

CRISIS OF ALIENATION IN POLICING IN NIGERIA, 1861-1970

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Abstract

The colonial origin of the crisis of alienation in policing in Nigeria is the focus of this study. There is no scholarly historical investigation on the colonial origin of crisis of alienation in policing in Nigeria. This research aims to investigate the origin, manifestations, effects and solution to alienation in policing in Nigeria. The historical methods of description and analysis were deployed. Findings indicate that alienation in policing started in 1861 when Consul Mc Caskey, a colonial administrator of Lagos recruited, trained and armed strangers and deployed them in Lagos and Yorubaland to serve as an army of occupation; the policy of strangers policing strangers dominated policing in Nigeria between 1861 and 1970. A policing system that will not estrange the officers is that which would allow policemen that are indigenes to an area to police the community. We recommend posting police personnel to their local government of origin; forming and empowering the Alienation, Monitoring, and Police and Welfare units. In conclusion, good police-public relations, human right-based policing, good parenting, public sensitization program with the caption 'police is your friend', unauthorized posting/promotion program based on service records; an end to extortion within the police force will eliminate crisis.

Keywords: Policing, Estrangement, Colonial Legacy, Cynicism, Government Policy.

Introduction

Policing in the early days of the colonial era or say organized policing in Nigeria was a colonial creation with the annexation of Lagos as a British Colony in 1861 it was only natural that Nigerian colonial masters secured their lives and properties. Consul Foote, who was the head of the colonial government at the time of annexation proposed the establishment of a consular guard stationed in Lagos. Later in 1861, Mc Caskey established a constabulary of 30 men, signaling the origin of modern policing in Nigeria. By 1862 the British government had increased the constabulary to 100 and by the following year, there were 600 men on the nominal role of the constabulary. Twice in 1865, the armed Hausa police bared their fangs as agents of oppression when some of them attacked Egba and Edinmo villages for acts of insubordination against the colonialists (*Police Handbook*, 2019 pp. 5 -6). Niger Coast constabulary was formed in Calabar in 1894, while Lagos police were created in 1896-vide Ordinance No.10 of 1895. Royal Niger Company set up a constabulary in 1888 in Lokoja. In the year 1906, the Lagos colony was merged with the southern protectorate to form the colony and protectorate of Nigeria; hence the number of police formations in Nigeria was reduced to two.

Northern and Southern protectorate was amalgamated in 1914 but, it was not until 1st April 1930 that the Nigeria police became unified under the command of an Inspector General of Police (IGP) whose office was at the force headquarters in Lagos (*Police Handbook*, 2019, pp.5-9). In 1930, a national formal police institution was created. But it was not until 1960 that the country had a 12,000-man federal police force, and parallel regional police forces, guaranteed in the 1963 constitution. This form of decentralized policing power, which served the colonial state, became centralized when it unified in 1970. In Northern Nigeria, the Native Authority (traditional rulers) created the Native Authority Police Force. In South-Western region of Nigeria, Local government police force thrived. In the South-Eastern region of Nigeria 'local policing' did not flourish instead, age grades and masquerade groups enforced laws and imposed sanctions on erring members of the community". Local policing means the protection of lives and property, apprehension, detention, prosecution of crime suspects, enforcement of all laws for which they are directly charged and performance of such military duties as may be required of them by the president by the use of indigenes of the community.

Three historical issues to note are the colonial conquest of the Nigerian peoples, the violence employed in their conquest and the police force as an instrument to sustain British alien domination. Fawole (2003, p.150) in agreement with this says that the imperial police:

Was employed for the (1) invasion and conquest of Benin kingdom in 1897; (2) sacking of Sokoto Caliphate and the murder of the last Caliph, Attahiru Ahmadu in 1903; (3) suppression of Egba rebellion in 1918; (4) quelling of

Aba women's riot of 1929; (5) were sent to enforce payment of taxation; suppress anti-colonial rebellions and uprisings in other British colonies such as Gold Coast in 1948 and Southern Cameroon in 1959. Imperial police had a legendary reputation for ruthlessness and brutality that it was nicknamed the "Fourth Thieves".

