

Community Policing in Nigeria: Transplanting a Questionable Model

Egbo, Ken Amaechi and Akan, Kevin Akpanke

Department of Criminology and Security Studies, Federal University Oye-Ekiti, Ekiti State Nigeria

Abstract: Studies on community policing program philosophy have shown the model to be problematic and highly questionable and could not be transplanted to other societies without regard to their different environmental contexts. Studies in previous efforts to implement community policing in Nigeria show that these initiatives have not only been bedeviled by factors which have proven so troublesome for the community policing model elsewhere, but also by the socio-cultural ethos of Nigerian population, the territory's unique political and economic position and the institutionalization of the Nigerian Police's paramilitary traditions. This paper examines the experience of community policing in Nigeria as well as problems in implementing community policing program philosophy. The article not only provides a further illustration of the questionable nature of the community policing model, but also illustrates how and why policy making should always take into account local conditions instead of simply borrowing foreign models. The Nigeria Police Force (NPF) since 1960s has developed along paramilitary structure

Keywords: Nigeria, community policing, program philosophy, initiatives

I. INTRODUCTION

Community as a concept is contested and its definition is informed by which perspective is viewed. Mawby (1990:170) observed that community should be assessed based on criteria like territory, shared history, a common culture, or an established relationship. Ekong (2003:67-8) has defined community as an aggregation of families habitually living together within a definite geographical location more or less rooted in the soil they occupy, living in a state of mutual interdependence, supporting some basic social institutions and having some measure of political autonomy in relation to other communities. Ekong (2003) added that community comprises people within a common locality having shared interests and behavioural patterns, manifest mainly in the areas of production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services, socialization, social control, social participation and mutual support. Wilmot (1987) cited in Walklate, (2006:171)

Similarly, some of the most important scholarship in community policing today is centered on the needs for successful evaluation designs to monitor the effectiveness of community policing programs. Some writers have sought to address the limited use of experimental research designs in carrying out research on community policing. A few scholars have questioned the appropriateness of research designs as

many community policing studies lack control groups, and fail to randomize the crime control interventions and/or treatments that are being introduced to community groups (Cordner and Sheehan, 1999). Other critiques are though less critical of the scarce use of experimental studies, and have emphasized the limitations of community policing studies for their absence of statistical and analytical rigor. Small sample sizes and studies lacking generalizability have made, in the view of some researchers on community policing, the results of most of the studies on community policing as being extremely problematic (Yates and Pillai, 1996). Still others have focused much more on the lack of conceptual and theoretical underpinnings that underlie effective evaluation of community policing programmatic initiatives (Cardarelli and McDevitt, 1995; Yates and Pillai, 1996; Cordner and Sheehan, 1999; Carter, 2000; Egbo, 2000; Dumas, 2007; Lord and Friday, 2008). Evaluation of community policing programs call for several types of information necessary to appraise the performance of individual officers involved in community policing, as well as in assessing the police agency's overall performance (Cordner and Shehen, 1999; Carter, 2000; Egbo, 2000; Dumas, 2007). In this regard, many scholars have tied important aspects of the organizational structure and culture surrounding community policing to the need for various types of information for evaluation. Many of these activities will involve police performing more service-oriented duties and responsibilities (Yates and Pillai, 1996), and thus the need to evaluate these activities. Organizational features of police agency culture and operation are central to the definitions of community policing (Cordner and Sheehan, 1999; Carter, 2000).

Many researchers now strongly recommend the use of viable theoretical framework in the design of evaluation studies on community policing (Cardarelli and McDevitt, 1995; Yates and Pillai, 1996; Carter, 2000). A few researchers have proposed development of theoretical links between community policing implementation efforts, and program effectiveness. The most popular of these frameworks have involved the need to identify several specific program elements in assessing the effectiveness of community policing. These will include: (a) obtaining research information on the strategies of intervention; (b) on what stands as the important assumptions and objectives of the program intervention (researchers have used the language of the context for the program in describing these objectives); (c) on the procedures and criteria by which neighborhoods and

problems are defined, screened, and selected for community policing (researchers have referred to this process with the term identification); and finally, (d) having in place the evaluation procedure by which a program obtains and interprets any information regarding the effectiveness of intervention strategies (Cardarelli and McDevitt, 1995).

