

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF NIGERIAN
LAW ENFORCEMENT: ITS EFFECTS ON
POLICE-PUBLIC RELATIONS

By

GODPOWER ONYEBUCHI OKEREKE

Bachelor of Arts
Central State University
Edmond, Oklahoma
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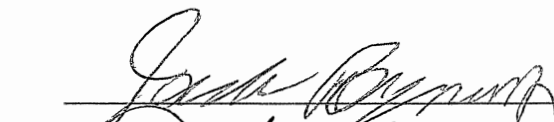
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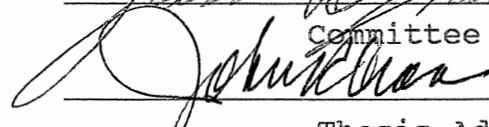
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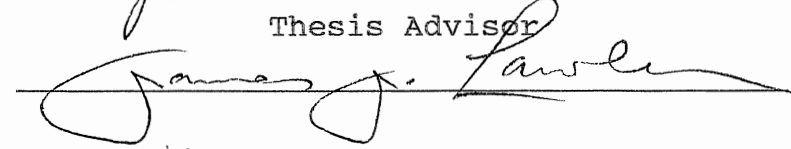
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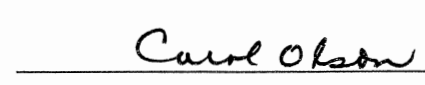
Committee Chair

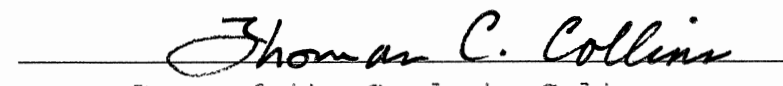


Thesis Advisor



Harjit S. Sandhu





Dean of the Graduate College

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background Information

This study concerns the police in Nigeria, a country that came into being in 1914 when the Protectorates of Southern and Northern sections of the territory were amalgamated by Frederick Lugard, a representative of the British government. Nigeria is a country on the coast of West Africa and lies within the tropics between Latitudes 4 and 14 degrees north of the Equator and Longitudes 3 and 15 degrees east of the Greenwich Meridian.

This vast territory of 923,768 square kilometers or 356,669 square miles is bordered on the southeast by the Republic of Cameroun, on the northeast by the Republic of Chad, on the north by Niger Republic, on the south by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the west by the Republic of Benin.

Along the entire coastline of Nigeria lies a belt of mangrove swamp forests which stretches from 16 to 96 kilometers (10-60 miles) in width. These mangrove forests are intersected by branches of the Niger and innumerable smaller rivers and creeks. Beyond the swamp forests is a zone, from 80 to 160 kilometers (50-100 miles) wide of undulating tropical rain forest. The central area of the

country contains quite a few plateaus which have a general elevation of 2000 to 6700 feet. Toward the north, the vegetation changes from woodland to savanna with thick forests in the mountains. At the extreme north, the country approaches the southern part of the Sahara Desert.

Presently (1991) the population of Nigeria is estimated to be 120 million and projected to reach 160 million by the year 2000 (1). With a population this large, Nigeria is the most heavily populated country in Africa and ranks in the top ten of the most populated countries in the world.

Nigeria is a federation composed of two federal territories (Lagos and Abuja) and 30 states (2). Nigeria became independent on October 1st, 1960 and a republic on October 1st, 1963. The country is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the United Nations Organization (UNO), and the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).

Although non-indigenous writers see Nigeria in terms of the three major ethnic groups--the Hausas, the Ibos, and the Yorubas--there are more than 300 ethnic groups (3) speaking over 350 languages and dialects. In fact, the minority ethnic groups together make up about one-third of the population of Nigeria (Pius Eze, 1971). Each ethnic group has a distinct culture, language, territory, population, and an organized system of government. Nigeria is so diversified that English is the official language (4).

When in 1961 a motion was made in the Nigerian

Parliament urging the Federal Government to introduce the teaching of Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo into the school system with a view to adopting one of them as the official language of the country, the motion was bitterly opposed by members of the minority ethnic groups in the Parliament. Anthony Enahoro (in Schwarz, 1965:41-42) from Benin and whose native language is Edo said:

As one who comes from a minority tribe, I deplore the continuing evidence in this country that people wish to impose their customs, their languages, and even more their way of life upon the smaller tribes. My people have a language, and that language was handed down through a thousand years of tradition and custom. When Benin Empire exchanged ambassadors with Portugal, many of the new Nigerian languages of today did not exist. How can they now, because the British [have] brought us together, wish to impose their language on us.

This idea was finally dropped to avoid any feeling that one ethnic group was imposing its way of life on others.

The diversities that exist among the various ethnic groups in Nigeria can be brought to light with a discussion of the differences found among the Hausas, the Yorubas, and the Ibos (the three major ethnic groups). The Hausas who occupy the north were organized into emirates (5). Each emirate was ruled by an emir who personified both religious and political authority. The ruling emirs were chosen from royal families. Other officials were hierarchically organized under the ruling emir. In short, the Hausa system of government was a theocratic dynasty because the emir claimed unquestioned religious authority derived through divine delegation.

Among the Hausas, there is a fusion of the sacred and

the secular in the person of the emir. This concentration of "de jure" power and authority in the hands of the emir tended to inhibit any opposition to him, even from those within the ranks of the ruling stratum. The emir, in effect, tended to be despotic (Victor Olorunsola, 1972).

Beneath the emir were selected officials of aristocratic birth, some with specific functions at the emirate center and others with general supervision of an outlying district. The emir appointed the alkali (6) who presided in courts applying Muslim laws. Through the assistance of his appointed officials, the emir was able to maintain a system of taxation (7).

Prior to the advent of the British, the Ibos lived in small village communities often described as village democracies (8). The political unit was the village group consisting of lineage segments bound together by the belief in the common descent of all the segments from one ancestor. These localized lineage groups were structurally equal and had a unity derived from a single lineage genealogy.

The Ibos believed religion, law, justice, and politics were inextricably bound up. Law and custom were believed to have been handed down from the spirit world, from time immemorial, and from one ancestor to the next. The elders were believed to be the representatives and mouthpiece of the ancestors. They only met when it was necessary to take a collective action on issues that if not addressed, could undermine the solidarity of the community. No rules of

conduct were prescribed because everyone accepted implicitly that any departure from the behavior approved by the gods and the ancestors was likely to incur the displeasure and vengeance of the ancestors. The Ibos operated a collective rule that involved everyone in the community (M. M. Green, 1964).

The Yorubas operated a constitutional monarchy system which was built upon overlapping family, lineage, and clan units. At the center of the Yoruba state was the Oba who was regarded as the direct lineal descendant of the Oduduwa of Ile-Ife (9). Every community in Yorubaland had a chief who was regarded as the representative of the people. The various community chiefs together selected the Oba who once selected, assumed a sacred status.

While in office the Oba remained a public property, lived in a palace, and all the goods acquired by him during his reign remained public property after his death (Olorunsola, 1972). Among the Yorubas there was a functional distribution of power between the chiefs and the Oba and through this political arrangement the Yorubas achieved a check-and-balance system through which the excesses of the oba were controlled (10).

Whereas the social and cultural system of the Ibos encouraged the participation of all in the affairs of the community, that of the Yorubas was a constitutional monarchy through which the oba ruled in collaboration and in consultation with his chiefs. Unlike the Yoruba oba the

emir operated in a theocratic social system, one in which he was recognized as the representative of Allah on earth (11). Thus, dissimilar social and political cultures--democratic versus monarchial versus theocratic autocratic--were juxtaposed within the area that later became Nigeria.

The above cultural and political differences found among the Ibos, the Yorubas, and the Hausas more or less exists among the minority ethnic groups. Differences in cultural and political arrangements notwithstanding, the various ethnic groups (especially those in the eastern and western parts of the territory) frequently engaged in inter-ethnic wars through which slaves were acquired. The chiefs, obas, and heads of communities were involved with slave trade and other commercial undertakings. The desire of Great Britain to stop slave trade was not particularly appreciated by these people (12).

Background of the Study

Overwhelmed by the social organization of the natives, the British officials requested the assistance of the traditional rulers to enable them to carry out their consular assignments (13). Those who complied with this request and consequently endorsed their authority to the British officials were given British protection in exchange. These treaties of protection were effective in establishing British rule among the coastal city-states because of the monarchial system of these city-states (14). The hinterland

proved unpenetratable due to lack of a constitutional monarch. The Southerners felt that power was such a great weapon that it should not be entrusted to only one man. No blandishment could overcome the strong feeling of independence and individuality characteristic of the Efiks, the Binis, the Ibos, and the Ibibios.

The absence of extensive political integration in the hinterland was construed as evidence of anarchy. The British officials did not appreciate the social and political institutions of the hinterland peoples and sought to establish order and stability where anarchy had hitherto prevailed. They therefore adopted:

the paradoxical policy of extending British 'protection' to the hinterland by means of military expeditions where the theory of protection should have suggested a less dramatic policy which enlisted the cooperation of the indigenes (J. C. Anene, 1966:127).

Even those who signed protection treaties later discovered that the consular assignments conflicted with their commercial interests. This realization resulted to more conflicts which further gave rise to more open and bloody confrontations between the British officials and the "protected" peoples.

As a result of these constant confrontations, a request was made by British officials in early February 1861 to the Colonial Office in London for authority to establish a consular guard to help them carry out their consular assignments. The request was granted on August 6th, 1861. Following this approval, an initial police force of 30 armed

men (mainly Hausas) was established (T. O. Elias, 1966; C. F. L. Membere, 1982; and S. G. Ehindero, 1986). The size and strength of this force was rapidly increased as the British advanced into the hinterland crushing any native resistance as they went. In the 1920s, the police was used to violently disperse groups of women protesting the British taxation laws in the hinterland. Hundreds of these women were killed in the process (Harry Gailey, 1970).

When the Southern and Northern Protectorates were amalgamated in 1914 by Lugard, the police forces of these territories were allowed to exist separately. But in 1930 the Southern Nigerian Police was merged with the Northern Nigerian Police to form the present-day Nigeria Police Force (NPF) with its headquarters at Lagos. At this time, the police was still under British command but on October 1st, 1964, the force command was turned over to Nigerians. This change of leadership did not improve the enforcement tactics of the police. Neither did the public view the police force in any new lights. As an arm of the repressive government established by the British, the police in Nigeria is said to be in trouble (P. E. Igbinovia, 1980a).

Statement of the Problem

The nature and extent of this trouble is the primary concern of this study because the author believes that effective law enforcement and maintenance of order are essential ingredients for the survival of any society. One

way to see how effective law enforcement and order maintenance are essential to societal survival is to ask: What would happen if the police are not there? As the following example points out, the result could be total chaos.

On October 7, 1969, Montreal, the largest city in Canada, experienced what it is like to be without police protection during a day and night (Donald Cressey, 1971). According to Cressey, (1971:59-60) before the ordeal was over:

A psychologist shot and killed a burglar; a provincial police corporal was slain and 49 people were wounded by others. Nine bank holdups, 456 burglaries along with 17 other robberies at gunpoint occurred, thousands of ordinarily law abiding citizens went wild looting shops and causing damages estimated at over \$1 million.

As Cressey states: "It was not the rise in professional crime--12 times the normal--that counted. It was the way political grievances and private and group frustrations, shot to the surface when no one was around to enforce the law" (p. 60). A likely incident took place in Boston in 1919 when the Boston Police went on strike. When law enforcement is relaxed, people are likely to act out their impulses because morals and ethics are externalized by the presence of the police and if the police are not there, people will do as they please (Cressey, 1971).

Another way to see how effective law enforcement and order maintenance are essential to societal survival is to think of the economic cost police work slowdowns and work stoppages could be to the society. According to Charles

Swanson and Leonard Territo (1983), the State of California lost thousands of dollars when the California Highway Patrol slowed down the writing of traffic citations. A similar situation occurred in Huntsville, Alabama in 1978 when the city police went on strike.

In the case of Nigeria, public concern about the police force is not the fear of what will happen if they should go on strike. Rather, the Nigerian police is said to be perceived as a repressive arm of the government rather than a service agency because policing in both colonial and post-colonial Nigeria has not only been pre-occupied with strong-arm-methods of law enforcement and maintenance of order, but also with the protection and defense of a few individuals who control the country's political and economic systems (15).

But as Herman Goldstein (1977) states, the quality of life enjoyed by the citizens of any society is determined in large measure by the ability of the police to enforce laws and maintain order for the protection of all in the society not just a few individuals. If the police are successful in these efforts, social interactions would be smooth giving rise to an orderly society. On the other hand, if they are unsuccessful, life could be chaotic, brutish, and short; the whole community could become extinct as Charles Reith (1977:14) points out:

The inability on the part of any established authority to secure and maintain observance of its laws can destroy the existence of such community. More

communities have perished by their inability to enforce laws than that have been destroyed by nature or hostile aggression (16).

Ironically, research on the police and policing in Nigeria is still scant and perfunctory due to the very nature of the organization.

Access to the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) is very problematic not only because of its centralized power and bureaucratic control but also because the public relations section of the force never returns phone calls, does not reply to correspondence from the members of the public, and does not allow visits by members of the public (Igbinovia, 1980a). As agents of the power structure, the police in Nigeria has been accused of supporting the status quo through force and violence (Etannibi Alemika, 1988). The view that the police agency in Nigeria is an arm of the federal military government and therefore serves the whims and caprices of those who hold the reins of power in the nation if true, is expected to affect the ways law and order are maintained in the country.

Purpose of the Study

Because the police organization is said to be perceived as an arm of the federal government rather than a service agency for the general public, a number of studies on the police and policing in Nigeria [(C. O. Okonkwo, 1966); (T. N. Tamuno, 1970); (Igbinovia, 1980b); (Membere, 1982); (Ehinderero, 1986); (Alemika, 1988); and (Steve Ohakwe, 1989)]

have primarily been concerned with a historical analysis of the police force. A common theme in these efforts is the belief that the context of policing in the present-day Nigeria can be fully understood if the use to which the colonial officials put the police during colonial rule is illuminated. Little attention is paid to discovering why policing is still repressive in the country thirty-one years after independence (17).

A Sociological Study of the Police Organization in Nigeria

This is a sociological approach to the study of the police force and its relationship with the public in Nigeria (18). It is a sociological study of a social organization that is responsible for the daily enforcement of laws in a country of about 120 million people scattered over an area of 923,768 square kilometers. This approach to the study of the social organization of policing in Nigeria focuses on:

1. How police roles and responsibilities are defined organizationally and by individual police officers.
2. The methods of law enforcement police officers bring to play when in contact with the members of the public.
3. How the police organization is designed to function.
4. The effects of written laws, rules, and regulations on the methods of law enforcement used by the police officers on the streets.
5. The effects of the imposition of a formal system of

social control on the informal systems of the local communities.

6. How positive or negative police-public relations is created, reinforced, and perpetuated.

7. Where the police force derives its powers and how such powers are exercised.

8. What the public expects from the police force.

It is by examining these issues, the author believes, the relationship between the police and the members of the public in Nigeria could be understood.

