

A FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE NIGERIA POLICE FORCE:
A PROPOSED MODEL FOR REFORM

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ABSTRACT

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Purpose

The purpose of this research was to determine the impact of the national police force on the social order in Nigeria. Specifically, this analysis explored the extent to which the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) inhibits adaptation of policing to a modern police role. The impact of traditional policing and the resilience of the legacy of colonial police on the social order, crime and conflicts in modern Nigeria are analyzed.

Methodology

The methodology used in this study was a secondary analysis of data gathered from research in the United States and records from Nigerian sources. The Nigerian data included prison admissions annual reports from which the crime trends in Nigeria and the Nigerian index of crime were compiled. Rising crime rates could indict the police are doing a good job—responding to deviant behavior in an official manner. Crime rates are used to measure police performance. Functionalism and conflict theory were the primary theoretical frameworks that guided the analysis.

Findings

1. The police role in modern society has changed from a traditional, reactive, narrow, law enforcement focus, to a broader, proactive, social service, social support, social integration, and community-based focus.
2. The NPF has failed to adapt to the modern police role concepts that have guided police reform in many countries.
3. The NPF's failure to adapt to modern policing is due to the resilient legacy of colonial police.

4. The colonial police legacy promotes para-militarism, a large police bureaucracy, police loyalty to the federal government and the powerful elite, police brutality, discriminatory law enforcement practices, police unaccountability to the public, and an insidious police subculture that promotes alienation of the police from the public.

5. The NPF is generally viewed by the public as an alien force used by the elites for consolidation of power and subjugation of the people.

6. The consequences of the NPF's failure to adapt to the changes that have taken place in Nigeria include rising crime rates, social stratification, conflicts, social unrest, and instability in the country.

7. Past police reform efforts have not improved the police image and performance. They have focused on raising educational qualifications of recruits, raising salaries, training, purchasing modern equipment and more vehicles, hiring more police, and posting cadets back to their states of origin. The socio-political environment as a context for policing and the implications for a national police force have not been considered.

Ruth Ann Triplett, Ph.D.
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CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Recognizing that society is undergoing massive changes, police agencies are confronted with a great challenge. The essence of that challenge is to be able to respond to the problems created by social change, at the same time providing the stability that holds a society together during a period of uncertainty (Community Relations Service, U.S. Dept. of Justice, 1989:36).

Introduction

Nigeria has undergone profound developmental changes and modernization since gaining independence in 1960. Changes and modernization which peaked in the 1970s after the discovery of oil are likely to continue in the decades ahead. Oil has dominated the economy, accounting in 1996 for approximately 80 percent of federal government revenues and 95 percent of foreign exchange earnings (Moser, et al., 1997). According to Moser, et al., Nigeria has not fully reaped the benefits of its wealth because oil has been both an economic blessing and a source of political strife, social conflicts, higher crime rates, and instability. The police are often called upon to deal with these new challenges. However, because the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) has not adapted to these new challenges, social control, stability, economic development, and the development of democracy are compromised. As a result, the country's economic and social conditions have deteriorated, and anomie reigns throughout the society.

Despite the changes that have occurred in the country and other public institutions, the NPF has remained an unresponsive, outdated national organization that is caught between loyalty to the federal government and loyalty to the public. A study of the Nigerian police officers' perceptions of the NPF and the public (Okereke, 1995) revealed that police officers owe their loyalty to the government—civilian or military. According to Okereke, Nigerian police officers view themselves as agents of the government; therefore, service to the general public is not a legitimate police concern. The study also revealed that police officers view the public as an enemy, and change in society and the police are resisted.

Two other studies (Alemika, 1988; Okereke, 1993) have also revealed that the public perceive the NPF as an alienated, brutal, suppressive, and corrupt force. Since colonialism, the greatest majority of police energies and resources have been committed to and dissipated on the suppression of struggles and protest against oppression and exploitation (Alemika, 1988).

Consequently, the public has withheld cooperation and legitimization for the NPF. Alienation of the police from the public is a direct result of the police perceptions of the NPF and the public, and the public's perceptions of the NPF. The result from this analysis suggests that the underlying reason for this alienation is the national organization of the police force.

It is important to note that police officers' perceptions of the NPF and the public and their law enforcement tactics do not derive from individual officer's beliefs but rather from the national police organization, the orientations during training, and the militarization of the police force. Disobeying orders from a ranking officer or other government officials brings serious consequences for the police officer concerned (Okereke, 1992). Thus, in this study, the NPF rather than individual police officers will be investigated and analyzed.

The struggle and protest against oppression and exploitation by Nigerians is expected to intensify in the future unless social policies recognize the importance of social order and the role the police play. According to Bretton (1962), in a country like Nigeria, the ruling group, determined by alien forces at independence, face a difficult situation. When the independence celebrations were over, the ruling elite faced the public's and the tribal group's expectations of political independence. These included improved standards of living for all, egalitarianism, human rights, rule of law, and self-determination. The problem was compounded in modern Nigeria by the creation of 30 states along tribal and linguistic lines from the previous four administrative regions prior to independence. Political unrest, higher crime rates, ethnic conflicts, and economic decay currently facing

Nigeria can be seen as struggles against oppression and perceived injustice by the different tribal and interest groups in the country.

Nigeria is a multi-cultural society, made up of approximately nine distinct tribes or ethnic groups who speak about 249 different languages and were autonomous before they were forced together by the colonialists (Metz, 1992). After independence from the British in 1960, there has been a pattern of domination by a particular tribe or coalition of two tribes that has triggered a struggle for self-determination by those tribes who feel a sense of oppression (Glickman, 1998). There is little doubt why the police who are often called upon to handle protests and demonstrations are held in contempt by the public (Carter and Marenin, 1977).

Reform efforts and recommendations have not been effective partly because they have been based on erroneous premises. It is assumed that purchasing new equipment, increasing salaries, raising educational requirements for new recruits, private mail bag 42, and enforcement of the "federal character" decree would improve police performance (Metz, 1992). The federal character decree is similar to affirmative action in philosophy. It requires deployment of police cadets and veteran police officers to their state of origin. Private mail bag 42 is a system for reporting alleged police misconduct and for anonymously reporting crimes and suspects to the police. These have not improved police service as evidenced by the growing crime rates and conflicts, and the brutal, undemocratic, and discriminatory responses to both. Police and scholars interested in reforming Nigeria's police do not appear to recognize the relationship that exists between the national police and the public's perception of them and the impact this has on the ability of the police to maintain order and control crime. If this relationship is recognized, it has not been salient in reforming the police. Apparently, the police have not been recognized as a public bureaucracy in a democracy in Nigeria.

The police in Nigeria should be viewed, not as agents of the elite and the powerful, but as public agents within a democratic and a culturally diverse society with clear social

and political obligations. In essence, the police in Nigeria should be viewed as a public bureaucracy in a democracy. As Rhoades (1991:3) points out, “public bureaucracies in a democracy ought to find their operating principles from among the values widely held, especially those that are fundamental in this society.” This would bind them more to democratic values and make police service more community oriented. To this end, police control and administration in Nigeria should be guided predominantly as agents of local government (Goldstein, 1977:33). Their social and political obligations should be derived from the fundamental democratic values of the community they serve. These include, as Rhoades (1991:4) points out, “a belief in the consent of the governed, ... equal protection, rule of law, due process, presumption of innocence, propriety, freedom from cruel and unusual punishment, freedom, right of privacy, life and property.” Indeed, Goldstein (1977:12-14) argues that the police should form a commitment to “preserving and extending democratic values” as their primary goal. Thus, it is important to point out that the NPF remains ineffective because reform efforts in the past were based on erroneous premises. The erroneous premises have made police fail to recognize the changes that have occurred since independence, the impact of cultural complexity of Nigeria, and the police as a public agency with social and political obligations to the community they serve. Hence, police control, administration and performance continue to suffer in Nigeria.

Bretton (1962) points out that police control and administration in Nigeria will suffer for some time from two defects—the principle of federal, or centralized control, of the police runs counter to the principle of federalism, and law enforcement through a federally controlled police tends to aggravate divisive tendencies in the federation.

To reform policing in Nigeria, the present study proposes a more radical approach than what has been recommended and done in the past. It entails replacing the current national police with a community policing system.

Community policing has the potential to help eradicate the deeply ingrained paramilitary, colonial police mentality and philosophy that have alienated the police from

the public. It could help to clarify to both officers and the public that the police are indeed public agents with social and political obligations based on the prevailing democratic values and norms of the community they serve. This may help change the attitudes of police officers toward the public and the law enforcement tactics they practice. At the same time, a change in police attitudes is likely to bring about positive public police perceptions which may result in better public/police cooperation, police respect for human rights, and service to the community will become the norm, rather than protecting only the elite and the government. Indeed, community policing is more likely to better adapt to the community's values, norms, and principles of democracy than the national police force. This is consistent with the theoretical framework which recognizes that, "citizens are responsible for their community, that the police officer is a public agent who is authorized to act on behalf of the community from which the officer's authority derives" (Rhoades, 1991:8).

Community policing represents a planned strategy, in the spirit of functionalism, to adapt the police to the changes and socio-political situations in Nigeria. According to Washo (1984), if organizational evolution can be viewed at least as a process of continual adaptation to meet new demands, then the process of periodic organizational reform entails adaptation to changing societal and community values. One of the most noteworthy examples of such organizational reforms can be seen in the evolution of the police and their expanded role throughout history. Community policing in Nigeria could serve as a process of continual adaptation to meet new demands and changes that will have far-reaching effects beyond the boundaries of Nigeria.

The major objective of this study, therefore, is to recommend community policing as a proposed police model for modern Nigeria. Unlike the national police force, community policing has the potential to better control crime and contribute to social integration of the country. Community policing has been successful in contributing to police effectiveness and promoting social order in different parts of the world for the past

40 years. It can do the same by adapting policing to the socio-economic and political climate of modern Nigeria.

There is a need to examine the NPF within the context of what this study recognizes as the expanded police role in modern society. The expanded police role resulted from two developments in police evolution—the inception of professional policing in 1829 and the emergence in the 1960s of problem-oriented policing in Britain and America, respectively. These developments were in response to a major social crisis accompanying social change similar to that taking place in Nigeria. They represent a move to a system of general law and order and social integration, away from violence (Shane, 1980). Such an examination could help identify why the NPF has been ineffective and suggest an alternative policing approach. The proposed police model should be commensurate with current public opinion and values and acceptable to all citizens. Both the philosophy and practice of the proposed model should be made understandable to both police personnel and the public. Community policing as proposed in this study has those attributes.

The changes in police philosophy by incorporating community policing could mark the beginning of a democratic policing in Nigeria. A democratic policing entails what Rhoades (1991:11) describes as “balancing majority and minority interests, avoidance of tyranny, abiding by the rule of law, and enhancing the pursuits of life and liberty by the police.” The advantages to be realized from a democratic policing includes improved police/public relationships, police identifying more with the community they serve and becoming more dedicated to their roles as public servants, and recognizing that they operate from a grant of authority from the community for the community purpose.

Souryal (1995) contends that a community police force represents a tailor-made formula that can simultaneously serve the task needs of the agency and the personal needs of its employees in a manner that maximizes both. Public support for the police and a positive attitude of the police toward the public could engender police ethics, professionalism, greater job satisfaction, and overall police effectiveness.

In this study, the centralized, paramilitary-military nature of the NPF is perceived to be an impediment to police effectiveness. This has, in turn, given rise to higher crime rates and social conflicts. Because the national Nigerian police tend to promote divisive tendencies, they have not contributed to social integration and development of the country. Some observers have accused the NPF of manipulating rather than controlling crime, especially in the case of armed robbery and car-jacking which have become rampant in the last 10 to 15 years (Ekpenyong, 1989).

Introducing a community policing paradigm in Nigeria could well be the most effective response to what has been described as orthodoxy in African policing. With the exception of the South African Police, African police forces are characterized by a monolithic structure and paramilitary-military operations that are rooted in colonial philosophy. In 1993, the South African government took steps toward decentralization and community policing which improved police-public relationships substantially (Brogden and Shearing, 1993). The acceptance of community policing by African countries could mark an end to a conventional stance and the perception of the police as the state's apparatus of coercion that characterize African police forces.

Nigeria is a more perfect candidate for experimenting with a radical police reform than other African countries. In many ways, Nigeria is an icon of the African continent because of the heterogeneity of its population, resources, and rich historical and colonial background. The vastness of the country permits experimentation with the decentralized, community-based police model without necessarily disrupting the entire society. Nigeria reflects the diversity of culture in the continent of Africa, and its colonial background is shared by most African countries.

Other essential factors in proposing community policing for Nigeria include its resource endowments and regional importance. Bretton (1962) selected Nigeria for a study because, as a potentially powerful and influential state and as a political anchor for a system of free African states, the fate of all of Africa may hinge on its survival. In essence, if

Nigeria survives and is viable, other African states will survive. Indeed, the collapse of Nigeria as a democracy marked by the military take-over in 1966 and the ensuing instability, higher crime rates, social unrest, and economic decay has had ripple effects in many African states. Community policing has the potential to reverse this trend in Nigeria and in other African states. It has succeeded in a number of the world industrial democracies and is being introduced in South Africa and advocated in Turkey (Aydin, 1996).

Bayley (1995) suggests a key assumption of community policing that makes it more appealing:

... communities have different policing priorities and problems.

Policing must be adaptable. To accomplish this, subordinate commanders must be given freedom to act according to their own reading of local conditions. Decentralization of command is necessary in order to take advantage of the particular knowledge that can come through greater police involvement in the community and feedback from it. On the whole, community policing implies that smaller and more local policing is better (p. 68).

This excerpt is relevant in justifying Nigeria's proposed community policing. The changes that have occurred have had different impacts in different parts of the country, on crime rates, and the need for police services. Policing in the country should be adapted accordingly. With the current national police force, communities with low crime rates do not have the same level of need for police services as do communities with higher crime rates, but those communities pay regardless because of the centralized police budget and the public's perception that crime is a federal government problem.

Language barriers also need to be considered when proposing police reform in Nigeria. It is not uncommon to find police officers working in parts or states of the country whose language they neither speak nor understand. This can hinder police crime

investigations because of the ease of witnesses in withholding vital information, problems in using interpreters, and the potential miscommunication. Language barriers, therefore, pose a serious problem for effective police work which community policing could mitigate.

Need for the Study

The important role that the police can play in the integration and development of Nigeria has created the need for a more rigorous study of the NPF. Previous studies have been chiefly historical examinations and descriptions of the NPF. The common theme among researchers has been to show how the colonial legacy of the NPF has impinged upon performance. Hence, the studies have been mostly historical accounts of Nigeria's policing evolution. The authors of prior studies believe that by understanding the evolution of policing since colonial times, it is possible to understand where the NPF inherited its characteristics (Ahire, 1990; Igbinoia, 1980b; Odekunle, 1979; Tamuno, 1970). Such studies, however, do not help in understanding the reasons for the resiliency of those characteristics. The present study seeks to explain, rather than describe, how the centralized police model in Nigeria inhibits police effectiveness, causing disharmony in the country.

The functioning of NPF has to be subjected to scientific investigation for two important reasons: the expanded police role in modern society, and how this expanded role has altered the traditional approach to policing throughout the world. This study explores both areas.

A decentralized, community-based police system is proposed as the police model capable of preventing crime and promoting social integration and unity. Community policing in modern Nigeria could promote more active community involvement in fighting crime and resolving conflicts. Moreover, the police need to become more involved in the developmental process in order to help re-orient the communities in the modern principles of democracy and the rule of law. The police must act as custodians of law and order and enforce collective interest rather than protect the elite. The police must respect the law and

be more law-abiding than ordinary citizens. It is assumed as a given by the public that the police are corrupt and misuse their power because they are recruited from a corrupt general public. The difference, however, between the police and the general public is that a police officer voluntarily takes an oath of office to uphold the law. Therefore, the role as a law enforcement agent naturally precludes the police from breaking the law, just as a physician's role requires him or her to save rather than take a life. The police also need not remain passive bystanders during the developmental change process in Nigeria. To claim otherwise would be disingenuous.

Therefore, there is a need to examine the NPF's functioning to determine why it has not performed its role and to specify what that role ought to be and how it can be made to perform more efficiently. A decentralized, community-based police system as a new police paradigm in Nigeria is examined as an alternative in a changing, post-independence society.

Thesis

A decentralized, community-based police system has the potential to better control crime and bring about social integration in Nigeria than the current national police model is the thesis of this study.

Hypotheses

Three hypotheses were developed:

- (1) The police role in modern society has expanded beyond traditional law enforcement to include social service roles.
- (2) The current national Nigerian police force is the impediment to the adaptation of the police to an expanded, social service role in modern Nigeria.
- (3) A community-based police system has the potential to better adapt policing to the expanded police role in modern Nigeria than the national force.

Research Questions

The following questions were developed to guide the analysis and serve to define the research objectives:

- (1) What are the expanded police roles in modern society?
- (2) To what extent has the NPF as a national force promoted or inhibited the expanded police role in modern Nigeria?
- (3) How can the police in Nigeria be reformed to adapt to the expanded police role?

To answer these questions, this study relied on a review of the literature and examination of existing data in certain countries of the world and the NPF. Functionalism and conflict theory form the theoretical framework upon which this study's investigation is based.

Organization of the Study

Chapter I presented the statement of the problem and an overview of the subject matter. Chapter II focuses on a review of relevant literature. Chapter III presents the methodology, and Chapter IV focuses on the analysis and findings. Chapter V presents the summary, conclusion, policy implications and suggestions for future study.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

In an attempt to put into perspective the police role in the process of change, it is important to examine two concepts—social order and social control. Critical is an examination of the role police play in maintaining the stability and quality of life in particular societies. The relationship between police and social order can be traced back to the writing of Thomas Hobbes. Since 1930, sociologists have attempted to revisit Hobbes to show how ecological forces (industrialization and urbanization) created social conditions (social mobility, weak primary relationships, migration, and cultural diversity) that weakened social control and increased deviance (Liska, 1992). In the 1950s, functionalism became the dominant sociological perspective in American sociology that helped redefine the relationship between social control and social order and the society (Parsons, 1951). Since Parsons, considerable new research examines the relationship between social order and social control. Some research specifies the conditions under which social structure affects social control (Liska, 1992), and some specify the process through which social composition influence forms of social control (Liska and Chamblin, 1984). Taken together, such a body of research indicates that social control evolved from the need to establish authority on the streets in order to implement public order for society to function.

Social Order and Society

Hobbes (1651) points out that social order in a society is inherently precarious and not to be taken for granted. Hobbes lived in a period of religious and political strife that culminated in the English Civil War and the Interregnum of 1642-1660. He emphasized the importance of social control in ensuring social order. Scholars following Hobbes have investigated the extent to which social control contributes to social order in a society, especially with regard to the contribution of the police. Durkheim and other functionalists

after him have contributed significantly to the understanding of how essential social control is to social order and society. Parsons' functionalism is insightful in understanding the impact of planned social control strategies on the promotion of social order.

Parsons (1951) posed the question, "What makes social order possible in a society?" Indeed, Parsons resonates the earlier Hobbesian question: "How is society possible?" To Parsons and other functionalists, every society depends on a system of mutual relationships among social units and the capacity to control such relationships in the interest of societal functioning. Such control varies from the capacity to forestall or cope with disturbances and change to the capacity to shape social relations through the organized use of force by police. Fulfilling individual and collective needs becomes important to social order. The concept of needs is important and is therefore useful in understanding crime control.

To understand the crime problem in Nigeria and how police could effectively deal with it, it is important to explore how crime and the concept of needs are related. In developing a theory of motivation, Maslow (1954) listed the basic needs in a hierarchy as physiological, safety, belongingness and love, and esteem needs. Gratification of these needs leads to the motivation to conform. This implies that individuals are unhappy when their needs are not gratified, and they may go outside the socially acceptable way of behavior to seek gratification for their basic needs. Thus, crime can be seen as an adaptation to a social structure which limits avenues to self-actualization.