Fawole (2003) added that the new rulers of post-colonial Nigeria inherited the mantle of authoritarian rule and were not trained in the art and practice of democratic politics while under colonial rule. The crisis of alienation manifested itself in the activities of the local police forces that existed between 1930 and 1970; members of the public towards policing agents; imperial police between 1861 and 1960; federal police (Nigeria Police Force) from inception in 1930 till date; and other policing agents in Nigeria.

Definition of Terms

Policing to Tangban and Audu (2020, p. 4) means "measures and actions taken by a variety of institutions and groups both formal and informal in the society to maintain law and order as well as ensure conformity to the norms and values of society. Estrangement according to *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* means "to arouse especially mutual enmity or indifference in (someone) where there had formerly been love, affection, or friendliness; to remove from customary environment or association." It also means to alienate. Alienation to *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* means "withdrawal or separation of a person or persons' affected from an object, position or former attachment". It means disaffection, souring of relationship, unhappiness, disgruntlement and estrangement. Cynicism means the doctrine of the cynics, a faultfinding captious critic. *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* defines cynics as "one who believes that human conduct is motivated wholly by self-interest". Colonial legacy has features of perpetuation of political territory, colonial occupation, exploitation and administration; an interaction between colonial powers themselves.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical foundation that guides the analysis and provides a framework for this study is based on the new institutionalism theory. Classic theories like the elitism, broken windows, and pluralism approaches in police studies and urban politics although useful are not completely explanatory because they do not fit into the theme of this study. Institutionalists believe that peoples' behaviour was a function of their collective history and of their understanding of the meaning of their security as influenced by history. New institutionalism posits that institutions reduce individuals' uncertainties and risks and thereby shape individuals behaviour and performances. Institutions refer to systems of values, traditions, norms and practices that shape or constrain political behaviour (Dugger, 1995 p.453). Institutions can be formal rules such as laws,

police, conventions, treaties, constitutions, and property rights or informal constraints such as customs and traditions of the community, sanctions, taboos and others (North (1990, p.19). Advocates of the new institutionalism – James March and Olsen named the movement in 1984 and 1989, respectively.

To Grubovic (2004, p.43), “the new institutionalists concern themselves with how institutions embody rules and power relationships, they study not just the impact of institutions upon behaviour, but interaction between individuals and institutions”. However, new institutionalists states that “the success of newly built institutions (police for instance) is likely to depend more on people’s trust, cooperation, compliance and patience in enduring the transition costs involved than in the quality of those institutions themselves”. In our context, this theory explains how cooperation and support from citizens can make policing the country a success; and how people-oriented policies and programs of the police could fight alienation and engender cooperation/support between police and the public they serve.

Crisis of Alienation in Police during Transition to Independence in Nigeria, 1950-1966

Akali (2022 p.5) believes that Nigeria’s police was “tainted by its colonial origins, exploited by first republic politics and sidelined by successive military juntas. The NPF was hastily given a veil without the requisite institutional reform”. The secret scheme in the police force did not end with colonialism. At independence in the 1960s, there were no foreigners to manipulate the force and misdirect her policies and operations. Today, there are no military rulers to dish out obnoxious orders and directives that distort policing but as Akali (2022, p.7) puts it “decades of organizational culture and historical experience cannot be easily set aside”. This continued to plague the force and other policing agents in Nigeria. The decisive moment of withdrawal of affection in policing is what the author terms ‘crisis of alienation in policing’.

Alienation is defined as a state of estrangement of the individual from the natural environment, social life or the self. Alienation also means isolation, a situation in which both the self and the external world seem unreal. Alienation in policing resulted from the imposition, heritage, new-techniques of life and social forces that questioned the self about society in a state of flux. Policing agents often feel they have no control over the work process, that it’s meaningless to them, that they do not belong to the work community and that work is not an important part of their personalities or lives. Akali (2002 p. 126) added that “these states of unhappiness in the workspace are most common in the lowest ranks of industry”. Alienation manifested in the police and the public. The type and caliber of recruited constables attracted to the force and the training given produced and encouraged non-cooperation between police and the public they policed. The

public saw local policemen as people to be feared and kept at arm's length, hence they separated themselves from policemen.