This approach takes into account the fact that Nigeria being a multi-ethnic nation has various forms of informal systems of social control that are analogous to the customs, values, and traditions of the local communities. Whereas the Ibos operate a democratic system that comprises of all family heads in the community, the Yorubas operate a monarchical system where the Oba rules in conjunction with a few selected chiefs. The Hausas on the other hand, operate a theocratic social system that recognizes a single individual as God's representative on earth. The existence of these different social systems with their in-built stratification systems and divergent methods of informal social control have serious implications for the Nigerian police because native laws and customs could conflict with federal or state laws.

In effect, this study is concerned with understanding the methods of law enforcement and order maintenance the

police bring to play when this conflict occurs or when they come into contact with members of the public in different areas of the country. This study is also interested in finding out how the methods of law enforcement affect the relationship between the police and the members of the public. As a result, participants to this study include members of the police force and members of the public in five of the twenty-one states (19), and some retired police officers who served when the British were in control of the NPF. This study also examines the organizational and administrative structure, rules and regulations of the NPF together with its goals and objectives to see how these affect policing in the country.

Research Objectives

With reference to the above, this study seeks the following research objectives.

1. By examining rules and regulations manuals, the organizational and administrative structure, goals, and objectives of the police in Nigeria, this study wants to see whether the repressive methods of law enforcement and order maintenance said to be characteristic of the force are the result of departmental rules and regulations, the organizational and administrative structure, goals, and objectives of the NPF or the result of differential enforcement practices adopted by the police officers when in contact with members of the public.

This understanding is important because the actions of the individual officers who come into contact with the members of the public could be a reflection of departmental norms. In their study of police corruption, Thomas Baker and Julian Roebuck (in MacNamara, 1974) have stated that police corruption and deviance are best understood by examining contradictory sets of norms operating within the department. By examining policies and procedures manuals of the NPF, individual officer's actions could be put in their proper contexts.

2. By polling the opinions of police officers about their job, this study seeks to see whether police officers perceive the police force as an arm of the federal government or a service agency for the public and how this perception affects the way they enforce laws and maintain order. In this regard, it is assumed that improving police-public relations can only be possible with a definitive knowledge of the dynamic functioning of the present police system, not with its past. A mere historical analysis of the origins of the force, although important in its own right, is not as essential as the central issue of whether the police are trying to solve new problems with old, outdated concepts and methods (John Webster, 1973).

3. By surveying the opinions of members of the public, this study wants to find out what the public expects from the police force and how such expectations help shape their attitudes toward the force.

4. By interviewing retired police officers this study also seeks to know if there are any noticeable changes in police law and order maintenance tactics since independence in 1960 (20).

5. Finally, by taking respondents from the north, south, east, and west, this study wants to see whether people from different areas of the country perceive and react differently or uniformly toward the police and how this affects the enforcement tactics adopted by the police. It is assumed that the way a group of people perceives the police affects the way they react to them which in turn will affect the law and order maintenance tactics adopted by the police. On the other hand, how the police perceive a group of people also determine how they enforce laws and maintain order among such a group.

In essence, this study adopts a comprehensive approach to the Nigerian police problem. It does not only focus upon the history of the force in the analysis of present police problems but also gives due consideration to such things as the organizational and administrative structure, rules and regulations, goals and objectives, on-the-street behaviors of the officers, public expectations of and attitudes toward the police, and retired police officers' evaluation of the enforcement tactics of the present police system. This approach is adopted because the author believes that if the public can understand the dilemmas of policing a multi-ethnic country and the police understand what the public

expects from them, a better police-public relations could become a reality. Understanding each other's position in this situation is essential because nothing would be achieved if public expectations are at dramatic variance with the daily realities of police work (Webster, 1973).

End Notes

1. The last successful census of the population of Nigeria which puts the figure at 55.6 million was in 1963. Another census was taken in 1973 but the result was nullified in 1975 because there were accusations that some ethnic groups inflated their actual numbers. Since then, no other census has been taken and so the government relies on estimates. As a result, no one is sure what the population of Nigeria is today (1991); while the United Nations puts Nigeria's population in 1987 at 108.6 million, the Nigerian Government put the figures at 118 million for the same year.
2. At the time the data for this study were collected (Summer, 1989), Nigeria was made up of twenty-one states but on August 27th, 1991, the Military Head of State announced the creation of nine more states bringing the number to thirty states with two federal capitals. While Abuja is the administrative headquarters Lagos remains the commercial capital.
3. Beside the Ibos, the Yorubas, and the Hausas (the three major ethnic groups), there are other smaller ethnic groups who have their own distinct customs, governments, languages, beliefs, religions, traditions, and ancestry. As used throughout this text, an ethnic group is a collection of people who have the above things in common.
4. Because of the multiplicity of ethnic groups, English is nationally spoken since no ethnic group wants to speak the language of another.
5. An Emir is an Hausa ruler or king while an emirate comprises of all the outlying districts under the jurisdiction of the Emir.
6. An alkali is a Muslim judge who presides over cases that involve the interpretation of Muslim laws.
7. The Hausas had a well established system of taxation prior to the arrival of the British. This system was extended by the British during colonial rule under the system of Indirect Rule.
8. Among the Ibos, there was a very strong sense of in-group. To keep this sense of oneness, every family was involved in decision-making. Agreements were collectively reached and decisions were binding on all.
9. Oduduwa of Ile-Ife is regarded as the legendary father and founder of the Yorubas. As a result, the Yoruba Oba

is regarded as the founder of the town and a direct descendant of Oduduwa.

10. The Yoruba senior chiefs were the ones who made all the decisions but they did so in the name of the Oba. This prevented the Oba from being despotic because if he did, he could be deposed by his senior chiefs. At the same time, these chiefs hold their posts at the discretion of the Oba.
11. Allah is the Hausa-Muslim word for God. The Hausas take their Emir as God's representative on earth and no one dared disobey God's elect.
12. By engaging in slave trade, some of the traditional rulers became very rich and influential. British efforts to stop slave trade was seen by these rulers as a means to control the powers they had over the natives. As a result, British rule was resisted.
13. Until today, British intervention on the Coast of West Africa is still a subject of debate. They are accused of planting seeds of discord and at the same time, are given credit for bringing "civilization" to the region.
14. British rule was easy to establish in those areas where there was a recognized head but was resented among those that did not have such establishments.
15. The police is accused of providing protection for only those who control the state apparatus. These people are provided police escorts twenty-four hours a day.
16. In his book: *The Blind Eye of History*, Charles Reith holds the view that people should be more interested with how governments achieve the observance of their laws than with how laws are made. His reason is that non-observance of society's laws brings chaos and cause the society to disintegrate.
17. Policing is problematic because the public is said to be nonchalant and uncooperative. The police on their part, apply force and sometimes deadly force on situations that involve members of the public.
18. The phrase "social organization of policing" means the methods of law enforcement and order maintenance the police bring to play when they come into contact with the members of the public. It includes the ways the police handle the social situations that involve members of the public.
19. Twenty-one states is used here because there were only twenty-one states in the country when the five from

which data were collected were chosen.

20. Command of the Nigeria Police Force started shifting to indigenous officers when Nigeria became independent in 1960. But, it was not until 1964 that the first indigenous Inspector-General of Police came to power.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

History of the Nigerian Police

The Nigeria Police Force (NPF) came into being in 1930 under the police Ordinance No. 2 when the Southern Nigerian Police was merged with the Northern Nigerian Police following the amalgamation of the Southern and Northern Protectorates by Frederick Lugard in 1914. In 1954, the Nigeria Police Force became a federal force in line with the 1954 Constitution under which the Federal and Regional Governments became jointly responsible for the maintenance of law and order in their areas of jurisdiction.

At this time, the force was headed by an Inspector-General of Police who was assisted by two Assistant Inspector-Generals of Police one of who was in charge of the Northern Provinces with its headquarters at Kaduna and the other in charge of the Southern Provinces with headquarters at Enugu (Membere, 1982; and Ehindero, 1986).

During this period, the command of the force was in the hands of British officials and remained so until October 1st, 1964 when Mr. Louis Orok Edet became the first Nigerian Inspector-General of Police (Igbinovia, 1980b). When Nigeria became a federation on October 1st, 1963, the police

force was administered under five area commands--Lagos, Northern Region, Western Region, Eastern Region, and Mid-Western Region--each being controlled by a Commissioner of Police who was answerable to the Inspector-General of Police at the force headquarters in Lagos.

However, even with the establishment of the Nigeria Police Force as the nation's law enforcement and order maintenance body, Nigeria continued to operate a dual (local and national) police system. There were the Local Government Police Forces in the Western and Northern Regions and the Nigeria Police Force (NPF). The local government police forces were established in 1943 under Section 105(7) of the Nigerian Constitution which authorized the establishment of such forces as long as the officers were deployed only within the areas under the jurisdiction of such local governments.

After independence on October 1st, 1960, there was a strong fear in the country, especially among the minority ethnic groups, that the local government police forces might be used by the majority ethnic groups who were in control of those forces to oppress political opponents in the country. This fear was derived not only from their experiences during colonial administration when Obas, Emirs, and Chiefs used the police to terrorize the public but also from their experiences during the elections that ushered in the First Republic (the period beginning from 1960 when the first civilian government was formed to 1966 when the army took

over power).

The activities of the local government police forces during those elections are summarized by Ohonbamu (in Alemika, 1988:164) who states that:

In the Western Region there were mass recruitments into the local forces of party thugs and stalwarts. These 'police-thugs' were thereby able to carry out their paid jobs of thuggery in local police uniforms under the protection of the government in power. In the North, political opponents were arrested by native authority police (local government police) for holding private meeting to discuss political issues, handcuffed or chained and marched through the streets as an ocular demonstration of what fate awaited those who sought to exercise their fundamental right.

As a result of the activities of the local government police forces during the elections and thereafter and the claim by the minority ethnic groups that they were being physically molested, victimized, and discriminated against by the majority ethnic groups, the military government in 1966 appointed a Minority Commission to look into these allegations. Based upon its findings, the Commission wrote that it was satisfied that, in addition to some denial of social amenities, minorities in the regions concerned were physically molested by "strong-arm groups" who support the party in power and who were readily used to intimidate and coerce political opponents (Igbinovia, 1980b). The Commission advised that the fears of the minorities would be allayed by the creation of a centrally controlled police force. It also held that recruitment, training, and equipment of the national police should be coordinated by the federal police (Igbinovia, p. 34).

Despite the recommendations of the Minority Commission, the local government police forces continued to exist independently of the national police force. The amalgamation of the local government police forces with the national police force started in the Western Region in 1968 and was completed in 1969. The local government police forces were completely phased out in 1972 when the process of unifying all police forces in the nation was completed (Ehinderero, 1986).

Having completed the amalgamation process, Section 194(1) of the 1979 Constitution of Nigeria (in Ehinderero, 1986:3) makes the following declaration:

There shall be a police force for Nigeria, which shall be styled the Nigeria Police Force and subject to the provisions of this Section, no other police force shall be established for the federation or any part thereof.

Also, by the provisions of Section 3 of the Police Act Cap 154 and Decree Nos. 36 of 1971 and 25 of 1978 the Nigeria Police Force is charged with the responsibility of maintaining law and order and the protection of life and property throughout the federation (Membere, 1982 and Ehinderero, 1986).

Police Organizational Structure, Goals and Objectives

In considering the police process in Nigerian society, attention has been drawn to such areas as the functions of the police organization; police officers' selection, training and posting; advancement opportunities within the

police force; and the historical development of the organization. Among these areas of concern, the historical development of the Nigerian Police Force (NPF) has received the most attention because the agency was established and used by the British government as an instrument of oppression, repression, and exploitation of the natives; the police force was used to establish British rule in Nigeria (Alemika, 1988).

Because of the purpose the police was to serve, the training of the officers and the structure and operation of the agency were military in nature. That is, physical prowess, marksmanship, and willingness to take orders from whoever is in charge of the state apparatus were prerequisites to enlistment in the force. From his study of policing styles in eight communities James Q. Wilson (1968) found out that the social organization of a community influences the structure of the police organization in that community which in turn influences the policing style used in that community.

According to Wilson, a legalistic style of policing which is concerned with strict enforcement of laws is found in areas with a high level of social and economic differentiation and heterogeneity. The service style of policing, he says, is characteristic of homogeneous, middle-class communities in which "there is a high level of apparent agreement among the citizens on the need for and definition of public order" (p. 200). In a watchman style

of policing, he says the law is used as a means to maintaining order than of regulating conduct. The law is also used to judge the requirements of order differently depending on the character of the group in which the infraction occurs.

From Wilson's study, we can see that not only does the social organization of a community influence the structure of the police organization, the structure of the police agency in turn determines the goals and objectives of the police organization. The goals and objectives of the police agency influence how officers are socialized which in turn affects how law and order are maintained.

Since Nigeria is a multi-ethnic and economically diversified nation, one would suspect that Wilson's legalistic style of policing will be adopted. Besides, federal statutes encourage legalistic method of policing as can be gleaned from such provisions that charge the police with "due enforcement of all laws and regulations" (Police Act, 1958). But as Alemika (1988) notes, a casual observation of policing scenes in Nigeria reveal that "the police in Nigeria seem to have settled for a chaotic, reactive, arbitrary and repressive policing style" (p. 163).

Some other sociological studies have also argued that the organizational structures of bureaucracies such as the police force affect the way such agencies relate with their public. For instance, Abraham S. Blumberg (1974) has stated that the organizational structures of the subsystems of the

criminal justice system, that is, the police, corrections, and the courts affect the manner justice is dispensed in the United States. Also, Aaron Cicourel (1968), addressing the differential methods of handling juvenile delinquents by the police observes that the ideologies and policies of law enforcement officers selectively assemble juveniles from broken homes or homes with a history of separation or divorce for probation evaluation.

The point Cicourel is making is that the organization and administration of juvenile justice in America which begins with the police, in essence, is a means used to label some juveniles as delinquents based on differential treatment of those youngsters by the police.

After examining the system of law enforcement and order maintenance in the United States, Jerome H. Skolnick (1966) has argued that "the system of maintaining order and administering justice in America is a system of justice without trial" (p. 13). He reached this conclusion, I will assume, because the contingencies of arrest and search and seizure suggest the negotiable character of who comes to be defined as a "criminal." Not only that, he says the policeman operates as one whose aim is to legitimize the evidence pertaining to the case in order to get a conviction. This is done because the basic goal of police organizations, he says, is to control deviant behavior using whatever means that are available to justify their actions. As a result, the attitudes of the police officers toward the

members of the public and their job are influenced by the goals of the organization and concern for their own careers within the organization and acceptance by their peers. Skolnick further points out that the concern for advancement and acceptance run counter to principles of legality because the occupational demands and identification with the work itself lead to illegal arrests, search and seizure.

Skolnick's study is valuable for the way it calls attention to the kinds of problems that arise in the day-to-day police work in the context of organizational and administrative structures, rules and regulations, and goals and objectives. It also shows how the goal of police organizations in America (ferreting out crime) compels police officers to violate the law in order to enforce it as a means of showing their allegiance to the organization. He says this happens when police officers arrest people because "they look suspicious" (p. 13).

Skolnick also notes that even when there is no reasonable cause for arrests, the police officers who do not abide by judicial interpretations of legality, encroach on people's civil rights to show their professional commitment. He says this happens because departmental norms encourage police officers to violate the law in order to enforce laws and maintain order.