II. REFERENCING THE THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS OF COMMUNITY ORIENTED POLICING PROGRAM PHILOSOPHY

Broken windows theory is a direct outgrowth of the Newark, New Jersey, Foot Patrol Experiment, in which foot patrol was reintroduced into community areas in an effort to reduce crime (Kelling, 1981). Although foot patrol did not have a direct effect on crime, citizens felt safer and developed a more favourable opinion of the police. In addition, the officers themselves expressed greater satisfaction with their work. How was this so? Citizens felt safer because fear of crime was reduced, that is fear of being bothered by disorderly people: drunks, panhandlers, addicts, prostitutes, gangs, and rowdy teens. Previous studies (Kelling & Moore, 1988) noted that the movement towards professionalism had downgraded order maintenance as police efforts and concerns were shifted to law enforcement activities on more serious violations. In addition, foot patrol had come to be viewed as an unproductive use of police manpower. The New Jersey experience provided a new justification for a return to foot patrol as a legitimate use of police resources and highlighted the importance of fear reduction strategies as well.

Broken windows theory is based on the assumption that disorder and crime are linked in a developmental sequence. If a window in a building is broken and left unrepaired, so the argument goes, all the rest of the windows will soon be broken as well. The unrepaired window is a signal that no one cares and so breaking more windows will not result in official sanction. This type of vandalism can occur anywhere once the sense of mutual regard and the obligations of civility are lowered by actions that seem to signal a lack of common concern. Broken windows theory was introduced in an Atlantic Monthly article by Wilson and Kelling in 1982 and has since become a driving force in community policing programs, because of the belief that untended behaviours leads to the breakdown of community controls and crime. Wilson and Kelling (1982) argue that neighborhoods where property is abandoned, weeds grow, windows are broken, and adults stop scolding rowdy children cause families to move out and unattached adults to move in. Fights occur, litter accumulates, people drink on the public way, and panhandlers begin to approach pedestrians. Graffiti proliferates, suggesting that the area is uncontrollable, and the fear of crime increases. In response, people begin to use the streets less, causing the area to become vulnerable to criminal invasion. The withdrawal of the community leads to increased drug sales, prostitution, and mugging.

Skogan (1990) in "Disorder and Decline" brought to light broken windows hypothesis by analyzing data from 40 urban neighborhoods, he concluded that disorder increases the level of serious crime. He identified two types of disorder: physical disorder, which includes the presence of junk and trash in vacant lots, boarded-up buildings, vandalism, graffiti, and stripped and abandoned cars; and social disorder, which includes the presence of gangs, prostitutes, panhandlers, drunks, and open gambling and drug use. Skogan also presented evidence that disorder needed to be distinguished from serious crime, further strengthening the call for order maintenance policing. His work also supported social disorganization theory. His findings established that poverty, instability, and the racial composition of a neighborhood were strongly linked to area crime, but a substantial portion of that linkage was through disorder.

Likewise, Kelling and Coles (1996) provided further support for broken windows theory in their book *Fixing Broken Windows*. In it, they argue that the police needed to pay more serious attention to disorder and order maintenance policing. Arguing that the law enforcement model had fixed police resources on felony crime, the authors conclude that order maintenance issues had reached a critical mass, causing fear of crime to increase. Although consistent with the ideology that non-violent deviance should be tolerated in the interest of liberty, the decriminalization of alcoholism, increased numbers of homeless people, and the deinstitutionalization of the mentally ill all increased disorder and fear of crime in neighborhood areas. Kelling and Coles offered the dramatic decrease in crime in New York City as evidence of the importance of order maintenance policing. Through strict enforcement of incivilities and misdemeanor offences, New York, he argued, solved much of its crime problem. So substantial was the decrease in crime that Silverman (1999) reported that the decrease in New York City alone accounted for 60% of the national decline in crime. There have been a number of challenges to what has been described as the 'New York Miracle' and to broken windows theory itself.

