

The Effects of Police Public Relations on Maintenance of Public Order in Nigeria: A Case Study of Anambra State 2007-2014

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ABSTRACT

The study examines the effects of police-public relations on the maintenance of public order in Nigeria, using Anambra state as a case study. The study interrogates the following questions: Why were police-public relations essential for public order in Anambra State between 2007 and 2014? Did the citizens' distrust of the police hamper their capacity to combat crimes in Anambra State between 2007 and 2014? The study tested the following hypotheses: Police -public relations were essential for public order in Anambra State between 2007 and 2014 because they opened channels of communication and reduced the level of suspicion and antagonism between the government and the people. Again, citizens' distrust of the police hampered their capacity to combat crimes in Anambra State between 2007 and 2014. The theory of relative deprivations was adopted for explanation. Data for this study were collected via self report/ protocol techniques using the instrument of questionnaire, documentary data from primary and secondary sources, face-to-face elite interview and indirect observation and qualitative descriptive methods were used in our analysis. The results of the study are that: the Police -public relations were essential for public order in Anambra State between 2007 and 2014 because they opened channels of communication and reduced the level of suspicion and antagonism between the government and the people. Again, citizens' distrust of the police hampered their capacity to combat crimes in Anambra State between 2007 and 2014. We recommend among others that the state government should channel greater part of their security votes to support community policing in Anambra state, and the police should also cooperate with the vigilante groups in the war against crime in the state.

Keywords: Public Order, Colonial Mentality, Capitalist System, Police-Public Relations, Fundamental Human Rights

INTRODUCTION

Public police was established in Europe by the 17th century but the Anglo-American policing was essentially private, non- specialized and non- professionalized until the 19th century [1,2,3,4]. The rationale for the emergence of the

specialized and professionalized police was to meet the problems of the new industrial and urbanized societies [5,6]. [7,8] remarked that:

The emergence of the new police is an inevitable progression to meet the problems of the urban industrial societies that the old orthodox police in Europe failed to address...Radicals argue that the new police were appropriate forms of control within capitalist societies where traditional forms of social control had broken down, yet order, predictability and continuity were crucial for smooth running of the societies.

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Put simply, the basic mission of the police is to prevent crime and disorder as well as preserve public favor. Police use physical force to the extent necessary [9]. At a higher level of explanation, the new professionalized police emerged in line with the emergence of the capitalist system of production. Thus, the police emerged to defend the capitalist system. The ability of the police to perform their duties is dependent upon public approval of police actions [10]. Police must secure the willing cooperation of the public. The degree of cooperation of the public that can be secured diminishes proportionally to the necessity of the use of force. Good police public relations makes the police to be: more effective in their jobs, find their jobs safer and easier to do, face few litigation and gain longer careers, be treated with greater respect, have better morale, have more trust and less fear of police, have a safer community, have less tension and conflict, gain greater cooperation from police, gain increased safety for children and seniors and gain quicker resolution to crime. Building proper police - public relation will result in high degree of popular acceptance of the police by the public and the media because the media is often influenced by the demands and belief of the citizens [11].

The relationship between the police and the public (both the aristocrats, middle and low income earners) in Nigeria continue to be authoritative and dirigistic. Examining the interaction between the police and public in Nigeria is important for two reasons. First, the presence of police officers on the streets of Nigeria is symbolic of the

The Public Order Act has been used as a camouflage to deny citizens the right to protest under the pretense that such protests have not obtained permit from designated authorities.

After the return of democratic rule in 1999, High Court of Abuja on June 26, 2005, voided the Act. According to the Justice, the Court held that the provisions of the Public Order Act (Cap382) Laws of the Federation of Nigeria [3] were in conflict with the provision of Section 40 of the

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existence of the state power. Second, public opinion about the police was indicative of the legitimacy of increased state power, with officers acting as a unique point of contact between political elites and the wider public. By the public we mean the different sections of the community [12].

Meanwhile, the history of colonialism is central to our understanding of the history of the police in Nigeria. Prior to the incursion of imperial colonialism in Nigeria, new police as known today was unknown. By orientation and history of the police in Nigeria, they essentially play an imperial role, such as guarding the crown, the colonial administration* and major colonial investments [13].

More than five decades after Nigeria's independence, the police in Nigeria remain a centralized institution with great deal of colonial mentality [14,15]. The police for instance, continue to operate with the Public Order Act, (Cap 382) Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 1990 to resist the citizens' efforts to demand for their rights. [16] noted that the Public Order Act was a product of the colonial Ordinance which prevented Nigerians from challenging colonialism. The colonial masters used the Ordinance to prevent or suppress every form of anti-colonial nationalist movements. Later the Public Order Ordinance metamorphosed into Public Order Act. The power to authorize public gatherings was thus monopolized by the authoritarian state in Nigeria via this Act [2]. Aborisode [3] succinctly puts that:

1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The Court of Appeal later affirmed the inalienable right of Nigerians and associations to hold rallies without police permit. The Court upheld the judgment of a Federal High Court which had, in June 2005, declared the Public Order

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Act null and void. Despite that this obnoxious Act was quashed by the Appellate Court in 2007, the police have continued to interfere with almost every citizen's rights and freedom of assemblies and rallies,. principally applying force to disperse peaceful gatherings [7].

