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Public perceptions of trust in the police in Abuja, Nigeria.

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Abstract

What the public thinks, believes and feels about the police determines if people will obey or disobey them, if they will support the police in fighting crime, and contributes to how and whether the police will succeed in maintaining order. Notwithstanding these incontrovertible facts, scholars and researchers in Nigeria have paid only minor attention to this crucial subject by viewing the problem from the fact that the police have failed in performing its obligations. So far, no research has deeply explored the relationship between police and the public in Nigeria and ordinary people's perceptions of police corruption and trust and the historical background that forms the context of this. This research addresses this gap in knowledge through original empirical research into public perceptions of the police, experiences of contact with the police and views about the relationship of police behaviour and legitimacy.

Using procedural justice as the main theoretical model, this thesis provides a platform for the qualitative narratives of 66 men and women in Abuja, Nigeria who have had direct and indirect experiences of the police. It analyses how their interactions with the police shape their day-to-day lives and ideas about justice, law and order.

This research found that participants employed an idea of police effectiveness to assess their legitimacy that in turn was connected to procedural fairness as well as honesty. Participants believed that they would be more likely to trust the police if they were provided with the needed services such as securing lives and properties, maintaining law and order as well as investigation and detection of crime. These outcome-oriented views of good policing were combined with process-oriented views in which the importance for trust of being treated with dignity and even sincerity regularly featured in the interviews and focus groups. Hence, this research shows how procedural and distributive form of justice were interlinked for participants.

The issue of police corruption, discussed at length in the thesis, has an implication in the achievement of effective policing and provides a useful illustration of how concerns about police results combined with views about police good conduct were inseparable in making determinations of trust in and legitimacy of the police.

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Acknowledgement

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that except where contributions were made and where reference has formed part of jointly authored publications, this PhD thesis has been written by me and that it has not been submitted for any publications for the academic degree to any institution within and outside the University of Glasgow.

Printed name . . . . David Jacob Usman

Signature:

1 Introduction

An extensive amount of criminological research since the 1960s has been conducted on the police, and since the 1980s, this has begun to examine public trust in the police (especially in the United States and latterly in the United Kingdom). Such research is important because how the public perceives the police can directly or indirectly shape the way they respond to police and their preparedness to contribute to police-community programs and efforts. The research objectives are built on exploring the connections between policing, public perceptions, trust and legitimacy but apply to Nigeria. The objectives are to explore and examine the causes of trust and distrust in the police in selected rural and urban areas around the Nigerian federal capital, Abuja. Secondly, my intention is to examine whether the theory of procedural justice - a major theoretical model utilized and developed in the US and UK – can help us make sense of the relationship between police and citizens in Nigeria.

Recently, there have been numerous studies conducted on the factors that affect citizen's trust in the police (see, for example Bottoms and Tankebe, 2012; Jonathan-Zamir and Weisburd, 2011; Murphy and Cherney, 2012a; Hough, 2007; Skogan, 2009). Tyler (2000) associated the treatment of citizens with levels of trust and contended that the way the police treat people in neighbourhoods shapes how the people will assess them. More specifically, Tyler's famous model of procedural justice suggests that fairness and positive treatment of individuals will improve the legitimacy of and trust in the police; and negative treatment such as unfriendliness, lack of respect for dignity or privacy will equally lead to unfavourable evaluations in the police. The focus of his idea is that police trustworthiness is linked to the quality of their treatment of individuals – that police legitimacy depends on practices, on people being treated with dignity and with respect for privacy, being allowed the opportunity to have a say and present one's views during their engagement with the police officers (Tyler and Huo, 2002).

An assessment of trust in the police is important in every society, especially in post-colonial societies, such as Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa where trust is undermined by negative police activities (Sarre et al 2005; Bradford, 2011; Tankebe, 2010). Public trust has been argued, enhances police performance and legitimizes their actions (Kaariainen, 2007; Paxton, 2007; Uslaner, 2005).

Similar to all post-colonial societies, Nigeria faces various developmental issues, and the chief among them is implementing stable and accountable institutions to control activities of the government and mismanagement behaviour in the country. This failure has resulted in persistent corruption and constant disregard for rule of law and brutality to supress opposition to unpopular regime (Orole et al., 2014; Ojedokun, 2014).

Many international accounts have indicted the Nigerian police for brutality and disrespect of the rule of law. For example, Human Rights Watch reports (2008) accused the Nigerian police of disregard for human rights of accused persons, violent suppression of protest, infringement of fundamental rights, abuse of discretionary power and corruption. Similarly, in 2007, the Commonwealth Human Rights reports have shown that corruption, the use of illegal arrests and detention, excessive use of force and a failure to respond to complaints were widespread practices among police officers in Nigeria. The National Human Rights Commission (NHRC, 2018) later reiterated these claims within Nigeria, which observed that brutality, corruption, negligence and impunity were problems associated with police misconduct.

In another report, Richard (2017) accused the Nigerian police of extortion of money before services are rendered and general brutality. He further pointed to the high level of corruption and extortion of money by police from motorists, traders as well as the collection of bribes from criminals who were thus able to avoid arrest. He concluded that the Nigerian police do not maintain order but rather "preserve disorder" (*The Vanguard,* August 19, 2017).

Similarly, Okechukwu reports serious concerns amongst Nigerians over the increasing series of killings and human rights abuses and the generally oppressive activities of the police across Nigeria. He attributed police deviance to the government's refusal to pay attention to police misconduct (*Sahara Reporters*, February 12, 2014). In another account concerning police deviance Pelemi Olajengbesi, a human rights lawyer and the convener of Human Right Group accused the police of using the power that is vested in them by law in a reckless manner. Like others, he described examples of extra-judicial killing and extortion of money from innocent people whom the police are supposed to protect. Olajengbesi called on the government and the leadership of the police to punish officers who are abusing the fundamental rights of Nigerians across the country (*The Vanguard* August 07, June 2018).

It is essential to note that various factors have been linked to police corruption, from local and international perspectives. However, most of the claims assessed in this section have one or more lapses to sustain their claims. For instance, among the identified factors, citizens' perceptions using qualitative method are lacking to substantiate most of the claims. In addition, these perspectives have not told us what kind of research was carried out and who were their respondents. More so these claims have not told us the source of police corruption and its influence on the activities of post- colonial Nigeria state.

This project addresses an under-researched area. So far, little empirical research has been conducted exploring public perceptions of the police in Nigeria. A few notable exceptions deserve recognition, for example, Chukwuman and Alemika (2003) and Akinlabi (2017). Other researchers outside Nigeria have also documented the activities of the police and citizens' trust in their societies (Tankebe, 2008; Jackson et al., 2014). The historical factors within which post-colonial Nigerian police operate, the relationship

between the activities of the post-colonial elites and police performance were not given much attention by these previous studies. Moreover, it is important to understand the recent security issues in Nigerians and how these may further shape citizens' relationship with the police. It is against this background that the present study seeks to examine the antecedents of trust in the police through a qualitative investigation of perceptions of, and popular experiences of, policing in selected rural and urban areas around Abuja, Nigeria's capital city.

1.1 Research concerns

This study assesses the extent to which Nigerian citizens trust their police and explores factors that account for variations in public trust. Very few studies have empirically examined Nigerian attitudes toward the police. Using procedural justice theory as the guiding theoretical framework, interviews and focus group discussions were utilized to collect data from four urban areas and five rural areas in, or close to, the capital city, Abuja. The study employs procedural justice theory's themes such as quality of treatment and quality of decision-making - and explores their effects on trust in the police. In addition to testing the usefulness of procedural justice theory in this context, this study examines findings from other research projects on trust to further explore the antecedents of trust in the Nigerian police.

Both procedural justice theory and most reassuring empirical studies emerge from western nations such as the US and the UK, so it remains a question whether they make sense in other social contexts, especially in developing nations with dissimilar cultural and historical backgrounds. Therefore, this study examines the assumptions of the procedural justice theory and some scholarly work on trust to ascertain whether such assumptions will provide a meaningful explanation, as to why Nigerians trust or distrust their police.

1.2 Research objectives

This study thus examines public perceptions of the police in Abuja. The research intends to obtain the views of Abuja citizens on how they experience the police. To achieve this, I have set three main objectives for examination, these are:

1. To examine if procedural justice theory can be applied to access public trust in Abuja, Nigeria

2. To explore differences in the experiences of policing amongst different communities.

3. To examine if there are other factors that are likely to shape the public perceptions of the police.

Significantly, the study provides an avenue for the experiences of Abuja citizens' perceptions of trust in their police. Engaging the procedural justice theory for guiding the inquiry into perceptions of police, the study engaged 66 men and women who were involved in-group discussions or in interviews. The vital aspect of this research is the priority of the participants' opinions.

1.3 Justification and significance of the research

The importance of this research is three-fold: First, from the point of view of theory building, the study affords an opportunity of investigating the relationship between public perceptions and the police. By discovering the various factors that underlie perceptions of trust and distrust, it will be possible to develop a body of theory, which describes or specifies the nature of perceptions of trust in Nigeria. This is an intellectual contribution to criminological knowledge.

Secondly, the study is also sociologically relevant in the sense that it affords an opportunity for measuring the degree and understanding the conditions of public approval or disapproval of police thus reflecting the disposition of the

public towards the activities and how their ways of lives are shaped by the police activities in Nigeria. This is where an empirical study of public perception and an assessment of their view of acceptable good police behaviour comes in. The findings obtained from this study will indicate the direction of the desired revisions in reforming the police and general policy of the government with a view, ultimately, to helping us understand how Nigeria can be better policed – this is relevant to the administration of criminal justice in Nigeria.

Third, this dissertation will also contribute to sociological knowledge in the sense that it will explore how far theories developed and tested in the Western world are applicable to the non-Western world by using Nigeria as a case study.

1.4 Key concepts for the research study

The concepts of trust, legitimacy, procedural justice and an awareness of the importance of perceptions of justice are basic to criminological understanding in this area. This is because the reputation of the police in a given society unavoidably impacts on the perceptions held by the public. That being the case, this section will briefly describes the relevant concepts used in this work, in order to provide a conceptual background for the research questions.

As noted in the introduction, trust in the police has been conceptualized in different ways. Scholars have argued that for an institution such as the police to be trustworthy they are expected to be effective, to be fair, to be perceived to have shared values with and a strong commitment to the community they intend to serve (Jackson and Bradford, 2009, 2010; Jackson and Sunshine, 2007; Sunshine and Tyler, 2003; Tyler and Huo, 2002). In defining trust, this study adopts a definition provided by Devos et al. (2002) as its guide. They argue:

> If someone trusts an institution, it implies a collective entity, on
> the whole, is competent, fulfils its obligations, and acts in

responsible ways. Trusting an institution entails having confidence
that the institution is reliable, observes rules and regulations,
works well, and serves the general interest. Thus, the notion of
trust goes beyond whether individuals have a positive or negative
attitude toward an institution or whether they approve or
disapprove of it. Trust refers to a set of beliefs or expectations
rather than to a purely affective reaction (Devos et al., 2002: 484)

Similar to the issue of trust is legitimacy, which is problematic in its conceptual application. There is no single agreed definition of the concept or the way legitimacy should be understood. Many scholars have agreed that legitimacy increases compliance and support for the good performance of social institutions (Gilley 2009; Reynolds et al., 2008; Roth, 2012). For example, Gilley (2009) considered legitimacy as the right to rule. He maintained that citizens believe in the power of authority when such power is in line with the normative understanding of appropriate social behaviour. Tyler (2009: 313) defines legitimacy as "the feeling of responsibility and obligation to follow the law, to accept the decisions of legal authorities, and to cooperate with and help legal authorities to do their jobs". Tyler links this subjective evaluation of legitimacy to the real functioning of the criminal justice system and its agents: if the legal authorities are able to effectively put an end to conflicts, act in a fair and transparent way, and treat citizens with dignity and courtesy, then citizens will be inclined to respect their legitimacy. Roth (2012) argued that legitimacy is not a single construct, but many variables are involved. However, the definition of Roth (2012) is adopted because it summarizes virtually all of what others have advocated as constituting legitimacy. According to him, legitimacy is related to:

The belief that government is stable, and that its legal and judicial
institutions are unbiased and will redress wrongs and protect lives
and property. A feeling of trust in government and the officials who
run it, and a belief in their legitimacy patriotism, empathy and
fellow feeling arising from racial, religious, or political solidarity.
The belief that the social hierarchy is legitimate, that one's

position in society is or can be satisfactory and that one can command the respect of others without resorting to violence (Roth, 2012:199)

Finally, in this study, police corruption is defined as the misuse of official position by an officer for personal gain (Ivkovic, 2005). Practices that might be considered as police corruption in Nigeria include failure to arrest, investigate or prosecute because of kinship relationships, the taking of bribes from law violators and use of formal position to defraud individual or groups (Orole et al., 2014). Therefore, the study examines the view of those who have directly and indirectly experienced police corruption.

1.5 Synopsis of subsequent chapters

Chapter two offers a detailed description of Nigeria history and provides an overview of the characteristics of the districts where this study was conducted. The chapter also discusses policing in Nigeria, from both historical and contemporary perspectives, as well as examining if a relationship exists between historical factors and police performance and how this might shape the perceptions of citizens in Nigeria.

Chapter three examines the central theories relevant to this project. The chapter reviews existing literature that has identified key factors that might help us understand what shapes citizen's trust in the police.

Chapter four provides a detailed explanation of the research methodology and design of this study. I discuss in detail how I went about conducting the research and explain the choices that I made. The chapter provides a discussion of the research objectives, data collection procedures, my method for coding my data, a detailed description of the sampling. A pilot study conducted before the main research was undertaken, and this is described, and some problems encountered during the fieldwork are also discussed in this chapter. Ethical considerations are also considered.

Chapter five, six and seven discuss the analysis and findings of the study and how the findings relate to the research questions discussed above. The extent to which findings support the theory of procedural justice is discussed specifically in chapter five. Chapter six discusses the relationship between police effectiveness and trust and chapter seven examines the relationship between corruption and trust in the police.

Finally, chapter eight presents a general conclusion, reviews the strength and limitations of the study and outlines the implications for policy and directions for future research.

2 The historical development of the legal system in Nigeria

2.1 Introduction

A complete understanding of the post-colonial Nigerian legal system must begin with a historical account of the administration of justice in the various territories, which eventually constituted Nigeria. It is such an account that I try to elaborate below, I do not aim to provide a complete historical summary and it should be remembered that pre-colonial Nigeria was a complex multi-ethnic context. I emphasize those aspects of the pre-colonial systems that are features of the present legal system in order to enable the reader to trace clearly the origin of those features and how they were managed in the past. I will attempt to describe the key features and the management of the contemporary Nigerian legal and policing situation. All these are examined under four sections.

Section one discusses the pre-colonial legal system before 1861 and what we know about the mechanisms that enforced and sustained social norms and rules in this context. This will include how the social norms were enforced, who the enforcement agents were, how the violators of social norms were sanctioned and how conflicts were resolved. All these are intended to show how these structures shaped day-to-day activities of natives during this period. The point of this section is to make clear that there is evidence of a functioning system of social regulation in pre-colonial Nigeria. This matter is important because so often colonialism was justified as a process of "bringing law" to "lawless" people or uncivilized people without culture.

Section two examines the colonial period from 1861 to 1960: the section will discuss the formation of the centralized government, dominated by specific ethnic groups and local Nigerian elites - subverting the pre-colonial traditional structure and promoting a British approach to law and legal

institutions. The section will also examine how conflicts were managed compared to the pre-colonial regime. The argument of this section is to provide an understanding of how the imposed administrative and legal system shaped the perceptions and way of life of the indigenous Nigerians.

Section three examines the post-colonial period from 1960 to present-day Nigeria. The section will discuss the formal structures of law that came with the colonial period but were taken over by Nigerian elites and the post-colonial state. It will describe postcolonial conditions of instability resulting in widespread corruption, jeopardizing effective funding of the main institutions of government such as the civil service, including the police. The major point of the section is to describe the elites' activities and effects on the political and economic development and major problems that threaten the security and welfare of post-colonial Nigerian state.

Section four describes the structure of the Nigerian police force and wider criminal justice system and provides some data about crime and disorder, e.g. about the prevalence of kidnapping as a crime which is of major public concern. The section also examines the activities of some terrorist groups and ethno-religious activities that threaten the security of Nigerians and describe how these affect the daily life or shape the perceptions of Nigerians. The section will conclude with the examination of the informal sources of law enforcement such as vigilantism and so-called "jungle justice" and how they shape peoples' experiences of security in their day-to-day activities.

2.2 Pre-colonial Nigeria

2.2.1 Introduction

Historical records showed that the various cultures of pre-colonial Nigeria had an elaborate political and legal system in which people lived, interacted and entered social relationships with one another. All these activities were guided by an established system of unwritten customary law which, in most cases, involved an organized hierarchical legal system. Such systems were headed by

a legitimate authority who administered sanctions for any infraction of the law (Elias,1963; Park,1963).

As earlier mentioned, the legitimacy of pre-colonial social rules and their enforcement was based in a form of traditional authority often sanctioned by the religion of the people and had been in practice for many decades (Ehrensaft, 1972). The people were born into this social system, which formed part of their socialization. The norms were thus accepted as people grew up and were taken to regulate all interactions. Therefore, norms, being an integral part of the people, they were usually difficult to challenge (Ahire, 1991). Oba (2008) maintains that there was, in this context, no evidence of corrupt activities due to the organized system of "checks and balances and sometimes oath-taking with ancestral gods" that guided against and prevented such activities (Oba, 2008:141). Among members of these societies, settling of disputes over land or adultery and character assassination mostly involved practices of ritual oath taking (Oba, 2008). Pre-colonial administration

It is pertinent to understand the pre-colonial period, the various mechanisms that sustained it, what constitute legitimacy, and how trust was built. This is to enable the readers to make comparison between various historical milestones and see where things went wrong. As earlier observed, practices differed in the various parts of pre-colonial Nigeria. In Northern Nigeria, the system of administration was centralized; the leaders (Sarki) were the political as well as administrative heads of government who were secured by the dogarai (guards). The Sarkin dogarai was the head of the Emir's guards who supervised all the guard's activities, including those who oversaw the chief palace (Umar, 2006). The chief guard performed supervisory roles and had the power to punish any erring guard. Most importantly, the dogarai (guards) performed different duties. For instance, those who were in charge of the security of the palace were different from those who oversee the prevention of crime and brought judgement upon the violators of social norms. Those who were tax collectors were also separated from other functions mentioned above (Mustapha, 1986). The head of guards is directly

answerable to the sarki who was usually the judge and presided over all matters concerning commerce, politics and social relations within the community. The sarki courts, as well as prison, were within the premises of the palace (Yadudu, 1992).

According to scholars, one of the salient features that promoted legitimacy and trust in pre-colonial Nigeria legal systems was the reconciliatory role that law performed (see Atanda 1985; Ahire, 1991). In Western Nigeria for instance, in matters that were civil such as a betrayal of trust, finding out who was right or who was wrong was not the major aim. Rather the processes aimed at the reconciliation of conflicting parties (Atanda, 1985). This signifies that the main objective of the pre-colonial system in this particular context was not so much detecting who was wrong and who was right, rather maintenance and sustenance of cohesive social relationships was the main aim.

Among the Igbos of Eastern Nigeria, though there was a dissimilar political and legal system, the importance of reconciliation by the custom was greatly emphasized. Okafor (2006) observes that the Igbos did not have centralized structures like the Hausa of Northern and the Yoruba of Western Nigeria, but at the village and clan level, the laws were meant to reconcile conflicting differences among the people. However, the Igbo speaking people had several institutions, such as the council of elders (Ndi Eze Ikpe) and spiritual leaders (Ndi Dibia) at the village level that helped the Igbo people organized their activities and reconciled all civil matter (Ikime 1980). This can further suggest that the traditional Nigerian had an organized legal system which laid great emphasis on the need to promote reconciliation and to ensure continued fraternity between the people.

The much more decentralized Igbo pre-colonial societies of eastern Nigeria were based on small, self-contained groups of villages organized according to a lineage system. The mechanism of social control arose from established elements of culture, based on cherished traditions that ensured that any member of the community who violated social norms was punished (Njaka,

1974). In this system, the basic unit of political authority was the village, headed mostly by the eldest person supported by a few age grade members. The leader had no sole authority for any decision without the prior consent of council elders — the motive behind this limited power mechanism was to ensure that the chief (the political head) would not become an autocratic leader (Okafor, 2006). The age grade and occupational groups were, therefore, an important independent force in the decision-making process among the Igbos (Ikime, 1980).

In pre-colonial Nigeria, the legitimacy of the ruler and the law they enforced was often tied to members' involvement in the process of decision that affected them. Ojigbo argues that, in the Yoruba context, for example, proceedings in the king's court required the involvement of the two parties in dispute (Ojigbo, 1973). The accuser enforced judgments of the court in certain instances. For instance, if a bull of another man or family was killed and if the judge found the killer of the bull to be guilty, the law allowed the accuser to select a bull of his choice from the herd of bulls of the offender. If such an offender had no bull, the complainant was left to decide what would be taken from the culprit, which was equivalent to the value of the bull (Ojigbo, 1973).

As the situation in northern Nigeria, the maintaining of social order in the Yoruba kingdoms of western Nigeria was the responsibility of the Oba (the king), although the situation differed is some local parts (Ojigbo, 1973). What was common to these social arrangements was the complex nature of "checks and balances" in the day-to-day running of the administration of the empire. All were intended to maintain accountability and efficiency (Akinjogbin and Ayandele 1980). In his analysis of the social systems in both the Northern and Western Nigeria, Asiwaju (1976) noted that a common feature of pre-colonial system in western Nigeria was that those who enforced the law and regulated behaviours of the citizens were drawn from palace slaves. These slaves were appointed by, and responsible to, the kings who were the political authorities. The slaves were most assigned different responsibilities; those who were assigned the responsibility of being king's guards were different

from those who served as town criers, this personnel are charged with the day-to-day keeping members abreast about happening, such as new norms emanating from king's palace. There were others who perform the role of enforcing the law and arrest those who have violated the norms of the land, they also work with revenue officers during revue collection (Akinjogbin and Ayandele 1980)

2.2.2 Pre-colonial legal system

According to Edward Park, one of the renowned legal historians of Nigeria, the customary law became a reference point for all matters or disputes relating to "criminal acts, succession and inheritance and land issues" (Park, 1963:1). Each community that comprised pre-colonial Nigeria had its own set of customary rules that formed the basis for unification. Obilande (1979) also noted that the dissimilarities in customary law could be identified among different people and communities whose cultures were not the same but that in all cases the legal system served the same purpose of regulation in these communities. In northern Nigeria, for instance, apart from Islamic law of the Maliki school, other customary laws were enforced especially among non-Muslims (Elias, 1963). In every region that constituted pre-colonial Nigeria, an elaborate definition of law guided by the culture of the people was the common feature (Falola, 2008: 27). Obilande (1979) further argues that for the good and wellbeing of the community, different cultural values among different ethnic groups in pre-colonial Nigeria allowed the full participation of religious organizations, social groups, and occupational groups in the decision-making process. The inclusion of different social groups further legitimatized both the political and legal institution, which suggest that people were fully involved in the administration, and the legal system in which they were regulated.

In pre-colonial Nigeria, there were different regulations guiding succession to the throne when a leader died. In Northern Nigeria for example, the authority of the ruler emanated from heredity. The leadership was thus often a matter of royal lineages in which case power passed from parents to their offspring

according to the tradition of the people. When the emir died, the next emir would be the eldest male child of the deceased who presided over the activities of the community (Sa'ad, 1985). This is similar amongst the Yoruba of western Nigeria where the inheritance of the throne by heirs was a feature (Ojigbo, 1973). Among the Igbo of eastern Nigeria, where inheritance to the throne after the death of a leader was by age; the most elderly in the community always presided over the affairs of the people when the reigning leader died (Okafor, 2006). The common features concerning all regulations amongst these major ethnic groups are that there were no formal courts and formal enforcement personnel but the chief's residence was where legal proceedings took place and cases were heard and outcome decided. Every community had its own distinct process of enforcement with the council of elders presiding over the management of community affairs in the leader's residence.

2.2.3 Enforcement Mechanisms

In most contexts there was no standing army and no formalized institution of legal enforcement – an informal guards' system was the basic mechanism of enforcement and defence (Ehrensaft, 1972). The pre-colonial guards were often selected by the council of chiefs or by other local rulers such as the emir from age grades who fought in inter-tribal wars and had distinguished themselves as warriors (Obilande, 1979). They were not recruited from among those who had violated community norms and rules of conduct. Those who qualified were mostly the natives of the tribe they were to serve. In some cases, the guards were selected among the slaves who were attached to various domains of the leaders (Udo, 1983). Udo (1983) further maintained that the reason for the selection of slaves attached to the domains of the leaders are that they were deemed trusted and could not be influenced or instigated by any external influences. These guards had no formal training in the use of guns; rather, they were armed with spears, knives and short sticks for defence and combat (Okafor, 2006).

During the pre-colonial era, guards served mainly as messengers and guards to traditional rulers (such as the Obas in Western Nigeria; Ezes or Igwes in Eastern Nigeria) in their homes and courts. The guards who were given regular rewards from the tax collected and also performed guard duty, combat in intertribal wars as well as surveillance duties for the traditional rulers (Obilande, 1979). Under this traditional leadership, there were three groups of men charged with different responsibilities. For instance, men who were responsible for the protection of the rulers were different from those who were messengers while those who were responsible for the protection of the community against external aggression were separated from other functions (Okafor, 2006). The pre-colonial guards investigated, searched and arrested offenders and administered punishment. The councils of elders defined the norms that guided the operation of the guards as occasions demanded. Each law had its own appropriate sanction, which could be fines, public ridicule or banishment from the society (Ikime, 1980). Similarly, capital punishment such as stoning to death, hanging in town squares were also given to those who committed an incest taboo or those who committed deliberate acts that resulted in death of others. This was to serve as deterrent to others who intended to commit similar offences (Okafor 2006).

2.2.4 Summary and conclusion

In conclusion, then, it can be said that both the monarchical (centralized) and the non-centralized pre-colonial systems had their own established legal systems. Although these systems differed, they provided no opportunity for institutionalized tyranny and dictatorship or abuse of power as a result of an organized system of checks and balances. Many of these systems also promoted a sense of affinity by the active involvement of the citizens in politics through their lineages, age-sets and occupational groups. Various pre-colonial legal systems laid great emphasis on the need to promote reconciliation and continued group solidarity, mutual support and friendliness between the parties. Similarly, legal, economic and religious institutions which were fused together under the supervision of the leader could not be used to the advantages of individual interests but were focused on the

general interest of the community. All these institutions were usually under the ultimate control of the institutionalized rulers who held it in trust for the community.

Various authorities were seen to be legitimate and trustworthy because their power and authority was guided by the culture of the people. These facts are responsible for a strong sense of loyalty and obedience to social norms in which people were controlled. The historical records thus show that the pre-colonial societies had an elaborate legal system and enforcement mechanisms by which people were controlled and regulated. This evidence contrasts the belief of the Western imperialists that Nigeria and indeed Africa continents are primitive and disorganized without any form of a legal system or any social control mechanisms.

2.3 Colonial Nigeria

2.3.1 Introduction

This section examines the management and sustainability of centralized colonial government and the formation of its legal system. Several features of this legal system and its policing in Nigeria are discussed. The major argument of this section is that the legal system in the colonial period was characterized by forceful imposition, accompanied by corruption, exploitation and incivility. Police officers were perceived as part of a coercive apparatus used as an instrument of occupation to suppress opposition to social injustices and imperialist activities. For clarity, this section is organized under five headings: firstly, the formation of a centralized government; secondly the imposition of the colonial legal system; thirdly the formation of the colonial police and its role; and fourthly, I review the effects of the colonial period in Nigeria and lastly, I present the discussion and summary on this section.

2.3.2 Formation of the centralized government and legal system

The coming of European power was marked by the formation of a centralized system of government. The colonial administration had the effect of bringing more than 250 ethnic groups in Nigeria forcefully under one entity (Otite, 1999). The new system of law relied on alliances with local elites whose interests were aligned with the colonial power and who therefore worked to maintain the supremacy of the colonial regime over the natives (Worsley 1964). Adewoye (1977) argues that with the policy of indirect rule, particularly, the elites were co-opted into the administration of their native land and were used by the colonialists for their benefit. According to Asiedu-Akrofi (1989), in Nigeria the introduction of the indirect rule also involved the exploitation of local people. The British needed manpower for cheap and forced labour and used the traditional rulers to ensure access to such labour with little regard for local priorities. Asiedu-Akrofi further maintains that the indirect rule was cheaper than using foreign personnel. This system in Nigeria was traced to the activities of the first Governor, Lord Lugard between 1899 to 1906 who instituted the existing indigenous elites or native authority who were allowed to run the administrative and commercial sectors but accountable to the foreign power through Lugard.

The above suggests to us that the centralization of colonial government was not something put in place in the interest of the colonized, whose communal and socio-political lives were forcefully changed, a situation that contradicts the principle of justice and equality and rule of law and also disrupted the pre-colonial mode of governance. The imposed colonial political and legal structure were perceived as illegitimate and distrusted because it was contrary to local cultural values and only served the political and economic interest of the foreign power (Ikeh 1975; Worsley, 1964).

2.3.3 Imposition of the colonial legal system

Scholars have argued that imperialism is the malevolent of all colonized states (Ajayi, 1960; Tamuno, 1970). Tamuno (1970) argued that to effectively succeed in pursuing its economic and political interests, the imperialist regime introduced its legal system on the indigenous peoples. Since "the central idea of imperialism was the extraction" of profit from the labour of indigenous people and control over the "political machinery of the state and economic exploitation" the laws were used for achievement of this motive (Worsley 1964: 45). The customary law and the principles ordering these laws had undergone tremendous alteration under the imposition of the British legal system and the changing social and economic conditions of indigenous colonial society. From 1933, however, the operations of the native courts had become subject to the British criminal code in a way that the Native courts could still exercise criminal jurisdiction but were required to exercise such jurisdictions according to the principles laid down in the British criminal code. In this case, native courts were denied the power to impose a penalty greater than that prescribed by the criminal code on customary offences.

This mixed-up form of regulation of the criminal code introduced a lot of confusion to the entire system (Park, 1963). The fundamental change caused by the coexistence of these two systems of law produced serious conflicts because the domestic law was not able to adapt itself rapidly enough to fit the changed situation (Park, 1963: 16; Ajayi, 1960). The whole point being emphasized in the foregoing is that at colonization, Nigeria's legal landscape became characterized by a dual legal system — the English law and the indigenous customary law, with the former exerting profound impact on the latter. This led to people perceiving the law as illegitimate and consequently led to its ineffectiveness and efficiency since the domineering law was perceived as imposed and as being against the culture of the people (Worsley, 1964).

Before the colonial system, two types of customary laws existed - the ethnic customary law and non-ethnic customary law (Obilande, 1979). Obilade

explains that ethnic customary law applied to members of the ethnic group within a community or clan; the nation–ethnic customary law, in contrast, referred to the "imported customary law" imposed after periods of conquest which came to form part of the customs of the people, for instance, the Islamic law in northern Nigeria (pp. 83). With the introduction of the British system of law, the two customary laws were altered, supervised and, in some cases, allowed to co-exist with British law (pp. 85).

In other words, the introduction of the British legal system, according to Asiedu-Akrofi (1989), did not result in the complete abolition of the customary law system in the colony; rather it created a situation in which it coexisted with the colonial legal system. Asiedu-Akrofi thus talks about a dual system of the law taking root in colonial Nigeria, with customary laws operating within the "customary courts" and English laws in "English courts", although the latter were dominant over the former (pp.598). Obilade (1999:101) maintained that "the foundation of native law was being undermined at all points" through the new system of judicial proceedings in which all the proceedings were subject to dictates of the foreign laws.

The implication is that first, the pre-colonial customary law, which reflected the level of "political, economic and cultural development" of local people was restructured in a pattern that suited the colonial interest (Asiedu-Akrofi, 1989: 589). Secondly, existing mechanisms of social control in the pre-colonial period, as described in the previous section of this chapter, were "reorganized and centralized for the effective administration of colonial rule" (Okolh-Ogendo, 1979:160). This suggest to us that the imperialist intrusion into Nigeria soil was not because they wanted justice and improvement of condition of living of the helpless natives, rather it was for economic plundering and political domination which were achieved through an unjust and illegitimate means.

2.3.4 Colonial law and inequality

Many scholars have argued that the establishment of the British legal system created significant inequality in the dispensation of justice within the conflicting criminal codes (Obilade, 1979; Oba, 2008; Folana, 2009). Ertmann and Ertmann (1981) observe that in Nigeria, where the operations of the two systems of criminal law existed at the same time, there was always the potential for inequities in the penalties prescribed by each competing code. Moreover, such inequities could be noticed − in several situations, crimes were punishable much more severely under the customary law in various part of the country (pp. 276). For instance, Asiedu-Akrofi (1989) pointed to the dissimilarity in the dispensation of justice in the northern part of Nigeria: according to him, within the British criminal code, the crime of murder was punishable by death but the death penalty did not apply when the crime was seen to have taken place under provocation. In contrast, under the customary law, there is no such clause for "provocation" as justification for killing and murder were punishable by death, whether provoked or not.

The change caused by the coexistence of these two systems of law produced serious conflicts because the customary law was not able to adapt itself rapidly enough to fit the changed situation, resulting in confusion in the dispensation of justice which led to the loss of confidence and trust in the entire criminal justice system (Ekechi, 1987: 41). Ekechi (1987) notes that the procedures of customary law were subject to tests of validity prescribed by colonial law. Therefore, laws were not to be enforced by the courts unless they passed through this colonial legal scrutiny. These tests-imposed ideas of natural justice, equity and good conscience as defined by colonial law and required that customary law must not be contrary to a public policy instituted by the colonial legal system (Obilade, 1979:100). This suggests to us that this procedure entailed a real inequality of power between the two conflicting legal institutions (Oba, 2008).

The introduction of British law thus brought significant changes in the customary law which reflected both the economic and political interest of the

foreign power rather than the interest of the natives. The dual legal system created conflicts and contradictions which affected the sense of legitimacy in relation to the law and the police. The effect of the dual system in which the foreign power had great control over the indigenous legal system was unsatisfactory to the natives, who believed that dictation in many matters resulted in judicial outcomes that were in most cases unsatisfactory because it was hostile to the cultural practices and beliefs of the people (Worsley, 1964). This situation generated in people's minds a feeling of injustice as they felt that laws were being applied in ways that were hostile to the cultural practices and beliefs of the people (Park, 1963:132 − 43; Worsley, 1964).

2.3.5 Establishment, recruitment and the duties of colonial Police

The history of the colonial Nigerian police force can be traced to 1861 when the British attacked Lagos under the first colonial governor William McCoskry who was a successful merchant in the region, formed a group of men to police the zone. Tamino (1970) maintains that with the emergence of the new Nigerian nation, brought under colonial rule in 1914, by the then governor Lord Lugard, established local police forces to facilitate and sustain colonial exploitation and domination of the indigenous peoples (pp, 20). Alemika (2010) further argued that the exploitation took the form of slave raid, forceful plundering of resources and political domination. A single Nigerian Police Force was more formally established in 1930 mainly through the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Nigeria Police Forces

The colonial Police service was loyal to, and essentially served only, the colonial administration and was used as a tool to control and suppress the general population (Folana, 2009). This process created an impression that the natives were incapable of policing themselves; therefore, they needed assistance from the foreign power to maintain peace and order, even though − as we have seen – local societies had their own well-established forms of social order which were maintained before the British invasion. According to

Alemika (2010), the fundamental duty of the Police was to restrain revolt against British law and to maintain the supremacy of the colonial power. This encouraged the impression that the colonial legal order existed to serve the imperialist's interest rather than a wider or more general interest. The records of colonial exploitative and inhuman treatment carried out on the people of colonial Nigeria demonstrated the use of Police forces as tools of colonial plunder and violence (Tamuno 1970; Odekunle 1979; Onabamiro 1983; Folana, 2009). For instance, the frequent use of police to thwart, disperse and break strikes led to the killing of twenty-one miners and fifty wounded workers during the Enugu colliery strike in 1949. During the Aba women's riot in Eastern Nigeria (1929-30), against the imposition of a new colonial tax, fifty-five women were killed and more than 50 seriously injured. These occurrences are examples of how the police force in colonial Nigeria used violence in the maintenance of colonial exploitation and oppression (Johnson, 1982).

2.3.6 Summary and Conclusion

At the eve of Nigerian independence, the imperialist's centralized structure characterized by corrupt and coercive police force were the legacies that imperialist government left for Nigerians who were hitherto governed by what was previously seen as legitimate rules and leaders. This draws attention to the problem of legitimacy and trust. The colonial regime was an imposition and served the interest of the foreign power against the interest of the natives. This imposition did not only erode the legitimacy of the British legal system but contributed to its inefficiency and ineffectiveness. The natives believed that the law was imposed and deviated from the structures and cultural activities that hitherto existed. The colonized were forced away from their old conditions of production and their normative framework, without been integrated into the colonial society.

The evidence further suggests that the coexistence of foreign law and customary law created an unequal and confused relationship between the two legal systems. At the receiving end was the indigenous culture of the people

that determined the legal and the administrative system; these were dominated and controlled by a legal system which was unfamiliar. The foreign administration and laws were hostile to the people and dislodged them from cultural practices and beliefs. As observed by Alemika (2010), this situation generated in the mind of the people a belief in the illegitimacy of the colonial administration and its legal system.

2.4 Post-colonial Nigeria

2.4.1 Introduction

The central focus of this chapter is basically to understand the structure and functions of post-colonial Nigeria and its enforcement strategies. The section is divided into five. The first sub-section examines the general situation in post-colonial Nigeria what follows examines the organization and operation of post -colonial administrative structures. The second deals with the organisational structures and functions of the Nigerian police force. In the third section, I examine the working condition of the police. The fourth section describes the prevalence of crimes such as kidnapping and violent ethno-religious conflicts along with the post-colonial elite's involvement in maintaining order. Section five offers discussion, summary and conclusion of the chapter.

2.4.2 The general situation in post-colonial Nigeria

At the eve of disengagement of colonialism from Nigeria, power was relinquished to the Nigerian elites who faced the crisis of trying to unite the various ethnic groups within and outside the different regional areas. The administrative structure in post-colonial Nigeria, including the criminal justice system, has been fundamentally influenced by the legacy of colonial bureaucratic administration (Osaghae and Suberu, 2005). As several studies have highlighted, colonialists handed political power to emergent Nigerian elites whilst promoting and sustaining the economic foundation of former imperialist power (Offiong, 2001).

Analysts have argued that the post-colonial elites have not really done much to resolve the issue of political and regional conflicts or to ensure equitable distribution of power and resources that were suppressed by force during the colonial period (Osaghae and Suberu, 2005; Tamuno, 1972). Tamuno (1972:394) argues that the ineffective administrative system and lack of objectivity in the administration have resulted in persistent forms of corruption creating challenges to peaceful coexistence among Nigerians. Tamuno further observed that the post-colonial bureaucratic departments such as those overseeing Public works and the judiciary showed the effects of a colonial civil service that was characterized by corruption, and how those structures were maintained in post-colonial Nigeria (Tamuno, 1972).

Similarly, Odekunle (1979), argued that the failure of the criminal justice and other administrative structures to meet the needs of local people and to defend their freedom is linked to the poor governance which characterized the colonial state, and which was inherited by post-colonial Nigeria. Odekunle (1979) further observes that the post-colonial elites' inability to strictly adhere to the application of the principle of accountability and honesty in the distribution of resources has led to a crisis of legitimacy. Alubo (2006) who further substantiated Odekunle view believe that weak political institutions dominated by the elites, which only protect their own interests and leave the non-elite groups unattended are reasons for endemic corruption in Nigeria. Similarly, Alemika (2010) maintains that a weak elitist system resulted in the misappropriation of power through imposition and deception in defiance of the constitution and then go on to deny citizens their human rights, embezzling public funds and misusing the nation's wealth. The inability of the elite to provide sustainable welfare and to ensure an equitable distribution of post-colonial resources has had the effect of hindering the effective democratic governance manifesting into a different level of the crisis of legitimation (Alemika, 2010). Alemika's (2010) view is similar to Ekeh's (1975) thesis on elites in Nigerian society.

The chief claim here is that the administrative system established in Nigeria since British colonial rule – which was inherited from what came before – has

been consistently repressive, corrupt and inefficient. The perennial crises of performance suffered by the government as well as the emergence of dozens of crises of civil unrest in Nigeria is partly explained by the inherited and sustained legacy of corruption in the fundamental institutions of government such as the political, economic and legal system.

In this context, scholars have argued that the post-colonial elite in the country rather than becoming humane by enhancing the welfare, sustaining a democratic and just society, has served more as an institution of oppression frustrating the aspirations of citizens for justice and democracy (Aigbokhan, 2008; Ani Kifordu,2011). The elites are preoccupied with the enforcing and sustaining their interest at the detriment of the general society (Smith, 2008). The parochial of the regime in power in most cases robbed the voiceless citizens their basic means of attaining capability in meeting their target desires (Karimu, 2015).