The organization and training of Local police and federal police personnel in Nigeria up to 1970 was focused entirely on the apprehension and prosecution of criminal suspects. Obaro (2014, p. 421-430) wrote that "the peace-keeping and service activities which should consume most of the police time received little or no attention. The recruits and volunteers were taught everything except how to secure and maintain approval and respect of the public". Victims of crime do not trust the police enough to volunteer sensitive security information or make formal reports of crime at the station. The federal police believe that they were misrepresented and mistreated by members of the public. On the other hand, the public distrusted the federal police, which they saw as ineffective, corrupt, self-centred, insensitive and callous. Alemika (1995, p.159) states that "the position of the police is contradictory and even ironical as they were harassed by the issuing authority and the public, and the instrument of oppression and exploitation in totalitarian and unjust social systems, yet they are essential evil to the preservation of justice, social order and democracy". To this end, policing the country became difficult and the military watching from a far utilized the opportunity to seize political power in the country after Nzeogwu's saga.

Crisis of alienation in the police is seen in the official police language, recruitment and training of recruits and volunteers. For instance, in the colonial era, in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle justifying the choice of the Hausa as police lingua franca, the Governor of Lagos colony, H.S. Freeman, pointed out the advantage of estranged police for the colonial government. Freeman wrote:

The men being from the interior and professing the Islamic religion are hated by the natives of these areas who have hitherto only known them as slaves. They (Hausa constabularies) are disliked also by the Europeans as being of a more independent character than the Lagos people. They have thus only the government to depend on and if properly managed will prove a valuable resource to this settlement (NAI CSO, 1863).

In 1893 correspondence, Governor Deaton, according to Alemika and Chukwuma (2000 p.31) opined that:

In our Hausa force, we have a body of men dissociated from the countries immediately from Lagos (Yoruba land) both by birth and religion, who are the hereditary enemies of the Yorubas. This is such an enormous advantage in any interior complication...

The Interior complication here means opposition to colonial rule, taxation, exploitation and imperialism. The essence was to alienate the police from the community they served to ensure that such officials when deployed to execute punitive expeditions/operations would act as an army of occupation. Hence, the philosophy of policing introduced in Nigeria differed from what prevailed in Britain. They were not established as agents for promoting the rule of law, human rights, community safety and individual security or for delivering social services. The model for colonial policing was provided by the Royal

Irish Constabulary program, which had been adapted to the conditions in Ireland with its heritage of rebellion and opposition to British rule. The type of training provided for police forces in Nigeria was in line with the role envisaged for them. Reiner et.al (2016, p.124b) added that:

Great concern relates to the evidence that police powers have differential effects on different groups in society. The young, the poor, women and ethnic minorities are more likely to suffer the ill effects of policing such as being stopped, searched and arrested. These same groups are less likely to feel protected by police.

As policing impacts those marginalized the most, the drift towards paramilitary policing and the use of broader surveillance that undercut safeguards on civil liberties should be reversed (Reiner et.al 2016, p.153). This was not reversed in Nigeria during the period of our study.

As for the motive of service, motivation for the officer class was to get out of unemployment. The tendency of policing using strangers continued as the dominant policy to 1939. The idea of strangers policing strangers was extended to the Benue province as well. The criteria for recruitment disfavored persons indigenous to the province, especially the literacy aspect of passing English and/or Hausa language proficiency test or examination. The result was a police force dominated by non-indigenous persons with few instances of persons indigenous to the area. The cases of criminal elements and certificate fraud are common among the rank-and-file cadre of the NPF as most of these people paid their way into the force in the colleges (Interviewed Nwaolai, 12/05/2022). For prospective recruits, it was an opportunity to get out of the unemployment market which was heavily saturated then. With such motivation in mind, their attitude is determined by their desire, hence the sight of police is considered synonymous with trouble.

