core values of integrity, honesty and patriotism at the family levels while taking their children to school to prepare them for a responsible life in the future. There should be a sense of cooperation of the police with vigilante or other community security support groups in the various communities in Nigeria. This is in recognition of the fact that without such kind of cooperation, criminals cannot be located since the criminals are also members of their various communities. There should be a decentralisation of the police organisation in Nigeria to give room for local participations and to carry out an all-round reform that would allow implementation of community based policing. Civil society groups and other credible stakeholders in the nation's security system should be well represented in the control of the Nigeria police rather than concentrating the controlling resources only in the hands of government. The mechanism for checks and balances should be well entrenched to avoid the security apparatus being an instrument for abuse. Strict observation of the rule of law and impartial enforcement by the police and other

security authorities are supposed to be the conventional ways of institutionalising mutual trust between the police and the community they are constitutionally meant to serve.

## 9.4 Conclusion

The premise of this study is on the perception of crime problem and the ‘police-public divide’ in Nigeria. Against this background, the UK-Department for International Development, in conjunction with the government has brought about the community policing policy initiatives in 2002/3. Despite a decade of its implementation and in view of the perception of security condition in Nigeria, the desired crime prevention and community safety have not been achieved. The essence of this study is to examine the impact of this initiative and the meaning attached to the philosophy of community policing in Nigeria. Also to be examined is the police/community relationship structures and risk factors as held by the police officers and community members who are the stakeholders of community policing project in Nigeria. In the course of the research, attempts were made to review the relevant literatures on the notable concepts such as policing, community, and community policing. In addition, literatures on the historical perspectives of policing in Nigeria, functions, organisations of the Nigeria Police Force, the contemporary social problems facing policing and the community policing policy transfer in Nigeria have also been reviewed. The data drawn on come from qualitative study in which focus group discussions and interviews were used to engage the police and community participants in Kogi State of north-central Nigeria to access their respective views and perspectives.

As the data have illustrated in the previous sessions, my findings are that there is communication gap between the police and community in Nigeria and that there are far reaching implications of the gap on the community policing policy transfer in Nigeria. First,

the communication gap is on account of the prevailing norms, family values, traditions, community network on account of religion, marriage, and occult beliefs. Further to these are other cultural impediments-patriarchy and stigmatisation within the context of beliefs system strongly practiced among the indigenous people. Based on this range of perceptions, community concept of community policing revolved around conducting policing activities preferably within themselves instead of reporting crime situation to the conventional police officers. Second is the concern that members of the public do not trust the police in Nigeria on account of huge perception of corruption. Consequently, the community are not showing readiness to cooperate with the police in terms of giving useful information that is capable of solving the problem of crime in the area. The far reaching implication of this development is that community policing policy that has been introduced in Nigeria in recent times is likely to suffer a fundamental setback.

There are suggestions offered as some of the conditions for meaningful ‘marriage of cultures’ between the police and community in Nigeria. The suggestions to solve problem were in the context of the study’s available theoretical and empirical evidences. These probable solutions ranged from strong and well-coordinated improved police community relations, welfare and provisions of logistics for the police and drastic stoppage of their corrupt tendencies. Others are sensitizing the community to improve their awareness of the urgent need to cooperate with the police, removal of multiple leadership and control structures and decentralization of police operations in line with the principles and practices of community policing and democratic form of policing. This is in line with the community-based policing institutions among the Jersey community of the British Isles. Introduction of culture of service in the police formations in this context is very crucial. Community perceptions of the culture of service as one of the necessary tools for the sustenance of this project in terms of trust building in police/community relationship would be determined by a situation where members of the

public are seen as partners in progress by the police. It goes on to imply that community security is regarded as the primary essence of police institution which deserve a measure of respect and fair treatment. As it is, the police's adoption of human right principles in their professional conduct with the citizenry is a function of enabling socio-legal frame work and a range of corresponding training components with which the police officers and personnel were exposed to. The community perceptions on the need for improvement in the police/community relationship may be of huge benefit as one of probable suggestions to solve problem relating to communication and trust gaps.