Similarly, Harcourt (1998) wrote in the *Michigan Law Review* that there was no empirical evidence to support the theory. His position was later expanded in his 2001 book entitled *The Illusion of Order: The False Promise of Broken Windows*. In 1993, New York City began the 'quality of life initiative', an order maintenance strategy targeting minor misdemeanor offenders premised on the broken windows concept. The principal scientific justification for the initiative was the nexus between disorder and crime established by Skogan's book *Disorder and Decline*. By eliminating minor misdemeanors and disorderly behaviours, New York thought that it could deter serious crime. Harcourt defined this thesis as the 'social influence' conception of deterrence. As mentioned earlier, New York offered its falling crime rate as evidence that broken windows policing was working. Harcourt, however, challenged this position by arguing that there were other factors that contributed to the falling crime

rate, including an increase of 3,000 police officers, favorable economic conditions, a reduction in the 18–24-year-old population, an increased number of persons imprisoned, and the fact that the crime rate was decreasing all over the country, and not just in New York City. Harcourt titled his explanation for the decreasing New York crime rate ‘enhanced surveillance’. Enhanced surveillance, in the form of increased law enforcement, provided a reason for investigating persons suspected of committing crimes. Harcourt argued that it was not by a reduction in litter, fixing broken windows, or eliminating graffiti that crime decreased, but the result of increased law enforcement efforts on the part of the police. Harcourt (1998) also challenged the methodological integrity of Skogan’s original analysis.

In analyzing Skogan’s study, Harcourt (1998) found that 30%–40% of the data were missing and that five of the sample neighborhoods had excessively influenced the occurrence of robbery. Once these areas were controlled for, the relationship between robbery and disorder disappeared. These findings led Harcourt to conclude that the data did not support the claim that reducing disorder deters serious crime. In the end, Harcourt concluded that order maintenance policing did not uphold community values, but created community norms defining disorderly activities as criminal offences, activities that could be better handled by social service agencies. Sampson and Raudenbush (1999) conducted research that provided what many believed was empirical support for Harcourt’s position. Combining census data, police records, 3,500 resident surveys, and videotapes of more than 23,000 street segments in Chicago, the authors found that, contrary to broken windows theory, the relationship between public disorder and crime was spurious. Graffiti does not cause crime! Disorder and crime are both manifestations of the same explanatory process. They share common structural and social origins. The cause of crime is structural disadvantage and weak collective efficacy: the ability of a community to regulate conduct. The authors add that the fascination in public policy circles with cleaning up disorder through law enforcement techniques is simplistic and misplaced in terms of directly fighting crime. In fact, their data demonstrate that crime and disorder are not highly correlated and that neighborhoods high in disorder do not have higher crime rates than neighborhoods low in disorder. The authors, however, do not totally discount the usefulness of disorder in predicting crime. Rather than arguing that disorder is the direct cause of crime, the authors argue that disorder is part and parcel of crime itself. Social disorder and incivilities are evidence that crime is occurring. Therefore, public disorder crimes and predatory crimes are manifestations of the same explanatory process, although at different ends of the seriousness scale. Because disorder is a manifestation of crime-relevant mechanisms, Sampson and Raudenbush argue that improved collective efficacy should reduce disorder and violence by disempowering the forces that produce both.