Cohen's study (1955) of delinquent gangs is a good illustration of Maslow's need theory. If a lower-class boy finds it impossible to gratify his needs within the framework of a middle-class school, he becomes willing to reject the socially acceptable norms. He leaves the middle-class school and its socially approved ways of behavior in order to gain gratification. Cohen points out that rejecting socially approved means for gratification of needs usually happens when individuals fail to internalize the norms of their society. The purpose of sanctions is for the control of deviant behavior in order that society may

function. Regarding Nigeria, the concept of need is equally relevant in explaining crime, conflicts, and law enforcement.

While the concept of need is relevant in the understanding of crime, the concept of role is important in evaluating police functions, especially in a multi-cultural society like Nigeria and the perpetuation of certain forms of crime. Functionalists and consensus theorists view every society as comprised of different parts such as social institutions, social groups, social associations, social structures, the polity, and the culture (Parsons, 1951). In other words, every society is a system with different parts that link to form complex interactions. Central to those interactions is the function of actor and roles. To Parsons, the actor is a motivated, goal-seeking individual. The actor can be a person, group, or collectively. The aspects of interaction which actors are involved in are roles that contribute to the functioning of the larger social system. The main aspect of the role concept is the expectation that the actor will function in certain ways.

A good example is the expected police role in crime prevention or ensuring social order. The functionalist perspective is based on the assumption that the role is the basic unit of socialization. For instance, the role of a family is socialization of its members on norms of society. In modern times, the loci of socialization are dispersed throughout society. Some studies describe the police role as involving the socialization of society's members in modern concepts of the rule of law (Enloe, 1976; Opolot, 1976). Thus, the criminal justice system, particularly the police, has become important in the socialization process.

Potholm (1969), Bayley (1977), Carter and Marenin (1977), and Clinard and Abbott (1973) are other scholars who have correlated police roles and the social order in society. Horwitz (1990) and Mishra and Mohanty (1992) are contemporary studies on the subject of police roles and social order. These scholars emphasized the importance of social order to national development and the role of the police in ensuring such social order, especially in national developing countries. Potholm (1969) points out that perhaps the primary and most widely acknowledged role of police is the preservation of a stable context

for society by the enforcement of rules and laws established by political authorities. Potholm also states that while social order is seldom perfect, it does provide a peaceful arena for changing that order.

Horwitz (1990) points out that understanding the multifaceted ways in which societies define and respond to deviant conduct helps to show how social order is possible and how new forms of social organization arise, more so in diverse societies. He underscores the fact that societies marked by fragmented, atomized, and non-cohesive relationships face fundamental dilemmas in exerting effective social control.

Mishra and Mohanty (1992) also point out that in the structural-functional model of society, laws governing social life and the agents of law enforcement and social control assume a great deal of importance. According to Mishra and Mohanty, “anything happening in a society is important to the police because it influences its role, attitude, organizational structure, operational modes and techniques” (p. 68).

Based on what has been presented in this section, Parsons’ and Hobbes’ questions referenced earlier, may be answered, “society is possible” when individuals have internalized society’s norms which are derived from the culture, and then follow the rules of society to meet individual needs.

Social Control Theories

There is disagreement on the meaning of social control. Defining social control and its underlying message varies considerably from its inception to its recent usage. Mead (1924-25) first applied social control to interpret the cooperation of voluntary and harmonious cohesion. To Mead, social control places emphasis on stability, collective order, integration, and cohesion. Contemporary sociologists have attempted to define the concept based on contemporary experiences. Liska (1992) defined social control as any structure, process, relationship, or act that contributes to the social order.

Despite variation in the definition of social control, the relevant literature focuses on organized responses to crime, conflicts, and deviant behavior (Liska, 1992). Social control and social order literature explains the different ways and responses to violation of the normative order in a society (Durkheim, 1966; Parsons, 1977; Ross, 1969; Weber, 1958). These works have shown the emergence of the legal process and nation-states to be key developments in the evolution of social control. In these works, social control is shown to have transformed from an undifferentiated group process to a specialized application of rules and sanctions by designated agents of the state, namely the courts, police and corrections.

The central problem of maintaining social order is shown to have changed from the control of private vengeance to the creation of moral systems that culturally, socially, and economically diverse groups can share (Ross, 1969). To Ross, social control in modern society is a form of societal ascendancy in contrast to individual ascendancy that characterized traditional society. Society exercises domination over the individual by the distribution of reward and penalties. This is because the problem of social change entails a transition from the simplicity of an earlier small-scale, soldiery, primitive rural life to the large scale differentiated complexity of a modern urban industrial society. Ross suggests that social control not only confronts the problem of social change but also provides a compelling approach to its solution. The theory of social control endeavors to discover laws about social relationships which can be employed practically in the beneficial modification of behavior and reform of society. Ross also points out that social control is manifestly interventionist in its tenor, seeking to contribute to the solution of social problems in order to sustain the progressive direction of social change. Social control thus seeks to restrain individual deviations that could threaten the society's welfare.

Parsons (1971) explains how growing social differentiation creates the need for a symbolic system that can integrate political, economic and social institutions. Social differentiation poses a problem of order by developing several competing groups within a society that previously had been only one group, or within an amalgamated society

consisting of sub-units that were previously culturally distinct and autonomous. New groups, such as clans or tribes, become objects of devotion, seek to monopolize sympathies and compete for loyalty with the whole society. Society as all-inclusive group must find some means to accommodate and reconcile its members and weaken the ties that bind men into minor groups. Functionalist and other consensus theorists believe such means to be social control.

Some writers (Cohen 1985; Souryal, 1977) have distinguished types of social control that may enhance social order in modern society. According to Souryal, "social order is both a system and a process. ... the process of social order—through its arm of social control agencies can be attained either by peaceful means or forceful means." He defines forceful means as "means administered by the state on behalf of the people." Peaceful means are defined as consisting of two major aspects—socialization and group experience. Socialization is the process whereby culture is transmitted from one generation to another. It is also a group experience whereby individuals develop a distinct sense of "self" amalgamated with society and expressed in terms of approval, belonging and support. Such group experience is the realization of distinctive behavior patterns which continue through life.

Cohen (1985) classifies social control into: (1) coercive controls, which either use or imply force—legal or extra-legal—and (2) social controls, which consist of group self-regulations outside the use of force. The common theme in these two viewpoints is that social control is a system to which the police and the people have to be peacefully committed. As Souryal (1977) contends, even coercive means of social control do not always have to be violent. Policemen may effectively maintain law and order with the threat of the use of force.

In modern societies, law enforcement has become a distinctive symbolic form of social control that makes the social order possible. Public institutions have replaced private settlement of disputes, and legitimate force moves from private to public hands. The

problem, especially in developing democracies like Nigeria, is how to make the police, as a social control agency, less repressive, more democratic in enforcing the law, and amenable to due process and rule of law.

Other theorists have rejected the functionalist view of the relationship between social control and social order and the role of police. Conflict theorists remain the most critical opponents of functional or consensus theory. Conflict theorists began to challenge consensus and functional models in the 1950s. Its foremost proponents were Vold and Bernard who, in their classic book *Theoretical Criminology* ([1958] 1986), point out that:

The whole political process of law making, law breaking, and law enforcement becomes a direct reflection of deep-seated and fundamental conflicts between interest groups and their general struggles for control of the police power of the state. Those who produce legislative majorities win control over the police power and dominate the policies that decide who is likely to be involved in violation of the law (p. 274).

In the 1960s and 1970s, a number of criminologists, most notably Quinney (1975), Chambliss (1975) and Turk (1969), joined in challenging the functionalism. For example, Quinney (1964) did not consider social control as attempts to suppress or isolate disruptive behavior or to enforce proscribed behavior in the interest of establishing social order for the common good. Rather, like other conflict theorists, he saw both the formulation and enforcement of the law to serve the interests of society's powerful groups. Conflict theorists claimed that diversity, not homogeneity of values as functionalists proposed, was the hallmark of modern society. Quinney (1975:95), believes that "society is held together by force. ... those who have power to shape and enforce public policy determine the fate of those who lack this power." Power, as the ability of persons, groups, and class to determine the conduct of others, is the heart of conflict theory.

The challenge of the functionalists' view of social control by conflict theorists has continued into the 1980s. Contemporary conflict theorists, Cohen (1985) and Marx (1988),

view social control as a process of coercion rather than cooperation and conflict rather than harmony. Conflict theorists reversed previous explanations of social control to account for the forces that perpetuated certain institutions and practices and to describe the punitive hidden element in all state-sponsored social policy institutions including crime, health, education, or welfare (Cohen, 1985). Cohen believes that social control is multifaceted and characterized by a host of “agencies—legal and quasi-legal, diversionary and alternative, administrative and professional—all making out their territories of jurisdiction, competence and referral.” Thus, social control is more than just a police function or role. Contrary to Durkheim, Cohen argues that the foundation of social control is to clarify and strengthen boundaries. As an illustration, he points out that proactive policing relies on undercover work and surveillance that has increasingly become invisible and insensitive to previously established social and legal boundaries. As a result, social control policies have the potential to provide the state and the police with enormous discretion and powers that may be used against those least empowered in society—the poor, the ill and minority ethnic groups.

Marx (1988) shares Cohen’s view. He agrees that social control has become more specialized and technical, and the new forms of social control tend to be more penetrating, intrusive, invisible, and involuntary. He contends that this gives the state and ruling elite more police power to seek out violators, even without specific grounds for suspicion. Citing policing in the United States, Marx points out that there has been increased emphasis on proactive rather than reactive policing. Proactive policing aims at anticipating and preventing crimes not yet committed, particularly through the use of informants, secret and undercover agents, decoys, and entrapment. In Marx’s view, these new methods result in “boundary blurring” and intrusion through deliberate use of police deception and undercover work.

Police and Social Control in Society

The police role in social control remains a debatable subject among sociologists and criminologists. Many observers have come to believe that social control is part of the primary role of the police in modern society (Shane, 1980; Wilson, 1995). These observers claim that police spend most of their time attending to order-maintenance functions, such as locating missing persons or interceding in various conflicts. To Shane and Wilson, police spend as little as 10 to 15 percent of their time in law enforcement, responding to a burglary or trying to locate stolen vehicles. Accordingly, Shane suggests that the police have several functions that can fall under three headings: social support, social integration, and law enforcement. According to Quinney (1970), police do more than law enforcement—they protect the existing order:

Maintaining order often involves giving support to some members of the community Many disputes are handled by police intervention, which has been documented in a study of the calls received at a metropolitan police department... The calls for support were about personal problems: requests for health services, problems with children, and the problem of incapacitated persons. Other calls were requests for assistance in personal disputes and quarrels, violence or protection from potential violence... The policeman performs many actions that are not directly related to enforcement of the law, but with other aspects of order in the community (p. 174).

Shane's, Wilson's, and Quinney's claims imply that the proper role and functions of police in modern society are not specific to rule enforcement, thus supporting the idea that the expansion of police roles is critical to "effective" social control in modern, democratic societies.

The Expanded Police Role in Society

In America, the police role in modern society has expanded as society has changed. The police role has expanded from strictly law enforcement to one of social control, social support and social integration (Shane, 1980). Today, more time is spent dealing with disputes and other social service calls than on law enforcement.

The police has also evolved from a traditional, reactive, paramilitary organization to one that emphasizes proactive strategies, social services, and community policing (Trojanowicz, et al., 1998; Shane, 1980). In some societies, "police force" has been changed to "police service" to denote a movement away from the use of violence as acceptable law enforcement tactics. For example, the old South African Police Force is now referred to as South African Police Service (Brogden and Shearing, 1993).

A comparative investigation of the police in Britain, the United States, Japan, and Canada (Shane, 1980) shows how the police have evolved and how their roles have changed and expanded. Other contemporary scholars support the view that the traditional police role has evolved over the years from a narrowly defined role focusing on rule-enforcement, to a broader community policing role. According to Trojanowicz, et al. (1998:1):

Community policing is perhaps the first substantive reform in policing since American policing embraced the professional model of policing more than one-half century ago... . It incorporates a new philosophy that broadens the police mission from a narrow focus on crime to a mandate that encourages the police to explore creative solutions for a host of community concerns, including crime, fear of crime, disorder, and neighborhood conditions.

It is evident that police roles have not only expanded, but their organizations have also evolved in America and other western societies. In general, the evolution of police forces and their expansion and reorganization have coincided with, and have been

explained by, major law and order crises or periods of social unrest in these societies (Shane, 1980).

Police and Social Control in Modern Nigeria

This section applies the concept of social control to policing in modern Nigeria. The purpose is to ascertain to what extent the NPF has utilized modern police role concepts to address the social control needs of the country.

As stated previously, modern Nigeria is a changed society. The changes that have occurred are intractable and irreversible. It is imperative that the police as the primary institution of social control, keep pace with the times. Besides the changes, Nigeria's cultural diversity calls for a social control strategy that permits sharing of power and fosters social integration rather than exacerbation of social stratification.

The police role in modern Nigeria could be a catalyst for changes nationwide through community involvement in law enforcement and conflict mediation. The police need to change from being the government's strong-arm, representing narrow elite interests, to becoming an institution which serves and protect all citizens alike. Hopefully, policing in Nigeria will evolve from a "police force" to a "police service" department like that occurring in South Africa after apartheid and Turkey at the present time. If this takes place, policing in Nigeria will adapt to the changes that have occurred in the country, diversity of culture, and the expanded, modern police roles. It is important for this to happen because the police, as a public bureaucracy in democracy, must play an active role in the future development of Nigeria.

Functionalists view the police role in a society as deriving from the basic functions of the government in two essential ways. First, government is a system for using force to ensure conformity to society's norms and values when other means of control have failed. Second, government maintains order by serving as the final arbitrator of disputes arising

between individuals and groups, especially in a differentiated diverse society, as illustrated in lawsuits brought before the courts (Coleman and Cressey, 1980).

Functionalism suggests that one way to coordinate the composite parts of a diverse society into an integral whole is through effective law enforcement and conflict resolution that foster legitimacy of the central coordinating unit. On the other hand, the integrity of individuals, units and groups can be strengthened. Without such coordination, the legitimacy of the central government is likely to remain tenuous due to the greater loyalty and commitment of the citizens to the sub-units. When this occurs, demands for greater commitment by the central authority from the sub-units is often interpreted as a demand to abandon loyalty to the sub-unit. Severe conflicts often crystallize around such issues and may well result in secession and civil war as illustrated by the Nigerian civil war in 1966 (Oberschall, 1973).

Developmental Changes in Nigeria

The societal milieu of Nigeria has changed dramatically over the past 35 years and is likely to continue this trend. Nigeria has moved from a mechanistic to an organic stage of development in the Durkheimian sense. There has been an accelerated rate of industrialization and modernization, with increasing numbers of rural dwellers moving to the cities in search of work. Generally, when a society changes, particularly through the modernization process, it may produce disruptive behaviors (Parsons, 1951). The two by-products of developmental changes in Nigeria relevant to this analysis are crime and social conflict.

In Nigeria, social conflicts may be attributable to a number of factors. A feeling of injustice by groups who feel they are by-passed in the distribution of the national power and wealth tends to be the most obvious. This is the primary cause of protests and demonstrations against the federal government, instability and anomie in the country. Successive civilian and military governments in Nigeria have professed liberal democracy, egalitarianism, self-determination, war against crime, and indiscipline (Glickman, 1995).

Each has declared support for the United Nations' proclamation of a new world order without taking realistic steps to translate these pronouncements into reality. The false consciousness which such pronouncements have created has led to unfulfilled dreams and frustrations among the public. There is a feeling throughout the country that opportunity is only available for some.

There is also the emergence of political and economic elites who seek to rule and control the production and distribution of the country's scarce resources. Any society dominated by political elites needs a coercive instrument—the police—to maintain control over basic resources (Robinson and Scaglione, 1987). This is the case in Nigeria and the cause of the struggle for power and conflicts (Moser, et al., 1997).

The distribution of oil wealth is controlled by the political and economic elites who use the police as a convenient apparatus to maintain dominance over the weak and disadvantaged (Moser et al., 1997). The police are also used as instruments for the restriction of access to basic resources over the political apparatus governing this access and over the labor force.

Implications of Change for the Police

According to functionalism, the solutions to the problems caused by change in a society is structural reform of state institutions that have become dysfunctional. Change that has occurred in Nigeria has created significant constraints on the police which has, in turn, affected the society. There are more demands on police services than the police can handle and are willing to accept as legitimate police work in modern Nigeria. The NPF, established during colonialism to meet the needs of the colonialists, is unable to rise to the challenges of modern Nigeria. A fundamental change in the philosophy and organization of policing in Nigeria is inevitable if the police are to face up to the new challenges brought about by change. The police must be reorganized as a social service organization to handle crime and public order in a manner to gain the public's goodwill and cooperation (Singh,

1987). The new South African Police Service is leading the way in helping police adapt to societal changes.

Brogden (1994) documents steps undertaken by the South African government to adapt the police to the prevailing socio-political climate after apartheid. The central functions of the new South African Police Service (SAPS) is to become a service rather than a force. In a major organizational change, the SAPS abolished its centralized unitary structure with community policing becoming its primary focus.

Parsons (1951) suggests that the extent to which a society becomes progressive and civilized requires planned social changes. Prior to Parsons, Durkheim (1966), in his classic book *Suicide*, pointed out that lack of social cohesion or social disintegration is a primary cause of suicide. The concept of social cohesion in Durkheim's work refers to the ways in which individuals are attached to the community's collective values and to ways in which individual needs and desires are regulated by normative expectations. In a stable society, one's life experiences, pleasures and disappointments conform to the expectations established by the regulative norms of society. Under conditions of sudden crisis or drastic social change, individuals' lives diverge sharply from what the norms governing their lives have led them to expect, and this makes for discontinuity in social regulation. The result is anomie, a state of rulelessness or normlessness that may lead to a dysfunction of the entire society.

Although Durkheim referred specifically to suicide, some sociologists and criminologists agree that the theory of anomie has relevance for explaining some types of crime (Smelser and Warner, 1976). To functionalists, anomie is the absence of effective social control mechanisms which usually cause a society to become dysfunctional, resulting in increasing crime rates and other social maladjustments.

Nigeria is experiencing a state of anomie. Lawlessness, rising crime rates, social and political conflicts, instability, economic decay, and a threat of disintegration is high in the country. Garba (1995:1) described the appalling situation in Nigeria as "...in the thirty-

four years after independence, Nigeria has gone from a nation of hope, strength, abundance, economic prosperity and high aspirations to a nation which has become the embodiment of a degenerated society.” He describes how the Nigerian elite have adversely affected the Nigerian national conscience, economic, political and social development, and the level of prevailing cynicism in the country.

The Imperative for Social Integration in Nigeria

The need for social integration in Nigeria can not be overemphasized. Without social integration, social order is unlikely, and without effective social control by the police, social order can not be ensured. Social integration refers to the condition or process of bringing human subgroups and individuals together into a whole society (Shane, 1980). Social integration can be understood on individual (psychological) levels, small group (social psychological) levels, and societal (sociological) levels. The sociological level pertains to the police (Shane, 1980). According to Shane, social integration is part of the new expanded police role which can be seen in terms of “social needs.” He suggests that the non-law enforcement supportive activities of the police (e.g., mental health, dispute mediation, etc.) are important formal responses to social needs and, therefore, socially integrative.

Social integration in Nigeria is the antidote for social stratification, crime and conflicts. Furthermore, Nigeria’s regional importance, democracy and progress have all made social integration imperative. As mentioned earlier, Nigeria has not fully reaped the benefits of its national wealth and regional importance due to social stratification and increases in crime, conflicts and instability since the end of the civil war in 1969. The general atmosphere of anomie that has prevailed in Nigeria since the middle ‘60s to the present is reminiscent of the English society that Yeats described in his famous poem “The Second Coming”:

Turning and turning in the widening gyre
 The falcon can not hear the falconer;
 Things fall apart; the center cannot hold;
 Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world ... (Yeats, 1919).