However, such fit can be achieved on condition that the enabling platform is created by the government and other concerned authorities through emergence and sustenance of relevant institutional mechanisms to that effect. However, the extent to which the stakeholders in the security sector respond to the community perceptions as regard the need for improved relationship between the police and community remains to be sorted out. This is a pointer to the core issue that has to do with promoting the culture of service in the context of policing and police/community relation in Nigeria. The culture of service in the context of Nigeria could mean a situation where by the police take community members as potential consumers of their service, manifested in terms of provision of community safety and security. Hence, community satisfactions, most especially in the area of police duties should be the primary concern of the police organisation.

This is achievable through adoption of a conducive and relevant management technique and customer service approach to crime prevention and control issues. In this case, this could endear police personnel to the heart of the community which they stand to serve. It is therefore hoped that this study has contributed to the development of knowledge in relation to community policing in Nigeria and the wider policy transfer debates in the context of



community policing. The basic understanding of the enabling socio-cultural, political contexts and the required economy for the practice of community policing policy in Nigeria can better served with enabling information and that is exactly what this study has strived to provide. It should be noted however that if the transition from philosophy to operational practice is to be achieved, fundamental transformations are required in the operational structure and culture of the police organisation in Nigeria. This, of course could underscore the fact that any research or academic exploration that would bring about a culture that would support the implementation of community policing in Nigeria would not have come at a better time.

## **9.5 Implications for further research**

On the basis of this study, empirical data were obtained from Kogi State in the North Central region/zone, which is one of the thirty- six States and the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria. Given the time and financial constraints, it was the original intention of the researcher to include some States from other geo-political zones-North-East, North-West, South-West, South-South and South-East of the country for a broader coverage of the population. Consequently, the composition of this research in terms of sampling methods adopted could be a matter of contention as to whether or not there is possibility of reliance on the outcome of findings based on these data as basis for generalisation. The police and community participants were mainly of the middle class category at the expense of the lower and upper class of the society. Hence the sides of police chiefs and their counterparts in the community were not adequately explored to give this research a much wider outlook. Further to these is that crimes and criminalities are of various forms, dimensions and contexts which are mostly determined by different socio-cultural, economic and political factors. It is also worthy of note that the police and community dispositions in relation to collaboration and their mutual approaches are informed by the seriousness in terms of impact of a particular form of crime.

For example, community's degree of willingness to report cases of armed robbery, kidnapping or Boko Haram insurgency to the police could be much more different from cases of domestic rape involving spouses. So understanding the peculiar history, nature and risk factors of a particular type or form of crime is important in determining the best form of police and community partnership approach for the prevention and control of crime in Nigeria.

Nevertheless, it is obviously too soon to contest the validity of these data since the findings are also in line with and clearly reflected the scant criminological literature so far reviewed on the subject. By the way, given that there is possibility of test-running these findings in the light of future empirical study of similar nature. In other words, the analysis of the data brings about the findings under reference above and a range of recommendations have been brought to bear based on these findings. It is therefore hoped that the implementation of these recommendations is likely to restore the much needed trust in the police/community relationships. By extension, this study will promote understanding among stakeholders in the community policing project for the prevention and control of crime in Nigeria. The study has the potential to influence policy decisions and also stimulate further research in the area of community policing as it affects Nigeria, other developing and developed nations of the world and policing studies generally.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Participant Information Sheet

This will be translated into local dialect for the participant as appropriate.

**1 Title of study: 'Community policing for crime prevention and control in Nigeria: A case study of Kogi State'**

**2. Version 6, 09/09/13**

**3. Invitation:** You are being asked to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether to participate, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take the time to read the following information carefully and feel free to ask me if you would like more information or if there is anything that you do not understand. You do not have to accept this invitation and should only agree to take part if you want to.

**4. What is the purpose of the study?** My name is Aminu Musa Audu. I am a second year PhD candidate in the Department of Sociology, Social Policy and Criminology of the School of Law and

Social Justice, University of Liverpool. I am interested in talking to you about your views on community policing in your local area as part of my fieldwork for my PhD.