In the same vein, William A. Westley (1970) has argued that since the police force is a military organization and power flow from the top of the organization pyramid, the

police officer's identification with his work and his concern with obtaining the approval of others within the agency do lead to violence in daily police activities. Westley makes the point that the occupational socialization designed to make the officer a functional unit in the department makes him develop a violent prone attitude as a means of achieving police organizational goals and objectives.

Both Skolnick and Westley argue that the structure of police organizations, the rules and regulations of the department together with its goals and objectives set the stage for the development of police activities and policies which make police contact with those viewed as suspects or criminals violent. Both authors also note that the learning of such norms are essential to the advancement of the officers within the department.

Peter K. Manning (1977:139) speaking about how organizational structures, goals, and objectives influence the behaviors of those in it states:

Organizations are in many ways constituted as a series of negotiated situations in which persons acting within organizational roles confront and make sense of a shared event. Insofar as members become a part of an organization, they adopt the meanings and situational definitions that are consistent with ongoing contingencies with which they are faced.

According to Manning, becoming part of the police organization commits the officers to the goals and objectives of the agency which are recalled when the officers are on the streets.

Police Officers' Attitudes
Toward their Job

As Ohakwe (1989) has argued, the way police officers perceive their job tends to influence how law and order are maintained. As implied by him, a police organization that sees itself as "the government's police" is likely to be repressive in its law and order maintenance tactics; its obligation is to the government in power not to the governed. In this arrangement, individual police officers owe their jobs to the police boss and therefore have no commitment to the communities they serve.

The police in Nigeria fits this categorization because police officers are employees of the federal government. As a result, Alemika (1988) has argued that those who control the state apparatus use the police power to silent and oppress political opponents "in the fierce struggle for government offices and spoils" (p. 163). He says the police have no qualms with being used as tools of repression and exploitation because obedience to those in power is a paramount police concern. He also notes that there have been times when those in power have unlawfully confiscated personal properties and used the police to suppress opposition. One of such incidents he says, led to the death of several people in the country. Lamenting about this situation, Alemika (1988:167) states:

The police have become increasingly violent in dealing with protest demonstrations and thereby escalating such events into riots in which many persons are killed by

the police. In 1981 several peasant farmers in Bakolori, Sokoto State (Nigeria) protested against the seizure of their farmlands by the government without compensation or alternative farmlands The peasant farmers' protest was legitimate and protected by the country's constitution, which prohibit the acquisition of private property without due compensation. Instead of enforcing the provisions of the constitution the police was dispatched to rout the protests. At the end of the confrontation, more than a hundred farmers had been killed.

Since the police see themselves as agents of the federal government and its subsystems, they had to use all amount of force at their disposal to make sure that the government's action, even though illegal by the provisions of the country's constitution, prevailed. Incidents like the above are very unlikely in democratic societies where police officers are direct employees of the city and as such can be described as "the peoples' police."

A peoples' police is the type of police force found here in the United States where the police system is decentralized and where police officers are city employees enforcing laws and maintaining order within the city limits. In this arrangement, police officers owe their jobs to the chief of police who owes his job to the mayor who in turn holds his position at the whims of the city council members who are directly elected by the residents of the city. Because of this sort of arrangement police officers' attitudes toward their job will be influenced by a desire to enforce the law within the confines of legality. This method of law and order maintenance is characteristic of democratic societies where people remain in government

(city, county, state, or federal) by virtue of good performance.

In the other hand, the government's police is the type of police agency found in societies like Nigeria where the police organization is centralized and where individual police officers are employees of the federal government and as such are answerable to the Inspector-General of Police. In this arrangement, ability and readiness to carry out the dictates of those in power is a prerequisite to enlistment and a prelude to advancement within the organization.

According to Gabriel Omonhinmin (1988), the police have killed several innocent law-abiding citizens including students while carrying out the orders of those in power. Speaking about police brutality against students' protests he laments that even though there is no law against students' demonstrations, the police believe the best way to disperse a group of protesting students is to shoot at them. As a result of this method of order maintenance Omonhinmin (1988:3) says several students have lost their lives at the hands of the nation's police. He states:

Instead of being the protector of lives and properties as stipulated in the Constitution of Nigeria, many lives have been lost through either its unnecessary show of authority, as is the case of the killing of innocent Nigerians e.g. late Dele Udo and the recent Dawodu brothers; or the display of tactlessness and insufficient training as in the case of students' demonstrations during which Kunle Adepeju (1971), Akintunde Ojo (1978), four students of the then University of Ife (1981) and the not too recent students and workers of Ahmadu Bello University in 1986, who were all mauled down by the Nigerian police bullets.

He says this is the case because the police have internalized the notion that the fact that the agency is called the "Nigeria Police Force" simply means that they can only accomplish their tasks with the use of deadly force. Both Alemika (1988) and Omonhinmin (1988) state that the police are not doing anything about the crime problem in the country because fighting crime is a secondary police task.

Further, Otwin Marenin (1977) has stated that there is a sense of "us against them" among police officers in Nigeria. This attitude he says has made violence and brutality a matter of routine policing in the country.

Marenin (1977:11) holds that:

The much more frequently expressed public complaints against the police focus on ruthlessness, brutality, and the use of violence, matters in which the public has a long memory and in which the past activities of the police were decidedly against them; the police past in Nigeria is . . . associated with a reign of terror.

The above methods of law and order maintenance are employed because the police is said to be a government's rather than a peoples' police.

Public Attitudes Toward the Police

The Nigerian public regards the Nigerian police with an ambivalent attitude mainly because of its historical origin as a repressive military organization (Nelson, Harold D; James McLaughlin, Barbara Marvin, Philip Moeller, and Donald R. Whitaker, 1972); because the force was used as an instrument of harassment of the indigenes by the British (Ehinderero, 1986); because they have internalized the notion

that they can only accomplish their job with the use of deadly force (Omonhinmin, 1988); because of their strong arm methods of law enforcement and order maintenance (Alemika, 1988); and because of the use to which the British put the police, that is, as an instrument of coercion and oppression (Johnson Odu, 1989).

One important point the above authors make is that the Nigerian police has a history of repressive, coercive, and oppressive methods of law and order maintenance inherited from the British. But in a recent survey of how the public perceives the police by Alemika (1988:161), it was found that "public support for, and attribution of legitimacy to, the Nigerian police are still tenuous and problematic" In another study of the Nigerian police, Ohakwe (1989:11) concludes that:

One of the primary challenges facing the police today is the necessity to restore the sense of trust to the relationships that exist between the police and the public. It is important for the police to cultivate a sense of discipline and solicitousness toward the public that will serve to create the fundamental perception of the police authority as being a service group rather than a repressive arm of the government.

The point Ohakwe is making is that improvements in the relationship that exists between the police and members of the public are possible through changes on the part of the police in their encounters with the members of the public and the images those encounters create. Also, as the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967) has warned, if the police organization

wants to earn and retain favorable public image, it must be prepared to place the broad interests of its public first in every decision affecting its operation.

Instead of putting the interests of the general public in Nigeria in its decisions, Omonhinmin (1988) states that members of the Nigerian police have been known to cooperate with armed robbers to terrorize defenseless citizens. In some instances, he says, armed robbers have been caught in police uniforms, with police guns and vehicles given to them by members of the police force who will later meet with the bandits to share their loots. Addressing this problem, Omonhinmin (1988:3-4) states:

There have also been incidents of the Nigerian police colluding with armed robbers. Chief Samuel Taiwo Oredeni's case of allegedly robbing a Barclays Bank van of twenty thousand British pounds in 1971 with the collusion of three senior police officers Yusuf Bello, Amusa Abidogun both assistant superintendent of police and Patrick Njovens, a chief superintendent of police remains evergreen. Recently, Nigerians again discovered to their chagrin, that Anini's gang (a notorious armed robbery group) could not have held the inhabitants of Bendel State (Nigeria) in a state of siege for so long a time if not for the godfather role in the police of executed deputy superintendent of police, George Iyamu and his likes in the police force.

As a result of these sort of practices, the Nigerian public avoid any involvement with the police as Milner (1969:2) points out:

It is unfortunate that in many Nigerian communities this relationship, which builds respect for sociolegal norms and for the police as supporters of these norms, does not exist: allegations of police dishonesty and brutality to suspects or witnesses are all too common Crime is often ignored, not reported or even concealed for fear of personal involvement with the police.

The reason why involvement with the police is avoided is provided by Osoba (in Marenin, 1985:80) who states that "there is no tyrant more vicious, narrow-minded, self-centered and insufferably exhibitionist than a primary educated Nigerian dressed in a brief robe of authority." So, the image the Nigerian public has of an average police officer in Nigeria "is that of a lazy, corrupt, inefficient, bribe-taking, money extorting officer who connives at crime if the price is right" (Oluyemi Kayode, 1976:59).

Because police violence and brutality are too rampant in Nigeria, Ajia (in Marenin, 1985:80) offers the following hints on "how to survive police brutality." He states:

Expect it to happen, 'run for dear life', suffer in 'dignified silence' when you cannot escape, hope to get to the police station in one piece as their might be an educated officer there, do not use big words with police officers, do what you are told, be polite despite all aggravations, and hope that your relatives find you fast.

Not all critics of police law and order maintenance tactics and the effects these have on police-public relations in Nigeria put the blame on the police; some hold the public responsible for the mutual distrust that exists between the Nigerian police and the public. One of such people is Igbinovia (1980a) who laments the nonchalant and the uncooperative attitudes of the Nigerian public.

Igbinovia (1980a:344) states:

The performance or success rate of the police is reduced by the uncooperative and nonchalant attitude of the Nigerian public. For example, while the public may be quite willing to report missing property and persons, they generally do not care to report back to the police their discovery. In addition, while the

commission of crime may be initially reported to the police for actions, victims and perpetrators often make up their differences 'behind the back' of the police or 'in the traditional African manner' without notifying the police that cases have been dropped or that victims are not interested in prosecuting the offender. Furthermore, the Nigerian public generally does not cooperate with the police in the location of missing persons or wanted persons. They would rather not get involved and will hide the suspects or frustrate police efforts.

Commenting upon the uncooperative attitudes of the Nigerian public toward the police Idowu (in Igbinovia, (1980a:355) states:

Nigerians are no friends of the police force. They would rather obstruct than help policemen to do their duty. Even if a police patrol team arrives in time to prevent a suspect from being lynched, the Nigerian mob would like to have their way and would not even mind lynching the rescuing policemen along with the suspect.

In his article on "The Magisterial Impression of the Police", Magistrate A. Mohammad says the Nigerian public expects too much more than the police can deliver and advises that if the public expects a high standard of morality from the police, it must show good examples. "As long as the public believe in offering bribes as the first and only step to get a person out of a predicament or acquire preferential treatment over others" he says, "so long will there be receivers" (Aliu Mohammad, 1970:78).

A similar view point is expressed by the Nigeria Police Force Public Relations officer, Police Commissioner Albert Afegbai (in Ohakwe, 1989:9) who laments that "the police is dehumanized." Mr. Afegbai says the time has come for the Nigerian public to face and address the ills of the society. Blaming everything including the failure of the country's

elections on the police, he says, only increases public resentment of the police force.

Police Treatment of Different Groups of People

Surveys conducted by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967) show that the poor, the young, and the nonwhite are more critical of the police than other groups because the police are disrespectful to them and they are more likely to be stopped and searched without cause. Because the police in America have come to identify the blacks and other ethnic minorities with danger, Skolnick (1966) says the police are oppressive in policing the areas occupied by these groups. Because of this characterization, the average police officer sees the black man as a symbolic assailant and treats him as such. According to Skolnick (1966:45):

The policeman, because his work requires him to be occupied continually with potential violence, develops a perceptual shorthand to identify certain kinds of people, for instance, blacks as symbolic assailants, that is, as persons who use gestures, language, and attire that the policeman has come to recognize as a prelude to violence. . . . the policeman responds accordingly to the vague indications of danger suggested by appearance.

Differential treatment of the members of the public by the police also exists in Nigeria. The poor, the ghetto dwellers, and the uneducated are overtly abused and brutalized more often by the police. Commenting on this issue Igbinovia (1980a) calls attention to an incident that

happened a few years ago when the Nigerian police arrested 68 homeless men for wandering. According to him, these men were beaten and then packed into a police Black Maria (a police torture van) and left in the van in the sun for hours. He says by the time the police remembered to check on their captives, 60 of them had died from suffocation.

Another group of law-abiding citizens the police terrorize are high school and college students. Police encounters with this group of people have always resulted in deaths because the police see students as "symbolic assailants." According to Alemika (1988), labor and trade union officials have also been hunted for, arrested, and thrown into police cells across the country for extended periods of time for opposing government policies and programs. While in these cells, these union officials, he says, are usually tortured and starved. This sort of treatment is dished out to these people to stop them from opposing government's decisions and policies even if such criticisms are well intended and constructive.

Conclusion

As Skolnick (1966) has pointed out, there is an inherent ambiguity in the concepts "law enforcement" and "order maintenance." He says this is the situation because when law is used as an instrument of order it strengthens the very behavior it is supposed to check. Skolnick (1966:12) states that:

. . . whenever rules of constraint are ambiguous, they strengthen the very conduct they are intended to restrain. Thus the policeman already committed to a concept of law as an instrument of order rather than as an end in itself is likely to utilize the ambiguity of the rules of restraint as a justification for . . . violating them. By such a process, the practical ambiguity of the rule of law . . . and the actual enterprise of maintaining order by rule of law serve to complicate the conflict of these principles.

The above analogy fits the Nigerian situation perfectly because repressive laws are used as instruments of achieving public order. Consequently, instead of promoting public order, such laws have become instruments of disorder. Alemika (1988) has stated that since the police see themselves as agents of the state, they have no qualms with being used as instruments of oppression by those "who control the country's political and economic systems through force and violence" (p. 161).

Since the Nigeria Police Force is a hierarchical organization, public complaints against police officers have no way of getting to the attention of those who are in the position to take necessary actions because these complaints go through the line officers against whose actions the complaints are filed. Besides, as Alemika (1988) and Ohakwe (1989) point out, the goal of the Nigerian police is not to serve the general public but the ruling class and to protect their possessions. Both authors point out that this is partly the cause of public resentment of the police force. They therefore advice that the earlier the police force realizes this and take actions to correct the situation, the

more positively it will be perceived by the general public.

The attitude of the police officers toward their job could be said to be influenced by the organizational and administrative structure of the police agency itself. As a centralized, hierarchical, military organization, information flows only from the police boss downwards; those who come into contact with the members of the public have no way of contributing to the running of the agency. What happens as a result is that the officers develop a nonchalant attitude toward various issues that concern the organization and its public.

By the same token, public uncooperative attitude toward the street cops could as well be as a result of frustration since correspondence from them is never replied to, no visits by the members of the public are allowed, and phone calls are never returned (Igbinovia, 1980a). This attitude of the Police-Public Relations Unit of the NPF, according to Igbinovia (1980a), increases public hatred of the agency.