The absence of a social service dimension in police work in Nigeria, the police preoccupations or routine work revolves around stop and search, arrest, question, crime investigation, detention, prosecution, crowd control, armed combat against violent criminals, guarding the rich and powerful, bullion van escorts, bank guards, inter-community crisis management, visibility patrol of or along hotspots and troubled areas, raiding of hot spots, brothels and criminal hideouts, foreign missions and many others. The kind of training given to the rank and file, the lack of welfare program and the poor equipment available at their disposal affected their attitudes and performance on the field. Even the police are underpaid and their low salary is subject to different exactions, distortions and irregular taxation in corrupt practices by their superiors' ministry officials and administrative officers in each command. As for police barracks and stations, the colonial structures are far stronger and better-looking than the post-independence structures provided. Even fueling and maintenance of the police anti-crime and surveillance patrol/operational vehicles are left in the hands of each team, hence the extortion of motorcyclists and public transporters on the highway, trunk-k roads and feeder roads. At this time, complainants are compelled to provide money for petrol or 'fuel' and materials to register complaints (Interviewed

Idiong, 28/04/2022). The lack of equipment and operational vehicles is compounded by the poor maintenance culture of the ones available. That sense of not belonging (alienation) and being unfulfilled, tends to make police personnel accept bribes and become corrupt. Perhaps, officers and men of police forces in Nigeria during the period under review feeling alienated find solace in bribery and corruption. Corruption and alienation are both sides of a coin.

Bribery and corruption also weakened the local police forces and the central police forces in the colonial era up to the 1970s. A committee was set up in 1952 to study the problem of bribery and corruption in the public and civil service and, as a result of that committee's recommendations the post of Anti-corruption officer was created. This metamorphosed into ever feared X squad of the state, zone and force headquarters popularly known in police circles as 'Mosquito'. The anti-corruption officer, of the Western Region in 1957, according to Ajomate wrote "Bribery and corruption in the public service is particularly understandable because the corrupt officials who demand a bribe before they will perform a function which it is their duty to perform are making the public pay twice over for their services".

The duties of an anti-corruption officer (now X squad) are: (i) To investigate complaints of bribery and corruption in the public service and where he considers a prima-facie case has been established to report it to the public service commission; (ii) To educate and inform the general public by lectures, and propaganda against the evils of bribery and corruption. Slowly by education in new moral concepts, eradication of bribery and corruption can be done and it is with the object of hastening the advent of a new public morality that the Anti-corruption officers' duties include, public lectures and propaganda. It has been said that "A public which tolerates corruption in its public life can hardly feel resentful if its government officials are corrupt" (Ajomale, 1957 p.3). They go about as a team (squad) searching policemen even in their nipping point on the highway, police stations/formations and those caught with money exceeding five Naira (as stipulated in the Police Act) were arrested, detained, charged to court, prosecuted and eventually dismissed from service. This was done in a bid to sanitize the local/federal police forces (Interviewed Kawu Audu, 12/05/2022). The anti-corruption officer of the Public Service Commission in the Western Region (as in other regions too) serves a similar purpose in dealing with corruption as do the Special Intelligence Branch (SIB) of the police force and Tribunal in Pakistan (Ajomale, 1957 p.3). At this point, Interpol and the police service commission have not been created.

Public cynicism toward police and law posed a serious challenge to policing in our period of study in Nigeria. Akinlabi (2017 p. 159) asserted that Police protection in Nigeria is a luxury denied to the general public. Akinyemi (2021, p.478 & 479) explains that:

a crack in a building that is left unrepaired projects to other members of the society that no one cares about and so breaking more windows will not result in official sanction; so also minor

crimes that if not properly handled cumulate into a menace.
Justice is like an auction, it goes only to the highest bidder.