The police in Nigeria act as if law enforcement is an end in itself. They easily lose sight of the end product of law enforcement namely- maintenance of orderly society that enjoys the support of law abiding citizens. The police in Nigeria are popularly held to be uneducated with low mentality; employment of police personnel is based on physical strength and courage; their honesty and integrity are doubtful; the police continue to be offensive against the society, rude, domineering and quick to anger [6]. Observably, the police themselves are major factor in determining the attitude of the public. Despite how efficient and honest a police administration might be, it is judged by individual citizens [6]. In Anambra state, as long as the police confine their activities to repression, detection and investigation of offences which were common law crimes, they won a great measure of popular support but as the police became overburdened with what people consider as unsupportive of enforcement of

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This study has both general and specific objectives.

Generally, this study examines the effect of the police-public relations on maintenance of public order in Nigeria, using Anambra state as a case study. Specifically, this study has the objective to:

This study is guided by the following hypotheses:

1. Police -public relations were essential for public order because it improves the stability and steady development

METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

Method constitutes an aspect of methodology which deals with principles and details of procedures used in a given science. This study adopts both qualitative and quantitative research methods. Qualitative data include detailed

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criminal laws, public support weakens. Frequently, the police infringe on the citizen's rights in the business environments with prevalence illiterate population in Anambra state [11].

The greatest manifestation of police harassment and extortion in Anambra state take place on a daily basis as countless Nigerians traveling on the country's roads, buying or selling at markets and running daily errands. The people are accosted by armed police officers demanding bribes. To extort money, these officers frequently threaten victims and commit human rights abuses. In Anambra state, the extortion at police roadblocks has taken on the nature of a standardized "toll." The officers at the roadblocks make little attempt to hide their collection of money, exposing the near total lack of will on the part of senior police officers and government authorities to hold officers accountable. People who refuse to pay bribes are routinely subjected to arbitrary arrest, unlawful detention, and threats until they or their family members negotiate payment for their release. This study examines the effect of the police-public relations on maintenance of public order in Nigeria, using Anambra state as a case study.

1. Determine why police -public relations were essential for public order in Anambra State between 2007 and 2014
2. Ascertain if citizens' distrust of the police hamper their capacity to combat crimes in Anambra State between 2007 and 2014

HYPOTHESES

of the government and people of Anambra State between 2007 and 2014

2. Citizens' distrust of the police hampered their capacity to combat crimes in Anambra State between 2007 and 2014.

description of situations, events, people interaction, direct quotations from people about their experience, attitudes, beliefs and thoughts; and excerpts or entire passages from documents, correspondence, records and case histories

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while quantitative research deals with use statistical and mathematical calculations to reach conclusions [3].

Data for this study were collected via a series of methods. First, we collected data through self report/ protocol techniques using the instrument of questionnaire. Second, we used the documentary data from primary and secondary sources. This was the major source of qualitative data in this study. Third, the researcher also conducted face-to-face elite interview with a total of 6 (6) people 3 leaders of civil society groups (Human Right Commission (HRC); Civil Liberties Organization (CLO); Constitutional Rights Project (CRP)) and three police personnel at the management cadre of the force in Anambra state. The participants in this interview are expected to provide information on an issue

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but also help the researcher to recall, verify or rectify controversial or ambiguous items of information concerning the problem being discussed. The researcher was directly responsible for moderating the elite interview. The interview schedule was designed in relation to our research objectives. This enabled us to minimize digression and also save time. Fourth, data was collected through indirect observation. We observed the police-public relations in Anambra state for three consecutive times- December, 2007, December 2010 and April 2014 when the state is so busy. This enabled us to determine the trend at different intervals to supplement the previous methods discussed above. The justification for the combination of methods was to deepen the research findings.

RESEARCH DESIGN

A research design is like a blue print that tells us how to reach the plausible answers to research problems. [4], argued that research design thus provides the framework for the collection and analysis of data according to the priority set by the researcher. According to [2] "there are three questions we may ask of every research design". They include: will the design provide plausible answers? Does the design permit control over extraneous sources of variance? Is the design practical or ethical?". [1] "classified three main categories of research design as follows: Survey; Experimental and Ex-post-facto". Notably, these categories have numerous other sub categories. In this study, we adopted the single case *ex post facto* design. [8], defined *ex post facto* research design as a form of descriptive research in which an independent variable has occurred and an

investigator starts with the observation of a dependent variable. Similarly, [4] noted that ex-post-factor design investigates possible causes and effects relationship by observing an existing condition, look for plausible causal agents. Indeed, *ex- post- facto* design is used when experimental research is not possible, such as when people have self-selected levels of an independent variable or when a treatment is naturally occurring and the researcher could not control the degree of its use. In this design, an existing case is observed for some time in order to 'study' or 'evaluate' it. The issues of colonial mentality of the police in Nigeria and the citizen's distrust of police personnel in Nigeria are naturally occurring phenomenon that the researcher cannot control. This is diagrammatically represented in figure 1 below:

Figure 1: Single case design or the ex-post facto research design



Where

- O** = Observation
- R** Random assignment of subjects to experimental groups and random assignment = experimental treatments to experimental groups.
- X** = Independent experimental variable which is experimentally manipulated.
- Y** = Independent experimental variable.
- A** = Before observation
- B** = After observation.