Yeats was describing the England of his time, but the description fits the present day Nigeria in many ways. Besides rising crime rates and social unrest, the society is ravaged by social stratification and corruption. Neither the civilian nor military government can restore social order in spite of the large sums of money spent on efforts to address the problems. In 1984, President Buhari launched a War Against Indiscipline (Metz, 1992), a national program preaching the work ethic, emphasizing patriotism, decrying corruption, and promoting environmental sanitation. The campaign was a military reform program that achieved little during the 15 months that it lasted before Buhari was overthrown. Indeed, it is a society where norms have failed to regulate individual behavior. Governments at various levels and the police are deemed too corrupt to be accorded legitimacy.

The country is also isolated by the international community because of human rights violations. When President Clinton visited Africa in April 1998, Nigeria was not included because of its history on key human rights issues; whereas in the past, Nigeria would have perhaps been the first country on Clinton's itinerary. Nigeria is the most populous, the largest, and up until the late 1970s, the model of and hope for democracy in all of Africa. But, today things have fallen apart and the country is at the brink of disintegration. As Garba (1995:17) points out, "the threat of Nigeria's disintegration is disconcerting since it parallels the sectional animosities and ultimate dissolutions in the USSR and Yugoslavia." Indeed, the natural gregariousness of Nigerians, an attribute that made them creative and vibrant, has been systematically destroyed.

This study contends that the national police organization, and the use to which both the civilian and military elites have put the police, are partly responsible for the crisis that Nigeria now faces. This is one of the many ways that the Nigerian elite—"a small but

powerful group of various ethnic persuasions—has managed to create a monopoly of power” (Garba, 1995:20). Evidence exists in support of this contention. The NPF exacerbates disintegration and social stratification by discriminatory law enforcement practices favoring the powerful and the rich (Alemika, 1988). The NPF also helps to perpetrate gender inequality through hiring and promotion practices. Although there is no hard evidence to support this claim, it is common knowledge that policewomen are relegated mostly to office duties in the headquarters and sub-stations throughout the country (Metze, 1992). The number of women in the NPF is not representative of women in the population and the labor force. These practices have created a bulletproof glass ceiling that limits police careers for women.

It is important to note that the economic, political and social conditions in Nigeria have had significant outcomes throughout the region and beyond. Stability and growth in Nigeria means stability and growth throughout the region. Indeed, some observers have charged that instability in Nigeria has adversely affected the region over the past 10 to 20 years (Moser, et al., 1997). Nigeria’s domestic problems and policies have had ripple effects in neighboring African countries.

Nigeria’s economy is the second largest in sub-Saharan Africa, and tenth largest in West Africa. During the 1970s, Nigeria evolved from a poor agricultural economy to a rich, oil-dominated one. By 1980, oil exports totaled 25 billion U.S. dollars and approximately 96 percent of total exports. The smuggling of subsidized petroleum products from Nigeria contributed to the evasion of domestic gasoline taxes by neighboring countries thereby affecting those countries’ fiscal positions and influencing the structure of prices and production throughout the region.

During the period of relative stability in Nigeria after independence (1960 to 1978), there was an influx of citizens from neighboring countries seeking work. In times of crisis and economic hardships, Nigeria expelled these workers as illegal immigrants. This

resulted in strained relationships between Nigeria and neighboring countries such as Ghana.

A functioning police model in Nigeria could bring about social integration, unity, and development in Nigeria and the region as a whole. It is unlikely that the current national police force can be reformed to accomplish such prospects. Instead of a single police force as is currently the case in the country, the police should be decentralized by states like other government agencies. Whatever reasons promoted phasing out the local police that existed alongside the NPF at independence do not seem tenable or plausible in modern Nigeria.

Based on knowledge about the NPF, there is little doubt of its central part played in the stratification of Nigeria. Some critics have justified the phasing out of the local police that existed alongside with the NPF by arguing that they were corrupt, inefficient and used by politicians against opponents (Igbinovia, 1988). This argument is rejected as sophistry and simplistic. Although the level of corruption, ineffectiveness and the use of local police to harass political opponents has not been proven, its shortcomings would pale in comparison to the NPF's crimes and its impact on the nation. Perhaps, because of the need for stability and progress in Nigeria and the benefits that can accrue to the region and the continent, social integration is imperative in Nigeria.

Nigeria: An Historical and Cultural Overview

An understanding of Nigeria's historical and cultural background helps to put the problem of the current national police and the proposed police model in an historical context. The history and cultural diversity of Nigeria are considered to have strong impacts on the NPF in the present study. The reciprocal atmosphere of hostility and mistrust between the police and the public that often results in clashes and violence may be attributed to the historical background and heterogeneity of Nigeria and the perceptions of the police established during colonialism. The police were used by the British for subjugation of the natives during colonialism. Because of the post-independence suppressive and

discriminatory law enforcement tactics of the NPF, it is unlikely that Nigerians will have enough confidence in the police to accord a national police force legitimacy.

Nigeria is a large and culturally diverse country, about the size of France and Australia combined, with a population of approximately 108 million people (Oberschell, 1973). There are approximately nine different ethnic groups or tribes who speak about 240 different languages and dialects (Coleman, 1958).

Nigeria became a nation-state only recently. The country that is now Nigeria came into existence as a nation in 1914 by amalgamation of two separate British colonial territories—the Northern and Southern protectorates. Prior to the advent of the British, the people of present-day Nigeria existed as autonomous tribes in discrete territories. These pre-colonial systems varied in size, productivity and distribution and in their degree of autonomy from, and dependence upon, each other (Tamuno, 1970). Until Britain colonized what is now Nigeria, there was no ruler or set of rulers, social class or regime that had any claims or power over all of the pre-colonial systems. This is significant in understanding the futility of any attempt to govern Nigeria with any form of social and political institutions other than the federal system, including the federalization of the police.

The period between 1880 and 1903 witnessed sustained efforts by the British for conquest and domination over the various state-systems that existed. With coercion, diplomacy, and in some cases, outright bribery of community leaders, Britain removed all African leaders and rival Europeans opposed to the consolidation of a colonial power-state (Tamuno, 1970). What emerged were first, two British colonial territories, the Northern and Southern protectorates, and second, the amalgamation of the two protectorates in 1914 to form Nigeria. For ease of administration, the country was divided into the northern, western, and eastern regions.

As a social system, colonialism did not completely destroy the pre-colonial social relations of distribution, exchange, patterns of authority, culture, and identity of the many different groups (Tamuno, 1970). Attempts were made to assimilate the different cultures

into a national or super culture, but all failed and met with strong oppositions. For example, the move by the federal military government in the 1980s to force one language on the rest of the country was strongly resisted.

In addition to the ethnic differences, there are religious intolerance and differences. While Islam is practiced in most of the northern and the western states, Christianity is practiced in all of the eastern and part of the northern states in an area known as the Middle Belt. Besides Islam and Christianity, a number of traditional African religious practices and worships still exist. Metz (1992) points out that "whereas ethnic cleavages generally remained dormant, religious sectarianism emerged as the most potentially explosive social division in Nigeria." For example, there have been clashes between Moslems and Christians resulting in a number of deaths. In 1987, clashes between Muslim and Christian students at the College of Education in Kafanchan, Kaduna State left at least 12 dead and several churches burned or damaged. The riot spread throughout the country leading to 360 arrests in Kaduna and 400 at the University of Zaria (Metz, 1992). Because of the volatile relationship between the police and the public, police actions were often construed as taking sides with one religious group against the other, especially if the commanding officer was of a different religion or tribe than the demonstrators. The potential for this in the future is a reality.

It is against this brief background that the origin of the power struggle, ethnic conflicts and other problems facing the country today can be traced (Moser, et al., 1997; Odekunle, 1979). According to Moser, et al., (1997:4) "the origin of political instability in Nigeria has been an inability to forge a national unity that transcends ethnic, regional, religious, and economic interest."

The NPF: An Historical Overview

The Nigeria Police Force evolved from the early constabularies raised to protect British personal, administrative and commercial interests after they assumed responsibility

for the port of Lagos in 1861 (Igbinovia, 1980a). The British expansionism in Africa was prompted by anxiety over the raw material sources and inter-imperialist rivalry between British and other industrial nations of Europe (Ahire, 1990). The expansionist moves of the British imperialist state were encouraged, and at times, even spearheaded by British merchants and missionaries who were interested in new sources for raw materials. These merchants sought to control and monopolize trade in the Nigerian hinterland and thus demanded protection from the British imperialist state against both indigenous and foreign competition (Ahire, 1990).

The missionaries, on the other hand, regarded the conquest of Lagos as affording unique opportunity for Christian evangelism. The missionaries, like their merchant counterparts, often requested the colonial political authority to dispose of recalcitrant, indigenous chiefs and pacify uncooperative natives or defend friendly chiefs and their towns. The purpose was to help eradicate indigenous or African religion which was perceived as a threat to proselytism of Christianity (Tamuno, 1970). According to Ahire (1990:51) "the police force emerged ... as a quasi-military apparatus which served as the front line institutional outfit for advancing the interests of merchants and evangelists."

The first police force of 25 constables was established in Lagos colony in 1861 by the Acting Governor McCoskry (Tamuno, 1970). The constables mainly performed beat duties at the trading post of British merchants and missionary settlements to prevent native attacks. In 1862, the police constabulary was redesignated the Armed Police Force because of the need for a paramilitary apparatus to enhance free and speedy flow of trade to the hinterland. At the same time, two other police constabularies were established in the Southern and Northern protectorates known as the Northern and Niger Coast Constabulary, respectively. In the meantime, one other force—the Armed Hausa Police—was established in the north emphasizing military training, functions and responsibilities (Tamuno, 1970).

Kayode (1976) suggests that the imperial powers found by fusing military and police duties under one organization a convenient way to keep down costs. The extent of opposition to colonial rule and taxation mounted by indigenous chiefs and people of the new colonies were other reasons for the emergence of the paramilitary style of policing (Tamuno, 1970).

Following the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates in 1914, the various constabularies that existed were merged to form the Northern Nigeria Constabulary and the Southern Nigeria Police Force. In 1930, police ordinance number 2 was passed which established the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) as a national force (Okereke, 1992). However, when the country became divided into three administrative regions, each was allowed to organize its own police force (Tamuno, 1970). The local police or regional police forces existed alongside the national police in the northern and western regions until 1972 when the merge with the national police was completed.

Kayode (1976) suggests that the reason for the decentralized approach to law enforcement was the need at the time to allow each segment of the federation to organize a defense compatible with local conditions and political climate. Such a need still exists at the present time.

The dual police system continued until the military took over power in 1966. Upon assumption of authority, the military government phased out the local police. The process of merging all the local forces into the Nigeria Police Force was completed in 1972 (Okereke, 1992).

The Nigeria Police Force Today

Since 1972, Nigeria has operated only one national police force. The NPF is designated by section 194 of the 1979 constitution as a national police with exclusive jurisdiction throughout the federation. It still performs the traditional law enforcement police role as the primary function. It is the chief force responsible for the maintenance of

law and order and for the detection and prevention of crime. Should the need arise, they are supported by the armed military forces. By 1983, according to the federal budget, the NPF's strength was almost 152,000 (Metz, 1992).

Alemika (1988) points out that the imperial policing orientations have been maintained and strengthened by post-colonial governments in Nigeria. This tends to be correct because, despite formal independence and the creation of new states, political and economic exploitation, oppression and economic injustices that gave rise to colonial policing have not been jettisoned (Alemika, 1988). The elite who rule Nigeria still use the police as a tool for promoting personal interests and sectional agendas. The current ranking composition of the NPF and discriminatory law enforcement practices tend to support Alemika's claims.

Organization and Operation

The 1979 constitution provided for a police service commission responsible for the policies, organization, administration, promotion, discipline, and dismissal of police officers. Accordingly, the NPF is under the general operational and administrative control of an inspector-general appointed by the president. He is supported at police headquarters in the nation's capital by a deputy inspector-general, and in each state capital, by a police commissioner appointed by the Police Service Commission. Section 195.3 of the 1979 constitution states:

the president or such other minister of government of the federation, as he may authorize, may give to the inspector-general such lawful directions with respect to the maintenance of public safety and public order as he may consider necessary, and the inspector-general shall comply with those directions or cause them to be complied with.

In 1989, the president abolished the Police Service Commission and established the Nigerian Police Council under direct presidential control. The council is chaired by the

president, with the chief of general staff, the minister of internal affairs and the inspector-general serving as members.

Currently, the NPF is organized into seven area commands and five directorates (criminal investigation, logistics, supplies, training, and operations) each under a deputy inspector general. In 1989, a 'Quick Intervention Force' was established in each state capital to monitor political events and to quell unrest during transition from military to civil rule. Each state unit had 160 to 400 police officers commanded by an Assistant Superintendent of Police (ASP) and were equipped with vehicles, communications gear, weapons, and crowd control equipment, including shields, batons and tear gas.

Under the 1989 reorganization, a Federal Investigation and Intelligence Bureau (FIIB) replaced the Directorate of Intelligence and Investigations. Also included was the Directorate of Administration composed of an administration unit, headed by an Assistant Inspector-General (AIG), and Budget and Personnel units under the Commissioner of Police, respectively.

The Directorate of Logistics consisted of four units: procurement, workshop/transport, supply, and maintenance, each under AIGs. Police officers were generally deployed throughout the country prior to 1989. In 1989, the president announced that a large number of officers would be posted in their native areas at the end of training to facilitate police community relations.

Selection and Training

Police training is directed from headquarters by a deputy inspector-general designated as commander. The minimum age for recruits is 19, and they can not be older than 25. Minimum height requirement are 5' 6" inches for males and 5' 4" for females. Educational qualifications require that candidates possess a minimum of three years of high school. Candidates for cadet or inspector must have a high school diploma or equivalent

and pass English and mathematics. Ranks above inspector require a minimum of a bachelor's degree in any field.

New recruits undergo six months of training in one of the four police colleges in Oji River, Maduguri, Kaduna, and Ikeja. They are the Mobile Force Training School at Guzuo, Police Detective Collage at Enugu, the Police Dogs Service Training Center, and the Mounted Training Center for specialized and in-service training at Maduguri and Ikeja. Dark or navy blue pants and light blue shirts are the uniforms used throughout the country,

Generally, officers carry out beat duty on foot with only a baton. When they are guarding a bank, government office or government official's home, however, rifles are issued. It is also the practice to issue rifles at night for guarding checkpoints that are mounted in several locations throughout the country in attempt to deter armed robbers.

NPF and Social Stratification

The national organization of police in Nigeria exacerbates social stratification and inhibits social integration. This is because of the discriminatory law enforcement practices made possible by unchecked abuse of police power.

Social stratification is a structure of social inequality manifested as a result of differences in prestige, power, and/or economic rewards (Noel, 1973). Social stratification is only one basis for the existence of inequality that is promoted by discriminatory law enforcement, followed by ethnic and gender stratification. The police and ethnic stratification are not addressed in this study because of the social agitation that such evaluation could cause.

Stratification is recognized in a society by graded hierarchies of rank, differences, and inequalities. Social stratification in Nigeria has some consequences. It accords some people opportunities, privileges, power, and status while denying the same to others. Social inequalities exist in Nigeria despite the tendency to deny their real existence or to assert that they are critical to peace, stability and development.

Social stratification in Nigeria is perpetuated by the police through discriminatory law enforcement practices. Evidences of this are well-borne by some scholars (Anotonovsky, 1960; Igbinovia, 1980a; Alemika, 1988; Okereke, 1992). According to these scholars, discriminatory police practices create social relations that favor the rich and the powerful against the weak, the poor and women. Anotonovsky (1960) suggests that a discriminatory system of social relations requires both shared goals and scarcity of rewards, and competition between two or more social units striving to achieve the same scarce goals (e.g., prestige, power, and wealth). Both situations apply in Nigeria. This explains why a motorist in a Mercedes Benze is not stopped, delayed and searched at police checkpoints and why a taxi driver is stopped, delayed and has money extorted.

Discriminatory law enforcement in Nigeria is also evident in what happens during and after arrests. Police are expected to use a crime control model in arresting suspects, but they are also expected to use a due-process model which means the rights of suspects and the accused should be respected. This is not what the NPF practice. Cases of police brutality and killings by members of the NPF especially on the poor and students are well-known. Even after arrest, the accused who cannot raise bail money are held in prisons sometimes for more than a year for an alleged offense which, if convicted, they would have received a sentence of six months or a fine (Alemika, 1988).

Economic and political power and social status are goals that most Nigerians aspire. The weak, women and ethnic minorities constitute the social entities in competition for these goals. The police, through sustained discriminatory law enforcement patterns against the weak and the poor, limit their power to compete. Most of the top positions in the NPF have never been occupied by women. For example, no woman has ever held the position of inspector-general of police in Nigeria, nor has any woman been appointed a commissioner of police at either the federal or state level. The contention of this study is that the national organization of police in Nigeria inhibits social integration and exasperates

social stratification. The results are increased crime rates and conflicts that threaten the social order and society's very survival.

Conflicts in Nigeria

Conflicts in Nigeria are social, political and religious in nature. Cosner (1967) defines social conflict as a struggle over values or claims to status, power and scarce resources in which the aims of the conflict groups are to gain the desired values and also to neutralize, injure or eliminate rivals. The debate by social scientists over the relationship between diversity and discontent social conflicts and developmental change dates back to De Tocqueville (1955). Referring to the French Revolution with all its economic prosperity, De Tocqueville points out that the economic prosperity instead of "tranquilizing the population, everywhere promoted a spirit of unrest."

Trotsky (1959) states that society often does not change its institutions as the need arises because of the determination of interest groups in resisting changes that may threaten their vested interests. This makes conflicts a fundamental fact of existence. The works of modern sociologists support Trotsky's claim by relating conflict, especially social conflict, to developmental change, goals and competition, particularly in fragmented societies.

According to Oberschall (1979), "social conflict and discontent stem from incorporating autonomous groups or peoples under a national authority, or from the diminution of the sphere of authority of local and regional groups and notables under a policy of unification and centralization of national government." Specifically, Oberschall illustrates this position with Nigeria. He points out that the origin of Nigeria's crisis can be traced to the diversity of the country and the discontent of the different groups over various claims including power, status and scarce resources.

Brown (1993) views conflict as a dispute over important political, economic, social, cultural or territorial issues between two or more ethnic communities. He points out that conflicts often begin as domestic disputes, and, if not properly managed, may spread

throughout the country. In some cases, conflicts may spill over into neighboring countries. According to Brown, implications of ethnic conflicts may include ethnic reconciliation in which negotiations under new legal and political frameworks are used as a condition for resolutions. Negotiations between Quebec and other Canadian provinces over Quebec's constitutional status is a ready example. Ethnic separation is the second implication of ethnic conflicts. The breakup of the Russian federation is cited as a possibility that can not be ruled out. The third implication is ethnic war, where antagonistic groups are unable to agree on new legal and constitutional arrangements.

In the case of Nigeria, a more important and obvious reason for conflict is a feeling of loss of autonomy by some groups in the country (Oberschall, 1973). This is because the central government controlled by the elite class is seen to expand its authority to exploit untapped resources for increasing their own power, to secure a frontier with foreign governments, to extend its taxation power, and to prevent a rival. The solution that Oberschall and others suggests is a decentralization of government institutions, including the police.

Cheema and Rondinelli (1983) observe that the increasing need to decentralize authority in Asia, Latin America and Africa to state, regional and local agencies arose from three converging forces. First, it emerged from the disillusionment of centralized planning results and control of development activities. Second, it arose from the requirements in the growth-with-equity policies of the 70s for new ways of managing social development programs. Finally, it evolved from the growing realization among policy analysts during the early 1980s that as societies become more complex and government activities expand, it is increasingly difficult to plan and administer all development activities effectively and efficiently.

In a more recent study, Tordoff (1994) points out that there has been a movement toward decentralization of government functionaries in developing countries to promote political pluralism and local participation in the process of social, economic and political

engineering. This switch in emphasis from less to more meaningful local participation is justifiable on one important ground. There is the belief that popular participation is essential if projects are to be realistic and receive local support.