On page 160, Akinlabi (2017) asserts that “The first foundation of policing ingrained in the citizens a police force that could not be trusted and should be avoided at all cost. Colonial policing was a subjugation of the cultural values of nationalities that make up Nigeria today to the political and socio-economic interests of the colonialist”. As the people had no control over the arbitrariness of the police, they devised means to avoid any contact with the police or the colonialists. Such attitudes have been transferred from one generation of Nigerians to another generation through the process of enculturation, thereby encouraging further separation or alienation from the police. At independence in 1960, Nigerians hoped for a national police force that would provide, just, accountable, reliable and effective protection for its citizens. Unfortunately, 10 years after independence, successive Nigerian administrations have not been able to provide good policing for its citizens; and “are guilty of willful indifference through their continuous neglect of the police force” (Akinlabi, 2017 p. 161 citing Alemika & Chukwuma 2003; Smith, 2007). At this point, members of the public especially in South-East Nigeria had become cynics; fault-finding captious critics, believing that the actions of all police personnel are motivated wholly by self-interest and as such resist the police.

Recruitment and Training of Police Forces, 1861-1930

The British colony of Lagos came into existence on August 6, 1861 the day treaty of cession was signed. According to Adedipe (1965) “on 22nd February 1862, Mr Henry Stanhope Freeman, the first governor arrived in Lagos, prepared his draft estimates for 1862/1863 financial year, appointed one J.H. Willingbough Superintendent of Police. On 10th June 1862, he had written to the colonial secretary, the Duke of Newcastle to inform him of the new appointments made”. A year later, John Hawley Glover, the new administrator of the government of Lagos wrote among others:

One quarter of the town of Badagry is at this moment in open defiance of the authorities and the police and as soon as the mail has left, I hope to be able to proceed there to establish order. I am drilling and arming thirty of the Hausa police and that is the only available force I can move out of Lagos in case such a force should be required within the territory.

Those were doubtless the first recruits, “the Hausa Armed Police” who were trained for troublesome Badagry while the remaining unarmed police were to continue to operate as civil police within Lagos. The above arrangement of Glover J.H. shows that the imperial police force performed military duties as well as police duties (Adedipe, 1965 p.v). In other words, the recruitment, training, deployment and operations of police personnel in the period 1861-

1930 in Nigeria followed that pattern; protected imperial British political and economic interests in Nigeria.

From Lagos, in 1861 British conquest of territories that presently form part of Nigeria began with the use of a constabulary police force recruited, trained and armed by John Horley Glover, administrator of Lagos. They had succeeded in nearly four hundred nationalities in the country by 1903. An indirect rule system was adopted as a means of reducing the cost of running the colonial hierarchy. Police forces were established along the lines dictated by the indirect rule policy. Native Authority (NA) ordinance (No. 4 of 1916) conferred on the Native Authorities the responsibility of maintaining order in their Area of Responsibility (AOR). They were to prevent crimes and arrest offenders by employing any person to assist them in carrying out 'police duty'. Their police powers were consolidated under protectorate laws (enforcement) ordinance no. 15 of 1924.

In the police colleges established in Ikeja, Enugu (1932) and Kaduna (1922) special attention is paid to the physical/moral development of recruits and the promotion of team spirit (NAL CSO 1937, p.8) to perform paramilitary duties. They had to adopt personality profile types exhibiting traits which include authoritarianism, suspicion, aggressiveness, masculinity, alienation and cynicism. Colonial records if critically docked at reveal that the authority, (Local Government, Native Administrators, and colonial masters) relied on person's alien to the areas as the pool of recruits to police a place. The Nigeria Police Standing Orders (NPSO 1932, pages 45 and 93) spelt out the objectives of training thus:

Emphasis is put in the drill as the means of instilling obedience, discipline and self-control. Officers and men are required to modulate their standards on those of the military infantry, as the force is itself a semi-military organization... it is essential that every constable must be able to use his rifle with a fair amount of accuracy, for if a man is unable to shoot, he is useless to the force.

By 1940, non-indigenous presence began to reduce particularly among the Hausa, while that of the Igbos increased (NAK 1944-47). The benefits and hope of having indigenous persons serve as policemen in a community eluded colonial policing until the 1940s. Realizing the difficulty of policing the Middle Belt area, a case was made for a person from the area (Local police force volunteers) and where they were not available; Christians were taken or preferred to Muslims.