Finally, since the police have internalized the notion that certain groups of people, for instance, students, labor and trade union officials, are anti-government and as a result are anti-police, police law and order maintenance tactics when in contact with these groups of people, will be marked with violence. And, as long as the police see violence as a means of order maintenance they will be viewed as an alien force serving the wishes of those in power.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY AND THEORY

Research Design

This study concerns the police organization in Nigeria. It deals with the social organization of policing and the effects this has had upon police-public relations in the country. In other words, this study throws some light on how observance of laws is achieved in Nigeria. That is, it deals with the methods of law and order maintenance the police bring to play when in contact with members of the public and the types of relationships such methods have bred between the police and the public in the country.

The study covers the period between 1960 when Nigeria received her independence from Great Britain and when British influence on the methods of law and order maintenance of the force started diminishing to 1989 when the data were collected. The year 1960 was chosen because the author believes that by that year strategic positions in the force were being controlled by indigenous officers even though the first indigenous Inspector-General of Police--Mr. Louis Orok Edet--did not take seat until 1964 (Igbinovia, 1980b). The choice of 1989 was merely incidental. Having made the decision that my dissertation will be on the

Nigeria Police Force, I seized the opportunity of traveling to Nigeria in the summer of that year to conduct the study. The time spent collecting data covered from the first week of June to the middle of August 1989.

The study was divided into three parts. The first part involves designing and administering questionnaires and conducting structured interviews of police officers and members of the public in 5 of the 21 states in the country. In the second part, a metropolitan police station and a local police post were observed for periods covering all the shifts. The third phase involves collection and examination of various police documents dealing with the structure, rules and regulations, goals and objectives, and the administration of the NPF.

By using these various methods the author anticipates that the reasons why policing in Nigeria is still tenuous and problematic "in spite of series of organizational reforms" will become known (Alemika, 1988:161).

Sources of the Data

The data for this study were collected from 11 different police stations and posts in 5 of the 21 states around the country. Each of the states visited has a State Police Headquarters which is the administrative unit of all the police posts and stations within that state. Each police headquarters is also charged with recruitment and deployment of police officers around the state. The number

of officers in each headquarters varies with the population and the law enforcement needs of each state. The police in each state is commanded by a commissioner of police. The office of the commissioner of police for each of the states is located in the headquarters of that state. As the administrative unit for all police stations and posts in each state, the police headquarters in each of the 5 states visited has more civilian employees than any other police unit in the country.

At the first police headquarters visited, only 20 questionnaires were administered out of which 16 were received back. Because the commissioner's office is located at this unit of the police, every officer appeared to be very busy. As a result of this attitude, only 8 interviews were completed at this unit all of which were done during the officers' lunch break period. This much was done because the author promised to pay for the lunch in some cases. Out of the 16 questionnaires returned from this unit, 6 were filled out by civilian personnel at the headquarters.

Official permission to conduct the study in the first state visited was granted in the third week of June. The letter authorized the Criminal Investigations Department (CID) of the state to cooperate with the researcher. At the CID, 110 questionnaires were collected by the Chief State Investigator (the head of the unit) and handed to a junior officer who then distributed them to the officers. Out of

this number, 87 were handed back the first time the researcher visited the CID to collect the questionnaires. On the second visit, 5 more completed questionnaires were returned. Due to lack of time, no further attempt was made to collect the rest of the questionnaires.

The state CID is the unit in the state that is charged with all criminal investigations within the state. The unit is made up of men and women specially trained in criminal investigations of all kinds. Because of the nature of the job done by this unit, no sit-in observation was done since the core of their job is done on the streets in plain clothes. In addition to the questionnaires, 5 interviews were completed at this unit. These were done either at the officer's home or during lunch breaks.

In each state, routine police jobs, that is, receiving reports and complaints from the members of the public, law enforcement, and order maintenance, are handled by the metropolitan police station in urban areas and the local police posts in the rural areas. There were about 400 officers in the first metropolitan police station visited including its various branches within the metropolitan area. At this metropolitan police station, 30 questionnaires were handed out but only 17 were completed and returned. In addition, 3 interviews were completed and sit-in observations were done for 4 days covering all three shifts.

The logistic division was the next police unit visited in the first state. This unit is charged with the

procurement, maintenance, and transportation of police materials and properties around the state. At this unit, 10 questionnaires were handed out and all of them were returned. Out of these 10 questionnaires, 4 were filled out by civilian personnel at the unit. Also at this unit, 2 interviews were completed.

In the rural areas, three police posts were visited. There were 75 officers at the first police post who are responsible for law and order maintenance in a town of about 25,000 residents. At this unit, 10 questionnaires were handed out through a volunteer 7 of which were received back. No interviews were done.

At the second police post, there were about 60 police officers serving a town of about 20,000 residents including two other villages under its jurisdiction. At this police post, 25 questionnaires were handed out and 10 interviews completed. Out of the 25 questionnaires given out, 18 were completed and returned. Sit-in observations were conducted by the researcher for three days covering all three shifts at the unit.

The third police post visited had 83 officers serving a major town of about 30,000 residents including a few neighboring villages. At this unit, 30 questionnaires were administered through the assistance of two police friends. Within the first week, 10 of the questionnaires were returned. Out of the 20 left, 11 were returned within the next two weeks. No interviews or sit-in observations were

conducted at this unit due to time and resource limitations.

Most of the materials containing information on structure, operation, rules and regulations, and goals and objectives of the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) were received from the Police Headquarters in the first state visited. Other sources of the materials dealing with these sorts of information were received from senior police officers in the various states visited. From these officers copies of rules and regulations handbook and other pamphlets containing relevant police information were received also. A few of these pamphlets were received from the force headquarters in Lagos.

Some of the members of the public who participated in this study in the first state visited were residents of a major city in the state, some were local farmers and residents, while others were students, staff, and faculty of a major university in the state. Still others include people the author met at various places around the state including restaurants, hotels, and airports.

In Lagos State--the second state visited for the study--only the Force Headquarters was visited. This division of the force is charged with the overall administration of the NPF. Decisions concerning conditions of service, promotion, etc. are made at this unit. As big as this unit of the force is, I was only able to give out 10 questionnaires out of which only 3 were received on the scheduled date. But, within Lagos State, 4 more police

officers filled out the instrument and 2 agreed to be interviewed.

The members of the public who participated in the survey were some residents of Ikeja, Ikoyi, and Victoria Island. Other respondents were met at the Mauritala Mohammed International Airport in Ikeja who were waiting to catch a plane to other parts of the country. Still others were met at Sheraton, Ikoyi, and Federal Palace Hotels.

In the third state included in the study, only the state police headquarters was visited. A total of 15 questionnaires were handed out at this unit and 10 were received. Out of the 10 received, 3 were not completely filled out. But within the city, 5 more questionnaires were completed by residents of the city.

From the fourth state visited, 29 questionnaires were filled out by 18 police officers and 11 members of the public. Through a volunteer, 6 questionnaires were completed by police officers and 75 more were filled out by student, staff and faculty of a college in the fifth state visited.

Though the choice of the states and parts visited for this study were arbitrary, they do represent the various regions of the country. Besides, a representative sample of police officers in the country could be drawn from any of the states and/or cities visited because every ethnic group or region is usually represented in the various states and/or cities. The same is true of members of the public;

all regions or ethnic groups are represented in these cities.

Further, the majority of the respondents (both police and members of the public) were from the first state visited. This is because a lot of time was spent in this state in an effort to secure the permission of the commissioner of police for the state whose signature is required before any study of the police could be done. When the permit was finally given, a specific department of the police in the state was detailed to take part in the study. Because of the time it took to get this permit, no effort was made to secure such permissions in the other states. As a result, police officers who participated in the study in the other states were unofficially approached either directly or through volunteers.

In sum, the respondents to this study could be said to be both purposive and convenient samples. They could be described as purposive since the researcher has a good understanding of the ethnic groupings and the geographical areas of the country. The samples are convenient in the sense that only the opinions of those people who were available during the period of the research and who could be included in the study were polled. No effort was made to contact the non-respondents or to draw a representative sample of either the rural or urban residents in any of the states. Also, the number of rural residents included in the study was further reduced by the fact that majority of such

people are illiterates and suspicious of strangers especially those who cannot speak their native language.

Methods of Data Collection

The information regarding the structure, rules and regulations, and goals and objectives of the Nigeria Police Force were gathered from various sources. One of such sources is the Senior Police Officers' and Inspectors' Re-Orientation Handbook which deals with on-the-job training for officers above the rank of an inspector. Other sources include the Police Acts of 1958, 1961, and 1967 which deal with general police powers and responsibilities and handouts from the police headquarters in some of the states which specify what police officers should do in various situations. Still others came from handouts from specialist training colleges around the country which detail how certain aspects of the job such as finger printing, preservation of crime scenes, security of evidence and their presentation in court should be treated.

Notes taken at police colleges during basic training sessions were also examined. In addition, the rules' and regulations' manuals were scrutinized. Not only that, information regarding the organization and administration of the force and conditions of service were examined too. Finally, various publications of the force that highlight force objectives and directions regarding its operations and relation with the members of the public were also examined.

The aim of examining these documents is to see whether the organization and administration of the force, its structure, rules and regulations and goals and objectives affect how members of the police force relate with the members of the public.

The second method of gathering data for this study was by means of a survey. The first phase of this method involves designing and administering questionnaires to some police officers in five of the twenty-one states in the country. The aim of this effort is to know whether police officers perceive themselves as agents of the government or see the police force as a service agency to the public and how this affects how law and order are maintained in the country. The questionnaires were distributed through a designated police officer who collected them back once they were completed. Some of those who participated in this first part were interviewed either formally or informally to check the validity of previous responses.

The second phase of the survey involves designing and administering questionnaires to members of the public to understand the expectations they have of the police force and how such expectations affect the way they relate with the police force. This phase also included some interviews.

The last phase of the survey involves interviewing retired police officers who served both during the colonial era and the post-independent period. Due to time and resource limitations, only 5 of such people were located and

interviewed. The reason for interviewing these people is to see whether there have been any changes in police law and order maintenance tactics since independence in 1960.

The third method of gathering data for this study was through a non-participant observation of a rural police post and an urban police station. There were no ride-alongs since the patrol team is comprised of officers specially trained in anti-crime patrols. These officers usually travel in groups. The sit-in observations covered all three shifts (7am-3pm, 3-11pm and 11pm-7am) in the units visited.

Theory of Social Organization

According to Karl Marx, the state (in this case, the police organization) does not represent the general interest of the society at large but the particular interests of the dominant class (Nicos P. Mouzelis, 1982). According to this view, the police organization is an instrument by which the dominant class exercises its domination over the other social classes. In this situation it can be argued that the interests of bureaucratic organizations like the police force are closely linked to those of the dominant class since they are controlled by those who belong to this class.

According to this view, the real task of the police organization in a society that is ruled by the power elite is to impose on the whole of society an order of things which consolidates and perpetuates class division, domination and exploitation. Under this condition, the

police force is used to maintain the status quo even if doing so involves the use of violence. To maintain this system of oppression, laws are enacted by the dominant class and extensive powers given to the police agency to enforce those laws as a means of continuing class division, domination, and exploitation.

Theory of Occupational Socialization

Since the police organization is established to maintain the status quo, the police officers are socialized both formally and informally to do just that. They are taught, persuaded, or compelled to conform to the normative structure of the organization. As Don William Parker (1980) has stated, the advancement of the recruit within the police organization is dependent upon his or her successful socialization with respect to the role requirements prescribed by the organization. Occupational socialization therefore, is a process through which an individual within a given occupational level learns and internalizes the role expectations of his or her profession to the point where he or she is seen as a functional unit of the organization.

Speaking about how people learn and internalize the role expectations of their profession, Ronald Pavalko (1971:93-94) has noted that:

Socialization into a profession involves a sequence of three phases. During the first phase, the person shifts his attention from the broad, societally derived goals which led him to choose the profession to the goal of proficiency in specific work tasks. During the second, certain significant others in the work milieu

become his main reference group. Third, he internalizes the values of the occupational group and adopts the behavior it prescribes.

It is when the recruit reaches the third phase that he or she is seen by both colleagues and superiors as a functional member of the police organization. It is at this phase that professional values and norms are learned and internalized.

Pavalko (1971) further states that even though occupational socialization starts during training, becoming a full functioning unit within the organization tends to depend upon the individual's ability to learn and internalize organizational values. He states:

While occupational socialization begins during the training period, full internalization of professional values is probably dependent upon the kind of work situation experienced after training. Especially important determinants of internalization would be . . . the extent to which one's work relationships are with colleagues rather than outsiders and . . . the extent to which one is insulated from pressures from outsiders. Thus, the occupational socialization cycle is completed when professional values are fully internalized (p. 95).

The Nigerian Situation

The police organization in Nigeria was established by the British imperial power to serve their imperial interests during colonial rule. During that period, the police force was used as an instrument to enforce repressive and oppressive imperial laws. Since the goals and objectives of the police force were to serve the interests of the British government (the dominant class and the oppressor) to the detriment of the Nigerian peoples (the underclass and the

oppressed) police officers were socialized to be brutal, reckless, and violent. From this standpoint, the Nigerian situation fits the Marxist view of social organizations.

Further, the indigenous ruling class who learned the benefits of having a stratified society from the British, has maintained the oppressive system of the colonial rulers. The economic and political systems of exploitation have been maintained by the post-colonial elites who hold the ruins of power through police violence thereby, perpetuating the hostility that existed between police officers and members of the public during colonial rule.

Since the police officers (past and present) are socialized to uphold the status quo, very often members of the public fall victim to police bullets (Omonhinmin, 1988). The result of this is that effective law enforcement and order maintenance suffer while exhibiting violence toward members of the public is reinforced since that is the goal of the police force.

Conclusion

Data for this study were gathered through the non-probability sampling techniques known as purposive and convenience sampling methods. The samples were purposive in that the researcher has a good understanding of the regional and ethnic differences in the country. Through the use of this sampling technique, it was possible to get respondents from the northern, southern, eastern and the

western sections of the country to reflect the opinions of both the majority and minority ethnic groups.

While in the various regions of the country, the convenience sampling technique was used. Through this method the researcher polled the opinions of those who were conveniently available during the study and who agreed to be interviewed or who agreed to fill out the questionnaire.

One reason why these sampling techniques were used is limited resources and time. The study lasted for two months at the researcher's own expense. The second reason why these methods of sampling were used is circumstantial. During the duration of the research, the various state commissioners of police who were to authorize the study in each of the five chosen states were having "security talk" with the Military President. To carry on the study without having to wait three to four weeks, the researcher had to use the informal "man know man" method (an informal method of approaching top executives) through which the study gained momentum.

When the commissioners returned to their respective states, these informal connections helped accelerate the formal process of getting both the permission and having the instrument filled out. Also, the convenience and purposive sampling techniques were used because they are easier, quicker and inexpensive given the size of the country and the agency under investigation.

Also the purposive sampling technique enabled me to

draw respondents from various areas of the country to see whether different groups of people perceive the police differently and to see how group composition affect methods of law enforcement and order maintenance of the police. Not only that, the two units of the police chosen for observation were chosen on account of convenience; observations of the metropolitan police station were possible through officers who assisted in the study. These officers, through the informal "man know man" method secured the permission of the officer in charge before the sit-ins were allowed. The same is true of the rural police post.