Ex post facto analysis of the independent variable (X) and the dependent variable (Y) is based on concomitant variation. Hence, (X) occurs there is likelihood that (Y) will follow at some point later. Applying the *ex post facto* design to our study, the test of the hypothesis I, involves observing the X (police- public relations for public order) and Y (improved stability and steady development of the people of Anambra State between 2007 and 2014) and hypothesis II, involves observing X (Citizens' distrust of the police) and Y (police capacity to combat crimes in Anambra State between 2007 and 2014). In all these cases, the

observations were made at the same time because the effects of the former on the latter have already taken place before this inquiry. Again, judgmental selection of series of "before" and "after" observations of the cement manufacturing sector was used to test the hypotheses. In our study, we observed that prior to 1999; police brutality was a normal phenomenon. Even after the return of democracy police brutality have continued until after the first eight years of return of democracy. Hence from 2007 to 2014, Nigeria began to show serious concern for global human right image.

Population of the Study

[2] defined a population as "all the members of the target of the study as defined by the aims and objectives of the study". The population of this study is all the residents of

Anambra state estimated at 4,612,868 by the National Population Commission. This population covers both the police and the public.

Sampling and Sampling Techniques

We used the Yamane's Statistical Formula to determine the sample size of the study. This decision was informed by the high level ability/ capacity of the formula to control

sampling error. Yamane (1973: 727-728) stated the formula as:

$$n = \frac{N}{1+Ne^2}$$

Where n = the sample size
 N = the total population (4,612,868)
 e = tolerable error (which is normally 0.05%)

$$\begin{aligned} n &= \frac{N}{1+Ne^2} \\ &= \frac{4,612,868}{1+4,612,868 \times (0.05)^2} \\ n &= \frac{4,612,868}{1+4,612,868 \times 0.0025} \\ n &= \frac{4,612,868}{11533.17} \end{aligned}$$

$$n = 399.97=400$$

In other that the sample might be a true representation of the population, we stratified the Anambra State into the three Senatorial districts as follows

1. Anambra North
2. Anambra Central
3. Anambra South

We observed that the major police activity take place in the urban centers and from each of these three Senatorial districts in Anambra state, we purposively selected Onitsha

Validity and Reliability of Instrument

A total of 20 questions were constructed and given to the supervisor and two other professional colleagues for scrutiny. Their comments, observations and suggestions prompted some amendments and consequent reduction of

North (Onitsha), Idemili North and Nnewi North (Nnewi) respectively. We considered the disproportionality in population of these local governments and the urban centers selected therein, a total of 150 questionnaires each were distributed in Onitsha and Nnewi respectively and 100 questionnaires were distributed in Idemili North local government. We also used the judgmental non-probability sampling to determine the respondents.

the questions to 14. These questions were considered usable for the study. Again the modified questions were administered to 10 resident of Anambra state who was not involved in the main study. They were merely used to test

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the instrument. The test-retest correlation techniques yielded a reliability coefficient of 0.75. This outcome gave rise to the approval of the final version of the questionnaire by the research supervisor as contained in the Appendix 1

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of this study. Again we interviewed the police chiefs of the two area commands we stratified the police in the State to cross check the responses generated from the questionnaires.

Method of Data Analysis

Taking into cognizance that data for this study adopted both quantitative and qualitative methods of research, we analyzed the self report data respondents using both descriptive statistics. Hence frequency tables and simple percentages were used in our analysis. On the hand, we read meaning out of written documents from police weekly magazines, news papers, books, journal, human right watch and other official documents that deal with police -public relations in Nigeria, police harassment of citizens, citizen's distrust of the police and war against crime in Anambra state. Again, we ordered the massive and complex data generated in this study into patterns, categories and descriptive units; we examine the data, interpreted what is observed and formed an impression. Interpretations involve attachment of meaning and significance to variables while looking for relationships and linkages between the variables.

Empirical Verification

I administered a total of 400 questionnaires to our sample that is, 150 each in Onitsha North and Nnewi North and 100 in Idemili North local government into which we stratified Anambra state. In Onitsha North, 142 questionnaires were returned and 8 were not returned. In Nnewi North, 145 questionnaires were returned and 5 were not returned. In Idemili North, 88 questionnaires were returned and 12 were not returned. This study therefore has a total of 375 properly completed and returned questionnaires. This represents

about 93.75 % response rate. The analysis of the bio- data of our respondents revealed as 315 respondents that is about 84 % of our sample were male and 60 respondents that is about 16 % of our sample were female. Again, 255 (68 %) respondents belong to the business class, 40 (10.66%) respondents were police officers and 30 respondents (8 %) were of other civil service extractions while about 50 respondents (13.33%) were farmers. Table 1 below shows the educational qualifications of our respondents.

Table 1: Frequency Distribution showing the educational qualifications of our respondents

S/N	Educational Qualification	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
1.	First School Leaving cert.	126	33.6	33.6
2.	WAEC/GCE/NECO	195	52.0	85.6
3.	OND/NSE	14	3.73	89.33
4.	HND	27	7.2	96.54
5.	B.A./B.Sc	10	2.66	99.2
6.	MPA/M.A/M.Sc.	2	0.53	99.73
7.	D.PA/Ph.D	1	0.26	100

Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

The above table shows that the cumulative percentage of respondents that did not school beyond WAEC/GCE/NECO was 85.6 percent. Only 2.66 percent of our respondents have B.A. / B.Sc while less than one percent of our respondents have MPA/M.A/M.Sc./D.PA and Ph.D.

Test of Hypothesis 1:

Hypo I: Police -public relations were essential for public order because it improves the stability and steady development of the government and

Table 2: Frequency distribution for the question: Have you had an encounter with the police before?

Response	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency
Yes	360	96	360
No	9	2.4	369
Undecided	6	r.6	375

Source: **Fieldwork, 2014.**

The frequency distribution in table 1 above shows that 96 percent of our respondents have encountered the police, 2.4 percent have not encountered the police while 1.6 percent were undecided on the question

people of Anambra State between 2007 and 2014.