Further support for the attack on broken windows theory came from a book published by Taylor (2001) entitled *Breaking away from Broken Windows*. The object of Taylor’s work was to determine the origin of incivilities and determine whether or not they eroded urban life over time. Taylor found that there were two types of reactions to crime: fear as a psychological concept and fear as an ecological concept. Fear as a psychological concept is a reflection of an individual’s perception of crime. Analyzing data collected in Baltimore, Maryland, Taylor concluded that fear, as a psychological concept, overshadows fear as an ecological concept. Some people are more fearful than others. Therefore, zero-tolerance, order-maintenance police strategies, aimed at reducing fear of crime, may be misdirected and should not be adopted axiomatically. Incivilities are better interpreted as a result of an economically disadvantaged neighborhood, rather than as a symptom of a disorderly or disorganized neighborhood, and that crime fighting is more important than grime fighting for long-term reductions in crime. Broken windows policing was also challenged by declining crimes rates in San Francisco. A study conducted by the California-based Center on Juvenile and Criminal Justice (2002) demonstrated that during the time that New York City was being held up as a national model, similar rates of decline were occurring in other cities around the country, the most notable of which was San Francisco. Long derided by conservatives for its alternative crime policies, San Francisco registered reductions in crime that equaled or exceeded comparable cities and jurisdictions, including New York City, in spite of having adopted less strident law enforcement policies that reduced arrests, prosecutions, and incarceration rates. In fact, San Francisco’s crime reduction coincided with declining misdemeanor and felony arrest rates and declining prison commitments.

III. THE HISTORY OF NIGERIA POLICE FORCE (NPF)

The Nigeria Police Force is the statutory organization charged with the responsibility of providing policing services in the country. The Nigeria Police Force is designated by section 194 of the 1979 and 214 of the 1999, and of the 2011(as amended) constitution, as the national police of Nigeria, with exclusive jurisdiction throughout the country. Constitutional provisions also exist, however for the establishment of separate Nigeria Police Force branches forming part of the armed forces of the federation (Nigeria Police Force, 2011). The constitution speaks in section 214 that- ‘There shall be a police force for Nigeria, which shall be known as the Nigeria Police Force, and subject to the provisions of this section no other police force shall be established for the federation or any part thereof (Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2011:118). In view of the constitutional provisions as stated above, it could be argued that the official policing mechanism in Nigeria is embedded in military culture, with a very long chain of command structure. The police perform conventional functions, and are also responsible for the provision of supporting services to other internal security institutions such as the prison, immigration and customs services and for the

performance of other military duties within and outside Nigeria as may be directed from time to time.

Section 4 of the Police Act stipulated the functions of the Nigeria Police Force as: prevention and detection of crime, apprehension of offenders, preservation of law and order, protection of life and property, enforcement of all laws and regulations with which they are charged as well as military duties within or without Nigeria as may be required of them. For the fact that the statutory roles of the police are enormous, the same Act gave the police in Nigeria relatively commensurate powers in carrying out those roles. The police have powers to: take measures to prevent crime, investigate crime, interrogate suspects, prosecute suspects, and to search property and persons in order to prevent crimes, detect or investigate crimes, detect and apprehend offenders and collect evidence for prosecution. Others are to grant bail to suspects pending investigations or arraignment in court, serve summons, and regulate processions and assemblies and to disperse illegal or unlawful procession and assembly. The job of policing in Nigeria, most likely the same way in other parts of the world, is being perceived as an arduous and risky task. It is therefore pertinent to assert that in the face of any prevailing circumstances, the police are perennially at work and often at odd times and in places of danger (Amadi, 2004).

IV. ANALYZING COMMUNITY ORIENTED POLICING INITIATIVES IN NIGERIA

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

The Program of Action which started in January, 2005 focuses on: effective crime prevention and control through intelligence-led policing, combat of violent and economic crimes, conflict prevention and resolution, community policing and police-public partnership. Others are zero-tolerance for corruption and indiscipline within the force, improved career development, salary and welfare packages to motivate police officers and thereby promote better service

delivery and discipline. Another area worthy of attention is the re-organization of the investigation section of the police force, to ensure prompt and timely investigation of cases. The policy statement also was set to contribute positively to improving the quality of justice delivery in Nigeria, empowering field officers operationally by devolution of powers to improve standards, reliability, consistency and responsiveness of the service. Another claimed effort in this context was the re-orientation of the Nigeria police force's public relations department to focus on improving public perception and image of the Nigeria Police Force (NCPCFA, 1990; NEEDS, 2004:64).