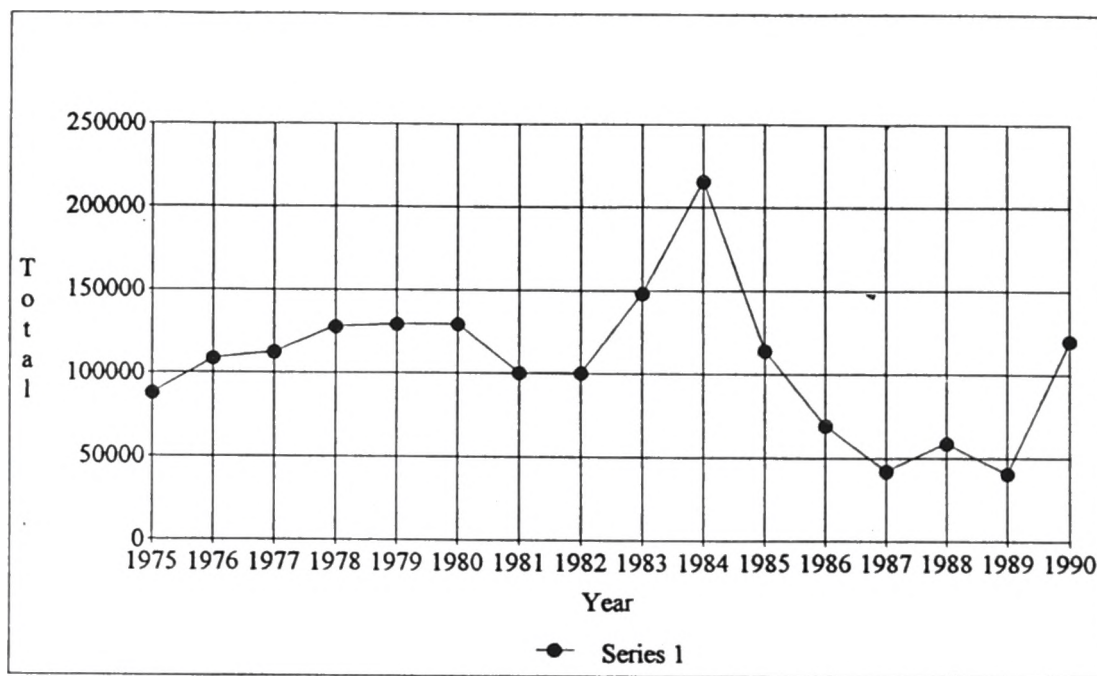
Crime Trends in Nigeria

The purpose of this section is to use crime trends as a measure of the NPF's effectiveness. Police ineffectiveness in Nigeria is due to police crime, corruption and abuse of police power.

The use of crime trends as a measure of police effectiveness is supported by previous research. As cited in More (1985), according to Sir Robert Peel, founder of the British police system, the absence of crime and disorder is a test of police efficiency. In 1999, the Clinton Administration justified decreases in violent crimes in America by adding more police on the streets. The assumption is that more police would cut down on response time and make the police more effective in combating violent criminals. If this is used as a guide, it follows that a relationship exists between efficient policing and reduction in crime rates. Lower crime rates indicate police effectiveness, while higher crime rates indicate police ineffectiveness, controlling for other social conditions affecting crime.

The crime trends in Nigeria have been on the increase since 1975 (see Figure 1). This period corresponds with the beginning of the oil boom, post-Nigerian civil war reconstruction and the onset of modernization. The sharp drop in crime between 1984 and 1987 does not reflect a true decrease, but rather is the result of lack of data from a number of states. Between 1975 and 1998, new states were created bringing the total number to 30 in 1998. This explains, in part, why crime rates are shown to be low between 1984 and 1987. Data were not available for some of the new states because they were preoccupied more with the taking-off process than with worry about crime data. However, this study does not suggest any relationship between state creation, number of states and increases in

crime rates. It is important to note that while crime has increased in Nigeria from the mid-1970s, police services have not improved to deter the increases.



Source: Nigerian Prison Service Annual Reports.

*Note: 1987 data are for Borneo, Bendel, Cross River, Ogun, Ondo and Oyo states only. 1990 data are unavailable for Akwa Ibom and Kaduna states.

Figure 1

Total Prison Admissions in Nigeria, 1975-1990

Other available data before 1975 support the data used in the present study. Annual crime rates fluctuated around 200 per 100,000 population until the early 1960s and then steadily increased to more than 300 per 100,000 by the mid-1970s (Metz, 1992). Crime against property accounted for more than one-half of the offenses, with theft, burglary and breaking and entering covering 80 to 90 percent in most years (Metz, 1992). Metz points out that in the late 1980s and 1990s, increases in crime were exacerbated by the

ineffectiveness, inefficiency and corruption of police, military and customs personnel who conspired with criminals and engaged in criminal conduct themselves.

Reports of the menacing operations of armed bandits are common national headlines throughout the country. In a journal article titled "Nights of Terror," Aynote (1995) recounts how residents of Oshodi within the city of Lagos, former capital of Nigeria, were held captives in their home by armed robbers for four consecutive nights. The suspects robbed almost every house in a fifteen street section. On the last day of their operations, June 16, 1995, 30 people were dead, several wounded and several women raped. The police were nowhere to be seen during these entire operations.

The public response to official misconduct, police corruption and ineffectiveness is to take matters into their own hands. As the public's loss of confidence in law enforcement agencies and public security has increased, the public has turned to vigilantism. In July 1989, after a gang of some 30 armed robbers terrorized and looted a neighborhood in Onitisha without police intervention, residents vented their rage and lynched four robbers before police restored order.

Community Policing

Despite the fact that community policing has existed for more than 40 years, there tends to be no universal definition. According to Weatheritt (1987:7): "Community policing is a conveniently elastic term to which is often loosely used to accommodate virtually any policing activity of which its proponents approve." Weatheritt argues that there is no firm definition of community policing nor should there be one. Contrary to Weatheritt, other definitions of community policing have been offered by scholars including Goldstein (1979), Skolnick (1988), and Trojanowicz, et al. (1990). According to Trojanowicz, et al. (1998:5):

Community policing is a new philosophy of policing, based on the concept that officers and private citizens working together in creative ways can help solve contemporary community problems related to crime, fear of crime, social and physical disorder, and neighborhood decay. The philosophy is predicated on the belief that achieving these goals requires that police departments develop a new relationship with the law-abiding people in the community, allowing them a greater voice in setting local police priorities and involving them in effort to improve the overall quality of life in their neighborhoods. It shifts the focus of police work from handling random calls to solving community problems.

Skolnick and Bayley (1986) assert that the concept of increased cooperation between police and the community is known as community policing. In a study of community policing in ten countries, Skolnick and Bayley operationalized community policing as community-based crime prevention with proactive patrol servicing as opposed to emergency response, public participation in planning and supervision of police operations, and shifting of command responsibilities to lower rank levels. Based on this definition, the authors outlined four elements commonplace in the ten countries: (1) community-based crime prevention (2) reorientation of patrol activities; (3) increased police accountability, and (4) decentralization of command. The central premise of community policing is that the public should play a more active and coordinated part in enhancing safety.

Elements of Community Policing

During the 1970s, research on community policing increased substantially throughout the world, especially in the United States. The findings were based primarily on Woods' (1971) philosophy of problem-oriented policing. Woods, New York City's police

commissioner from 1914 to 1919, was perhaps the earliest American proponent of community policing. His idea was to inculcate in the ordinary rank-and-file police officer a sense of social importance, dignity and public value. Woods was convinced that an informed public would benefit the police in two important ways. First, the public would gain an increased respect for police work if they understood the complexities, difficulties and significance of police duties, and second, through this understanding, they would be willing to develop rewards for conscientious and effective police performance. Woods viewed the police officer's responsibility as extending beyond law enforcement. Every police officer was responsible for the social conditions of a street or neighborhood. Since unemployment was perceived as a key cause of crime, residents could ask police for assistance in locating employment. This approach later evolved into a problem-oriented policing, team-policing and community policing form of law enforcement.

Palmiotto (1988) points out that community oriented policing allows the line officer to be a decision-maker and a problem-solver. Under the concepts of community policing, police work is no longer incident-driven. Rather, emphasis is on community problem-solving. Furthermore, community policing involves a shift away from the centralized and control of the line officer. It is a program of values that achieves changes of individual officer's behavior toward the public as well as adjustments in organizational practices (Skolnick and Bayley, 1986). The elements of community policing outlined by Skolnick and Bayley are briefly discussed below.

Community-Based Crime Prevention

Community-based crime prevention is the ultimate goal of community policing, with Neighborhood Watch being the primary instrument. As Skolnick and Bayley (1986) observe, community policing is an American invention practiced throughout the world and consists of three basic elements:

1. Public surveillance, by which people residing in a defined area are encouraged to get together and act as eyes and ears to the police.
2. Property marking, by which citizens are encouraged to identify their property with post codes, house or flat number and their initials. This is intended as a deterrent to burglars, in addition as a method of providing swift identification and return of stolen property.
3. Home security, which means that when the Neighborhood Watch scheme is set up, the police are supposed to offer to visit any household, free of charge and make recommendations for improving security.

In essence, police in the United States and around the world implementing community-based crime prevention programs have developed extensive education programs designed to help threatened groups protect themselves more successfully.

Increased Police Accountability

Community policing encourages the expansion of civilian input. The public can speak and be informed about strategic priorities, tactical approaches and even the behavior of individual officers. Police officers, in turn, become aware that their activities are monitored, and they may individually be held accountable.

Re-Orientation of Patrol Activities

Reorientation of patrol activities pertains to whether traditional police strategies actually provide effective protection. The assumption has been that criminals, as well as disorderly activity, will be deterred by a visible police presence on the streets resulting in prompt arrest of those who break the law. Accordingly, 60 percent of police activities have been assigned to patrolling, with most of the remaining time allotted for criminal investigation (Bayley, 1985).

However, according to Bayley (1985), this approach did not work as originally planned as evidenced by increased crime rates and unrest in the 1960s and 1970s. Community police reformers such as Bayley (1985), contend that patrol operations should encourage a deeper involvement with the community. According to Bayley, rather than being deployed *ex post facto*, patrol officers should get to know the community, talk to people in all walks of life and become a visible yet unremarkable part of the community scene. By so doing, officers can assist individuals, as well as the community, in protection against crime and be better able to intervene early to prevent problems from arising, develop a heightened appreciation of community concerns, explain police services more accurately, and solicit information leading to arrests and prosecution.

Decentralization of Command

Traditional centralized policing usually follows force-wide blueprints drawn by administrators at the headquarters (Bayley, 1995). A key assumption of decentralization of command is that communities have different policing priorities and problems. Thus, in community-based policing, police must be adaptable to include community needs and situations. To accomplish this, it is suggested that subordinate commanders be given freedom to act according to their own knowledge of local conditions. Physical organizational and command decentralization are necessary in order to take advantage of the knowledge that comes with greater police involvement and feedback from the community. Community policing uses decentralization to gain operational flexibility needed to shape police strategies to particular areas.

The elements of community policing discussed have been demonstrated to help enhance police effectiveness and relationships with communities in the countries studied by Skolnick and Bayley (1986). The new community-based crime prevention strategies have encouraged communities and police to talk and listen to each other. It has engendered a new breed of police officers with a new ethos. According to Bayley (1995), community policing

transforms the responsibilities of all police officers. Subordinate officers are able to become more self-directing, while senior officers are encouraged to take on disciplined initiatives and develop coherent plans responsive to local conditions.

Community Policing: A Comparative Overview

Comparative analysis is one of the foundations on which the discipline of social sciences was built (Mawby, 1990). While physical scientists can control for different variables in the laboratory, social scientists tend to use regional comparisons in a large macro-laboratory allowing for consideration of a wider range of alternative situations.

International comparisons create the most opportunity for developing and testing theoretical models. For example, in Weber's classic analysis on the rise of capitalism, bureaucracy in society was dependent upon international comparison. Parsons (1951) followed Weber's comparative tradition. He was not merely interested in exploring the social structure of specific primitive societies, but to draw parallels across societies.

A comparison of community policing in different societies in the present study follows this tradition. The aim is to show the state of community policing across cultures and society and to use this to draw parallels and predict its potential as an alternative police model in Nigeria. However, in so doing, this researcher recognizes the limitation in making international comparisons pointed out by Mawby (1990). According to Mawby, existing political systems, public administration and social/cultural structures of a society may hinder community policing. Even so, it is important to note that the socio-political and cultural milieu of Nigeria is likely to be more supportive of community policing than the current traditional police model.

Community police in Canada, the United States, Britain, Japan, and South Africa are examined. The criterion for the choice of the countries vary, but each is based on an element thought to be similar in some respects to Nigeria. The United States, South Africa and Canada are examined for their cultural diversity, and Japan for its large population and

culture. South Africa is included because it is the only known African country to embrace the concept of community policing. Because of time and space constraints, community policing in these countries is intended to show a movement away from the traditional, professional, proactive police that characterized the British police reform remaining in Nigeria today.

Canada. Community policing in Canada has been undertaken as a strategy of organizational change. The Toronto and Halifax police departments have established zone-based team policing and foot patrol storefront police operations at Edmonton, Montreal, Winnipeg, and Victoria. Several patrol programs now emphasize local area crime approaches as the basis for directed patrolling. Crime prevention campaigns opposed to crime fighting are promoted throughout the country.

According to Murphy and Muir (1985), community policing in Canada is as much a source of potential organization and management reform as it is a reform of the police role. Furthermore, community policing provides a justification for undertaking internal changes advocated by reform elements within and outside the police agency.

Great Britain. Community-policing in Great Britain is aimed at eliminating tension and violence between the police and the non-white ethnic groups (Skolnick and Bayley, 1986). Emphasis is directed towards two different areas. The London Metropolitan Police assigns a portion of their officers to "home beats" as "community constables." These officers develop an intimate working knowledge of their beats, encourage crime prevention and patrol on foot and build a closer rapport between the community and the police.

Accountability is a key issue of community policing. The police report directly to the Home Secretary, a national cabinet official, who, in turn, reports to Parliament. However, the Labor Party and non-white politicians would prefer to make the police accountable to local authorities who represent a population of approximately one-quarter of a million people. Following the British riots in London in 1981, community consultative committees were formed throughout most of Britain. They are composed of representatives

from local councils, statutory services (e.g., health, probation, education, housing, resident and tenant associations), and neighborhood action groups. The consultative committees enable the police to obtain public views on matters that concern the police and obtain the public's cooperation in crime prevention (Skolnick and Bayley, 1986). On the whole, community policing remains a part of British police reform efforts.

Japan. Even though modern-day community policing is basically an American invention, the oldest and best established community policing system in the world is the Japanese (Bayley, 1985). The Japanese police system originated at the end of World War II out of a combination of traditional culture and American democratic ideals. According to Bayley (1985), the Japanese police are expected to actively assist in inculcating values entailed by the community's vision of what it wishes to be. They have a teaching as well as a legal function which is the whole essence of community policing.

Japan's command of police operations consists of 46 forces, including Okinawa. The central government can only direct police operations when a state of national emergency is declared. Police posts, referred to as Kobans, are organized throughout local communities. Kobana officers act as advisers on a wide range of community issues. They are reared in the community and are thus familiar with their work environment. Kobana stations function as centers for advice, mediation forums and a first line of assistance for local residents.

Japanese police officers are not and have never been accountable to local political leaders. Local chiefs of police report to state political leaders. The key to their success lies in the strong neighborhood ties and the integration of police with local community groups (Mawby, 1990).

The United States. In the United States, community policing developed out of a concept of how police should sensibly and appropriately respond to citizens and communities (Bayley, 1971). That concept is attributed to Arthur Woods, who was New York City's police commissioner from 1914 to 1919. Since that time, there has been a

move away from the traditional, reactive policing that originated in Britain, to a proactive community-based policing model in various police departments throughout the country.

Changes have centered mainly on the development and improvement of police relations within communities, particularly minority communities. Two government reports, *The Report of the National Commission on Civil Disorder*, or the *Kerner Commission Report* (1968) and *The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice*, or the *Crime Commission Report* (1967), are essential to an understanding of these changes and the origin of a community relations approach to policing in America. The Kerner Commission examined the causes of riots that were prevalent in American cities during the 1960's and found that there was a deep hostility between police, Negroes and other minority groups. The Commission concluded that these hostile relationships were a major source of grievance, tension, and ultimately, disorder. Aggressive preventive patrol was singled out for negative comment. This included a roving task force that moved into high crime districts without prior notice and conducted intensive and often indiscriminate street stop and searches.

The Kerner Commission concluded that poor community feelings not only created tensions but engendered actions that embittered police and triggered irrational responses. Citizens, in turn, became more hostile toward the police. As a result, the police became even less effective, stimulating crime rather than neutralizing it.

The reaction of various police departments in the 1970s, 80s, and 90s was to train police in the development of community relations. In 1984, Trojanowicz and Harden surveyed police departments throughout the United States and found that 143 departments practiced some form of community policing. According to Manning (1992) "the foci of police reform are numerous, but the most visible is a programmatic approach called community policing, ...with a wide, if not deep, impact on policing in virtually every town in America" (p. 2).

South Africa. Brogden (1994) indicates that community policing is one of the key features of current police reform. He argues that prior to reform, a racist culture was “bred” into the South African Police (SAP). That culture is epitomized in the racial pyramid in which black officers provide the bulk of rank-and-file and are exposed to daily violence, while white generals remain in Pretoria’s headquarters. Since its inception in 1912, the SAP has historically been a centralized, military police force that relies on physical force to maintain order in black townships and rural areas.

The new South African constitution has undertaken a number of police reforms. Brogden (1994) reports on some of the more significant changes. The central functions of the SAP are the preservation of the internal security of the republic, the maintenance of law and order, the investigation of offenses, and the prevention of crime. The South African Police is attempting to reorganize as a police service agency rather than a police force. A major organizational change for the South African Police Service (SAPS) is to lose its centralized unitary structure by constructing a two-tiered force with some measure of accountability to national and provincial assemblies, respectively.

Table I depicts a comparison of traditional policing versus community policing. The table is adapted for the analysis of the present study.

Community Policing: A Proposed Model for Nigeria

Crime, disorder, conflicts, and other problems in Nigeria are only part of the police’s responsibility. As this study illustrates, police cannot solve these problems alone—they need public help and cooperation. In Nigeria, public help and cooperation are not possible because of the NPF’s organization as a national police force representing its roots in colonialism. The need to enlist public cooperation and help requires that the role and current policing in Nigeria must change. By shifting the emphasis from reacting to calls-for-service with a proactive focus on solving problems, community policing has the potential to address most of the problems identified in this study. Whereas, traditional

Table I
Traditional Versus Community Policing Models

Question	Traditional Policing	Community Policing
1. Who are the police?	A government agency principally responsible for law enforcement.	Police are the public and the public are the police. Police officers are those paid to give full-time attention to duties of every citizen.
2. What is the role of the police?	Focus on solving crime.	A broader problem-solving approach.
3. How is police efficiency measured?	By detection and arrest rates.	By the absence of crime and disorder.
4. What are the highest priorities?	Crimes that are high value (e.g., bank robberies) and those involving violence.	Whatever problem disturbs the community.
5. What do the police deal with?	Incidents.	Citizens' problems and concerns.
6. What is police professionalism?	Swift/effective response to serious crime.	Keeping close to the community.
7. What is the essential nature of police	Highly centralized, governed by rules, regulations, and policy directives; accountable to the law.	Emphasis on local accountability to the community.
8. How do the police regard prosecution?	As an important goal.	As one tool among many.

Source: Trojanowicz, et al. (1998). *Community Policing: A Contemporary Perspective*, 2nd edition, p. 23.

policing tends to limit the department's response to crimes and those who commit them, community policing broadens the police mission, dispatching officers to the community as outreach specialists (Trojanowicz, et al., 1998). As they go into the community, they learn about community problems related to crime, fear of crime and disorder and provide services to a wide variety of social settings that promote social order.