The Nigerian police interact with all members of the public at different levels:

individually, groups, organizations among others. Meanwhile, there are structural, organizational, and attitudinal factors that led to the deteriorating nature of the police -public relations in Nigeria [6]. We applied questions-from number 1 to 7 in the questionnaire to test hypothesis 1 as well as the other supportive evidence.

Table 3: Frequency distribution for the question: If the answer to question 1 is yes where did you encounter a police

Response	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency
On the road	215	59.72	215
In the office	10	2.77	225
In the market	110	30.55	335
Your residence	20	5.55	355
Cannot remember	5	1.38	360

Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

Out of the 360 respondents that have encountered the police, 59.72 percent encountered the police on the road, 2.77 percent encountered the police in their offices, 30.55 encountered them in the markets and 5.55 percent encountered them in their residences while about 1.38 percent cannot remember where they encountered the police. This frequency distribution shows that the highest points of contact with the police in Anambra state are in the roads blocks/ checkpoints followed by the markets. We gathered from our interview that the number of illegal police checkpoints in Anambra state have increased with mounting revenue accruing to the police illegally. Again, our interviewees revealed that it is this illegal extortion of the people that defaces police-public relations.

In fact, the Southeast of Nigeria has been militarized by police and their roadblock extortions. [6] reported that Nigerian police personnel raked \$49.35 billion

from over 1,350 police checkpoints in 18 months as at 17th August 2010. About N 1.4 billion was raked from South East alone in 2010. The distribution is as follows: Anambra- -N 378 million, Abia-44 378 million, Imo- N135 million, Enugu W108 million and Ebonyi- =N 76 million. The report furthered that the sum of £J 20.5 billion had been lost in the hands of the extortionist police personnel in the entire six geopolitical zones in Nigeria in the same period. Between January 2009 and June 2010, police raked the following amounts by geo political zones: South East - N 5 billion, South South- =N 4 billion, South West-N 4 billion, North Central and Abuja- N 2 billion, North East- N 500 million and North West N 500 million (HRW, 2010). The above data shows that South East raked the highest amount of money despite that it has the least number of states and more or less population.

Table 4: Frequency distribution for the question: How would you assess the mood of police officer at encounter?

Response	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency
Unfriendly	286	76.26	286
Very Unfriendly	49	13.06	335
Friendly	30	8	365
Very friendly	7	1.86	372
Undecided	3	0.8	375

Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

The frequency distribution in table 4 above shows that 76.26 percent of our respondents feel that the police are unfriendly at encounter and 13.06 percent feel that they are very unfriendly. In fact, the cumulative frequency of those who

feel that the police are unfriendly and very unfriendly was 335 out of 375 respondents. About 8 percent feel that the police are friendly while 1.86 percent feels that the police are very friendly

Table 5 : Frequency distribution for the question: Have you been stopped and searched by the police?

Response	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency
Yes	311	82.92	311
No	59	15.73	370
Undecided	5	1.33	375

Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

The above distribution in table 5 above shows that 82.92 percent of our respondents have been stopped and searched by the police, 15.73 percent have not been stopped and searched by the police while about 1.33 percent were undecided. In our interview, we noted that the experiences of these citizens who

have been stopped and searched by the police range from very bad to bad. Rarely do residents of Anambra state have pleasant experience with the police whenever it comes to stop and search. The police often raise questions that do not have answers to indict and extort the citizens.

Table 6: Frequency distribution for the question: Have been arrested by police before

Response	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency
Yes	233	62.13	233
No	99	26.4	332
Undecided	43	11.46	375

Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

The distribution in table 6 above shows that 62.13 percent of our respondents have been arrested by the police, 26.4 percent have not been arrested by the police while about 11.46 percent were undecided. We observed that residents were uncomfortable with providing

information about police arrest because they feel that it gives them some criminal stain. In our interview, we noted most residents of the state have both been arrested and detained by the police most times, illegally.

Table 7: Frequency distribution for the question: If answer to number 5 is, yes, were you abused at arrest?

Response	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency
Yes	229	98.28	229
No	4	1.71	233
Undecided	0	0	233

Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

Out of the 233 respondents that have been arrested by the police, 98.28 percent were abused at arrest, 1.71 percent were not abused. In our interview, we noted that extortions fuel police abuses such as unlawful arrest (including mass-raids), extra-judicial enforcement of law (such as bans placed on Okada movement at dawn etc), checks on vehicular papers aiming at incriminating their owners so as to extort them, torture, rape/sexual assaults and extra-judicial killings. Human Rights

Watch (2010:11) reported that: Out of over 34,000 Nigerians believed to have been killed outside the law since 1999, the Nigeria Police Personnel are believed to have been responsible for over 10,000 of such deaths. Such killings mainly resulted from excessive force applied to quell various communal and ethno-religious conflicts, torture and custodial killings and that many victims of such killings (especially custodial deaths) died

because they could not "buy" their lives and freedoms
.Table 8: Frequency distribution for the question: If response to question 6 is yes, specify the category of the abuse:

Response	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency
Slapped you	30	13.10	30
Shoot or hit you with gun	13	5.67	43
Dragged you even when you did not resist arrest	19	8.29	62
Insult you, your parents or spouse	121	52.83	183
Detain you unduly	46	20.08	229

Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

Out of the 229 respondents that have been abused at arrest by the police, 13.10 percent were slapped by the police, 5.67 percent were shoot or hit with guns, 8.29 percent were dragged even when they did not resist arrest, 52.83 percent were insulted and 20.08 percent were unduly detained. Transport union workers frequently lament continuous police extortion in Anambra state without recourse to the psyche of the people. Illegal checkpoints are not even the only means and Anambrarians have lost count of the numerous other evil and ingenious methods orchestrated by the police for public extortion.