My research is concerned with how community policing may or may not work in Nigeria. I am particularly interested in finding out about the kinds of conditions under which it might work so am keen to understand what your experiences of policing look like and how they might be improved.

### **5. Why have I been chosen to take part?**

I want to have a firsthand understanding of the view, opinions and experiences of community policing through the views of the people themselves. So as an important member of your community I am interested in hearing about your experiences of community policing, how it works, and what contribution this kind of policy might make to crime prevention.

### **6. Do I have to take part?**

No, taking part in the research is voluntary. Your decision to take part in the research is purely your decision. You can withdraw at any stage of the research without explanation. Any data you have supplied will be destroyed at your request but if you withdraw after data has been anonymised you cannot request that your data be destroyed.

### **7. What will happen if I take part?**

I will ask you to take part in a one-to-one interview with the researcher, which will last approximately 40 minutes, or in a focus group led by the researcher with 6 or 7 others who have chosen to participate. A focus group is a group discussion of topics guided by the researcher. The one-to-one interviews will take place at a site convenient to you and of your choosing (e.g. your workplace or home, a community centre or other public place) and, for the focus groups, they too will be locally convenient (e.g. a community centre). The information from the interviews will be collected either by the use of

audio device (tape/digital recorder) or field notes, depending on your choice. The focus groups will be audio taped.

## **8. Expenses and Payments**

Transportation expenses will be reimbursed and light refreshments shall be provided for the participants spending up to an hour in the discussion.

## **9. Are there any risks in taking part?**

If you disclose serious criminal activities your confidentiality may not be assured. You will *not* be asked to divulge such information in the course of the interview or focus group, but you should be aware that offers of confidentiality may, under certain circumstances, be overridden by law if you volunteer such information. I shall inform you about this should this become necessary.

## **10. Are there any benefits in taking part?**

The potential benefits of this research are greater understanding of the implementation problems associated with community policing, which may influence policy and practice.

## **11. What if I am unhappy or if there is a problem?**

If you are unhappy, or have any problems in relation to this research please feel free to let us know by contacting Aminu Audu (Aminu.Audu@liverpool.ac.uk/aminu9@gmail.com or telephone +2348077523711) or Professor Sandra Walklate (S.L.Walklate@liverpool.ac.uk) and we shall make every effort to help you. If you remain unhappy, or have a complaint which you feel you cannot come to us with, then you should contact the Research Governance Officer at [ethics@liv.ac.uk](mailto:ethics@liv.ac.uk). When contacting the Research Governance Officer, please provide details of the name or description of the study (so that it can be identified), the researcher(s) involved, and the details of the complaint you wish to make.

## **12. Will my participation be kept confidential?**

The data you provide as a participant in this research will be confidential and used for the purpose of the research only. Your identity will not be disclosed in the final transcripts, in the PhD thesis or in publications that might arise from it (the information you give will be anonymised). The information you provide will be accessed by the researcher and the supervisory team only; it will not be disclosed to third parties. The tapes will be transcribed and the tapes destroyed. The transcripts will be stored securely on a password protected PC in line with the principles of confidentiality and according to the provisions of Section 37 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 and the United Kingdom Data Protection Act 1998 and will be disposed of in a secure manner in January 2018.

Confidentiality may not always be assured in instances where serious criminal activities are disclosed.

## **13. What will happen to the results of the study?**

The results will be used as part of my PhD thesis and may be used for publications after its completion. You will not be identifiable in the results of this study.

## **14. What will happen if I want to stop taking part?**

You can withdraw at any time, without explanation. Any data you have provided up to your withdrawal may be used, if you are happy with this. Otherwise you may request that the information you have given is destroyed and no further use is made of the data you have provided. Once the data has been anonymised it will not be possible to withdraw the information you have provided.