Lastly, even though the respondents were not randomized, they still represent a cross-section of the general public because the study includes students, college staff and professors, business men and women, local and urban residents, blue and white collar workers, and state officials. In addition, retired and present police officers were included in the study.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

Police Documents

The police in Nigeria is accused of being repressive and oppressive in their law and order maintenance tactics. One of the objectives of this study is to find out whether the above method of maintaining law and order is the result of the rules & regulations, the organizational & administrative structure, goals and objectives of the Nigeria Police Force itself or the result of the differential methods of law and order maintenance adopted by individual police officers while on the streets. To do this, a content analysis of the rules and regulations manuals, pamphlets on organizational structure, administration, functions, goals, and objectives of the Nigerian police was carried out.

According to the Police Act of 1967, the police in Nigeria is an agent of the federal military government through which, the government achieves its goals and objectives. Because the police is seen and used in this manner, the agency exists to carry out the orders of those who control the federal military government irrespective of the aim of whoever that is giving those orders. In this

regard, it could be argued that the police organization exists to maintain the status quo. Besides, the Police Act stipulates that the Inspector-General of Police should be appointed by the head of the federal military government. As a result, the Inspector-General is under obligation to carry out all the orders such a person may give to him or her whatever they might be. The Police Act (1967:195) states:

The Head of the Federal Military Government may give to the Inspector-General of Police such directions with respect to the maintaining and securing 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 The Commissioner of Police of a state shall comply with the directions of the Military Governor of the state with respect to the maintaining and securing of public safety and public order within the state, or cause them to be complied with.

According to the Police Act, the police force is used to carry out the directives of the military dictators who rule the country by decrees (laws made by the federal military government) and edicts (laws made by the military governor of a state) after they had suspended the Federal Constitution, which guarantees the civil rights of the public. By suspending the Constitution, the military government (state or federal) can then use the police force to achieve whatever they want without opposition from any person or group. As a result of this arrangement, the police can be said to be an agent of the power structure.

Another thing seen in the Police Act (1967) which could make police-public encounters violent is the wide range of

powers given to the police force by the Police Act. The Act (1967:199) states:

In addition to the powers of arrest without warrant conferred upon a police officer by section 10 of the Criminal Procedure Act, it shall be lawful for any police officer and any person who he may call to his assistance, to arrest without warrant.

By giving police officers the power to arrest without a warrant, the Police Act creates a veritable ground for violent confrontations between the arresting officer and the suspect. Also, by giving the police officers the power to arrest without a warrant, the Act creates an avenue for corruption, exploitation, and oppression because such a power could easily be abused.

Not only that, the Act further gives police officers the power to command members of the public to assist them make such arrests. The Act further states that anybody who is thus commanded to assist a police officer is under legal obligation to assist the officer whether or not he or she believes the arrest to be justified. Here again, the dominant class is using the police to maintain a system of domination.

The Rules and Regulations Handbook of the Nigeria Police Force (1980) states how a police officer should make the command and the type of punishment that awaits those who refuse to assist accordingly. The Handbook (p. 39) states:

The law empowers a police officer to call upon the public to assist him in making an arrest. The usual form of command is: I command you in the name of the President to assist me in the arrest of If any person is called upon to aid and assist a police officer who is . . . assaulted or resisted or is in

danger of being assaulted or resisted, and, such person refuses or neglects to aid and assist accordingly, he shall be guilty of an offense and on summary conviction thereof before a magistrate, shall be liable to a penalty of twenty-five pounds or to imprisonment for six months or both.

Both the Act (1967) and the Rules and Regulations Handbook (1980) give police officers the power to arrest without a warrant and the power to coerce members of the public to assist them make such an arrest respectively. In either situation, formal rules and regulations of the police force contribute to the violence that characterize police-public encounters in the country.

Further, the Police Act (1967) gives superior police officers (police officers above the rank of an inspector) the power to authorize any police officer to enter any house or business premises without a warrant to search for "stolen property." The Act (p. 200) states:

A superior police officer may, by the authority under his hand authorize any police officer to enter any house, shop, warehouse, or other premises in search of stolen property without a search warrant and search therein and seize and secure any property he may believe to have been stolen in the same manner as he would be authorize to do if he had a warrant.

Again, by giving police officers this type of power, chances are that the power could easily be used for personal gains giving rise to violent confrontations. To make matters worse, the Act states it is not even necessary to specify what or where should be searched. It states:

It shall not be necessary on 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 (200).

By not specifying any particular property or house and area(s) to be searched, the ruling class is using the Act to create room for the oppression and exploitation of the members of the public.

Another clause in the Act which could make police-public encounters violent concerns the power of the police to detain and search people at will without reasonable suspicion or probable cause. The Act (p. 201) states:

A police officer may detain and search any person who he suspects of having in his possession or conveying in any manner anything which he believes to have been stolen or otherwise unlawfully obtained. Such items are to be seized by the police officer unless ownership can be established.

By giving the police officers this power, the Act creates an avenue through which police officers could enrich themselves by taking illegal tolls so as not to delay or detain people.

Another thing that could contribute to the animosity between the police and members of the public is how various official publications of the police instruct police officers to handle public assemblies and processions. Because a license is required before members of the public can hold an assembly or a procession, the Police Act and notes given at police colleges (institutions where police officers go for training upon recruitment) instruct police officers to use all force necessary to disperse an assembly or procession that does not have a license after making the following proclamation:

In the name of the Head of State, all persons assembled here are commanded to disperse. . . . persons who

disobey this order are liable to be dispersed by force and to imprisonment for 5 years. God save the Head of State (Police College Notes, 1976).

If the assembly or procession refuses to disperse after the above proclamation, the officers are taught to make the following additional statements before they open fire on those concerned. "I command you to go home peaceably; if you do not do so, I shall open fire on you." The Police College Notes further state:

Upon the expiration of a reasonable time (15 minutes) after making such a proclamation, the police officer may use all force necessary to disperse such an assembly . . . and shall not be held liable in any criminal or civil proceeding for having by the use of such force, caused harm or death to any person.

The danger in this type of job training and occupational socialization is that it brain washes the police officers and makes them feel they are above the law and can do as they please when they define an assembly or procession as illegal and order those concerned to disperse. In this situation, the police force is used by the dominant class not only to deny people their civil rights but also to prevent them from demonstrating against oppression.

The Act even makes it an offense punishable by a two-year prison term for "any police officer other than a superior police officer (those above the rank of an Inspector) who . . . being at any assemblage tending to riot, does not use his utmost endeavor to suppress such assemblage" (p. 203). According to the Act, a police officer who does not deal violently with such an assemblage "shall be liable to imprisonment for two years" (p. 203).

Firstly, the Act makes it incumbent on police officers to use all force necessary to disperse an "illegal assembly." Secondly, it gives them legal immunity from anything they do in compliance with the provisions of the decree that gives them this power. Thirdly, the Act makes it an offense punishable by a two-year prison term for any police officer who does not use utmost force to deal with such an assembly or procession. From the above, it could be said that police violence and brutality are employed frequently by the dominant class as a legitimate form of achieving observance of oppressive laws.

In addition, the Military Government in 1985 passed the State Security Decree #2 which gives superior police officers power to arrest any person they think is a security or may pose security problems to the state. A section of this decree reads: "No question as to the validity of this or any other decree or any edit shall be entertained by any court of law in Nigeria" (Police College Notes, 1986). By passing this decree, the ruling military dictators gave police officers power to maltreat people as they please. To make sure that this decree is ruthlessly enforced by the police officers, the decree exonerates them from any legal suits in case the arrest and detention were based on false charges.

The Police College Notes (1986) further state: "No suit or other legal proceeding shall lie against any person for anything done or intended to be done in pursuance of this

decree." By the provisions of this decree, people could easily be arrested and detained for whatever reason and the decree denies them the opportunity to seek a legal recourse. This situation can escalate minor incidents to major confrontations between the police and members of the public.

The Police Act (1967) also gives police officers the power to grant or refuse bail based upon the officer's discretion. By not specifically stating the conditions under which a person can or cannot be granted bail, the Act creates an avenue for exploitation and grounds for violence between the police and members of the public.

Another thing inherent in the organization of policing in Nigeria which could make police-public encounters violent is the use of road blocks as a legitimate form of maintaining law and order. The official purpose of such a tactic notwithstanding, this form of policing when employed for an extended period of time makes members of the public antagonistic and police officers brutal.

In addition, obedience and respect of authority is a paramount concern of the police in Nigeria. The first priority at the police colleges is to have the recruits learn by heart the names, ranks, and the licence plate numbers of cars driven by various superior police officers at the college. The reason the names, ranks, and the registration numbers of the cars driven by these police officers and other top government officials should be learned by heart is provided by the Rules and Regulation

Handbook (1976:14-15) which states that:

Remember saluting is a mark of discipline and respect. Familiarize yourselves with the persons who are entitled to a salute and the cars they use, they include His Excellency, the President, Regional Governors, the Prime Minister, Regional Premiers . . . all police officers of or above the rank of sub-inspector and commissioned officers of the Army, Navy and Air Force.

By defining discipline as obedience and respect to top government and police officials, the average police officer sees his or her job as serving and protecting the interests of those in power not those of the public. Here again, police documents are written to serve the interests of the dominant class.

Also, the police Rules and Regulations Handbook (1980) gives police officers what it calls "power to enter" any house by force in search of an offender. According to the Handbook, a police officer has the power to enter and exit any house at will if he or she believes it is necessary to enter such a house. Where entry is refused by the owner or occupants of the house, the Handbook instructs the police officer to use all force necessary to enter and exit the house.

Also, by giving police officers this sort of power, the Handbook creates an avenue for violent confrontation between the police officer and the owner or occupants of the house. If forced entry into a house is used in special occasions like in making raids on drug cartels as is customary of the Oklahoma State Bureau of Investigations (OSBI), the public

might support such a method. But where it is a routinized method of maintaining oppressive law, the public will likely view the police as repressive and oppressive since they represent the interests of those in control of the state apparatus.

Police Opinion Survey

The second objective of this study is to find out whether police officers in Nigeria see the police agency as an arm of the federal military government or a service agency for the public and to see how this perception affects the social organization of policing in the country. To do this, a total of 304 questionnaires were handed out to police officers in 5 of the 21 states in the federation in the Summer of 1989. Out of this total, 215 were received but 212 are useable. In addition, 30 interviews were completed giving a total sample size of 242.

The discussions that follow are divided into two sections. The first addresses the central issue of whether the police is an arm of the federal military government or a service agency for the public. The second examines how the responses to the first section affect the social organization of policing in the country. That is, section two examines how officers' perception of the police force affects the methods of law enforcement and order maintenance they bring to play when in contact with members of the public on the streets.

Out of the 242 respondents to this survey, only 5 or about 2% see the police force as a service agency for the public; 237 or about 98% say the police force is an arm of the federal military government. Because police officers in Nigeria see the police force as an arm of the government, an overwhelming majority (88.8%) of them strongly disagreed that native laws and customs should supersede federal laws in case of a conflict. Table I shows the distribution of their answers to the question of whether native laws and customs should supersede federal laws in the case of a conflict.

TABLE I
SHOULD NATIVE LAWS & CUSTOMS
SUPERSEDE FEDERAL LAWS?

Response Category	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	0	0.0
Agree somewhat	0	0.0
Item non-response	2	0.8
Neutral	4	1.7
Disagree Somewhat	21	8.7
Strongly Disagree	215	88.8
Totals	242	100.0

Since police officers see the police force as an arm of the federal military government, their main concern will be to support the status quo.

Another question that reinforces the officers' position that the police force is an arm of the federal military government and as such is responsible to the government is the one that asked them whether police officers should have the power to arrest a local resident without consulting with the local chief, oba, or emir. Again, a majority of the respondents feels that they should have such power. Table II shows a breakdown of their responses.

TABLE II
SHOULD POLICE OFFICERS CONSULT WITH
LOCAL AUTHORITIES BEFORE
MAKING ARRESTS?

Response Category	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0.0
Neutral	3	1.2
Disagree Somewhat	7	2.9
Agree Somewhat	73	30.2
Strongly Agree	159	65.7
Totals	242	100.0

The next question that further highlights the police officers' conviction that the police agency is an arm of the federal military government is the one that relates to the civil rights of suspects. In responding to the question which asked the police officers whether they should be concerned with the rights of suspects, most of them answered that they should not. Table III shows the distribution of their opinions.

TABLE III
SHOULD THE POLICE BE CONCERNED
WITH THE RIGHTS OF SUSPECTS?

Response Category	Frequency	Percentage
Always	3	1.2
Don't Know	10	4.1
Sometimes	43	17.8
Never	186	76.9
Totals	242	100.0

In sum, police officers in Nigeria see the police force as an arm of the federal military government. Since the law enforcement and order maintenance body in the country sees itself as a part of the government, it is not surprising

then that they feel that native laws and customs should not supersede federal laws in case of a conflict. As agents of the federal military government enforcing federal laws which in some cases, conflict with native laws and customs (Chinua Achebe, 1959), police officers feel they should not consult with the local chief, oba, or emir before a local resident could be arrested. Also, as agents of the federal military government carrying out the orders of those who control the state apparatus, police officers in Nigeria feel that they should not be concerned with the civil rights of suspects.

Beside the finding that an overwhelming majority of the police officers in Nigeria see the police force as an arm of the federal military government, several other factors affect how laws are enforced in the country. One of those factors is the reason for joining the police force. Table IV shows the various answers given in response to this question.

TABLE IV
 RESPONDENTS' REASONS FOR JOINING
 THE NIGERIA POLICE FORCE

Response Category	Frequency	Percentage
Law and order maintenance	31	12.8
Knowledge*	31	12.8
Crime Control	36	14.9
Means of Living	50	20.7
Service to Country	94	38.8
Totals	242	100.0

* This category includes those who joined the police force for self improvement, job prestige, and because the job is honorable.

All 31 respondents who said they joined the police force to enforce laws and maintain order strongly disagreed that native laws and customs should supersede federal laws in case of a conflict while only 3 of the 31 who joined the police force because of the knowledge they acquire by doing police work gave the same answer.

Further, all 36 respondents who said they joined the police force to control crime strongly agreed that police officers should have the power to arrest a local resident without consulting with the local chief, oba, or emir. All 36 police officers in this category also strongly disagreed

that the civil rights of suspects should be of primary concern to the police officers.

Furthermore, it is not surprising that more than 20% or 50 of the respondents said they joined the police force to earn a living. With the rising rate of unemployment, triple digit inflation, rising cost of living, and increasing incidents of crime, more and more people are seeing the police force as a place of employment when other areas of opportunity are declining rapidly.

The most important finding in this respect is the point that when compared with any of the other categories, more of the respondents (94 or 38.8%) stated they joined the Nigeria Police Force to serve the nation. Considering the risks inherent in this profession, the exceptionally low pay, unenviable conditions of service, and worse still, public contempt, police men and women are models worth emulating. Speaking about the conditions of service in the Nigeria Police Force one of the respondents has this to say:

The performance of the force is not up to date and the force should be encouraged by paying our outstanding allowances. The salary per month should be increased as the present salary is not enough for even feeding. The men are always frustrated because of frequent transfers and no vehicles provided for the conveyance of the family. Men affected always spend their money in transporting their properties when on transfer thinking that the money will be paid but to no avail. These are some of the problems frustrating the men in the force.