Our interviewees argued that some senior Nigerian police officers enforce a perverse system of "returns," in which rank-and-file officers are compelled to pay up the chain of command a share of the money they extort from the public, thereby institutionalizing and driving extortion-related abuses. They furthered that the indictment of junior police officers for extortion is unjust because the returns are passed up to the senior ranks in the force, which creates a strong disincentive to hold subordinates accountable for extortion and other abuses. Even the police personnel we interviewed described how officers must pay money to be assigned to "lucrative postings". Such officers ensure that they meet their

daily or weekly monetary targets for their superiors or risk being "punished" with transfer to a posting with lower extortion potential.

Our interviewees noted that refusal to give bribes, as bad as it sounds, there are even many instances of alleged cases where people have been summarily executed at check points for refusing to part with sums as low even N20 in Anambra state. Yet there is no doubt that the force is bedeviled with challenges, one of which include resources to battle crimes, Nigerians are equally faced with challenges ahead of each day, one of which is unfortunately the Nigeria police. They furthered that the internal disciplinary systems of the Nigerian police is highly discriminatory against the poor, reactive in nature instead of proactive, accorded less attention in the police priority issues and are unwieldy or haphazard in coordination. These contribute to or escalate mutual hostility between the police and citizens, which occasionally results into violence and breaches public order. The involuntary nature and scope of contact between the police and the public in Nigeria was also identified as a major source of friction between the police and the public.

Hence, the police now take out their frustration on unwary citizens, depriving them the joy of another weekend and

robbing them of their hard-earned monies. In Anambra state, concern about the performance, integrity and conduct of the police force have increased.

For example, the police are widely criticized for extra-judicial killing, corruption, incivility, brutality and torture, non-response to distress call by citizens. It must be emphasized that no police force can be accountable if the government lacks accountability, as is the case in the country. Although Nigeria has multiple institutions for holding police accountable, the institutions are weak, ineffective and uncoordinated. [7]

,provided a litany of citizens that were extra judicially killed in November, 2004 in Anambra state to include:Nduka Okoye(Anambra State), Ephraim Okenyeka(Anambra State), Samuel Odoh (Enugu State), Ofobike Odoh (Enugu State), Chibueze Ugwuoke (Ebonyi State), Ugochukwu Okonkwo (Anambra State), Chizoba Mbaebie (Anambra State), Ifeanyi Nwanfunanya (Anambra State), Ugochukwu Anakwe(Anambra State), Ifeanyi Izueke (Enugu State), Ekene Ejike (Anambra State), Chinedu Okoro (Enugu State), Uche Ubaka (Anambra State), Mr. Charles (Anambra State), Onyeabo Anaekwe (Anambra State), Leonard Obasi (Enugu State), Emeka Ofoke (Ebonyi State), Chibuzor Asouzu (Anambra State), Mr. Obiajuru (Anambra State) and Ugoo Nwaude (Enugu State). Their remains were reportedly conveyed in police pick-up vans and dumped at Agu-Awka Virgin Land, located kilometers away from the State capital city.

Representations were made and the Zone 9 Command of the Nigeria Police Force opened investigations but till date, nothing has come out of same. In fact, the oppressive and exploitative economic, social and political system in the country inherited from the colonial government created a wide gulf between the police, citizens and political leaders. The police enforcement of the unpopular and repressive laws enacted by political leaders engenders conflict between them and the people. Meanwhile, [6] remarked that: The problem of stability and instability in most 3rd World states can be

inter-linked to three domestic and external sources: the unusual arbitrary nature of colonialism... bad leadership and endless external intervention.. .There is hardly any new African country that had not tested some ruinous forms of political instability to the extent that at least for the sake of survival, development and modernization stability has become a very essential value. The police are strategically placed within the vector of power such that they may perform three different roles in the exercise and abuse of power - repellent of abuse, instigator of abuse, and executor of abuse. Therefore, police need to be subject to strong mechanisms of accountability to public authorities and civil society. The police could not change the hostile character of its relationship with the people at independence because the unequal economic, social and political structure of the Nigerian society did not undergo any radical change after the political independence in 1960. What the country .witnessed was change of the color of the rulers and not the content of their character or manner of behaviour. They retained all the colonial oppressive structures and policies and used the police to enforce them. Consequently, the police have continued to be accountable to the rulers (as they did under colonial rule) who often are neither legitimate representatives of the citizens nor accountable to the people. The first and fundamental problem with police public relations in the country is that the nation's successive governments were largely not expression of aspirations, interests and will of the people. They were often usurpers of people's power and sovereignty through violence (coup) and electoral fraud; exploiters of the people, as well as mass poverty, ignorance, homelessness, ill-health, etc. on the vast majority of the population. These conditions foster antagonism between the police and citizens as well as government and the citizens. After all, the police are recruited to suppress the opposition of the citizens against government [7].

This information shows that police and citizen contacts, though relatively significant, have occurred mostly in pursuance of law enforcement objectives by police. The restrictive contacts between the police and citizens in Nigeria, against the background of the country's political and economic structures engendered by colonialism, contribute to or escalate mutual hostility between the police and citizens, which occasionally results into violent encounter [4].