## **15. Who can I contact if I have further questions?**

Aminu Musa Audu

Address: Department of Sociology, Social Policy and Criminology

Room 1.19, Eleanor Rathbone Building

Bedford Street South,

Liverpool L69 7ZA

Email Address: Aminu.Audu@liverpool.ac.uk / aminuaudu9@gmail.com

Telephone Number(s): +447774 934 733(UK); +2348077523711(Nigeria)

**Thank you for reading this.**

## Appendix 2: Code of Ethics

### **Code of Ethics for Researchers in the Field of Criminology**

The purpose of this Code is to offer some guidance to researchers in the field of criminology in keeping with the aims of the Society to value and promote the highest ethical standards in criminological research. The Code of Practice is intended to promote and support good practice. Members should read the Code in the light of any other Professional Ethical Guidelines or Codes of Practice to which they are subject, including those issued by individual academic institutions and by the ESRC (see Further Information section below).

The guidelines do not provide a prescription for the resolution of choices or dilemmas surrounding professional conduct in specific circumstances. They provide a framework of principles to assist the choices and decisions which have to be made also with regard to the principles, values and interests of all those involved in a particular situation. Membership of the British Society of Criminology is taken to imply acceptance of these general principles and the need to be aware of ethical issues and issues regarding professional conduct that may arise in people's work.

The British Society of Criminology's general principle is that researchers should ensure that research is undertaken to the highest possible methodological standard and the highest quality in order that maximum possible knowledge and benefits accrue to society.

#### **1. General Responsibilities**

Researchers in the field of criminology should endeavour to:

- i) advance knowledge about criminological issues;
- ii) identify and seek to ameliorate factors which restrict the development of their professional competence and integrity;
- iii) seek appropriate experience or training to improve their professional competence, and identify and deal with any factors which threaten to restrict their professional integrity;
- iv) refrain from laying claim, directly or indirectly, to expertise in areas of criminology which they do not have;

- v) take all reasonable steps to ensure that their qualifications, capabilities or views are not misrepresented by others;
- vi) correct any misrepresentations and adopt the highest standards in all their professional relationships with institutions and colleagues whatever their status;
- vii) respect their various responsibilities as outlined in the rest of this document; viii) keep up to date with ethical and methodological issues in the field, for example by reading research monographs and participating in training events (see Further Information section below);
- ix) check the reliability of their sources of information, in particular when using the internet.

## **2. Responsibilities of Researchers Towards the Discipline of Criminology**

Researchers have a general duty to promote the advancement and dissemination of knowledge, to protect intellectual and professional freedom, and therefore to promote a working environment and professional relationships conducive to these. More specifically, researchers should promote free and independent inquiry into criminological matters and unrestricted dissemination of criminological knowledge. As part of this, researchers should endeavour to avoid contractual conditions that limit academic integrity or freedom. Researchers should endeavour to ensure that the methodology employed and the research findings are open for discussion and peer review.

## **3. Researchers' Responsibilities to Colleagues**

Researchers should:

- i) recognise fully the contribution to the research of junior colleagues and avoid exploitation of them. (For example, reports and publications emanating from research should follow the convention of listing contributors in alphabetical order unless one has contributed more than the other(s));
- ii) actively promote the professional development of research staff by ensuring that staff receive the appropriate training and support and protection in research environments which may jeopardise their physical and/or emotional well-being;



iii) not claim work of others as their own; the use of others' ideas and research materials should be cited at all times, whatever their status and regardless of the status of the ideas or materials (e.g. even if in draft form);

iv) promote equal opportunity in all aspects of their professional work and actively seek to avoid discriminatory behaviour. This includes a moral obligation to challenge stereotypes and negative attitudes based on prejudice. It also includes an obligation to avoid over-generalising on the basis of limited data, and to beware of the dangers of failing to reflect the experience of certain groups, or contributing to the over-researching of certain groups within the population.