The unresolved political and regional conflicts inherited from colonial leadership have heightened suspicions not only between elites and ordinary Nigerians but also among the elites themselves. Bienen traced the origin of political instability and ethnic rivalry to the colonial policy of "divide and rule" and "indirect rule," resulting in a new political development in Nigeria (Bienen,1978:206). Similarly, Ikpe supporting Bienen's argument added that this unresolved political problem has been responsible for civil unrest, civil war and suspicion among the political class and for frequent military interventions in the politics of the post-colonial Nigeria — undermining the national unity and basic human services.

All these arguments by scholars can be summed up by the argument of Alubo (2006:51) who attributes the various post-colonial rulers to be responsible for political instability and economic mismanagement or misappropriation. Scholars further contested that the emergence of different groups' agitation for fair representations are linked to elite corruption and others have threatened the overthrow of the government (Aigbokhan, 2008; Alubo, 2006;

Bienen, 1978). Karimu (2015) further noted that the inconsistency of the elite has great consequences on the activities of the government and also have a great influence on the police. In a corrupt system, the tendency for police to be corrupt is high since their activities and operations cannot be separated from the regime they serve. Besides, as Nigerian elites are confronted with opposition, because of their inability to meet the needs of their citizens, Nigerian elites employed the same undemocratic procedure used during the colonial period to suppress protest and deal with genuine opposition by employing the services of the police to do so.

The above suggests to us that the post-colonial legal system has not been very different from that which existed during colonialism in terms of organization and orientation. In other words, it continues to exist primarily to serve the interests of the dominant elite and to repress popular dissatisfaction. The domination of the population by a greedy and corrupt elite, who are unreceptive to social democracy and social justice, continues and has been progressively strengthened in Nigeria since independence. It is in this context that I want to explore the relations between police and the public in post-colonial Nigeria.

2.4.3 Organizational structure and functions of the Nigerian Police Force (NPF)

Police institution is generally regarded as the most noticeable component of the criminal justice system, which provides regular and direct contact with the public, a situation that makes it unique among other parts of the criminal justice system (Punch, 2009). In Nigeria, the Nigerian Police Force (NPF) is the national force with jurisdiction in the 36 states of Nigeria, including Abuja, the capital city (Adebayo, 2005). The NPF oversee all the activities of federal, state and the local government. In the constitution of Nigeria, Section 4 of the Police Act specified the role of the NPF (see amended 1999 constitution). For example, the police in Nigeria fights crime, maintains law and order, detects and investigates crime, arraign offenders before court, arrests, and searches, detains or releases on bail suspected offenders,

summons or serves summonses, executes warrants of arrest, protects person and property among other things. Some members of the police force serve in quasi-judicial capacities, such as in the Armed Robbery and Fire Arms Tribunal (ARFAT), the Civil Disturbance Tribunal (CDT) and the Special Court-Martial (SCM). They serve as aides to the senior court personnel. They render foreign services as the President directs.

The Nigerian Police Force is the largest security institution in Nigeria with about 371,800 police officers in the context of a national population of 190 million people (National Bureau for Statistics, 2016). According to Ahire (1979) the Nigerian Police Force retains a centralized organizational structure with twelve administrative zonal regions. The position of the Inspector General of Police (IGP) is the highest office any police officer can attain (see appendix 6). The central government controls the salary, recruitment, training and the discipline of erring officers.

At the top of the hierarchy of the NPF, is the Inspector-General of Police (IGP), who is appointed by the executive arm of government which is headed by the president of the federal republic of Nigeria. The IGP is therefore answerable to the President in all his activities. The office of the IGP is located at the Force Headquarters (Force HQ) in the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Abuja (Alemika 1988). In the force headquarters, there are six deputy inspectors general (DIGs) in charge of administration and finance; operations; logistics and supplies; general investigation and intelligent; training and general policy on manpower development and research and planning. Directly under the office of the IGP is the force secretary's office, occupied by an assistant inspector-general (AIG). Nigeria is also divided into twelve zones, created from the thirty-six states and FCT. Each zone consists of a combination of between four or more states, under the command of Assistant Inspector-General (AIG), who are directly answerable to the IGP (see appendix 6). Abuja is headquarters of zone two which consists of six states which include Kogi, Niger, Nasarawa, Kwara, Plateau and Benue and including Abuja. In deciding (see appendix 7) the territorial boundaries at all levels of the police, the IGP considers several factors, among which are the population

density; crime statistics; traffic routes; residential, business and industrial; and public centres of amusement (Adebayo, 2005).

At the state level, the Commissioner of police is the security officer and assisted by the Deputy Commissioner of Police and many Assistant Commissioners who are in charge of the various department in the state. At the local government level, the Divisional Police Officer (DPO) is the most senior officer. The DPO oversee the activities of all the police officers posted from the state headquarters to the local government areas to ensure the security of lives and properties. The DPOs post police to various banks, market square, specific locations to control traffic and maintained the security of government establishments such as the central administrative offices in the local government and government schools. DPO in each local government area council report all the security matters concerning their area to the commissioner of police in their state. The police in the state are charged with the responsibility for maintaining peace and order and reports ultimately to the Inspector General of the Police at the headquarters. The hierarchical structure of the police force and the functions they perform and at what level is shown in Appendix 6.

According to section 195(2) of the 1979 of the Nigerian constitution, the central functions of the police are the prevention and detection of crime, the apprehension of offenders, the preservation of law and order, the protection of property and lives and due enforcement of all laws and regulations with which they are directly charged. The police officers are expected to settle all the disputes and mediate harmonious relations between them and members. In carrying out arrest, the police officer exercises a tremendous amount of discretion. Therefore, in every instance, the police officer makes the principal determinant of whether or not to initiate the criminal process (Adebayo, 2005).

In Nigeria, the police officers are attached to various banks and local government administrative headquarters; they also patrol major streets and are usually called upon when there is a security threat. In such situations the

police mount checkpoints on the major roads leading to other states. In local government council areas, they stop and search motorists. They have the discretion to stop, interrogate and arrest any suspicious person. Police function varies according to rank and experience. For instance, most of the work of patrolling, securing bank premises or securing government administrative buildings, as well as the provision of security to members is performed by rank and file. Supervisory roles are mostly carried out by those at the level of Inspector.

2.4.4 Functions and working conditions of the police

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Many scholars have argued that the lack of optimal performance of the Nigerian police force is associated with the poor conditions of service (Alemika, 2010; Karimu, 2015). In Nigeria, police officers typically work full-time hours and schedules often include long daily shifts. Some police officers are assigned to patrol certain districts of the city while others are office-based but investigate specific types of crimes such as homicides, based on training received. Additionally, detectives, border agents, and highway patrol officers are often required to travel long distances at short notice to investigate crimes.

As noted, a police officer's first job, according to the constitution, is to keep the community safe, serving as a government representative, aiding the public and serving while protecting. Working conditions encountered by officers vary greatly based on factors such as location and rank. Police work often proves to be both physically and mentally demanding, especially compared to most other jobs.

Connected to the issue of poor welfare condition for the police officers are such concerns as deplorable housing. In Nigeria, because of lack of adequate accommodation from the government, not all the police officers are provided with housing accommodation. Where housing were provided, some were mostly without modern infrastructure. Because these houses are poorly maintained, individual officers are left with the cost of maintenance from the meagre salary they are paid (Karimu, 2015).

Moreover, rank and file police are said to lack or experience inferior medical services during service. The Nigerian police medical services established in 1975, with the aim of providing health care services for the police officers during and outside their engagement have a reputation for poorly supplied facilities and without qualified manpower. Therefore, individual police officers often visit private medical centres and use their money for paying their bills (Karimu, 2015).

In short, according to Alemika (2010), Nigerian police officers have the poorest working condition in the West African sub-region, and the worst hit are the rank and files officers who spend long periods in the line of duty with poor promotion prospects, substandard accommodation and are not paid well.

The limited basic salary of the Nigerian police has been directly linked to corruption and the lack of police performance (Karamu, 2015). The Nigerian police officers are much lower paid than personnel in other government ministries and agencies (Karimu, 2015). For instance, the salary of a fresh M.Sc. graduate who lectures in the university basic salary is between levels 07(1)
₦116, 000.00 (£246.53) to ₦125, 000.00 (£265.66) monthly (see glassdoor.co.uk). While Grade 9 (1) officer in the police who is equally a M.Sc. graduate of the university or its equivalent earns N70, 616.00 (£150.24). It was further observed that those who are officers in the Nigerian army and customs with the same university degree earn twice of what the police officers earned as monthly take home (Nigerian finder). According to Nigerian finder, a newly employed cleaner or security guard in the government's employment earns the minimum of N30, 000.00 (£63.76) monthly whilst a police recruit earns an average monthly salary of ₦9,019.00 (£19.20). According to a recent report in the *Premium Times,* a Nigerian Newspaper, the gross monthly salary of a police sergeant on grade level 05 (1) is ₦48,540.88 (£104.67) while a Sergeant on 05 (10) earns ₦55, 973.84 (£117.23). Personnel in this category in the university or in the federal civil service earn nearly twice as much (see Nigerian finder.com).

A lack of training courses on the ethics guiding the police work or concerned with their relationship to the members of the community they serve has also been argued to contribute to police corruption (Odekunle, 1979). Police corruption can also be attributed to an issue, which relates to elite manipulation of the police. The police have been used as an instrument of occupation and as well as a means of protecting elite interests. This condition, according to Alubo (2018) might hinder effective performance and lack of commitment to duties.

A poorly paid police officer is not that different from ordinary public members who are saddled with poverty on the streets. With the level of exposure to financial strain, the tendency for extortion of money from members of the public who engage the police services is likely to be high. More than this, it is in this context that we can understand why the police might engage in other criminal activities that breach professional ethics such as the selling of service and non-service ammunition, revealing essential information to criminals to avoid arrested or aiding criminals in kidnapping wealthy individuals (Odekunle, 1979). Similarly, Alemika (2010) argued that badly maintained weapons, the ragged uniforms, lack of promotion when due and generally poor conditions of service are examples of bad conditions of service.

2.4.5 Post-colonial legal structure

The Nigerian constitution is the highest official document that serves as a blueprint which specifies the role and the duties of both the government and its citizens. This official document serves as a reference point for any regulation in Nigeria. In Nigeria, the amended 1999 Constitution stipulates three arms of government with different roles. For instance, the executive arm is charged with the function of executing the law formulated by the legislative arm while the judiciary interpreted and enforced the law. By Section 6 of the 1999 Constitution, the court and the police are a vital section of the judiciary and work together to oversee that laws are enforced and obeyed. These two arms of judiciary deal with issues concerning citizens and the government's right and obligation or duties. Looking at the relationship between the police and court in the maintenance of order, I will briefly discuss the hierarchy and functions of the court in Nigeria. This is important because the activities of the courts cannot be separated from the police.

The Supreme Court, which is presently situated in Abuja, the capital city of Nigeria, is the highest ruling body. It was first established in the then colony of Lagos and applied the common law of England, doctrines of equity and statutes of general application that were in force on 24th July 1874 as well as

local laws, and customs which were not repugnant to justice, equity and good conscience. After the Nigerian independent in 1960, the supreme court was established in 1963. The amended constitution of 1999 further made provision of Supreme court for a final binding decision concerning any matter from the federal, state and local governments and have the final ruling on any others court within Nigeria. The implication is that no appeal after the decision had been passed by this court.

The second level in the hierarchy of the court system is the Court of Appeal established by Section 237 of the 1999 constitution; supervised by the President of the Court of Appeal and with other 49 court appeal judges (see amended 1999 Nigerian constitution). The court is responsible for hearing matters concerning political office holders such as dispute concerning their election into such offices. In addition, the court has jurisdiction to listen and determine appeal cases from the federal high court, state high court, sharia court of appeal in the federal capital, state sharia high court and other special tribunal constituted by federal and state governments (Obilande, 1979; Alemika, 1993).

Next to the court of appeal is the high court, located in every state of Nigeria, including Abuja. The Abuja high court was established by the amended 1999 constitution of Nigeria, which also provides the establishment of a high court in each state. The federal and states high courts are headed by a chief judge of each state and other members are appointed by the state in each state house of assembly. National House of Assembly (the lower legislative arm) appoints members constituting the Abuja high courts. The high court of appeal in the federal capital supervises the activities of the lower court such as the magistrate court and the customary courts. The state high court supervises the magistrate courts, customary court and area court in each local government under them (Obilande, 1979).

In addition to the high court in Federal capital and states, there is a Sharia Court of appeal for the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja (FCT) and state of the federation on request. The establishment of these courts is provided by the

amendment of the 1999 constitution of Nigeria. Grand Khadi supervises the Abuja Sharia court appeal while senior Khadi of each state supervises those of the states. The appointment of Grand Khadi and other subordinates Khadis is the responsibility of each state house of assemblies while the National House of Assembly (NHA) appoints Abuja Grand Khadi and other Khadis. These courts are charged with the responsibility of hearing all matters concerning Islamic issues and between Muslims if both parties in dispute consented to the regulation of their cases by Islamic laws (Elaigwu and Galadima, 2003:134).

At the local government level, there are magistrate courts established by the House of the assembly of each state. They have jurisdiction to listen to both criminal and civil cases. These courts are being supervise by a chief magistrate appointed by state judicial commission. The power of the magistrate is restricted to rules of the state, which they serve (Obilnde, 1979).

2.4.6 Post-colonial Nigerian state and the security challenges

In Nigeria, the post-colonial Nigerian elites have been facing problems of legitimacy and a lack of trust resulting from public understanding that the government are incapable of controlling problem of insecurity, which threatens social existence (Alubo, 2006). In recent times, kidnapping, terrorism and violent ethno-religious activities have been a serious dread. Adamu (2008) argued that Nigeria citizens have been at the forefront of resistance to policy and governance because they believed that the government pursues particular ethnic interests; resistance takes the form of struggles against perceived ethnic and regional oppression, as well as against allegedly inequitable treatment by the state. Scholars believed that the weakness or failure of the post-colonial Nigerian state has resulted into the formation of many movements challenging the authority of the Nigerian state and its unpopular policies (Osaghae and Suberu 2005; Shehu, 2011)

In this context, the criminal justice system has come into fundamental conflict with such movements. For example, the so-called "Bakassi boys" in the Eastern part of Nigeria (Harnischfeger, 2003), the Oodua People's Congress (OPC) of western Nigeria (Nolte, 2007) and Hisban of Northern Nigeria (Adamu, 2008) all represent insurgent movements which claim to provide localized forms of justice. Members of these groups are usually young men known for their anti-crime operations, and they are usually in possession of weapons. They have received considerable popular support from community members because they are perceived to fight injustice and provide security in the community and to do so better than the official police. Many of these groups are known for policing their community, for arresting and punishing those who were involved in criminal activities as well as settling disputes (Alemika and Chukwuma, 2000). In many instances, they had clashed with the state apparatus resulting in injuries and loss of lives on both sides. Some of these groups are sponsored and provided with financial support and engage their services to intimidate their political opponents (Alubo, 2006).

The most recent and ongoing events which have attracted media attention, both locally and internationally, are the rise of kidnapping, terrorism and ethno-religious conflict. According to *African News (16ᵗʰ May 2018)*, Nigeria has been rated as one of the countries which lead the world in terms of kidnapping cases, and was the leading country in Africa, in this respect, in 2013. Indicatively, *Nigerian Vanguard* newspaper recently reported that four Britons were kidnapped on the 13ᵗʰ October 2017 in Burutu, Delta state, and one Italian priest on the 14ᵗʰ October in Benin City. The kidnapping of the so-called Chibok girls, from a village in Yobe state in 2004, was reported around the world. But such cases are not isolated: *African News* magazine (16ᵗʰ May 2018) reported that about 120 people were kidnapped along Abuja-Kaduna road in Nigeria in 2018. Aside from these high-profile cases, kidnapping has also become a routine localized phenomenon. In recent times, unemployed youth have kidnapped those seen as wealthy, demanding ransoms from relations or friends of the kidnapped persons (Egwu, 2011). The rise of

kidnapping is widely taken as evidence of the gross inadequacy and ineffectiveness of the police in providing security for citizens (Osaghae and Suberu 2005).

Closely related to the problem of kidnapping are the activities of Boko Haram, a fundamentalist religious movement that was founded in 2002 by Muhammad Yusuf. The name of the group is loosely translated from the Hausa language and means that western education is corrupt and immoral (Shehu 2011:3). The group, in most cases, has targeted markets, churches and national events, and they have been engaged in intermittent bombings in major towns in Northern and Northeast Central Nigeria including Kano, Maiduguri, Damaturu, Kaduna, Jos and Abuja. At various points the movement has attacked local communities killing indiscriminately, looting and destroying properties (Roach 2012:4).

Ethno-religious conflicts of this sort have been identified as one of the factors that threaten the security of the modern Nigerian state. A range of such conflicts had occurred in the last few decades. This includes the Kafanchan-Kaduna crisis that occurred in the 1980s and 1990s; the Kaduna Sharia riots of 2000; the Jos riots of 2001 (Osaghae and Suberu 2005:19) and ongoing disputes between Fulani herdsmen and local residential communities most especially in the North of the country which have attracted the attention of both international and local media.

Ethno-religious and militant activities have resulted in thousands of people being killed with many more wounded and displaced from their homes. Schooling for children had been disrupted and interrupted (Roach 2012). According to Egwu (2011) the negative outcome of ethno-religious and militant activities is that individual businesses men have lost millions of naira; people have been restricted from free movement and intergroup relations threatened. Militant activities have also resulted in people denouncing their religious belief for fear of being killed; many have left their places of residence for another (Kukah, 2009). Children have been reduced to orphans and many people lost loved ones including husbands and wives (Enukora

2005:633). In this context, different religious faith communities have regrouped their youth into informal security forces in order to guard their premises during and after worship to avoid their members being killed and the place of worship being burnt down. Similarly, communities have mobilized resources within themselves and organized their youth as security agents to guard their community for their protection (Osaghae and Suberu 2005).

The foregoing showed that insecurity is one of the major problems facing post-colonial Nigeria. According to the National Bureau of Statistics (2016), 215,750 cases of crime were reported in 36 states and Abuja in 2016. Out of this figure, offences against properties were the highest, being 65,397; offences against persons recorded 45,554 and offences against lawful authority and local acts were, at 2,695, the lowest. In their report, Abuja recorded the second highest amount after Lagos state, which is the state in which the former capital city of Nigeria is located.

National Bureau makes clear that offences against persons include murder, manslaughter, infanticide, concealment of birth, rape and other physical abuses. Offences against properties were those offences against human belonging such as stealing properties of any kind, receiving stolen properties, obtaining property by false pretence, robbery, burglary and housebreaking. Offences against lawful authority include an offence committed against any establishment of the law e.g. failure to pay tax to the appropriate authority. Offences related to local acts are those laws that cannot be enforced outside Nigeria – e.g. Liquor Act or Firearms Act. A breakdown of crime cases showed that in Abuja Federal Capital Territory (FCT) had 2,984 cases of offence against persons; 9,350 cases against property; 843 cases lawful authority and 04 cases against local Acts (see appendix 7)

2.5 Discussion

All the above suggests that the post-colonial Nigeria is characterized by a situation of insecurity and socio-political instability. In this context there is a widespread public belief in the inadequacy and ineffectiveness of the state

security — this means that security of lives and property are not guaranteed. Nigerian governments (past and present) have failed to tackle this problem through policy actions and the government continues to rely on largely coercive methods for containing the problems rather than identifying the social factors which are responsible (Enukora 2005).

I have argued that the problems of modern Nigeria can be associated with the weakness of the post-colonial state which has resulted in a failure of the elites to fulfil the primary obligations of protecting lives and property and maintaining law and order. Besides its poorly equipped security agencies, the state is often partisan. Therefore, it can be further argued that the weak state in which the elite manipulated the enforcement mechanisms such as the police to protect themselves and suppress opposition to the popular demands have resulted into widespread corruption in Nigerian institutions, including the police (Ogbeidi, 2012; Egwu, 2011; Maier, 2000). Ogbeidi (2012: 21) observes that ineffective government results in the misappropriation of state resources by some elites; making poverty, bitterness and anger inevitable aspects of daily socio-economic and political routine among Nigerians.

Defective state policies hasten contemporary ethnic conflicts and the mobilization of ethnic movements. Violent ethnic conflicts arise as aggrieved and disadvantaged groups mobilize themselves to struggle for survival and contestation for political and economic recognition. Nigerian elites quickly engaged the same autocratic procedure used during the colonial period to deal with resistance to their unpopular policies perceived by those who had been marginalized. The security response has been slow, weak, and ineffective. Some of the riots have lasted for several days, the state has always responded unhurriedly, thereby allowing considerable killings and destruction. Moreover, the handling has not deterred further occurrences because the primary cause has not been effectively tackled (Ake 1993; Egwu 2005; 2011; Alubo, 2006). Alubo (2006) further argues that most of attempts made by the post-colonial elites to curtail the rioting that results from militia activities and to deter further occurrences have failed because of the deceptive actions of the government.

In an agreement with scholars such as Mandani (1996), other have argued that elites create and manipulate ethno-religious conflict as a form of divide and rule which serves to redirect the attention of ordinary Nigerians away from challenging the exploitation and misery inflicted on them (Ake, 1993; Ogbeidi, 2012). Ruling elites deploy severe and oppressive action against opposition to un-democratic regimes using the police and some of the militant groups in Nigeria in furtherance of primitive accumulation of resources and the sustenance of their political and economic interests (Ake, 1993). Osaghae and Suberu (2005) have argued that in a context of an unjust social order with exploitative and oppressive social relations between the rulers and ruled such as in Nigeria, the legal institution is used and deployed to oppress the governed and those considered to be threatening the prevailing socio-political and economic order.

My finding showed that colonial states were not representative of the people they ruled, they were not concerned with their needs and welfare and had little respect for human rights. It is difficult to develop welfare or democratic institutions and procedures on a political foundation that is weak or faulty inherited. The problems of the post-colonial elites are that they have not really done much to resolve the issue of ethnic conflict which resulted from the policy of divide and rule that were left unresolved. The unresolved issues of contestation have been attributed to ethnic conflicts, agitation and contestation for equal representation in the political and economic precipitation in the affairs of the country (Alubo, 2006). Besides, as Nigerian elites were confronted with opposition, because of their inability to meet the needs of their citizens, it was easy for them to fall back on the unjust manner of the colonial regime rather than engaging in dialogue to find a lasting solution to the problems threatening the security of the Nigerians (Ogbeidi, 2012).

2.5.1 **Conclusion**

Postcolonial Nigeria faces the problem of legitimacy and trust in the execution of primary responsibilities, especially maintenance of law and order

and the provision of basic needs of the citizens. Many commentators conclude that at present, the state mainly serves its interests and is unwilling or unable to secure order and stability for wider society (Ekeh, 1975; Scheye, 2009). This failure has compelled communities to set up self-defence groups for the maintenance of security. The evidence from the above suggested that Nigeria elites work within the sphere of the weak state. One may be tempted to argue that pervasive economic mismanagement, political instability, insecurity and disregard for rule of law are the main feature of the post-colonial state. It has been argued that it is needless to expect meaningful and sustainable development in a system that is manned by corruption; by extension other institutions of government will suffer a trust deficit.

Therefore, the police officer's inadequacies are not to be attributed to low intelligence or weakness and wickedness, but rather to be understood within a wider context of the legacy of political dictatorship and socio-economic exploitation introduced by colonialism and sustained within the context of a neo-imperialist socio-economic and political order within which the police work. This has rendered the police officer and police function in a particular position with complex obstacles to providing security and a consequent lack of harmonious coexistence with the members of the public.

Similarly, it is clear from this chapter that the activities of the elite class have many implications for the operation of the police and even the formation of the criminal group in Nigeria. The poor performance of the police could be linked to elite corruption resulting in their manipulation, a lack of adequate funding and the failure to provide better services on the part of the police. The emergence of forms of local militia reflects this context and of the bitterness and political grievances, which it creates. The violent ethnic conflicts are indications of a broader loss of confidence and trust in the Nigerian state.

This chapter further suggests that in pre-colonial Nigeria, the law fostered unity among member and their rulers. The leaders were accorded respect and trusted because they were seen to be legitimate, enforcing the law that

originated from the custom of the people. In contrast, the law and the mechanism of enforcement — police force, established in Nigeria since British colonial rule has been consistently repressive, corrupt and inefficient. The creation and maintenance of police force that operate as an apparatus of violence used by the rulers to suppress opposition to social injustices and the anti-democratic rule is one of the legacies left for Nigeria by British colonial rulers. In post-colonial Nigeria, the coercive characters of both the state and police derive from the legitimacy problems has undermined citizens' lack of trust in the successive governments.

3 Literature review

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is designed to understanding procedural justice in relation to these questions: 1) what is the procedural justice approach, and in what contexts has it been used to study trust and legitimacy of police? 2) What are the primary and secondary themes of procedural justice research, in other words, how has research in this area evolved and with what specific understandings of key concepts of process, fairness, trust and legitimacy? 3) What are the key criticisms, contradictions and questions about procedural justice that are important to consider for this study? 4) How can corruption, an identified persistent issue in the Nigerian context, be conceptualized and analysed within a procedural justice approach to understanding trust and legitimacy of the police? This chapter will explore these questions in five sections: 1) Conceptual clarification of legitimacy and trust as well as their importance; 2) Tyler's approach to legitimacy and procedural justice along with criticisms of the model; 3) examination of the procedural model as it has been applied to countries in Africa; 4) understanding corruption and it has been perceived, and 5) examines the police effectiveness.

3.2 Concepts of legitimacy

Concerns about the legitimacy of state actors, particularly the police, have received a great deal of attention in recent times. Scholars have argued that legitimacy is the fundamental component on which trust is built (Zelditch, 2001; Tyler and Fagan, 2008; Bradford and Jackson, 2010a; Lee et al., 2015). These scholars argue that the legitimacy of the legal institution is not tied to force; rather, they conclude that the voluntary acceptance of "norm" or "procedure" of the enforcing institutions created and enforced the motivation to obey legal authorities. Criminal justice institutions which have gained acceptance of its public shows a stronger basis of legitimacy compared with institutions that depend on "coercion and intimidation" to obtain obedience (Lee et al., 2015:1). Obedience with the law is best acquired not

by coercion, but by the encouragement of a belief in the fairness of legal institutions and in the legitimacy of legal officers (Papachristos et al., 2012).

3.2.1 Max Weber's concept of legitimacy

The starting point of any discussion of legitimacy is greatly influenced by Max Weber whose postulation continues to influence contemporary political and social scientific thinking. Weber (1978) identified three types of legitimacy as traditional authority, which centres on customs and traditions; charismatic authority, based on the personal qualities or charisma of a leader; and rational-legal authority which assumes an impersonal form of authority, particularly the existence of rules (laws) as norms (p.37). According to Weber, modern-day bureaucracy is built on rational-legal authority. Weber believes that legitimacy rests on the legality of established rules, and the right of those in authority to issue commands comes from such rules (p.37). Weber states:

> In the case of a legal authority, obedience is owed to the legally established impersonal order. It extends to the persons exercising the authority of office under it by the formal legality of their commands and only within the scope of authority of the office (p.216).

Weber's postulations suggest that even where legal authorities are perceived as personally incompetent, people may obey their directives because the law empowers them to act on behalf of the state. Weber's account informs sociological and criminological understanding of legitimacy and has been used to study different a range of bureaucratic institutions including legal organisations, among others. Crucially, Weber does not offer a normative account of legitimacy – that is, he does not claim a theory of legitimacy that *should* command obedience. He argues legitimacy exists where people themselves believe they should obey an authority. The belief in needing to

obey may be due to fear, though in a rational legal model of authority the model of legitimacy is based on impersonal principles like the rule of law.

In recent times, the legitimacy of the police which has been variously recognised and described has occupied the central focus of academic debate (Memmo et al., 2003, Goldsmith 2005, Jackson et al., 2012). This recognition is largely due to the importance of the concept in increasing public support for police work and enhancing police performance (Tyler 2003; Tyler and Fagan, 2008; Gilley, 2009). These scholars have argued that a legitimate police institution promotes cooperative attitudes among citizens, such as accepting police judgements, conforming with the laws, supplying information about crimes, as well a partnership with police to fight crime. Legitimate police gain more trust resulting in citizens desire to cooperate with police in reporting a crime in their neighbourhood (Jackson et al., 2012). Legitimacy is rooted in the authority to issue a command in which obedience followed because the authority issuing the command is legitimate. In such a situation, people obey the law not because they see it as morally right but because is obligatory to obey the authority (Darley et al., 2002:43). These scholars conclude that obedience to authority is part of the "obligations associated with citizenship."

Many legitimacy scholars have expanded the concepts of legitimacy beyond obligation as obedience to power holders (Tankebe 2012; Hough et al., 2010; Jackson et al., 2012). These scholars argued that institutions legitimacy is associated with the moral justification of the citizens to obey the authority. Hence conformity to the dictates of the legal institutions is subject to the perception of the citizens on the ground that the claims of officers enforcing laws are in accord with their [citizens] claims. According to Beetham (2013: 69), legitimacy is desirable when the law and the enforcers of these rules accord with the members in which these rules are subjected. In his argument, he maintained that the rules of power and its exercise conform to accepted beliefs about the rightful source of authority and the proper ends or purposes of power and standards in its exercise.

This suggests that perceptions of legitimacy are rooted in the facts that legal authority objective and activities are the outcomes of what citizens in their judgment believe to be right. This means that authority and consent of the citizens are important factors of legitimacy. Tankebe (2013) argued along these assumptions that "moral alignment" that is the understanding that legal personnel have the consideration to the belief about what the citizens deemed as satisfactory behaviours justify their legitimacy.

Perception of Legitimacy is justifiable when the public recognizes the institution's assertion to issue and have dictated appropriate behaviour and the citizens feel they have a corresponding contractual obligation to obey. (Tyler 2006b; Jackson 2012). Individual and group attribute legitimacy to their self-worth and respect they obtain from legal institutions most especially the police and court (Tyler, 2006) Gilley's (2009) argued that the legality of laws and social norms as perceived by citizens and their acceptance conform to the power of the ruler. The argument suggests that the assessment of the law and its objectives along with those who execute the laws are in conformity with those who are subject to those in power. The argument bracketed the assessment of respect for human rights and trust in the police and assessment of state as an important factor in legitimacy.

3.2.2 Concept of trust

Many scholars have argued that a relationship exists between citizen's obedience and trust (Putnam, 2001; Rothstein and Stolle, 2003; Tamanaha, 2004; Seron et al., 2004; Lee et al., 2005). According to Lee et al (2015), a police force that is not considered trustworthy is unlikely to gain legitimacy in the eyes of the public. Similarly, Jackson and Bradford (2010) maintain that when citizens trust the police, they are more likely to obey the laws and accept their commands. Citizens will not routinely conform to the laws or directives of police and court simply because the police have the legal mandate to restrain their behaviours; instead, they will only do so when they consider the police to be a trustworthy authority. Moreover, when individuals view the police as trustworthy, they are likely to consider their claim to be

legitimate (Jonathan— Zamir and Weisburd 2011). It can be strongly argued that trust represents an essential component of how people evaluate and appreciate their relationship with legal authorities.

Putnam, (2001) pointed to two distinct ways in which trust could be understood as "Personal trust" and "generalised trust" (Putnam, 2001:19). This point suggests to us that trust in an individual police officer might be yardsticks for evaluation of the police as an institution of government. According to Tyler (2006), argue that trust can lead to long-time compliance with the individual police and in general in the institution of the police and even the justice system. Trust is associated with those components of police behaviour that are immediately observable by the public, such as whether individuals are treated fairly during interpersonal interactions. It is impossible to completely envisage crime free society, police must, therefore, depend on public consent and well-known law-abiding behaviour, so that they could focus the available resources on those citizens who might deviate from the accepted rule of the society. Police will get the support of citizen and work less in solving crime problems when they are perceived to be trustworthy by being open-minded and committed to the people they claim to serve (Tyler and Huo, 2002; Sunshine and Tyler, 2003; Jackson and Sunshine, 2007).
According to Devos et al (2002)

> If someone trusts an institution, it implies that he or she believes that this collective entity, on the whole, is competent, fulfils its obligations, and acts in responsible ways. Trusting an institution entails having confidence that the institution is reliable, observes rules and regulations, works well, and serves the general interest. Thus, the notion of trust goes beyond whether individuals have a positive or negative attitude toward an institution or whether they approve or disapprove of it. Trust refers to a set of beliefs or expectations rather than to a purely affective reaction (Devos et al.,2002 484).

Devos and colleagues' definition will guide this research because it resonates with how this concept is incorporated in procedural justice research on policing that offers the general frame of this project. It also offers a generalised account of trust that is useful.

3.3 Procedural justice theory and trust

Procedural justice research has been among the most significant influences in centring concepts and questions of legitimacy in relation to criminal justice institutions. The major study is Tom Tyler's 1990 book on *Why People Obey the Law*. Although Tyler was not the first scholar to study the issue of legitimacy and trust (e.g., Thibaut and Walker, 1975). His work was part of and led to a surge in interest in considering questions of legitimacy that has attracted further empirical studies both by Tyler and others (Paternoster et al., 1997; Tyler and Blader, 2003; Tyler and Fagan, 2008; Reisig and Lloyd, 2009).

Tyler, a social psychologist, was interested in understanding the issue of legal compliance and sought to question the long-established belief that what promotes obedience in people was reward and punishment (Tyler, 1990). In a survey study, Tyler provided significant evidence that reward/punishment, in other words, the *outcome* of exchange was not the main motivator of obedience. Instead, how people were treated and how they perceived authorities, in other words, the procedural aspects of experience, had a strong influence on belief and behaviour. In later conceptions, Tyler articulated concepts similar to fundamental human rights and associated them with procedural justice as *"quality of decision-making."* This is bracketed to neutrality, objectivity, consistency and impartiality; and the second referred to as *"quality of treatment"* which is linked to respect, dignity and politeness people experience with the police during interaction (Paternoster *et al.,* Tyler 1990; 1997; Tyler, 2006). The primary theme in Tyler's assumptions is the *"fairness of legal authority" in* every encounter with members of the community (Tyler, 1990; 2006a; 2006b). This theme is

surrounded with the many other themes such as voice, neutrality, trust and motive (Tyler and Huo, 2002)

In one of his postulations, Tyler considered two factors that shape people attitude towards their police; they believe in the effective policing and procedural fairness (Sunshine and Tyler 2003). The former suggests that police command trust when people believed that they are efficient in providing security; prevention of people from breaking law and provide general order; protecting lives and property and make an arrest. Effective policing as a determinant of legitimacy and trust surrounds the idea. The latter which Tyler and associates attributed the most desirable element of legitimacy and trust is the people believe in procedural fairness of police when dealing with them. The main assumptions of Tyler are that people may obey the law out of fear of being compelled to, but personal compliance and general social order is achieved longer term when people believe authority is legitimate. This in turn often is bound in a sense of perceiving the processes by which people are treated and the rules adhered to by authorities are consistent and fair (Tyler, 1990, 2003). Tyler (2006: 25) further extended his notion of legitimacy and trust to personal commitment, resulting from "internalized obligation." Internalised obligation according to him rests on individual voluntary compliance; hinged on "personal morality" the feelings of the individual concerning what is morally right (Tyler, 2006:25). In his assessment, obedience to legal authority and the laws they enforce are based on the judgements people make about their personal experience with the police and court and how this experience has shaped their behaviour (Tyler, 2006). The commitment to obey legal authority is not associated with the entitlement of such authority rather obedience is linked to individual assessment that the authority makes use of procedurally acceptable means of dealing with them. This submission found support among modern scholars of legitimacy (Jackson et al., 2012; Hough et al., 2013). Citizens feel the duty to obey the law of the land when they believed that the authority is rightful and in line with their normative expectations.

A second element to Tyler's (2006:25) definition of legitimacy relates to a more general sense of the fairness and rightness of rules beyond their personal encounters with legal authorities, in other words an 'acceptance by people of the need to bring their behaviour into line with the dictates of an external authority'. Similarly, Tyler and Huo (2002: 14) associated legitimacy with 'the belief that legal authorities are entitled to be obeyed and that the individual ought to defer to their judgements." These definitions emphasise the importance of obligation as essential to legitimacy (Tyler 2006: 45; Tyler *et al*. 2010; Huq et al. 2011).

A significant number of studies have established that an authority's legitimacy is associated with people's satisfaction with the procedural justice aspect of the encounter they have with the authority (Tyler, 2006; Bennett and Tyler, 2013). When people are treated fairly, they tend to be more satisfied with authorities than when they are not treated fairly. According to Paternoster et al (1997), fair treatment is a major concern to people more than an outcome of an encounter. Several empirical studies have been conducted to predict trust in the police; Procedural justice theory posits that people will trust the police when they feel they have been fairly treated. The criminal justice system is most effective at maintaining social order through compliance if they are judged to be legitimate and trustworthy (Tyler and Blader, 2003; Tyler, 2006).

Tyler and Huo, (2002) in a survey distributed in Oakland and Los Angeles (California, USA) examined court regulation and the role of outcome in shaping public behaviour. Their survey results led them to conclude that being treated with dignity and respect is an important predictor of fair treatment and this, in turn, predicts acceptance of legal actions and decisions. During contact with authorities, individuals are much concerned about their dignity and respect. Treatment with dignity and respect is, therefore, an important consideration of people's assessment of the fairness of procedures used by authorities (Tyler and Huo, 2002).

In another study, Tyler's (2006) interviews with 1,575 residents of Chicago, further confirmed that the perception of fair procedures will result in citizens' willingness to accept police decisions even without a positive outcome. The outcome of citizens' encounters with authorities has little or no impact on individuals' evaluation of the legitimacy of authority. Instead, perceptions of the legitimacy of authority are influenced by justice-based judgments linked with the fairness of procedures used. Tyler further concludes that a strong "relationship between legitimacy and compliance" exists when procedural justice guides the behaviour of legal authority (Tyler, 2006:63). Public compliance and cooperation with police and court authorities are influenced by the public's subjective judgments about the fairness of procedures through which institutions such as the police and the courts exercise their authority.

Fagan and Tyler (2005) conducted a survey study that examined the effects of legitimacy on compliance amongst children and adolescents in Brooklyn, New York. The sample included 215 participants, between 10 and 16 years of age drawn from two racially and socio-economically neighbourhoods and examine their perceptions pattern in their police. They found that for this group as well, fairness and equal treatment received from legal officers including the court proceedings and police treatment were important determinants to having a cooperative attitude towards police instructions (p. 223).

Paternoster et al (1997) have described confirmation of long-term obedience stemming from perceptions of procedural fairness. Their interviews with citizens of 825 residents of Milwaukee, the USA on spouse assault found that interpersonal treatment is important to police legitimacy and trust. The study found evidence in 'recidivism— inhibiting effects' (p.192). The warned and released suspects who experienced fair treatment from legal authority by not been handcuffed and were listened to (Sherman, 2002) refused re-offending while those (suspects) who were warned and freed had later engaged in more assaults. Paternoster et al (1997) conclude that people attached legitimacy to legal authorities and willingly obey rules out of a "sense of duty and obligation" when they perceived that they are treated fairly by legal

authorities (P.167). This conclusion found evidence among scholars that outcome is not necessarily important rather procedural fairness that leads to the outcome (Sherman and Eck, 2002; Reisig et al. 2012; Dirikx and Van den Bulck, 2014).

Procedural justice theory has been extended in the study of intergroup relations. Weitzer and Tuch (2004) extended Blumer's (1958) group position theory of racial prejudice to explain race— differentiated attitudes toward police. The theory asserts that an individual's perceptions stem from his or her sense of group position in society. Based on these propositions, Weitzer and Tuch (2004) argue that Whites were more likely to hold favourable views of police because they perceived racial threats from Blacks and thus relied on the aggressive and lack of procedural principle in law enforcement from police to control Blacks in their neighbourhood. This show that blacks are likely to view the action of the police more illegitimate than white resulting from unfair treatment and disrespect for human dignity. Specifically, Bobo and Tuan (2006) shared this sense of dominance over subordinates; they argued that superior members of the dominant group tend to share a sense of superiority and view members of the subordinate group as essentially different. Tuan (2006) further argued that dominant group perceives subordinate group members as significant competitors for a greater portion of dominant group rights which might result in maltreatment on the subordinate group.

In a survey study, using multivariate analysis showed the importance of procedural justice on the perception of inmate concerning officers' attitude. Sparks and Bottoms (1995) drawing on a survey of two English prisons, found that issues of legitimacy are probably important and reasonable in understanding the constant complaint in prisons and in the evaluation the day -to-day creation of routine order. Sparks and Bottoms suggest that prisoners' evaluation of the fairness and "unobtrusive" private lives along with the friendliness of the staff are essential (p. 59) for officers' fairness involving the explanation of decisions that affect prisoners and fair procedures for dealing with their complaints.