The centralized nature of the NPF—organizationally and command-wise—militate against the much-needed harmonious relationship between the police and the public for effective police work and social order. Among the most serious problems faced by the NPF are the disharmony produced by the cultural diversity and political structure of the country, perceptions of the police by the public, police perceptions of their role, police involvement in criminal activities and abuse of power, and the colossal nature of the police bureaucracy. Past experiences with the present model is self-evident that the time for an alternative police model is overdue. The NPF is a failure regarding crime control and maintenance of order resulting in a countrywide sense of disillusionment among the Nigerian public for the police. The time has come for the NPF to be recognized as an outdated institution in a democratic era.

Past reform initiatives to better the NPF through improved recruitment, training, and the use of modern equipment has only made the force more powerful and more corrupt. By introducing new technology, their power is likely to spread, and there is no evidence that democratic policing will emerge from the current model other than breaking up peaceful and lawful demonstrations and protests.

Over the past 40 years, community policing has represented a progressive step in policing throughout the world's industrial democracies. The movement in Nigeria from traditional to community policing would equally represent progress. Scholars have outlined the advantages of the new strategy that can benefit Nigeria. Possible benefits of community policing in Nigeria are identified by Trojanowicz et al. (1998):

- (1) Community policing officers can bring neighborhood people together in efforts to enhance the community, so that they can begin to re-establish a pattern of interacting face-to-face, which fosters the mutual trust and support that is necessary to build a sense of community;

- (2) By making communities safer and more attractive places to live, people can begin to enjoy the emotional support that participating in community life can provide;
- (3) In contrast to the adversarial relationship implicit in the traditional system, community policing philosophy encourages the department to humanize all the interactions with citizens, focusing instead on new ways to help them solve community concerns. By decentralizing police services, and by personalizing all department's interactions with the average citizens, community policing helps foster an atmosphere of mutual trust and respect, which are essential in promoting a positive community atmosphere;
- (4) Community policing reduces the fear of crime that stifles community involvement. Fear of crime traps many people in their homes and reinforces the perception that the streets are very dangerous;
- (5) A welcome by-product of community policing is improved race relations, and racial tensions remain a major barrier in developing a true sense of community.

Community policing in Nigeria can also benefit the growing debate on the degree of control that central governments can and should have over planning and administration in developing countries (Tordoff, 1994). Tordoff points out that there is a growing need for decentralization of authority for planning and administration to state, regional, district, and local agencies and governments in developing countries. This is because it is difficult to mobilize support for centrally planned courses of action when oppositions and sectional interest claims by sub-units acting as interest groups exist. Historically, central planning has failed to consider the differing needs and conditions of various regions of the country. By the same token, policing in Nigeria does not consider the different societal needs and conditions of groups in the country.

Development theorists argue that central planning is not only complex and difficult to implement, but may also be inappropriate for promoting equitable growth and self-

sufficiency among the diverse groups within a developing society (Cheema and Rondinelli, 1983). They point out that through central planning, elite groups, political leaders, economists, technicians, and administrators preempt decision-making and proscribe courses of action that reflect their own values and priorities. New decision-making processes are thus needed to elicit the participation of all groups and communities to promote greater self-sufficiency and national development. This study contends that these same arguments are tenable for police decentralization or community policing.

According to proponents of community policing, it enhances public security and lowers crime rates, reduces the fear of crime making the public feel less helpless, reconnects the police with alienated publics, raises police morale, and makes police more accountable. As Bayley (1977) points out, community policing has emerged as a major strategic alternative to traditional practices that are widely regarded as having failed.

Resistance to Community Policing in Nigeria

Introduction of community policing in Nigeria is likely to meet with resistance from those who benefit from the current model. As referenced earlier, local police forces operated alongside the national police force until their merge was completed in 1972. Basically, the local forces existed in the northern and western regions and were contemplated in the eastern region when a civil war broke out in 1966. Their jurisdiction was limited to local issues and territories. The underlying reasons for the merge remains suspect and is challenged in this study.

According to Trojanowicz et al. (1998), those who resist community policing are generally those individuals who are reluctant to embrace change. Veteran police officers who feel they fare better under the existing system pose the greatest internal resistance. Those in control under the present system perceive themselves as losing under the community policing system. They prefer a conservative, paramilitary undemocratic system

that grants them power and renders them anonymous. Such individuals may view the change as too dramatic, fundamental and far-reaching.

Another reason that ranking officers may resist community policing is because the “rotten apple metaphor” is often invoked in explaining police corruption that is more tenable in the traditional police model. Excuses for police use of force is also a reason for resistance. Community policing is less tolerant of corruption and does not rely on the use of force to solve community and police problems.

Community policing is likely to be resisted by Nigeria’s federal government because it may threaten the monopoly of coercion, loss of authority and political influence over the states. With respect to community policing, such a threat is unlikely. Community policing will not pose a threat to the power of the federal or state government, but will, rather, grant a degree of legitimacy to the federal and state governments and the police. The public will perceive the police as part of the community and accept their authority. This is likely to improve police efficiency and accountability. Indeed, police efficiency and accountability cannot be a threat to the federal, state, and political process. As Aydin (1996) points out, even though all municipal police forces are accountable to local forces in Turkey, they are no threat to the central government.

Implementing Community Policing in Nigeria

Due to the exploratory nature of the present study, implementing community policing in Nigeria is deliberately limited in scope. When community policing is implemented, it is, in fact, implementing change (Trojanowicz, et al., 1998). Some changes are gradual while others are radical. In the past, however, changes that have occurred and been undertaken by the government have not been gradual. Thus, a radical move from a traditional to community policing model will not depart from the norm.

Given the realities of the NPF’s performance, the societal changes that have occurred, the cultural diversity, and the organizational realities of the current national

police, implementation of community policing should be radical. Each state in the federation should have the right to organize a police force based on its needs. Elements of community policing as outlined in this study can serve as the framework for engineering the new state police system.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The methodology is a secondary analysis of existing data gathered from a review of the literature and prison data compiled from the Nigerian Prison Admissions Annual Reports (NPAR). Scientific procedures are applied to investigate a specific subject because they guarantee a degree of organization to questionable data and guarantee reliability and pertinence to the questions asked. Scientific procedures also ensure that the data and questions are unbiased. The present research followed this empirical tradition.

Chapter III provides a theoretical framework, the research design, and strengths and limitations of the study. The theoretical framework section includes a brief overview of functionalism and conflict theory and how they apply to the present study. The research design section describes various materials and data sources and what they explain. Finally, the strengths and limitations section explores the limitations, validity and reliability of the data and the methodology.

Theoretical Framework

Functionalism is the main theoretical framework that guides this study. Conflict theory is used, where applicable, to complement or refute functionalism and to support the study's assumptions. Parsons (1951) and Turk (1969) are the major literature review sources.

According to Wilson (1995), a theoretical framework provides an understanding of social processes and structures. Structural-functionalism in the present study seeks to provide an understanding of what the police role in modern Nigeria should be and how it can be accomplished. Likewise, conflict theory addresses why the current Nigerian police model is ineffective and unsuitable.

Functionalism perceives society as integrated, orderly, and in a state of equilibrium unless disrupted by dysfunctional social structures that may threaten its survival (Parsons, 1951). According to Parsons, the general needs for societal survival can be identified, and social structures, or persistent patterns of behavior, function to maintain society's values, goals, and needs. For example, when crime control strategies are effective or functional, they are assumed to persist and contribute to a society's stability and survival. Conversely, if too large a portion of a society is crime-prone or deviant and crime control strategies are ineffective, the fundamental stability of that society will be disrupted. Thus, a social structure's continued existence is justified by how it contributes to the stability and survival of a particular society. For example, the police are judged by the way their performances contribute to the stability of the society they control. The present examination of the NPF and policing in Nigeria is guided by this perspective.

Conflict theory (Turk, 1969), by contrast, views society as unstable, unintegrated and constantly in conflict because of competing self-interests. Conflict theory was the dominant perspective for understanding causes of crime and crime control in the mid-1960s. Conflict theory assumes an uneven distribution of self-interests in crime control and power to implement self-interests into social policy. The theory focuses on how these distributions of self-interests and power exist, persist, and influence crime and crime control, particularly in law-making and law enforcement. To conflict theorists, law-making and law enforcement reflects the interests of the powerful. Activities that threaten their interests are criminalized.

In the present study, conflict theory explains some of the reasons for crime control strategies in Nigeria, how law enforcement has been affected, and the ramifications. Thus, functionalism and conflict theory are relevant in exploring what the police role in Nigeria should be, why the NPF is dysfunctional, and how police reform should serve the social needs of modern Nigeria.

Research Design

To investigate how the National Police Force impacts crime, conflicts, and the social order in Nigeria, three research questions were formulated:

1. What are the expanded police roles in modern society?
2. To what extent has the NPF as a national force promoted or inhibited the expanded police role in Nigeria?
3. How can the police in Nigeria be reformed to adapt to the expanded police role?

To answer the first question, the following hypothesis was tested: The police role in modern society has expanded beyond traditional law enforcement to include a social services role. This hypothesis is tested by analyzing data on the police and their role in modern society, beginning with their evolution and the influence of the British experience on policing throughout the world. The findings are then generalized to policing worldwide. The present study assumes that the British experience and its influence on other countries can be generalized to the Nigerian police. The limitation of making this generalization to Nigeria, however, is acknowledged.

The following hypothesis addresses the second question: The National Police Force is the impediment to adaptation of expanded, social service police roles in modern Nigeria. Three elements are important in explaining how the National Police Force inhibits this adaptation: (1) the resilience of the colonial police legacy (Alemika, 1988; Odekunle, 1979; Opolot, 1976; Tamuno, 1970); (2) the Nigerian police officers' perceptions of their job and the public (Alemika, 1993); and (3) the public perceptions of the police (Okereke, 1992, 1993). The NPF's responses to the growing crime rate and the prevalence of social conflicts are analyzed as measures of their effectiveness or performance. Both the crime trends and Nigeria's index of crime were compiled from the Nigerian Prison Admissions Annual Reports (NPAAR). The NPAAR is an annual compilation consisting of both inmates and crime suspects.

The third question is answered by testing the following hypothesis: A community-based police system rather than the national force has the potential to better adapt to the expanded police role in modern Nigeria. The cultural diversity, federal structure, size, and population of Nigeria are analyzed to determine how these factors combine to form a hostile environment that militates against the NPF.

Based on the findings of the analysis, a proposed alternative to the National Police Force is presented and articulated. Community policing is proposed to address the thesis that a decentralized, community-based police system has the potential to better control crime and bring about social integration in Nigeria than the current national police model.

Strengths and Limitations

All research methods and measuring instruments have their strengths and weaknesses. According to Hagan (1989:45), “the only perfect research is no research.” The data in this study suffer from the inherent strengths and weaknesses of official and secondary data. Since official and some secondary data were collected for other purposes, there is cause for concern. This can make analysis of the data for further investigation problematic and may render the study flawed. For example, the prison admissions data used in the present and other studies were compiled for agency use. They represent all admissions into prisons in a given year, including suspects of crime awaiting trial. Crimes plea-bargained out of court or unknown to the police are not included which distort the true crime problem in the country. However, since the data provided sufficient information for this study’s needs, the deficiencies of official data are not overly restrictive.

Despite the limitations of the prison admissions as official data, there are advantages. First, official data are known for their consistency, and they are fairly reliable. The annual Prison Admissions Reports are compiled at a certain time of the year following a consistent format. This is advantageous for studying the crime trends in Nigeria and time-series studies. Official data also have the convenience of being readily available. According

to Hagan (1989), unlike surveys and interviews that are usually hampered by questions regarding interviewer/interviewee interpretation, official data are free from problematic input from subjects.

Apart from using official data, data collected for other purposes may also be problematic for secondary analysis. The different ways that data are collected, the sample size, and the methodology utilized in the initial analysis may present an obstacle to re-analysis or systematic comparisons. For example, the sample of public attitudes toward the police in Nigeria is not representative of a population of approximately 108 million people. The sample of police officers' perceptions of their job is also not representative of the country's total police population. However, the expense of conducting research in Nigeria due to suspicion, ignorance and language barriers make such data invaluable and give credence to the conclusions reached. Errors in data collection and inadequacies in the methodology and procedures are likely to be corrected and improved in future research.

Validity and Reliability

Validity is concerned with "Does my measuring instrument, in fact, measure what it claims to measure?" (Hagan, 1989:239). Official data usually have a high degree of face validity. For example, the Prison Admissions Report claims to be an index of all crimes by prison admissions in Nigeria. It can be argued that, similar to the United States' *Uniform Crime Reports* (UCR), the "dark figures of crime" (unrecorded or unknown crimes) are of grave concern in interpreting the overall crime situation in Nigeria. Using NPF arrest data is even more problematic since they consist of all arrests made, including suspects who were eventually released, and those who were charged but not convicted. The police arrest report would thus overestimate Nigeria's crime problem. Given this scenario, the Prison Admissions Report is a more valid and reliable measure of crime and represents an annual estimate of every individual convicted and admitted into Nigerian prisons. Since Nigeria

has no probation or diversion programs, the prison reports have a high degree of validity as a measure of crime trends.

Reliability deals with the consistency of the measurement repeated in the instrument. Nigerian prison data reflect a reasonable degree of reliability as a measure of crime trends. Using these crime trends to measure the effectiveness of the NPF is consistent with scientific traditions. Other studies have used crime rates as a valid and reliable measure of police performance. The validity and reliability of the measuring instruments and the conclusions reached in the present study follow such scientific tradition.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the results of analysis and discusses the impact of these findings on crime rates, conflicts, and social control in Nigeria. Specifically, this analysis evaluates the overall impact of the National Police Force on the social order in the country. Three research questions are posed:

1. What are the expanded police roles in modern society?
2. To what extent has the NPF as a national force promoted or inhibited the expanded police roles in Nigeria?
3. How can the police in Nigeria be reformed to adapt to the expanded police role?

Answers to these questions were developed by analyzing the information and data that represent the expanded police role, the impact of the National Police Force in adapting to the expanded police role, and community policing as the alternative policing paradigm for modern Nigeria.

What are the Expanded Police Roles in Modern Society?

The police role has changed and expanded significantly as a result of both structural and value changes in modern society. The development of police forces and the expansion of their roles, functions and reorganization have often coincided with major law and order crises or social unrest (Shane, 1980). According to Shane, the increase in crime and social unrest in Britain's metropolitan areas in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, due to urbanization, was the impetus for the inception of the Metropolitan Police of London. Aside from the Metropolitan Police, other local and autonomous forces were developed throughout Britain. This marked the beginning of professional and salaried police. The role

of the new police was limited strictly to maintenance of public order, previously carried out by night watchmen and volunteers.

There was much resistance to government control in Britain due to fear of tyranny, a general deterioration of economic conditions, and other complex social and political factors. The result was class warfare, a decrease in respect for authority, and an increase in crime and violence. Strategies used by the police in handling these challenges helped to define and expand their role and functions. The literature revealed a similar pattern between changes in the structure and values in society and the evolution of the police and their role in other countries.

In the United States, for example, unrest of the pauperized immigrant and native working-class during the mid-19th century was shown to be a direct cause of the development of the first professional police force in New York (Fleming, 1970). In India, Japan, Israel, Canada, and South Africa, police share the same pattern of evolution as police in Britain and the United States.

Unrest in American cities in the mid-1960s brought about a rethinking of policing that originated out of the British experience. The result was a movement away from the paramilitary, reactive, police bureaucracy that characterized Britain's professional policing to a proactive, community policing. Community policing and its *modus operandi* has become the paradigm police innovation throughout the world for more than 30 years (Bayley, 1977). In essence, community policing is to modern society what the inception of Britain's professional policing was in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Community policing has become progressive all over the world.

Modern policing, thus, emerged because of social upheaval and growing crime rates and was seen as a force that would promote stability. Nevertheless, those who were to be stabilized often saw the police as representing repression (Shane, 1980). Shane observes that the need for stability and the hatred of repression led to ambiguity of police roles and functions. Disagreement among police scholars has provoked the following

debatable questions: Are the police protectors of the interests of the state or servants of the community? Do they constitute a force or a service? (Aydin, 1996).

Bowden (1978) asserts that the primary police role is order maintenance. Other tasks such as protection and preservation of life and property, prevention and suppression of crime, enforcement of law, apprehension of offenders, and the provision of public welfare services are subordinate to the primary function of order maintenance.

Shane (1980), on the other hand, believes that the police role in modern society has changed and expanded into three broad roles: support, control and social integration. He based the expanded police role on Merton's concept of the functions of social institutions. These functions include observed consequences which result in adapting to the changing values of society. Dysfunctions are those observed consequences that lessen the adaptation of a given social institution or public organization to society's norms and changes.

According to other scholars (Zhao et al., 1995), there is the notion that the roles of public organizations are determined by a set of values and beliefs found in enabling statutes and related forms of legal provisions. Zhao et al. asserted that formally and officially expressed values provide an underlying philosophical framework justifying the police existence, operating procedures, practices, and roles, and derives from society's prevailing structure and values.

Regardless of a lack of consensus as to what the police role ought to be and the procedures to be adopted, there is clear evidence that they have changed and expanded from Britain's formal police. The police role evolved as society changed to reflect the prevailing norms. The police play an important and crucial role in a changing society, and they adapt and help in bringing about changes (Mishra and Mohanty, 1992). In modern society, the police roles include social support, social control and social integration of the entire social system (Shane, 1980).

Social support elements include personal, family or disturbance service calls, help for the physically and mentally ill, and calls for consensual crimes such as alcohol and drug

abuse. Estimates of the proportion of police time devoted to these supportive activities and victimless crimes range from 50 to 90 percent.

Social control elements of police work refer to the attempt to suppress or isolate disruptive behavior or to enforce proscribed behavior in the interest of the common good—the community (Shane, 1980). In this respect, the police are proud of decreases in crime and unrest and are embarrassed by their increases. Thus, crime rates and the manner in which the police respond to social unrest are often used as a measure of police performance or effectiveness.

Social integration is also an expanded police role in modern society (Clark, 1969; Shane, 1980). Social integration and police involvement in promoting it is imperative for society's stability and development.

New and expanded police roles are more salient in modern times, particularly in a multi-culture society such as Nigeria. A multi-culture society is inherently more susceptible to social conflicts and unrest when different groups react to perceived injustice, real or presumed. In general, contemporary society is seen as one in which a somewhat fluid, impersonal and broad organization of social groups has replaced or complicated stable, personal and highly segmented social organizations due to cataclysmic changes (Shane, 1980).

The German terms 'gemeinschaft' and 'gesellschaft' have been used to describe the change from an integrated and stable personal society to a differentiated and impersonal society, respectively. The former is characterized by strong social support institutions for dealing with interpersonal and intragroup conflicts while the latter is characterized by weak social bonds and widespread feelings of alienation and anomie. Whereas informal institutions such as the church and family serve as a means for dealing with social needs in a gemeinschaft society, formal institutions such as the police and the judiciary are more appropriate in a gesellschaft society. Shane views the role of the police as relating to the concept of social needs. Social needs are defined as the inputs by a social institution into a

society's support system as a contribution for the society to survive. Social integration is concerned with the support and nurturance that humans need to survive (Shane, 1980).

Shane (1980) points out that social integration can be understood at individual (psychological), group (social psychological) and societal (sociological) levels. The sociological aspect relates to the police social integration role based on the concept of social need. Because society is the response to human's needs, for each to survive, social need has a relationship with physical and mental health. Shane suggests that the supportive activities of the police are an important formal response to social needs, and, therefore, are socially integrative and important to community health.