#### **4. Researchers' Responsibilities towards Research Participants**

Researchers should:

i) recognise that they have a responsibility to ensure that the physical, social and psychological well-being of an individual participating in research is not adversely affected by participation in the research. Researchers should strive to protect the rights of those they study, their interests, sensitivities and privacy. Researchers should consider carefully the possibility that the research experience may be a disturbing one, particularly for those who are vulnerable by virtue of factors such as age, social status, or powerlessness and should seek to minimise such disturbances. Researchers should also consider whether or not it is appropriate to offer information about support services (e.g. leaflets about relevant self-help groups);

ii) be sympathetic to the constraints on organisations participating in research and not inhibit their functioning by imposing any unnecessary burdens on them;

iii) base research on the freely given informed consent of those studied in all but exceptional circumstances. (Exceptional in this context relates to exceptional importance of the topic rather than difficulty of gaining access). Informed consent implies a responsibility on the part of the researchers to explain as fully as possible, and in terms meaningful to participants, what the research is about, who is undertaking and financing it, why it is being undertaken, and how any research findings are to be disseminated. Researchers should also make clear that participants have the right to refuse permission or withdraw from involvement in research whenever and for

whatever reason they wish. Participants' consent should be informed, voluntary and continuing, and researchers need to check that this is the case. Research participants have the right to withdraw from the research at any time and for any reason without adverse consequences. Research participants should be informed about how far they will be afforded anonymity and confidentiality. Researchers should pay special attention to these matters when participation is sought from children, young, or vulnerable people, including consideration of the need for additional consent from an adult responsible for the child at the time participation is sought. It is not considered appropriate to assume that penal and care institutions can give informed consent on research on young people's behalf. The young people themselves must be consulted. Furthermore, researchers should give regard for issues of child protection and make provision for the disclosure of abuse. Researchers should consider the possibility of discussing research findings with participants and those who are the subject of the research;

iv) where there is a likelihood that identifiable data may be shared with other researchers, the potential uses to which the data might be put should be discussed with research participants. Research participants should be informed if data are likely to be placed in archives, including computer archives. Researchers should not breach the 'duty of confidentiality' and not pass on identifiable data to third parties without participants' consent. Researchers should also note that they should work within the confines of current legislation over such matters as intellectual property (including copyright, trademark, patents), privacy and confidentiality, data protection and human rights. Offers of confidentiality may sometimes be overridden by law: researchers should therefore consider the circumstances in which they might be required to divulge information to legal or other authorities, and make such circumstances clear to participants when seeking their informed consent;

v) researchers should be aware, when conducting research via the Internet, of the particular problems that may arise when engaging in this medium. Researchers should not only be aware of the relevant areas of law in the jurisdictions that they cover but they should also be aware of the rules of conduct of their Internet Service Provider (including JANET - Joint Academic Network).

When conducting Internet research, the researcher should be aware of the boundaries between the public and the private domains, and also any legal and cultural differences across jurisdictions. Where research might prejudice the legitimate rights of respondents, researchers should obtain informed consent from them, honour assurances of confidentiality, and ensure the security of data transmission. They should exercise particular care and consideration when engaging with children and vulnerable people in Internet research;

vi) researchers should be aware of the additional difficulties that can occur when undertaking comparative or cross-national research, involving different jurisdictions where codes of practice are likely to differ.

## **5. Relationships with Sponsors**

Researchers should:

i) seek to maintain good relationships with all funding and professional agencies in order to achieve the aim of advancing knowledge about criminological issues and to avoid bringing the wider criminological community into disrepute with these agencies. In particular, researchers should seek to avoid damaging confrontations with funding agencies and the participants of research which may reduce research possibilities for other researchers;

ii) seek to clarify in advance the respective obligations of funders and researchers and their institutions and encourage written agreements wherever possible. They should recognise their obligations to funders whether contractually defined or only the subject of informal or unwritten agreements. They should attempt to complete research projects to the best of their ability within contractual or unwritten agreements. Researchers have a responsibility to notify the sponsor/funder of any proposed departure from the terms of reference;

iii) seek to avoid contractual/financial arrangements which emphasise speed and economy at the expense of good quality research and they should seek to avoid restrictions on their freedom to disseminate research findings. In turn, it is hoped that funding bodies/sponsors will recognise that intellectual and professional freedom is of paramount importance and that they will seek to ensure

that the dissemination of research findings is not unnecessarily delayed or obstructed because of considerations unrelated to the quality of the research.