Forces that Fueled the Ambers of Alienation

Take for instance, DNA profiling and fingerprint lifting. Police are not trained or well-grounded in this area. This made the public to lose respect and confidence in the police. This lack of proper training results in poor immigration law enforcement, poor human right credentials, police officers withdrawing their passion, position, affection and enthusiasm from police

work; the public separating themselves from the policing agents; lack of respect for constituted authority, lack of respect and unwillingness to cooperate with sister security agents resulting to violent clashes and confrontations here and there, poor border patrol, neglect of schools and religious centers' protection, increase in the number of casualties and sometimes fatalities, increase in the number of deserter, abandonment of beats due to difficulties and challenges in the job.

Inadequate training: - Members of the public are aware of the fact that Nigeria's police do not meet international standards of policing. They are aware that many rank-and-file are not well trained due to their poor communication skill, inability to create interpersonal relationships and inability to endear themselves into the hearts of stakeholders of the community they have come to serve; due to perceived fear, worry and anxiety in them. Some recruit constables even run away when they hear the sound of a gun. Many lacked the courage to face their challenges. Some can't properly collect/retrieve and record statements of suspects. This is because, police training centred on physical drill, technical and tactical aspects of policing and not on human right-based policing, problem solving, mediation or diplomacy, reconciliation, mental illness and human relations

Excessive use of police wireless messages popularly known as signals to relay important messages from one office to another and from higher rank to lower ranks and vice versa. Urgent messages that ordinarily should be passed across to officers affected and to offices affected are delayed due to the traditional communication method of using typed messages (signal) which are sent to people affected through police dispatch courier personnel. The signal is often enveloped in secrecy and sometimes before it gets to the persons concerned, the time has elapsed. Take for instance. A transfer signal was sent from the office of the Commissioner of Police in charge of the Department of Finance and Administration (COMPOL DFA) of a state to the Divisional Police Officer (DPO) of a community to release a police corporal to proceed on transfer to Police College Ikeja (PCI) to join his mates in a two weeks training on bomb detonation. Before divisional dispatch courier personnel could get to DFA and pick up the signal (police wireless message), the two weeks of bomb detonation training were over. On getting the mail, it was too late to release the corporal for the training. Had it been that police used WhatsApp, phone-call or email to communicate or relay information, the corporal wouldn't have missed the opportunity.

Another one is the use of Cyrene. The sound of Cyrene tells armed robbers, kidnappers, and thugs armed with lethal weapons, grenades and explosives the direction police are coming from. They get prepared, ambush the police and shoot on sight. Many police officers lost their lives while others sustained bullet wounds from criminals due to Cyrene. Even at that, police will not stop using Cyrene which is more dangerous at night. It is a policing culture to ring the Cyrene when going for an arrest, or while going on bursting operation. This makes unarmed suspects to be arrested to run away. The use of Cyrene is a tradition in police. Despite all the warnings to avoid Cyrene, the officers will obey for a while and reverse back to the use of Cyrene. Police

alienation engenders police-public hostility, violence, distrust, underestimation and non-cooperation. Citizens resent them as they perceive the police ineffective due to the inadequacy of human resource, equipment, facilities and funds. The police lacked a sense of belonging to the force due to organizational structure, language barrier, estranged environment, poor working conditions, and lack of promotion/encouragement and work equipment. This created unhappy, estranged police officers not willing to neither serve the country diligently nor cooperate with colleagues and members of the public.

Traditional method of policing which involves the use of force estranged the public from the police and makes the public not willing to cooperate. On the use of force, Johnson (2013, p.73) says 'charges against police officers have been made and documented, this resulted in the loss of public confidence in the local police forces. The ineffectiveness of policing agents in Nigeria, arising from inadequacy of human resources, facilities and funds, lowers the estimation of the policing agents in the eyes of the public. Secondly, the traditional mode of policing based on preventive anti-crime/surveillance patrol, quick motorized response time and follow-up investigation did not operate as efficiently as it would during the period of our study because it was responsive and not preventive tactics. As a result of this, police do not go to where crime occurs except they were invited by a victim of the crime and or speculators known as complainants.