Similarly, Trinkner et al (2016) have extended procedural justice to surveillance during traffic watch. They suggested that public approval of police legitimacy is evaluated from the perception that the police utilising their discretion or authority within the scope of their limit or boundary, by being procedurally fair; engaging in acceptable surveillance practices with respect to integrity and privacy of the motorists (p. 4). People may evaluate the legitimacy of the police from the utilization of discretionary power within their limits; when the police overstep these limits of their authority by intruding on jurisdiction that is not within their power. For instance, Trinkner et al., (2016) have argue that using the surveillance camera to intrude into private engagement of the people or by getting involved in situations they have no right to or engaging in acts unlawful — people may perceive police action as the main breach of right use of authority (Trinkner et al., 2016).

Tyler and Blader's (2003) group engagement model found that the evaluations of social identity by an individual influence the degree to which the person will continue to engage in the group activities, including the norms of the group. From a narrow view, this implies that an individual who perceives procedural injustice in the hands of the police will have their social identity compromised if they are unfairly treated. According to the model, an individual's perception of procedural justice influences his or her social identity and ready to make contrition to the group (p.360). Group engagement model suggests that it is procedural justice that is central to how people construct their identities of social realities (p.359).

Examining the reasons why people hold specific attitudes toward the police, Frank et al (2005) in a survey of citizens' perceptions of community policing efforts in Cincinnati city, Ohio found that most participants who have had positive interaction with police officers for 6 months prior to the study provided several reasons for the positive attitudes they held about the police. For instance, most participants cited that "officers responded" to their questions and "took a report in a friendly and polite manner" (p. 218). This suggests that positive interactions do not predict citizens' perceptions of the

police alone but also becomes the basis for having favourable attitudes toward the police.

Procedural justice is concerned with people's experiences of formal justice officers and how these shape people's experiences. Tyler and Huo (2002) write and provided four distinct determinants which procedural justice is based; these are voice: an opportunity to present one claims and to be heard and listened to. Neutrality: openness of the decision makers by treating people without being bias. Respect: the awareness that interaction is regarded rather than disregarded; and trust: subjective assessment of officers' intention (motives) or observable qualities of the legal officers. These elements have a powerful influence on increasing and evaluating the quality of people's experience of legal processes or institutions (Hou and Tyler, 2002; Tyler, 2006).

However, the postulation of the procedural justice theory can be captured as police must earn the authorization and consent of the public. In gaining legitimacy from the people, the police must demonstrate good conduct that respects their directive and must exhibit to the citizens why the public should appreciate, work in partnership, and conform to their dictates. The accomplishment of this act by the police assists as the essential bond linking the police to the public, which in other way helps in the active function of the police and successful policing (Tyler, 2006).

3.3.1 Criticisms of procedural justice theory

Scholars have revealed additional insight in the examination procedural justice for instance "power holder" legitimacy have been suggested by Bottoms and Tankebe, (2012: 169); contrary to Tyler (2006) and Harkin, (2015: 17). Bottoms and Tankebe suggest that legitimacy need to be understood in the context of power "holder- audience" relationships, a fundamental fact for fair procedure. The claims require dialogue and mutuality and not a trade-off. Bottoms and Tankebe argue that the study of the perceived police legitimacy should not be circled only around how the

people react and feel but the other factors such as the claims of power holders (legal authorities) be considered as well. They stress that the relationship between power holders and audiences is "dialogic" in which the claims of the power "holder" to exercise power is justified by the "audience" (Bottoms and Tankebe, 2012:169). Tankebe and Bottoms (2012) argue legitimacy has two elements: "audience legitimacy" and "power-holder legitimacy". Procedural justice scholars focus almost exclusively on a form of audience legitimacy, meaning the belief of citizens in the rightness of authorities to rule. However, "power-holders cannot and should not be expected to carry out their daily work with reference only to current public opinion" (p. 152). Therefore, they add to the procedural justice approach an additional element of the power-holders self-belief in the moral right to rule. This sets a "precondition for audience legitimacy" and these two aspects of legitimacy exist in dialogic relation to each other (Tankebe and Bottoms, 2012: 160).

I argue that the procedural theory did not specify alternative behaviour that might result from a negative outcome. The individual has a different disposition to realities; it may not really follow that everyone that experience the negative outcome of decisions would accept even if the procedure was fair. A negative outcome may not generally neutralise or avoid retaliation; this might be subjective, given the situation and setting and individual disposition as at the time of outcome (see Barbalet, 2001; Seron et al., 2004). Put another way, when individuals cannot access formal legal methods of dispute resolution to perceived injustice, outcome might not really matter in a specific context, for instance, frustration can to lead aggressiveness when the outcome is not favourable. Therefore, it is imperative to evaluate individual disposition when the outcome is not favourable (Seron at el., 2004) Other factors that might be important to the individual judgement of fairness in different settings and whether an individual will value fair procedure that leads to a specific outcome or not.

An extensive amount of empirical research has been shown on public perceptions of police in the United States and the United Kingdom (see Tyler 1990; Hou and

Tyler, 2002; Tyler, 2006). Little attention has been devoted to how people in countries of Africa and other part of the globe using procedural model (Bradford 2014; Jackson et al., 2014 Bradford; 2014)

Most studies derived from Tyler's model in a justice context focus on both the police and the correctional institutions such as courts, prisons and parole with but a few exceptions (e.g. Lind and Tyler, 1988; Tyler, 1990; Tyler and Blader, 2003). It believed that procedural justice could be extended to other institutions and examine how people's behaviour are shaped when they are treated with respect during any decision-making processes, for example during family meeting and religious organisation with how people narrate their experiences with these institutions and how these have shaped their perceptions concerning this institution.

Tankebe (2013) contended that "expressions of obligation to obey the directives of legal authorities cannot be the sole factor for legitimacy'' (Tankebe 2013: 105). He argues that feelings of obligation may possibly due to a person's conviction that police are so influential, therefore citizens have no choice other than to conform to police instructions. Bottoms and Tankebe (2012) have also argued that obligation to obey represents an essential component of how people evaluate and appreciate their relationship with legal authorities. According to them, a sense of entitlement and a feeling of obligation cannot alone legitimise the legal authority rather the perceptions that legal institution recognised that the citizens' support and contributions are important in the maintenance of peace. This point goes to tell us that when police perceived that their power and legitimacy rest in the support from members they policed, suggesting that they will treat people fairly (Bottoms and Tankebe 2012; Tankebe 2013).

Research on the legitimacy of and cooperation with the police is that it fails (with few exceptions) to control for the compounding impact of perceived neighbourhood characteristics (Tankebe, 2009). A large body of previous work has shown that perceived neighbourhood conditions such as neighbourhood safety (Dowler and Sparks, 2008), are among the factors most influential in

determining public attitudes toward the police. Others have suggested that police corruption and ineffective policing are as well important in the examination of public attitude towards the police (Tankebe, 2010: Bradford; 2014). It is very important to examine police procedural justice and its applicability in Africa and Nigeria specifically Abuja, the capital city. Before then, I will examine other factors such as police effectiveness and police corruption as equally suggested to be relevant in the understanding public perception of police legitimacy and trust (Murphy and Cherney, 2011; Bradford, 2014 Weitzer and Tuch, 2004).

3.4 Effective policing and trust

To expand our knowledge concerning trust and obedience, a growing number of studies have offered explanations resulting from the police effectiveness (Weitzer and Tuch, 2004; Goldsmith, 2005; Murphy and Cherney, 2011; Bradford, 2014). These scholars have focused on different factors that impact on different approaches for reducing crime and working definitions on the police effectiveness. However, effectiveness is used to describe a situation whereby police perform their functions well (Weitzer and Tuch, 2004). For example, any situations whereby the police respond to crime in an impressive manner either by the protection of lives and properties or suppression of crime are considered as indicators of police effectiveness (Goldsmith, 2005). Researchers believed that neighbourhood that has widespread criminal activities shows police ineffectiveness (Goldsmith, 2005; Kaariainen, 2008).

With regards to citizens' evaluations of the police, the perception of police performance is as important as actual police effectiveness. As Goldsmith (2005; 14) noted, "actual incompetence is not necessary to undermine trust," instead, believing that the police are ineffective or performing poorly is a necessary condition for citizens' negative ratings of the police. Similarly, scholars suggest that community cooperation with the police sustain trust as well as the sustenance of social order (Murphy et al., 2008; Jackson and Bradford, 2010).

Using data from a representative public survey in Accra, Ghana, Tankebe (2009) found support for observed police effectiveness to be stronger than fairness of engagement of police when dealing with people. He maintains that there is a positive influence of perceptions of effectiveness on the trustworthiness of the police than procedural fairness. Tankebe (2009:187) argue that police effectiveness as an essential influence on police legitimacy is not enough to justice their legitimacy rather perceived effectiveness for such assessment is vital. He concludes that though perceptions of police effectiveness demonstrate immediate impact on perceived police trustworthiness, the relationship is stronger if the police are also perceived to be procedurally fair (Tankebe, 2009). By implication, it suggests that the consequence of citizen's perception of effectiveness is that police will gain more support if they apply procedural values.

Correspondingly, in a survey of residents of Australia, Murphy and Cherney (2011) report that people who perceived that the police were doing well in dealing with crime and providing remedies to perceived security were more inclined to trust police exercise of power as legitimate than those who believed that crime is widespread. South Africans experience demonstrate a similar finding where people are more concern about security and effective policing in fighting crime than procedural fairness judgments. For instance, Bradford (2014) survey study found that procedural justice was less significant compared to effectiveness in citizens assessment of the legitimacy of the police. This further suggests that South Africans place greater emphasis on police effectiveness to wider success and trustworthiness of the state in providing security for citizens.

Similarly, Kaariainen (2008) analysed raw longitudinal data collected annually from 1998 to 2005 to examine the influence of fear of crime on trust in criminal justice institutions. The author found that an increase in the level of crime results in a decrease in trust in the criminal justice system. This finding observes that there is a relationship between insecurity and trust, suggesting that feeling of insecurity in one's neighbourhood is a result of ineffective policing which is likely to result in low trust. The author concludes that the

more people become aware of insecurity in their neighbourhood, the less they become confident and develop trust in the police (Kaariainen, 2008). Public trust in the police is directly related to the image that citizens have of their police and these images are formed from the impressions people gain about the law enforcement functions of the police. As Goldsmith (2005) noted, the competence of the police to secure and put crime under control in the community is important to build public trust. In contrast, public trust will decline in a circumstance whereby the police are incompetent in controlling criminal activities.

Police scholars have recently extended their argument regarding effective policing beyond the conventional duties that states define as the role of the police (Manning, 2010; Walker and Archbold, 2018; Hills, 2008; Bayley, 2005). The chief emphasis is that rather than being rooted in prevention alone, this approach inspires a more democratic style of reforms where trust and legitimacy are fostered through a non-discriminatory and respectful, community-focused and participatory form of policing.

Manning (2010), for example, argues that democratic policing entails reforms that deals with the well-being of the officers as well as citizens. When police are in a procedurally fair organisation, they are more likely to trust and feel obligated to obey their superior, less likely to be psychologically and emotionally distressed and less likely to be cynical and mistrustful about the world in general and the communities they police in particular (Goldsmith 2005; Manning, 2010). Democratic policing thus preserves the energy and efforts of government in addressing crime issues. Diminishing of use of force contributes to a wider public acceptance of the legitimacy of police (Goldsmith 2005; Hills, 2000).

The success of such reforms largely falls on the degree to which government and its agents will adopt such democratic policing norms with emphasis on social justice (Bayley, 2005; Hills, 2008). This form of policing highlights the potential of a good organizational environment within which police work. The legitimacy of police is being influenced by state activities that are seemingly

far removed from its immediate responsibility. Police are authorised by the state (Manning, 2010:34) and the legitimacy of the police turns not only on public assessment of how they behave, but also on the extent to which they are been sanctioned by the government and other state actors (Ekeh 1975).

Scholars have also identified the importance of capacity building as a form of reform in the police (Walker and Archbold 2018; Bayley, 2005). As Bayley (2005:8) notes, reforms in relation to capacity building in the police will strengthen the skills, abilities, accountability and resources that organisations and communities require for surviving, adapting and thriving in the fast changing world. Hills (2000), writing in Africa context, argues that trust in the police depends on the extent to which officers serve the need of the public in an unthreatening manner, working in recognition with community interest in solving crime, adhering to principles of rule of law by respecting fundamental rights, being accountable and non-partisan. Hills concludes that the use of force cannot legitimize the police rather voluntary compliance are important in the achievement of democratic policing.

To sum up both points above, it is suggested in the democratic policing literature that many factors beyond those exclusively within the procedural justice model as it has been articulated in the US and UK must have an effect on the practical legitimacy of the police. A crucial indicator here may be the degree to which the police are mandated or authorized by government and other state agencies in a democratic setting (Walker and Archbold 2018). A lack of trust in the government, for example, might undermine the claims on the part of the public that the power vested in the police is justified (see Bradford et al. 2013).

3.5 Police corruption and trust

Corruption is a complex concept that is not easily given a specific or wider coverage of understanding that will include all aspect of its form. Corruption has been defined to mean a different thing at different times. For example,

You (2006), sees corruption as an infringement of just procedures and signifies a breach of the trust placed in officials to act fairly and impartially. According to the global corruption index (2013), corruption is an abuse of an entrusted power for personal advantage. Sandholtz and Koetzle (2000:32) define corruption as "the misuse of public office for private gains". For this research, the definition of corruption by Sandholtz and Koetzle might guide my judgement; this definition is all-encompassing, extended to range of behaviours from favour received in form of cash or in kind to induce or change somebody's mind in a contrary manner if such favour had not been introduced.

Empirical studies have shown negative effects of corruption on the trusting attitude for democratic institutions. The scholars also believed that corruption violates fundamental doctrines of rule of law such as equality, fairness and accountability. Citizens in more corrupt democratic societies would report lower levels of satisfaction with the performance of their legal and political systems and trust in government compared to people who experienced lack of corruption in their government (Smith, 2008; Anderson and Tverdova, 2003; Kaariainen, 2007 Tankebe 2010; Tankebe, 2012). It has also been established that there is a negative relationship between corruption and police legitimacy; corruption diminishes respect and trust for police officers and criminal justice in their regular encounters with the public (Punch, 2009:19; Silva Forne 2009; Tankebe,2010; Sabet 2012; Boateng and Darko, 2016).

In a survey study among the sixteen European countries, Anderson and Tverdova (2003) found that perception of corruption among government institutions in the new democratic system has a negative effect on public trust in the police. Citizens who consider government officials, not necessarily the police to be corrupt tend to have low trust in the police as well. The effect is possibly damaging since the police operate within an institutional setting in which corruption is widespread, therefore, perceptions of institutional misconduct that affects public ratings, in this case, government institutions affects the rating of the criminal justice system and

specifically the police (Morris and Kleiner, 2010). Uslaner (2005:4), who argues that corruption in the police is likely to diminish trust in the government, given the facts that the police is an agent accountable to the government, further supports this argument.

Similarly, Sabet (2012) in the comparative survey, that examined 14 major cities in Mexico, found that the citizens' dissatisfaction with the Mexico police were associated with both corruption and insecurity. Corruption specifically bribery was linked to insecurity, resulting in low legitimacy perceptions and dissatisfaction with the police. The study concludes that individuals who had directly experienced police corruption in the form of money extortion and other form of bribery expressed higher dissatisfaction with the police (Sabet 2012). Similarly, studies have linked police corruption to bribery (see Tankebe 2010; Morris and Kleiner, 2010). According to Punch (2009:19) "bribery solicitation" from the public is likely to undermine trust in the police.

In a survey study of public perceptions among African— American white and Hispanics on the attitude of the police misbehaviour in the United States, Weitzer and Tuch (2004:320) found different types of police misconduct such as use of excessive force, police corruption, verbal abuse and unnecessary stops of civilians were explanation for low trust in the police. The study showed that race was a great predictor of police abuse and corruption. It was discovered that some offences associated with whites were overlooked compared to those that were committed by blacks. This study associate police corruption to unnecessary stops and vulgar attitudes in dealing with the minority ethnics groups. It shows that those who perceived the police as corrupt and that the police rendered abusive words or unnecessary stopped because of their race are likely to see the entire police department as rotten (Tuch, 2004:320).

In another survey, which examines political trust across 10 East-Central European states, Mishler and Rose (1997) found that higher levels of corruption were related to lower levels of political trust. Where corruption flourished

and unchecked, the implication is that such government will experience low trust and people will be unwilling to see such government as legitimate, by implication the police as an agent of the government. Similarly, Morris and Kleiner (2010:1276) have argued that corruption in the government "undermines the ability of the police to fight public corruption." The public will consistently disregard the police and build low trust when they perceived corruption in the police and by and large challenge their legitimacy.

However, the section suggests that there is a link between corruption and police legitimacy in understanding public attitudes. This fact can further be substantiated by other studies. For example, Bradford et al (2014) suggest that citizens' disrespect for police order in South Africa is largely influenced by corruption. Tankebe (2010) also associated a lack of respect for Ghanaian police because of perceived corruption. Similarly, Jackson et al., (2014) argue that corruption has undermined the legitimacy of police in Pakistan.

3.6 Procedural justice theory in Africa/Nigeria

By comparison, to how much work has been on procedural justice in the United State and United Kingdom, there are very few empirical studies that have examined public trust in the police with reference to procedural justice theory in Africa. These few found that procedural justice is important but suggested that the effectiveness of police in fighting crime is the main predictor of police legitimacy. They argued that people valued police performance in subduing crime than the fairness of the police (see Bradford et al., 2014; Vilakazi, 2015) For example; Tankebe (2009: 1280) argued that in Ghana, the inability of the post-colonial government to build strong democratic transformation has really diminished trust for democratic government. This suggests that police effectiveness – maintenance of order, protection of lives and properties, investigative and detective functions indicate a drive to legitimise and build trust in the police.

Several related areas of literature can be drawn to explore the African police-citizen relationship; these issues have complex effects on public perceptions of the police (Tankebe; 2008, De Sardan, 1999; Chabal, 2013). The historical background of African police is very important which is greatly different from the American counterpart and may likely account for public different perceptions about the legitimacy of the when dealing with members of the community (Tankebe, 2008). Scholars have argued that the police-citizen relationship in Africa is marked with suspicion and often result in a conflict which might in real sense and for several reasons negate the legitimacy and trust for the police. According to Beissinger and Young (2002), Africans live in the post-colonial legacy of the extensive tyrannical elite system, where the power of the authority was absolute and could easily triumph over individuals' rights and interest. Such an unequal power relationship implies that the public might show obedience to police because of the compelling nature of policing, but do not necessarily have respect to or a close relationship with police. This tendency of the public avoiding police contacts has been found in the United States too (e.g., Hahn and Jeffries, 2003), but might be stronger in Africa because the government has not built such trust for Africans in relying on the legal and criminal justice system to relieve their grievances (Jackson et al., 2014)

Similarly, the public's positive views on police in the US might be reinforced by the sustainable policy that US government adopted, which demands that police must serve the people wholeheartedly, listen to and accept their complaints and treat them with dignity and respect (Wycoff and Skogan, 1993). This policy also anchored on equality of all before the law (Hunter, 1990). It can be argued that the traditional value of respecting the authority and the governmental policy of serving the people might contribute to high levels of public trust in police in US and United Kingdom (Jiao, 1995). This evidence is important, but they are lacking in Africa and other non- Western societies (Tankebe 2009; Jackson et al., 2014).

Nigeria in many ways demonstrates a very different background to the developed countries in which studies of police legitimacy have been

conducted. These countries have antecedents of legitimate government and the criminal justice systems organized to protect the interest of their population (Wycoff and Skogan, 1993). Studies have consistently shown that police-citizen encounters involving elements of procedural justice is more beneficial and has led citizens to be more satisfied with the interactions and the outcomes of such encounters (Tyler and Huo 2002; Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2006a; Tyler and Fagan, 2008). Unfortunately, no attempt had been made to by western scholars to investigate people perception of police fairness and perhaps extend it to the historical antecedent in which the police evolve in Africa, most especially Nigeria.

However, studies have shown that the perception of police corruption has implication on the legitimacy and trust in the police. For instance, Zumve et al., (2013), speculate that corruption is not only vicious but has tendencies of destroying democratic principles and deter development. In Nigeria, many studies have dealt with the issue of public perceptions of corruption (Alemika, 2008; Agbiboa, 2015; Akinlabi, 2017). However, little attention had be given to activities of post- colonial elite corruption inherited from formal imperialist power and its implication on the activities of the police in understanding legitimacy and how this has shaped the perceptions of the public in their day -to -day encounter.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter offered an overview discussion on legitimacy and trust using the procedural justice model theory and other related empirical research to understand public attitudes toward police and then moves the attention to the case of Nigeria. The section also described the reality of Nigeria society today, setting a broad context for applying and testing procedural justice and then discusses serious issues in Nigerian policing, with a focus on police-citizen relations.

Procedural justice is very important because it suggests that police are restricted in their use of power in a manner that appealed to the normative

expectation of the members they policed. It further suggests that procedural justice will define the boundary of the police and their expectation from the citizens (Trinkner et al., 2016). Procedural justice may suggest that the police are not exercising their power in an arbitrary manner but within the normative circle. It is expected that when police behave in a fair manner, their use of power is restricted to normative demand of the public; meaning that they are not guided by their ambition, rather the normative expectation of the citizens.

This study is designed to examine if procedural justice can explain trust in the Nigerian police – outstanding the facts that most of the studies were conducted in the UK and US and few are limited to Africa. Such testing is necessary to establish whether the public experience of police fairness similarly produces many outcomes commonly attributed to the theory in the UK and USA – reflecting on the cultural background, in relations to Nigeria which is distinctly different from that of the West in which procedural justice model was tested. Besides testing the procedural justice and its applicability to Nigeria, specifically the capital city, this study will evaluate the impact of police effectiveness and police corruption and examines if there is a relation between these variables and trust.

4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

Trust, as noted in the previous chapter, has been argued to constitute the major factor by which the police legitimacy can be evaluated. Various variables have been attributed to people's perceptions of trust in the police. According to Seron et al. (2004: 666) trust in the police signifies that the police are understood to constitute a legitimate authority. Research presented in the previous chapter has found that a lack of police legitimacy undermines people's support for police in combating crime. This chapter explains how the present study approached the study of trust and legitimacy of police in the Nigerian context. It is divided into four sections. The first deals with the methodology and philosophical orientation that I adopted for this research; section two deals with the research design and actual use of methods; the third section deals with the ethical reflections and the fourth section discusses the approach to data analysis, protection and storage.

To refresh the reader's memory, the research objectives for this study are:

1. To examine if the procedural justice theory can be applied to access public trust in Abuja, Nigeria.

2. To explore differences in the experiences of policing amongst different communities.

3. To examine if there are other factors that are likely to shape the public perceptions of the police.

My interest in investigating questions about the legitimacy of and public trust in the police arises out of personal experiences. The unresolved issues of ethno-religious crisis in part of northern Nigeria (see Alubo, 2006), have come to occupy the centre stage of public discussions in Nigeria. In the context of this violence, I have witnessed reprisal attacks taking place on perceived

enemies rather than those involved seeking justice from the formal criminal justice institutions. In addition, many communal crises and civil unrest in Nigeria have also been witnessed. These crises have defied all efforts to bring them under control by the police. In some instances, the police stations and courts were attacked and burnt by the aggrieved members of community who felt that justice was skewed in favour of perceived enemies. But where police failed to broker peace in this region, civil society and their agencies with the military succeeded because the latter received more public support.

It was in this context that I became interested in questions of legitimacy and trust, and particularly the extent to which such issues can be understood in terms of notions of "procedural justice" as expressed by Tom Tyler (see chapter three). My research is designed to examine the level of trust that would build confidence in the police in Nigeria.

4.2 Methodology and philosophical orientation

4.2.1 Introduction

My methodological approach is guided by principles of research in the social sciences, the most fundamental of which is an explicit and detailed account of the procedures by which this research is carried out (Bryman, 2004). This chapter offers an overview of research design and research process – covering research location, sampling, recruitment procedures and analysis – as well as a methodological discussion.

In most cases, research is driven by many philosophical beliefs about the world in which we live as social actors. These beliefs reflect the complex nature of the phenomenon and happenings which shape our interaction with the world. Understanding the world around us is shaped by a combination of philosophical concepts referred to as paradigm (Herman and Reynolds,1994). A paradigm is a distinct set of concepts or beliefs, which will inform the structure of the research we carry out. Furthermore, concepts such as ontology, epistemology and methodology are usually used by social scientists

to describe how social realities are constructed and meanings made from such constructions. Ontology relates to the assumptions we make about the nature of reality - that is our underlying beliefs about the world. Epistemology sets out opinions about how we come to understand the world (how we know what we know? or How we get knowledge from that which is assumed?). This leads to a choice about the techniques or tools we employ to gain knowledge, which is referred to as methodology (Irving, 2007); in other words, the practical means by which we conduct our research to arrive at knowledge (Turner, 2003).

Epistemology is our theory of knowledge. My stance is that reality is a product of a social context and a product of our interactions and accessing this can be gained through social scientific methods (Noaks and Wincup, 1971). Trust, fairness and legitimacy are the concepts I am interested in investigating, to understand the extent to which people understand and apply these concepts to their interaction with legal authorities (specifically the police). Fundamentally, my primary aim in this research is to gain knowledge about how people understand "trust" and factors that shape their trust in the police. Because I am not entering the field with fixed concepts or definitions but want to learn how people make sense of these, there are likely to be multiple explanations. Therefore, in order to gain knowledge on these issues, we require a holistic approach to the study of the social phenomenon allowing for interpretations and meanings applied by those who experience it. This informed my decision to produce knowledge through a qualitative methodology to understand the experiences of individual participants, their views and interpretations of legitimacy and trust in the police and the meanings ascribed to their experiences.

4.2.2 Qualitative methodology

My decision to use qualitative methods flows from the reasoning set out above. The qualitative approach provides detailed and rich information concerning the subject of study and aims to establish new information or data otherwise not known to the researcher prior to his contact with the research

participants. I considered these factors essential for this type of social scientific enquiry. A fundamental characteristic of qualitative research is the inclusion of the study population in a face-to-face and interactive process. I believed that qualitative methods were most appropriate for the achievement of the objectives of this study, allowing the participants the opportunity of presenting their experiences and feelings. I considered the method beneficial to the research participants because they will be allowed to probe further into the question being asked.

Qualitative methodologies can provide an in-depth description of social phenomena that would otherwise be inaccessible by the gathering of quantitative information (Lanier and Briggs, 2014). Denzin and Lincoln (2011: 3) define a qualitative approach as a "situated activity that locates the observer in the world." A qualitative research design is concerned with events in their natural settings and is concerned to unearth meanings of the social environment through participants' own interpretation of experiences and subjective feelings (Bryman, 2008). Bryman (2012:6) suggests that the research process must allow for exploring the object of research to develop an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon of study. In this sense, qualitative methods deviate from understanding "social facts" as purely external conditions that govern people's behaviour (Durkheim, 1964: 81).

A qualitative methodology acknowledges, therefore, that experience and reality are formed during interactions on and not discovered as pre-existing facts (Blumer, 1969). However, the primary objective of this research is to investigate knowledge, feelings and opinions (in this case about perceptions of trust and legitimacy) through close investigation with the public. I feel that qualitative research methodologies are best placed to provide a detailed account through close-observation, in which the objective of my study can be realized. Lanier and Briggs (2004:113) see qualitative methods as a form of social research " in which the researchers has close and face to face contact with the subject of study and obtain details on how they feel and why act the way they do. King and Wincup (2008) maintain that qualitative research most

commonly involves observation of, and often interact with, the subjects of research to get their subjective views.

4.2.3 Justification of methodological orientation

In the previous chapter, I reviewed scholarly work focusing on research carried out in the area of procedural justice and concern with public perceptions of legitimacy and trust. Researchers based in the United Kingdom and the United States primarily undertook this work. Some of the most influential of these studies have involved survey research methodology, intended to measure perceptions of the legitimacy of police and courts (e.g., Tyler, 2003; Walle, 2009; Hough and Roberts, 2005). The validity of survey research partly is premised on a shared understanding of key concepts between researchers and researched and across researched populations. For example, a typical survey question in this regard is: "in your dealings with the police, how strongly do you feel you were treated professionally?" Such a question relies on a shared concept of professionalism (as well as relying on shared cultural understanding around ideas like the strength of feeling and what different forms of treatment mean to different individuals).

In the context of the UK and US policing, "professionalism" is often interpreted to include an element of courteous, friendly and empathetic behaviour and tone. Such a concept cannot be accepted categorically, as its validity across cultures is not clear. For example, it is certainly possible that what counts as 'professional' in another place might not include a friendly behaviour at all (e.g. a harsh behaviour could signal professionalism by showing officials are taking a matter seriously). Similarly, the concepts of legitimacy, trust and fairness, as they are used in understanding the relationship between police and the public in the UK and US cannot be assumed to have the same meanings in Nigeria. Therefore, I need to enquire from the people concerning how and why people feel the way they do about legitimacy and trust in the police, which requires interviews and discussions: forms of qualitative inquiry.

In the same way, I believe that the perceptions of legitimacy and trust in official actors within the justice system needs to be explained and explored and cannot be revealed simply by applying existing evaluations and methods, especially in Africa where there is a dearth of research evidence on this topic. Certainly, there are silences in the data – specifically relating to the subjective feelings of justice by citizens in the context of their expectations, experiences and information – the interpretive perspective that Weber refers to through his notion of *verstehen* (see chapter 3).

My approach through this method is not designed to capture legitimacy and trust issues in an objective sense; rather it captures how people describe notions of trust and legitimacy and conveys what people feel about justice agencies and what they feel ought to be the criteria for accepting the legitimacy of and building trust in the police. Therefore, while the thesis focuses on a specific theory (procedural justice) and existing literature of legitimacy and trust, it builds a culturally specific and interpretive method that is based on gathering views from the public.

I have noted that existing academic research concerning people's perceptions of these issues has been undertaken mainly though not exclusively by the use of quantitative methods (see discussion in Chapter 3). It is this gap in existing research, about cultural and conceptual variation, that my methodology is designed to address. In this research, I have sought to develop the applicability of a procedural justice model in cultural contexts beyond those where it has been most heavily applied, that is understanding legitimacy and trust to include what citizens in FCT-Abuja, Nigeria think and feel about the police. It aims to gather the views of people and listen to their narration and feelings. For all these reasons, a quantitative method (e.g. surveys) is not appropriate for my research and a qualitative method has been adopted. This method employs data collection tools such as interviews and focus group discussion and engages different stakeholders and groups to capture a stronger sense of lived experiences and perceptions of criminal justice.

4.2.4 Limitations of qualitative methodologies

Qualitative research can be laborious and time-consuming. For instance, face to face interviews requires the attention of the researcher to listen to the narration of the interviewee. This process also requires the time and effort of the researcher for recording, arranging and classifying the data according to themes (Bryman, 2012:473).

Qualitative methodologies may be susceptible to bias as people might not want to give truthful information concerning their experiences because of the presence of the researchers. This desire to satisfy the researcher can reduce the accuracy of the data (Maxwell, 2005). The quality of the data that is collected through qualitative research is highly subject to the competence and observation of the researcher. If a researcher has a predetermined view, they can manipulate the research or shape the findings in ways that undermine the reliability of data (Bryman, 2008).

A major limitation of my specific project is that is not representative. Its coverage was limited to FCT-Abuja, the capital city. Although FCT-Abuja is a conglomeration of different ethnic groups, and although the city was chosen as a research site precisely because it encapsulates some of Nigeria's ethnic diversity, that is not enough to sustain more general conclusions because police activities might quite be different, or perception of the police might not be same in other contexts. Environmental and cultural factors might influence police behaviour and public perceptions differently in a particular town or state. For this reason, this study cannot be said to be representative of Nigeria in general. Such a conclusion would require a bigger sample than used in this study, but due to the limited resources, most especially, financial and time constraints, it was only possible to carry out the number of interviews and discussion groups that supplied the data for this analysis. But, despite this, all efforts were made to guard against drawing unjustified conclusions.

Finally, from my experience, the process of analysis and coding are extremely demanding and time-consuming, owing to the rich nature of data collected. Analysis of focus groups is particularly complex with fundamental difficulties in relation to data coding (Roskel and Pyton,1997). There are also more obvious factors of knowing who is speaking at any given time and identifying their contributions to the discussion, this can be difficult from the perspective of transcription.

4.3 Research methods

This research specifically used the qualitative techniques of semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions to obtain information in the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria, Abuja, which will be referred to henceforth as FCT-Abuja. The interviews and group discussions took place between April and July 2017. To capture public views concerning the research questions, both discussions and interviews were organized around a series of "themes" or questions that I identified in advance because I believed that is one of the best methods of collecting information about perceptions, feelings and opinions (David and Sutton, 2004). The method facilitated a deeper understanding of how people understood legitimacy and trust. More open-ended questions were asked, which allowed me to ask follow-up questions on the relevant issues that were not included in the interview guide but were raised by interviewees. For instance, the issue of police corruption, specifically resulting in a high rate of crime was a matter of great concern among the study participants. This issue came up in most of the discussions about police procedural fairness. Many participants mentioned themes related to police corruption like honesty, crimes committed by the police, failure of police to investigate for reasons not entirely attributable to ineffectiveness. This theme was outside those anticipated in the original design for this study, where I wanted to understand how people understand and apply ideas of trust and fairness. Corruption goes to answer the question about a lack of trust in the police, and so I added this as a separate chapter in my analysis.

4.3.1 Research location

The research took place in the FCT-Abuja, an administrative region in the centre of Nigeria measuring 2,824 sq. miles (or just slightly larger than the area of Devon in England). FCT-Abuja has been the capital city of Nigeria since taking over this role from Lagos in 1991. It is where Nigeria's national government offices are mainly headquartered, and it has a population of around 2.2 million (2011 estimate). Abuja is a densely populated urban area. The wider administrative area of FCT-Abuja encompasses urban and rural parts and consists of five local government areas, with their own municipal level governments: Abaji, Abuja Municipal (the centre of FCT-Abuja where the government offices are), Gwagalada, Kwali and Kuje. Abuja Municipal is more commonly known as AMAC (an acronym of "Abuja Municipal Area Council") or Garki. The names given to each of these areas are also the names of the largest towns within each of these areas: e.g. Kuje refers both to the local municipal headquarters but also refers to the area around it which contains a number of smaller, more rural settlements. In terms of the location of my research, all the interviews took place in the (relatively urban) towns of four of FCT-Abuja's municipal areas, while the focus groups took place in rural parts of the four selected municipal regions (see table 1).

The decision to focus on FCT-Abuja as a general area was influenced by several practical and methodological concerns. Nigeria is a hugely multicultural, multi-ethnic and otherwise diverse nation and FCT-Abuja offers a valuable location for this research in this respect. This is because its population represents all of the major ethnic groups of Nigeria, including the Yoruba of western Nigeria, the Igbo of the Eastern region and the Hausa Fulani, mostly from the Northern region (See Appendix II). FCT-Abuja largely reflects this range of diversity, whereas other regions of the country are largely dominated by particular ethnic and social groups. In addition, the location of the study is very close to my home state, making it accessible, and giving me a familiarity with the area.

4.3.2 Pilot research

After the research proposal was approved in 2016, I conducted a brief period of pilot research between January and February. During this period, the interview and focus group discussions were tried out on a few participants to ascertain the feasibility of the proposed research and to help me get the sense of FCT- Abuja before the main fieldwork. The pilot study took place following the identification of one community and its leader. It meant dealing with all of the logistics for the project but on a small scale. It included the mapping of the community in question (Nyanyan), meeting with the community leader to introduce myself and the research topic and its objectives. I sought permission to engage members of the community. After all this, I embarked on mobilization and recruitment of prospective participants. Extended activities of pilot research also involved hall renting and fixing of appointments for group discussion and interviews within the period of one week.

During the period of pilot study, some useful information was gathered such as that regarding the different area councils in FCT-Abuja and their grouping into two ranges of human settlement, i.e. urban and rural areas. I worked to get a sense of their size, density and homogeneity of the population. My experience from the pilot study coupled with what we observed during the mapping of FCT-Abuja thus influenced my final choice of council areas for the fully developed research. Other factors that I considered were where the area councils were located, the population of each area, the pattern of residential arrangement and accessibility to the citizens who could share their experiences with minimum effort/disruption. In addition, it was observed that these areas selected had ample administrative offices, commercial activities, industries and police stations. I also considered safety - we needed more secure areas in case of any breach of public order. After all these considerations I conducted 21 interviews in all. In Abaji municipal area council 4 people were interviewed; In Abuja municipal area council (Amac-Garki), I interviewed 5 persons; In Gwagwalada area council, 4 people were interviewed and in Kuje area councils I interviewed 4 people. In addition,

there were five group discussions; one group discussion in each of the following rural towns of Abuja; Abaji, Yanyan, Karu, Rubochi and Zuba. In all, we had 45 participants for the focus group sessions (see tables 1&2).

The decision to use a combination of interviews and group discussions was influenced by many factors. I decided to utilise focus group in rural areas because I am interested in soliciting the experiences of people who are similar in socio-economic factors (e.g. low-income earners, artisan, drivers and petty traders). Since I am dealing with public opinion, getting different experiences from conflicting views through argument, debating and making meaning from what others are saying are mainly my interest. The goal is not for everyone to reach agreement; instead, the aim is for participants to reflect on the discussion topics, present their opinions and respond to comments of other group members concerning justice and trust.

The main aim of utilizing interview in urban areas was because I wanted to obtain detail and deeper experiences of individual concerning trust in the police through face-to-face contact; this will create an opportunity to observe individual reactions through body language in which meaning can be inferred about the feeling to specific questions. Like group discussion, it will also give opportunity to probe further on issue that are unclear from both the interviewee and interviewer. There are also more obvious factors of knowing who is speaking at any given time and identifying their contributions to the discussion, this can be difficult from the perspective of group discussion.

Besides this reason, many of those we met indicated interest and were ready to be part of the project. Most of them said they would prefer interaction in a group because they were mostly within the market area and motor garages. Besides this agreement, it was also convenient for us to organise people in a group because we found that most rural dwellers come from different small villages for selling and buying in the main rural towns. Here, besides the drivers and the passengers who were about to travel, we met with those who

were hawking perishables good such as bread, eggs, tomatoes, cold water among other things.

The main aim of utilizing interview in urban areas was because I wanted to obtain detailed and deeper experience of the individual concerning trust in the police through face interaction. This entailed deeper narrative of the respondent where further questions are asked to gain deeper knowledge on issues that are unclear. This also to give me insight concerning how individual feels through body language such as gesture and facial look in which meanings could be inferred.

However, one of the challenges experienced during the distribution and invitation for participation was that many urban dwellers that were invited for group discussions made it known to me that they would prefer being interviewed as an individual either in their office or in homes. Some of them attached this to security reasons while others felt that it would be difficult for them to come out for such in a group for personal reasons. The rural members preferred group discussion over interviews. This is one of the reasons that influenced having interviews and group discussions with different sub-groups

4.3.3 Use of gatekeepers

Research in most of these areas meant that I had to first secure the approval of local community leaders. One might be concerned that where participants were aware that the consent of a local leader had been sought before they were approached, there could be a likelihood of them not being able to take part in the free discussion (see Denscombe, 1998). This was not the case in this research because of the size and homogeneity of these areas in terms of ethnicity and range of commercial activities. The environment in which the research took place was a large one, almost twice the size of Stirling town in the UK. Approval to work in these areas, therefore, was not directly related to the recruitment of participants by any of the leaders. Most participants

would not have any knowledge of these gatekeepers from personal or close contact. Therefore, the probability that people's decisions or opinions were shaped by an awareness that permission was granted by gatekeepers can be ruled out.

Similarly, the bureaucratic arrangement in Nigeria is such that order mostly comes from municipal council area where each rural area is located. I was introduced to rural community leaders from each council area headquarters. I found it useful to maintain relationships with these leaders and was able to reiterate to them that the research was not being conducted for any political reason. In an attempt to reduce their influence on the selection of members for discussion we did not involve them in any activity concerning recruitment and other logistics. Moreover, we felt that their inclusion in group discussion might affect the expression of views, so where such figures expressed an interest in being involved we decided that they should be interviewed separately in a place of their choice.

This was important to build the confidence of the participants prior to the interview and group discussions. Pamela, et al., (2011) explain that a lack of confidence in the researcher by the research participant can be detrimental to effective interviewing and discussions. To avoid such a situation, I introduced myself, the objectives of the research and what would be involved for participants. I believe that the participants' full awareness of objective position of the researcher can stimulate a conducive atmosphere for interaction and dialogue (Gilbert, 2008).

4.3.4 Research assistants

As earlier mentioned, FCT-Abuja is a very large area and it is home to all three major ethnic groups as well as many other minority groups in Nigeria. Embarking on this kind of research to capture the opinion of people looking at different cultural, religious and socio-economic backgrounds and mindful of the constraints of time and finance there was a need for assistance with logistics. I decided to employ the services of two research assistants who

were part-time lecturers at the University of Nasarawa State, Nigeria (this being close to the research location and where the research assistants dwell). I also based my choice of research assistant on those who had knowledge about the research location and might understand the major languages being spoken by the people.