## **6. Further Information**

When considering ethical issues members of the Society engaged in criminological research may find useful the detailed guidance on the Data Protection Act, Internet research and research involving children and young people formulated by the Market Research Society, [www.marketresearch.org.uk](http://www.marketresearch.org.uk) The Social Research Association (SRA) has produced: A Code of Practice for the Safety of Social Researchers and the SRA's Ethical Guidelines contain an extensive bibliography of papers and reports on ethics in social research.

For further information on codes of ethics, data sharing, confidentiality, risk and trust profiles for individuals using public service data sources, and privacy and self-disclosure, please see: ***Losing Data, Keeping Trust*** by Arild Foss which is available at the following web address and is hosted by the ESRC.

ESRC website at: [www.esrcsocietytoday.ac.uk](http://www.esrcsocietytoday.ac.uk)

The EU Code of Ethics for Socio-Economic Research can be accessed at:

[www.respectproject.org/ethics/guideines.php](http://www.respectproject.org/ethics/guideines.php)

Other national societies' codes of ethics can be accessed as follows: Australian and New Zealand Society of Criminology. [www.anzsoc.org/society/codeOfEthics.html](http://www.anzsoc.org/society/codeOfEthics.html)

## **7. Frequently Asked Questions**

Note: these FAQs are intended to provoke thought and debate: the answers given are not to be taken as definitive.

Q1: "One of my interviewees in prison has told me about getting away with various offences. He told me he is in prison for three burglaries, but there are several other offences that the police don't know about. What should I do?"

A1: It should have been made clear to participants in the research at the outset what the limits of confidentiality for those involved in the study were: see sections 4iii and 4iv of the Code of

Ethics. Research in sensitive settings such as prisons is particularly likely to throw up issues of this kind.

Q2: "I've been doing some focus group discussions with school children about their views on crime and punishment. In a small group of ten year olds one day, they started talking about a man called John who gives them sweets at the gate of the school. There was a lot of hushing and shushing and exchanged glances at this point, and it became clear that I was being told something I wasn't meant to hear because of their parents. What should I do?"

A2: The welfare of vulnerable participants in research, such as children, overrides other concerns. See sections 4i and 4iii of the Code of Ethics. Research with children should only be undertaken by people who have themselves been cleared for the purpose by the Criminal Records Bureau. If research uncovers suspected child abuse, this must be disclosed to the proper authorities for investigation. In this case, the suspicion is vague but valid: the researcher should inform a senior staff member at the school of what was said.

Q3: "I've got piles of interview data for my PhD but nowhere to keep the material. I share an office with five others and have two drawers in a filing cabinet but they key has been lost. What am I meant to do with all the data, and does my department have an obligation to help me?"

A3: PhD students should receive proper training on data protection and universities should make appropriate provision for confidential storage of data (see sections 1iii, 1viii, 4i and 4iv of the Code of Ethics).

Q4: "I've just interviewed someone who was very depressed, and I'm worried that they may harm themselves."

A4: Where criminologists undertake research on sensitive topics, they may need to consider providing information about sources of appropriate support to research participants who may become distressed by the research encounter (see section 4i of the Code of Ethics). However, whether it is appropriate to disclose information about potential self-harm by research participants to third parties is a complex issue, and the decision will depend upon the circumstances of the

case. It cannot be assumed that the person concerned would want their mental condition discussed with third parties.

Q5: "I'm a junior member of a large research group. I wrote the literature review for an article which the head of the group has submitted to a journal, but he has submitted it only under his own name. What can I do?"

A5: If the senior researcher is a member of BSC, he is covered by this Code of Ethics. If not, the junior team member is in a very vulnerable position. If the matter cannot be resolved by informal discussion, the junior person needs independent advice in order to decide whether it is in her/his interests to pursue the matter formally (see sections 3i and 3iii of the Code of Ethics).

The BSC Code of Ethics was revised by Colin Dunnighan, Loraine Gelsthorpe, Mike Rowe, Azrini Wahidin, Brian Williams (Chair) and Kate Williams, February 2006. We also wish to acknowledge the help of Mark Israel.