Manifestations of Crisis of Alienation in Policing in Nigeria

1. Vested interest on the part of those benefiting from crimes and the status quo. For instance, a team leader or divisional crime officer dishing out orders to an Investigating Police Officer (IPO) working under him to pervert the course of justice due to vested interest in the case or to favour a politician, 'big man' or godfather. In this regard, the issue of the godfatherism must be taken seriously. Godfatherism has produced countless allegations against police personnel such as claims of arbitrariness in exercising power, corruption, delays in the administration of justice and pervasion of justice. Many highly placed public officers, civil and public servants and others in the criminal justice system pervert the course of justice due to their closeness to the seat of power. As rightly stated by Johnson (2013), when a police officer is sucked in, it results in unresolved crime and abandonment of cases making members of the public see police as being in secrete-service of selected criminal political godfathers.

2. Lack of cooperation with the police is also triggered by the sensing of partisanship in the police. Politicization of the policing system worsened the crisis of alienation. Political leaders in the country saw the control of police as a means of gaining and maintaining political power and of allowing criminal clients, political thugs/allies to violate the law anyhow or with impunity; police became an extension of the state party machine. This did not go down well with members of the public especially opposition party agents, village-champions and elder-statesmen. This bred suspicion, hatred, animosity,

contempt and cynicism. For instance, a fatalistic attitude involving a belief that change is not possible whilst the police rank and file continue to be poorly underpaid.

3. Unwillingness to abandon practices that are familiar in favour of the unknown or uncertain. Members of the public are not willing to cooperate with the Nigerian police because of their traditional policing method involving discriminatory stop and search practices on roadblocks. They believed that police harassed them on the road when they were being stopped and searched. People who are searched complained of police seeing them as criminals hence they are searched. The worst of all is when male police personnel stop and search female citizens in public places in search of exhibits. This is a result of not having female police in anti-crime and surveillance patrol teams. It is embarrassing to have one's cousin, uncle, aunt, niece and nephew whom we have so much respect and regard for being stopped, searched or harassed in public places by law enforcement agents. In developed countries in the world, policing equipment and police dogs do the work of detection do exhibits in passersby.

4. Cynicism: this is the belief that all actions of the police are motivated primarily by self-interest. Issue of accountability and transparency may come in here. There is hatred, unwillingness to cooperate and lack of trust for law enforcement agents in Nigeria seen in the multiplicity of failures to indict, convict and prosecute police personnel and numerous acquittals which left members of the public hopeless. Since the establishment of professional policing in Nigeria in 1930, the police have endured various challenges in the spheres of legitimacy crisis and ineffectiveness. The issue of discretion is another reason for citizens' non-cooperation with police personnel. Discretion is defined as the exercise of individual judgment by a police officer instead of formal rule in deciding on the office or field. Police officers from time immemorial in the course of policing a community operate with great discretion resulting in physical abuse of citizens, failure to arrest violent, failure to protect complainants in the face of violent confrontation from their abuser; unequal application of the law in making arrest. Findings from research indicate that better education and training would help officers exercise their judgment wisely because the quality of training, availability of welfare packages, logistics and some other essential policing materials/equipment freely given to police personnel have an impact on their performance. The absence of formal rules by which a policeman must operate and sometimes poor individual judgment by police makes members of the public not trust and cooperate with the police. Hence, they suspect every action and in-action of the police to be motivated by self-interest. The sight of police became synonymous or associated with trouble and greediness.

5. Estrangement: mutual enmity or indifference can be caused by a violation of human right. The issue of human right violations by policing agents in Nigeria is a very pathetic one. Even the local police operatives were criticized for having no regard for the civil rights of citizens and foreigners in the country.