Police officials respond to protests with indiscriminate violence, instead of prosecuting individual perpetrators. Collective punishment is particularly a common approach in Anambra state. The protest following the removal of subsidy from petrol by the Administration of President Goodluck Jonathan on 1st January, 2012 attracted the most severe protest in Nigeria since the return of democracy in 1999. The police were also seen maiming, shooting and killing peaceful protesters in order to suppress and intimidate protesters in all parts of Nigerian including Anambra state.

The police were also used to illegally disperse the protesting members of Academic Staff Union of Universities, Nnamdi Azikiwe University chapter in 2013. Indeed, large numbers of police (both regular police and paramilitary mobile police) were often deployed across the country in a manner reminiscent of the military era in Nigeria to suppress protests. The implication of police suppression of the masses in protest is the lost of police legitimacy and severance of public-police relations. The public confidence on the police dwindled immensely after the Occupy Nigeria protest due to the political role of the police.

The study posits that co-operation between the police and the public is a prerequisite for the success of any law enforcement agency, notably the police as well as a better, peaceful, and harmonious society. The police alone cannot achieve this without support from the members of the public whom they serve. For that kind

of good working condition to be created, the police need to be polite, friendly, approachable, honest, law abiding and demonstrate high sense of responsibility in dealing with members of the public and in discharging their duties. On the other hand, the public must understand that maintaining law and order is a collective responsibility between the parties and should do everything possible to assist the police in protecting lives and property. Good and objective partnership between the community and the police will help bring positive response to crimes and other social problems.

Generally, relations between the police and the public cannot be said to be favourable. In fact, one of the most essential causes of breakdown in relations between the police and the public lies in social disintegration. The media and the public at large constantly accuse the police of brutality and misuse of authority. The average member of the public often dislikes the police and sees them as being unfriendly, unsympathetic and untrustworthy. There are numerous other complaints and accusations that have reached superlative proportions and serious steps must be taken to remove these social barriers, in order to integrate and maintain harmonious relations between the police and the public.

This lack of cooperation from the people has a serious consequence, which is the inability of the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) to combat crime and tackle various security challenges in Nigeria leading to the proliferation of vigilante security apparatus particularly in the form of vigilante militia groups. Yet the proliferation of vigilante groups has as well exacerbated security challenges in Anambra state owing to the distrust between them and the police. [9] observed that: Other security challenges currently confronting Nigeria include election and postelection violence, ethno-religious violence, communal wars, Boko Haram, Nigeria-Delta militancy and other radical ethno-regional organization or militant groups and other forms of domestic

terrorism such as kidnapping in the Southeast

The point being made is that the mutual distrust between the police and vigilante worsened the security challenges in Anambra State. [8] maintains that the police enforce law in a way that is essentially indiscretion. According to him they seek to favour culprits who are highly influential in the society to the detriment of the common masses. They appear blind to justice and equity and consequently twist the law to suit their self interest. By implication the police rather than functionally controlling crime are actually nurturing crime in Anambra state. [7], remarked that: In spite of the alluring structures and programs of Nigerian Police-Public Relations Department (NPPRD), the image of the Force has largely not resonated with the kind of police force desired by the civil populace: a force that eschews inappropriate use of lethal force, illegal arrest and detention, extortion, intimidation, corruption, sexual violence and extra-judicial killings. However, the following recommendations would guide NPPRD in its bid to re-engineer the Force, slough off its undesirable reputations and turn it into a humane law enforcement agency that is respected, trusted and befriended by the civil populace as the

protector of lives and property. NPPRD has evolved vibrant structures and mechanisms such as Police Public Complaint Bureau, Police Community Relations Committees and the various organs of the Community-Policing Project scattered all over the country which are aimed at bridging the gap between the police and the public with a view of curbing police inappropriate use of lethal force, extra-judicial killings, intimidation, extortion, illegal arrest and detention, among others. Yet these programmes require more effort to sanitize the police force to be appreciated by the member of the public.

The police frequently represent the interests of the privileged classes and this attracts insults and condemnations from members of the public. This study posits that without good police public relationship, the role of crime detection, prevention and apprehension of criminals cannot be achieved by the police in Nigeria. Thus order, stability and development will elude such society. We therefore validate our hypothesis one which states that Police -public relations were essential for public order because it improves the stability and steady development of the government and people of Anambra State between 2007 and 2014.

Test of Hypothesis 11

Hypo 11: Citizens' distrust of the police hampered their capacity to combat crimes in Anambra State between 2007 and 2014

We applied questions from number 8 to 14 in the questionnaire to test hypothesis 11 as well as the other supportive evidence.

Table 9: Frequency distribution for the question: Have you lived in the same compound with a police officer before?

Response	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency
Yes	190	50.66	190
No	153	40.8	343
Don't know	32	8.53	375

Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

From the opinions expressed by the respondents in table 9 above, 50.66 percent have lived with a police officer in the same compound, 40.8 percent have not lived with a police officer in the same compound while 8.53 percent do not

know whether they have lived in the same compound with a police officer or not. In our interview, we noted that the attitude of the police officers where they live often cause a breach of the and most people that have experience living in

common compounds with police officers detest a repeat. Police officers frequently do not pay bill and this tend to implicate

other residents who fear to confront these officers.

Table 10: Frequency distribution for the question: If your answer to question 8 is yes how would you describe his/her relationship with members of the compound?