The Ethics Committee of the British Society of Criminology currently includes: Mark Israel (Flinders University), Jo Phoenix (Durham University), Azrini Wahidin (Queens University Belfast), Anthony Goodman (Middlesex University) and is chaired by Loraine Gelsthorpe (University of Cambridge). Members of the Committee offer an advisory service to all members of the BSC regarding ethical issues. Notwithstanding members' commitments to any other professional and institutional codes of practice, the Committee also serves to review and comment upon research proposals. We are particularly keen to assist postgraduate students in this regard.

**Contact Details:**

Details of the British Society of Criminology's own regular training events and conferences on research ethics and related issues can be obtained from this website or from the Society's office on 07896 347183.

February 2006

### **Appendix 3: Approval from the University of Liverpool Committee on Ethics**

From: Wright, Sarah On Behalf Of Ethics

Sent: 11 September 2013 09:26

To: Hancock, Lynn; Ethics

Cc: aminuau9@gmail.com; Audu, Aminu; Walklate, Sandra

Subject: RE: RETH000638

Dear Professor Walklate

I am pleased to inform you that the Sub-Committee has approved your application for ethical approval for your study. Details and conditions of the approval can be found below.

In order that this approval is valid, please ensure that the final version of your application, with all supporting documentation is emailed to the Research Governance Officer, Legal, Risk and Compliance, at [ethics@liverpool.ac.uk](mailto:ethics@liverpool.ac.uk)<<mailto:ethics@liverpool.ac.uk>> within 5 days of receipt of this email.

Ref: RETH000638

Sub-Committee: Physical Interventions

Review type: Chair's Action

PI: Professor Sandra Walklate

School: Law and Social Justice

Title: Community Policing for Crime Prevention and Control in Nigeria: A Case Study of Kogi State

First Reviewer: Professor Jason Halford

Second Reviewer: n/a

Third Reviewer (if applicable): n/a

Date of initial review: 11/9/13

Date of Approval: 11/9/13

The application was APPROVED subject to the following conditions:

Conditions 1

Mandatory

M: All serious adverse events must be reported to the Sub-Committee within 24 hours of their occurrence, via the Research Governance Officer ([ethics@liv.ac.uk](mailto:ethics@liv.ac.uk)<<mailto:ethics@liv.ac.uk>>).

This approval applies for the duration of the research. If it is proposed to extend the duration of the study as specified in the application form, the Sub-Committee should be notified. If it is proposed to make an amendment to the research, you should notify the Sub-Committee by following the Notice of Amendment procedure outlined at

<http://www.liv.ac.uk/media/livacuk/researchethics/notice%20of%20amendment.doc>. If the named PI / Supervisor leaves the employment of the University during the course of this approval, the approval will lapse. Therefore please contact the RGO at [ethics@liverpool.ac.uk](mailto:ethics@liverpool.ac.uk)<<mailto:ethics@liverpool.ac.uk>> in order to notify them of a change in PI / Supervisor.

Best Wishes

Sarah

Mrs Sarah Wright



Research Governance Officer  
Legal, Risk and Compliance  
University of Liverpool  
The Waterhouse Buildings, Block C  
Liverpool  
L69 3GL

tel. +44 (0)151 794 8290

Email: [slflet@liverpool.ac.uk](mailto:slflet@liverpool.ac.uk)<<mailto:slflet@liverpool.ac.uk>>

Web: <http://www.liv.ac.uk/research-integrity>

AIE:

[www.liv.ac.uk/intranet/excellence/overview/index.htm](http://www.liv.ac.uk/intranet/excellence/overview/index.htm)<<http://www.liv.ac.uk/intranet/excellence/overview/index.htm>>

## Appendix 4: Consent Form

"Community policing  
for crime prevention and  
control in Nigeria: A  
case study of Kogi  
State".