The research assistants played a vital role, especially during the mobilization and awareness campaign. They also helped in the listing and mapping out all the areas that the research covered and offered suggestions concerning some of the areas that were likely to be dangerous during the period of the fieldwork. During recruitment, they helped by organizing the groups and making sure that each prospective participant included his/her name in the attendance register provided. The assistants made it possible for me to organise focus groups across a dispersed area, but they did not contribute to study design or data transcription or analysis.

The preliminary stage of the research started early with mapping and selecting suitable towns and areas for this research. After the identification of all the towns (urban and rural towns), I obtained permission from the administrators of the area councils for the mobilization of their members for group discussions and interviews. We also sought the consent of some of the leaders for participation in the interviews – these were granted. We decided to have a list of all urban and rural towns within FCT-Abuja - this was made possible through the help of research assistants. All the area councils in FCT-Abuja were grouped by using two basic factors - density and homogeneity of the population. This influenced our choice of participants required for each area council.

During the familiarization and identification tour, we mapped out all of the possible sites. In the recruitment of participants, we selected four urban towns for interviews and five major rural areas for group discussions (see Figure 1 shows a map of FCT-Abuja with the council area and major rural towns marked). The council areas where I conducted the interviews were Amac-Garki, Abaji, Gwagwalada and Kuje area councils which formed the

headquarters of each council area. I decided to categorise interviews in urban areas into two, this is because residential areas were distinctly different, hence felt that their views be examined differently given the fact that one of the research questions is to examine perceptions pattern among sub-groups.

 At the edge of each area, councils are located in the rural towns where I conducted focus group discussions. These towns are Abaji, Rubochi, Zuba, Nyanyan and Karu (see figure 1). In all the selected council areas, we selected one rural area except Abuja/Amac where we selected two. The reason being that the area is the largest with more rural town surrounding it, besides, it is the seat of the government with more concentration of police activities and commercial activities which also attracted many Nigerians who stay in its rural towns. The aim of selecting from these dissimilar towns was to have a broad representation of all the categories of citizens that resided within the FCT-Abuja during the research period.

Figure 1 Map of FCT-Abuja showing the six area councils, and the rural areas

In the map, all Areas "Area1" marked in red are designated for areas where the elite members live, and areas designated as "Area 2" also marked with red are zones where the non-elite reside. All the areas in blue colours, located at the outskirt of each council area headquarter are the rural areas where focus groups took place.

The process of mobilization of prospective participants was made possible through the use of paid mobilizer. In rural towns, the process involved the distribution of handbills in public places such as motor parks, hotels and marketplaces. More awareness, the mobilizers went around and inviting people by use of "public address system" (microphones and speakers). This was not the case with members of urban towns because most of them were either civil servants in government offices or private organizations or owners of their business in different parts of the council areas. The only option available to us, in that case, was to distribute handbills in offices, neighbourhood shops — we identified some shops and gave them the fliers and register for anyone willing to be interviewed to indicate names and addresses within the five communities selected. After three days we went around the selected offices and shops to collect the lists of those who were interested in taking part in interviews and group discussions.

Before the interviews, we distributed the plain language statement (PLS). Prior to the date of the interviews, I had contacted the potential participants individually and had more discussions concerning the research and what would be required of them. We also agreed on days that were suitable for the interviews. During this process, I kept in touch constantly through the phone before the scheduled days. Similarly, before the group discussion, we distributed the plain language forms, read and interpreted them to the group members and explained why the research was taking place and the importance of their opinions and what taking part would require from them (see appendices.1, 2, 3 and 4).

4.3.5 Terminology and classification of participants

It is important to explain choices around grouping and categorizing of participants. In this research participants in interviews were organized by their status and location. Status designations are complicated and not easily derived by a single factor (such as a person's occupation or income or urban/rural location). People may be considered elite in some ways but still classified as non-elite for other purposes. It is also important to note that in Nigeria, many people have more than one job or source of income. However, it is often the case that other sources may not be formally declared, though will be widely known in a community, and that people will identify themselves in terms of a primary, and officially recognized employment activity. For example, I am a professional lecturer but also own land and have shops but would classify myself or report myself as an academician and be known in my community not as a farmer or shopkeeper but as a lecturer.

I classified the different interviewees as "elites" and "non-elites", which is how they might be referred to in Nigeria to signal the difference between the high status, powerful and rich and a more ordinary, less relatively well-off group encompassing what might be considered middle-class Nigerians. I originally used the terms 'privileged' and 'underprivileged'. However, in the UK, where this thesis is being submitted, I recognized that 'underprivileged' has the meaning of worse off than most of the population and may imply certain things about lack of educational attainment or professional status. Given this difference in meanings and understanding, I choose not to use these terms to maximize clarity to a UK based reader and make clear how I am using different terms to maximize readability to all readers, including those in Nigeria. Therefore, I employ the terms "elite" and "non-elite" to categorize two cohorts of interviewees. These are explained in greater detail below.

4.3.6 Classification of interviewees

The interviews took place in four areas of FCT-Abuja. As noted, I classify interviewees into two categories, elite and non-elite; both elite and non-elite could be considered professionals. Both elite and non-elite held jobs for which specialist training is required and to which some status is attached but dividing them relies on an idea of influence, prestige and power (political and economic) that one group held compared to the other. The list of professions, however, do not entirely capture why one person falls into one group rather than the other. For example, I interviewed a barrister, who I classify as a non-elite professional because this person did not have a high-status government role although his occupational title makes clear he has a high-level profession. Elite status is based on several factors including a high-level profession, but equally important is a level of political influence as well as higher income compared to other people in the same area. In this respect, by the elite, I mean and interviewed a: politician, banker, large-scale commercial farmer, high-level administrator (local government chairmen). By non-elite professional, I mean and interviewed a: mechanic, barrister, teacher, shop owner, road transport crew chief, ombudsman. The reason for separating out professionals into elite/non-elite is not simply to designate different statuses in Nigerian society but to offer a sense of the discrete influence and knowledge each group held. Elites hold an influential role in society and are likely to know high-level government officials and to be aware of policy developments. Non-elites also had a degree of influence, but this was more oriented towards their own communities, is perhaps seen as opinion leaders and thus offer potentially representative views of the communities they lived in. It is necessary to obtain information from elite and non-elite and find out if legitimacy and trust in the police has a relationship with the socioeconomic status of an individual or group of individuals (Okoiye, 2011; Udosen, et. al., 2006)

Overall, out of 27 non-elite professionals invited to be interviewed 16 interviews were successfully concluded. Of the 13 prospective elite participants, 5 were available for the interview. In a situation where a

respondent had no time to attend the interview at the scheduled time, the participants could suggest another date while the researcher considered if such date was suitable. Most interviews took place in the offices of the interviewees, except for three cases of interviews conducted in the residence of the participants. All the interviews were held during the normal working hours between 8.00 and 16.00 every day during the fieldwork period.

In order to get the full details concerning participants' views, the interviews were tape-recorded with the consent of the interviewees. Most interviews lasted 60 – 90 minutes. There were a few exceptions where interviews lasted for more or less time than this. For instance, the interview conducted with an elite participant in Kuje area council of FCT-Abuja lasted for 130 minutes while the interview conducted with a non-elite member in Gwagwalada area council lasted for 45 minutes and was the shortest interview conducted.

Interviewees' numbers coding system

In order to ensure anonymity of participants, and in the interest of providing a simple reference system for interviews (and focus groups) spread across so many areas, I assigned a code to each participant (see table 1). The participants in Amac/Garki were assigned A1 to A6. The first A1 and A2 represent the views of the two elite members, while the A3 to A6 are the views of the non-elite members. Abaji members' views are coded with B1 to B5; the B1 represents the view of the only elite among the five members. In Gwagwalada, participant's views were assigned with the code C1 to C5, the only elite interviewed was assigned code C1. In the Kuje area council, the interview responses were assigned D1 to D5 and the only elite from the council was assigned the first code being D1.

Table 1 The interview location, participants' code and the breakdown of interviewees by gender and status

FCT-Abuja Area	Total interviews	Male	Female	Elite	Non-elite	Participant code
Amac/Garki	6	3	3	2 (A1 and A2)	4	A1 to A6
Abaji	5	4	1	1	4	B1 to B5

				(B1)		
Gwagalada	5	4	1	1 (C1)	4	C1 to C5
Kuje	5	4	1	1 (D1)	4	D1 to D5
Total all areas	**21**	**15**	**6**	**5**	**16**	

Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews have questions set by the researcher as a guide which is often referred to as "interview guide", but the interviewee has a great "flexibility on how to respond to the guide" (Noaks and Wincup, 2006: 79). Ian and Semmens (2008), point out that the interview guide only provides the key areas to be examined, without any definite direction on the pattern of responses imposed on the interviewees. In semi-structured interviews, the participants were given the freedom to discuss and share their feelings and opinions in the way they perceive fit and the researcher listens, moderates and asks questions on unclear responses. Semi-structured interviews are powerful methods for documenting information. They allow the interviewer to capture a wide range of information by directing discussions and extending the topic so that it will reveal some hidden facts thoroughly. It also allows the participants in the interview to discuss and describe their understanding of the topics and to make connections based on that understanding rather than on the rigid questions drawn up in advance by the interviewer (Bryman, 2012).

Semi-structured interviews allowed me to focus on the themes of interest, as well as allowing research participants to interpret themes and topics in their own terms, without me imposing assumptions on them. For instance, words like "honesty" and "sincerity" were often used during group discussion, with much probing; I understood that they intended these to mean and thus articulated concepts of, fairness, truthfulness, openness and objectivity. Along with this line, this research sought an in-depth opinions and narratives of citizens' perceptions of the police. One model here is offered by Tyler's

studies (e.g. 2006) which involved interaction with the participants and listening to their stories in their own words through the interviews.

Interview guide

The interview principles espoused by Pamela, et al., (2011) suggests a flexible approach in which the interviewee is allowed freedom to express himself or herself. As Bryman (2008) suggests, a good interview question does not restrict the interviewee to a specific direction rather stimulates a wide range of ideas, to achieve this and with an intention to create a stimulating atmosphere were people would be free to share their experiences, semi-structured interviews were exploited.

During the interviews and also during the group discussions, three categories of questions were used; the first dealt with the background and demographic data of the participants, the next area dealt with specific knowledge and experiences of citizens regarding the legitimacy of the police in FCT-Abuja. This included the awareness of the role of the police, the citizens' experiences with the police and the third category was more evaluative, asking about views concerning what would influence their trust in the police. (see appendix 5, interview guide).

4.3.7 Focus group recruitment and discussions

As discussed above, the group discussions took place on Saturdays in hotel halls. This is because most of the people within this category were small-scale businessmen and women who were mostly available on Saturday which is usually used for events in Nigeria. We selected one rural town in each FCT-Abuja council area, with the exception of Amac-Garki municipal area where we chose two, being the largest. Each rural group consisted of 10 adult members aged 25 years or older and drawn from different ethnic groups, gender and occupation. All these steps were laid out in my ethical review application.

It was very convenient for us to reach this population because the majority of them were market women and men, commercial drivers and small-scale business owners who were found around the market areas and motor parks during working hours. This made it very easy for us to gather people of different occupational backgrounds within the rural community who could be asked about their experiences concerning relationships with the police. Even during campaigns, it was very easy for us to mobilize residents in rural towns.

FGDs allows for interaction between research participants and for the conversation in what people say. FGDs also allows different dynamics of interaction to play out between individual members of the group offering potentially a deeper understanding of the social phenomenon under investigation (Roy and Wincup, 2008). This method built a relationship of trust between the researcher and participants; it encourages rapport building and allows both researcher and participant to be engaged in the research process (Iain and Natasha, 2008). This approach also supports the researcher's greater 'involvement' in the research environment (Noaks and Wincup, 2004: 82).

I engaged this method to explore the views and experiences of a group of individuals who lived in selected rural towns (see table 2). These individuals were brought together and allowed to share their views freely. This made it possible to listen not only to their accounts of their views and attitudes but also their reactions to the views and attitudes of others expressed concerning their perceptions of trust in the police. During this process, I noticed how intense, how fixed or how modifiable individual and group reactions were to the questions asked. For instance, issues of bribe collection by the police attracted a great deal of argument about why the police should or should not be blamed for seeking bribes. The discussion groups also proved a valuable means of exploring these issues during the 2016 pilot study - and confirmed the value of this method for the main research fieldwork. Through this discussion, we noted not only what was said verbally but also taken cognisance of body language, where a reaction to particular view was demonstrated. For example, I noted in my fieldwork diaries at which point people seemed most passionate and emphatic through their gestures and

displeasure about some activities of the police. This is a more flexible method than that available in quantitative research forms like survey methods (Pamela et al., 2011).

Focus groups, unlike interviews, allowed the researcher to have a sense of collective agreements and disagreements among groups on a range of issues, in this case, related to the legitimacy of the police (Roy and Wincup, 2008). On this process, group dynamics were easily noticed as members interacted freely even when they disagreed on issues, so I was able to allow a "group dynamic to emerge" (Noaks and Wincup, 2004:80). In this research, focus groups adopted the same two categories of questions as in interviews. These questions were centred on their perception of justice; their perceptions of trust and perceptions concerning the fairness of the police. During the group discussions, notes were also taken by me and research assistants. We conducted five focus groups in private commercial halls centrally located in each rural town. All the discussions were audio recorded and I subsequently transcribed them.

General description of participants in the focus group

Five focus groups took place in four municipal areas of FCT-Abuja (i.e. two took place in Amac-Garki). For each group, we recruited 10 adult members aged 25 years or older, drawn from different ethnic groups, genders, occupations and ages. In some groups, not all of those recruited were able to take part. Participants included people who lived in rural areas and largely worked in ordinary, not highly paid jobs. They also had ordinary jobs (e.g. market traders, drivers, farmers and artisans) (see table 2).

Table 2 location and participant codes and group size for group discussions

Area Code	FCT-Abuja Area	FG location	Group size (male/female)	Participant Code
A	Amac/Garki	Nyanyan	10 (8 men, 2 women)	A100 to A110
A	Amac/Garki	Karu	8 (7 men, 1 woman)	A200 to A208
B	Abaji	Abaji (town)	8 (6 men, 2 women)	B100 to B108

| C | Gwagwalada | Zuba | 10 (8 men, 2 women) | C100 to C110 |
| D | Kuje | Rubochi | 9 (8 men, 1 woman) | D100 to D109 |

The above table explains how participants' views were coded in the presentation of the data. To differentiate the responses of group discussions from the interviews, I decided to give interviewees numbers from 1-10 (for instance, A1 to A6 and for FGD participants, 100-110 (for instance, A100 – A110, etc.).

4.4 Ethical reflections

Following University guidelines and rules concerning fieldwork, ethical approval was sought and obtained on the 14th April 2017. The research was thus carried out in accordance with the University of Glasgow's Ethics requirements which stipulate the principle of avoidance of harm, confidentiality, informed consent, voluntary participation and respect for the dignity of human persons.

In the first consideration, I made my intention and the topic of the research clear and was careful to inform the participants that I am a student from the University of Glasgow who is a Nigerian and from the same geographical zone. This allowed participants the opportunity to share their views concerning the legitimacy of and trust for the police and court in a free and stimulating environment. I was very mindful of the individual who might want to dominate group discussion and prevent others from presenting their views. For that reason, questions were evenly distributed to allow members the opportunity to present their views freely - one of the principles of quality of the decision-making process (Paternoster et al., 1977)

I took the time to explain to the participants the anonymity procedures in place to keep their identities private. I reiterated that for the reason of privacy, the only place that their names appear is on the consent forms and I

explained that the consent forms they signed were the only record I kept of their real names, which would be kept in a locked file cabinet in my office and accessible to me alone and any other information or data concerning them were given codes.

The plain language and consent forms were read and discussed with the participants. The participants were allowed to ask questions on any section of the form unclear to them. All the prospective participants were asked to sign both the consent and plain language forms, which indicated that they understood their role as well as consented to take part as a member of a group or as an individual. At every interview and group discussion, I usually reiterated that the interview was not compulsory and that they could back out without giving me any reason for such a decision. They were also reassured that they could decide not to answer any question should they wish not to do so. We also informed the participants that their views would be recorded by the use of a digital recording device and that notes would be taken during discussion sessions.

In the ethics declaration, the emphasis was laid on sensitive issues that might be raised during the interviews. I had already discussed these issues with my supervisors during the process of ethics approval and they offered useful suggestions in overcoming such issues. Their suggestions were really helpful when such issues arose during the group discussions. Sometimes I would offer participants the chance to see me after the discussion session if they seemed to have further concerns or matters that they wished to raise.

4.3.1. Ethical challenges

In focus groups, it is possible for specific members of groups to dominate or shape the discussion. I was very mindful of this fact and encouraged everyone to talk freely and further emphasized that any information provided would be restricted to members of the groups and the researchers. Despite all these assurances, I later notice that a majority of Zuba group participants became less active when the question on police corruption and other subsequent

questions were asked. Questions were mostly answered by the same participants while others either concurred or offered no response. In many instances, I tried to encourage participation by pointing to different individuals to share their experiences with me. This approach could not give any positive result, rather, participant either kept quiet or assented to the views of participants C103, C104 and C102. This problem was noticed after we have had a series of discussion regarding perceptions on justice, police fairness and effective policing were a majority of the participants spoke freely and shared their opinions.

I was curious about the inactive attitude of the participants and I decided to ask the group leader who was also inactive during the subsequent discussions. The leader confirmed to me in a private talk that three members of the group were friends to some local police officers. The group leader told me that he and other members were aware of the presence of these members after we have had many discussions. For this reason, I only considered some of the opinions shared by this group on perceptions on justice, functions and the discriminatory attitude of the police.

4.5 Data analysis, protection and storage

This section deals with data analysis, protection and storage. In an attempt to get the sense of relationship that exists between trust and obedience of members of the public and the police, different themes emerged that relate to the research questions.

4.5.1 Data analysis

What guided my choice of themes from the data was not the frequencies of the themes identified but their relationship to the research questions (Braun and Clark, 2006). My initial plan was to make use of NVivo in the analysis, but due to a lack proper grasping of the dynamics involved, I ended up using manual thematic analysis as is common in qualitative research (Braun and Clark, 2006). In this process, I printed out the transcripts and coded them

using a pencil to mark the themes as they appeared. Although this required a lot of labour and time; it was also a method that allowed me to be more immersed in the data and to identify the tone of each theme as it was raised by the participants. In connection with my philosophical orientation, I understand that meanings are formed through interaction and are contextually produced as they are shared among members. I answered the research questions I wanted to answer, but I was also interested in what arose out of the data. I was attentive to the flexibility of responses and to the wider range of opinions which emerged and sought to be aware of emerging themes (Noaks and Wincup, 2004). The responses were clustered into themes related to each specific research question. The process of data transcription took a lengthy period of two months.

Before I began the thematic analysis, I listened to the recorded responses to get used to some of the vocabulary and tone of the responses. I also revisited the fieldwork diaries to get a sense of what was expressed through body language. I then read through the transcripts line by line, noting down themes as they appeared in the data. For example, if a participant openly spoke about the collection of money by the police from a motorist, I would note this down as the cause of 'distrust'. At the bottom of each page, I would then note down the main themes in that passage of conversation. From this initial detailed analysis, I looked again at the sub-themes that had emerged and collated them into wider themes that would help me address the research questions.

During the focus group discussions and some of the interviews, some participants used pidgin English while others used conventional English. Pidgin English is used by Nigerians as a means of informal transaction and informal organisation. During the analysis, some of the responses in pidgin English were translated into more conventional usage to allow better understanding by the reader. But where it was important to retain the original phrase, in order to convey a message to the reader, these are given as spoken.

4.5.2 Data protection

The data on personal information was maintained securely in a locked cabinet. All the transcribed information was held in a password protected file on my computer in my office. When analysing the data, I use de-identified data with codes, kept in the locked cabinet file. All the research documents (such as consents forms and fieldwork diaries) were stored and locked in my office pending the completion of my PhD. After five years they can be destroyed according to the University of Glasgow, College of Social Sciences' Ethics guidelines.

4.5.3 Conclusion

The major objective of this chapter is to illustrate the range of methodological approaches that guide my research. The chapter examined the nature of the relationship between my research and my wider philosophical orientation. The main research question focussed on exploring the factors that might shape 'trust' in the police. Understanding the causes of trust, and how they relate to peoples' experiences, can only be unearthed through qualitative enquiry. This approach provided a useful understanding of the research questions and the themes that could give an explanation beyond what was not conceived prior to the research. With the use of this technique, considerable freedom exists to discover information which the research participants were willing to share. It allows for probing, and it allows the participants to also dictate the direction of the dialogue (Lanier and Briggs, 2014).

This chapter has illustrated and examined various personal, intellectual and practical issues that shaped my research, including the choice of location, methodology, sampling and recruitment. I have attempted to explore public experiences of the police and understandings of trust in the formal justice system in Abuja, Nigeria through empirical study. I adopted qualitative methods for this research because they provided an in-depth understanding of individual and group opinions and allowed participants to express their views

on a range of issues, especially some issues which were not anticipated when the study was designed.

Ethical issues were adhered to throughout the whole research processes. Participants were informed that their anonymity and confidentiality would be protected by ensuring that any information provided will be used only for the study. There were some achievement using these methodological orientations in general, I was able to gather a good body of information about what citizens of Abuja perceived as trust in the police and how it shaped their perceptions through personal contacts and get reactions directly from such contacts.

5 Procedural fairness

This chapter analyses research participant perspectives relating to the theme of fairness as a key component of trust and legitimacy of police. These views are examined under five sub-headings: 1) general understandings of justice by the participants; this is intended to have a general opinion of participants' understanding of justice; 2) perceptions of what constitutes fair decisions; 3) views about discriminatory attitudes of the police as perceived by the participants; 4) the role and importance of police from the participants' assessments; 5) what the participants feel about police [dis]respectfulness.

5.1 Perceptions of justice

I asked all participants to in both focus group and interview to discuss with me in their own opinion what they think justice is all about. Regardless of their locations, rural and urban participants linked an understanding of justice to police and court activities. Most emphasised the belief that the major component through which justice could be attained is the police. During the discussions, participants' perceptions of justice seem to specify the extent of transparency of police in the distribution of their services to citizens and solving the issue that relates to their wellbeing. Participants believed that the police honesty and sincerity in the discharge of their duties would make police duties to be recognized as lawful and legitimate.

5.1.1 Focus group participants views of justice

Abaji group

> The word justice is very difficult to define or say specifically what it is; I think justice is about observing the law by the police to protect the citizens.B104

> Yes! Yes! (nodding of the heads and applauding showing acceptance of the views of B104, B107 andB106

> Absolutely, I think that is the best word for justice.B105

Yes, that is true, justice is all about honesty.*B*101

Agreed! *B*102

Yea!*B*108

Zuba group

Zuba participants extended the notion of justice to other institutions of the government. They believed that justice should not be restricted to the legal institution alone.

> [...] I think honesty should not be restricted to legal institutions alone in assessing justice. Other institutions of government need to abide by this principle in the distribution of their services to citizens. This is important because it encourages cooperation and obedience. C103

> Absolutely! C105

> Yes! C102 and C107

> [...]No, I feel the police should be the major issue, If the police are sincere, other institutions will be sincere [...] C101

> I agree! If police do the right thing, members of the public will do the same. If the police are sincere, people do not have reasons not be sincere. People will be ready to comply with the law and give police supports C107

> Yes! C105, C 104, C 103, C 106(cooperatively)

> Another thing about justice is that the police and court should not use their power to favour anybody either rich or poor or even their brothers C105

Absolutely! [...] 106 (supporting C105)

5.1.2 Interviewees' perceptions of police justice

Similarly, when participants were asked to discuss their feelings about police justice. Most of the participants suggested that the honesty of the police in the maintenance of order is very important to people in the evaluation of justice. Their views further suggest that honesty is a key thing in the perception of police justice. The following quotes were extracted from long passages of quotes to show their perceptions.

> Justice is all about the sincerity and unbiased dealings of the police with members of the community. This involves police sincerity in the distribution of their services to citizens. Really, if the authority is honest, things will work normally in this country. Most of the problems facing the country today are just a lack of sincerity in the distribution of government services to citizens they claimed to serve. I strongly believe that when police and other criminal justice agencies are sincere, no one will disrespect their order or authority [...] A1 Elite

When interviewees were asked to discuss what they meant by honesty and sincerity in terms of understanding justice, their views were typical as follows:

> I am talking about the way the police deal with the members [public] by being truthful to them. The two words [honesty and sincerity] are the same thing. My point is that the police[are] required to be open-minded that is being neutral in their relationship with members of the public. A2 Amac/Garki

> There is no clear meaning to honesty than equality before the law. Justice required that all people are given equal treatment [...]C5 Non-elite Gwagwalada

[...]The sincerity of court and other institutions of government in dealing with the member is very important in the assessment of justice. People opinions are very important and at the same time constant dialogue with people about their feeling and expectations that's what justice stands for [...] D4 Non-elite Kuje

Some elites' participants have argued that justice is the sole responsibility of the police and court.

There is no how one would talk about justice without referring to the police. This shows the importance of the police in the justice system. The police are expected to be faithful when dealing with members of the public. The police should remove personal feeling or interest such as the family, friends and ethnic interests when using their discretionary power in all that concerns the public. B1 Elite Abaji

I believe that the main key figure in this issue concerning justice is the Nigerian police and the court; their image is linked with their transparency during contact with the public. Therefore, the transparency of the legal system is very important in this discussion. I believe you will agree with me [...] In the rule of law, courts play a vital role in applying the law without respect for any person. Judges and the police need to have good intention by remaining impartial and without intimidation. D1 Elite Kuje

Section discussion

Participants believed that one of the ways in which justice can be assessed is through the involvement of justice institutions such as the court and police and how they demonstrate "honesty" and "sincerity" when interacting with the people. Participants in numerous instances used these words. When participants were further asked to explain these two concepts, their explanations showed that the concepts were used interchangeably to indicate

common-sense notions of decency, fairness, truthfulness, respectability, openness and objectivity.

These words are in common usage for Nigerians in their day to day dealings. It is important to acknowledge that these might have different meanings and connotations, for example in the US and UK where the procedural model was mostly developed (Mazerolle et al. 2013; Bradford et al. 2014). The concepts however, can fit into the procedural fairness argument, for instance, the participants expect the police to be objective in understanding the subjective claims of individual. This, suggesting the quality of decision making, bracketed by neutrality and competence of the decision makers (Paternoster,1997; Tyler, 2003). This can also suggest a procedural process in which the police are perceived to reach specific decisions without undue influence in the decision-making process (Paternoster,1997). What appears most importantly from the discussion above in people's opinions is about the intention of the police through which authority is carried out. This can suggest to us that good intention of the police is linked with the motive-based trust, which suggests trust is related to perceptions of the motive of the police instead of performance (Tyler and Hou 2002).

The discussions also show a strong theme emerging around the idea that justice is only possible when police are perceived to be objective in dealing with people. For instance, participants B1 in the interview and C105 in group discussion refer to objectivity as lack of undue influence from factors such as police personal interest, family interest and friends' interest even ethnicity and religion that will impact on the behaviour of the justice officers. Study participants detailed accounts of what they viewed as a lack of objectivity and how this seemingly undermined police legitimacy by weakening the officer's authority in their eyes. The study participants believed that police officers also need to be transparent in dealing with members of the public based on the rules guiding their profession and not using their discretion and official office for personal gain. Research has shown that the refusal to adhere to principles of procedural justice can reduce public support for police and, in the long run, may even increase crime (Hay, 2001). Procedural justice

encourages a belief in the legitimacy of police and greater support for the law (Tyler and Blader, 2000; Sunshine and Tyler, 2003).

5.2 Perceptions of fair decisions making

When participants were asked to discuss their experience if police allowed them or other people in their area to have a say or defend themselves in cases that involved them, most of the focus group participants claimed that the police disallowed people to do so. There was a general agreement among the participants that fair decision making involves the cordial relationship between the police and the policed in the sense that the policed should be given the chance to present their views fully while the police listen carefully.

5.2.1 Focus group participants' views of fair decision making

Rubochi group

> I feel fairness is about an individual's freedom to present his opinion during decision making in a matter that affects him. The police are expected to be good listeners to all people involved, and the judgment of the police should be based on evidence provided without bias. However, in most cases, the police do not listen to people and where people were allowed to ask questions or present their views concerning the case, the outcome would not reflect the evidence provided especially if they had an interest in the case [...]. D102

> Yes! That is true, in most cases, the police don't base their decisions on what they heard from conflicting parties [...]. The police should give everyone the opportunity to present his view during the investigation without being biased. D103

> Yeah! It is proper for the police and court to listen to people's views. Justice requires that people are given the opportunity to be heard concerning issues that affect them. The police should always

refer to the people's side of the case before they make decisions especially when it affects the group's interest. D104

I like this! All parties in disputes should be allowed to listen to each other's claims during an investigation by the police. D105

Before decisions are to be taken, there is a need to seek people's consent, that is a democracy, it [is] all about freedom of participation and speech. The outcome of the verdicts should reflect exactly what the conflicting parties narrated without fair or favours. D106

[...]The constitution of Nigeria allows people to talk and be listened to and views reflect the decisions of the police [...] D108

5.2.2 Interviewees' perceptions of fair decisions making

When the participants were asked during interviews to discuss their experience if police allowed them or other members of their community to put up their defence in cases that involved them, most of the participant believed that police do not allow them while few said police allowed them. On a general note, participants believed that consent to express their experiences about what they feel about a matter that involves them is important to fair decision making.

When it comes to decision [making] by police we need to be represented. There is no justice when you are forced to accept decisions without listening to all the people involved in the matter presented before the police; this I personally feel is an injustice [...] Even where individual views are sought in most cases these views have no impact on the final decision of the police. A3 Non-elite

[...]Fairness of police in the decision must appeal to human rights of all in such a way that all citizens can answer and ask questions concerning issues that affect them without intimidation. The police should not be seen to be impartial [...] A5 Non-elite Kuje

Well, I doubt very much if there is such law anywhere in the world where people are judged outside their knowledge on issues that involved them. If it happened anywhere, it is against the principle of democracy [...] C4 Non-elite Gwagwalada

 [...] In all aspect, the police need to strengthen relationships with members of the community; opinions of community members are required on how best they could be policed. Some of the community members can suggest to the police how best they could bring control [...]Police just need to be friends to the community and respect wish of the people. The community can suggest measures that can improve policing services. The vigilantes are doing well, they listen to and respect people opinions, police should learn from this group. C1 Elite Gwagwalada

[...]Police must operate according to the principle of fairness, where the individual is allowed an opportunity to present his view of the story. It will be human right abuse if citizens are denied fair representation in the decision that affects him [...] D1 Elite Kuje

5.2.3 Section discussion

There was a general agreement among different participants that there is a need for cooperation between the police and the policed in decision-making processes. Participants believe that police officers need to present an opportunity for people to defend themselves in any case that concern them before legal officers. As argued above by participant D106 (in the discussion) and A3 (in a non-elite interview) citizens believed that lack of opportunity to present one's case fully during interrogation or investigation represents a

moral and social offence against them. These participant views can resonate with research findings concerning the quality of the decision-making process in the wider procedural justice literature (Tyler, 2003; Paternoster, 1997).

At the community level, as suggested by one of participants (such as D1), if police listen to community views, it means the police appreciate and recognize them as members of the community. Information from the members of the community is very vital for the police in effective control of crime in the neighbourhood. People tend to believe in the activities of the police when they perceived that the police will listen to them and use the information in the decision making process. This can encourage the community to supply relevant information to the police in solving crime problems, which will enhance trust (Tyler, 2006; Tankebe, 2013; Tyler, 2003).

Without community trust in the police, citizens may not be willing to cooperate with police, which in turn affects their trust in policing activities. The likelihood for citizens to report a crime against them, for example, might be reduced because they believed that the outcome will not reflect their view on the case reported, hence they might feel that it is a mere waste of time to report cases. This can lead to citizens taking laws into their own hands by remedying their issue in an informal way (see Chapter 2).

Police non-involvement of citizens in decision-making undermines legitimacy. Lack of involvement of citizens can also exacerbate perceptions that police decisions lack objectivity. This means they are likely to distrust the police and may refuse to report crimes where they have been the victimized because they believe that fair decisions will be undermined by a lack of objectivity (Paternoster, 1997; Fitzgerald et al., 2013)

Procedural fairness of treatment is not restricted to question of whether manners in which the police or the legal institution follows the legally acceptable procedures in a fair manner (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003; Tyler and Huo, 2002) but also involve the chance given to individuals to contribute in addressing their own problems (Fitzgerald et al., 2013). Scholars have shown

that the importance of citizens' presentation of their views has a great implication on police legitimacy and trust (Allan, 2003; 2001;Tamanaha, 2004). When citizens are permitted to contribute their ideas about issues facing them, they tend to consider the procedure more convincing, and subsequently, feel to be treated fairly (Fitzgerald et al., 2013). Scholars have argued that consent is important in building trust for the police. When public consent is respected people are ready to help the police in fighting crime (Murphy et al., 2008:137).

5.3 Perceptions of the discriminatory attitude of the police

When the question of respectfulness and friendliness of police was explored in interviews and group discussions, one of the strong themes that emerged was a discriminatory attitude amongst police. Most participants believed that the police are biased in their dealings, while a minority believed that they are not. Participants appear to understand the police discriminatory attitude as showing favour to those who are elite and discriminate against the non-elite. Views on this issue are extracted and presented below.

5.3.1 Focus group participants views of police discriminatory attitude

Abaji group

Whenever I see police on the street or anywhere I always have the feeling that they are crooks and full of discrimination against our people. If you are a politician or elite member living in these areas, you will enjoy the good patronage of the police. Some of the local politicians who lived around in the community enjoyed police services more than most of us. B102

Sure! B103, B104 and B105 (Laughter and spontaneous applause showing acceptance of the view of B102).

The difference is just too much, even the local politicians enjoyed the patronage of the police. Although not all the police show discrimination, most of them do. B105

Yes, not all. B103

Very bad habit! Majority of them treat people differently, especially when they feel you're poor. I don't like going to the station for anything. [...] B106

Yes, not all but that is what majority of them do. B108

Karu group

[...] There are lots of unequal treatments in this community. Let me just give an example: there is a particular ethnic group in this area that is well known for controlling the economy of the community. The way the police treat this group generally is quite different from other groups. Also, if you're not from the Elite group they have a habit of disregarding you. Police will have regards for you if you are a successful businessman or you work in a good office in this community. A202

Yes [Echoed] A203, A202 andA205

Yes, that exactly what they do. A206

They are just too harsh on us; they give respect to rich members only. This attitude of the police has caused tension around here; people do not respect the police anymore, people have ganged up to assault police and even members of their family. Even the police are frightened to walk around when they are off official duties because they know that people don't like them. A204

They are just concerned about people who have money[...] A205

Nyanyan group

[…] Most of the police are so biased and heartless. They gave more attention to influential members of this community than those who are less influential. People are not happy, many times people have blocked the road and protested about the discriminatory attitudes of the police. People have refused the order of the police and caused chaos and use the opportunity to loot peoples' stalls — this is mostly exhibited by youths who are unemployed. A106

That is right; if you are not from the Nyanyan royal house or community political group they are careless about you. This attitude has generated serious tension here. People have burnt police stations in this area because of the biased attitude of the police. People disregard police order and render insult on them.A103

That's their habit everywhere. They caused this problem because the people feel the police always side those who are rich in this community [Reaction to A103 view]. A105

These are not a new experience in this community, it a normal thing with police everywhere. A110

Majority of the police do this, only a few of them are good, that's Nigerian police for you. A106

Yes! Yes! few are good. A103, A104, A109 and A107 (collectively).

Zuba group

It is noticeable, however, that completely different opinions dominated among Zuba focus group participants. The following conversations presented views on this theme:

Police are good and offer equal treatment and provide good services to all the members in this area. C103

Yes! C104 and C107

Indeed, they are always ready anytime. They are always ready and treat people in the same way, ready in most situations to offer services to us. C102

Yes, that is the truth about the police in this area! They treat people equally and protect everyone. C107

Yes! C102 and C107

However, in the same group, some members have a converse view. Below is the sequence of the narratives of three members from the group about the discriminatory behaviour of the police:

Sir do not listen to these people, they have shops and their house are very close to the market. If you had a shop in the ultra-modern market you are lucky because that is where some of the rich men and big industrialists have their warehouses, police patrol those areas often. Majority of us are not living around there. C105

Yes, that is correct, I never saw police patrolling this area frequently as they do around the ultra-modern market. We are not just happy with what is happening to us. Some people are secured with their property while others are suffering. C106

They are not just visible. There is no security here, we grouped ourselves daily just to secure the area, but what can local gun and arrow do. The rate of missing people is just too much.C105

Yes, you're right we don't sleep. C108

It is only when you walk down the market you see the police at different locations. Sir just walk down after this discussion you will see them with weapons. C109

5.3.2 Interviewees' perceptions of police discrimination

When research participants in the urban part of Abuja were asked to discuss with me if the police treat people equally during contacts, there was a general feeling among most of the non-elite participants that the police are biased and that only those who are influential members of the community received favourable treatment. They maintained that the police services are lopsided in favour of some members of the community who are influential. There was a feeling also that the police give more attention to members of their own families and ethnic groups. There were also indications by a few non-elites that the police are not discriminatory. Majority of the elite participants said that the police are not discriminatory while few said the police are discriminatory. Excerpts from interviews with urban residents of Abuja are evidence of some of the claims.

> [...]I think there are so many aspects of police discrimination in this community. I can't really understand what is going on. Hardly you saw police around, most especially during the night when they are expected to be around and protect us. If you walk around the rich people quarters, you will see many policemen around. They are everywhere; I think we need the police more than these people, we are disturbed about crime going on every day here [...] A4 Non-elite Amac/Garki

> The Nigerian police are very terrible; they embarrass you before the elites most especially when you have a conflict with one of them. When one of the members knocked my brother's car that the police perceived to be richer, the police embarrassed him and made him feel rejected by the society, he was accused of not using a road-worthy car. Despite all his defences, he was accused of the offence he did not commit. D5 Non-elite Kuje

> We do not like the police; they treat us differently from other members of this community because these members are rich.

Because of their attitude, people have burned the stations and sometimes stone the police vehicle when they are moving around or passing through the street [...] C5 Non-elite Gwagwalada

[...] Prompt attention and fairness of police regarding issues that concern members in most situations are subject to the fact that you have an affinity with the police as a member of their family. You can only get fair treatment when the police know that you are influential or you have a relationship with someone who is very important in this town [...]. A police station was burnt sometimes last year because of a case that involved a son of politician and a primary school teacher's son in which many showed sympathy for the teacher's son and followed the police officer that handled the case to his house after the official hours and was severely beaten. The police invited other police officers to his rescue. This further generated tension between the community members and the police in which two civilians were killed [...] B4 Non-elite Abaji

[...] Discriminatory attitude is not new in Nigeria, this not limited to police alone; there is discrimination everywhere. If you are seeking for a job, you are discriminated because of your affinity with a clique or ethnicity group. Recruitment in the police takes all form of discrimination [...] A3 Amac/Garki

[...] I think the police are doing fairly well in dealing with members. Well, I think they treat members equally on the understanding that everyone is equal before the law [...] D1 Elite Kuje

[...] In most cases, only those who are influential get a good treatment in the hands of the police. I have witnessed this before; the police will treat you well when you are powerful [...] C1 Elite Gwagwalada

Some of the non-elite interview participants who had direct contact with the police believed that the police are not discriminatory. Their views extracted from long passages of evidence presented below:

> [...]They showed respect when a criminal breach of trust was reported against me by an influential woman of this community; I lost hope of not been imprisoned. But the way the case was handled was so impressive to both of us. They listened and offer useful options on how the money could be paid back to the lender. I think that is commendable[...] A6 Amac/Garki

> I received a good reception from the police when I reported one of the influential men who assaulted my wife, the case was thoroughly investigated and the accused was blamed. The way the two of us were involved in the case was so satisfactory. My neighbour apologized to my wife and to me; we both had friendly handshakes. C5 Non-elite Gwagwalada

Some of the members interviewed said that they have heard from people as well as read and listened to news concerning the discriminatory attitude of the police. The specific examples that were shared are paraphrased below to express their understandings of discriminatory treatment people experienced at the hand of the police.