The dynamics for defining police roles, and consequently for police reform in Britain and other industrialized democracies, have been changes in society's structure and values. An examination of the background and inception of the London Metropolitan Police in 1829 and thereafter sheds light on the evolution of the police and their expanded role in modern society. It moved from volunteerism to a formal police with a restrictive, paramilitary role, to a more democratic, community police with expanded roles. This movement was in response to the unrest, disorder, anger, and demands from society to be included in governmental and democratic processes (Shane, 1980; Trojanowicz et al., 1998). Police evolution in the United States, India, Japan, and South Africa moved from traditional policing to community policing.

The developments are evident that police roles have changed and expanded throughout history. The contention is supported that policing in Nigeria should evolve from the current archaic centralized, traditional policing to modern community policing.

To What Extent Has the NPF Promoted or Inhibited the Expanded Police Role in Modern Nigeria?

If the purpose of police reform is to adapt to changes in society, the NPF has not followed the examples set by Britain, the United States, Japan, India, and South Africa. The NPF has significantly inhibited the expanded police role in modern Nigeria through the

resilience of the British police legacy (Opolot, 1986; Tamuno, 1970) and police officers' perception of their job and the public (Alemika, 1988; Okereke, 1995). A study of the Nigerian public's attitudes toward the police (Okereke, 1993) demonstrates that policing in Nigeria has not adapted to the changing values in the country. From an organizational perspective, other than cosmetic and superficial changes, the NPF has remained basically the same force established by the British in 1832.

The Resilience of the Colonial Police Legacy

During the 1960s and continuing through the 1990s, many changes occurred in Nigeria and most government agencies. During that period, however, the organizational structure and basic philosophy of the NPF remains the same today as during colonial times.

Bretton (1962:99) points out that "well beyond independence, as expected, the established Anglo-Nigerian elite enjoyed a monopoly of power by keeping the elected representatives away from any control over armed forces and police." This monopoly is the most firmly entrenched and the most tenaciously held to by the elite, least subject to concessions.

Britain's motive for establishing the NPF was to resist opposition to colonialism, taxation and subjugation of the natives (Tamuno, 1970). It has been pointed out that the motive for policing in post-colonial Nigeria remained the same as during colonialism (Alemika, 1988). According to Alemika, imperial policing orientations in Nigeria have been maintained and strengthened by post-colonial governments because the ruling elites—civilian and military—find the police to be a convenient tool for promoting personal interests and sectional agendas.

Organizationally, the NPF is commanded from one central police headquarters by an inspector-general, appointed by the president. The administration is carried out by the Nigerian Police Council which is chaired by the president, with the chief of general staff of the Army, the minister of internal affairs and the inspector-general serving as members.

When the president or any other minister of government issues an order, the inspector-general must comply, and the order can not be challenged or inquired into by any court. If orders are issued and carried out impartially, they may benefit law and order in the society. But as Bretton (1962) points out, it is difficult to locate personnel with clear, undivided commitment to national interests, aside from personal or sectional. Indeed, both the colonial and post-colonial policing in Nigeria represent the classic illustration of the fundamental tenets of the conflict theory.

In conflict theory, the entire process of law-making, law-breaking and law enforcement is a direct reflection of deep-rooted and fundamental conflicts between interest groups and their struggle to control the state's police power (Vold and Bernard, 1986). With respect to Nigeria, the conflict theorists' claim not only incites struggle for police power, but the nature of it influences police officers' perceptions of their work and the public.

Nigerian Police Officers' Perception of the NPF and the Public

Understanding the public's perceptions without understanding how the police perceive the public and the organization they work for presents only a partial picture of Nigeria's social control dilemma. Although the previous section discussed the public's perception of the police, it did not reveal how officers view their job and the public. This section will:

1. determine how Nigerian police officers perceive the NPF,
2. determine how the police officers view the public,
3. explore how police perceptions may influence operational tactics, and
4. determine how police officers feel about police improvement.

The data are derived from a survey on the NPF perceptions of the public and their job (Okereke, 1995). Only selected and relevant questions and responses from the original study are analyzed.

When officers were asked which law should supersede in case of conflict, about 89%, or 188 out of 212 respondents, agreed that the federal law should always supersede any other law in the land (see Table II).

Table II

Should federal laws supersede native laws and customs in case of conflict?

Response Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Never	0	0.0
Don't know	3	1.4
Sometimes	21	9.9
Always	188	88.7
Total	212	100.0

Source: Okereke (1995)

Some of the officers stated that they view themselves as agents of the federal government. Since the police force is seen as an arm of the federal government rather than a public service agency, law enforcement and order maintenance in the streets is negatively impacted (Okereke, 1988; 1995). Indeed, as long as individual officers hold this to be true, it is impossible to reform the current NPF to function and serve the public in a democratic manner.

Okereke (1995) found that because the police believe that federal law should always supersede, they see themselves as power structure agents having the authority to enforce federal laws that sometimes conflict with native laws. These actions have resulted in unnecessary bloody confrontations and loss of lives. In a society that views the police as an alien force, such confrontations further alienate the police from the public.

Related to the issue of federal law versus state and native law, respondents were asked whether the police should consult or notify local authorities before arresting a local

resident. As shown in Table III, about 96 percent of the respondents agreed that local authorities should not be consulted or notified because the police are federal agents.

Table III

Should police officers consult with local authorities before making arrests in the local areas?

Response Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Always	0	0.0
Don't know	3	1.4
Sometimes	5	2.4
Never	240	96.2
Total	212	100.0

Source: Okereke (1995)

To the public, and especially the traditional rulers, officers' refusal to consult with local authorities before action is taken is tantamount to refusing to recognize their authority. This can create serious problems, especially when land ownership, family and marriage disputes, or heredity and chieftency issues are concerned (Okereke, 1995) and further heightens the strain between the federal government and local authorities. In a situation when a ranking officer is enforcing an arrest, or the arresting officer is not "so of the soil," tribal or ethnic sentiments and conflicts may be provoked.

Police officers were asked if they should be concerned with the rights of suspects or people in police custody. As shown in Table IV, a majority, 78%, responded that the rights of suspects should never be a concern for the police.

Lack of concern has led to both police brutality of suspects and making arrests without warrants. Igbinovia (1980b) recounted how disregard for the rights of suspects led to 60 suffocation deaths when suspects were left in a police van for several hours in the

Table IV

Should the police be concerned with the rights of suspects or people who are in police custody?

Response Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Always	2	1.0
Don't know	7	3.3
Sometimes	37	17.4
Never	166	78.3
Total	212	100.0

Source: Okereke (1995)

sun. Incidents of neglect and deaths of suspects in police custody are commonplace and often draw public outcry and indignation.

Police use of deadly force was another issue revealed by the survey. Table V shows that 82% of the respondents always support police use of deadly force. This finding is supported by other studies and media reports throughout the country. Alemika (1988) found that throughout the nation, police, army and sundry uniformed paramilitary professions have inflicted violence on their fellow citizens.

Table V

Should police officers use deadly force to enforce laws and maintain order?

Response Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Never	0	0.0
Neutral/Don't know	4	1.9
Sometimes	34	16.0
Always	174	82.1
Total	212	100.0

Source: Okereke (1995)

Another attitude measured whether the Nigerian police officers feel the public is law-abiding. Out of 212 respondents, 190 (89%) indicated that the public is never law-abiding (see Table VI). Such stereotypes of the public commands less respect from the police (Okereke, 1995; Westly, 1970). Westly suggests that if the police respect the public, they will be less likely to use force in their law enforcement and order maintenance tactics.

The police and the government see the public as being unruly, especially during protest demonstrations against government actions. Given the police attitudes toward their job and the public, there is a reciprocal hatred for the police by the Nigerians. As Marenin (1985:81) points out, a sense of "us against them" characterizes the relationship existing between the police and the Nigerian public.

Table VI

Is the public law-abiding?

Response Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Always	5	2.4
Sometimes	6	2.8
Neutral/Don't know	11	5.2
Never/Not at all	190	89.6
Total	212	100.0

Source: Okereke (1995)

Public Perceptions of the NPF

Some researchers (Alamika, 1988; Bayley, 1977; Okereke, 1992) have suggested that a positive public police perception is essential to police effectiveness in gaining public trust and vital information in solving crimes. Conversely, negative public police perceptions result in a lack of trust for the police and withholding of essential information. If this is true for policing in Nigeria, the NPF's adaptation to an expanded police role

would be difficult. Even performance of its traditional duty of law enforcement would be difficult with negative public attitudes or perceptions.

Poor public perceptions of the NPF have serious consequences for policing and social order in Nigeria. The NPF cannot rise to the challenges of a changing Nigeria. Available data support the conclusion that the Nigerian public perception of the police is poor and detrimental to national development. As Okonkwo (1966) observes, the relationship between the police and the public in Nigeria is not cordial. Besides the police perceiving the public as being unruly, other reasons for the public's negative attitude towards the NPF include:

- (1) the exaggeration by police of evidence in court, (2) the use of unnecessary violence, (3) brutality in dealing with public demonstrations, (4) inaptitude in handling the public on occasions of public demonstrations (5) incivility to members of the public, and (6) unnecessary delay in attending to complaints (Clinard and Abbott, 1973:218).

The data in the following analysis support the above observations which were derived from Okereke's (1993) study of the public's police perceptions. Based on responses to a six-item survey instrument, Okereke concluded that, in general, the public's perception of the NPF is unfavorable.

Overall, about 85% out of 116 respondents agreed that the Nigerian Police Force protects only the rich (see Table VII). This finding is supported by earlier surveys conducted by Andreski (1969) and Alemika (1988). Andreski found that police officers guard only the homes of important people or those who pay them, while ordinary citizens must rely on their own self-defense. Andreski's study concluded that the NPF was partial and biased against the poor and less powerful. These responses suggest that the public perceives the police to be partial and biased against ordinary citizens. The responses appear to be justified and suggest that the public expects the NPF to provide protection to every citizen, not just a selected few.

Table VII

Do the police protect only the rich?

Response Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Never	0	0.0
Don't know	6	5.2
Sometimes	11	9.5
Always	99	85.3
Total	116	100.0

Source: Okereke (1993)

Public attitudes about police violence were also surveyed. As depicted in Table VIII, the Nigerian public perceive the NPF to be very violent, as 110 out of 116, or about 95% of the respondents, affirmed that the police would always resort to deadly force.

Table VIII

Do police officers use deadly force?

Response Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Never	0	0.0
Don't know	2	1.8
Sometimes	4	3.4
Always	110	94.8
Total	116	100.0

Source: Okereke (1993)

Other published works have made similar conclusions regarding the violent nature of the NPF (Alamika, 1988; Metz, 1992; Tamuno, 1970). Alemika (1988) points out that Nigerian police officers are extremely violent, especially when handling protest demonstrations that often escalate into riots where many persons are killed by the police.

He cites a 1986 incident during which four Armada Bello University students were killed by police following a riot that resulted when students protested against suspension of students on frivolous grounds. It is evident that violence and brutality against an unprotected public remains a matter of routine police work due to the extensive power and wide range of duties given them.

Another issue that draws negative public perceptions of the NPF is availability of the police when needed. Table IX shows that nearly 77%, or 89 out of a total of 116 respondents, agreed that the police are never available when their services are needed.

Table IX

Are police officers available when needed?

Response Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Always available	0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	6	5.2
Available sometimes	21	18.1
Never available	89	76.7
Total	116	100.0

Source: Okereke (1993)

Some of the respondents stated that the police, in most cases, expect to be paid before they respond to a call-for-service (Okereke, 1993). The prevalence of armed robbery in some parts of the country would be impossible without police collusion (Alemika, 1988; Ekpenyong, 1989). The 1995 "Night of Terror" incident (see Chapter II) in which several streets were maruded four consecutive nights by armed robbers without police intervention is a classic example of the police non-response to the public when needed.

Some respondents, however, did not lay all the blame on the police. Some accused the government for not providing better communication and logistic equipment needed for

police response. But, the question this study raises is, "Where do the police obtain needed equipment to execute calls-for-service and to handle public demonstrations and protests?"

When respondents were asked if they perceived a police officer as a friend, a fellow citizen, or as an adversary, Table X shows that most respondents, 68%, perceived the police as adversaries.

Table X

How do you perceive a police officer?

Response Categories	Frequency	Percentage
As a friend	12	11.2
As a fellow citizen	24	20.7
As an adversary	80	68.1
Total	116	100.0

Source: Okereke (1993)

Those who perceived the police as an adversary based their response on personal experiences or experiences of those they knew who had contact with the police. Even some who considered police officers as either friends or fellow citizens responded that they do not trust them because of police corruption, brutality and bribery (Okereke, 1993).

Another issue concerned how the public felt about assisting the police. Respondents were asked, "How rewarding is assisting police officers?" As Table XI shows, 88% felt that assisting a police officer was never rewarding, and 12% said that it was rewarding sometimes. One of the reasons cited for this attitude was the way that police handle informants by taking bribes and then exposing them. If the police are to operate effectively in Nigeria, the public must offer vital information about crime and unlawful misconduct. It is obvious, however, that the NPF does not receive assistance from the public.

Table XI

How rewarding is assisting police officers?

Response Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Never	0	0.0
Don't know	0	0.0
Rewarding sometimes	14	12.0
Never rewarding	102	88.0
Total	116	100.0

Source: Okereke (1993)

Finally, respondents were asked to state what could be done to improve policing in the country. As shown in Table XII, 31% were of the opinion that changing the society's value system could improve policing in Nigeria. Another respondent made the following remarks:

The Nigerian police has a long way to go. The police force is a reflection of society. The whole society is corrupt so is the police. Illiteracy is high in the society, so it is in the police force ...There is a lot of indiscipline in the society so there is in the police force. So, to improve the police service, the society needs to change. They [police officers] are the products of a corrupt society (Okereke, 1995:119).

Police reform usually follows changes in society and changes in values. The real challenge that the police must face is how to adapt to societal changes and at the same time provide the stability that holds a society together during periods of uncertainty. There is little doubt that corruption is prevalent in Nigeria. According to Diamond (1991), corruption is poison to the Nigerian democracy, not only because it ravages the economy and shreds the moral fabric of society, but also it distorts the character of political

Table XII

How can the police force be improved?

Response Categories	Frequency	Percentage
Adequate training, education and improved equipment	24	20.7
Increased salary	25	21.5
Selective recruitment	30	25.9
Change value system of the society	37	31.9
Total	116	100.0

Source: Okereke (1993)

competition. To admit that the police are corrupt or are expected to be corrupt because they are a product of a corrupt society begs the question, "Are not police suppose to fight corruption?" and tends to defy the purpose of policing itself. "What is the role of the police then?" As referenced to in Chapter II, even if the general public is corrupt, does not make it right for the police to be likewise. The police, not the public, take an oath of office to protect the law.

The argument that illiteracy in the society is reflected in the police force; hence, the need for change in society's value system is simplistic. The relationship between illiteracy in the society and the police force and the need to change society's values has not been demonstrated. Moreover, in both the Nigerian society and the NPF, the corrupt are educated individuals who can manipulate the system for personal gains. They are comprised of white-collar veteran and ranking officer criminals who fraternize recruits into the insidious police subculture.

Approximately 25% of respondents indicated that selective recruitment would improve police service. Since selective recruitment was not operationalized in the original study, its meaning is unclear. However, it appears to suggest that recruitment should be

based on merit instead of to satisfy the “national character” decree similar to affirmative action. Respondents indicated that recruitment should be based on merit, arguing that the present recruitment system that requires proportional state representation is detrimental to efficient policing. This recommendation and concern is equally illuminating. There are more concerns about the NPF’s present composition than people are willing to voice out since Nigeria is under military rule.

The image of the NPF that emerges is uniformly negative, which is substantiated and supported by other studies measuring public perceptions of the NPF (Alemika, 1988). A conclusion drawn about the NPF is unimpressive in the areas of conduct, corruption and productivity.

In general, the analysis revealed a public distrust of the police. A disproportionate number of those surveyed viewed the police as authoritarian, uncivil toward the public, corrupt, prone to use deadly force with offenders, and engage in criminal acts. Conversely, the survey of police attitudes toward their job and the public revealed that officers see the NPF as an arm of the federal government. This is because the organizational structure demands obedience to the orders of top police ranks and governmental officials. On the other hand, the police view the public as being non-law-abiding and tend to approach them as a hostile group. Obviously, this lack of trust can not promote cordial contact and cooperation between the police and the public. Clinard and Abbott (1973) observes that police cooperation with the Nigerian public is difficult since people fear them and believe that questioning is the first step toward arrest.

The analysis revealed that service to the general public is not considered a legitimate function by the NPF officers which affects enforcement tactics. Okereke (1992) concluded that since the police see themselves as federal government agents, they use force at their own discretion to ensure that the government’s policy—even if illegal—prevails. The Nigerian Police Force exercise enormous power derived from various sources including the Police Act of 1967 which states:

In addition to the powers of arrest without warrant conferred upon the police officer by Section 10 of the Criminal Procedure Act, it shall be lawful for any police officer and any person he/she may call for assistance, to arrest without warrant (p. 199).

By granting these excessive powers, the Act creates a variable ground for police corruption, violence, suppression, and domination of the public (Okereke, 1992). By obligating the public to assist the police in making an arrest, the Act gives the police the power to coerce the public in becoming unwilling participants in illegal police and government domination.

Further, the Police Act of 1967 gives ranking police supervisors the power to command any officer to enter one's home or business premises without a warrant to search for unspecified stolen property:

It shall not be necessary upon giving such authority to specify any particular property, provided that the officer granting the authority has reason to believe generally that such premises are being made a receptacle for stolen goods (p. 200).

Another clause in the Police Act of 1967 gives excessive powers for police to stop, search, or seize property that they believe to be stolen or unlawfully obtained, and to detain a suspect of a crime up to 90 days without trial. Evidence abounds where police officers have used their power to stop and delay motorists and passengers in order to extort money (Clinard and Abbott, 1973; Okereke, 1992).

The Police Act of 1967 also gives the police power to use all force necessary to disperse an illegal assembly or procession after instructing the demonstrators to disperse. In Nigeria, a license is required before any type of protest, demonstration or assembly can occur. More often than not, the license will be denied, but the assembly carried out regardless. Usually when the police arrive and an order is issued for the assembly to disperse, the order will be defied. Then police will then resort to use of "all the necessary

force” to disperse the crowd rather than minimum amount of force necessary that is practiced in civilized nations.

Another power given the police by the Act includes granting or refusing bail based upon the officer’s discretion. This encourages exploitation of suspects and their families. Okereke (1992) points out that there is a tendency during orientation to brainwash the recruits and make them feel as if they are above the law. Tactics used are a direct result of the acts that have given them so much power and the police perceiving that the public is never law-abiding.

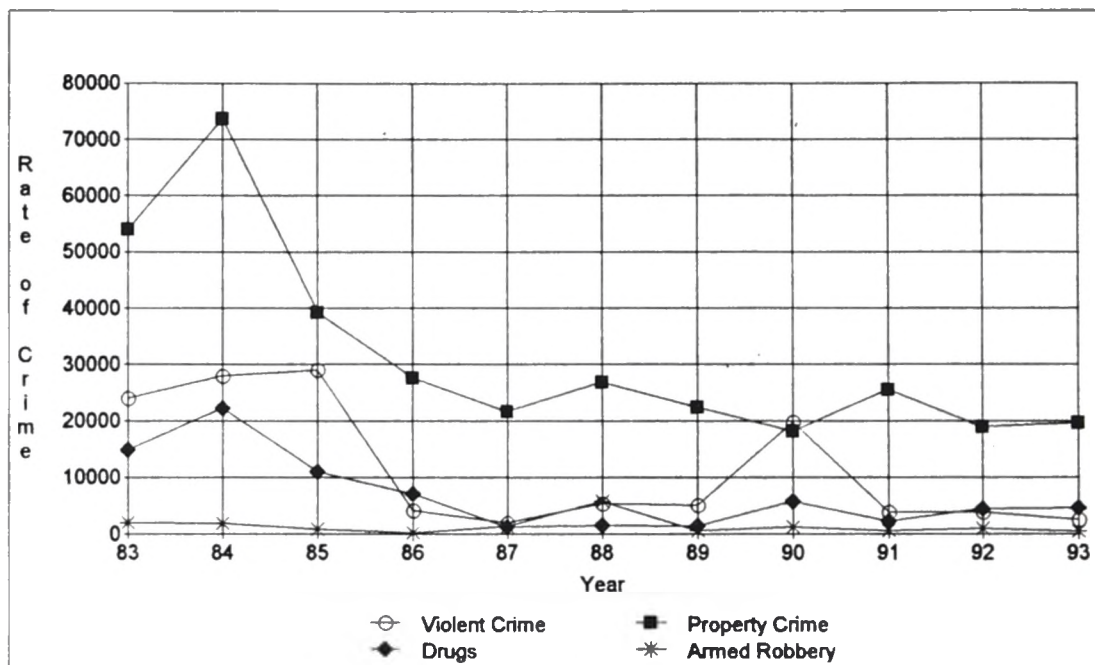
In a corrupt police system like the NPF, it is not difficult for officers to fabricate the “reason to believe” so that they can search premises illegally and vehicles with impunity. If Nigerian officers can fabricate evidence in court (Clinard and Abbott, 1973), it may be suggested that the same can be done for illegal searches. Given this background, the law enforcement tactics used by police officers in Nigeria are discriminatory, brutal and repressive against the poor and less powerful.