Response	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency
Cordial	3	1.57	3
Fair	6	3.15	9
Bad	158	83.15	167
Very bad	23	12.10	190

Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

Out of the 190 respondents that have lived with a police officer in the same compound, 1.57 percent feels that their relationship with the police was cordial, 3.15 percent feel that their relationship

with the police was fair, 83.15 percent feel that their relationship was bad while 12.10 percent feel that their relationship with the police officer was very bad.

Table 11: Frequency distribution for the question: Have police taken bribe from you before?

Response	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency
Yes	329	87.73	329
No	33	8.8	362
Undecided	13	3.46	375

Source: Fieldwork, 2014

The frequency distribution in table 11 above shows that the police have taken bribe from 87.73 percent of our respondents. The police have not taken

bribe from 8.8 percent of our respondents while about 3.4 percent were undecided on whether the police have taken bribe from them or not.

Table 12: Frequency distribution for the question: If you answer to question 10 is yes how often?

Response	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency
Very Often	286	86.93	286
Often	31	9.42	317
Rarely	9	2.73	236
Very Rarely	3	0.91	329

Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

Out of the 329 respondents who answered that the police have taken bribe from them before, 86.93 noted that the police have taken bribe from them very often, 9.42 percent responded that the police

have taken bribe from them often, 2.73 percent replied that the police rarely have taken bribe from them while 0.91 percent noted that the police have very rarely taken bribe from them.

Table 13: Frequency distribution for the question: Do police request for bribe before you give them?

Response	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency
Yes	300	91.18	300
No	20	6.07	320

Undecided	9	2.73	329
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Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

Out of the 329 respondents who answered that the police have taken bribe from them before, 91.18 percent indicated that the police requested for bribe before they

gave, 6 percent noted that the police did not request for bribe before they gave while 2.73 percent were undecided.

Table 14: Frequency distribution for the question: Do you trust the police to share security information with him/her?

Response	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency
Yes	35	9.4	35
No	340	90.66	375
Don't know	0	0	375

Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

The frequency distribution in table 14 above shows that 9.4 percent of our respondents trust the police to the extent that they can share security information with them, 90.66 percent of the respondents do not trust the police to share security information with them.

Meanwhile, we have observed that the police cannot perform efficiently and effectively without public cooperation and assistance by acquisition and sharing of criminal intelligence and institutional resources

Table 15: Frequency distribution for the question: Do police answer distress calls to combat crimes when a member of the public is in danger?

Response	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency
Yes	33	8.8	340
No	340	90.66	373
Undecided	2	0.53	375

Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

The frequency distribution in table 15 above shows that 8.8 percent of our respondents the police are likely to respond to distress calls to combat crimes when a member of the public is in danger, 90.66 percent of the respondents insist that the police are not likely to respond to distress calls to combat crimes when a member of the public is in danger while 0.53 percent was undecided. Our interview also supplemented the data above that the police in Anambra state do not answer distress calls when members of the public are in danger, they only intentionally surface when the problem all over

According to NOPRIN/NHRC & NCT (2010), violent crimes such as armed robbery, political-assassination, etnno-religious violence, human trafficking, rape, domestic violence, assault and child abuse abound in Anambra state and these seriously affect the physical and psychological wellbeing of residents. They affirmed that the Nigeria Police is the agency of the state constitutionally and statutorily charged with the responsibility of preventing and detecting crime, apprehending offenders, preserving law and order, and protecting life and property of everyone in Nigeria.

SUMMARY

More than five decades after Nigeria's independence, the police in Nigeria remain a centralized institution with great deal of colonial mentality. The police for instance, continue to operate with the Public Order Act, (Cap 382) Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 1990 to resist the

citizens' efforts to demand for their rights. This study examines the effect of the police-public relations on maintenance of public order in Nigeria, using Anambra state as a case study. Specifically, this study has the objective to determine whether the colonial

mentality of the Nigerian police personnel worsens police harassment in Anambra State between 2007 and 2014 as well as to ascertain if citizens' distrust of the police hampers their capacity to combat crimes in Anambra State between 2007 and 2014. This study used the relative deprivations theory propounded by Robert Gurr. This theory has important consequences for behavior and attitudes in a society, including political attitudes and participation in collective action. The theory posits that the police in Anambra state preserve public favor not by deferring to public opinion but by the necessity of the use of force. Police use physical force to the extent necessary to secure observance of the law to restore order only when the expertise of persuasion, advice, and warning is found to be insufficient. This study adopts both qualitative and quantitative research methods. Qualitative data include detailed description of situations, events, people interaction, direct quotations from people about their experience, attitudes, beliefs and thoughts; and excerpts or entire passages from documents, correspondence, records and case histories while quantitative research deals with use statistical and mathematical calculations to reach conclusions. Data for this study were collected via a series of methods. First, we collected data through self report/ protocol techniques using the instrument of questionnaire. Second, we used the documentary data from primary and secondary sources. This was the major source of qualitative data in this study. Third, the researcher also conducted face-to-face elite interview with a total of 6 (6) people 3 leaders of civil society groups (Human Right

Commission (HRC); Civil Liberties Organization (CLO); Constitutional Rights Project (CRP)) and three police personnel at the management cadre of the force in Anambra state. The participants in this interview are expected to provide information on an issue but also help the researcher to recall, verify or rectify controversial or ambiguous items of information concerning the problem being discussed. The researcher was directly responsible for moderating the elite interview. The interview schedule was designed in relation to our research objectives. This enabled us to minimize digression and also save time. Fourth, data was collected through indirect observation. We observed the police-public relations in Anambra state for three consecutive times-December, 2007, December 2010 and April 2014 when the state is so busy. This enabled us to determine the trend at different intervals to supplement the previous methods discussed above. The justification for the combination of methods was to deepen the research findings. Taking into cognizance that data for this study adopted both quantitative and qualitative methods of research, we analyzed the self report data respondents using both descriptive statistics. Hence frequency tables and simple percentages were used in our analysis. On the hand, we read meaning out of written documents from police weekly magazines, news papers, books, journal, human right watch and other official documents that deal with police -public relations in Nigeria, police harassment of citizens, citizen's distrust of the police and war against crime in Anambra state.