> In one of the police stations, around this area, a man brought in a complaint about encroachment on his inherited small piece of land by a politician, but when the politician was summoned to the police station, he approached the Divisional police officer (DPO) to discuss privately. Later the complainant was detained and asked to forget his land and relocate to another area if he wants peace. (paraphrase of the story told by A5 Non-elite Amac/Garki)

> A poor tenant reported that he found his landlord on his matrimonial bed with his wife...The matter never was investigated

nor was the tenant updated about the case. In the same police station, the said landlord brought a complaint that he found the same tenant making romantic approaches to his 25-year-old daughter, and the tenant was arrested and detained for weeks[...] B3 Non-elite Abaji

The police arrested two youths fighting in a club at night. One of them was the son of a politician, while the other was just a common street boy. The street boy was arrested and detained while the son of the politician was released and was given a ride home. D2 Non-elite Rubochi

5.3.3 Section discussion

The finding showed that perceptions of discriminatory attitude on the part of the police varied amongst the participants. Among the rural community (captured in focus group discussions), for example, a majority said that the police discriminated against them, while a minority believed that police did not. Among the non-elite interviewees in urban areas, a majority believed that the police discriminated against them and only a few felt this never happened. In contrast, a majority of the elite interviewees said that police don't discriminate, while a minority said they have experienced police discriminatory attitude.

The findings thus show that most of the participants from both rural and urban communities believed that the police discriminated against them, and this was especially pronounced among those who might be considered to have a non-elite social status. These groups said that they needed the services of the police more than where the police efforts were mostly concentrated. Conversely, most elite research participants felt that police do not discriminate with only a few believing that police discriminate. This suggests that there is a link between the participant's perception of discriminatory policing attitude and the type of community or residential areas in which they live and the trust in the police. The research also showed that the elite

members of the community reported more positive experiences and benefit of the services of the police than the non-elite participants in this research. Overall, the narratives of the participants show the widespread perception of police bias, and how it is seems to occur. The narratives of the participants present to us show how people feel that things should take place and the reactions of the police towards issues that concerns public interest.

Based on the findings, one might argue that the discriminatory attitude perceived by people would encourage hostility towards more elite members of society if services of the police are lopsided and favour the interest of the elites. The responses to a sense of police discrimination in carrying out their role can include people resisting police (e.g. in a public breach of peace); not following the law or developing their own non-state (informal) forms of law enforcement which was notable in references to vigilantism as an accepted mechanism of social order and justices discussed by participants A204 and A103. As participant A106 remarks show above, responses to police discrimination include the use of protests and resistance like blocking roads to demonstrate their grievances. More serious forms of assault and retaliation were mentioned by participants resulting from the discriminatory attitude of the police resistance, protest and disorder were mentioned including the destruction of property and assaults on citizens who refuse to join in the mayhem. One of the participants also mentioned that they have witnessed a situation where a victim of perceived discriminatory attitude engaged his assailant with open hostility and hit him with a stick and ran away. This might also serve as an opportunity for retaliation and reprisal attacks on the perceived enemies who may not be reported to the police because of the perceived discriminatory attitude and perceived injustice of the police.

Participants believed that one of the implications of a discriminatory attitude of the police as discussed by participants "A204" and "A106" is that they hate the police and do not like visiting them for any security assistance. They further argued that in some places police officers were been attacked after closure from work and even members of their family were assaulted. Those who have experienced forms of hatred or hostility from the police may take

direct action against them and are likely to believe that police are not legitimate and trustworthy. Participant B4 noted that aggression triggered by police maltreatment led to the police station been burnt in the community.

This research, therefore, supports previous studies that people who believe that the police engage in unfair practices, such as discriminatory policing, express much lower support for the legitimacy of the police as well as lack of trust in the police (Tyler and Wakslak, 2004; Brunson, 2007). Discriminatory treatment of members of the community clearly had adverse implications on participant' view of police, and this is also reflected in wider research (Renauer, 2011). This finding supports the prior study that perception of discriminatory decisions can undermine the public's trust in police because fairness is one of the attributes that individuals desire most from officers (Skogan and Frydl, 2004:7).

5.4 Perceptions of police respectfulness

When the participants were asked if they could discuss with me from their experience of respectful and friendly behaviour among police officers during the performance of their duties, most responses especially those from rural towns and urban non-elites characterized the police as disrespectful, willing to violate people's dignity and also unapproachable. In contrast, a majority of elite interviewees believed that the police are putting in their best in establishing a cordial relationship while a minority of the elite has a contrasting view. Participants who felt the police were disrespectful and displayed an unfriendly attitude argued that they were not objecting to being stopped and searched or asked questions; rather, they objected to the manner they were stopped and spoken to by police officers. Specifically, they reported that officers were usually disrespectful and that they used rude language and name-calling in their contact.

5.4.1 Focus group participants of police [dis]respectfulness

Karu group

The Nigerian police are so vulgar in their use of language in communicating with members, watch them on the street, they refer to innocent citizens as "bloody civilians" or "area", "weed", meaning they are outsiders or unwanted persons. A204

Yes, it is not a hidden fact, they asked questions in an offensive manner and they feel they are right by using such language on innocent citizens. But very few of them are polite. They were not friendly when they approach me as a witness [...] A206

Yes! Few of them are friendly. A203, A201and A208

Yeah, I feel that too. But the majority of them are rude Whenever you come in contact with the police, most especially if they know you are not an influential person, they used all kind language on you[...] A202

Absolutely, they only have respect for those they perceived as powerful here...You dare not the Nigerian police, they will insult you and call you all sorts bad names they used in addressing crooks. They beat people who challenge their authority. A203

No doubt about this, that the way they behave. I have refused to answer all the question the police asked me in one of the encounters. He was very rude without any courtesy when he wanted to confirm from me an area around this community. A206

Honestly, most of the police are bad-mannered; they use offensive words on citizens [...] A207

Nyanyan group

> [...] They used a different kind of bad language to describe innocent members. They are just too nasty for my liking! People are scared to approach them.A102

> Yes, they're rude when talking to people, they are difficult to deal with [...] I fear approaching the police for anything [...] He just felt he should talk to me as an ordinary citizen, very impolite way of asking unnecessary questions. A103

> Yes! I think they are the worst enemy we have; they are not friendly in any of their approaches, very bad-tempered.A102

> [...] The police are not properly trained on how to interact with people. Most especially when they are in uniform, they feel they are above everyone. They do not show respect, but they expect respect from us[...]A110

> Yeah! [in agreement with A110] A104 and A106

Zuba group

However, the Zuba group narrated their experiences of police [un]friendliness with different contrasting views perspective, where most of these participants claimed that police are respectful and friendly to them some of them said that unfriendliness of the police is worrisome issue to them. The excerpts of their views are presented below:

> I really appreciate the way police treat people in this area, they show respect and they always felt happy with people here. We respect the police in this area.C103

> [Applauded in agreement] C106,C107 and C110

> They are good people.C107

> That is not true the police are not good, they are rude and disregard people. C105

> Yes, agree they are disrespectful and feel they are better than any member of the community because of their uniform. C109

Absolutely, you are right; I hate the police because their attitude towards the people showed that they are not friendly. They frown at civilians for no reason. C108

But majority don't frown, they're friendly and ready to offer their services to us. C110

5.4.2 Interviewees' perceptions of police [dis]respectfulness

When both elite and non-elite interviewees were asked about their experiences of respectful and friendly conduct of police officers, there were mixed reactions; most research elite participants tended to believe that the police are respectful while very few of this group believed that the police are disrespectful. A majority of the elites believed that the police are friendly and respectful. These study participants commended the friendliness of the police and argued that the Nigerian police force (NPF) had played a friendly role in mediating conflict in the community.

The excerpts from the long quotes indicate the views of the participants below.

> [...] We need to appreciate the Nigerian police; they are hardworking and have concerns for the people they are called to serve. For so long untiring years of suppressing Boko Haram attack on innocent Nigerians, the Nigerian police carried a very heavy burden of responsibility, they worked very long hours with low salary and they dealt with difficult situations - with credit to them and this government. There has never been among them any sign of restlessness, betrayal or defiance. They have worked throughout these years with cheerfulness and as good spirit. They have shown true commitments of their obligations to the government which employs them, and to the public whose families and property they guard [...] A2 Elite Amac/Garki

> [...]I think the police need to be given commendation for what they do in this country. They are the only security agent of the

government that the public should appreciate because they are always with citizens; they attend to them when they are threatened by another member ...The Nigerian police are doing a good job; they treat members with kindness. I doubt if there is any criminal agency in Nigerian that provides services to the public with all tolerance like the Nigerian police. Their attitudes are always portraying an image of kindness and humane agents of the government[...] A1 Elite Amac/Garki

Despite the low salary compared to other security agents in this country, I think they are lowest paid, but perform more tasks than any of these security agencies. With little salary and even the attitude of some of the Nigerians towards the police, they still maintained a good rapport with members of the community. The Nigerian police are the friendliest among the military and paramilitary officers. The police have settled many disputes and united those who have had a disagreement concerning land and issues of inheritance in the past in such a friendly manner. They have played a stabilizing role between two neighbourhoods who had a disagreement over political leadership in this. B1Elite Abaji

 [...]There are many reasons why we should appreciate the Nigerian police. They are very friendly to all. It is the only government agency that people run into when they are in danger. It is the only government agents that forfeit the welfare of his family member for the public. It is the only government agency that protects the life and the properties of all members. In the night they are everywhere, in the morning you can see them parading the street and public places and during the day they are available Few of them are bad, very bad, they could be rude, especially those of them who are from influential homes or who have links with some of the top politicians. D1 Elite Kuje

One of the sharply contrasting views, from both elite interviews below show how unfriendliness and rudeness, is differently framed as excusable and reasonable in the first quote and tied to serious violent police behaviour in the second quote.

[...] They are mostly looking aggressive anytime you see them; they beat civilians as if they were on the battlefield. We have had cases of brutality in this community severally, beating people with the belt and kicking people as if they were playing football [...] The Nigerian police are very unfriendly and cruel; they have no regard for any law. They feel they are above the law and maltreat people the way they like. When you're in authority or high position that is when they respect you and treat you kindly. C1 Elite Gwagwalada

Some of the non-elite interviews who believed that police are generally bad and discriminatory shared their experiences as follows:

> [...] Here in Nigeria, I do not know of anyone who knows of any affectionate word or nickname for the Nigeria Police Force. On the other hand, the words and phrases of contempt and disrespect are not lacking. The Nigeria Police Force is the only force I have encountered, that addresses members of less privilege as an old boy or bloody civilian and privilege members as Oga [boss] or sir. In another way round, they are addressed by members of the public as hammer [...] B5 Non-elite Abaji

> [...]It is an unfortunate situation in this country that the police perceived the people they are supposed to protect as enemies. It is usually difficult to differentiate the treatment of crooks from those that engaged in civil cases. They [police officers] are so mean that they beat civilian with their belt and sometimes with the boot of their guns. They are always threatening innocent civilians with a gun on the street. This is the kind of police force we have in Nigeria[...] D5 Non-elite Kuje

One of the non-elite participants who experienced police discriminatory attitude shared his experience thus:

> [...] This is kind of nasty experience we get with police here. A police officer slapped one of my neighbours because he told the police to stop using the abusive word on him [...] A3 Non-Elite Amac/Abaji

One of the non-elite members who had direct contact with the police pointed to the brutality of the police and made a comparison between the UK police and Nigerian counterparts:

> [...] Some policemen threatened to beat me and lock me up when I challenged them on why they should be gambling while on duty. I have watched films on police behaviours in many countries and how they deal with people especially those who are suspected criminal; most of the British police are receptive, respectful, friendly and honest while the Nigerian police are completely opposite [...] A6 Non-elite Amac/Abaji

Another member associated police brutality with the type of orientation the police received during training. She observed that the problem of police brutality lies in the training that lays too much emphasis on physical and firearms training to the detriment of training on ability to handle social conflicts and courtesy on how to deal with human beings. His views goes thus

> [...] In many police arrest operations, harassment, beating, and indiscriminate use of force take overriding precedence over professionalism and that in such a situation, civility is thrown off, given way to hostility and disrespectfulness. Even a musician in this country confirmed police unkindness and unfriendliness. If you ever listened to Fela music, you get the picture of what I am saying. Fela gave the real image of the police as an agent of government whose trademark is sorrow, tear and blood (meaning that the

Nigerian police are known for inflicting sorrow, pains waste innocent citizens' blood). C3 Non-elite Gwagwalada

One of the non-elite interviewees when comparing the old police force with the new one tends to give higher support for the former police force than the current one, maintaining that the formal police was friendlier and gentler than the present police. The quotes below are extracted from the longer interview:

[...] I remember it all; I remember it with so much clarity as if it happened only yesterday. I feel compelled to wonder if the Nigeria Police force has always been as brutal as it was inhuman during its confrontation with some youth in town who demanded that the government should not remove subsidy on fuel product during the last few months in part of Abuja. My answer, I make bold to say, is no. The Police we had was humane and polite". B5 Non-elite Abaji

Another study participant cited the causes of police unfriendliness in conflict resolution as a lack of education and proper training. A case of conflict between two communities was cited and he believed that the police aggravated the situation, all of which could have been avoided if the situations had been handled in a friendly and efficient manner. An extracted quote below is evidence of unfriendliness of the police:

[...] The Nigerian police lack basic education about conflict management and resolution. Many hostilities would have been brought under control if diplomacy was engaged in settling disputes between two warring communities. Where conflicts were suppressed, it is mostly through ruthless suppression that resulted in aggravated injuries, loss of lives, and destruction of properties. This heightens more mutual hostility among the warring members. C5 Non-elite Gwagwalada

Another member of the non-elite group who claimed to have experienced lack of police respect when they were approached during marriage ceremony narrated his experience when officers came around to enquire if they had official permission to perform a marriage ceremony in private community hall from the police headquarters. He maintained that it was a very bad situation in which police officers slapped one in his group members which resulted in aggression between the group and the two police officers:

> [...] It was really a bad situation, the manner of finding out if we had permission from the office was very offensive, no courtesy, they just pop into the arena and asked that we should provide evidence or proof for such meeting. The manner was rude, in which some members challenged the police authority for such actions. This generated into an exchange of abusive word between us and the police in which one our members were slapped on the face [...] The police don't deserve any respect and trust, they are just bad. B3 Non-elite

5.4.3 Section discussion

The finding of this section is that most of the participants believed that police are disrespectful and unfriendly, while only few believed that police are respectful when performing their duties. Among the non-elite for instance, the majority claimed that the police are unfriendly in performing their duties while only a few believed that police are friendly. A majority of group participants in the rural communities (i.e. those taking part in focus groups), believed that police are disrespectful and unfriendly, while a minority of the groups believed that the police are kind and respectful. Participants' unfavourable views of police politeness and good manners were directly expressed. The narratives of participants also showed widespread police harassment in their neighbourhoods.

Study participants' detailed accounts of what they viewed as unfriendly policing methods apparently undermined police legitimacy before the citizens

(participant B3). The current study found that unfriendly behaviour on the part of the police can have a damaging effect in the eyes of the citizens, leading them to feel that the police are not observant of their freedoms. This agrees with prior research (Mastrofski et al., 2002; Tyler and Wakslak, 2004).

The policing in this context involves being respectful and polite. It has been argued that the behaviour of the police that the public perceives as unfair violates the normative principle of "interpersonal treatment" (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003; Tyler and Huo, 2002). Police unfriendliness thus is more than a mere courtesy; it can undermine public trust, and also be linked to excessive or violent means of achieving order. This kind of police treatment might impact on the social lives of citizens; citizens who experienced police harassment are likely to restrict their movement and avoid those areas that they perceived as frequently patrolled by the police. In several instances' participants maintained that some friends and relations who experienced police maltreatment are unwilling now to have any further contact believing that they would be exposed to police humiliation. Some participants also said that besides ceremonies such as marriages, group meetings - such as youth meeting and even ethnic group meetings -were no longer regularly held because of fears that police could violently intrude and inflict injuries.

It can further be argued that the implication of police hostility and unfriendliness might lead to passers-by who experienced police unkindness and cruelty to any member of the public to avoid such areas. This is because they believe that they are likely to be the next victims; given that police can use their discretion during a patrol of the streets and other public places and assault them even when they engaged in lawful movement and activities. When police actions such as brutality and unkindness are perceived to hinder free movement to visit friends and relations, there is tendency for the mistreated person(s) to challenge police authority and this might result in hostility and hatred (Udosen, et al., 2006). Individuals' perceptions of unfriendly policing have important implications for procedural justice and police legitimacy (Skogan and Frydl, 2004). Specifically, research concerning citizens' attitudes toward police has consistently found that perceptions of

any form of hatred and maltreatment from the police tend to develop opposition and aggression from citizens through violent means towards the police (Renauer, 2007; Reisig and Lloyd 2009)

5.5 Chapter Discussion

The main issues addressed by this study (see chapter 1) are factors that influence public trust in the police in Abuja? This chapter identified several factors that contribute to what Nigerians expect from their police — in order to perceive their police as legitimate and trustworthy. Police fairness was assessed in relation to objectivity, respectfulness, politeness, fair decision making and friendliness. These themes provided a strong starting point for exploring the first research question, the main objective of this chapter. The theoretical perspectives outlined above provide several pieces of evidence that are prevailing in the current research. For people to believe that police activity is legitimate they need to believe that officers' actions are reasonable and equitable (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003; Tyler and Wakslak, 2004; Tyler, 2006). This suggests that officers who seem to act in an aggressive manner can threaten citizens' perception of legitimacy and experience lack of trust (see chapter 8 for further discussion).

One of the objectives of this research is to examine perceptions pattern among the sub-groups in Nigeria. The finding shows that most non-elites and rural dwellers perceived the Nigerian Police Force (NPF) as disrespectful and unfriendly. Most elite members believed that police are courteous and friendly, only a few argued that police officers are bad-mannered, disrespectful and unfriendly. The above disparity showed that police seem to have been cooperating with certain groups of citizens, most especially the elite citizens, who are politicians, businessmen and other influential members than those who are perceived as less privileged members.

Fairness as a condition for public support raises important concerns about the role the police are expected to play in society; how they should behave in general, what tactics should be used, and how officers should exercise their

discretion on a daily basis (Tuffin et al. 2006:4). These issues have been brought clearly as central points in a recent study which focuses on procedural fairness in understanding trust in the Nigerian police. This chapter shows that a lack of procedural fairness has undermined participants trust in the police. This has resulted in concerns as suggested by participants. For instance, most of the participants believed that unfair policing has resulted in protest, widespread disorder, incivility complaints and unwillingness to report crimes. Empirical research shows that the way police officers act and what their actions communicate to the public has implication for shaping people trust which further encourages greater respect for the law and encourages cooperation with police to fight crime (Tuffin et al. 2006).

The finding of the current research suggests that dealing with the concerns and priorities of local communities continues to be an important function of the police as participants mentioned these considerations in assessing how well they thought of the police. For instance, the study participants believed that they will trust the police in a situation where the police employ a friendly engagement with them through acknowledging their worth as human and their interest; this they said, will increase their participation by providing information to the police concerning criminal activities in their community. A recent analysis of the British Crime Survey found that the issues people thought were not being dealt with by the police and local authorities were primarily related to community involvement in providing information concerning deviant behaviours – such as loitering, initiating chaos and littering the streets by youths (Myhill et al. 2010). Increased public confidence can be achieved by solving the problems, identified through good quality engagement; this seems to be what mattered most to local people. This finds further support from previous research (Tuffin et al. 2006).

Importantly, in this research legitimacy of the police was found to be more strongly associated with courteous treatment people received from the police. The finding also showed that trust enhances police legitimacy which, in turn, encourages people to help the police and not break the law. In other words, by making fair decisions and treating people fairly, police can

motivate greater participation in supporting police work as well as encouraging greater respect for the law. Previous research has shown that most detections of crime come from information provided voluntarily by the public. Willingness to provide helpful information, suggestion and, other useful clues on detection of crime will depend on the level of trust in the police (Jansson 2005:15; Myhill et al. 2012:122).

Overall, perceptions of police fairness and good interpersonal treatment also formed an important argument of the research participants. Participants [D6, A203] have argued that they can also obey the police when they believed police value their dignity by respecting them as human beings and stop treating them like law violators. Many of the participants argued that they have received maltreatment from the police and for that reason, they have no confidence in the police. The consequences are that lack of good fair treatment contravenes the principle of interpersonal treatment (Tyler and Huo, 2002). Studies have found that good interpersonal treatment from police enhances trust and confidence and the extent to which the police are viewed as legitimate (Jackson et al., 2012a, 2014).

From previous research and the narratives of participants in the current research, its shows that people in local communities are best placed to know what the issues and problems of crime and its pervasiveness are in their neighbourhood, this can help specify the nature of problems, and which cause the greatest harm that threatens their wellbeing. However, where public experiences of authorities are harsh and inhumane treatment is being experience, people are more likely to be unwilling to assist the police and suggest how problems can be solved perceiving that the police are not fair (Forrest et al. 2005; Tuffin et al., 2006).

The research finding further suggests that the study participants believed they would trust the police if they had a clearer understanding of the motive behind police action or intentions when dealing with them. Many participants claimed that they are not willing to assist the police and report criminal activities because the police lack good motive when they reported cases of

assault and breaches against them. They mentioned instances where police demonstrated a lack of objectivity by favouring some people over others, with especially the elites in Abuja being perceived as the main beneficiaries of police courteous treatment.

Finding also showed that the public is ready to provide extra information that might lead to a reduction in crime if they believed the police to be friendly and respect their views. Participants have indicated that they challenged police authority and their legitimacy in different instances for lack of good manner of approach against what they believed the police ought to be doing. This suggests that it is more important to foster a sense of shared values with local communities and to undertake good quality participation. If the police are viewed as legitimate in the sense that they share a common purpose or believe with the public, people are more likely to say they will report crimes and suspicious activities and provide information about suspected offenders to the authorities (Murphy et al., 2009).

Furthermore, it is possible that the specific tactics of police could make the situation better or worse in terms of uniting or dividing members of the public with/from the police. Social psychologists have, for example, argued that by treating everyone the same and as if they are all crooks, it is impossible for the police to unite the crowd in hostility (Reicher et al. 2007: 409). If, on the other hand, the police are seen to act fairly and treat people with respect, it can encourage group members who have law-abiding intentions to support themselves with the police and to regulate or control other group members who intend to cause trouble. Within such an approach, enforcement and the use of force might then be necessary, fair and legitimate responses to deal with some group members and to sustain order (Reicher et al. 2007).

As shown from the finding, I argued that there are differences in the perception between the elite and non-elite views because, the pattern was apparent and resonates with another research finding which showed that the areas where elites are concentrated are likely to experience unfair policing compared to areas where non-elite citizens live (Jones-Brown, 2007; Nivette

and Akoensi, 2019). These factors are very important in exploring and validating procedural justice in Africa and countries where elites have a monopoly of power and over institutions such as criminal justice (Nivette and Akoensi, 2019; Nivette, 2014).

Several participants expressed the view that police judged them based on the community they lived in and on their social economic status. As mentioned, the participants argued that differential treatment they experienced from police has further made worse their perceptions that the police act unfairly toward them. Many argued that they have avoided the police in many situations to avoid being victims of police discriminatory attitudes. Participants argued that negative experiences of the police have made them have low confidence in police officers and lack willingness to cooperate with the police and even to report the crime at all. This aligns with the findings of Jones-Brown (2007) who argued that the police treat people based on their socio-economic status and areas they live. It can be argued further that the discriminatory attitude towards certain groups in the community has the tendency of diminishing trust in the police believing that the police are unfair to them (Tyler and Wakslak, 2004; Renauer, 2007).

The findings in this chapter also suggest that aggressive policing manifest in widespread discrimination, harassment and unfriendliness. As mentioned by participants above, there are situations where conflict which would be harmoniously resolved was further aggravated because of the lack of good procedures. The finding suggests that the level of cooperation has clear practical benefits to officers when dealing with possibly conflicting situations such as group contestations. This then shows that the procedure or methods the police utilize when dealing with the local issues and concerns are also of crucial importance, particularly as public cooperation is essential to support police's efforts in reducing crime. This may suggest that fair and respectful treatment by the police, in a general sense, might enhance the solidarity among members that make disorder less likely (Reicher et al. 2004). This has a wide range of implications for police, both at the level of the patrol officer who interacts with the public daily and at the level of criminal justice

systems more generally. Prior research has shown that lack of trust in the police's ability to carry out their duties fairly and equitably can create a decline in public support (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003; Tyler and Wakslak, 2004; Renauer, 2007) and overall in the public's obedience to the justice system (Jackson and Bradford 2009).

It has been established that if the public evaluate the police to be using fair procedures; treating people with respect; and giving people the opportunity to voice their opinions, then the public will most likely comply with the law (Hough et al., 2013; Murphy et al., 2009; Tyler, 2006). However, if the public perceives unfairness, resulting in disrespect, misuse of power during the exercise of police authority, then they are likely to distrust the police and disobey the law (Jackson et al., 2012a, 2014; Murphy et al., 2016; Sunshine and Tyler, 2003).

5.6 Conclusion

The discussion in this chapter focuses on key issues in procedural justice, the main theoretical framework of this study. It includes a summary of the key findings in relation to this. The participant responses discussed in this chapter attempts the questions concerning the relationship between the perception of police fairness and citizen trust among subgroups in Abuja are most likely to trust the police, or not. It also showed participant comments that might assist in explaining the crime situation in Abuja, given that lack of support for the police, led to resistance, sometimes in the form of criminal disorder and attacks, but also an unwillingness to report crimes.

In assessing the procedural theory of trust and its applicability in Abuja, I conclude that there is a relationship between the perceived legitimacy of the police and citizens' trust in them. The findings obtained to support the general assumption that citizens' trust and confidence in institutions such as the police increase as their perceptions of police fairness increase (Tyler 2006a; Sunshine and Tyler, 2003; Tyler and Hou 2002; Hough 2013). This

assumption was derived from the procedural theory, which has been used to explain variations in trust in the police.

Tyler's procedural justice model (see Chapter 3) believes that when police officers treat people with respect and dignity, utilize neutral and fair decision-making processes, and allow people a say in matter that concerns them, police demonstrates to the people that they are respected and recognized members of the society which the police are part. The demonstration of authority through fair process by treating people in ways that are recognized to be fair, respectful and formal and engaging in fair and neutral decisions— improves the solidary between people and authorities (Tyler 2006a; Sunshine and Tyler, 2003; Tyler and Hou 2002; Hough 2013). The application of procedural justice shows that authority's power is reasonable and that they are acting in accord with fairness, suggesting that people are more likely to regard the police as legitimate, to submit to their authority, and to feel that the authority they exercise is satisfactory (Tyler et al. 2010; Meares and Tyler 2014)

However, most of the previous studies examining people's motivation to cooperate with the police and obey the law have been carried out in the UK (see Chapter 3). It should not be assumed that these ideas necessarily carry across a range of social, cultural and legal institutions. Historical factors and the post-colonial activities (See Chapter 2) have continuing serious consequences on the activities of the present-day policing in Nigeria not only because it can help to diminish the police service, but also because it marks out an important way in which officers can fulfil their oath of office (Nivette and Akoensi, 2019). The participants' views reported here, however, show strong resonance with this literature specifically that the police can enhance legitimacy, and this might ultimately help in efforts to reduce crime.

6 Police effectiveness and trust

The significance of police effectiveness in gaining trust has been a constant issue of debate by scholars of policing (Tankebe, 2008; Tyler and Fagan, 2008; Bradford 2012). Public cooperation with police is very essential for effective control of crime. Police effectiveness involves having valid and reliable information about the character and distribution of crime and criminals, educate the relevant public in the methods and nuances of crime prevention and warning the people about 'new' crimes and criminal characters. It also entails patrolling the towns and cities, particularly, those areas identifiable as having relatively high incidences of crime and restraining the potential offender from committing crime (Odekunle, 1979:65).

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the relationship between police effectiveness and trust. The first part of this chapter discusses what function people feel the police should be fulfilling; the second section deals with citizens' views of the crime prevention investigation and detection efforts of the police. The third section deals with citizens' views of the order maintenance and law enforcement efforts of the Nigerian Police Force and the fourth section deals with citizen's view of the police efforts to protect persons and properties.

In both the discussions and interviews, I have tried to give a sense of shared views, and to recognise views that are dissimilar from other groups and from other interviewees. For example, where members of a group shared the same views with others, not all such views are represented in order to avoid repetition, but I acknowledge and consider dissimilar views where these are expressed.

6.1 Focus group perceptions of police functions

When citizens were asked to discuss with me during the group discussions and interviews what they thought were the functions of the police, their responses emphasized three issues: order maintenance and enforcement of

the law; protection of lives and property; investigation and arrest of criminals. The extracted quotations represented below show the claims of participants:

Abaji group

> I think the function of the police is to see that laws are enforced and obeyed. There is no other way that members of the community can better enjoy their existence and cooperate with others if there is lawlessness. Members will experience peace and unity when the law is enforced and maintained, basically, this what I feels the police should be doing. B102

> I think that is correct, this is the most important aspect of the police job, if not people would interfere with other members' affairs. B104

> Police are to make sure that people's lives and properties are protected from any criminal. B110

> I love that, the function of the police is to further arrest anybody who does not respect the law. Laws are formed to guide members behaviour and to prevent unjust interferences in other members activities. B109

6.1.1 Interviewees' perceptions of functions of the police

When the members of urban towns were asked to discuss with me the functions of the Nigerian police, all their responses pointed primarily to maintenance and enforcement of law and detecting crime, protection of lives and properties and investigation and arrest of law violators in the neighbourhood. The interviewees' responses from the long quotes are extracted and presented below:

It is very important for me to point to the facts that the police in Nigeria are charged with the responsibility of securing members and their properties. The policemen are to look after people and be satisfied that they are protected. I think the major thing we need is security, we need protection from the police. The police are expected to investigate cases of crime and punish any erring member that constitute risks to others and ensure that people are secured. These are the major function I feel the police need to perform [...] Elite A2

[...] Police have a duty of enforcing the law and as well as to see that people comply with it. The duty of the police is to ensure that people are free from any attack anytime and anywhere. The police are expected to maintain order and peace in the neighbourhood. Making a routine visit to community members, found about their wellbeing, and have updated reports on crime commission and prevalence. That is the basic function the police need to perform [...] Non-elite B3

[...]The major function of the police is to ensure that lives and properties of the citizens are protected. The responsibility of the police is to keep all members safe and to be sure that nobody suffers any crime. Generally, they are to ensure the general well-being of the entire citizen[...] Non-elite B4

My feeling concerning the function of the police is to see that the police investigate crime and arrest any violator of the law and detect criminal and their hideout by regular patrol[...] Elite C1

6.1.2 Discussion

The above account of police functioning emphasises the need to prevent crime from occurring or making it more difficult to commit. This involves increased contact activities between the police and the public. It also

emphasises intensified supervision and detective efforts as well as greater efforts in investigative crime, apprehending and sanctioning offenders. Study participants believed that the police have many roles to perform; they mentioned that the police are expected to patrol the street regularly so as to be seen by members. The participants believed that when the police are seen around they are happy and feel secure. They further argued that police presence weakens the intentions of a potential criminal. According to the research participants, these activities form part of the regular work of the police and increase the general safety of the community.

However, it has been argued that if police perform effectively they are likely to be trusted and gain the cooperation of the citizens who may, in turn, be willing to report a crime in their neighbourhood. Studies have found that there is a positive association between citizens' attitudes and police performance (Bradford, et al, 2014; Weitzer et al, 2008; Weitzer and Tuch, 2002). These scholars maintain that if police demonstrate effectiveness in reducing crime and providing general services that are consistent with the citizen's expectation, trust in the police will develop and the citizens will be ready to engage with legal authority if they perceive that the police perform their functions according to the normative expectations of the citizens (Bradford, 2012). Inversely, if the police are unable to meet the protective and safety function in the neighbourhood, the citizens develop a cynical attitude towards them. The primary indicators of failure of the police to protect the citizens are those related to insecurity (Blumstein and Wallman, 2000). It is worth mentioning that the findings of previous studies are well supported by the current findings from the data collected from residents in Abuja on relationship between trust and perceived functions of the police (Hinds and Murphy, 2007; Tankebe, 2008; Reisig et al., 2012; Tyler and Fagan,2008; Bradford, 2014). If there is any predictor of trust in the police, it is the public perceptions of effective performance in addressing crime issues.

6.2 Citizens' view of the order maintenance and law enforcement efforts of the NPF

Despite the negative image of the police by the public in Nigeria (Alemika, 2008; Oluwagenga; 2017; Odekunle 1978), nobody among the study participants seems to argue that there is no need for the maintenance of law and order by the police. However, the way and manner by which the police perform these functions have been seriously challenged. However, it was clear that participants felt that policing was an important part of the system of maintaining law and order. The participants argued that the police are supposed to remove a state of lawlessness. The emphasis of this function is on the preservation of peace and order and law enforcement in society.

When the participants were asked to discuss with me in both interview and group discussions, how effective the police had been in the prevention and maintenance of order in their area, participants tended to be more subjective in their views of how these duties were carried out. For example, patrolling the street and arresting criminals, providing a quick response to crime and controlling burglary and theft were among factors identified as making effective policing. In addition, the participants perceived the possibility of police partnership with members of the community, controlling public disturbances and providing information on the prevalence of crime and how a citizen can best protect themselves was the basis for police effectiveness. I have presented the different argument from some of the rural areas participants and interviews conducted in some of the urban towns.

6.2.1 Focus group participants' views of law and order maintenance

Karu group

When the participants in Karu were asked to share their views with me concerning law and order maintenance, they pointed to the fact that they tend to have confidence when they see the police patrolling the street and identifying criminal hideouts and quick response to crime. Participants in that

context tended to see the police patrol and immediate response to the crime scene when called as evidence of effectiveness in the prevention of crime and maintenance of order. Most of the groups also believed that the visibility of the police and regular checks of the major streets and the residential areas will serve as a deterrent and that the police are doing a good job and ready to take action in relation to any potential criminal. Participants across these communities shared the views that the police are grossly inefficient in this function, with only one member of the group believing that the police are effective and should not be blamed, rather the government be blamed for not being effective. Below are some of the extracted quotes concerning participants' perceptions of law and order maintenance functions of the police.

> When we see the police patrolling the street as routine, we feel protected and our mind moves away against any crime or assaults from anywhere, but the police are not really doing this. A205

> Absolutely, that is what is expected! We want plenty of police officers to walk and look around; there is just a need for plenty of police around. The police are very lazy to patrol the streets. When you have the feeling that there are police around you, you're happy to move freely. A203

> Yes, seriously, that is their function I think the police need to increase their efforts on patrol. We need them as security agents. It is good for the police to go around. But you can't see the police around this area, they just doing nothing. They are just wicked people. A207

> Yes, they just need to do this job, in a good way. They just need to stay around the corner watch everyone passing day and night. They are not always around. They need to be up and doing, that is what they were paid to do. We need peace and security for our family [...] A206

> I think it will be wrong to just conclude that the police are not patrolling the streets. Honestly, they're trying. The few that come around use their motorbike. The police are trying; we should appreciate their efforts here. At least their presence sends a signal to potential crooks [...]A208

> Majority reacted to the view of A208. For instance, A207, A209 and A205 exclaimed loudly that the police are not trying.

Members in group discussion also pointed to the provision of information to members of the public as one of the effective policing. They argued that the police need to inform the member of the public concerning crime and how to report such a crime. Many participants have said that they have one form of contact or the other with the police, but they have not heard from the police authority directly concerning a number of arrests, the prevalence of crime and ways in which they (public) can better report and secured themselves in a distress situation. They also argued that effective policing requires educating the relevant public in the methods and preventive measures about the prevalence of new crimes and criminal characters. All these, according to participants are lacking from police.

Members of the public, especially those in rural areas, claimed that they are generally poorly informed about many aspects of police work. Most of the participants suggested that the police should specify their role and achievement through social media and by providing regular information to members of the community. They claimed that sources of their knowledge about the prevalence of new crimes were hearsay from friends and relations. Participants also claimed that some of their knowledge about crime incidences are known to them through reports on mass media such as the television, magazines, newspaper and Facebook which an individual or a group shared for public consumption.

Nyanyan group

When the same question about how effective the police are in maintaining and enforcing the law, participants in the Nyanyan group suggested that the police were very effective in the enforcement of tax payment and revenue generation for the government, but in the area of general maintenance of order and peace, they are grossly ineffective. The extracted quotes showed what their perceptions of police role of order maintenance and law enforcement suggest:

> It is only during collection of tax and revenue generation for the government that the police were seen parading those who tried to evade payment and this mostly done during the day and market days. However, any other days it is very unlikely seeing the police patrolling the street most especially in the night. A101

> That is right, that is exactly what they are known for, tax collection, and this is not what we required of them. They need to be seen performing other functions most especially those that deal with public welfare. A105

> [...] it just a normal thing, the police are not seen patrolling and arrest those who breach the peace and who constitute a nuisance to the community [...] A110

Community policing was another argument that members of Nyanyan attributed to police effectiveness. The participants maintained that the police need to come around them and understand the challenges they face in their community. They further maintained that partnership with police will go a long way to identify the law violators and report potential lawbreakers in the community. They suggested that members of the community can easily identify intruders and those who might constitute security risks. Hence the police need to partner with them to get information. The following quotes were extracted from the conversations with some of the members:

Well, it is well talking to you. I remember when we wanted to establish the vigilante group in this community," we invited the police to come and address us and give us some information on how to report to them when we notice any threat from anyone [...] At this time that I am speaking with you, we have not had any information from police authority. In this case what kind of services are the police rendering to the community? That is a problem we are facing now.A105

[...] Yes that is just exactly what the police do (Supporting A105). They have refused to demand from us the security challenges we are facing in this area. We have tried to cooperate with them, they are not ready. You can see different building around, with different types of fences and Iron gates. All these are just the initiatives of individual members of this neighbourhood and not the police. The money people spend on this is usually more than the money spends on the main building. The question now is what is the Nigerian police doing? A107

There was general exclamation to the claims of participant A208

Yes, that is what we are facing in this community. No one is willing to assist us in solving the different problem facing us. The police are not cooperating with the members of the community in fighting crime issue around us. That is just all about what they do. For many years, we have been providing security by ourselves. A103

Zuba group

I received a dissimilar view from this group; the Zuba focus group had a perception of police effectiveness completely different from other groups. They said that they had never experienced direct police ineffectiveness in the area of patrolling the street. Their views extracted from selected quotes are represented below:

The police are doing well here; they are everywhere to ensure that people are protected. You see them on the street, in the market and other public places. C103

[...]The police are very serious, they go about in the night and day time to ensure that people are doing their job without any fear of harassment. You see them with gun patrolling everywhere [...] C107

Yes [echoed]! C104, C106 andC109

Similar to the general positive perception of effective police patrol of the street, Zuba rural participants further argued that community policing was an important factor in rating police effectiveness. The participants argued that the majority of the police are very effective in maintaining community-police relations. They commended the police and reasoned that despite the poor condition of service that the police are experiencing, they are doing a commendable job.

[...] Well I feel that the police need to put in more efforts [...] **C105**

Look let us stop blaming the police we know what is happening in this country. I feel the police are doing their best. How much is the salary of the police? How do you expect the police to come everywhere? I think they are trying for us.C103

That is true. We are all aware of what is happening in this country we know that police don't have a functional vehicle to move around. I think they're making a good effort. We've seen them but no too often some of them used their personal motorcycles to come down this area. C107

Rubochi group

Evidence from the data indicates that community policing appears to be one of the common issues that attracted the attention of participants in Rubochi. Rubochi community maintained that lack of partnership or community engagement in policing to ensure that crime prevention and control are reduced to the barest minimum was a concern. Members discussed that the police need to understand that the control and prevention of crime should be a joint responsibility. Participants argued that the police need to properly identify and manage problems such as theft, housebreaking and infringement on community peace by keeping constant contact with community members and encouraging a closer relationship to facilitate crime solving and providing members with knowledge about self-protection. Members conclude that matters or issues that affect community peace are not given top and urgent priority by the police. Few excerpts from various quotes are presented below:

> Whether the police make an arrest or not, we don't see the police around. Every day you build up fear and no police around. We only secure ourselves by organising security force around. D102

> The police are not fair to us, they are not just available to listen to our problems concerning security and give advice on how we can protect ourselves. There is danger here always. We use our money to pay for the vigilante members; it is not a good thing to hear that people pay for their safety when we have the police around [...] D103

> Yes! They need to get close to find out some of the challenges we're facing. D106

> [...]I think they need to have a routine meeting with us and give us an update on the security in town. Although they are trying, they need to do more. D105

That is right! It's difficult for the police to move around. Honestly, the government is not helping the police to do their job. My uncle is a police officer. They [police] are always complaining of low salary and lack good condition of service. The government should be blamed for the low performance of the police. D107

How can we be protected and secured? Who to call and how to make contact in a difficult situation? All these are questions for the police, what do we do when you can see them? It is only around market areas that you police men, but not around the residential areas. D109

Rubochi Participants' assessment of police was also related to perceived effectiveness in controlling public disturbances. The inability of police to control public disturbances and maintain orderliness were cited as evidence of ineffectiveness. In specific instances, disruption of peace through street fighting, knife attacks and infringements on people's right and freedom were commonly mentioned by most of the participants in this group. The group also attributed the police effectiveness to noise from hawkers of various items such as radio cassettes and local mobile medication sellers. The participants further argued that unwanted noise are among the problems they faced.