Commenting upon the frustrations inherent in the Nigeria Police Force, another officer has this to say:

I would like to add that police treatment by the government is so poor that they do not consider us as

human beings who take risks day in day out because of our fellow human beings. Police is always exposed to danger pursuing armed robbers day in day out. Yet no prompt promotion, salary very small, no allowances, no accommodation like other forces. In short, we are not regarded as civilians or armed forces.

Another officer has this to say about the salary and conditions of service in the Nigeria Police Force:

The salary is nothing to go by. An average police officer whatever is his/her rank is by right supposed to have what may be called incentive allowance to commensurate the enormous tasks and sufferings. Under the rain, sun and bad weather the poorly paid police man is outside in a bid to protect life and property of citizens like him enjoying their sleep A policeman may work for say 35 years and retire without a house to move into on getting home talkless of having or owning any assets anywhere.

The point the above police officers are making is that the salary and conditions of service in the police force are not and cannot induce anyone to join the police force. While committed to serving the country for less than minimum compensation, they deplore the government to come to their aid.

Another significant finding that could affect how law and order are maintained in Nigeria is the number of police officers who prefer one department of the police force or another. Table V gives a summary of their preferences.

TABLE V
DEPARTMENTAL PREFERENCE

Response Category	Frequency	Percentage
No Preference	16	6.6
Prosecution	18	7.4
Mobile	25	10.3
Operations/Administration	61	25.2
Investigations	122	50.5
Totals	242	100.0

Seventy-one or about 75% of the 94 officers who said they joined the police force to serve their country either said they do not have any preference or that they prefer to work in the operations/administrations section of the police force. Also, 60 or about 90% of the 67 officers who said they joined the police force to control crimes and enforce laws answered that they prefer to work in the mobile unit (the unit that actively seeks out and arrests criminals) and the prosecution section (the section that prosecutes arrested offenders).

One of the respondents who said he prefers to work in the mobile unit said "this department gives me the opportunity to arrest criminals and deal accordingly with them." Another police officer who said he prefers the prosecutions section said "this department gives me the

chance to send criminals to prison to suffer for their criminal actions."

Further, all 50 officers who said they joined the police force to make a living said they prefer to work as investigators of crimes. The investigations department of the Nigeria Police Force is the unit of the force charged with the investigation of all criminal activities. These officers work in plain clothes to conceal their identity which makes the incidence of corruption high among them. They also said that this section enables them to learn more about peoples' behavior. Those who said they prefer to work in the operations and administrations department said they prefer this section because it makes them know more about police work and the members of the public.

Closely related to the question of departmental preference is the one that asked the officers to identify the duties they dislike most in the police force. Table VI gives the distribution of their responses.

TABLE VI
WHAT DUTIES DO YOU DISLIKE?

Response Category	Frequency	Percentage
Escort Duties	39	16.1
Dislike None	44	18.2
Patrol Duties	52	21.5
Road Block Duties	107	44.2
Totals	242	100.0

Those officers who said they dislike escort duties said that this makes the public look down upon them while those who answered that they do not dislike any section said they were trained as "general duty officers." Those who said they dislike patrol duties said it exposes them to danger since the criminals have better weapons than they do. Those who said they dislike road block duties answered that these expose them to public ridicule since the members of the public believe that road blocks are only set up to collect money from motorists. Previous studies have indicated that the conduct of police officers at police road blocks is very unprofessional. Speaking about police officers' behavior at police road blocks Stanislaw Andreski (1969:98) says that police officers use these road blocks to collect illegal tolls. He states:

The police are among the worst offenders against the law: they levy illegal tolls on vehicles, especially the so-called mammy-wagon (heavy lorries with benches and roofs) which usually carry many more passengers than they are allowed and transgress a variety of minor regulations. They are allowed to proceed regardless of the infractions of the law if they pay the policeman's private toll.

Another significant finding of this study which should affect the methods of law enforcement in Nigeria is the attitude of the respondents concerning the use of deadly force (the type of force that is capable of causing physical harm). The question asked the police officers whether they should use deadly force when enforcing the law. Table VII shows the distribution of their responses.

TABLE VII
SHOULD THE POLICE USE DEADLY FORCE?

Response Category	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Agree	0	0
Agree Somewhat	3	1.2
neutral	7	2.9
Disagree Somewhat	34	14.1
Strongly Disagree	198	81.8
Totals	242	100.0

The above figures show that an overwhelming majority of the officers (198 or about 82%) feel that the use of deadly force should be a matter of routine policing in the country. That is, majority of the respondents strongly disagreed that deadly force should be used only when all other means have failed to achieve a particular police objective. The figures show that the officers feel they can and should use deadly force whenever they feel the situation warrants the application of such force. This finding is congruent with the opinion of Alemika (1988) who laments that violence and brutality have become a matter of routine policing in Nigeria. It could be argued that this attitude of the police officers is the result of the type of formal and informal occupational socialization they receive upon enlistment.

Another attitude of police officers in Nigeria which could affect how laws are enforced in the country has to do with their opinions concerning how law abiding the Nigerian public is. Table VIII shows the officers' responses.

TABLE VIII
IS THE PUBLIC LAW ABIDING?

Response Category	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	7	2.9
Agree Somewhat	11	4.5
Neutral	19	7.9
Disagree Somewhat	64	26.4
Strongly Disagree	141	58.3
Totals	242	100.0

As these figures show, about 58% or 141 of the respondents feel that Nigerians are not law abiding. This perception is capable of biasing the attitude of the police officers toward members of the public and could make their encounters with them violent. This study also reveals the level of education of an average police officer in Nigeria. Table IX shows the officers' responses as to their level of education.

TABLE IX
POLICE OFFICERS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION

Response Category	Frequency	Percentage
Primary School	85 (6yrs.)	35.1
*High School	153 (11yrs.)	63.2
College	4 (15yrs. or more)	1.7
Totals	242	100.0

* This category includes three of the respondents who have two more years of schooling after high school education.

As the above table shows, in 1989 an average police officer in Nigeria has 9.3 years of education. This finding should have effect upon the methods of law and order maintenance police officers in Nigeria adopt when in contact with members of the public because all those who have college level education strongly agreed that the Nigerian public is quite law abiding. Those who have less education and who do not believe that the Nigerian public is law abiding, are prone to applying force in their law enforcement tactics. In a study of 91 police officers in the United States in 1950, Westley (1970) found that the median years of education completed by the police officers was 10.6 years. This shows that the level of education of an average police officer in Nigeria is too low.

Another finding of this study which should affect how law and order are maintained in Nigeria is what the officers identified as the internal problems of the police force in Nigeria. One of such problems is the lack of equipments including motor vehicles and weapons. The officers stated that due to lack of motor vehicles, their ability to respond promptly to public calls is greatly reduced. When the call is to help drive away armed robbers, they said, they cannot take effective actions because the armed robbers possess automatic weapons while they do not.

Another problem the police officers identified which demoralizes them is the frequent transfer to which they are subjected. Also identified is the lack of incentives and standardized promotion schemes. The officers stated that promotion is no longer based on merit but on who you know and who knows you. Complaining about this situation and the indiscipline resulting from it, one of the respondents has this to say:

I take this opportunity to plead with the authorities concerned to see to it that discipline in the force is put on a right footing. Discipline in the force is dying because civilians are recruited direct to rule those already in the force and in many cases the juniors are promoted not on merit to head their seniors. A situation where an inspector of seven years standing is made to serve under an unconfirmed inspector only because he is promoted to the rank of Assistant Superintendent of Police is unfair.

Also identified by the officers is the lack of manpower in the force. They stated that the present (1989) strength of 110,000 officers is not enough to cater for the law enforcement needs of a multi-ethnic country of over 110

million people. Another problem the officers pin-pointed is the lack of discretionary powers in the police force. The officers complained that they do not have any discretionary powers whatsoever but only to carry out the orders of the senior police officers and those of the government officials. This problem they say make them develop a non-chalant attitude toward the police force and its image in the eyes of the public. This shows that the police officers are being used by the ruling class to maintain an oppressive system.

In sum, police officers in Nigeria see themselves as agents of the federal military government because the police force, according to them, is an arm of the government. As a result, they feel that federal laws should supersede native laws and customs and that they should not be concerned with the rights of suspects. They feel the Nigerian public is not law abiding and that they should use deadly force routinely in enforcing laws. These attitudes affect the social organization of policing in the country. In addition, the police officers identified some irregularities that impede their ability to effectively do their job as well as other practices that make them develop a non-chalant attitude toward the police force and the public it serves.

Public Opinion Survey

The third objective of this study is to determine the attitudes of the members of the public toward the police

force in order to understand how such attitudes affect their relationship with police officers. Of the 116 members of the public who participated in this study, 106 or 91.4% of them said that the police force is an arm of the federal military government while only 10 or 8.6% see the police force as a service agency for the public.

Those who answered that the police force is a public service agency supported their position by saying that the police enforce laws and maintain order and that by doing so, they protect life and property. The major reason given by those who answered that the police force in Nigeria is an arm of the federal military government is that those in power use police power to protect their personal interests while in control of the government. One of such people has this to say:

Very often the government makes people believe that the police force is its arm. The police is often used by those in the government to push through an unpopular program because of their personal interests. As a result, I would say that the police force is an arm of the government.

Another respondent puts it this way: "They [police officers] always protect those in authority whether they are right or wrong."

Other respondents who also answered that the police is an arm of the government supported their position by saying that the police is often used by those in control of the state apparatus as an instrument of oppression. One of such people made the following statement in support of his

position: "It [the police force] hardly serves the interests of the common man because it is used by the government as an instrument of oppression of the masses." In this respect, the public expects the police force to be a service agency instead of being used by those in power as an instrument of oppression and to achieve personal interests at the expense of national interests.

Another question which deals with public expectations of the police is the one that asked the respondents whether the police force provides protection to every Nigerian.

Table X gives a distribution of the responses.

TABLE X
DOES THE POLICE PROTECT ONLY THE RICH?

Response Category	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0
Neutral	4	3.5
Disagree somewhat	6	5.2
Agree somewhat	7	6.0
Strongly agree	99	85.3
Totals	116	100.0

As the above figures show, an overwhelming majority of the respondents (99 or 85.3%) strongly agreed that the police force only protects the rich in the country whereas only 6 or 5.2 of them disagreed with the statement to some degree. This finding is in agreement with that of Andreski (1969:98) who states that: "They [the police] guard effectively only the houses of important people or of those who pay them, while ordinary citizens have to rely on self-defense." With reference to the above, the public expects the police to provide protection to every citizen not a select few.

Also dealing with what the public expects the police to do or not do is the question concerning police use of force when handling public protests. The question required the respondents to strongly agree, agree somewhat, remain neutral, disagree somewhat, or strongly disagree that police officers in Nigeria often use unnecessary and deadly force when handling public protests. An overwhelming majority of the respondents (110 or 94.8%) strongly agreed with the statement, 4 or 3.4% agreed with it to some extent while only 2 or 1.8% of them remained neutral. No one strongly disagreed or disagreed somewhat with the statement. Table XI provides a distribution of the responses.

TABLE XI
DOES POLICE USE DEADLY FORCE?

Response Category	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0.0
Disagree somewhat	0	0.0
Neutral	2	1.8
Agree somewhat	4	3.4
Strongly agree	110	94.8
Totals	116	100.0

What these responses mean is that the public thinks the police officers often use unnecessary deadly force in handling public protests in an effort to suppress opposition to exploitation.

Another significant finding of this study in relation to what the public expects from the police force concerns the availability of police officers when their services are needed by members of the public. The question states: Are police officers always available when their services are needed by the public? In response, 89 or about 77% of the respondents said they are never available whereas 21 or 18.1% said they are available sometimes especially, when they are given some form of reinforcement. None of the respondents answered that they are always available. Table

XII shows the responses.

TABLE XII
ARE THE POLICE ALWAYS AVAILABLE?

Response Category	Frequency	Percentage
Always Available	0	0.0
Don't Know	6	5.2
Available Sometimes	21	18.1
Never Available	89	76.1
Totals	116	100.0

The significance of this finding does not only rest in the number of respondents who said the police are never available or are available on certain times but also in the reasons they gave in support of their positions. Those who either answered that the police officers are never available or are available sometimes said that they are usually not available in times of need except the person in need of their services is willing and able to provide some monetary reinforcement.

Commenting about police availability in times of need one of the respondents has this to say: "The Nigerian police is rarely available in times of need. In most cases,

you must give them money before they come to your rescue." Another respondent said the police will come to your rescue if you have money or know some government officials who can coerce them. She states: "The availability of the police depends on how much one is able to coerce them with money or use the connecting influence obtained through high connections."

One other respondent answered that the police have been known to look the other way while innocent citizens are being victimized by armed robbers probably because they get a portion of their loots. He states:

They are never properly and readily available in times of need at all. There are cases of policemen armed, who passed by armed robbers victimizing innocent passengers on our highways without stopping to help them. Some of them even help the armed robbers because of money.

Police collaboration with men of the underworld is a long standing problem of police organizations in African countries as Andreski (1969:98-99) states:

There are innumerable cases of the police turning a blind eye to the activities of contrabandists, thieves and robbers in exchange for ransom. Sometimes they actively help the criminals. Unless he has committed his deed before the eyes of numerous witnesses, or his victim has influential avengers, even a murderer may be left unmolested if he can afford an appropriate bribe. What is really astounding is that if he can pay a big sum, the police may even help him to erase the traces of his crime by framing up somebody quite innocent but helpless, and getting him hanged.

Not all those who answered that the police are never available blame them for not being available in times of need. Some blame the society for not providing the police force with functioning telephones, good vehicles,

ammunitions, and adequate manpower to enable them respond effectively to calls for help. One of such people states that:

Within the confines of their capability, they have proved available in times of need. I wish to point out that the population of the Nigerian police force is not sufficient and this has in the past made them unable to effectively respond to the law enforcement needs of this huge country.

Another respondent states that the police are not available in times of need "because of poor communication system and lack of vehicles to convey them to the remote areas of the country."

While those who said police officers are not available in times of need because of self interests expect them to change their policing style, those who feel that their unavailability in such times is due to lack of telephones, vehicles, and ammunicions beckon on the government to provide them with good logistics.

This section of the third objective of this study deals with how public expectations of the police force affect the ways they relate with the members of the police force. That is, it deals with public attitudes toward the police force and toward police officers which result from the fact that members of the police force do not live up to what people expect from them.

With reference to the findings of this study, the police force in Nigeria is not living up to public expectations. As a result, public attitudes toward the

police force are not favorable for various reasons. But first, a look at how these attitudes are expressed is in order.

When asked whether a police officer is considered to be a fellow citizen, a friend, or an adversary, 79 or about 68% of the respondents answered that they see a police officer as an adversary; 24 or about 21% said they see a police officer as a fellow citizen whereas 13 or about 11% said they see a police officer as a friend. Table XIII shows the various responses.

TABLE XIII
RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTION OF
POLICE OFFICERS

Response Category	Frequency	Percentage
Police officer as a friend	13	11.2
Police officer as a fellow citizen	24	20.7
Police officer as an adversary	79	68.1
Totals	116	100.0

Those who answered that a police officer is an adversary generally hold such an opinion as a result of police actions toward members of the public. One of such people states

that:

The police is neither a friend nor an adversary. In many cases they are regarded as adversaries because of the general behavior of police officers toward the members of the public. They make people hate them not only because of their brutality but also for indulging in bribery and corruption.