Nigeria’s Index Crime Rate, 1983 -1993

The general crime trends in Nigeria have increased annually as shown previously in Figure 1. The figure, however, does not depict how different categories of crime have changed over the years. Knowing the change in a specific crime category is critical in formulating crime control policies and allocating police resources and police reform. In general, all categories of crime increased between 1983 to 1993. These increased crime rates are used throughout this study as a measure of police effectiveness.

Between 1983 and 1984, the four categories of crime used in this study increased by at least 50% (see Figure 2). Property crime, which includes stealing, robbery, breaking and entering, forgery of documents, fraud, and worthless checks increased the most (200%).

The rise in all categories of crime between 1983 and 1984 as shown in Figure 2 is similar to that observed in the 1970s. Annual crime rates steadily increased to more than 300 per 100,000 by mid-1970 and continued to rise between 53 to 78 percent from 1980 to 1984 (Metz, 1992). The decline in crime rates from 1985 to 1993 as depicted in Figure 2



Source: Nigerian Prison Service Annual Reports

Note: Between 1985 & 1993, data for most new states are not included.

Figure 2

Nigeria Index Crime, 1983-1993

do not reflect the true crime picture in Nigeria for obvious reasons. Crime statistics were grossly understated since most of the country was virtually not policed. The police were concentrated in urban areas where only about 25 percent of the population reside, and public distrust of the police contributed to crime underreporting.

Property crimes generally accounted for more than 50 percent of all offenses, with theft, burglary, and breaking and entering covering 80 to 90 percent in most years. Armed robbery shows the same general pattern as other index crime rates for the same period.

Figure 2 does not reflect the actual armed robbery statistics due, also, to underreporting. Another explanation for the seeming low rates is that convicted armed robbers are not included in the Prison's Service Annual Report since they are normally executed shortly after sentencing. Under the Armed Robbery and Firearms Tribunal Decree of 1984, armed robbery is a high crime in Nigeria punishable by death by firing squad. By 1987, more than 300 armed robbers were executed, and in 1988 alone, 88 known armed robbers were executed.

Inadequate as the prison data reported in this analysis may be, they are valid and reliable as measures of crime in Nigeria. The data are supported by other crime statistics and press reports of general incidences and specific crimes in the country.

NPF Responses to Crime and Conflicts

This section examines the NPF's response to crime and conflicts which is important in assessing police performance and in understanding why public perceptions and reactions toward the police have negatively impacted the social order. This study contends that the NPF's response to crime and conflicts and the tactics officers employ are the result of the national police organization. The National Police Force promotes the "we against them" mentality because they view themselves as governmental agents with a duty to defend the status quo. In turn, the public perceive the police as an alien force determined to subjugate the citizens. This appears to be the crux of police alienation problems from the public and the poor image of the police held by the public.

In general, the NPF's response to crime, conflicts and organized peaceful demonstrations are characterized by violence, brutality, repression, and incivility (Alemika, 1988; Odekunle, 1979; Okereke, 1995). These characterizations are indicative of everyday

experiences with the NPF's standard operation procedures dating back to its inception in 1930. According to Alemika (1988), the greatest police energies in Nigeria from colonial times were committed to the suppression of struggles and protest against British oppression and exploitation. Since independence, the energies are committed to the suppression of citizens' struggles against large-scale theft and mismanagement of public wealth by those who control the political and economic system.

The NPF's response to crime and conflicts are well-documented. In 1981, more than 100 peasant farmers in Bakolori, Sokoto State, were killed by the police during a peaceful protest demonstration against illegal seizure of their land by the government without compensation. Other evidence of police officers engaging in violent and criminal acts are common headlines on national and international news. In 1995, the State Department of the United States warned U.S. citizens traveling to Nigeria about frequent violent crime, harassment and unwarranted shake-downs of both foreigners and citizens at police roadblocks and checkpoints.

Reports of the police fleeing armed robbery incidents while citizens are robbed, wounded or killed are commonplace. There are even cases of police involvement in acts of armed robbery and collusion with armed robbers and criminal elements (Alemika, 1988; Ekpenyong, 1989).

It is argued that the NPF's response to crime, organized protests and demonstrations with violence and disregard for human rights is due to the unlimited powers vested on the police (Okereke, 1992) by the Police Act of 1967, the Rules and Regulations Handbook of 1980, and other military decrees. The Police Act stipulates that the inspector-general of police shall be appointed by the head of the federal military government. As such, he is obligated to act on the orders of the federal government throughout the federation. Such act can not be challenged in any court in the land.

The unprofessional responses by the police to crime and conflict in Nigeria should be seen as a result of the National Police Force. Police officers do not appear to identify

with the community they serve and with the people they come into contact with. As long as officers continue to see themselves as agents of the federal government, the situation is unlikely to change. Further, as long as the social order of 108 million Nigerians remains in the hands of one inspector-general, abuse of power and neglect of the social services and social integration roles of the police will continue.

How Can the Police be Reformed to Adapt to the Expanded Police Role?

The need for a radical police reform as known today in Nigeria can, perhaps, never be overstated. Such a need arises from the colonial legacy inherent in the NPF's organization, philosophy, and law enforcement tactics and the expanded role of the police in modern society.

Three factors have not been given serious consideration by police scholars and reformers interested in the current national force reform: police subculture, the colossal NPF bureaucracy, and the cultural complexity or diversity of Nigeria. The police subculture and colossal bureaucracy are seen as primary weaknesses of the NPF. The present thesis views them as primary obstacles to effective reform that can only be overcome with a community-based police paradigm.

It is important to note that the NPF has firm roots in colonial type policing which is a burden that must be eliminated if Nigeria is ever to benefit from an expanded role of modern policing. Community policing is better suited to Nigeria's socio-cultural heritage, history, environment and development. Most importantly, without a restoration of social order, Nigeria is in jeopardy.

Police Subculture

A weakness of the NPF that has neither been recognized nor discussed is how their organization has helped to crystallize the police subculture that rejects any meaningful reform. The subculture can inhibit departmental innovations and negatively impact police

performance (Goldstein, 1977). The police subculture has taken on a systemic character in the NPF infecting every organizational element. Because it has advanced, it takes on a preemptive quality overshadowing all other problems (Clinard and Abbott, 1973). Nigerian police officers are preoccupied with pursuing personal gains, and they bind together for support and solidarity against the public.

It is generally believed that a police subculture creates a sense of “us against them” between the police and the public (Marenin, 1986:86). According to Goldstein (1977), police subculture refers to that intricate web of relationships among peers that shapes and perpetuates the patterns of behavior, values, isolation, and secrecy that distinguish the police. It emerges, in part, because of the character and environment in which the police work and is inclined to strongly oppose changes in policing that are seen to threaten the protective bond between officers. This is true with respect to the NPF and the public in Nigeria.

A factor that encourages a strong police subculture in Nigeria is related to a poor police image (Clinard and Abbott, 1973). This arises from a historical perception of the police as poorly educated, corrupt and oppressive agents of a foreign power. With the troubled economy and anomie in Nigeria, police officers rely on grafts and behaviors unbecoming of law enforcement agents. These illegal practices have crystallized and have systematically been passed down from the veteran officers to the rookies. This, in turn, has drawn public indignation for the police. Consequently, police officers cling together and stand by one another for support against the public.

Furthermore, police officers live together in barracks and operate from police stations in Nigeria. Their families are separated from the rest of the public for the most part. Other than traffic situations, crime victims and citizens who need police service must go to the closest police station to file a complaint. Because of lack of transportation, the police may not respond immediately or may not respond at all. It is not uncommon for victims not to report to the police because they feel that nothing will be done.

The cumulative impact has been poor police morale among officers. Das (1994) defines morale as a healthy group cohesion feeling that members of a close-knit and well-performing group develop about themselves. Such a group is characterized by a sense of belonging, they display pride in their organization and its achievements, and they take responsibility for failures and share credit for successes. The police in Nigeria do not share such a morale. Under these circumstances, police reform that may threaten solidarity is vehemently opposed. Okereke (1995) contends that the norms of the existing police culture in Nigeria discourage and prevent any organizational reforms.

Cultural Complexity

Cultural complexity of Nigeria has important implications for police operations and reform and poses a problem to reform the NPF that has been ignored in the past. It is important to note that there is a link between cultural complexity and police failing in Nigeria. The absence of a popular trust for the police is further accentuated by the country's cultural complexity.

As stated earlier, Nigerian police officers perceive themselves to be agents of the federal government. As a result, they have no qualms about being used as a weapon of oppression and an instrument for establishing and promoting ethnic and special interests in the country. Nigeria is a culturally complex society, with a history of social divisions—by regions, by place of birth and by indiginity—that is, origin and membership in a particular state of the federation, ethnic affiliations, religious beliefs, ideological dogmas, and class distinctions (Marenin and Reisig, 1995). Police officers and policing are not immune to these divisive tendencies. The police have been used by political authorities to victimize political opponents and members of different ethnic groups (Working Party Report, 1967). Consequently, most Nigerians detest any form of contact with the nation's police who they label “blood thirsty, Nazi-type troopers” (Alemika, 1993). Thus, the cultural complexity of Nigeria has implications for a national police force. It discourages citizen's contact with the

police, especially when the complainant is of a different tribe from the officer. Because Nigerians feel that the NPF cannot guarantee equal justice for all, alienation of the police from the public is further compounded. This study contends that the pattern of selective law enforcement, based on indignity, religious affiliation and status will continue as long as the police are organized as a national police force.

NPF: A Large Bureaucracy

The nature of the NPF's organization and its philosophy pose serious impediments to police effectiveness and reform. It is a large bureaucracy with a centralized command headed by the president as chairman of the police council, enormous powers and extensive jurisdiction covering the whole country. Such a large bureaucracy is likely to be difficult to manage effectively.

The NPF became the only police organization in the country after local police forces were merged with the national force in 1972. The force is commanded by the inspector-general who answers to the president. There is a police sub-command in each of the thirty states of the federation. Each is headed by a commissioner of police who reports to a zone commander. The thirty state commands are grouped into eight zones, each headed by an assistant-inspector general who is also the zone commander.

The problem with this structural arrangement is the enormous power granted the police which is exercised by the president through the inspector general. Abuse of police power is the result of this concentration of power in one national police agency. Researchers have linked police brutality, repression, corruption, inefficiency, human rights violations, and erosion of liberty to unchecked powers granted the police since the colonial era (Ahire, 1991; Alemika, 1993; Odekunle, 1979).

Another problem created by the national organization of police in Nigeria pertains to the "tall bureaucracy" (Downs, 1967). A "tall bureaucracy" poses communications

problems within the organization. As a national agency with a single command headquarters, the NPF is an extremely “tall,” large bureaucracy.

Bureaucracies are classified along a spectrum that varies from extreme “tallness” to extreme “flatness” (Downs, 1967). A “tall bureaucracy” contains a relatively large number of levels in relation to its total membership, and therefore has a high ratio of conflict settlers. Furthermore, a “tall bureaucracy” depends on vertical communications for coordination which involves many layers of higher-level officials. Critics of vertical communications claim that it is time-consuming and distortion-prone primarily because it flows through many intermediaries (Downs, 1967).

By contrast, the flatter the bureaucracy, the greater the decentralization of authority. According to Downs (1967), communications in a “flat bureaucracy” is horizontal, less likely to be distorted and less time-consuming. This may result in more delegation of authority and more accountability of subordinates for their action which is likely to promote the organization’s effectiveness.

Downs (1967) also points out that the greater the degree of uncertainty regarding a bureau’s activities, the flatter its hierarchy should be. When uncertainty prevails, potential relationships among the possible components of a task cannot be accurately foreseen. This is essential as suggested by Downs (1967). First is the need for dialogues among officials and for constant redefining of a task, a characteristic of a “tall bureaucracy” which makes working through intermediaries inefficient.

Second, communication among officials of about the same status, characteristic of a flat bureaucracy, is less likely to be inhibited than among officials of different levels. Messages are transmitted horizontally through both formal and informal channels in a “flat hierarchy” as opposed to a “tall hierarchy.”

Third, a “flat hierarchy” facilitates greater homogeneity among an organization’s members. Similar self-interests, cultural backgrounds, training, and moral values among bureau members have the advantage of reducing of conflict incidents.

Fourth, inequalities of power, income, and prestige are greater in “tall hierarchies” than in flat ones since the former have more ranks and the latter have greater dispersion of power, income and prestige. If the attributes of a flat versus a “tall bureaucracy” are taken into consideration, the former may be more adaptable to certain contexts.

Fifth, coping with uncertainties requires talented professionals who can be retained in organizations only if they are given high status and responsibilities incompatible with a “tall,” multi-level hierarchy. These individuals often are more knowledgeable about their jobs than their supervisors and are more likely to be under-utilized in a “tall hierarchy” because of less delegation of responsibility.

Although Downs (1967) refers to organizations in general, this study considers those points to be applicable to police organizations. In light of this, the present analysis views the NPF as an example of a “tall bureaucracy.” It is afflicted by inherent pathologies of a “tall bureaucracy,” a bad history and in need of radical reform. Its enormous powers and the extent of its jurisdiction must be streamlined to bring the police closer to the people they serve in order to promote public cooperation, legitimacy and respect. When this occurs, policing is likely to become effective and efficient. Okereke (1995) suggested that to reform the NPF, those documents that make the police an arm of the federal government need to be amended. It is also argued that changes in police organizational documents will result in changes in officers’ attitudes. This, in turn, will give rise to behavioral changes resulting in better police-community relations. Until this is accomplished, the NPF will continue to walk in the shadow of its British predecessor.

Community Policing: A Proposed Model for Nigeria

This section focuses on community policing as Nigeria’s proposed reform model. Community policing has the potential to end police violence and promote democracy throughout the nation. An answer to the question, “How can the police be reformed to enhance their roles in crime control and in social integration in a democratic Nigeria?” is

presented. This section also seeks to answer the question, “Is the current NPF adaptable to modern, democratic Nigeria?” An understanding of what people expect of the police in modern society needs to be put in perspective before this question can be answered.

According to Pepinsky (1991:99), people in modern times expect four duties of the police: (1) that fear and risk of crime be reduced, (2) that disputes be managed, (3) that services be provided, and (4) that police be accountable to their community. Nigerians should also expect this from their police. However, this study shows how the NPF have failed in every one of these respects. Fear of crime is rising, disputes and conflicts are often aggravated by the police, public service is undervalued in favor of brutal paramilitary law enforcement, and citizens have little or no say about how policing is conducted. The police have substituted violence for democracy in Nigeria (Alemika, 1988; Okereke, 1993)..

There is consensus among scholars calling for an end to police violence and a change in policing in Nigeria (Alemika, 1988; Bretton, 1962; Okereke, 1992, 1993). This suggests that there is a legitimate need to make policing more responsive to the social order needs of the country. Reform efforts and recommendations in the past have not improved the quality of police services. They have consisted of raising the minimum education qualification of recruits from an elementary to a secondary school certificate, increasing salaries, providing better and more surveillance equipment and weapons to more police on the streets, professionalization of police training, and changes in the formal and informal police orientations, stressing that the police represent a public service agency (Alemika, 1993; Okereke, 1995). The assumptions underlying these recommendations appear to be based on the belief that the police are serving their own interests or are overly preoccupied with promoting government interests. If these assumptions are correct, then the current police force is not working in the best interest of the nation. The NPF orientations and practices should emphasize public service and democratic principles.

It is important to note that some of the above recommendations have been implemented by the government at a great financial cost without significant results

(Alemika, 1993; Ekpenyong, 1989; Okereke, 1993) For example, more police vehicles and equipment have been purchased, salaries have increased, and private mail bag 42 has been established (Metz, 1993). Police rookies as well as veteran officers are sometimes posted to serve their states of origin to satisfy the so-called national character. Reorganization efforts have also been undertaken to improve the quality of police work. Yet, the NPF remains corrupt, brutal, oppressive, and ineffective. Crime rates have continued to rise yearly since 1966, and police relationships with the public have continued to deteriorate.

If the conflict perspective is taken as a guide, it may be argued that implementing recommendations has actually made the NPF more repressive. Vold and Bernard (1986) and conflict theorists, including Quinney (1964), Cohen (1985), and Marx (1988), believe that policing in general has become more intrusive, powerful and insensitive to established boundaries because of police discretion, technical training, automobiles, and sophisticated surveillance equipment. One only has to look at the NPF's orientations and power to realize that improved training and more automobiles and weapons mean latitude to plunder the public. This will result in more militarization with serious consequences, including rivalry between the military and the police and inter-police frictions (Enloe, 1976).

According to Enloe (1976), police militarization has some consequences. Two events that have already occurred in Nigeria are rivalry between the military and inter-police rivalry and frictions. Equipping the police with sophisticated weaponry, intelligence systems, communications networks, and mobility capabilities will enhance their ability to successfully stage coups and promote rivalry with the military. Such capabilities can be formidable and invite more political control. Thus, a new threat to national security will emerge.

Militarization of the police may also promote inter-police rivalry. Paramilitary units depend on specialized training in riot control. Selection, training and utilization of these units may be a source of discord and dispute within the police agency. The mobile police unit of the NPF is an example. They are trained to handle riots and other disturbances and

are often called upon to take over beat police officers. They have been referred to as “Kill-and-go” by both the police on the beat and the public because of their ruthlessness and willingness to use deadly force (Igbinovia, 1980b; Okereke, 1992). According to Enloe (1976:32), “as long as a nation’s police is armed with badges and small weapons, political or partisan penetration of the police will take the form of ad hoc patronage and delivery of favors.”

There is a real, and perhaps urgent, need to reform the NPF and policing in Nigeria to make it adaptable to the prevailing modernizing climate of the country. The NPF’s poor image and the country’s cultural complexity, vast extent, large population, police subculture, and the shortcomings of a “tall bureaucracy” are impediments to reform. It is unlikely that further reorganization or reform attempts to make the NPF a more democratic and humane police organization will ever materialize. Consequently, this study contends that the NPF is not adapted to present-day Nigeria. According to Okereke (1992), the current police model which is characterized by colonial orientations that promote violence, brutality, oppression, repression, and corruption need to be jettisoned. How then, can policing be improved in Nigeria? Based upon personal experiences in Nigeria and the results of this study, community-based policing is recommended as a replacement strategy.

Community policing has the potential to better adapt to the country’s cultural complexity, its vastness and large population than the current model. Community policing is likely to reduce the current “tall-command hierarchy” and promote better communication within the police organization, which may, in turn, promote the quality of police service. Public and police relationships are also more likely to be enhanced through community policing. Community police officers are more likely to identify with the community they serve which may reduce police crime and brutality since individual officer anonymity characteristic of the present model will be greatly reduced. The propensity to involve police in crime is less likely when there is a high probability that the officer will be recognized. Unlike the current police model, community policing will tear down barriers that now exist

between the public and the police and make it possible for citizens to approach any officer as a friend. Community policing in Nigeria also has the potential to be more cost-effective in that fewer police will be needed without sacrificing the quality of police service.

