ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPRAISAL OF COMMUNITY POLICING IN NIGERIA: A DEVELOPMENTAL AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES.

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Abstract

This paper 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. Policing does not operate in a vacuum and it is highly contingent upon political, social and economic context. There are structural and institutional conditions that influence the success of community policing implementation.

Key words: Anthropology, Development, Community policing, police/community relationship, Crime, Conflict

An overview of policing in Nigeria

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. Statement of the problem

This paper 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. These 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.

3. Objectives of the Research

This write up aim at the following objectives:

1. Anthropological appraisal of community policing in Nigeria.

2. Analyses of the impact of community policing strategy overseen by the UK-DFID in 2002/3 in Nigeria.

3. Examining whether or not there is communication gap between the police and community necessary for the provisions of security in Nigeria

4. 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

5. Give suggestions for a culture that supports the practice of community policing policy for crime control in Nigeria

4. **Historical appraisal of community policing in Nigeria**

4.1 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.

4.2 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. 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 acommunity, 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).

4.3 Ancestors Practices, Masquerades And Age-Grade

Noted 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 sociopolitical and security arrangements among many communities in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Nigeria. 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 willful 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.

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. Onyeozili and Ebbe, (2012) 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 properties. 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 (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 prophesies and coursings 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.

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 precolonial 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 institutionalize 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.

4.4 **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 Foorte 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 deceits 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 1863, 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 fifteenth 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.

Furthermore, 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 Oba s, Emirs, Ata's, 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.

4.5 **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 and 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.

4.6 **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 53 '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 organization 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).

4.7 **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 withthe 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)

5. **Community policing in Nigeria and the policy transfer debate**

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.

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 organization 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 organization 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 decentralized 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:

1 'Manage and deliver an awareness, sensitization and information sharing campaign on

Community policing;

2 Implement Community policing training for officers in the States;

3 Examine and develop current organizational structures to drive community policing;

4 Examine and develop the current training and development function;

5 Develop an intelligence-led policing style, including new technology and science; and

6 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.

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 isplaced 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.

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.

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.

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.

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 extrajudicial 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 agenciessuch 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 Ikuteyiijo (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 (Okreafoezeke, 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 andas 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 ofspecial 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.

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 actualize 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.

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 communityoriented 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 resourcesmanagement 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 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 policingtraining 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 Puthpongsiriporn (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.

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.

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 inthe 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 coexistence 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 violentIslamic 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.

Recommendations

It suffices to state that government and other relevant stakeholders of Nigeria security adhere to the following suggestions:

1) 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.

2) 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.

3) 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.

4) 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.

5) 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 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.

6) 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. It is suggested that 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.

7) The salaries and other welfare issues of the police should be adequately reviewed and taken care of at all times.

8) 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.

9) Government should find a way of improving the living standard of the police so that people would feel secured in the environment.

10) 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.

11) There should be enabling committee or taskforce to monitor activities in the police organization.

12) 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.

12) 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.

13) 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.

14) There should be mechanism for checks and balances 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

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