Another respondent who shares the same opinion states that "by right he is supposed to be a friend, but I do see the police officer in this country as an adversary because of their unlawful victimization." Even those who see the police officers as friends do not trust them as pointed out by this respondent who holds that "he should be seen as a friend but you must use a very long spoon while eating with him." A respondent who sees a police officer as a fellow citizen says "when I meet a police officer, I see him as a human being who is corrupt and does not understand his functions."

Those who see police officers as adversaries do so because of their indulgence in bribery and corruption and because of their brutality toward the members of the public; those who see them as friends say they are untrustworthy while those who consider them as fellow citizens do so because they are just as corrupt as everyone else.

The next question which tends to reveal public attitudes toward the police asked the respondents to strongly agree, agree somewhat, remain neutral, disagree somewhat or strongly disagree that assisting police officers in their line of duties is rewarding in Nigeria. One

hundred and two or about 88% of the respondents answered that assisting police officers is never rewarding. Also, while 10 or about 8.6% said it is rewarding sometimes, 4 or 3.5% said they can't tell. No one answered that assisting police officers is always rewarding. Table XIV shows the responses.

TABLE XIV
IS ASSISTING POLICE OFFICERS
REWARDING?

Response Category	Frequency	Percentage
Always Rewarding	0	0.0
Don't Know	4	3.5
Rewarding Sometimes	10	8.6
Never Rewarding	102	87.9
Totals	116	100.0

Because majority of the respondents said assisting police officers in Nigeria in their line of duties is not rewarding, majority of them said they would not like to be involved with police work in any way. The reason for this attitude of non-involvement is partly due to the manner police officers handle their informants as one of the respondents says:

I would not like to be involved in any way with police job because here in Nigeria the police is very mischievous. They can take bribe and expose me as the person who caused the arrest or who supplied the information that led to the arrest of a fugitive.

Another respondent makes her point quite strongly when she says: "No. The effort will turn out to be a waste because even a criminal case will be discharged if little amount of money is given to the officer." Even those who said they will be willing to assist police officers make arrests or supply information to them stated they can only do this conditionally. One of such people stated that: "I will assist an officer to do his job if I will be protected. Some officers expose their informants thereby endangering their lives." Another respondent who said he will assist them stated the following condition: "Yes I will, more especially in the area of supplying information as long as the police boys would cease to expect kickbacks (bribes) from people before performing their duties."

Due to these sort of malpractices within the police force, 91 or 78.4% of the respondents answered that they would not like to join the police force while only 25 or 21.6% said they would join if the police force is reorganized.

Another significant finding of this study is what the respondents said should be done to improve police services and to favorably change public attitudes toward the police agency in Nigeria. Table XV shows the answers given.

TABLE XV
HOW CAN THE POLICE FORCE
BE IMPROVED?

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

As the table shows, more people answered that the best way to improve police services and image is to change the value system of the entire society. One of such people has this to say about the police force and the general public:

The Nigerian police has a long way to go. The police is a reflection of society. The whole society is corrupt and rotten, 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 police service, the society needs to change. They [police officers] are the products of a corrupt society.

Another respondent states the issue quite vehemently when he states that:

The Nigerian police is however, a reflection of the entire system; if it should change for the better, the entire society must change. If we change our value system, the police service will surely improve; they will perform their duties without asking for bribes.

Some respondents argued that the only way to improve police service in Nigeria is through selective recruitment into the police force. Those who make this argument state that police selection should be based on individual merit. They also argue that the state merit system which requires proportional state representation in the police force should be abolished. They further state that the entry level qualification needs to be raised from primary school to at least high school education. Others who support selective recruitment state that youths of proven integrity should be recruited after a thorough background check to flush out those who will eventually bring bad name to the police force.

It is noteworthy that 25 or about 21% of the respondents urged the federal military government to increase the salary of police officers as a means to improve their performance. One of such people states:

I will like to state that the government should look into and increase the salary of police officers so that they can do their job better and stop demanding and accepting bribes from people. Until this is done, their services cannot improve.

Other respondents stated that the way to improve police service in Nigeria is to train police officers adequately, institute in-service training programs, and to provide them with good equipments. One of those who hold this view says the way to improve police service is to:

Improve their conditions of service; set up undercover operations with the NPF to fish out corrupt officers and dismiss them; go after white collar criminals to boost public confidence in the NPF; provide adequate

logistic support; and provide continuous education for police officers.

In sum, it could be argued that public attitudes toward the police force is the result of the fact that the police force is seen as an oppressive arm of the federal military government instead of a service agency for the public. Also, public attitude toward the police is shaped by the fact that the police agency does not live up to public expectations. These two points make public attitudes toward the police force negative. The negative image of the police force in the eyes of the public makes members of the public to be non-chalant toward the police force. Because the government uses the police force as an instrument of oppression, there is no effort on the part of the ruling class to raise their conditions of service. The reason for this could be that the government does not want the police officers to act professionally in their law enforcement tactics.

Retired Police Officers' Opinion Survey

The forth objective of this study is to see whether the methods of law enforcement and order maintenance used by the Nigeria Police Force today are significantly different from those used prior to Nigeria's independence on October 1st., 1960. To do this, 5 retired police officers who served during the pre-independence era were interviewed. From this endeavor, it was found that there are no significant changes in the methods of law enforcement and order maintenance used

by the police. The only changes that have taken place are structural in nature especially since after states were created in 1967.

Also, all 5 respondents stated that they were more closely supervised and that laxity, corruption and bribery were rare in the pre-independence period than they are today. Taking the size of the country and the size of the police force today into consideration, one can see why the situation is different. Further, it could be argued that the dominant class finds it beneficial to them to keep the oppressive rules and regulations written by the colonial government. Perpetuating this oppression is a means to safeguard their personal interests.

The fifth and final objective of this study deals with whether people from different areas of the country view the police force differently or uniformly. It was found that public opinion about the police force is quite uniform irrespective of ethnic background. The only group that tends to see the police force in more negative terms are students and the young. These people tend to exhibit more negative attitudes toward the police force and toward police officers. Also, the less educated are more critical of the police force than those who have college level education.

Also, those who have had negative experiences with the police are more critical of their law enforcement practices than those who answered that they have not had any experiences with the police in the last five years.

Further, the unemployed are more likely to experience police contacts than those who are employed. Also, among those who said they have had bad experiences with the police, women are more likely to be verbally abused while men said they were abused both verbally and physically.

Human Rights Violations

Violation of human rights by police officers in Nigeria has a long history. In a study of British administration in Eastern Nigeria Gailey (1970), found that the police force was most often used as a para-military agency to attack and destroy a number of kingdoms and communities in an effort to establish British rule and domination in the area. One of such military expeditions he says, was carried out against King Jaja of Opobo in 1887 when Consul Johnson tricked the king into a conference, seized him, destroyed his kingdom, and sent him into exile to the West Indies where he later died.

Another military expedition undertaken by the constabulary was carried out in 1893 against an Akuna chief who was captured, tried for murder and hanged in the presence of his subjects. In 1894, another military expedition was carried out against King Nana, the leader of the Itsekiris. Nana also died in exile. According to Gailey (1970:44), some of these bloody confrontations were caused by "the monopolistic practices of the Royal Niger Company" (a British company) which required the natives to

pay heavy fees for trading in the territories claimed by the company. According to Gailey (1970:44), when the people of Brass (Nigeria) refused to pay such fees, "a punitive force was dispatched to Nembe, the major town of the Brassmen and against fierce resistance, the town was eventually taken and burned."

Having destroyed Nembe, Consul General Moor (the commander of the troops) turned his attention to the Benin Kingdom and in 1897, a military expedition invaded Benin "burned the town, and carried away as spoils thousands of the best examples of Benin sculpture. The Oba (the ruler of the Benin Kingdom) was later captured and exiled" (Gailey, p. 44). After the destruction of the Benin Kingdom, Gailey says Consul Moor directed his attention to Iboland and in February 1899, he sent a large number of military and paramilitary policemen into Kwa Ibo north of Opobo for a major military assault. At the end of the expedition, "nine villages were destroyed and 175 others submitted to British rule to avoid destruction (Gailey, p. 46).

The British government having brought the natives of the hinterland to their knees, imposed heavy taxes which were already in use in the northern and western sections upon the people of the hinterland. Many riots involving mainly women broke out in Abak, Aba, Bonny, Calabar, Opobo, and Andoni protesting the taxes. Whenever the police confronted these women, they were ordered to shoot if the women refused to take orders from them. According to

Gailey, (1970), hundreds of these women were killed by the police in the process.

Following these riots, the British government enacted the Peace Preservation Ordinance which gave the police more power to ruthlessly deal with any group of demonstrators. Not only that, the areas that were involved with the riots were placed under the Collective Punishment Ordinance which gave the British officials power to access fines for suspected wrongdoing on a collective basis. These memories are still quite fresh in the minds of the people affected by these laws.

Conclusion

The Marxist theory of social organization holds that the dominant class uses social control agencies such as the police force to protect their personal interests. This is usually accomplished with the use of deadly force. In a capitalist society such as Nigeria, the real task of the police organization therefore, is to impose on the whole of society an order of things installed by the dominant class to consolidate and perpetuate class division and consequently, domination and exploitation. This happened during colonial rule; the post-independence police force is continuing the same tradition.

To ensure that the police organization fulfils these objectives, police officers are socialized to obey those in control of the state apparatus even when such obedience

threatens national interests and violates basic human rights and freedom. Also, the post-independence governments have maintained the colonial police rules and regulations which saw the natives as people to be controlled by the use of oppressive force. This is done to maintain a stratification system that defines members of one group as "servants" and members of another as "masters." The result of this is an increase in public contempt for the police force and a corresponding increase in police violence and brutality.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

Previous studies of the social organization of policing and its impact upon police-public relations in Nigeria suggest that efforts to improve police-public relations should start with changes in police encounters with members of the public which, in turn, will change the images those encounters create. The above suggestion is made because previous studies have primarily been concerned with public perceptions of the Nigerian police (Marshall Carter and Otwin Marenin, 1977; Alemika, 1988); public expectations of the police (Kayode, 1976); and administrative and organizational problems in the Nigeria Police Force (Igbinovia, 1980a and 1980b).

The present author agrees with the above suggestion but more importantly recommends that the legal documents that give the police force its power, for instance, the Police Act, Police Rules and Regulations Handbook, etc. need to be reviewed and rewritten to suit the present law enforcement needs of the country. Reviewing and rewriting these documents have become paramount since they are the primary source of the violence that characterize police-public

encounters in Nigeria. The above conclusion is reached based on the following findings of this study.

The Police Act of 1967 enumerates the duties and functions of the Nigeria Police Force as prevention and detection of crimes, the apprehension of offenders, the preservation of law and order, protection of life and property, due enforcement of all laws and regulations with which they are directly charged, and the execution of such military duties within or outside Nigeria as may be required of them. To fulfil these duties, a police officer in Nigeria is given wide range of powers one of which is the power to make arrests without warrant.

Beside the power to arrest without warrant, a police officer in Nigeria has the power to command members of the public to assist him or her in making such an arrest. According to the Act, assisting a police officer make an arrest is a legal responsibility instead of a civic duty. As a result, failure to assist as commanded by the police officer means fine or prison term or both.

The Act also gives a police officer power to enter any house, shop, or warehouse in search of stolen property also without a warrant. According to the Act, it is not even necessary to specify any particular property the officer is looking for or the section of the house, shop or warehouse to be searched. If the owner or occupants of the house, shop, or warehouse refuse the police officer entry, the Act states that entry should be gained using "all force

necessary." The Act further gives police officers power to detain and search members of the public at will. The police officer is also given the power to disperse an assembly or procession with "all force necessary." In using "all force necessary" to disperse such an assembly or procession, the Act exonerates the police officer from any harm or death that occurs to anyone as a result of the use of such a force. To make matters worse, the Act states that failure on the part of the officer to use "all force necessary" to disperse the assembly or procession is a criminal offense punishable by two years in prison. In a situation such as this, the officer has nothing to lose by using "all force necessary" but all to lose if he or she decides against it.

As if the above powers given to police officers are not enough to run the government without any oppositions, the federal military government in 1985 passed the State Security Decree #2 which gives police officers power to arrest and detain any persons they think pose or will pose a security problem to the government (state or federal). The decree further states that no courts in Nigeria can entertain any questions concerning the legality or legitimacy of the decree. As a result, the decree does not only create an avenue by which people will be denied of their liberty, it also denies them the opportunity to seek legal recourse in case of unlawful arrest and detention.

Further, the Act gives police officers power to grant or refuse bail. It also gives them the power to enter and

exit by force any house, shop, or warehouse at will in search of an offender. To be sure that police officers understand their role in the country, training manuals emphasize obedience to authority including willingness to exercise the above powers.

Guiding Principles and Methods

In designing and conducting this study, the researcher believes that understanding the social organization of policing and how it is affecting police-public relations in Nigeria should involve a comprehensive approach. That is, an approach that does not only look at public perceptions of the police force or vice versa, but one that includes both. It also includes a thorough examination of official police documents especially those that delineate police powers, functions, goals, objectives, and rules and regulations.

This approach further calls for drawing respondents from the various regions of the country instead of one as is characteristic of previous studies. It is through this route, this researcher believes, a better understanding of the dilemma of policing a multi-ethnic country hatched in 1914 by the British Imperial power can be achieved. This rationale paid off.

Limitations

Data on the social organization of policing in Nigeria were gathered primarily by two non-probability sampling

techniques. The first is purposive sampling technique which enabled me to draw respondents from the different regions of the country. The residents of the state and city or town picked in each region are assumed to be typical of people in that region.

Once in the city or town, a convenience sampling technique was used. That is, only those residents who were available, could speak English, and who agreed to fill in the questionnaire or agreed to be interviewed were included in the study. The benefit of this technique is that it is easy, quick, and inexpensive; its shortfall is that there is no way of determining to whom, other than the sample itself, the results apply. But concerning this study, it could be argued that the sample is representative because most cities and towns in Nigeria have a fair representation of the various ethnic groups in the country.

Recommendations

With reference to the issues raised in the preceding paragraphs, there is no doubt that the *raison d'être* of the Nigeria Police Force needs to be reevaluated. It is a truism that the organizational and administrative set up, the goals and objectives, and the rules and regulations guiding the police force in Nigeria were made by Great Britain to suit British Imperial interests. It is also true that British officials formed and used the police force as an instrument of oppression, repression, and exploitation.

It is also documented that Nigeria gained her independence from Great Britain in 1960. It is further true that the first indigenous Inspector-General of Police took seat in 1964. What is more important now is that the Nigeria Police Force should serve the interests of her people, the past notwithstanding.

It is therefore, the opinion of this author that the oppressive and repressive methods of policing characteristic of the colonial administration need to be jettisoned. To do this, it is essential to review the Police Act and other legal documents that give the police force its powers. This position is taken because the author believes that foremost in the list of changes that will bring about improved police-public relations is a change in the philosophy of policing. This will lead to a change of perceptions, attitudes and behavior of both the members of the public and police officers.