The Nigeria Police Force (2010), in the light of the above has further claimed that measures were put in place to ensure that extensive sensitization and awareness campaigns have been conducted for members of the public. The targets in this case were: Police Community Relations Committee [PCRCs], Neighbour-hood Watch Groups, the media, National Union of Road Transport Workers, Market Associations, Motorcycle Taxi Riders, Parents-Teachers Association, community leaders and government agencies dealing with safety and security issues (Nigeria police force, 2010). In addition, there were claims that relationships with Informal Policing System (community security alternatives initiative/vigilante groups) have also been developed and improved upon in many of the police Divisions in these pilot states. In the light of these claims, the activities have led to an increased collaboration between the police and the communities in various aspect of services delivery (NCPCFA, 1990). However, Fourchard (2008) has argued that the operational lines between vigilante groups and what the philosophy of community policing has brought to bear is blurring. Fourchard (2008) further argued that instead of perceiving vigilante structures as a mere response to the increase of crime and the corresponding inability of the police to cope in terms of production of crime reduction and security, it should be seen as a first attempt towards introducing some forms of image improving strategies for the implementation of community policing in Nigeria. In 2007, the partnership extended to twelve additional States of Lagos, FCT, Cross River, Kaduna, Anambra, Edo, Bauchi, Kogi, Oyo, Imo, Katsina and Borno, bringing the total to eighteen. Beside this, the Nigeria Safety and Security, Justice and Growth (SJG) program has been playing supportive roles to ensure that the Inspector-General of Police's vision to implement country-wide Community Policing was achieved (Nigeria Police Force, 2010).

In 2008, the Inspector General of Police (IGP) recognized the symbiotic relationship between his 9-way test and the tenets and practices of Nigeria Police Force's community policing initiatives in those pilot States. He therefore introduced Community Policing as both the strategy and philosophy of the entire Nigeria Police Force, in line with the 7-point Agenda of the Federal Government of Nigeria (Nigeria Police Force, 2010). Central to the programs of community policing is to bring the police back onto the streets. Although

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

According to Nigeria Police Force (2010) the following are the personnel structures established for that purpose:

- *Divisional Intelligence Officers (DIOs),
- *Conflict Resolution Officers (CROs),
- *Community Policing Developers (CPD),
- *Human Rights Officers (HROs),
- *Community Policing Officers (CPOs),
- *Community Safety Officers (CSOs),
- *Vigilante Support Officers (VSOs) and
- *The Neighborhood Watch Officers (NWOs)

The Intelligence-led Policing (ILP) pilots have been introduced in 35 Divisions across Lagos, FCT, Kano and Kaduna. Divisional Intelligence Officers (DIOs) were trained in the concepts and processes of ILP and were mandated to transfer learning activities to their Divisions. Intelligence-led Policing (ILP) requires the Nigeria Police Force to, as a matter of policy, interpret the crime and disorder environment, including potential victims and targets; ensure police partners and police personnel implement appropriate action plans; and finally, guarantee that those actions have the required impact on the crime and disorder environment (Nigeria Police Force, 2010). All successive governments of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, regardless of which type or form, have been embarking on police reforms, with the promise to reposition the force for proper handling of crime prevention and control. However, such effort hardly moves beyond the limits of recruiting more personnel, provision of training and making available more money for the police which may not yield the expected results (Hills, 2012:746). In the same vein, according to Nigeria Police Force (2010), a large number of these operational structures are in the Security Justice and Growth's supported States and in various stages of development and assessments. Divisional Managers have been given wide discretionary powers concerning tactical and operational issues affecting their Divisions (Nigeria Police Force, 2010).