It is a very common thing here you seen people fighting, in fact, sharp objects have been used. In this case, you see people running away, most especially during market hours. Sometimes this criminal gang would incite trouble and divert people's attention and have the opportunity of committing different crime. Criminal have used such a situation as an avenue to loot people's shops and commit other atrocities such as pocket-picking, snatching of bags and handset from people. In all these hardly do you see police around. Even when they are called it is either they come late when damages had been done or they will not come around at all. D102

Quite alright, it is routine for looting people's properties. D103

Yeah! It's a shameful thing, people fight in public places such as market and motor park. Hardly had you seen police around. In fact, even when the police are around they found it difficult to arrest these hoodlums. It seems the police are scared of being harmed. No one can give reasons for their reluctance to arrest such hoodlums D104

Absolutely you're right. Does it make any impact if police were around? With police around it does not make any difference. We have seen a series of fighting without police intervening when they were within. It looks as if they are not interested in doing the job. I don't just understand what they're doing. D106

A dissimilar view was argued by two of the rural participants who said that the police are doing their best in a difficult situation; very quick in suppressing disorderly situations.

You are right, but I think they should not be blamed so much, they also fear being attacked. You don't really blame the police, we have had a situation where police were attacked and killed. Some of these boys are dangerous especially in this area and the police don't have that training and modern weapon to combat these crooks. **D105**

I think the police are doing the best in restraining criminal acts and controlling public disturbances. I'm pleased with them. **D107**

Abaji group

The members of the public also tend to judge police effectiveness on the basis of speedy responses to calls and prompt arrival at the scene of crimes. Quick responses, according to the participants indicate that the police are effective in performing their duties. Members said that when police respond to calls or cases that are reported to them quickly, they are happy and feel

they are performing their duties. However, many of the participants reported that they do not report cases to police because they either come after the crime had been committed or they do not show up at all. A majority of the participants tended to criticise the police in this respect as can be seen from the excerpted quotes below.

> The Nigerian police are very funny; you cannot rely on them in distress situation for anything. They're not just good for someone to depend on. I feel a good policeman should be ready anytime to secure the members of the community they are assigned to. They're trained to be ready anytime to serve the public. The Police here are not quick in responding to calls either distress or normal calls. B102

> Yes! (echoed by the majority of the participants)

> The police are lazy; they get to robbery area when it is too late. I have witnessed this; one was in the bank and the other was in the market where a guy burgled a shop and was arrested by two passers-by. B103

> Yes! (echoed by the majority of the participants)

> Yeah! That is very common with the police. B102

Abaji rural community extend their argument of police effectiveness to control of burglary. Their claims showed that the police have not lived up to expectations concerning the control of burglary and theft. Very few members argued that the police have done well over the years. Their perception of crime prevention was judged from the capacity of the police to bring under control of residential and shop breaks-ins in the neighbourhood. Many of them have indicated that because of insecurity, they ended up engaging the services of vigilantes beside building fences around their houses. Some of

their views substantiating their claims are extracted list of quotes and presented below:

> Housebreaking is very often around here, it has been ongoing acts without apprehension of those involved. I think this matter is beyond the power of the police. You can believe this, there were many cases of armed robbery very close to the police station where some civilians lived. If such things could happen within the vicinity of the police, you should expect that something is actually wrong and nobody is secured in this community. We have had cases where police house was burgled in this community. B106

> Yes! (Supporting B106) This is not a new story to us in this community. It is an ongoing behaviour, and you must be too careful in the night. The boys are so smart even with the presence of the vigilante. The vigilante has been very helpful. It just that they have not got any training, but they are still better. This is very common, and the police are unable to apprehend the people who are behind this evil work. B108

> Well, all these are facts about the police! But we need to understand the situation of things in this country; there are many reasons why the police can't do much. We all know the problems; the problem is the government. Police are not trained, no good salary, no weapons and yet we expect them to do more [...] B105

> That's just the situation the police faced [responding to B105's views] B106

> It is a bad situation in this neighbourhood, bad boy breaks into houses and steals anytime, and it is very common here. It's a normal thing, very normal, but the police can't do anything. You can walk around and see what people are doing to secure their family.

People have built and still building fences around their houses to protect themselves, that is those who can afford it. B103

That is one of the ways we can protect ourselves, that is not enough, we contribute money monthly to pay the vigilante in this area. In fact, it is a common thing everywhere now, people engaging vigilante to patrol streets. B107

6.2.2 Interviewees views of order maintenance and law enforcement function

Generally, aside from a few citizens in some parts of the urban and rural areas, the evaluation of police effectiveness was unfavourable over a range of issues. The level of dissatisfaction was particularly focussed on issues of arrest, patrol, security of lives and properties, investigation and detection of crime.

The important point that would be considered is the probability of some interrelationship between the social position of participants and their views on these questions. For instance, the majority of rural groups claimed that the police are not effective in controlling crime, especially patrolling the street. It is plausible that individuals who are non-elite may have a higher likelihood of experiencing negative encounters with the police than elite because of their disadvantaged position, thus, leading to negative views of police performance. This argument can further resonate with elitism and power argument of Peter Ekeh (1975. Moreover, the divergence in the rationalization of and the explanations for the police performance may be political which might be linked to residential areas resulting from class that might also give rise to an experience of police patronage in one community rather than the other (see discussion chapter).

Perceptions of an effective patrol of the streets

When urban participants were asked about the effectiveness of the police in the enforcement of the law and prevention of crime, there were different

views concerning police patrol of streets. Majority of the Non-elite participants said the police are mostly seen on the street regularly most especially in the night. Most of the elite believed that the police are effective in patrolling the streets and arrest law violators. From the long passages of quotes, some of their views are extracted and presented below;

We do not feel safe anywhere anytime, we are always scared to be assaulted. Nobody seems to be secured in this area. We're always in fear, most especially when the night draws near. If the police are patrolling everywhere in the night and during the day, we'll feel secure and move freely. A4 Non-elite Amac/Garki

The police are not usually available on the street and around our homes for us to feel secure. You're happy when you feel that someone who is trained and have the knowledge of how crime is controlled is nearby and who can be called anytime when you're threatened or intimidated by a hoodlum, that what matter most. A5 Non-elite Amac/Garki

The police are not performing the job expected of them. There is danger everywhere and police are not worried about that. There is a need for police to patrol the major streets regularly, but they showed no concerns. B3 Non-elite Abaji

The police have not really done well to maintain stability in this community, they are unable to control crime, they are unsuccessful in reducing threats to individual members and the entire neighbourhood rights and collective goals of the society. C4 Non-elite Gwagwalada

I think this is wrong, this is police misconduct. The police are not fighting indiscipline. They are not good in arresting and passing judgement on those members that have committed one or other kind of criminal acts. D3 Non-elite Kuje

The police are doing very nice, you can see them when you drive out, this a good one. People will not be afraid when they noticed that the police are patrolling around their houses and working premises. No one will be afraid of anybody when people notice that the police are in charge, watching around. Even in the night, you will sleep very well. The police are doing a nice job. C1 Elite Amac/Abuja

The good thing about the police here is that they show commitment to their job by constant patrol, checking everywhere and making sure that people are doing well. Everywhere you go you feel the presence of police around. This is a good thing that everyone enjoys, I mean seeing police around with their gun around their shoulders. We feel protected by seeing them walking around. B2 Non-elite Amac/Abuja

When I think about the police around I feel comfortable moving around, anytime you are out and feel that someone is protecting your area you are very happy. The police move around the street and residential area here. They are committed; I like the way they are doing their job. D1 Elite Kuje

Perceptions of police quick response to crime

The analysis showed that a quick response to the scene of the crime and immediate response to calls is one of the measurement of police effectiveness from the participant's assessment. The participants believed that when police are called, and they respond without delay, I will save a lot of danger. The participant mentioned quick response when called as a sign of effectiveness. Some of them mentioned that crime would have been committed and the crooks get away before the arrival of the police.

The kind of police officers we have here are lazy, they are not quick to or arrive at the scene of crime incidents. The police in

most cases usually attached a reason for their lateness or nonappearance to lack of patrol van or sometimes they claimed that they had no fuel in their patrol van. A4 Non-elite Amac/Garki

The police need to respond quickly to calls and be available when they're needed. They should have functional numbers you can call or contact them when you get into troubles. The police competence is determined by keeping close to the community and responding to calls immediately. When you call the police number "112 or 199" they are not always available. Their phone is either not "responding or the number is busy" that always the message you receive when you contact the police. A5 Non-elite Amac/Garki

Perceptions of community policing

When members were asked to discuss with me what they feel about the effectiveness of the police in their community, there were different reactions. The majority felt that the police were only seen mostly in the afternoon when they were not needed most. They believed that most criminal acts were committed during the night. The views of some of the member's interviews were extracted and presented below

[...] Lack of partnership with the community to ensure their safety is dangerous. The police need to understand that the control and prevention of crime should be the joint responsibilities of both the police and members of the community. We understand ourselves and needs to inform them about the difficulty we encountered. They're not ready to be close to the community, this system is terrible [...] A4 Non-elite Amac/Garki

[...] The police think they've their problem to deal with. Many people have reported the kind of insecurity in this part of Abuja. We have never seen any of them come around and find out about all the complaints made. We have had a community meeting and

sent a representative to them; they seem not to care about our plight. Everyone is tired of the mess around this area [...]D5 Non-elite Kuje

The Police are to be sure that members of the community are convinced to adopt measures preventing them from being exposed to crime. This is contrary; there is no one that is secured here. If you walk around, you notice that many houses are fenced. I spent huge money to fence my house, beside the private security guard that we employed just to secure our family members [...] D4 Non-elite Kuje

I think the police are doing very okay. They always talk to us on television and radio. Occasionally they are around to see if we noticed any threats or assault. They made themselves accessible for consultation, which is a good thing about them [...] C1 Elite Amac/Abuja

Perception of effective provision of information

When participants were asked about the enforcement of the law, the provision of information concerning crime and how to report such crime was a major concern of this group. Many participants have said that they have one form of contact or the other with the police. They argued they have never heard from the police authority concerning a number of arrests, the prevalence of crime and ways in which they (public) can better report and secured themselves in an emergency. They argued that effective policing requires educating members of the public about methods of crime control and combating crime, valid and reliable information about the nature and prevalence of crime and criminals. They also argued that effective policing requires educating the relevant public in the methods and preventive measures and warning people about the prevalence of new crimes and criminal characters. All these, according to participants are lacking from the behaviour of the police at present.

Most of the participants suggested that the police should specify their role and achievement through social media and by providing regular information to members of the community. They claimed that sources of their knowledge about the prevalence of new crimes, was hearsay, television, magazines, newspaper and other social media and from police source. Below are some of the extracted quotes from participants' claims:

It not always the case to get information from the police public relations or from individual police on the achievement they have made in curtailing crime. When successes are recorded and made available to the members of the community; that tend to build hope and confidence that the police are doing very well. In a situation where information is unavailable, how do we access if the police are surely controlling crime? I have not heard any information directly or indirect emanating from the police concerning what they do and what is happening to the security of members of this community. B3 Non-elite Abaji

When an arrest is made or when the criminal plot is uncovered, the information is not directly coming from the police; it is either reported by an individual or group as an eyewitness account through media. Some of the information might be true or false, but you get confused because such news is not confirmed by the police themselves. I have seen groups of armed robbers that were lynched by aggrieved member of this community on the television, but there was no single police or their public relation unit to confirm the incident. I don't really understand the system here. We are in the era complex technology, police need to wake up and modernise means of getting information across. Information I believe is power, when it available. When information is unavailable about nature of crime, prevalence of new crime and how to get secured when in difficult situation, you're frustrated and feel you are cut off from what is happening or about to happen. A4 Non-elite Amac/Garki

Sometimes, I imagine in my heart if the police are really the same with other police I've read about and watched on the television concerning creating awareness and alert on how to report a crime or suspected crime through social media. I listened to international news such as the British Broadcasting Cooperation (BBC) and Voice of America (VOA). I imagine what kind of police they have in those countries. B3 Non-elite Abaji

There is nothing we know directly from the police or the police public relation department concerning what is happening about the crime rate, arrest and prevalence of new crime in town. Non-elite D2

6.2.3 Discussion

The research analysis suggests that there are two major kinds of perceptions concerning the order maintenance and law enforcement of the NPF. A majority of rural town dwellers and non-elites have negative views about police effectiveness, while most of the elite members held more positive views. Possible explanations for these results could be understood from the assumptions of conflict theory which suggests that the police are instrument of injustice. (Chambliss and Seidman, 1971; Griffiths et al., 1980). Supporters of this theory have argued that the interests of dominant class - which in this case would be the elite members of Abuja, Nigeria - are protected by the police, whereas the non-elites continuously experience low police patronage. This trend has severe consequences for the perception of police activities (see further in discussion in chapter 2).

The finding further agrees with the existing studies that certain groups or categories of individuals will hold negative views of the police if they perceived that they have been singled out for maltreatment at the hands of law enforcement officials (Griffiths et al, 1980:6). This can suggest that the law enforcement officials operate to serve the interests of the elite by suppressing the non-elites, the latter will be cynical about the police and the

manner in which the law enforcement officials perform their functions. Studies suggest that it is the nature of encounters the citizens had with the police that shaped their attitudes towards the police (Hinds and Murphy, 2007; Renauer, 2007). This further suggests why certain groups or categories of individual will hold negative views of the police and of the police performance because they have been singled out for maltreatment at the hands of the police. However, those individuals who are non-elite members of the society are likely to experience a negative encounter with the police, thus leading to negative views of police performance.

This analysis is very important in helping us understand trust in the police in Abuja, the federal city of Nigeria (See chapter two). For example, elites occupy prestigious houses and stay in neighbourhoods designated for the rich (the managers, administrators, rated politicians, professionals and successive businessmen), all of whom have higher incomes and can afford to stay in rich areas along with the top politicians who have access to buildings surrounded by military and paramilitary barracks. It can be argued from the findings that police as agents of powerful groups in the society, represent the interests of these groups and use criminal law to suppress the disadvantaged in the society. This suggests that the disadvantaged are the most discriminated against by the police and the recipients of minimal protection and security to their properties and may even experience a treat to their lives (Griffiths et al, 1980:67)

The finding above indicates that the frustration triggered by the high rate of crime among Abuja community members is a result of the failure of the police to perform their duties. According to Kochel, et al., (2013), high rates of crime is an indicator that police are incapable of maintaining order in the neighbourhood. Similarly, Bradford (2014) maintained that perceptions of community disorder will have a negative consequence on citizens' trust for the police. As a result, a high perception of disorderly conduct or crime rate will imply that the police are ineffective in ensuring order and peace in the neighbourhood hence resulting in negative perceptions.

Notably, the current findings are in agreement with the previous findings that the effectiveness of the police in preventing crime and enforcing law and order in the neighbourhood will improve citizen's trust. As suggested from the finding, Abuja citizens who considered the police to be effective in the prevention of crime, enforcement of law and maintenance of order are likely to develop trust in the police. On the other hand, citizens of Abuja who believe that their police have failed in performing such role are less likely to trust the police. This finding found support in the previous studies on effective police performance which states that in a neighbourhood were crime rate, for instance violent crime is pervasive, members are likely to view police as ineffective (Reisig and park 2003; Hinds and Murphy, 2007)

6.3 Perceptions of effective protection of lives and properties of the NPF

The protection of persons and properties involves all police activities that are intended to ensure citizens' safety and to guard their properties from crimes and any other danger. A majority of the rural residents said that the police are not effective in protecting their lives as well as their properties while few members of said police protect their lives and properties. Those who believed that police are not effective argued that crimes such as kidnapping, murder and assaults against person have become widespread. Citizens discussed that their major dissatisfaction with the police performance is the inability of the police to restrain this crime which has resulted in a fear of them becoming victims. A majority of participants who were interviewed agreed that they fear being kidnapped and robbed by men of the underworld. The research data show that the majority of the participants feel that the NPF is not protecting lives and properties well, and this is reflected in their expression of lack of confidence in the police.

6.3.1 Focus group participants views

Nyanyan group

The research participants attributed police ineffectiveness to serial bombing incidents that occurred which claimed many lives and properties within the area. All these can be understood from the continued discussions from the excerpt from the series of quotes as presented below:

> There are so many attack by unknown persons, I don't like going to the market on market days because of fear of explosion. For example, the three bombing incidences that happened in which so many people were killed and properties worth many billions of Naira were destroyed in Nyanyan market a few months ago really showed how ineffective the police are. These incidences happened at different times in almost in the same place without any trace of those who are responsible for such murderous acts A106

> Yes, that is the situation recently in this community, many people died, and many shops and cars were burnt. A103

> Very serious issues here! That exactly what happened! Many of us lost friends and relations to those incidents. The bombings happened within the same area at different periods without any arrest or information concerning those behind this crime. A101

> I think there are serious problems with the entire system, three times we witnessed bomb explosion in this part of Abuja, no arrest and no information on how to further secure the citizens or educate people on how to avoid such area. A107

Karu group discussion

> The police are not capable of protecting human lives. The rate at which human lives have been lost is so alarming that one would

wonder if the police were really trained to protect human lives. A202

Properties besides, many humans' lives were destroyed, and many have been permanently disabled. There are no more values for human lives in our community, lives are wasted unnecessarily. A200

Almost every day you hear stories of killing in Abuja. What is wrong with our police officers? A205

It looks like, after what happened to my people and their properties, the police are not capable of protecting lives and properties in this community anymore A206

6.3.2 Interviewees' perceptions of protection of lives and properties

When questions were asked concerning the perception of police effectiveness in protecting lives and properties, the majority of non-elite members argued that police have not performed above expectation in protecting lives and properties while a majority of elite's views show positive perceptions in the area of lives and properties protection by the police.

[...] I can't just go out there and enjoy my life and associate with my friends, I call this suicide you know. You're scared to move freely and visit an area of interest. You're scared to visit friends and relations. All of this is just unfamiliar to me. Yeah, I'm getting tired of this mess around [...] A3 Non-elite Amac/Garki

So many lives have been destroyed and properties moved away. Our lives are always in danger and no one wants to say anything to us. I go to bed every night thinking of what may likely happen. The more the night drew near the more I fear the worst that may likely occur. Yes! the longer it goes on, the more I fear for the worst [...] A5 Non-elite Amac/Garki

[...] Police don't show concern in our wellbeing. Their major concerns are the rich and the politicians. They were seen often protecting the rich men houses and served as their escorts. They come around just to intimidate us but doing nothing to secure us. C4 Non-elite Gwagwalada

I got completely different views from most of the elite members of the urban towns. Their perceptions of the police are quite dissimilar from the non-elite and views of participants in group discussions.

[...]The police have tried to protect the lives and properties of the citizen. There is a high degree of commitment to the protection of lives and properties by the police. The police are always seen patrolling and always at different beats most especially the beats where public buildings are located. A2 Elite Amac/Garki

The police are not doing a good job in the Federal Capital Territory; we have seen and heard over and over from media how the people have been robbed, cars were snatched at gunpoint and people were kidnapped and killed by armed robbers. Although there view cases of armed robbery and kidnapping reported around this area. The police are not responding to some of these challenges very well on a general note. C1 Elite Gwagwalada

I think we need to thank the police in this area. They are good and have done well guarding us here. We are happy, we're protected, and we have the freedom to move about and have access to our business areas without any fear. We have police everywhere doing their job D1 Elite Kuje

6.3.3 Section discussion

The findings suggest that lack of protection of lives and properties of citizen signifies that police are not effective. Residents argued that when their lives

and properties are protected they tend to feel secure and judge the police to be effective and have trust in the police. Therefore, inability of the police to perform this function signifies ineffectiveness. This argument is in line with prior studies on neighbourhood safety and disorder (Dowler and Sparks, 2008; Murphy and Cherney, 2012). These studies noted that a perceived lack of security with respect to lives and properties discourages citizens from having trust in the police. Efforts of the police to establish security for the population improves the level of trust for the police (Zedner, 2006). This view argued further that police practices can influence how people understand and judge the police. This suggests that when people judge the police to be performing, they tend to cooperate with the police. Similarly, faith in the police is influenced by the level of assessment of police performance in the neighbourhood (Murphy and Cherney 2012).

6.4 Public views on crime investigative and detective functions of the police

With respect to being efficient in investigation and detection among the urban group, there were divergent opinions on the performance of the police. A noteworthy feature of this evidence is that a minority of those who reside in the urban towns of Abuja believed that the police are performing well in crime investigation and arrest. Most of these views tend to come from elite members who lived in urban towns of Abuja. Similarly, only a few members of rural towns believed that police are performing well in the investigation and detection of crimes.

In an attempt to answer the question on the data further showed that the public expects the police to reduce the rate of crime committed by instilling fear in potential lawbreakers through investigation and detection. Participants believed that when police investigate and detect crime potential criminal will be discouraged to engage in crime believing that if they committed a crime they will be arrested. Investigation and detection of crimes received positive responses from the majority of members of the focus group and non-elite participants. Many of the participants challenged the behaviour of the police for

their inability to investigate crime committed against others. Inability of the police to investigate crime and bring criminals to justice according to this group was a sign that the police were weak and ineffective. Members also believed that when investigations are been made leading to an arrest, the potential criminal would be afraid to go into committing a crime. Members claimed that most of the law violators that breach the peace of the community were not usually been arrested as they can be seen in most cases walking about.

There were also criticisms directed generally about police officers' lack of training in obtaining information. Members attributed the police's rough methods of getting information during investigations to ineffectiveness. Members believed that police officers commit offences when obtaining information from the suspected law violators during an investigation by being brutal and using too much force to obtain a confession. The reasons might be lack mechanisms or skill to confirm guilt as well as modern technology such finger prints and DNA mechanisms to detect crimes.

6.4.1 Focus group participants' views

Karu group discussion

> The problems of the police are many concerning investigation and
> arrest. There were many cases affecting some of the members of
> this area that involved the police[...]Some of them have confirmed
> to us that they were innocent of the alleged offences but because
> of the way they were handled they were forced to accept crime
> they did not have knowledge about. Just imagine that there are so
> many such cases. A204

> That is true, many people have admitted to false allegation just to
> avoid being tortured by the police[...]In fact, we have a case here
> that police forced their way into a family home without prior
> notice because they wanted to make confirmation about an

incident which was wrongly linked with a member of this community. A205

This is ridiculous! Why would the police force their way into someone house as a suspect who just travelled to the neighbourhood market just a couple of hours without prior notice or warrant to do that? This is indeed ridiculous, forcing their way into people home. A206

One of my friends received serious beating and torture from the police when they were investigating an issue of assaults against him. A207

Rubochi group discussions

Truly speaking I do not want the judgement of the police concerning the issue of arrest and punishment. That is just a big question that I feel everyone would like to get an answer from the police.D101

The police always fear to arrest a criminal, but they are quick to arrest those members who are doing their lawful business. The Nigerian police are always doing things in an awkward manner, they do not arrest when they are supposed to. D104

A converse view that I got from this participant signifies that the police are effective in obtaining information and making an arrest.

I love the training of the police on how to obtain information about the criminal commission and arrest suspected violators and crooks. Police do these good things in our community. They are very intelligent in finding out who commits a crime and make an arrest.**D107**

6.4.2 Interviewees' views of police investigative and detective function

When members of Abuja towns were asked about their experiences concerning police performance in investigation and detection of crime, it was argued by participants that the police lacked experience and skill in the investigation and detection of crime while other believed that the police are effective in investigation and detection of crime. The participants who were interviewed had different perceptions concerning police performance in relation to Investigative and detective functions. Most elites believed that the police are performing well, while a few argued that police are deficient in the investigation, detection and arrest offenders. Extracted views from the participant indicate differences in claims as shown below:

> I don't like talking to the police, so many criminal activities are going on around us here. Armed robbery is on the increase, many shops and houses have been burgled and so many criminal acts everywhere. I'm talking from experience, I'm one of the victims, I didn't hear anything from the police since my victimisation was reported. That is why many don't report crime incidents to the police. I don't think I will report any crime again to the police. D3 Non-elite Kuje

> [...]There were series of bomb expulsion in some parts of this area a few months ago. During this period many lives were lost, and properties worth billions of naira were destroyed. There is no news about those who were behind these acts. Detectives from command headquarters (Metropolitan Police crime detective and investigative operation) scattered everywhere but had made no arrest [...] B4 Non-elite Abaji

> [...]There is nothing to prove that the police are totally in charge of the investigation and intelligent gathering or understanding who

commits a crime and who to be arrested. No one seems to have any record of people terrorizing this area. C1 Elite Gwagwalada.

Well! I feel that the police are putting in their best in investigation and detection of crime. If the police are given the chance they could do more. Many incidences of the apprehension through investigation have been published in the daily news. A2 Elite Amac/Garki

When the police are contacted on crime suspects or unfamiliar faces noticed loitering around, the police are usually very reluctant to respond to such reports. In rare cases, if they must act, it is either the crime had been committed or the suspected person must have left the scene. Despite these failures, the police don't show concerns to investigate who is responsible for such a crime. C1 Elite Gwagwalada

[...]Well the police are trying their best in investigating and arresting criminal in this neighbourhood. The police are really doing very well in finding out those who are terrorizing the community. Many cases have been investigated and the criminals arrested. It is not always very easy to commit a crime and get away with it around this community. A1 Elite Amac/Yanyan

[...]I think the police are doing a good job here. They are very quick to look around and find out for criminals. There are cases where police travel outside this area to another arrest criminal terrorizing members of this community. These are some of the things they do. We need to appreciate them [...] B1 Elite Abaji

[...]If any crime is committed against me, I can only report to the police for record keeping and not that I expect any outcome from police concerning of investigation and arrest because the police don't make arrest [...] D1 Elite Kuje

6.4.3 Discussion

The chapter empirically examines the relationship between police effectiveness and how this shaped citizen perception of police legitimacy as well as their day to day interaction. The finding showed that the legitimacy of the police is really tied to effective police performance in providing services such maintenance of law and order, the safety of lives and properties and effective investigation and detection of crime. The finding further showed that there is a relationship between police legitimacy and trust. However, the findings show that a majority of Abuja citizens have a negative attitude toward police performance in their communities. This differs from the general belief amongst elites for whom a majority have a favourable attitude towards police. This supports findings from several previous studies conducted by scholars, for instance, Tankebe's survey of Ghanaian adults (2009), which examined the importance of the effectiveness of the police and its relationship to public trust. Tankebe's study found that public cooperation with the police in Ghana was driven largely by instrumental factors such as perceptions of current police effectiveness in fighting crime, while ideas of procedural justice and distributive justice had an insignificant impact on the extent to which people were willing to cooperate with the police. He further argued that citizens' willingness to cooperate with the police seems to be dependent on maximum performance in relation to public safety. A lack of success in meeting such expectations means that the police are unlikely to win the confidence of the citizens.

Another survey conducted by Bradford et al., (2004) explored young adults' attitudes in South Africa and found evidence of a relationship between perceptions of effectiveness and trust. They found a greater emphasis on police effectiveness in curtailing crime than on the notion of procedural justice. The scholars further argued that procedural justice might be identified as a stronger basis for the legitimacy of the police in advanced countries such as the UK and USA. They conclude that trust in the police is a product of effective policing rather than a result of procedural fairness (p:260).

Similarly, in a survey study to examine the effects of security threats and police legitimacy among Israeli citizens, Jonathan-Zamir and Harpaz (2014) found that there is a relationship between trust and effective policing. They argued that during severe security intimidation faced by a particular Israeli town, the perceived performance of police in maintaining security mattered more than public perceptions of procedural fairness. However, Jonathan-Zamir further noted that while effectiveness was important, people still expected the police to be fair and friendly in their interaction with them (p:91). This suggests that the study outside developed world have frantically shown to us that perceived effectiveness is the major element that builds citizen trust in the police than perceived procedural fairness, which is further reiterated by the study participants in Abuja.

The current findings show that participants related police effectiveness to the wider political context in Nigeria. They argued, in this respect, that police are not responsible for their inability to effectively perform their functions, rather this is a consequence of the government's failure to provide security for citizens. Participants showed that basic facilities such as vehicles for patrolling, modern and effective communication techniques and so on, are absent, and create a major predicament that hinders the smooth operation of the police. These claims by research participants found evidence in the previous findings. Other scholars have already shown that citizens' attitudes toward police might be influenced by their attitudes toward the efficacy and integrity of the government (Goldstein, 2003; Rotberg 2004). In Nigeria, how citizens view relevant issues such as public safety and crime control can affect their trust in the police because police represent one of the most visible and important government agencies in handling crime and public safety. It is thus foreseen that citizens sense of the general conditions for public safety and perceptions of the government's ability to handle crime are positively associated with trust in the police specifically.

Research participants described the fear of crime as a hindrance to friendly intergroup relations. They stressed that visits to loved ones and even community social activities have been affected by fear and crime. This

finding suggests that where people live in a community where crime is widespread, and the tendency for them to perceive the police as ineffective is likely. As previous findings suggest, fear of crime exerts a significantly negative effect on confidence in the police (Hinkle and Weisburd, 2008; Dowler, K., 2003) which, in turn, leads to poor police-community relations (Rotberg,2004). These studies thus assume that citizens with high levels of fear of crime have relatively low levels of trust in police. To avoid the fear of crime, effective policing entails that the police are doing their work by investigating those who are behind the crime and arresting them. This suggests that criminal investigation, arrest and protection of lives and properties are expected from the police in an effective and efficient manner. Therefore, where the police failed in meeting this expectation, the citizens are likely to have low confidence (Renauer, 2007). This might further suggest that in Abuja where crime (kidnapping) is pervasive, fear of crime becomes a routine among the citizens; the likelihood that the citizens will disregard the police is high; even if they showed to be fair during any interaction.

Another implication of fear of crime which the participants raised was self-defence through surveillance and the employment of private security guards and even vigilantes. What it further meant is that individuals are left to provide security by incurring more expenses for their security. The question then is how many Nigerians can afford the financial burden of private security in a country where the majority are living in penury (Aigbokhan, 2008:365). This kind of situation as findings suggest could generate significant hostility towards the police and government in general. Previous studies have also explored these questions (Tankebe, 2009; Schuberth, 2013). Finally, citizens' perceptions of the police might be closely related to their sense of the quality of life in general. It has been found that individuals' confidence in social institutions, including the police, was a function of personal satisfaction with their life as a whole (Cao & Hou, 2001; Weitzer et al., 2008). Thus, it is assumed that perceptions of quality of life are positively linked to safety.

The findings in this chapter showed that activities of the elites and non-elites are very important in shaping citizen's attitude towards their police. Studies

have shown that inequality is not limited to the economic arena but extends to political or legal practices and institutions as well (Hoyle and Zedner, 2007). Galanter's (1995:124) classic study illustrated that powerful groups of people or 'the haves' tended to secure more favourable outcomes in the criminal justice process in the United States. There is no similar empirical research completed in Nigeria, which would provide comparative evidence for such an understanding, but it would be safe to assume that such patterns exist because the country has a weak elite and corrupt system with little emphasis on the rule of law (Alemika, 2008). Weak rule of law means that connections and networking play an important part in every aspect of social life, including in police-citizen relationships (Ahire, 1999). There are plenty of popular narratives and media stories about how rich and powerful people can get the outcomes they want from the criminal justice process including through their dealings with police officers (Odekunle, 1997). Alubo (2006) argued that within Nigerian communities, there is a nearly complete mixture of political and economic power. Elites, both within and beyond government, tend to enjoy substantial power in all state-owned enterprises, civil service institutions including the justice system which the police play a fundamental role. The current research has shown that participants believe that the police in Abuja treat them differently from others who are perceived by the police to be either rich or wielded political power. This perception has a tremendous impact on legitimacy and trust in the police.

Policing is regularly affected by inequality, injustice and discrimination in its operation. Groups that are disadvantaged in power and status, such as the poor and other disadvantaged or vulnerable communities, become objects of ridicule in the hands of the police (Hudson, 2007) and are more likely to be treated as suspects at each stage of the criminal justice process (Ani, 2011) and may experience aggressive policing (see chapter 2). Many studies on the police's relationship with the community suggest that police officers tend to treat people based on where they stay or work (Hudson, 2007). This was further supported in the present study. From the perceptions of the participants, citizens who are rich with high status or have political

connections, are more likely to live in highly secured areas and have more support and security than non-elite members of Abuja. According to Alubo (2006), elite Nigerians are located within areas visible to and surrounded by police and close to military and paramilitary barracks. This distinguishes their residential areas from those who are less privileged. Hence, in the current study, participants claimed that the police only protect the rich at the detriment of the poor in Abuja because of their influence and residential patterns.

In addition to current findings, it can also be argued from previous research that the police's mission has changed as the top priority has moved from serving the public to the protection of elites which use them (the police) as an instrument of oppression and manipulation, especially protecting their own interests and security (Wong, 2002: 289; Moon, 2004). One consequence of such a change in the police's mission is that when there is increased hostility between the elites such as the higher economic class and the non-elites such as the poor and low-level salary, the police are deployed and in many cases, it is non-privilege class that is blamed and denied justice. Such unequal protection by the law is worsened by the police's direct reliance on the government for financial resources. Therefore, this creates a situation where local rich or powerful people have the tendency to treat the police as a personal resource (Alubo,2006: 153).

Similarly, the activities of the elites might influence the police to commit more efforts in securing the elite class than non-elite members. A perspective in critical criminology argues that the police and the law they enforce tend to work in the interests of the ruling class (Chambliss and Seidman 1971). This is also visible in Nigeria where opportunities are skewed in favour of the elite class. Alemika's (1988:174) study revealed that the relationship between the public and the police is antagonistic because post-colonial administration in Nigeria used the police force as an instrument of oppression. In Ahire's (1991) view, the police force is a repressive agent of elites who has been used as domestic servants and harsh enemy of the common man. With this study, one concludes that the relationship between the police and non-elites is not

cordial, the participant perceived that police only served the interest of the powerful members. From this, one may infer why cynical attitudes would be formed against the police and why subgroups differ in their perceptions of the effectiveness of the police.

It can equally be argued that the kind of crime that the police give more attention to are violent offences and disorder in public space. Because of inequality in the distribution of wealth and opportunities, disadvantaged citizens might experience frustration and are likely to commit more crimes in their areas (where the non-elite and rural dwellers reside). So, the non-elites are more likely to become the target of suspicion by the police and receive brutal treatment and at the same time are likely to be victimised by crimes and tend to receive less satisfactory police treatment when required (Hoyle and Zedner 2007). This might further explain the different perception rate and the cynical attitude of the Abuja citizens towards their police because non-elites have selectively received aggressive treatment at the hand of the police.

Conclusion

The conclusion of this chapter is that citizens' attitudes toward the police evidently do not stand apart from their wider views on society; they are inseparably linked to citizens' evaluations of the competence and integrity of the government as well as their feelings about the activities of elites. The government and its institutions, including the police, need understand that they will expend less resources and efforts in achieving long compliance to their directives when they are perceived to be legitimate and trustworthy (Bradford,2012; Tyler and Fagan,2008). It is apparent that the key to fostering better police-community relations centres mainly on the quality of various services delivered by the government through its agents including the police (Manning, 2010). The research participants demand from the police effective crime prevention and control through maintenance of order, protection of lives and properties and effective investigative and detective policing. This also includes the elimination of the fear of crime and updating

the members by the provision of information on how best they can help secure themselves and more community policing strategies.

However, from the findings, Abuja citizens who consider police to be effective in the protection of lives and properties and in the provision of needed services such as peace and order maintenance are satisfied with the police performance. On the contrary, those who believed that the police do not provide the desired safety are likely to have lower levels of trust. These explanations support the previous studies on effective policing as the basis for a trusting attitude amongst the public. This further suggests that when confidence is built people are willing to report and assist the police in fighting crime. Confidence in the police tends to build a smooth working relationship between the police and the community they served. The current study thus corresponds with the findings in previous studies (Bradford et al., 2004; Tyler and Fagan, 2008; Bradford, 2012).

I have argued in chapter two and the concluding chapter concerning the role of historical factors as good assessment in helping explain the present condition of policing in Nigeria. As the findings suggest, it can be argued that weak post-colonial government is responsible for a lack of police effectiveness in the achievement of the objective of providing security for members of the public. Schuberth (2013) has argued that weak states are characterised by a lack in the provision of security to their members. In line with this argument, Rotberg (2004:6) has argued that "indicator of state failure is the growth of police ineffectiveness and the emergence of criminal aggression." Rothberg further argued that the state of security is paramount in the assessment of the performance of the police. When concerns are less about the safety of the people the police are likely to be ineffective and disregard for lawlessness and an increase in insecurity and threat to human lives and properties. Nigerian's negative attitudes toward police are thus influenced by dissatisfaction with the governmental capability of dealing with crime and the failure to give priority to public safety.

Prominently, the ineffectiveness of police in fighting crime is consequently a fundamental issue in Abuja, Nigeria. Nevertheless, procedural justice is a less important antecedent that shapes people's perceptions of police legitimacy. For instance, people may partly judge the legitimacy of the police not only on the procedural fairness they demonstrate but more significantly on the reason that the police appear to guarantee the safety and wellbeing of their lives and properties. While effectiveness appears to be a stronger element of legitimacy among Abuja citizens than studies conducted in the UK and USA usually found (e.g. Tyler and Huo 2002; Jackson et al. 2012a). The probable reason might be that the procedural justice might be highly esteemed in the developed countries where priority is given to citizen's participation in decision making as well as receiving good quality of treatment from both the government and the police (Sun, Jou, Hou, and Chang, 2014, p. 126).

This argument is further substantiated by the cultural dimension thesis of "high power distance" and "low power distance" (see Hofstede, 2011:9; Hofstede et al., 2010:61). From Hofstede (2011) postulation, it suggests that "low power distance" are the attribute the UK and USA, with emphasis on good quality of wellbeing and fair citizens representativeness while "high power" are the attributes of developing countries where citizens are eschewed from receiving good treatment and involvement in the decision-making process. This assertion might explain why Abuja citizens in Nigerian have little regards for procedural justice in their country where insecurity has been the main challenge to citizen experience in day to day interaction and where corruption, disregard for human dignity and lack of participation in governance are daily routine experienced by less privileged.

7   Police corruption and trust

As discussed in Chapter 3, corruption has been identified as having a negative consequence on the development of any democratic institution. In a country where corruption seems to flourish and unchecked, the implication is that such government will experience low trust and its legitimacy doubted by the people (Lobnikar2015; Morris and Klesner 2010; Anderson and Tverdova, 2003). Corruption has become a rampant trend in Nigeria, to the extent that it has now become a legitimate daily routine for many people in both the public and private sectors (Ubeku1991. p. 45).

The objective of this chapter is to examine the relationship between corruption and public trust in the police. The main issues investigated in this chapter are: 1) the participants perceptions of corruption; 2) experiences of any form of corruption from the police; 3) the implications of police corruption on the participant perceptions of trust or other views of the police; 4) differences among participant subgroups in the way they perceive police corruption, as well as consensus among subgroups of participants on the seriousness of specific crime identified with police corruption. The presentation of data in this chapter further reinforce the perceptions about corruption as raised in Chapter 3 and show how the people taking part in this study felt about and classified police behaviours that are defined as corrupt.

The views of research participants focused on an understanding of corruption that characterized by payment (bribes) to the police by members of the public. Moreover, connecting to my earlier chapters and arguments, this had a severe implication for trust. Where trust is undermined by perceived corruption, either institutional or interpersonal, the likelihood of accepting the legitimacy of police is low. The chapter is divided into four sections; In the first section, the views of the study participants were sought concerning their understanding of corruption, this is aimed to introduce the topic; the second part discusses the experiences of people either directly or indirectly concerning the types of corruption they had experienced; the third section, focuses on roadblocks, a typical example raised by participants; and section

four examines another example, kidnapping, and the different implications of this for understanding corruption and insecurity.

7.1 Focus group participants' definition of corruption

When the study participants in both group discussion and interviews were asked to discuss with me what they understand by corruption, all pointed to payment or giving money to obtain favour from a police officer. Reflecting the relatively widespread experience of corruption, I have documented the opinion and reactions of the research participants according to the areas where they stayed during the group discussions and interviews. Where there were similar responses from different rural groups, only one group responses will be provided to avoid repetition. In general quotes from different participants grouped below were taken from a sequential and continuous conversation; in some cases, non-sequential excerpts appear where comments at different points of a discussion addressed the theme being considered in the following sections. Some of the views excerpted below present conceptual understanding of corruption.

Abaji focus group

In the most general sense, the members of the group perceived corruption as an act that is undesirable and detrimental. The participants believed that corruption is when an individual who is in the position of authority uses his power to do what is [un]lawful for their own personal benefit. Most of the rural members who responded to the question proclaim negative image of corruption. A typical understanding of the Abaji group participants views are represented in the following statements:

> Corruption is bad behaviour that involves public officer using the legally approved position and office for his personal and group interest. B103

> Yes, it is! Corruption also means that when someone uses the official power in an unlawful way for his benefits. B105

[It's] when someone uses government office to enrich himself. I think corruption is a bad way in which legally approved power is used to cause harm to others. Corruption is something or behaviour that is morally wrong. A104

Corruption is when someone in a position of authority uses his office to steal funds that belongs to all members of society. It is stealing by using legitimate means to accomplish illegitimate means. **C109**

7.1.1 Interviewees' definitions of corruption

When the study participants in both group discussion and interviews were asked to discuss with me what they understand by corruption, all pointed to payment or giving money to obtain favour from a police officer. Reflecting the relatively widespread experience of corruption, I have documented the opinion and reactions of the research participants according to the areas where they stayed during the group discussions and interviews. Where there were similar responses from different rural groups, only one group responses will be provided to avoid repetition. In general quotes from different participants grouped below were taken from a sequential and continuous conversation; in some cases, non-sequential excerpts appear where comments at different points of a discussion addressed the theme being considered in the following sections. Some of the views excerpted below present conceptual understanding of corruption.