A change in the philosophy of policing will bring about changes in the social organization of policing which will in turn result to changes in public perception of the Nigeria Police Force. The sequence of recommended changes are shown in table XVI below.

TABLE XVI
SEQUENCE OF RECOMMENDED CHANGES

-
1. Change of philosophy of policing
 2. Change of the content of legal police documents
 3. Change of the social organization of policing
 4. Change of public perception of the police force
-

Another thing that will help accelerate the above changes is to raise the entry level requirements from primary school education to at least, high school.

Suggestions for Further Studies

There is a misconception that exists in most societies concerning the police organization. It is that the attitudes of police administrators, especially in the developing countries, have been to refuse to grant permission to people who are interested in studying the police force. This assumption is not completely true, moreso, when made in relation to the police force alone. Other organizations such as hospitals, prisons, and even government agencies such as the Department of Human Services do the same.

From this study it was discovered that what exists is a set of bureaucratic protocols the researcher has to fulfil before permission to conduct the study is granted. Based on

that, those intending to study the police force should patiently fulfil all requirements and then wait for the approval.

Because of the misconception that the police organization in Nigeria does not cooperate with people interested in studying the police force, previous studies on the police and policing have focused on public perceptions and expectations of the police force alone. No efforts have been made to include police officers in those studies to understand the dilemma of policing a country with over 300 ethnic groupings. This is one area that points out the importance of the present study. The opinions of both the members of the public and police officers (senior, junior, and rank and file) are represented in this study. The present study also includes a content analysis of the legal documents that formalize the philosophy guiding the police force and its operations.

This study shows that the most frequently expressed public complaint against the police force in Nigeria focuses on the use of violence in handling public protests. To understand this situation completely, the behavior of people during protests need to be studied. Such studies will need to focus on the composition of the group of protesters, its intentions, demeanor, place and time of gathering. Understanding these issues will shade more light on police actions during public protests.

Also, future studies of the police force in Nigeria

should include extended periods of sit-in observations including ride-alongs in police vehicles. This author believes that this will reveal more about what takes place during police-public encounters. There is also the need for future studies of the Nigerian police to focus on determining the impact of supervision or lack of it on police officers' behavior when in contact with members of the public. There are indications that the lack of supervision of the police officers on the streets partly accounts for the methods used in enforcing laws.

Further, future studies need to examine the impact of the "state quota system" on policing in the country. Through the quota system, every state recruits a certain number of indigenous police officers into the police force in relation to the population of the state. This study reveals that this method of recruitment partly accounts for the problems of the Nigeria Police Force. Future studies of the NPF should include examining how this system affects the performance level of the police force.

Summary Statement

The primary concern of this study has been to understand the methods of law enforcement and order maintenance police officers in Nigeria bring to play when in contact with the members of the public. The author believes that this understanding is necessary in dealing with how police-public relations could be improved.

This study has revealed that the most important thing that needs to change is the philosophy of the police force itself. It is hoped that this change will bring about organizational and administrative changes which in turn will call for attitudinal and behavioral changes on the part of the police officers. It is further expected that these changes will result to changes in the methods of law and order maintenance of police officers which will in turn bring about changes in public perceptions, expectations, and behavior.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

POLICE INTERVIEW

This is a research project for a doctoral dissertation on: The Social Organization of Nigerian Law Enforcement: Its Effects on Police-Public Relations. The questions asked are supposed to poll your opinion about your job. May I assure you that your responses are completely confidential and will only be used for this study. Thanks for your cooperation.

1. Age at last birthday: _____
2. Sex:
Male _____
Female _____
3. Marital status:
 - a. Single _____ (never married)
 - b. Married _____
 - c. Divorced _____
 - d. Widowed _____
 - e. Other _____ (please specify)

4. State of origin:

5. State of employment:

6. Religious affiliation:
 - a. Christianity _____
 - b. Islam _____
 - c. Other _____
(specify)

8. Level of education
 - a. Primary school

 - b. High school

 - c. College

 - d. Other _____
(specify)

7. Rank at time of enlistment

9. Length of employment

11. Type of area served

10. Income per year

12. Last occupation

13. Parents' occupation

14. Size of post or station

-
15. Why did you join the police force?
 16. Is the job everything you expected it to be?
 17. What problems do you encounter in your line of duty?
 18. Do you think the members of the public fully cooperate with the police?
 19. What are the reasons for your answer?
 20. What aspects of the job do you like/dislike the most and why?
 21. What divisions of the force do you like/dislike the most and why?
 22. Do you like to work in a rural or an urban area?
 23. Give reasons for your preference.

24. If you do not have any preference, give reason(s) why
25. Do you think law enforcement is problematic in Nigeria?
26. Give reasons for your response

27. Do you think the members of the public are generally law abiding? Why or why not?

28. Do you think people generally respect the police?
29. Give reasons to support your position.

30. Do you think police officers should use deadly force?

31. Why do you feel so?

32. What do you think are the five top most problems facing the police force today?

33. What changes would you like to see in the organization?

APPENDIX B

PUBLIC INTERVIEW

This is a research project for a doctoral dissertation on: The Social Organization of Nigerian Law Enforcement: Its Effects on Police-Public Relations. The questions asked are supposed to poll your opinion about policing and police functions. May I assure you that your responses are completely confidential and will only be used for this study. Thanks for your cooperation.

1. Age at last birthday:_____
2. Sex:
Male_____
- Female_____
3. Marital status:
a. single____(never married)
- b. married_____
- c. Divorced_____
- d. Widowed_____
- e. Other____(please specify)

4. State of origin:

5. State of residence:

6. Religious affiliation:
a. Christianity_____
- completed
- b. Islam_____
- c. Other____(please specify)

7. Highest level of education

- a. None to primary school_____
- b. High school_____
- c. Bachelors_____
- d. Masters_____
- e. M.D. _____
- f. Doctorate_____
- g. Other_____
- (specify)

8. Employer:
a. Self employed_____
- b. Local government_____
- c. State government_____
- d. Federal government_____
- e. Other_____
9. How would you describe an average police officer?

10. In your opinion, what do the police take to be their main function?
11. What should be their main function(s)?
12. What should the police do to adequately control the crime problem in Nigeria?
13. What should the public do in this respect?
14. Would you like to join the police force?
15. What are your reasons?
16. If a member of your family or a relative decides to join the police force what will be your advice or reaction?
17. Do you think law enforcement is problematic in Nigeria?
18. Why do you think so?

19. Do you think the Nigerian public is law abiding?
20. What are your reasons?
21. Do you think a police officer should be allowed to use force in dealing with the public?
22. Why do you feel that way?
23. What changes are necessary for effective law enforcement in the country?

APPENDIX C

POLICE ATTITUDES SURVEY

This is a research project for a doctoral dissertation on:
The Social Organization of Nigerian Law Enforcement: Its
Effects on Police-Public Relations. Please fill in the
questionnaire as completely as you can. May I assure you
that your responses are completely anonymous so you are free
to say whatever you want. Thanks for your cooperation.

1. Age at last birthday: _____
2. Sex: Male _____
Female _____
3. Marital status:
 - a. Single _____ (never married)
 - b. Married _____
 - c. Divorced _____
 - d. Widowed _____
 - e. Other _____ (please specify)

4. State of origin: _____
5. State of employment: _____
6. Religious affiliation:
 - a. Christianity _____
completed:
 - b. Islam _____
diploma
 - c. Other _____ (please specify)

9. Highest level of education
 - a. High school
 - b. B.A. or B.Sc. _____
 - c. M.A., M.Sc., _____
 - d. M.D. _____
 - e. J.D., Ed.D.,
or Ph.D _____
 - f. Other _____
(please specify)

7. Rank at time of enlistment: _____
or M.B.A. _____
8. Present rank: _____
10. Length of employment: _____
11. Income per year: _____
12. Type of area served:
 - a. rural _____
13. Size of post or station: _____

b. urban_____

14. Parent(s) occupation:_____
15. Please circle a number in the space provided:
1=Strongly agree, 2=Agree somewhat, 3=neutral,
4=Disagree somewhat, and 5=Strongly disagree.
- a. Police officers should use force only as a last resort
1 2 3 4 5
- b. Public cooperation is a very essential aspect of police
work 1 2 3 4 5
- c. The police often receives adequate public cooperation
1 2 3 4 5
- d. The Nigeria Police Force is responsible to the government
not to the general public 1 2 3 4 5
- e. The Nigerian public is quite law abiding 1 2 3 4 5
- f. Law enforcement in Nigeria is highly risky 1 2 3 4 5
- g. Police officers should be given more discretionary powers
in their line of duty 1 2 3 4 5
- h. Rural residents are more law abiding than those that live
in the cities 1 2 3 4 5
- i. The police force only protects the rick and wealthy in
the country 1 2 3 4 5
- j. Native laws and customs should supersede federal laws in
case of a conflict 1 2 3 4 5
- k. The police should have the power to arrest a local
resident without consulting with the local chief
1 2 3 4 5
- l. The police arrest most law breakers without much trouble
1 2 3 4 5
- m. Rights of suspects should be a primary concern to the
police 1 2 3 4 5
- n. The NPF should be decentralized 1 2 3 4 5

The following questions concern your opinion regarding your job and police relationship with the public. Please respond to the best of your ability and knowledge of the issues raised.

16. What made you become a police officer?

17. What is/are your main interest(s) in the law enforcement profession?
18. In your opinion, what should be the main functions of the Nigeria Police Force?
19. What is/are the most enjoyable aspect(s) of your job?
20. What aspect(s) do you dislike the most and why?
21. If you had a choice, what division of the force would you like to work and why?
22. If you are given the opportunity to choose, would you like to work in a police post in a rural area or a police station in an urban area? Give reasons for your answer.
23. What particular areas of the country do you like to work and why?

24. What are your advancement opportunities in the NPF?
25. In order of severity list the most pressing problems facing the Nigeria Police Force today:
- a. _____
 - b. _____
 - c. _____
 - d. _____
 - e. _____
26. If you become the Inspector-General of Police, what changes would you like to implement within the organization and why?
27. Use the space below to write any comments you might have and which you feel will be useful to the researcher.

APPENDIX D

PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY

This is a research project for a doctoral dissertation on: The Social Organization of Nigerian Law Enforcement: Its Effects on Police-Public Relations. Please fill in the questionnaire as completely as you can. May I assure you that your responses are completely anonymous so you are free to say whatever you want. Thanks for your cooperation.

1. Age at last birthday:_____
2. Sex:
Male_____
- Female_____
3. Marital status:
a. single____(never married)
- b. married_____
- c. Divorced_____
- d. Widowed_____
- e. Other____(please specify)

4. State of origin:

5. State of residence:

6. Religious affiliation:
a. Christianity_____
- completed
- b. Islam_____
- c. Other____(please specify)

7. Highest level of education
a. None to primary school_____
- b. High school_____
- c. Bachelors_____
- d. Masters_____
- e. M.D._____
- f. Doctorate_____
- g. Other____(specify)

8. Employer:
a. Self employed_____
- b. Local government_____
- c. State government_____
- d. Federal government_____
- e. Business Corporation_____
- f. Other____ (please specify)

9. Please circle a number in the space provided: 1=Strongly agree, 2=Agree somewhat, 3=neutral, 4=Disagree somewhat, and 5=Strongly disagree.

- a. The police are always available when their services are needed by the public 1 2 3 4 5
- b. The Nigeria Police Force should be decentralized
1 2 3 4 5
- c. The police should not be allowed to carry guns
1 2 3 4 5
- d. Assisting police officers in their line of duties is quite rewarding in Nigeria
1 2 3 4 5
- e. The police often uses unnecessary and deadly force when handling public protests in Nigeria 1 2 3 4 5
- f. The Nigerian public is generally law abiding 1 2 3 4 5
- g. The police force is doing its possible best about the crime problem in Nigeria 1 2 3 4 5
- h. The public cooperates and fully supports police efforts in the country 1 2 3 4 5
- i. Only professionally trained persons should join the police force 1 2 3 4 5
- j. The police provides protection to only the rich and wealthy in the country 1 2 3 4 5
- k. A police officer can be trusted 1 2 3 4 5
- l. Native laws and customs should supersede federal laws in case of a conflict 1 2 3 4 5
- m. The police should arrest a local resident without the consent of the local chief 1 2 3 4 5
- n. Most law breakers are apprehended by the police
1 2 3 4 5
- o. Most people in Nigeria do not know their rights
1 2 3 4 5
- p. Personal rights are frequently violated by the police
1 2 3 4 5
- q. Local chiefs protect their subjects when they are in trouble with the police 1 2 3 4 5
- r. Police-public relations will eventually improve over time
1 2 3 4 5

The following questions concern your opinion regarding your expectations of the police force. Please respond as completely as you can.

10. Is the police force an arm of the government or a public service agency? Give reasons for your answer.

11. Do you see a police officer as a friend or a fellow citizen you can trust or an adversary? Give reasons to support your position.

12. Would you be willing to assist a police officer in some type of trouble? Why or why not?

13. In your opinion, what should be the main concerns of the police force?

14. Would you be willing to assist a police officer do his or her job, that is, make arrests, supply information, etc?

Give reason(s) for your position.

15. Have you had any encounters with the police within the last five years: No_____ Yes_____

If yes, please explain each and what it was for

16. What are the functions of the police in Nigeria today?

17. In your opinion, what should the main functions of the police force be?

18. How adequate have the police been in carrying out these functions or services?

19. Would you like to work for the police force? Give reasons for your position.

20. Would you say that law enforcement in Nigeria is problematic? Why or why not?

21. What do you like or dislike most about the police force? Give reasons for your answer

22. In your opinion, what should the police do to improve police-public relations in Nigeria?

23. What changes would you like to see in the police force?

24. In order of severity, list any five problems facing the police force in the country

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

d. _____

e. _____

25. Use the space below for any comments which you think should be useful to the researcher

VITA

Godpower Onyebuchi Okereke

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis: THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF NIGERIAN LAW
ENFORCEMENT: ITS EFFECTS ON POLICE-PUBLIC RELATIONS

Major Field: Sociology

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Isiokpo, Port Harcourt, Nigeria, July 2, 1958, son of Mr. and Mrs. Jacob A. Okereke; married October 29, 1982, to the former Patience Ngozi Nwankwo; four children: Evangelyn Chidinma, born August 3, 1983; Precious Emeka, born April 18, 1986; Vivian Chituru, born June 2, 1989; and Diane Nkeiruka, born July 26, 1990.

Education: Graduated from Saint Peter's State School, Isiokpo, Port Harcourt, Nigeria, in December, 1972; Graduated from Government Comprehensive Secondary School, Port Harcourt, Nigeria, in June, 1977; received Bachelor of Arts Degree in Criminal Justice from Central State University at Edmond, Oklahoma in May, 1986; received Master of Arts Degree in Criminal Justice from Central State University at Edmond, Oklahoma in May, 1987; completed requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy Degree at Oklahoma State University at Stillwater, Oklahoma in May, 1992.

Professional Experience: Counselor, Boys' Home, Port Harcourt, Nigeria, 1977-79; teacher, Rivers State Schools' Management Board, Port Harcourt, Nigeria, 1979-82; research assistant, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, 1988-89; teaching assistant, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, 1989-1992.