On the other hand, as a result of the traditional mode and hierarchical dimension of micro-managing police stations, few consultations were sought from the members of rank and file of the force and the communities they police. To take care of these, according to the claims of Nigeria Police Force (2010), Divisional Management Teams were made to receive trainings in line with democratic norms and values, community policing and management as well as leadership techniques. Apart from these, in the context of these claims they are being taught on how to handle issues relating to delegation of authority, action planning, performance measurement, performance management, partnerships, problem solving techniques and accountability. Moreover, the F Department training teams make adequate support and mentoring available after the training try to ensure maximum transference and continuity of learning processes to the participant's Division (Nigeria Police Force, 2010). The above intelligence piloting exercises represent the Nigeria Police design and policy drives to institute the culture of community policing for crime prevention in the country. However, whether progress has any positive bearing on security of life of Nigerian citizens of today is a matter for serious contention. Nevertheless, there is sense in the claim of Davis, Croall, and Tyrer (2005) that relationship between the police and the community is important to enhance not only police-community relations, but the effectiveness of the police organization.

V. FACTORS ACCOUNTING FOR FAILURE OF COMMUNITY ORIENTED POLICING IN NIGERIA

This article argues that the initiative to engage the public in crime prevention has not only been defeated by Nigeria's socially divided environment (a common factor that explains the failure of similar initiatives elsewhere), but also by the local population's specific socio-cultural ethos. The extant literature shows that it is generally difficult to instill a service mentality among police. In the case of Nigeria, the institutionalization of the NPF's paramilitary traditions, reinforced by Nigeria's unique political and economic position, constitute additional contextual factors that account for the secondary priority given to police-public relations by the NPF and create obstacles to the establishment of a service ethos. In sum, community policing in Nigeria faces similar problems generally encountered elsewhere, as well as contextual problems specific to the territory because it is a transplanted alien model.

Previous studies on community policing in Nigeria or related areas (1990; Grant, 1992; Cartwright, 1994; Chan, 1998, So, 1999) has exclusively been conducted by police officers as post-graduate dissertations. Notwithstanding there are some useful insights here and there but there is a general lack of theoretical conceptualization and, in some cases, adequate data. Other than the existing literature, the empirical data for this research come from a variety of sources which are of equal importance for the substantiation of this article's thesis, namely, official documents, published and internal police

data, miscellaneous non-police documentary data, personal communications from various police sources and informal discussions with a number of other serving police officers. These informal discussions were mostly held over private lunch or coffee breaks.

VI. PROLIFERATION OF INFORMAL POLICING INSTITUTIONS AND VIGILANTE GROUPS IN NIGERIA

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

Notwithstanding any real or perceived inadequacies of these informal policing structures in Nigeria, Zumve (2012) was of the view that informal policing structures are now being represented by a range of agencies such as Bakassi Boys of the Igbo in the South East of Nigeria, the Hisba of the Hausa/Fulani in the North, and the Odu'a people's congress (OPC) of the Yoruba in the South West of the country among many others. Hills (2014:9), while reviewing the pattern of partnership policing as it affects Kano of north-central Nigeria, has suggested that the presence of socio-cultural and religious institutions have influenced the provision of policing

services in the area. According to Hills (2014), the activities of alternative security providers have been encouraged by '...the apparent failure of the notoriously brutal, corrupt and ineffective Nigeria Police Force to provide adequate security and justice...' (Hills, 2014:9). However, Hills view seemed to contradict Onyeozili's (2005) perspective in this regard. According to Onyeozili (2005), colonialism had distorted elements of traditional institutions and values that were perceived to have previously sustained order maintenance in the pre-colonial African societies.

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

The militias groups have taken various forms of identity such as the O'dua Peoples' Congress (OPC) in the South-West, the Bakassi Boys in the South-East, the Egbesu Boys and the Meinbutsu in the South-South and the Arewa Peoples' Congress (APC) in the North. Adekanye (2012) further stated that these militia groups whose violent activities are already dragging the country's civil-military landscape. While the perspectives of Adekanye(2012) have laid much emphasis on the violent disposition of these ethnic militias, Rotimi and Ikuteyijo (2012) have also argued in relatively strong terms that they were notable security outfits entrenched in Yoruba ancestral tradition that tend to engage in magical methods of defence. According to the view of Rotimi and Ikuteyijio (2012), the use of charm and other occult powers of the vigilante institutions grant a range of acknowledged comparative advantages in security and crime prevention and control issues. This view reflects the enormous security challenge facing the country that ultimately called for the introduction of the policy of community policing. In the face of perceived or real failure of the police establishments to provide services that will guarantee crime prevention and control, the various informal and semi-informal policing structures have continued to operate in parallel with the official police organization in Nigeria. Findings from Alemika and Chukwuma's (2004) work have suggested that what had been regarded as informal policing structures are in agreement