Officers are estranged when the work environment is not friendly; when their mates buy their new ranks and get promoted leaving the obedient servant (police officer) behind. Some police officers serving in major cities in Nigeria bought their positions and promotions, sold protection, ignored violations of law for money and got away with it leaving fellow policemen and spectators cynical, wondering in the shadows and unhappy. Evidence from the research reveals that, police work been motivated by selfish interests. In agreement with this, Onoja (2006, p.123) averred that:

the need for a police force was born out of the desire to protect the person and property of the colonizing authority (and few property-owning class in post-colonial era) and to impress on the inhabitants the might of the occupying power. In the post-independence period, this requirement was slightly modified to incorporate the interests of the indigenous property-owning class.... the mode of recruitment and training retained the traits inherited from the colonial period.

6. Considering alienation as a product of the multiplicity of policing agents in Nigeria. Evidence from research reveals that the establishment of numerous policing agents led to duplication of function and violent clashes between the Nigerian police and other policing agents. Nwaolai (interviewed Nwaolai, 12/05/2022) averred that

in the 1960s, operatives of the Local Government/Native Authority Police and Vigilante Group of Nigeria would mount checkpoints at night, arrest persons in possession of exhibits, take the suspect to their base, detain him/her, collect ransom and set the person free. They alongside other policing agents performed the duties of police with impunity. They will not hand over crime suspects to the police and will not allow police to search them. They measure shoulders with the federal police.

Sister security agents did the work of police, and confronted police violently especially the army in a recent development says an oral source. However, archival sources did not record any violent confrontation with the police as a result of the performance of police duties by a sister security/policing agent. In the Nigeria Police, most deaths while in service in the 1930s-1970s were caused by carelessness, poor marksmanship, lack of musketry training, strife between policing agents (for example vigilante killed police in Okpai community in 1952), accidental discharge of ammunition from a firearm, suicide and many others(Nwaolai, interview cited).

7. Imposition: extortion within the police force. In our period of study, there was an increase in the number of deserters. Extortion within the police force increased. During the promotion course, officers are made to pay ransom to pass promotion exams even without sitting for the promotion

exams. Officers in the comfort of their homes gave bribes and were awarded credit marks while those who refused to give bribes woefully failed the promotion exams even if they sat for the exam and wrote very well. Amidst an acute shortage of manpower or police personnel, some people gave bribes to police and were posted to either the dog section or police sports section. These persons do not go to work but went about with other illegal or legal businesses or even travel far away and did no police work. Yet, they earn their monthly salaries only to surface a few days to police sports competition and disappear after the competition till God knows when. It is advisable to agitate for the disbandment of police sports and complete absorption of police sports personnel into the workforce of the police to boost her manpower.

Conclusion

This research work has studied the crisis of alienation in policing in Nigeria between 1930 and 1970 covering the period of the unification of police forces in Nigeria and the fall of Biafra/the the first republic in Nigeria. This was against the backdrop of the general claim that the federal police force alone provided efficient internal security in the country; that crisis of alienation was far from it. The objective of the study was to examine the origin and manifestations of alienation in policing and make recommendations on how to reconcile police with the public and vice versa. All said and done, the evidence showed that Nigerian people were at the receiving end of the security maneuvers of the colonial and postcolonial rulers and their security architectures. Opone (2010, p.116) asserted that the precursor of independent African states was the colonial states created for metropolitan exploitation. The crisis of alienation provided by the recruitment and training policies was encouraged in the colonial and post-colonial eras in Nigeria.

Tribal divisions were often overcome by unifying hatred for police in major cities in Nigeria during the period of our study. Violence against police was often justified by the opportunity to revenge on the police. Revenge is based on cynical feelings with the police. The crisis of alienation is also fuelled at this period by the inconsistency of the criminal justice system in the application of the criminal law. They were not able to choose where and when Sharia Law or Criminal Code should be applied in the dispensation of justice. In conclusion, good police-public relations, human right-based policing, good parenting, public sensitization program with the caption 'police is your friend', an unbiased posting/promotion program based on service records; an end to extortion within police force will eliminate crisis of alienation.

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