Presently, more and less qualified police are hired in compliance with federal government directives to reflect national-character in hiring and promoting. In a broader political sense, community policing in Nigeria should be viewed as a relinquish of police power and authority to the localities. Such a move is likely to strengthen the autonomy of the people and cultures that make up Nigeria and help to promote the struggle for self-determination.

Community policing has been the strategy for improving police service throughout most of western society for the past 40 years. In South Africa, it is the basis for the new South African Police Service. Community policing differs from traditional policing in that traditional policing is primarily reactive, whereas community policing takes a more proactive stance toward crime (Ryan, 1993). As a traditional police organization, the NPF is reactive, responding to crime after the fact because it continues to rely on outdated philosophies and orientations. Modern police orientations are best summarized in the nine tenets set forth by Sir Robert Peel in 1829. The two crucial ones that relate to modern times and community policing in Nigeria are:

- (1) to maintain at all times a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police, ... [and]
- (2) to recognize always that the test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, and not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with them (Reith, 1952).

Unlike the current NPF that prevents close relationships between the police and public, community policing in Nigeria, as proposed, is likely to bring the police closer to the people. Community policing also has the potential to cut down the present colossal bureaucracy and delegate more powers to individual police officers. This facilitates better

administration and gives police officers less anonymity but more accountability for their actions.

The current national police is a large bureaucracy that drowns an individual officer's participation. Officers can only take and act on orders. As previously mentioned, refusal to carry out orders entails serious consequences even for ranking officers. This type of command arrangement in which command trickles down from the top precludes delegation of authority to the officers in the field and tends to stifle their motivation.

Unlike the current practice, whereby police officers and administrators are often non-indigents of the community, community police officers and administrators will be indigents of the community they serve. This may help solve language barriers and promote better intra- and interagency communications, as well as police-public communications. Public acceptance of the legitimacy and authority of the police may also be greatly enhanced.

Finally, there will no longer be a colonial legacy to blame police ineffectiveness on. Policing throughout the country will begin with a clean slate that is certain to deprive corrupt ruling elites of the spoils of office and give community police officers the opportunity to serve their communities with dedication and a sense of purpose. When this occurs, there is the prospect that crime and disorder will be reduced. A stable, lawful, and progressive society where the rule of law dictates individual behavior will emerge.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Chapter V summarizes the empirical findings, discusses their implications for public policy and offers suggestions for future research. This research explored the general impact of the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) on social order in Nigeria, focusing on the effects of crime and conflicts.

As evident in the preceding analysis and discussion, the NPF's image is in dire need of improvement. The NPF performances, organizational structure and basic philosophy are not commensurate with modern police role concepts. Since its inception, the NPF defeats the purpose of policing in a civilized society to protect and to serve impartially. Rather than protecting and serving the public, the NPF caters only to government interests and the elite.

Not only has the NPF failed to rise up to the challenges created by the tremendous changes that have occurred in Nigeria, they have also failed to gain public confidence and legitimacy. As a result, there is a strained relationship between the police and the public, higher crime rates, increased social conflicts, and social unrest. The legitimacy of the police and the federal government are in jeopardy. Consequently, there is a breakdown of the legal order. "Strain" and "anomie" are prevalent throughout the country.

The national police force has failed to provide the social order that Nigeria needs for stability and progress in the aftermath of profound changes and conflicts that have occurred and are likely to continue. A new police alternative—community policing—is imperative for social order and social integration. Community policing represents harmony and the potential to better control crime and lessen social conflicts in the country.

Despite efforts to improve the NPF's performance, crime rates, social conflicts, and social unrest continue to rise. Past reform efforts have been ineffective in adapting the NPF to a new police role in modern Nigeria. Past reform efforts consist of superficial

reorganization, purchase of equipment, raising educational requirements for new recruits, changes in training, and posting graduating cadets and some veteran officers to their home states. Private mail bag 42, a feedback mechanism for the public to report corrupt police conduct and anonymous crime information, has also been established. These efforts have neither improved police performance nor increased public police support. The police remain alienated from the public. This research has revealed disturbing findings about the NPF and policing in Nigeria.

Findings and Discussion

Three salient questions regarding the NPF as a national force in providing social order in Nigeria were asked:

- (1) What are the expanded police roles in modern society?
- (2) To what extent has the NPF as a national force promoted or inhibited the expanded police role in modern Nigeria?
- (3) How can the Nigerian police be reformed to adapt to the expanded police role?

This section summarizes answers to these questions and the implications they have for social order, social policy and criminal justice administration in Nigeria. As revealed in Chapter IV, the police role in society has changed and expanded beyond traditional law enforcement. The expanded police role now includes social services, social support, and social integration (Shane, 1980). These roles originated as a result of society's modernization and value changes and the breakdown in traditional social control institutions.

From a comparative examination of five countries, it was found that since the Peelian Revolution in England, police reform followed a consistent movement away from the traditional, narrow-focused, reactive policing, to the broader-focused, proactive social service style of policing. This movement ultimately led to an evolution in policing that

focuses more on community involvement. Police reformers and policy makers have realized the importance of public cooperation with the police. Consequently, in the past 40 years, community policing became the main reform paradigm in Canada, the United States, Britain, Japan, and in 1993, South Africa. Current and proposed organizational changes in public policing in Turkey also revealed a movement guided by modern police role concepts of community policing (Aydin, 1996).

With respect to Nigeria, the findings revealed that the NPF and policing in general have remained basically the same as during colonialism. This is also supported by previous research (Opolot, 1986). The NPF has remained impervious to modern police role concepts and is, more or less, the same traditional, reactive, paramilitary type of policing established by the British. The NPF has extensive powers and is perceived by both the public and police officers as agents of the federal government.

Previous research (Goldstein, 1975) has supported the contention that, in general, the police subculture was responsible for alienation from the public, poor performance, and low morale. Police morale leads to cohesion of the agency and make officers feel good about themselves and their job (Das, 1994).

As discussed in Chapter IV, members of the NPF lack morale, do not feel good about themselves and their job, and, due to their police subculture, are separated from the public both socially and physically. They live in police barracks and police stations. As a result, colonial policing has remained a resilient force in the country resistant to meaningful police reforms by veteran officers and conservatives.

This analysis further reveals that some scholars such as Igbinovia (1980b:45) feel that "... a federally controlled police has served Nigeria well." This claim was made in support of the merging of all the local police forces with the NPF that was undertaken in 1967 and completed in 1972 by the federal military government. Igbinovia claimed that the post-independence experience in Nigeria demonstrated (1) that to regionalize the police is to provide each region or state with a militia to be used against the other in the event of a

conflict; and (2) that regional police administration tends to lend itself to enforcement of policies detrimental to the interests of tribal minorities in several states. Igbinovia (1980) was specifically responding to Bretton (1962) who points out that:

The principle of federal, and centralized, control of police runs counter to the principle of federalism as conceived in Nigeria at the time of independence. In fact, the principle of central police administration and the principle of federalism are incompatible. Enforcement of the law through a federally controlled police tends to aggravate divisive tendencies in the federation (p. 98).

Igbinovia's claims are rejected in this study as sophistry. Indeed, some of the events of the past years support Bretton's prediction. Perceived ethnic and religiosity is the basis of some of the NPF's clashes with the public referenced in the preceding analysis. Law enforcement through a federally-controlled police does tend to aggravate divisive tendencies in the federation. In essence, the NPF is dysfunctional to social order in Nigeria and has proven to be an outdated institution that runs counter to the principles of democracy and federalism.

It is important to point out that prior to 1972, the country continued to operate a dual police system—there were local police alongside national police since 1931. The local police forces were phased out following the recommendations of the Working Party on Police and Prisons (Alemika, 1988). The Working Party recommended that local police were being used by local politicians for victimization of political opponents and minorities.

The need for protecting minorities may have existed prior to the creation of states but such need does not currently exist. It is the contention of this study that with the creation of states, the continuation of a national police organization actually put protection of minorities in peril because of the NPF's political involvement. This led to the concentration of power in the hands of the majority and the elite. Furthermore, one's heritage, ethnicity, and/or tribal association affects law enforcement decisions (Marenin and

Reisig, 1995). The family and the tribe demand loyalty and help. When an individual reaches a position of power or authority, that person is obligated to use it to help their family or tribe. A police officer is no exception. As a result, law enforcement is used as a tool of aggression against members of certain tribes and minorities.

It is important to point out that given the magnitude and history of the NPF's abuse of power, corruption, and ineffectiveness, the shortcomings of the defunct local police pales in comparison. Critics have not mentioned that local police forces are no more susceptible to political abuse than the national police. In fact, local police jurisdictions are more limited, as was their impact on society. A local police jurisdiction was limited to the region it served and so was the adverse impact, if any. Conversely, the jurisdiction of the NPF is nationwide; therefore, its dysfunctional effects are far-reaching on society as a whole. This suggests that the consequences of the NPF for social order in Nigeria are seen as malignant. Even if the shortcomings of the local police are real and not exaggerated, they are very similar to the national police except they have limited jurisdiction.

As discussed throughout this study, the NPF is suppressive, brutal, corrupt, ineffective, inefficient, paramilitary, reactive, and suffers from a poor public image. This provides evidence that the focus and style of law enforcement practices have not deviated substantially from colonial times and shows an urgent and real need for reform.

This analysis also reveals that the increase in crime rates, clashes between the public and the police, and social and political disturbances in the past have prompted some reorganization of the NPF. Based on the analysis in Chapter IV, the reorganization and reform efforts, however, have not worked and it is unlikely that improvements in the current national police will ever bring about desired results. This study also reveals that there appears to be a misconception about solving police problems in Nigeria. This position is supported by Garba (1995) who points out that the elite will, at times, alter policies for the sake of merely creating a perception of change. A good illustration of attaining policies to create a perception of change is the practice of deploying cadets to their state of origin.

This is intended to create the impression that police officers reside in the community they serve. The practice supports the need for community-based police and the proposal of this study, but actual police power and command remain at the headquarters. Thus, past reform efforts are unrealistic given the paramilitary orientations of members of the NPF and a police subculture of violence, abuse of power, and isolation from the public. This suggests that it is unlikely that members of the NPF will ever imbibe modern police role concepts which emphasize professionalism, restraint on coercive use of force, and respect for human rights.

Finally, it is important for future reform of policing in Nigeria to recognize how the cultural diversity of the country and its large population and size impact the operations of the NPF as a national police force. It is also of vital importance to recognize that as times have changed, the country has changed from a feudal society to a modern, highly differentiated society. It is equally important to recognize that Nigeria is part of an international community, and, as such, is affected by declarations such as the 1948 U.N. Declaration of Human Rights and the rights of all people to self-determination. All of these factors are relevant in any effort to reform the NPF and policing in Nigeria. Unfortunately, past reform efforts and recommendations have ignored these important issues. Reform efforts instead have focused on raising recruitment qualifications, purchasing better equipment, providing more patrol vehicles, intensive training, and hiring more officers. This is similar to the United States in the 60s and 70s. These efforts have been implemented at great financial cost without improving police performance.

The strength of the NPF in 1984 was 111,224 police officers when the estimated population of Nigeria then was 94.34 million (Alemika, 1988). This gives a police-population ratio of 1:840 compared to a physician-population ratio of 1:7,520. Most officers are concentrated in urban centers, leaving a majority of the country unpoliced and preyed upon by armed robbers. Adding more police officers is unlikely to solve problems caused by a lack of legitimacy and poor police-public relations. Adding more police officers

will not reduce crime according to Walker (1994). He points out that the police-population ratio is virtually a meaningless figure because it does not designate how the officers are being used.

The police image is so poor that the NPF cannot attract better qualified citizens to join the rank-and-file. Providing better equipment and automobiles have not improved performance. Instead police activities have become intrusive and have failed to make significant improvements in the quality of Nigerian life. According to Marx (1988:3), “increased police surveillance, made possible by improved training and the use of modern technology, indeed, gives the state, the ruling elite and the police more power to seek out violations even without specific grounds for suspicion.” The situation could be more insidious in an organization like the NPF in which officers perceive themselves as federal government agents.

Police reform in Nigeria must recognize the impact of Nigeria’s cultural complexity as the context of policing and the problems that a police subculture can pose for reform. These two factors are considered of vital important for proposing community policing as the police reform model. Community policing is seen in this study as a harmonic means for improving the poor police image and gaining legitimacy for the police and for all levels of governments in the country.

The main advantage of community policing over the national police in Nigeria is it could facilitate informal handling of most issues. According to Marenin and Reisig (1995), much crime and disorder in Nigeria is handled informally because of the widespread distrust of formal social control institutions and the belief that informal mechanisms such as mediation by a traditional chief or family head yield immediate and just solutions. As socioeconomic, political, and technological development continues throughout Nigeria, the federal government is losing its strong centralized control. It is also encountering difficulties in effectively implementing national police strategies. This is evident by the public’s challenges to police authority which are regarded with suspicion.

Most recently, perceived discrimination toward certain groups, the rise in crime rates and fear of crime—especially armed robbery—have forced society to resort to vigilantism because the police have failed the people. The national organization of the NPF has created management challenges that have failed to gain legitimacy from a suspicious multi-cultural public.

Based upon these findings and supporting data from the research, this study has proposed community-based policing as the alternative police model for modern Nigeria. The aim of this proposal is twofold: (1) to promote police decentralization that could make the police bureaucracy manageable in Nigeria, and more importantly, (2) to advocate transfer of the policing functions to local community control.

According to Trojanowicz, et al. (1998:282), “community policing is a paradigm shift that challenges long-standing conceptualizations of the police and fundamental assumptions about doing police work.” Since its inception in America, community policing has “transformed the value of police institutions and injected an ethos of service into a culture that has historically focused solely on crime rather than social problems” (p. 282).

Another proponent of community policing, Karp (1998:vii), views it as part of “a community justice phenomenon . . . community justice encompasses a gamut of criminal justice agency initiatives in pursuit of justice for victims. The community prefix is ubiquitous—community corrections, community policing . . .” Manning (1992:2) also points out that “the foci of police reform are numerous, but the most visible is community policing . . . which has had a wide, if not deep impact virtually on policing in every town in America.” The community policing model is also becoming emphasized in other countries such as Britain, Japan, Canada, and South Africa. Evidence from this analysis shows that the impacts in these countries are similar to the impact in America. In Nigeria, community policing is likely to have a similar impact to that in America and these other countries.

Community policing is likely to work better in Nigeria than the current traditional national police model. As revealed in this analysis, the current police model has a number of problems which community policing is likely to eliminate. The NPF is perceived by the public as having ties with colonialism and therefore is not accorded legitimacy in post-independent Nigeria. Its para-military law enforcement practices are outdated in a modern era. The result is alienation of the police from the public. Community policing, by contrast, could enable the police and the community to work together to solve neighborhood problems. As referenced earlier in this study, most Nigerians are afraid of contact with the police because of distrust for them and the perceptions of the NPF as an “alien force” by the public. Community policing would eliminate such distrust or perceptions since policing will be localized and community police officers will come from the community they serve.

Community policing in Nigeria is likely to curb, if not eliminate, the “tribal or family obligation syndrome.” Generally, some Nigerians expect public office holders to use their offices or position of authority to help members of their ethnic group or family against others. The underlying reasoning behind this expectation is analogous to the concept of “sharing the spoils.” It is common knowledge that Nigerians still see public service as a “white man’s job” even after independence. As such, people who occupy positions of authority are expected to use their office to help his or her family and tribe-nepotism. The police force is not immune to this expectation. Introduction of community policing is likely to eliminate such expectations because the public will become aware that the police are not agents of a foreign power as is presently the case.

Community policing has the potential to be more compatible with the existing federal structure and the present cultural diversity and the large population and size of Nigeria than the current national model. The culture of police brutality, corruption, waste, and ineffectiveness bred into the NPF since the colonial era are likely to diminish with the establishment of a community policing model. Community police officers are more likely to identify with the community and promote “democratic policing” than the current national

police officers. Policing is also more likely to gain legitimacy under a community policing system than the current national police force that is generally regarded as an alien force. The police are likely to gain more legitimacy for the state and federal governments because of favorable public perceptions and vice versa.

Conservatives in government, the police and the public are more likely to resist this proposal. This derives from a fear that community policing would mean giving police power to the states. This could result in changes towards the state's autonomy, especially the minority states where most of the crude oil deposits are found. This study contends that, in fact, community policing poses no such threat to the federal authority. It could be argued that if the police power is transferred to the local level, they will be more successful than the NPF in addressing crime problems at a reduced cost, especially in terms of policing the local areas and people.

Despite the fact that the colonial legacy has been identified by scholars as the root cause of the police problems in Nigeria, it is surprising that these same scholars have continued to make recommendations under the rubric of the national police force. Centralization of police—a key element of the colonial police—and its impact on post-colonial policing have not been subjected to empirical investigation.

Indeed, better communication networks, weapons, training, and transportation for the current police force poses a new threat for the nation and the citizens. These could give the police a new capability to plan and carry out a coupe to topple the government and perhaps result in confrontations with the military. The police may also become even more intrusive into the lives of its citizens. As the country moves into the fourth republic and 21st century, there is too much at stake to continue to support existing national police practices. An alternative police model that better suits modern Nigeria is inevitable.

Policy Implications

The findings in this study suggest that the national organization of police in Nigeria is the root cause of police ineffectiveness in controlling crime and mediating conflicts. There is evidence that the NPF is not significantly different from the colonial police established by the British. This has led to police practices that promote a police mentality of “us against them,” and a subculture that is insensitive to modern police roles, democracy, human rights, and resistance to reform. In addition, the NPF poses unique management challenges for modern, more humane police administration. Further, Nigeria’s policing can contribute significantly to the development of the country by promoting social and ethnic integration. This has not occurred in the past.

New policies need to address a redefinition of the police role in Nigeria. Reform in the future should be sensitive to cultural diversity, the federal system, and changes in social consciousness of its citizens. The implications of a national police force in a federal system of government should guide future police reform policies, as well as policies affecting the criminal justice system as a whole.

Contrary to the statement that a national police force has served Nigeria well (Igbinovia, 1980), policy-makers should be guided by Brittons’ (1962:98) admonition that “the national organization of police is incompatible with a federal system of government. It promotes divisive tendencies in a federation.”

As this analysis has revealed, the NPF has not adapted to modern police role concepts and, hence, has failed to rise to the challenges brought about by change. The result is that the police have been dysfunctional by contributing to disorder and crime. Indeed, there have been some efforts to make the police responsive to the needs of the people, but these have been misguided crime control policies. Pontell (1984) suggested that crime control policies may produce unintended consequences. The action of one component of the criminal justice system may limit or create problems for the other components to respond to the social and legal need of the society. Pontell also indicated that crime control

policies are misguided and ineffective when they are based on the assumption that coercion, more arrests, and court convictions can reduce crime instead of studying the social conditions that cause crime and dissatisfaction. Policy-makers and police reformers in Nigeria can benefit from Pontell's insights by identifying and dealing with the social conditions that cause crime and dissatisfaction instead of resorting to a "police state" to control the citizens.

Suggestions for Future Research

This study examined the impact of the NPF on crime, social order, and conflicts in Nigeria and proposed community policing as an alternative to the national police. It is an exploratory investigation and limited by the secondary data used. It, therefore, should be investigated further.

The contribution that the police have made to the development of Britain, the United States and Japan have not been realized in an African or third-world context. If the police are to maximize their roles in Nigeria, Africa and other developing countries, policy-makers need to develop an objective understanding of the relationship between police, the public and quality of life, and benefit from the mistakes of past reforms. This study places current police practices in a more objective "light" in an attempt to provide a framework for reform. In reforming the police in Nigeria, it is important to recognize that police roles in societies have changed and that changing times and values make it imperative that policing is adapted to meet new challenges.

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