with the political and socio-cultural practices of their respective communities. The policing groups, according to this contention, are founded on traditional practices of age-grade, divination and masquerade cults. Alemika and Chukwuma (2004) further stated that such groups are identified as informal only in relation to the contemporary state police system but not as reflected however in the consciousness and lived experiences of the people. Similarly

VII. LACK OF ADEQUATE KNOWLEDGE OF COMMUNITY ORIENTED POLICING AND CRIME CONTROL

According to Marenin (2009:352), accurate knowledge of policing in Africa is often very limited. Marenin (2009) has justified his position relying on instances such as: few of the experts in policing were either foreigners or were natives who had their training outside the shores of their respective countries, the retention of colonial language as the lingua franca, which is totally different from the language widely understood by the native population and by implication most of notable publications officially released by policing authorities would be through the alien medium. According to Marenin (2009), even the junior police officers in Nigeria have misunderstanding of occupational culture in terms of core values and priorities. Further to this is that well over sixty percent of the Nigeria populations are relatively and functionally illiterate in the western sense. This means that the populations live without basic understanding of English being the official language of the post independent Nigeria. This poses problems for the communication gap and formed a background for a dislocation of relationship between the police and local population in Nigeria (Zumve, 2012). This is in view of colonial legacies reflective of authoritarian culture among the Nigeria police personnel. This was further compounded with mismanagement of Nigeria police institutions by various military regimes and its impact in terms of communication gap between police and the policed. As a result, there was loss of police face-value in the eye of public.

VIII. POLICE VIOLENCE AND THE USE OF EXCESSIVE FORCE

Dambazau (2007) argued that brutal attitudes of the police in Nigeria have not been helpful in terms of attempt to create enabling platform for cordial relationship between the police and members of public in Nigeria. The operational activities of the police in Nigeria have been characterized by the treatment of alleged suspects with disdain and assault. These kinds of police operational attitudes have reached a level where police personnel engage in illegal handling of innocent but suspicious members of the public under any guises. According to Dambazau (2007), examples of such kinds of behaviours by police officers are the attempt to forcefully extort confessions from the alleged crime suspects. This could be in a disguised attempt of the police to prevent crimes and/or an expression of disgust towards a particular criminal

suspect. Further to these is that it is a way of settling scores with some perceived enemies while some could be in the cause of committing a corrupt act (Dambazau, 2007:282-3). Other important voices in this regards are Alemika and Chukwuma (2003:13) who have also argued that the operational activities of the personnel of Nigeria police have been characterized by cases of extra-judicial killings of crime suspects in police cells and mostly without recourse to the rule of law and fundamental principles of the constitution. Closely connected to the colonial factor is the interventions of the military in the politics of Nigeria between 1966 and 1979(thirteen years) and 1983-1999(sixteen years). The military intervention in the political sphere has negatively affected the essence of the police institutions in Nigeria. More so that the police organization was neglected under successive military regimes which perceived the organization as a counter force that deserved to be weakened (Alemika and Chukwuma, 2003). The government neglect of police was achieved through the suspension of democratic institutions such as the National Assembly, the Police Council, and the Police Service.

IX. CONCLUSION

A careful review of global literature on community policing in the context of developing nations is important because, from this literature review, it has been understood that, though there are growing number of research done on community policing, yet more studies that target this strategy on crime control are required. With this understanding in mind, this paper, it has been narrowed its scope to Nigeria. By doing so, it is believed that this will ultimately help to better understand the likely outcome of community policing program philosophy on crime control in the country

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