When the same question was asked from the interview participants concerning their understanding of corruption, some of the members of the Elites and non-Elite had similar views with rural focus group participants concerning what corruption is. Some of the participants had this to say:

Corruption involves a situation where someone who is in government uses the power attached to his office to obtain money before he renders services to the members of the public [...] A1 Amac/Garki

Corruption means using one's position to get involved in dishonest behaviour to achieve personal gains or interest [...] C4 Non-elite Gwagwalada

I see corruption as requiring certain unlawful payment or collection of money before one offers legitimate services to a person who is in need of such services [...] D4 Non-elite Kuje

Corruption is compelling someone to make certain unlawful payment or collection of money before one offers lawful service to a member of the public [...] A2 Elite Amac/Garki

 [...] it is not easy to say what corruption is about. I feel it is greedy, [it] means to accumulate money in an unapproved way, which has many effects on the wellbeing of other members [...] D5 Non-elite Kuje

Corruption is the collection of money or material items that will make a public officer act or render services to a member of the community contrary to principles guiding such office [...] B5 Non- elite Abaji

7.1.2 Discussion

The above conversations by the research participants linked many attributes to the understanding of corruption, but all pointed to someone who uses an entrusted position or authority for his personal interest. From the finding, different concepts were used to denote what corruption is. For instance, concepts like abnormal, misconducts, bad behaviour, wrongdoing, mischief, inducement among others suggest to us that corruption is something that is not acceptable and unethical. It showed the various ways in which corruption is conceptualized by members. Some of the research participants argued in the group discussion and interviews that corruption is engaging in acts that are wrong over things that are against the general and acceptable norms of the society. Other argued that corruption is doing what is wrong when one

knows what is right; this group have also attributed corruption to indecent and mischievous acts that have tendencies of endangering the society. The Individual definition might mean a different thing depending on the situation and experience. Olopoenia (1998, p. 17) argues that it is not an easy task to define corruption without normative values of the definers, the definitions in most cases do not stand out from individual normative judgment. But a more fascinating definition of corruption is the one put forward by one of the participants in which he perceives corruption as "requiring certain unlawful payment or collection of money before one offers legitimate service to any member of the public". All these definitions of corruption can be bracketed in a single statement to mean unwanted behaviour exhibited by public officers for the preferment of their personal gains, resonating with general definitions in the literature specifying it as, "abuse of office for personal gains" (Harrison, 2007, p. 673). It has been argued that corruption in the society has a spilt over effects most especially in democratic states (Manning 2010; Ekeh,1975). A single act of corruption exhibited by government can undermine trust in the entire institutions, for example the police and general trust on other institutions of government (Anderson and Tverdova, 2003; Morris and Klesner 2010; Chang and Chu 2006). Similarly, Chang and Chu (2006) argued that corruption in government is against the principle of democracy and undermine trust in other government institutions.

7.2 Normative perceptions of police corruption

When study participants in both interviews and focus groups were asked about their normative views of police corruption, different arguments were advanced such as: all payment to police officers are corrupt; only some payments to police officers are corrupt; some argued that it is not right behaviour but the police cannot be blamed because it is a structural or institutional problem which they attributed to low pay.

Abaji focus group

There were different reactions to the question of bribe-taking as a form of police corruption. Most of the members believed that police take bribes, while a few spoke not using the word 'bribery', Instead, suggesting that police accept money when offered. They believed that when police are being willingly offered money or a gift it is not the same as bribe-taking.

Some of the members of this group offered examples of the situations in which they had given money to the police or had witnessed money being offered to them. This included experiences of direct contact as stallholders on major streets claiming that they offered money to the police for the safety of their stalls and witnessed their stall neighbours offering money for this purpose as well.

Contrasting views from a few members who also owned shops in the market suggest that not all police officers collect bribes to offer services. Some participants have argued that they gave money and witnessed money being given voluntarily because of the good job police were doing, and not in exchange for protection. They cited instances where police demonstrated trustworthiness and asked them to be vigilant and report any suspected person around the vicinity of their stalls. The indicative excerpts were extracted from longer passages of discussion focusing on participants' mention of bribes:

> The Nigerian police are corrupt, and nothing is good about them, I have offered money to them for the security of my stall. There is no one who is not aware of this within this street; it is a usual thing here. *B* 101

> Yes [Applauding in a show of agreement] *B*103, *B*104 *and B*107

> Absolutely! [It's] unreasonable of them, if your shop is burgled and you report to them, you're even required to pay for their transport fare if the investigation involves moving out of the police station. *B*108

> Yes! yes! (consistently). *B101, B107 and B*103

In the same group, however, there were contrasting views:

> I do not think it is right to believe that all the police are corrupt, and they collect money, not all the police officers collect money from the public. I think people give money to the police when they are happy with what they do. I've given money to police officers and have seen people given money for good job. We have also given money to the police to help in solving their immediate

> problems because we are aware of the poor condition they face. Out of sympathy, we give[...] *B*105

> Agreed, there is nothing wrong to appreciate the police for good work. *B*106

> Yes, they're good! *B102*

In response to these more positive views of giving money to the police, other members of the group re-affirmed their position that even a voluntary gift constitutes corruption. But this exchange evolved into a more considered back and forth about the working conditions of police:

> No, no, it is wrong to give money to police, it [is] not right at all for police to collect money or gift from anyone. They are being paid by the state through their salaries. *B*101

> That is wrong; I think anyone that gives money to the police is also corrupt or liable to violate the rules and expecting the police to overlook their violations. *B*108

> Yes, you are correct, I have the same feeling, and the police don't need your money to do their job. *B*101 and *B* 104

> Even the few that collect money should not be totally blamed We all know how the government treats the police. *B10*2

> Yes! I agree that they are poorly paid, that is not a good reason why they should collect money from people. *B10*1

> Well, that is your thinking, but I feel the police should not collect money because it will induce them. *B10*3

> I disagree with that, if they are being paid does not mean that they should not be assisted. Please, can you compare the salary of police officers with other security agencies? Let's be honest with what we are saying, police do a good job. 106

The above discussion among participants indicates two different views. Some participants believed that it is acceptable to give payments to the police either as a means of showing appreciation for their services rendered or to sympathize with them for underpaid working conditions. Others believed that

under such poor working conditions they are not justified or blameless in collecting or accepting money; It is wrong and unreasonable to offer money or gift of any kind to the police. Those who feel that the police need to be appreciated and that collection of money from the people is not a bribe also associated what they would describe as corrupt practice to a few police officers responding to their poor condition of service and neglect by the government.

Nyanyan Group

When participants from this focus group were asked to discuss if they had experienced police corruption in the past, their views were like those in Abaji concerning different perceptions of police corruption. In one exceptional instance, where corruption was linked to the police selling of ammunition to alleged armed robbers, shows how deeply embedded the extent of the corrupt practice of the police was felt to be. A member of the vigilante group (See Chapter 2 for discussion on informal law enforcement) described a confession made by an armed robber before he was lynched by angry youths in the outskirts of Nyanyan rural community. The following statements are excerpted from a longer discussion about what the vigilante member claimed the armed robber said and reactions from other members of the group:

> The police are very bad and corrupt; they are responsible for supplying weapons to the armed robbers who went about in the night and break into people houses and shops. One of the armed robbers was arrested, and before he was lynched pleaded to be taken to the police station knowing that reaching the police station he would be freed. The armed robber confessed all: the guns they used for the operation were bought from the police. The armed robber said they bought a pistol for ₦10,000.00 [around £5.00] and for sub-machine gun and others, they paid more. The armed robber also said that every armed robbery operation, the police were aware[...]A110

Yes, that is right! A102, A104, A106 andA107 (collective agreement)

Reacting to the above narration, members agreed that the narration was true but some point to the fact that not all or even most of the police are involved in criminal sales of weapons. The following passages were excerpted from a continuous argument about participants' understanding of corruption:

> Absolutely, we have the bad ones among the police, they are responsible for the negative image that people have of the police. They sell or even hire guns to crooks and armed robbers and were paid for such services A106.

> Yes, it is a common practice among a few police officers [...]A110

> Absolutely, it is really a common practice that most of the police exhibit. A104

Zuba Group

Surprisingly, I got completely contrasting reactions from the Zuba group. Unlike the other groups, where despite different opinions about whether taking payments amounted to culpable police corruption, Zuba participants were more likely to say they had never witnessed or experienced direct police corruption. Their views are represented below:

> [...]The police are doing well here. I appreciate their work, I've given money to some of them in the past. In fact, sometimes I bought water and bread for some of them. I think we contributed money sometimes and gave it to those who were on duty to buy a few food items. The police are good. I have seen people doing the same, just to show concern about their problems [...] **C103**

> Yes! C101, C107 and C110

> [Researcher:] What do you mean by their "problems?"

> Sometimes their salary is delayed, besides that, their salary is poor, and it cannot cater for all their needs and that of the family. They don't have money, but they still do a good job here. **C104**

> Yes! **C101**, **C102** and **C110**

The above submission was interesting, and I was curious to find out more from the group leader. The detail of what happed that led to Zuba participant's inactiveness in the subsequent sections are further discussed in my methodology chapter. However, the leader who was also inactive during the discussion session disclosed to me on the phone afterwards that:

> [...] Most of the participants were not really saying what is happening in this community, they are scared because of the presence of a member within the group, who is a close friend of some of the policemen. Truly speaking, we're in danger, every day the stories are the same. The criminals are more respected and secured than innocent members. Criminals do anything they wanted; they broke into houses and shop in the night. Some of them were armed, the police were aware, but they could do nothing because they are being bribed [...] C105

7.2.1 **Interviewees' views of police corruption**

When interviewees were asked to share with me if they had experienced any form of police corruption, they also had different responses concerning bribe payments to the police. Some said that any and all payments offered to the police amount to corruption; some felt that not all payments should be classified as corruption and other understood it from the institutional failure. Below are relevant extracts from the interviews:

> [...] When a case is reported at police stations, that is an opportunity to collect bribes and extort money from the community members, especially those who are accused and ignorant of the

law. The police claimed to have the knowledge of law; they would
quote sections and sub-sections of penal code and constitution
where such offences or related offences are cited. They created
the impression in the minds of the accused persons that acts
committed are severe that would warrant many years of
imprisonment. Once this impression is created, that opens an
opportunity to demand bribes [...] A4 Non-elite Amac/Garki

Policemen are not protecting our society; they take part in the
armed robbery and various crimes which they ought to fight
against. I have heard of policemen killing one another because
there was disagreement on how money collected from bribes and
extortion was to be shared [...] D2 Non-elite kuje

Participants blamed police corruption on the police institution to fight
corruption. One of the participants had this to say:

Bribery and corruption cannot be stopped; it is a general problem
with the government institutions which the police are part. Most of
the former inspector general of the police were accused of corrupt
enrichment; you can see all these on the daily news; no records
from anywhere that showed any arrest or punishment for their
corrupt enrichment. They enjoyed the ill-gotten money with
members of their families [...] B5 Non-elite Abaji

Bribery and extortion linked with the police are beyond mere demands of
money from members of the public but also subjected citizens to harassment,
torture and threats to allow negotiation for payment of bribes. One of the
interview participants share his experience thus:

When the Nigerian police wanted to extort money from the
citizens, it was not a good experience. When the police demand a
bribe from you and you refused to pay, they humiliate you and
even assault you. They tore my shirts when they were dragging me

from my motorbike just because I refused to offer a bribe for items that I genuinely purchased from a shop, even when I presented the receipt, officers still doubted the genuineness of the items. I was accused of their theft. D4 Non-elite Kuje

Corruption in the police is everywhere, from "rank and file" to most superior. What I am saying is that you cannot report any inferior officer to superior because they all commit the same crime against members of the community that they were supposed to serve. I have given money to police many times in the market for them to secure my shop. Nobody will listen to you if you report any of them. A5 Non-elite Amac/Garki

Some elite interviewees partly attributed police corruption to institutional problems. They argued that police corruption should not be blamed on the individual police officer, but then on the setting in which the police work needs to be examined. The quotes below are illustrative:

Although I've read about police corruption in newspapers and magazines; and heard as well, I think corruption in the police is part of large corruption manifesting everywhere in Nigeria. The police are likely to be corrupt given the situation they are exposed to; the police are less paid among the security agents in this country. The government gives little attention to their welfare and security and the public see them as enemies that can't be trusted. But most Nigerians do not understand it from these explanations I have just given[...] A1 Elite Amac/Garki

Let's look at the role of the police in the country, there is not any security agent that is available like the police. They perform different functions such as traffic control, apprehension of criminals and securing members of the community, settling disputes between wife and husband and many other functions. With

all these demands on the police, yet the salary is not proportionate with the services they render. If you walked to the police barrack, you would lament about their conditions. Their quarters are dilapidated and there is no good office accommodation. It is only police officers that mostly lived outside the barrack in Nigeria; they rent houses where members of the public lived. Do you know that the uniform and the shoes the police wear are bought by them? You can confirm this elsewhere. With all these challenges posed to the police, honestly and for the sake of justice, we should not expect excellent performance from them. **C5** Non-elite Gwagwalada

Discussion

A major issue that has been given attention in this chapter is the analysis of people's perception of bribery. "Bribery" was broadly seen as corrupt behaviour by police, but not everyone classified the solicitation or acceptance of payments from the public as bribery; some felt it was reasonable and moral to accept money. Those who rejected the broad conclusion of police corruption based on taking payments pointed to two things: first, police deserve a reward for doing a difficult job and, second, the institutional corruption within public services and the low poor conditions suffered by police meant they could not alone be blamed for the problem of bribe-taking. Finally, a subgroup felt that even after recognizing these issues, it is not right to accept payment – regardless of wider injustices in the police or difficult working condition. Overall, findings from the participants indicate that corruption in the form of bribery and extortion generally undermined citizens trust.

Research on public attitudes toward the police has shown that corrupt acts perpetrated by officers in other government institutions do affect public trust in the police in a negative way (Hsieh and Boateng, 2015; Kaariainen, 2007). These authors have demonstrated that perception of corruption in other government institutions, not necessarily just in the police, reduce citizens'

trust in the police. A plausible explanation to this observation would be that, people consider the police not to operate in isolation, instead, they operate in an institutional setting where its behaviours affect and are affected by other institutions such as the courts and other institutions of government.

The research participants claims can further be substantiated that corruption in the police stems from the general corruption in government. This further suggests that the inability of the government to fight corruption demonstrate a weak system. Therefore, the majority of my research participants link police corruption to systemic failure. This finding agrees with the previous study in which corruption in the police is attributed to systemic and collective group failure (see Agbiboa, 2015; Akinlabi, 2013, 2015; Hills, 2008; Smith, 2007). I have argued previously (see Chapters 3 and 4) concerning activities of the post-colonial elite and its relationship with the police which by extension the present police corruption could be understood. Historical factors that led to the formation of police will be important in understanding the dynamic of corruption in the police in Nigeria. Elite activities in Nigeria has a tremendous impact on the analysis of police corruption (Odelakun 1977; Ahire, 1997). These factors are well discussed in chapter four.

The ideas about police corruption were readily expressed and many reactions were gleaned from individual perceptions in interviews and for the most part focus groups as well. The one exception where people did not appear free to express themselves was in the Zuba group where many members could not really have shown a willingness to discuss police corruption (see above and Chapter 4). People really showed serious concerns about corruption but showed concerns that police corruption is beyond a single factor or level of blame but rather demands a contextual understanding of the circumstances in which the police work in Abuja, Nigeria.

Group dynamic plays an important role in any group discussions. It is expected that members who had come from different cultures or units would have different experiences about police corruption (Noaks, and Wincup 2004). The important thing to remember that motivated me to utilize group

discussions in rural towns was to gain participants experiences through debates and how meanings are made from reactions to others' views. In a latter discussion session on corruption and other subsequent sessions, majority of the participants from Zuba appeared not to be interested in the discussion, members were unwilling to share their experiences concerning police corruption and other questions (see further discussion in chapter four).

7.3 Roadblocks and perceptions of police corruption

In an attempt to further expand the way corruption might be displayed by the police, research participants mentioned different ways in which the police achieve bribe collection from the members of the public. According to participants, extortion and bribery were mostly carried out through roadblocks. Roadblocks are barricades where all motorists are expected to be stopped and searched (Okereke, 1993:1). Perhaps this could be justified on security grounds as a way of identifying and apprehending those who constitute security risks and lawbreakers or those who might be in possession of sanctioned goods as well identifying dangerous people (Laminu and Mai 2007). The most common venue for extortion occurs at police roadblocks, supposedly put in place to instil a sense of security (Ekpo,1979; Out, 2004). In practice, these checkpoints have become a profitable enterprise for the police who often demand bribes from motorists and travellers alike. Accordingly, motorists are frequently delayed, police conduct checks not to apprehend law violators but a means of extorting money by subjecting motorists and commuters to form of harassment to ensure they hurriedly offered money (Onyeozili, 2005; Ekpo,1979).

The study participants also pointed to the fact that there is selective justice on the roadblock; some motorists are freed from police checks and search because such people were believed to be elites in Abuja. These are some of the descriptions of police bribery and extortion people associated with police corruption.

Nyanyan focus group

Members of the Nyanyan focus group said the police intimidated motorists with a gun to achieve easy and speedy compliance for offering of bribes on the major roads. Below quotes are excerpted from the views of participants that offer examples of this claim:

> [...] At a roadblock, the police cocked the rifle and positioned it towards me for shooting. His colleague, who stood by the road, stepped out to block me with his worn-out gun. You don't want to stop, bastard? The police shouted at me, displaying his gun with the intent of shooting. Then I offered a quick apology: I told him sorry sir, I have a problem with my footbrake. The apology was done along with quick payment of ₦ 20.00 (around 40 pence), He offered a nod, which served as a signal that I could drive on. A106

The views of A106 got different reactions from other members of the group. While some of the participants supported the view, others argued that not all the police officers engage in such brutal behaviour. The selected excerpt from long passages of quotes shows different reactions.

> Yes, that is the way the police treat people here. A110

> Perfect! Police officers have done that to me. When the police sight you at a distance, they pulled out their guns and point it towards you. A107

And, in contrast:

> Not all police do that, some of them are very good. They only asked you to tell them what you've inside the boot of your car when they stop you. I have experienced this on many occasions, only a few threatened with guns at the roadblock. If officers suspect you, they asked you to open the boot and if they found nothing incriminating, they asked you to move on. A103

Truly, only a few of them do that. A106

Yes! that may be right, only a few individuals engage in such habits. A105

The participants' views further showed that commercial motorcycle owners also face bribes and extortion at the roadblock. In Nigeria, the use of a motorcycle for commercial purposes, called "okada", are very popular in both rural and some urban towns. The operators carry people to different locations most especially areas that are not easily accessible by cars. Some of the owners and operators of these commercial transport services have also complained about how they had been stopped and threatened by the police with guns to obtain bribes. The excerpts from motorcycle operators attest to this from long passages of discussion:

It is not only those of you driving commercial motors that are victims of police extortion, but we commercial motorcycles operators also paid at every roadblock. A110

You're right! A101 and A102 [simultaneously]

Nyanyan groups also attributed corruption to the discriminatory attitude of the police among subgroups within their rural community. The extract from the quotes below show the perceptions of the public when they are being stopped by police officers.

Yes, they stop everyone on the road even those who are riding a bicycle, except those who are influential members or those who use luxurious or expensive cars. A105 Amac/Garki

Absolutely, you're right, some members are above the law and they are usually treated with courtesy and not always being asked to stop. A102

Yes, they are not being stopped at all. A108

Seasoned travellers in this region confirmed that they know the standard amount needed to satisfy police demands for money, upon approaching each checkpoint, and that failure to pay could have severe consequences. That the daily compulsory payment depends on ranks and types of car or the unit of the police that mounts the roadblock. Below are quotes extracted from a longer passage of discussion from a member of the Nyanyan rural community in Abuja.

> We drivers paid ₦20 (40 pence) to those who carried guns, ₦10.00
> (20 pence) to those without guns; to the black eagles, which are
> those who wear black, if they don't carry guns you can pay ₦10.00
> (20 pence); those with white cap, we pay them ₦30.00 (60 pence)
> and for the highway patrol, we called them "senior bobby" or
> "senior boys" depending on the area where they are found - we pay
> ₦50 (99 pence). A107

Two other participants (A104 and A106) who are also drivers confirmed that these are the normal fees paid at every checkpoint.

Rubochi focus group

Study participants felt that there was a lower level of crime in the past when there were fewer or no checkpoints than now that there are more checkpoints on every road within the community.

> The fundamental reason for keeping the police on highways was to
> curtail the menace of robbers and car snatchers. [But] These
> crimes have become increased than before. The police are always
> on the mounting roadblocks but without arresting these crooks
> D107

> Prolonged applause from the majority of the participants in this
> group follow the argument of D107

7.3.1 Interviewee perceptions

Many motorists and passengers from Abuja have complained about the rate of armed robbery incidences on the major highways. They also maintained that despite the numbers of roadblocks, there is an increase in the rate of kidnapping and robbery and car snatching incidences on the high ways.

[...] No wonder there are cases of armed robbery and kidnapping along the major highways regardless of the presence of police in every two kilometres. They are out not to secure the public but collect bribes from the motorists and market women and men[...]A5 Non-elite Amac/ Garki

One needs to drive through Abuja- Kaduna express road to understand the extent to which police turn these roadblocks to money-making ventures and understand the well-established nature of police corruption. B1 Elite Abaji

The number of police securing in the villages, towns and cities of Abuja are less than those on our highways every day. Crooks and law violators travel through this road with sophisticated weapons, dangerous drugs and items that are threatening to the security of the country; they are not being checked if they could offer a bribe to the police. The worse thing they do is that people who have costly cars are usually not being asked to stop; some of them used these cars to commit a crime[...] A3 Non-elite Amac/Garki

[...] All that the police are after is the payment of illegal toll. Even when you have not committed any offence, they asked for money and if you do not succumb to their demands they will deliberately waste your time with unnecessary checks such that an important appointment might be missed. Only those who used porch or cosy cars are excluded from the routine collection of bribe and extortion of money[...] C4 Non-elite Gwagwalada

[...]No one can equate the high level of corruption, brutality, extortion and assault of the police on the people they are called to serve. The police exhibit great disruptive behaviour. The Nigerian policemen are fast becoming an agent of extortion of money from the very citizens they are supposed to protect. There were cases of drivers who were shot because they refused to stop at the police checkpoint; this [also] led to the death of many passengers [...] D4 Non-elite Kuje

7.3.2 Discussion

As evident in the quotes shared here, bribe solicitation and extortion of money from motorists and commuters have been identified as the main example demonstrating corruption in the police. Participants reported that police frequently extort money from the public at bus stations, marketplaces and on the major roads while going about their daily lives. However, the most common venue for extortion occurs at police roadblocks, supposedly put in place to combat crime. Ironically, these checkpoints have become a profitable business venture for the police who often demand bribes from motorists and travellers in a similar way, in some places enforcing a standardized amount.

As shown from the analysis and in agreement with the prior studies bribes and extortion acts of the police often escalate into more serious abuses (Chukwuma and Alemika, 2004). Participants reported that the police have on numerous occasions severely beaten, assaulted, or shot to death ordinary citizens who failed to pay the bribes demanded. By implication, it would mean that Abuja residents would have experienced direct or indirect form of bribes and extortion from the police since the majority travel by road to another town within the capital city or travelling out of the capital city. In general, participants indicated that corruption in the form of bribes and extortion generally undermined their trust in the police. This is consistent with existing findings showing that police corruption has a tendency of lowering citizens' trust (Weitzer and Tuch, 2005:281). In contrast, Bowling

and Shah (2003), argued that when people perceived the police not to engage in any act of corruption, they are likely to have confidence in the police and the institution of the government.

Bribery and extortion inflict an additional cost on the commuters who make use of commercial drivers to go to work, to do errands and to visit others. Such paid drivers are likely to increase their fares passing on the costs that they will eventually pay at police checkpoints. In Nigeria, travelling by road is the cheapest and the most convenient and available means of seeing loved ones and building social ties. The implication is that corruption in form of roadblock payments are likely to include larger social impacts. Therefore, bribe-taking affects not only the disposition of individuals towards authority but can also, by straining or creating barriers to social relations, foster disunity between the police and the policed (Wilson-Doenges, 2000). In a mail survey of comparative study of gated and non-gated communities Doenges (2000: 599) found that citizens who have become more concerned with a decline in sense of community safety and an increase in fear of crime are likely to create communities that provide residents with a more close-knit and safer place to live by relocating and even providing safety strategy.

The consequence is that bribe-taking and extortion of money can impact on the high cost of living and restricting citizens' ability to travel. It is not unusual for members of the public to group themselves together to build up an anti-police force and retaliate on a police post such as by burning stations or even overpowering the police and killing them (Chukwuma Alemika, 2004; Alubo, 2006). Alubo (2006) argues that where corruption is on the increase and government is perceived not to take this seriously as a problem, there are wider consequences for social trust in the state. Besides hatred for the police and their family members, people are likely to see the government institutions as insensitive to their security because they believe that corruption is not only preventing and solving the crime and security challenges they face but also are possibly a cause of these. This raises the path of reasoning by which scholars generally exploring issues of trust and corruption; have argued that corruption has the tendency of fomenting

distrust in the government if unchecked (Morris and Klesner 2010). While some of my participants believed that corruption in the police is an institutional issue in which police corruption is a minor or a subset or symptom of wider corruption among the political class, there were still many who felt anger and classified this conduct as corruption, that even if this was true (Ahire, 1997:28).

However, this study agrees with prior studies about police corruption in different countries, for instance, the research about Nordic countries such as Denmark, Norway and Sweden (Holmberg, 2005); and Kaariainen (2007), researched in 16 European countries. These studies have shown strong indications that corruption, resulting from bribe has negative impact on trust not only from the perspective of the police but negative perceptions of the government and its institutions such as legal system. Views about the police also affect general attitudes about government. Solicitation of payments as a form of corruption pose a negative image not only of the police but of the institution of the criminal justice system. It is worth mentioning that participants in the present study experienced relatively more extreme forms and consequences of corruption compared to this research on other places, such as beatings for refusal to offer a bribe or forceful seizure of their belongings; a few even reported being detained for refusal to offer bribe (Kaariainen, 2007; Holmberg, 2005).

7.4 Kidnapping

This section has been given attention because from the analysis, research participants believed that bribe-taking from the police has implication on their insecurity. The participants argued that bribe collection from motorists and potential criminal on the street has resulted in police engaging in a variety of unethical or illegal acts, such as refusal to arrest suspects, refusal to punish or prosecute offenders and refusal to pay attention to unlawful behaviour. This the participants further argued has serious implications for their security. Specifically, participants mentioned that this deviant acts by the police have brought an increase in the rate of kidnapping, major security

challenge to the existence. Kidnapping in this respect involves unlawful and forceful taking away of a person without his consent (Anosike,2007). This is a crime that is not uncommon in many parts of Nigeria and typically involves a person being held until a family pays a ransom (Aghedo, 2005; Osumah and Aghedo, 2011; Okoli and Agada, 2014). In this section, I present respondent comments on kidnapping and then discuss how this forms an understanding of police corruption. I did not specifically bring up this topic; rather group members raised it spontaneously in discussions of police corruption.

Abaji focus group

Comments from this group identified kidnapping as an indicator of police ineffectiveness (see also chapter 6), and also offer comparative insight to other authorities, specifically (federal) military actors.

> **[...]**The police are just not doing the work, people have been kidnapped and ransom demanded without arrest. B102

> [...]We are used to all these; the high rate of kidnapping is no longer news. It is a daily routine. A few years ago, it was an issue of terrorism, now the rate of kidnapping is more. B103

> Yes, that is true! I think the police really did a good job, in controlling terrorism. B104

> No! It was not the police; the soldiers and the naval officers were responsible for the control. B103

> No, the police were also involved. B107

> That is not true! The army and the naval officers controlled the post and roadblock everywhere then. They are better than the police. B102

The soldiers are more discipline, they were not demanding money and you can't offer any. B104 andB110

Karu focus group

In responding to the same question about the implication of bribe and extortion as a form of police corruption, the Karu focus group participants also independently mentioned an increase in kidnapping:

[...] But the worst now is the kidnapping of people for various reasons. Kidnappers are making money from this. There is no effort by law enforcement to stop this, there is no arrest. It's now an everyday affair; you hear stories about kidnapping from neighbours, friends and mass media. There is no single proof from the police to show arrest of suspects in connection with the kidnapping. A204

Yeah! It is another way to get money from people. The police aren't saying anything. If they are really honest they would have arrested those kidnapping people. They are friends to the police. A203

You're right but the poor don't have money to pay for ransom. A207

What do you mean? It is not an issue of being poor; the kidnappers know that anytime someone is kidnapped the family members would source money anywhere to pay the ransom. A 203

That is exactly what I think. A 204

Yes! **A206andA207**

7.4.1 Interviewee perceptions of kidnapping

In urban communities, elites and non-elite tend to share the same view that kidnapping is a problem that people are faced with in Abuja. There divergent view concerning activities of police resulting in an increase in this crime. Most non-elite believed that police corruption is responsible for the increase in the kidnapping. The elite, on the other hand, perceived kidnapping as a general problem that every society faced. Most of the people interviewed associated present insecurity to police lack of arrest and sanctioning erring members of the public. The research finding among non-elite interviewees shows similar responses to the members of the rural focus groups. It was further suggested that some people have moved from the area they previously inhabited for an area that is seen as more secure from criminal activities. One of the interviewees (C1) from Gwagwalada municipal area council, for example, confirmed that he and his family left the area they were because of the activities of kidnappers. When he was further asked about where he lived before moving to Gwagwalada, he reluctantly said that it was not necessary for such disclosure. The extract from data portrays the face of insecurity.

> [...] My husband was a victim of kidnapping; we paid a huge
> amount of money before he was released after spending three days
> in their [kidnappers] custody. We reported the case to the police;
> they couldn't make any attempt of visiting the area where the
> incident took place. None of the officers told us anything since we
> made the payment. No arrest at all, even to suspect someone[...]
> C2 Non-elite Gwagwalada

> [...] In one of the neighbouring towns, someone was kidnapped,
> and the family paid ransom for his release. The police were
> informed but the police informally asked them to look for the
> money and pay. No attempt was made to find out the mode of
> payment [...] B5 Non-elite Abaji

Everyone is living in fear because of the increase in kidnapping, it is not a good thing from what I know from shared experiences. I have read and heard so much about this crime. It seems people have made it an opportunity of getting quick money. The police don't make an arrest. B3

It was like a dream on that day. The kidnappers were in police uniform with guns, as a normal routine, thinking they were police officers on normal patrol. We were stopped and they asked me to come out of the car and I was ushered into another car. They collected my younger brother's handset and asked him to continue the journey while he was instructed to source money if he wanted me alive. After a day with them in an unidentified town and house, they gave my phone to me and asked me to call anyone that would pay N3,000,000 (around £6,000) as ransom within 48 hours. C3 Non-elite Gwagwalada

[...] All the people have a link with police, they can't be arrested. Many that were arrested by vigilante were ordered to be released by the police for further investigation in the police office. The process was thwarted by police who claimed that there was lack evidence, and the kidnappers regained their freedom. We cannot talk to avoid being victimized; some of them have their connection with the police and rich men in town. D4 Non-elite Kuje

[...] We have been subjected to constant fear because we do not know who the next victim would be. My parent and I had to live our former place because of insecurity. We kept eyes open during the night because of fear of kidnapping and robbery[...] A5 Non-elite Amac/Garki

People are wicked, kidnapping human beings for ransom. The abductor is a member of the same community where they lived and most of them have not been arrested. They demand money and

give instructions on how the payment is to be made. The police are aware of all this with little effort to bring the issue under control, this is worrisome. The police and those behind kidnapping are friends. You just have to pay the money [...] C1 Elite Gwagwalada

I've heard and read about kidnapping and other crimes that are threatening the existence of our people. There is no day that you do not hear the incident of people missing [...] A1 Elite Amac/Garki

7.4.2 Section discussion

A major crime that the citizens of Abuja identified with police corruption is kidnapping which they believe constitute an impediment to their existence. The participants argued that kidnapped persons would have been driven by cars through roadblocks overseen by police officers. According to participants, if the police were not solely interested in extorting from motorists and commuters at roadblocks, and if the roadblocks served legitimate security as barricades, these would offer the opportunity of stopping and checking many cars, to make arrests and directly respond to incidents of kidnapping.

A major concern of people taking part in this research, echoing concerns amongst people in Nigeria and Abuja more generally, is the question of insecurity, which is very important in understanding police legitimacy and trust. The ability to move freely in the community, pay a visit to loved ones and feel secure in one's own home without fear of crime is central to a basic sense of wellbeing (Ross et al., 2000). Such a sense of wellbeing was clearly felt to be threatened and undermined among study participants by kidnapping; but also by the fact that the police often were perceived not only to fail in preventing or solving such crime but by seeming to actively abet in collaborating with its perpetrators (Zumve and Akuva 2013).The comments of research participants show a perception that there is a relationship between going to the police, who fail to instigate inquiries or arrests, and kidnapping rates (Aghedo, 2015; Badiora, 2015).

People's reactions to kidnapping suggested that they are more worried about it than any other crime such as armed robbery. People reported moving from areas where kidnapping was extensive to less extensive areas for fear of being kidnapped. Scholars have argued that fear of crime affects the condition of the social life of people and could influence people's decision to avoid a certain area of the city or town where they stay (Kitchen and Schneider 2007:7; Wilson-Doenges, 2000:600). For example, the current research found that some participants left their former residence for a safety zone to avoid being kidnapped. This suggests to us that insecurity posed by police corruption has tremendous effect on migration. People are likely to move from areas perceived to be insecure to area they feel that they are more secured to avoid being victims of kidnapping.

This might also involve avoidance of certain activities that are liable to expose them to risk, such as travelling by public transport and walking on certain streets and visiting loved ones. One can argue that the fear of kidnapping can foster disunity (Wilson-Doenges,2000:601 Tilley and Sidebottom,2017). Therefore, given the fact that kidnapping either actual or perceived is considered substantial risks in everyday life, Abuja citizens are likely to engage in one or more avoidance behaviours such as by restricting their movement to areas they perceived as less risk of being kidnapped. My finding suggests that Abuja citizens who perceived that kidnapping has become threatening to them are have had to relocate and avoid the area of impending danger. This suggests that those who relocate would incur more money for such movement. This further found evidence in the work of Wilson-Doenges (2000:598).

Insecurity raises the cost of living and also increases inequality; for example, those who are rich can invest in private security and build high fences around their homes, something seen in most Nigerian cities; and for others, it means either return to traditional forms of justice or carrying out so-called 'jungle justice' (see Chapter 2, and also, Agbiboa,2015; Hill, 2008). The rising of kidnapping would mean that in Abuja as the analysis suggests, almost everywhere people are likely to be faced with the burden of incurring costs

like employing private security for those who can afford it. This suggests a possible pathway for developing distrust and hostility towards police where people have to pay out of pocket for their own security, challenging police legitimacy as well as perceiving police as not trustworthy.

As evidenced by the current analysis, the perception of the high rate of kidnapping will limit citizens' trust for the police in Abuja. Police research on corruption is in line with my argument that citizens' perception of the high rate of insecurity has a greater influence on confidence in the police (Weitzer and Tuch, 2004; Kaariainen and Lehtonen, 2006; Anderson and Tverdova,2003). Kaariainen (2008) argued that the feeling of insecurity in one's neighbourhood lowers the level of trust for the police.

The present finding has also shown police corruption has exacerbated crime situation in Nigeria. It revealed how police officers were deeply involved in abating and aiding kidnapping. Evidence has shown that there is a link between insecurity and dissatisfaction with the police. Few empirical studies have attempted to examine the effect deep involvement of police in the kidnapping and its implication of trust, specifically, the pervasiveness of kidnapping which has become a thing of concern to insecurity amongst Nigerians. Perception of insecurity relating to crime is likely to diminish trust in the police. For example, in a survey study of two U.S. cities, Reisig and Parks (2003) have established that perceptions concerning neighbourhood and neighbourhood insecurity were the key predictors of satisfaction with the police. To understand corruption in the police in Nigeria, the activities of the elite is worth understanding. Most of the citizens of Abuja have blamed police corruption on the activities of the state in which the police officers have been used as agents of occupation and instrument in the hand of the elite (Odekunle, 1978).

7.4.3 Chapter discussion

General perceptions of police corruption among research participants showed that the majority directly or indirectly experienced one or other forms of

police misbehaviour which can be defined as corruption. Examples of these are the focus of this chapter and included, first, police roadblocks, on the streets and in public places such as markets and motor parks. Another example which came up again and again in interviews and focuses group discussions centred on kidnapping.

Scholars have argued that corruption has implication for trust (Wu et al., 2012; Weaver and Wildeman, 2014; Karstedt and LaFree, 2006; Anderson and Tverdova, 2003). Although the scale of corruption in Nigeria, as described by research participants, is different from what is experienced in many other countries. According to Wu et al. (2012) corruption has implication on the rating of institutional performance and compliance. In a comparative study between China and Taiwan, (Poteyeva and Sun, 2012) noted that lower perceived levels of corruption are a predictor for improving trust in the criminal justice system, both in China and in Taiwan. Similarly, it has been argued that perceptions of justice institutions are shaped by satisfaction with the government in a democratic system (Weaver and Wildeman, 2014). These authors maintained that people who lived in free democratic countries such as the US tend to have positive trust for the government than those in authoritarian countries such as China.

Scholars have focused a lot of efforts on crime control and performance and general fear of crime, the extent of safety in neighbourhoods, and victimization levels to assess overall performance of police in democratic system in terms of their trust and satisfaction (Wu et al., 2012; Manning 2007). These scholars further maintain that the rating of government depends on institutional performance. If government institutions such as courts, performs well, it has spillover effects on the police and even the government.

The key observations suggest that Nigerian police corruption is mostly linked with bribe collection and extortion at roadblocks, streets and other public place such as markets. One can argue from the focus groups and interviews that irrespective of the different sources of perceptions shown, bribe taking, and extortion of money are concerns that shape participants' opinions

towards the police. Participants' account show that police involvement in bribes taking has resulted in more widespread kidnapping, believing that the kidnappers paid money to the police to avoid justice. Evidence has shown that kidnapping affects citizens' perceptions of police as illegitimate (Biddulph and Cook, 1999; Heiskanen, 2010). However, research on kidnapping as crime has not really linked their evidence to the complexity of police in promoting kidnapping. For instance, a study of Biddulph and Cook (1999) and Heiskanen (2010) in China; and (Newiss and Collie (2016) in Scotland.

We also saw there are two major positions among the research participants. The first blame the police officers for corruption. Citizens who hold this view believed that the Nigerian police are bad and corrupt. This view had the effect of deeply damaging police reputation and the ability of those feeling this way to feel trust in them. In contrast, a second position among participants was more favourable, or at least less condemnatory about the police. Participants who felt this way either felt that police behaviour that might be defined as corrupt was in fact not in the case of bribes being articulated as voluntary payments in gratefulness for service or symptomatic of a wider institutional and societal context where it would be unfair to single out the police. People holding this view attributed this to many reasons among them are low wages and lack of support from the government and the public.

 It can be argued further that police self- restrain from the corruption that participants attached to an increase in the rate of kidnapping provide ordinary citizens with clear evidence that the police are doing their best to control and apprehend the perpetrators of this crime and therefore the police can be trusted. However, the majority of the research participants felt that police behaviour such as bribe-taking demonstrated corruption. Participants from across different groups and comparing groups to interviewees showed a very strong skew towards perceptions of police as corrupt. This view was strongest among those who were less privileged and who resided in rural areas. The most positive overall view of the police was to be found among the

more privileged research participants. This, then, seems to confirm the view of many rural and underprivileged participants, that the police discriminate and treat those with more power and the affluent in better ways.

Another interesting finding is evidence from the research in which study participants' claims linked to police corruption to wider systemic problems. According to Punch (2000), police corruption is a systemic problem for the most part. Punch's research was based on the comparative review in countries such as the United Kingdom, USA, Netherlands and Belgium about reform, control and leadership in fostering integrity and in tackling corruption. He found that corruption is not about individual police problems but rather is about the nature of work, the environment and the society in which the police work (Punch 200:321) this is contrary to "bad apple theory" which associates police corruption to individual police (Geller and Toch,1995). This assumption may be based on the Western countries, such as US and UK, where recruitment and selection are very strict (Guttschuss,2010), but in developing societies such as Nigeria, where recruitment is based on different factors, such as ethnicity, religion, region and clan affiliation (Alubo,2006), therefore the "bad apple theory" might not provide us with detail explanation of police corruption in Abuja, Nigeria. The finding suggests that corruption in the Nigerian police also is more than individual-level issues as evidenced by previous findings (Apter, 2007; Guttschuss, 2010; Hill, 2015).