CONCLUSION

Police -public relations were essential for public order because it improves the stability and steady development of the government and people of Anambra State between 2007 and 2014. Meanwhile, in Nigeria, the colonial mentality of the police personnel has been entrenched. Hence, police harassment of residents of Anambra State has worsened between

2007 and 2014. The police in Anambra state have continued to be over protective of the state and government officials at the detriment of the human rights of citizens. The police use extreme force in the course of duty, harassing residents and thereby distorting public order which is essential for stability and development of government and the people of Anambra state. Despite the return of democracy in

Nigerian, cases of police slapping citizens on checkpoints, the police shoot or hitting citizens with guns; the police dragging citizens who have not resisted arrest; the police insulting citizens, their parents or spouse and the police detain citizens at checkpoints or stations unduly abound in Anambra state. Allegedly, the police also involve in extra judicial killing of offenders in Anambra state. Again, this study remarked that the test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder. Meanwhile, police-citizens contacts have significant impact on police-public relations. There is a positive relationship between corruption in the Nigeria Police, Anambra State and citizen's distrust of the police. Citizens'

RECOMMENDATIONS

Disciplinary system can be used proactively to promote a new culture and establish minimum standards for the police as a whole. The police code of conduct contained in the Police Act should be reviewed for easy memorization and internalization by police officials in Nigeria. It should emphasize the service nature of police and incorporate standards contained the United Nations Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials. The police leadership needs to streamline the unusually high number of disciplinary mechanisms that presently exist in the force, as they make their work not only ineffective through unnecessary duplications but also create problems in tracking police personnel that are processed through them. For instance there is nothing wrong with merging the work of the police X-squad and Human Rights Units with the Public Complaints Bureau (PCB) since the three bodies are involved in processing cases of police misconduct and abuse of human rights. The Public Complaint Bureau should be resuscitated to serve as an effective mechanism that will cultivate and sustain the confidence of the citizens in the police. The police should routinely use the internal mechanism to address problems that are identified by the public. However, the outcomes of the disciplinary procedures including those

distrust of the police in Anambra state hampered their capacity to combat crimes in Anambra State between 2007 and 2014. Hence, citizens were practically avoiding contact with the police whom they consider as corrupt, less educated, unprofessional and unresponsive to distress calls. The citizens in Anambra state therefore dread to provide security information for the police or to testify in courts. Consequently, crimes like kidnapping, armed robbery and human trafficking are prevalent because the police lack accurate intelligence to make arrests and prosecute suspected criminals. Hence, criminal prosecutions are usually struck off on the basis of lack of evidence.

that led to the dismissals of officers for corruption and other forms of abuse of power should be made available to the public. The federal government should address the economic, social and political roots of violent crime in Nigeria by investing more vigorously in social crime prevention and in finding peaceful solutions to political discontent. Anambra state government should also establish National Institute for Crime Prevention and Control. The proposed institute should be responsible for conducting and coordinating research on crime and criminality in Nigeria, in order to assist the police and other law enforcement agencies with reliable information and statistics on crime that would enable the formulation of appropriate and national policies on crime prevention and control in the country. The state government should channel greater part of their security votes to support community policing in Anambra state. Meanwhile, this approach has taken deeper roots in Anambra state more than any other state. The police should however also cooperate with the vigilante groups in the war against crime in the state. This will avert a reoccurrence of the September 24th, 2002 incidence where Mobile Police officers attacked the premises of Anambra State Vigilante Service (AVS) in and around Onitsha. They arrested about one hundred members of the AVS and

dismantled their detention centers in diala, Nnewi, Awka and Ekwulobia. The federal government should pay a serious attention to the recruitment, training and retraining of police personnel. Serious efforts should be made to ensure that only suitably qualified persons are recruited into the Police and their length of training should be considerably increased. What is more, serving police officers should be sent for refresher courses within and outside Nigeria to acquire more knowledge and professional skills for effective discharge of their duties. Anambra state government should establish a Victim Support Units for vulnerable groups such as women and children in all police stations in the state. The units would facilitate the reporting of many crimes of violence against vulnerable groups which had hitherto been neglected. They would also be responsible for offering counseling services to such victims. The Business Community should invest in making the environment in which they do business

and declare profits safer. Such investment could apart from cash donation take the form of working in partnership with the police to improve the speed and effectiveness of police response to crimes; improvement of the management of police stations and service delivery to crime victims; sponsorship of local and national crime surveys; use of computer technology in bringing cases to trial; and development of programs that addresses the involvement of youths in crime. This could be done in collaboration with civil society groups. Civil society groups should educate members of the public to cooperate with law enforcement agencies in the lawful discharge of their duties in Nigeria and to refrain from resenting the police when they are exercising their lawful powers in the course of legally permissible law enforcement activities. Sensitize members of the public about the existence of internal mechanisms for redressing police abuse of human rights such as the Police Public Complaints Bureau (PCB).

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