**Researcher(s): Aminu**

**Musa Audu**

**Please  
initial box**

1. I confirm that I have read and have understood the information sheet dated for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

☐

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason, without my rights being affected. ☐

3. I understand that, under the Data Protection Act, I can at any time ask for access to the information I provide and I can also request the destruction of that information if I wish. ☐

4. I agree to take part in the above study. ☐

\_\_\_\_\_

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

\_\_\_\_\_

Researcher

Date

Signature

**The contact details of lead Researcher (Principal Investigator) are:**

**Department of Sociology, Social Policy and Criminology, School of Law and Social Justice, University of Liverpool L69 7ZA Liverpool UK (Email: [Aminu.Audu@liverpool.ac.uk](mailto:Aminu.Audu@liverpool.ac.uk); Mobile: +447774 934 733(UK); +2348077523711(Nigeria).**

## **Appendix 5: Focus group/interview schedule for the community/police in Kogi State of Nigeria**

### **Focus Groups Schedules for the community**

- What's it like living around here?
- What are the main problems? (If any).
- How do you sort problems out?
- Who do you go to?
- Why?
- What issues come out of things in order to solve problems?

### **Interviews Schedules for the community**

- What's it like living around here?
- What are the main problems? (If any).
- How do you sort problems out?
- Who do you go to?

- Why?
- What issues come out of things in order to solve problems?

### **Focus Group Discussion schedules for the police**

- What's it like policing around here?
- What are the main problems, if any?
- How do you sort problems out?
- Who do you go to, community leaders/criminal justice system?
- Why?
- What issues come of things in order to solve problems? Improved or not improved community relations?

### **Interviews schedules for the police**

- What's it like policing around here?
- What are the main problems, if any?
- How do you sort problems out?
- Who do you go to, community leaders/criminal justice system?
- Why?
- What issues come of things in order to solve problems? Improved or not improved community relations?

## Appendix 6: Local Ethics Approval Letter

Telegraphic Address:  
COMPOL Lokoja  
Telephone No. 220335  
In reply please quote



THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE  
STATE COMMAND HEADQUARTERS,  
THE NIGERIA POLICE  
LOKOJA  
KOGI STATE.

Our Ref CB:3422/KGS/VOL.4/85

Date 24<sup>th</sup> July, 2013

AMINU MUSA AUDU,  
SCHOOL OF SOCIOLOGY,  
SCHOOL POLICY AND CRIMINOLOGY,  
UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL,  
L697ZA LIVERPOOL,  
UNITED KINGDOM.

**RE: PHD CRIMINOLOGY RESEARCH AT  
LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY: REQUEST FOR  
LOCAL ETHICAL APPROVAL.**

I refer to your letter No. **dated 22<sup>nd</sup> July, 2013** on the above subject matter.

2. I am directed by the Commissioner of Police Kogi State Command, to inform you that your request to carry out field work activities, in Kogi State on the above subject matter has been granted.

You are free to come and get the detailed information you need to assist you in your endeavours, please.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'OLIE EDWARD'.

**( ASP. OLIE EDWARD ),**  
STAFF OFFICER SENIOR (SOS),  
FOR: COMMISSIONER OF POLICE,  
KOGI STATE COMMAND,  
LOKOJA.

## Appendix 7: Letter of Request for Local Ethics Approval

School of Sociology, Social Policy and Criminology,  
University of Liverpool  
169 72A Liverpool United Kingdom  
22<sup>nd</sup> July, 2013.

The Commissioner of Police,  
Kogi State Police Command,  
Headquarters, Lokoja  
Kogi State of Nigeria

Dear sir,

**PhD Criminology Research at Liverpool University: Request for Local Ethical Approval**

I hereby request your very good offices to kindly grant local ethical approval to enable carry out field work activities in your domain on the topic entitled: "Community policing for crime prevention and control in Nigeria: A case study of Kogi State". This request is at the instance of my doctoral research supervisory team led by Professor Sandra Walklate at the University of Liverpool.

It may interest you to note that I will be conducting focus groups discussions and interviews with the police and community in Kogi State and the ethics committee in Liverpool would like to see demonstration of your acceptability in this regard. Details can be found in the attached documents for your quick response please.

Thank you sir,

  
Aminu Musa Abdu

**Appendix 8: Map of Nigeria Showing the Thirty-Six States and the Federal Capital Territory Abuja**