Current findings further showed the different level of illegal and unprofessional conduct of the police. Study participants claimed that police accept money from criminal actors to suppress investigation; Police refused to perform without money; police accept money if offered; police threaten members violently for money and police demand money from motorists at the roadblock. The implication is that when citizens believe that professionalism is undermined by corruption they tend to have low trust for the police. The rejection of police authority is a rejection of corrupt police officer (Weitzer and Tuch, 2004; Kaariainen and Lehtonen, 2006). This is because the citizens who perceive the police to be corrupt will equally believe that it not their

duty to obey a police officer who uses his authority for his personal benefits or gains (Apter, 2007).

In the current environment, it has been found that elite and non-elite members of society also can experience different degrees of risk of criminal victimization. The underprivileged class, for instance, face a greater risk of being exposed to crime than the privileged class (Adeosun, 2012; Ugwuoke,2012). Non-elites perceived kidnapping as threatening to their wellbeing and security because they are more vulnerable given their disadvantaged position in society. This might suggest a different thing to most elites who enjoyed the protection of the police and other security components of the government; by implication, they are likely not to be exposed to kidnapping.

Most of the studies that examine police corruption have not really focused on the relationship between insecurity and police corruption. Kidnapping is one of the widespread problems that threaten the security of lives in Nigeria in recent times (Anosike, 2007; Adeosun, 2012). The analysis in the current study shows that bribes taken by the police have implication for high rate of insecurity in Abuja since lack of arrest and sanctions of offenders are likely to encourage more engagement in unlawful behaviour. Participants C1 and A203 have argued that kidnapping is not just a matter of police ineffectiveness but becomes an issue of corruption because the police are more or less cooperating with criminals.

7.4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented findings from interviews and group discussion of adult perceptions of the police in Abuja the capital city of Nigeria. The findings presented here are in line with those of previous studies (Weitzer and Tuch, 2005; Mofi,2009; Prentice, 2012). These studies associate police corruption with extortion of money from members of the public. Previous studies have not examined the nature of police involvement in kidnapping as perceived by their study population. Most of the studies have

not really teased out the specific nature of bribe that is worrisome to the public as perceptions of bribery vary. Moreover, previous studies have not dwelled much on the link between the rate of kidnapping and police corruption (e.g. in terms of aiding or abetting it). The reason for this might be that previous studies perceived these this act as less threatening and less harmful enough to devote attention (Mofi, 2009; Prentice, 2012). Likewise, the Nigeria scholars have also paid less attention to relationship between police corruption and an increase in the crime such as armed robbery, terrorism and most especially kidnapping, the most threatening in recent times (Anosike, 2007; Hills,2008; Oluwaniyi, 2011; Adeosun, 2012; Agbiboa, 2015). These scholars rather paid more attention to corruption in a wider context. The conclusion of this chapter is that bribe-taking and extortion of money from members of the public or potential offenders has a negative implication on increased insecurity, specifically the rate of kidnapping in Abuja, Nigeria.

Many reasons were attributed to police corruption in Abuja, ranging from individual police officers and the setting in which the police work. Significantly, police corruption strongly linked to police legitimacy in Abuja, Nigeria. This stands on existing evidence that persistent corruption has been a major cause of public mistrust in the police. The police are often deemed as persistently corrupt, incompetent to restrain crime and an instrument in the hand of the elite for manipulation and achievement of their interest (Chambliss and Seidman,1971) and loyal to power elites of the society (Alemika,2004)

8 Discussion, Conclusion and Limitation

8.1 Introduction

This study was designed to explore how people make sense of and develop trust in their police using procedural justice theory. The study aimed to examine how people perceive the police in their day-to-day engagement. To achieve this, I have conducted research among 66 adults: 45 participants

were engaged for focus group discussions; in addition, 21 interviews were carried out in urban towns around Abuja, the capital city of Nigeria. I have conducted research that has allowed me to develop rich empirical data based on direct contact with the participants of the study. Importantly, my study focuses on people's perceptions of these questions outside of the United Kingdom and America where the model of procedural justice was initially developed.

By speaking with the people directly, I have provided an opportunity for the public to share their experiences regarding police fairness and unfairness in order to obtain data that is relevant to ongoing debates concerning trust in the police. The study also sought to understand the effects of [lack] trust and how this shapes people everyday lives. However, I have provided an overview of my findings and also discussed the brief elites corruption and its implication on the police activities in the post-colonial Nigeria in subsequent sections.

8.2 Procedural justice theory and trust

The study found that concepts derived directly from procedural justice theory have a modest explanatory power in relation to understanding Nigerians' trust in the police. Tyler provided significant evidence to show that outcomes of interaction with legal authority are not the primary factor for compliance. What motivates compliance is the *"quality of decision-making" and "quality of treatment."* The former involves the objectivity, consistency and impartiality of legal authority; and the later shows people's experience of respect, dignity and politeness during interaction with legal authority (Tyler, 2000; Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2006). The main assumption of procedural fairness is that *people trust the police when they feel the police have treated them fairly* in every interaction (Tyler, 1990; Tyler and Huo, 2002; 2006a; 2006b). The importance of perceived police fairness, friendliness, respectfulness and fair decision-making processes are also vital characteristics that significantly shape Nigerian's assessment of their police. The key themes described the way in which participants navigated their experiences with the police. Tyler

(2004) has argued that procedural justice judgments are major elements of whether citizens will accept police control. As indicated previously, citizens assess the police based on the fairness of the procedures they experience during interactions as well as the fairness of the decisions police make.

There are three observable facts that the study suggests that are associated with procedural justice theory. The first observation is that procedural justice is very important in explaining trust and it shapes citizens' perceptions of the police in Abuja. This suggests that individuals who believe themselves to be fairly treated by the police are more likely to rate the police favourably, whereas those who feel that they have received unfair treatment, rate the police less favourably. This conclusion is thus consistent with that of prior studies (Tyler, 2006; Murphy and Cherney 2012; Jackson and Bradford 2010; Mazerolle et al. 2013). Fairness of treatment is not restricted to the procedures the officers used in exercising authority (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003; Tyler and Huo, 2002) but also include the chance given to people to contribute views in matters that concern them (Tyler, 2000). There is enough evidence showing the important consequences of citizens' involvement in the decision-making process in institutional settings (Tyler and Huo; 2002; Paternoster et al 1997). When citizens were allowed to participate and contribute their opinions concerning matters of interest to them, they tend to think that the authority respects their opinion. In this case, they are more likely to perceive police authority to be legitimate (Fitzgerald et al., 2002, Tyler and Huo; 2002).

The second observation answered the question about the difference in perceptions of police fairness amongst different sub-groups of the wider population. Several possible explanations come to mind. As other researchers have argued (Gibbidon and Jordan, 2013; Wu et al., 2009; Weitzer and Tuch, 2006), it is the case that elites are often protected by the police, whereas the lower-class individuals are not. This may account for different perceptions pattern among the subgroups of citizens in Abuja, Nigeria. It is also possible that those who are elite are more likely to be influenced by official media sources (e.g., television, radio and newspapers), whose subject is closely

controlled by the government and carries largely positive reports about the police and tends to emphasize government integrity and legitimacy in general.

Thirdly, an individual member of the elite might be less exposed to police deviance than non-elites because they are less likely to be exposed to some of the problematic actions of the police, for instance, being stopped and searched, being accused or victimized by the police because of their advantaged positions. This also exposed them to receiving fear and subjective treatment from the police and other repressive apparatus of the state. This shows how subjective or unequally distributed status, rather than an objective assessment of crime risk which can influence who is seen as receiving fair treatment or not. The central tenet of procedural justice theory is that, when individual police officers wield their power and authority in fair and just ways, this legitimizes their power and authority in the eyes of citizens (Tyler, 2006a; 2006b).

The legitimacy of legal authorities, particularly the police, is central to the state's ability to function effectively. Studies, mostly conducted in the US and UK, regularly find that procedural justice is the most important antecedent of police legitimacy, with positive decisions about other aspects of police behaviour but with little regards to other factors such as effectiveness and corruption in the police. However, this feeling has received less consideration in the non-Western world where the legitimacy deficit is high (Tankebe, 2009 and Bradford et al., 2014a).

I have expanded the literature beyond the procedural justice theory by examining non-procedural substantive concerns about the police including factors such as police effectiveness and corruption, testing key concepts and its applicability to Abuja, Nigeria. The findings indicate that Abuja citizens' views of the police are shaped by wider opinions of the competence or integrity of official and state institutions. The findings showed that when people are worried about the safety of their lives and pervasiveness of police corruption at a community level they are likely to show a lower level of

confidence and trust in the police. Similarly, greater satisfaction with their quality of life leads to greater satisfaction with the performance of the government in general and police specifically in providing security.

8.3 Police effectiveness and trust

Police effectiveness in controlling crime has occupied central topic of discussion among factors that promotes citizens trust in the police (Hinds and Murphy, 2007; Bradford, et al, 2014; Weitzer et al, 2008). These scholars have argued that performance of the police such as apprehension of criminals, maintenance of law and order and provision of general services to citizen have implication on the assessment the police. This argument found evidence in the current study. Safety of lives and properties were major concerned of Abuja residents as argued by participants. Therefore, the finding shows that citizens of Abuja who thought their police to be effective in carrying out duties such as controlling kidnapping and providing needed services to the communities tend to trust the police. Equally, those who perceived the police to be ineffective in offering such duties will demonstrate lower levels of trust.

Furthermore, the finding shows that there are variations in the ways in which the Nigerian police deal with different members of the public and that these are centrally associated with the class. Studies have shown that where people live, their residential areas or locations, often determine the nature of police interaction (Gibbidon and Jordan, 2013). This has an implication for the pattern of perceptions and consequently the legitimacy and confidence in the police. This evidence thus suggests that experience of perceived police maltreatment based on privileged circumstances might weaken the relationship between the police and such citizens. For instance, as the finding shows, besides the rural areas, certain area such as Garki tend to be home to those who are privileged such as eminent politicians and captains of industries. In addition to the government security agencies whose protection these members enjoyed, they also enjoyed a good road network, connecting one street to another, and the housing arrangements also allow easy

accessibility of police. These groups enjoyed full security from state security men as well routinely experience street patrol and forms of community policing. This might suggest from the data that the privileged members who enjoyed the police patronage are likely to suggest that police are providing the needed services and are more likely to see the police as trust worthy. Similarly, privileged members who had never experience any form of aggression from criminals are likely to perceive the police as trustworthy.

In contrast, as the study has shown, the prevailing circumstances in the areas inhabited by non-elites are characterised by a lack of police presence as well as a lack of accessibility to police stations and community policing which might lead to a deteriorating relationship. According to scholars, (Gibbidon and Jordan, 2013; Wu et al., 2009), the deteriorated relationship between the police and citizens may lead to the expression of negative views about the police. This line of reason also supports the 'ecological contamination' explanation of police action on the street which says that a lack presence of the police to provide safety in the neighborhood might result in disorderliness and breach of peace (William and Reisig, 2003; Kane, 2002).

Many of these experiences with types of community and the corresponding behaviour of the police significantly explain different attitude towards the police in Nigeria. The implication of this is that when non-elite members perceived that the police favour elites within the same community, it encourages them to engage in-group formation and provide alternative ways of protecting their locality (Tankebe, 2009). This has implication as this arrangement may negate conventional means of providing security. Evidence from this study attests to this where members engaged in an unconventional group formation as a case of Nyanyan vigilante group that administer justice on suspected armed robber by lynching. This action may be perceived to be legitimate by this group and members of the community who believed that police inactiveness has endangered their lives, members of their family including their properties. Evidence showing the formation of group [s] to provide alternative security, resulting from perceived injustice of the state and its agent in this case the police can be glimpsed from South Africa (Buur

and Jensen, 2004 ; Nina, 2000); Ghana (Tankebe, 2009) and Nigeria (Nolte, 2007; Akinlabi, 2017).

These groups were formed as an alternative provider of security, where individuals take laws into their hand resulting in what is called, locally, 'jungle justice' (Rosenbaum and Sederberg 1974; Akinlabi, 2017). This is consistent with the idea that people in Abuja will trust the police if the police patrol the streets, arrest lawbreakers and provide general services that will lead to the protection of their lives and properties.

A lack of an effective police service seems to signal abandonment and exclusion to those forced to live under such conditions, thereby diminishing their perception that police are effective (Hinds and Murphy, 2007; Tankebe, 2009). All these suggest that the ineffectiveness of the police in providing necessary services to the deserving citizens for their safety has a great consequence. This shows that insecurity is a major problem to citizens of Abuja and their perception is that effective policing is great in achieving protection of their lives than police fairness.

Current finding has shown that procedural fairness is less important among the citizens of Abuja. This in agreement with prior studies conducted in some African countries (see Tankebe, 2009a; Bradford et al., 2013). In those studies, police effectiveness were been found to be more essential in building trust.

8.4 Police corruption and trust

In Nigeria, studies have confirmed that corruption is widespread in all institutions of the government (Smith, 2007; Alemika, 2010; Agboola, 2015; Alubo, 2006). According to Alubo, (2006) Nigerians have lost hope in the institutions of governance because massive corruption remains unchecked. Alubo further argued that corruption has given rise to the commission of

different crimes such as police extortion and the collection of bribes from the public. This hopeless situation has led many to challenge the legitimacy of the government and develop a cynical attitude towards its institutions, more especially the police (p:29).

In the current study, the major security problem that many citizens felt was pervasive and threatening was the phenomenon of kidnapping. Study participants argued that police corruption is directly responsible for an increase in kidnapping. They argued that the police do not reduce kidnapping, rather they encourage it. Many participants have argued that kidnapping was detrimental in many ways; it hindered intergroup relations and made visits to friends and relations impossible. The implication is that where people feel insecure in their community, they are likely to develop a negative attitude towards the police, believing that police corruption is responsible for the increase in kidnapping and feeling that they may be the next victims. People felt police corruption meant that they were likely to, for instance, overlook crime or refuse to stop and search potential offenders. Studies have found that if corruption goes unchecked, it undermines institutional legitimacy as well as confidence in such institutions. (Hough, et al., 2010; Seligson, 2002; Alubo, 2006; Akinlabi, 2017)

One of the noticeable findings in the current study is that corruption has a tendency of manifesting unfairness, injustice and police ineffectiveness. In the circumstances in contemporary Abuja, I argue that the major hindrance to procedural justice is corruption. Moreover, the data that I gathered shows this was part of the participants' persistent description of feelings of insecurity. The participants, in many instances, argued that if the police were willing to accept a bribe in order for a motorist to avoid being stopped and searched, they were equally likely to accept a bribe from a criminal in order to avoid being punished. In this context, one can argue that those who paid money to avoid justice would prefer evasion as an outcome rather than any form of procedural fairness. It can thus be argued that corruption in the Nigerian context might lead to acceptance of poor outcomes rather than institutional fairness. For those who might get involved in crime, understanding that police officers are corrupt, may well pay

police to avoid justice — such an outcome may matter more than fair procedure (see Tankebe, 2010). In a corrupt system, and as many participants in this research felt, justice can be sold and bought, even human conscience becomes a commodity to be bought and sold. In the Nigerian situation, police conscience could be reduced to a commodity, bought at the detriment of public safety. Simply put, in such a system, solving crime becomes an illusion because the rich and law violators can buy the outcome they want hence the questions of institutional fairness become unattainable.

8.4.1 **Elites' corruption**

However, I have discussed procedural justice theory, the major theoretical framework that guided the research; and having drawn out a series of important arguments, I outlined the methodology of the research. Chapters 5-7 discuss the findings. My concluding remarks in this chapter suggest some specific epoch of history as drivers of police activities and perceptions of legitimacy and trust.

Many scholars have argued that the Nigerian police have been oppressive and inefficient as result of corruption in the police as an institution (Alemika 1988, 1991; Ahire 1991; Odekunle 1979; Tamuno, 1970). While this finding is largely echoed in the views of participants in this research, it is important to avoid the error of attributing these failures solely to personal inadequacies of the police officers, or even wholly to the institutional inadequacies of the force. The structural imbalances resulting in an unjust economic relations and undemocratic political order as well as lack of adequate and indispensable quality of material and human resources must form part of the explanations of police conduct, and was acknowledged by some participants. The issues of personal, institutional and structural factors affecting police trust and effectiveness that emerged in the analysis of data can be linked back to the earlier chapters of the thesis. Specifically, in Chapter 2, I offered a brief discussion of historical features of policing in the country since colonial domination and their interconnectedness with the wider political and socio-

economic system and argued these are important background in understanding the activities of the police in post-colonial Nigeria.

The history of police in Nigeria shows that the various forces created by British colonialists were structured to control and facilitate their exploitation of the indigenous people. The colonial police forces were organized as mercenary units and employed in several punitive expeditions to those who were not subservient to imperialist rule and economic interest (Tamuno, 1970; Odekunle, 1979). A repressive function of policing was built into the colonial criminal justice system. According to Ekeh (1975), this reflected the preference of the colonial government for mercenary police system — a police force whose personnel were alienated from and hostile to the population among who they are deployed. This arrangement, according to critical scholars, imprinted in the mind of the colonized that the police are an agent of the state rather than public servants who provide security and mediate between aggrieved parties (Bayart et al, 1999).

Although, their activities were perceived as legitimate by the colonizers in the sense that it operated according to the dictates of colonial laws (Tankebe, 2008:75). Writing about the situation in Ghana, Tankebe (2008) further argued that the activities and the laws that backed the operations of colonialists meant different things to the people being policed and concludes that the activities of colonial lords suffered legitimacy and trust deficits because of the alienation and oppression of the people who are subjects of the law.

I have already discussed (in Chapter 2) the features that have been associated with policing in Nigeria, situating it within the wider political, social and economic structures in which the police force was established. These can be connected to a major finding of this research relating to corruption, suggesting an area of continuity with the police in the colonial regime and sustained until the eve of independence. However, the corruption of these times manifested in the form of the colonial government using the police as

an instrument of oppression that protected an unjust socio-economic order and undemocratic political structures, plundering of resources of the colony and exploitation of labour of the colonized. To ease their manipulation and exploitative agenda, the natives were divided along ethnic and regional lines (Alubo, 2006). This legacy of policing by polarizing native peoples and groups in Nigeria persists today and continues to inform the deployment of police in crises (Ekeh, 1975).

Clearly, the post-colonial political personnel have changed; direct colonial rule has ended, and a greater number of Nigerians now participate in the running of the criminal justice system, economy and political system. However, the foundation of these structures of oppression, exploitation and injustice as well as the legacy of the domination of the population by a few elites appear to have remained somewhat intact (Ekeh, 1975) and sustained in new ways (Bayart, et al. 1999).

Officially the mission of the police was and is to act as agents for preserving the life and property, enhancing welfare and freedom and sustaining a democratic and just society, and the people I conducted with research with saw these as necessary for a legitimate police. However, the state in colonial and early post-colonial times used the police as instruments of terror and means of thwarting the aspirations of citizens for justice, democracy, self-reliant and self-sustaining developed economy. The police are pre-occupied with their own survival and security of the regime in power (Ekeh, 1975).

Scholars argue that in an attempt to install democracy, many postcolonial regimes concentrated on reinforcing dictatorship inherited from the colonial state (Ekeh, 1975). Alemika's (2008) arguments resonate with those of Peter Ekeh (1975:108) who argues that colonialism and post-colonial democratic efforts introduced two publics, a civic and primordial public which are distinct from Western democratic notions of citizenship. The latter is the pre-existing, morally grounded, sense of group identity and connection (often ethnically affiliated). In contrast, the civic public refers to those who both

provide and are recipients of services provided by a state that exists in an amoral relationship to the individual. He argues corruption can be understood through these publics – where taking money from the civic public ('the government to be more specific', p. 110) does not trigger moral approbation but bribery or embezzlement in the context of the primordial public.

The preceding discussion of the history antecedent of policing in Nigeria highlights the fact that the post-colonial Nigeria police force is characterized by brutality, oppression and corruption. This is not so much because of the personal inadequacies of officers but rather more as the legacy of corruption manifesting into political authoritarianism and socio-economic exploitation introduced by colonialism and sustained since independence in 1960 by the country's oligarchy within the context of neo-colonial and neo-imperialist socio-economic and political order. Democracy continues to be subdued and struggles for social justice remain suppressed (Ekeh, 1975; Manning, 2010).

Although Ekeh gives insight into an Africa specific understanding of corruption – not as moral failure but as amoral and rational behaviour that makes sense in the context of a history of colonialism, development and culture as in Nigeria. Nevertheless, however practices are characterised, it has meant empirically the inadequate funding of the police, poor management of available resources by police leadership, poor conditions of service, inadequate resources for police-work and pervasive effects of the nation's unjust socio-economic system in which the police work. This research found that participants saw corruption (in terms of bribe taking and other behaviours) as both understandable and undesirable in Nigeria. The culture of corruption (see Smith 2017) which permeates policing as well as other sectors of the Nigerian bureaucratic sectors will need sensitive attention to these contextual factors in order to improve.

In the latter part of Chapter 3, I discussed the features that have been associated with democratic policing (Manning, 2010; Hills 2008; 2000). Those features seem promising. Manning (2010) argues that democratic policing not

only promises an improvement in the security of the community, in addition, it seeks to make governance more democratic by enhancing community participation and increase public confidence as well as improve police sensitivity to citizens' security concerns. Manning (2010) further highlight that this style of reforms addresses the police's own organisation and treatment of its staff in a more principled, democratic way.

Mostly, the public image of the police revolves around the rank and file officers who patrol the streets where ordinary citizens go on with daily routine activities. These police officers are charged with responsibility of addressing public grievances either in stations or on the streets. These officers that people in the community or neighbourhood interact with provide 'teachable moments' (Tyler 2011:257) which shaped people's attitudes.

Chukwuma and Alemika (2003) argue that majority of rank and file of police in post-colonial Nigeria are from the lower status levels of society and thus prone to exploitation by elites. These officers moved from impoverished background to an institution and a position of some power. In the process of gaining discretionary power police might then be susceptible to misuse it for gaining quick personal dividends.

I believe that adherence model of democratic policing can serve to reduce police brutality, corruption, partisanship and subservience to the government in power. Participants in my research subscribed to democratic policing values and though these stated values have supplied a civic public (in Ekeh's terms) discourse in which corruption flourishes, I believe that there is a basis for their adoption as a moral grounding as well. However, these changes can only be effected if non-governmental human rights organizations collaborate with radical and liberal sectors of society and professional groups to mobilize citizens against governmental oppression, official corruption, economic mismanagement and social injustice. If these changes can be effected, they can produce greater legitimacy for and trust in the police which will enable

them to function more effectively and efficiently; enhance police autonomy from the manipulations of the government of the day; contribute more to the development, welfare and democratic process in the society.

Police in Nigeria exercise little official independence from the regime in power. The dependence of police on the government renders them incapable of developing professionalism, and advancing the interests of the overall society, so often undermined by the successive political rulers in the country. The police has being used in post-colonial Nigeria to subdue the people's aspiration for equal opportunities, free and active participation in, as well as collective control over the nation's political processes and economic resources. It is difficult to have a people's police in an authoritarian political system (Akinlabi, 2017; Ani, 2011). It is recommended that the government should show less interference with policing institution and encourage them by providing support that will enhance their professionalism. The government should forestall democratic policing, reflecting on the use of the police forces to forestall democracy and accountability by the rulers.

Overall, my findings suggest that people will come to legitimize the police more fully in Abuja, Nigeria only when the police establish a minimal level of efficiency in controlling crime and responding to the needs of victims; when they operate more fully under the principles of democratic policing which is guided by rule of law. An objective based policing system that is staffed by well-trained and well-equipped officers committed to high standards of integrity and accountability seems crucial in any effort to overcome the challenges Nigerian police force is facing. Depoliticizing the police may help, particularly in as much as this breaks links between police and various social groups within the Nigeria. Police corruption needs to be checked through strict routine assessment and a rigorous and efficient accountability. Only through such reforms that police can enhance their capacity of providing needed services that will increase their legitimacy, so crucial to crime control and the administration of justice be established and maintained.

8.5 Study Limitations

The present study has some limitations which are acknowledged. First, the study has examined factors influencing citizens' level of trust in the Nigerian police and attempted to suggest a radical transformation of police. It would have been justifiable to interview the police and listen to their own side of the story concerning what public feels about them. This is important because the participants resonate some salient factors that they felt are responsible for police inadequate performance. Therefore, interviewing the police would have given more insight about the condition of their service as study participant raised it as one of the problems linked to corruption. Therefore, future research should endeavour to interview police officer concerning what members of the public feel about them as well as the challenges they are exposed to which are likely hinder effective discharge of their duties.

Secondly, the study was limited by the inability to get the involvement of the members of the vigilante groups to find more about the mode of operations given the facts that most participants acknowledged their trustworthiness over that of the police. This can also be a reference point in the recommendation about how they are perceived as being effective than the police. In light of this limitation, it is recommended that future research needs to examine the opinions of individual more concerning activities of the vigilante and as well as interviewing members of this group on reasons for their emergence, mode of operation and their relationship with members of the public. This will go a long way in making a recommendation to the government on why people trust the performance of this group over that of the police.

Thirdly, future studies should incorporate more relevant predictors into the analysis through qualitative research to improve the complexity of the investigation of Nigerian attitudes toward police. For example, the nature of police-citizen contacts is an important area to consider which the present study paid attention. Future studies should further examine whether the participants had recent and direct or indirect contacts with the police, what

the type of police contact is and how they evaluate the procedural processes involved, the effectiveness of crime control and corruption. This line of inquiry thus should also be considered especially in this contemporary time where social inequality and crime are clearly on the rise in different areas of Nigeria (Alemika, 2003; Oluwaniyi, 2011).

Since this study is one of the empirical researches to address these issues in Nigeria and to explore the link between procedural justice, corruption and police effectiveness; particularly situating it within the historical factor that gave rise to contemporary policing, more samples using interviews and group discussions are required. This can help to guide future police reforms.

8.6 Conclusion

In this study, I have made an attempt to provide findings based on a qualitative examination of the experiences and opinions of citizens of Abuja, Nigeria. The study has shown that widespread corruption is linked to procedural injustice and police ineffectiveness. I argue, in line with previous studies, that perceptions of the procedural fairness of the police go with the belief that institutions have 'a just, fair, and valid basis of legal authority' (Papachristos et al 2012:417). When the performance of power-holders justifies the principles of procedural justice, this offers the moral validity that justifies their possession of power in the eyes of the policed. This finding accords with the existing literature that predicts that people internalized the value that one should obey legal authorities when they believe that those legal authorities exercise their power fairly (Tyler and Huo 2002; Tyler 2006a). However, what I discovered was that corruption has a great influence on the possibility of citizens being denied procedural justice. Corruption in the police is responsible for a major deficiency in police performance of their duties. Where corruption is endemic, fair police action is likely to be significantly undermined.

In line with the major objective of this study, the relevance of the procedural theory to Abuja citizens Nigeria has been examined. The study confirmed that procedural fairness is relevant to obtaining of public trust in the police in Nigeria. The perception of police fairness by Nigerian relates to building trust in the police. Abuja citizens are likely to show high levels of tolerance and trust if during interactions the police treated them in a friendly and respectful manner and when they perceived that the outcome of decision followed objective procedures rather than subjective opinion (Tyler and Huo 2002; Tyler, 2006a Sunshine and Tyler, 2003).

The police organization is the largest and the most pervasive of criminal justice agencies and the most controversial in Nigeria (Ahire, 1991). The Nigerian police are responsible for maintaining law and order, but also to the survival of democracy and the rule of law. Major issues associated with the poor performance of the police can be explained in relation to the wider post-colonial context in Nigeria and the existence of widespread elite corruption, characterized by a prevailing undemocratic political system. Widespread cases of official corruption among top government officials and those who control the economic sectors, inadequate funding of the police and pervasive effects of the nation's unjust socio-economic system are reasons for the failure of police to act in ways that create a sense of procedural justice or experiences of effective policing (Akinlabi, 2017; Oluwaniyi, 2011; Odekunle, 1979). Therefore, this study concludes that procedural justice has explanatory power in relation to citizens' trust in the police, but at the same time corruption can hinder the development of such trust.

The willingness of authorities to fight corruption represents an essential element of how people trust and understand their relationship with legal authorities. When police go below what the citizens expect by getting involved in acts that are detrimental to their perceived functions for corruption, citizens may see it as an important breach of appropriate use of power and a breach of trust. Critically, this may go above and outside commonly perceived concerns about fair treatment and decision-making, in

part because police corruption reflects the activities of the elites in government (Ekeh, 1975).

Additionally, the responsibility of the police to the public goes beyond institutional fairness and provision of security through street patrols and the prevention of public disturbances. Police are called upon to play many different roles, including prevention of crime from reoccurring, prevention of the use of arbitrary power by most influential people, protecting wives from assault and recovering neighbourhood-stolen domestic animals. This also goes to building citizens' confidence that they have been removed from any form of fear perceived as threatening their existence. Therefore, it can be summed up from the evidence available from the research participants and scholarly work that police fairness cannot be studied in isolation, rather corruption within the wider social and political context in which the police as an institution of the state operate. The failure of the Nigerian police to adopt procedural fairness and perform effectively as this study suggests is the antecedent of legacy of elite corruption inherited from imperialist power that the post-colonial elites sustains and promotes.

Appendix 1

University | School of Social
of Glasgow | & Political Sciences

Consent Form for Group Participants

Notes: If there is a literacy issue, this form was verbally read to the participant to obtain their verbal consent through digital recording. Audio-recording was required for focus groups. Anyone who did not wish to be recorded in the focus group discussion was excluded.

Title of Project: Public Perceptions of Trust in Criminal Justice Institution in Abuja, Nigeria, A Case Study of Nigerian Police.

.

Name of Researcher: David, Jacob Usman

1. I confirm that I have read / this form has been read to me and understood the consent form for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

3. I understand that my discussions with other members will be ***audio-taped***. **Yes/No** (delete as applicable)

4. Do you agree to take part in the above study? **Yes/No** (delete as applicable)

5. May I contact you again if there is any question or information concerning this research and any other research that would require your opinion? **Yes/No**

_____   _____   _____
Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____
David Jacob Usman Researcher   Date   Signature

Appendix 1

University of Glasgow | School of Social & Political Sciences

Consent Form for Interviewees

Notes: If there is a literacy issue, this form was verbally read to the interviewees to obtain their verbal consent through digital recording. Audio-recording was required for interviews. Anyone who did not wish to be recorded in the for the was excluded.

Title of Project: Public Perceptions of Trust in Criminal Justice Institution in Abuja, Nigeria, A Case Study of Nigerian Police.

Name of Researcher: David, Jacob Usman

1. I confirm that I have read / this form has been read to me and understood the consent form for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

3. I understand that the interview is between me and you and will be ***audio-taped***. **Yes/No** (delete as applicable)

4. Do you agree to take part in the above study? **Yes/No** (delete as applicable)

5. May I contact you again if there is any question or information concerning this research and any other research that would require your opinion? **Yes/No**

_____   _____   _____

Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____

David Jacob Usman Researcher   Date   Signature

Appendix 3

University of Glasgow | School of Social & Political Sciences

Plain Language Statement (or Participant Information Sheet)

FOCUS GROUPS

Study title and Researcher Details

Research Topic: Public Perceptions of Trust in Criminal Justice Institution in Abuja, Nigeria, A Case Study of Nigerian Police.

Researcher's Name: David Jacob Usman

Course: PhD Criminology

Email Address: d.usman.1@research.gla.ac.uk

Phone Number: 07467625813

Invitation paragraph for focus group discussion (this document was read aloud to invitees)

Introduction
I am a PhD student from the University of Glasgow, United Kingdom, interested in public opinions on criminal justice institutions (e.g. the police and court) in your community. Many people including politicians, lawyers, public administrators, clergymen, market women and artisans have said so many things about criminal justice institutions, specifically the police and court in many parts of Nigeria. I am here to invite you to take part in a group discussion on this issue with other members of this community.

These discussions are expected to be between eight and ten of you in a group for 60 – 90 minutes. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this.

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of the study is to listen to your opinions about what you know and feel about the criminal justice institutions such as the police and the court in dispensing justice in your community.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen because I believe you have useful knowledge and feelings about the police and court which I believe you would share with me.

Do I have to take part?

Your participation is not compulsory. If you take part, you can withdraw at any time without giving me any reason[s] for doing so. If you do withdraw from the research, any contribution you have made, either written or verbal during the period you participated, will be destroyed.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you decide to take part, you will be in a group meeting with eight and ten others. We will talk about your knowledge and views of the police and court. You can express your views on these topics as you wish. The meeting will last between one and a half hours. I would like to record this meeting so that I have an accurate of what you said.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

I assure you, your identity will be kept secret and all the information you give will be kept confidential. Pseudonyms will be used so that your identity will not be known. All diaries or jotters concerning any data collected from you will be kept in a passworded file on my computer. All information collected is for the purpose of the study, after which this data containing personal information you might give would be destroyed.

Please note that assurances on confidentiality will be strictly adhered to unless evidence of wrongdoing or potential harm is uncovered. In such cases, the University may be obliged to contact relevant statutory bodies/agencies.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

All the data gathered will be studied and analysed so as to examine your views. These analyses will be examined by my supervisors and examiners as part of my thesis for the award of PhD. If you are interested in the final outcome, it can be made available to you.

Who is organising and funding the research? (If relevant)

The research is being organised and funded by me for the award of PhD. The Federal Government of Nigeria is paying only my fees for this degree.

Who has reviewed the study?

The study will be reviewed by my supervisors.

Contact for Further Information

If there are questions or information required about this study, you can ask me through my phone or my email (07467625813; d.usman.1@research.ac.uk; usmandave 833@yahoo.com) or my supervisors, Dr Sarah Armstrong (+44(0)1413307715; Sarah.Armstrong.glasgow.ac.uk) and Dr Andrew Smith (+44(00 1413305267 Andrew.Smith.2@glasgow.ac.uk).

If you would like to speak with someone who is not affiliated with this research (for example if you have any concerns), you can contact the College of Social Sciences Ethics Officer Dr Muir Houston, email: Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk.

Appendix 4

University of Glasgow | School of Social & Political Sciences

Plain Language Statement (or Participant Information Sheet)

<p align="center">INTERVIEWEES</p>

Study title and Researcher Details

Research Topic: Public Perceptions of Trust in Criminal Justice Institution in Abuja, Nigeria.

Researcher's Name: David Jacob Usman

Course: PhD Criminology

Email Address: d.usman.1@research.gla.ac.uk

Phone Number: 07467625813

Invitation paragraph for interviews (this document was read aloud to invitees)

Introduction

I am a PhD student from the University of Glasgow, United Kingdom, interested in public opinions on criminal justice institutions (e.g. the police and court) in your community. Many people including politicians, lawyers, public administrators, clergymen, market women and artisans have said so many things about criminal justice institutions, specifically the police and court in many parts of Nigeria. I am here to invite you for an interview between me and you on this issue.

This interview is going to be between me and you for 60 – 90 minutes. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this.

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of the study is to listen to your opinions about what you know and feel about the criminal justice institutions such as the police and the court in dispensing justice in your community.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen because I believe you have useful knowledge and feelings about the police and court which I believe you would share with me.

Do I have to take part?

Your participation is not compulsory. If you take part, you can withdraw at any time without giving me any reason[s] for doing so. If you do withdraw from the research, any contribution you have made, either written or verbal during the period you participated, will be destroyed.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you decide to take part, you will be in a group meeting with eight and ten others. We will talk about your knowledge and views of the police and court. You can express your views on these topics as you wish. The meeting will last between one and a half hours. I would like to record this meeting so that I have an accurate of what you said.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

I assure you, your identity will be kept secret and all the information you give will be kept confidential. Pseudonyms will be used so that your identity will not be known. All diaries or jotters concerning any data collected from you will be kept in a passworded file on my computer. All information collected is for the purpose of the study, after which this data containing personal information you might give would be destroyed.

Please note that assurances on confidentiality will be strictly adhered to unless evidence of wrongdoing or potential harm is uncovered. In such cases, the University may be obliged to contact relevant statutory bodies/agencies.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

All the data gathered will be studied and analysed so as to examine your views. These analyses will be examined by my supervisors and examiners as part of my thesis for the award of PhD. If you are interested in the final outcome, it can be made available to you.

Who is organising and funding the research? (If relevant)

The research is being organised and funded by me for the award of PhD. The Federal Government of Nigeria is paying only my fees for this degree.

Who has reviewed the study?

The study will be reviewed by my supervisors.

Contact for Further Information

If there questions or information required about this study, you can ask me through my phone or my email (07467625813; d.usman.1@research.ac.uk; usmandave 833@yahoo.com) or my supervisors, Dr Sarah Armstrong (+44(0)1413307715; Sarah.Armstrong.glasgow.ac.uk) and Dr Andrew Smith (+44(00 1413305267 Andrew.Smith.2@glasgow.ac.uk).

If you would like to speak with someone who is not affiliated with this research (for example if you have any concerns), you can contact the College of Social Sciences Ethics Officer Dr Muir Houston, email: Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk.

Appendix 5

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Focus Group and Interview Guide

RESEARCH TOPIC TITLE: Public Perceptions of Trust in Criminal Justice Institution in Abuja, Nigeria, A Case Study of Nigerian Police.

Introduction

These are topics and sample questions which will allow the researcher to serve as a guide during to the semi-structured interviews with the participants. This interview asked questions about citizens' opinions about the attitudes of the Nigerian Police in Abuja. The interviews took between 1hour 30 minutes to complete. The interviews and discussions allow the participants to express their opinions and provide information about their experiences with the Nigerian police. The interview was divided into four main sections:

Question concerning the demographic background of the participants

Name:

Age:

Occupation:

Educational background:

Town:

Marital status:

Sex:

Questions concerning police fairness

Perceptions of fair decision making

Please, could you in your opinion discuss with me what you understand by justice?

Discuss with me if you or any person you know have ever been involved in a case that the police listen to your views or other person's view?

Perceptions of discriminatory attitudes of the police

Discuss with me if you or any person you know were treated differently in this community?

Please discuss with me if police treat people equally in your community?

Police friendliness

Please could you discuss with me how [un]friendly and are the police officers when dealing with you or any member of this community

Police respectfulness

Could please discuss with me how [dis] respectful are the police officers when dealing with you or any member of this community?

Questions concerning police effectiveness.

Could you please discuss with me in your opinion the functions the police in your community should be fulfilling?

Could you discuss with me how capable are the police officers in maintaining order and enforcing the law?

In your opinion could you discuss with me how efficient are the police in protecting lives and properties?

Please discuss with me how good are the police in investigating and detecting crime?

Questions concerning police corruption

Please could discuss with me in your opinion what you understand by corruption?
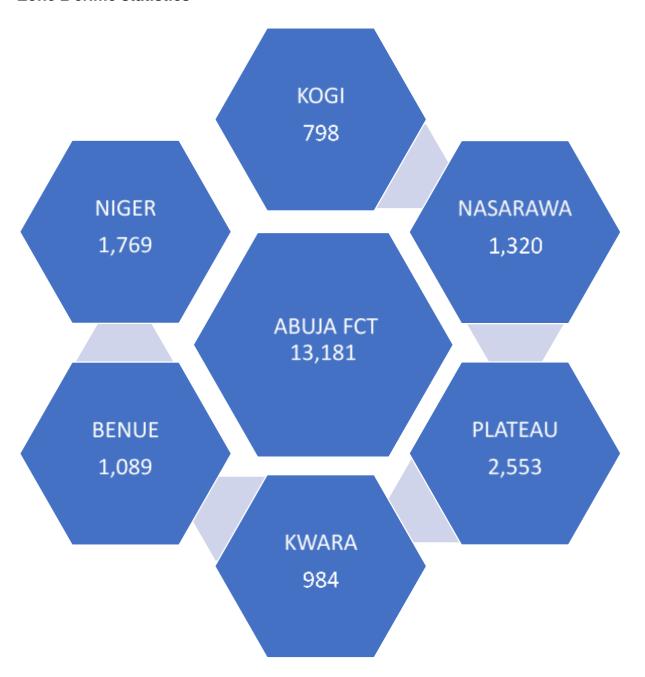
Could you please discuss with me if you have ever experienced any form of police acts that constitute corruption?

Please, could you discuss with me if you had experienced any place that police corruption happened?

Appendix 6

Nigerian police hierarchical structure

Inspector General of Police

Deputy Inspector General of Police

Commissioner Police

Deputy Commissioner of Police

Assistant Commissioner of Police

Chief Superintendent of Police

Superintendent of Police

Deputy Superintendent of Police

Assistant Superintendent of Police

The Inspector

Sergeant Major

Sergeant Minor

Sergeant

Corporal

Constable

Appendix 7

Zone 2 crime statistics

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