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UNITED NATIONS
ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA

REPORT OF A MISSION TO NIGERIA

by

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INTRODUCTION

At the request of the Inspector-General of Police Force Headquarters Lagos, and the Police Staff College, Jos, Dr. M. J. Balogun, Senior Regional Adviser, participated in the first seminar for senior police officers (Commissioners, Assistant Inspectors-General and Deputy Inspectors-General) which took place in Jos between 27 and 28 February 1990, in addition to organizing a public administration workshop as part of the senior management course ("C" course).

Objective of Mission

The mission was undertaken with a view to organizing and conducting a public administration workshop for senior police officers participating in "C" course 13/90. However, on arrival in Jos, the Senior Regional Adviser was requested (vide a letter from the Inspector-General of Police attached as Appendix A) to prepare a paper on "Comparative perspective of the Nigeria Police, Non-African Third World countries, and Police in developed capitalist countries", and present same at the first seminar organized for commissioners of police, assistant inspectors-general, and deputy inspectors-general of police.

Seminar for Senior Police Officers

Despite the short notice, the Senior Regional Adviser found time to undertake the necessary research study and prepare a paper which was very well received at the seminar. A copy of the paper is attached as Appendix B. The paper took into account the theme of the seminar (i.e. <u>Police, Press, Public and Criminal Justice Administration</u>) and further addrssed contemporary issues in the administration of the Nigeria Police Force.

Approximately, 250 delegates took part in the deliberations of the seminar.

The "C" Course

The specific objectives of the public administration workshop which was conducted as part of the senior management ("C") course are to:

(i)   Introduce the participants to the basic concepts and issues in public administration, as well as the contemporary problems of Nigerian public administration;

(ii) Highlight, with specific reference to the Nigeria Police Force, the problems associated with social change and the attempts by administrative agencies to anticipate, or respond to, the change;

(iii) Emphasize the role of senior police officers in planning, formulating, implementing, and monitoring policies having implications for internal security, crime control, and rehabilitation of criminals;

(iv) Discuss the relevance of selected management techniques to the work of the Nigeria Police; and

(v) With the aid of case-studies, syndicate exercises, and other adult-learning techniques, relate administrative/management concepts to pratical situations.

Anticipated Outputs

The anticipated outputs of the public administration workshop are:

(a) Background reading material on concepts of administration and management;

(b) A background paper outlining the relationship between environmental pressures and the work of the Nigeria Police;

(c) A major case study and syndicate exercise on crime control;

(d) A project document prepared by participants indicating measures that are required to strengthen the capacity of the Nigeria Police; and

(e) A paper focusing on the interaction between cultural values and administrative behaviour.

Participation

A total of 25 senior police officers drawn from all police formations in Nigeria participated in the workshop.

ECA's Contribution

The ECA (PHSD) made available the services of Dr. M.J. Balogun, Senior Regional Adviser, who served as a resource person at the Seminar for Senior Police Officers and conducted the public administration workshop.

The workshop began with a review of the crime situation in the previous year. It was noted that the anti-crime strategy adopted by the Force in 1989 yielded positive results. The re-organization of the Force also enhanced the capability of the police to respond to security situations in different parts of the country. The war against crime was far from being won, but the morale of the police appeared to be relatively high.

On the basis of the tentative evaluation of the security situation in Nigeria, the workshop proceeded to discuss the topics covered in the Regional Adviser's presentations - viz. concepts in public administration and management, the process of policy formulation and its relation to police protection, and the administrative/management components of law enforcement work. Although there was no time to examine the impact of traditional values and culture on contemporary administrative practices, a paper prepared by the Regional Adviser on the subject was circulated. Also made available to participants were papers on "Introduction to Public Administration", "The Police Protection and Social Defence Component of Nigerian Public Administration: a Review and a Programme of Action", "Tactical and Strategic Response to increasing Crime Wave in Local Government: Case Study and Syndicate Exercise", "Leadership and Decision-Making", and "Operations Research and Decision-making".

Interim Evaluation

The coverage of the workshop topics was rendered inadequate by time constraint, and by the need to prepare for the higher-level seminar. Nonetheless, the participants found the issues raised at plenary and syndicate sessions both relevant and useful.

The Inspector General of Police
Directorate of Training Command
Force Headquarters
Lagos

5th February, 1990

Dr. Balogun
Economic Commission of Africa
Addis Ababa
Ethiopia

Dear Sir,

SEMINARS FOR SENIOR POLICE OFFICERS

1.   The Nigeria Police Force will be having a seminar for
Commissioners, Assistant Inspectors-General and Deputy
Inspectors-General of Police at the Police Staff College,
Jos on the 27th - 28th February, 1990.

2.   The Inspector-General of Police will be most grateful
if you can find the time to deliver a paper to the senior
officers on the topic: <u>Comparative perspective of the
Nigeria Police. Non-African Third World Countries, and
Police in Developed Capitalist Countries</u>.

3.   Please indicate your acceptance or otherwise before
15th February, 1990 to enable arrangement be concluded.

Yours faithfully,

(J.A.O. Coker) NPM, mni.,
Deputy Inspector-General of Police,
. Director of Training Command,
for: Inspector-General of Police

THE POLICE PROTECTION AND SOCIAL DEFENCE COMPONENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION: A COMPARATIVE REVIEW OF NIGERIA'S EXPERIENCE

by

M. J. BALOGUN
Senior Regional Adviser, ECA
Addis Ababa
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ABSTRACT

The problems associated with police protection and social defence have to be considered within the framework of the socio-economic changes taking place in any particular society. In Nigeria, the past three decades have brought fundamental changes which have in turn defined the scope and character of crime, and raised questions as to the adequency of the response measures. The period before and immediately after the attainment of independence in 1960 witnessed little threat to internal security. Banning sporadic political and civil disturbances, the Police Force did not have to deal with large-scale and organized crime. In recent years, however, the Force is under increasing pressure to contain the activities of violent criminals and the equivalents of urban guerilla bands.

Fortunately, the leadership of the Police Force is aware of the gravity of the crime situation and is determined to make Nigeria safe for law-abiding citizens. However, if the rising tide of violence and criminality is to be stemmed, it is imperative for the government as well as the decision-makers in the Police Force to have a clear perspective of the socio-economic changes which have taken, and are still taking place in the country, and to envolve a social defence policy which takes cognizance of these changes. In addition, there is need to learn useful lessons from other countries in designing an appropriate organization structure and outlining a strategy aimed at enhancing the detective, investigative and operational capability of the Police Force as well as tackling the perennial logistic support problems.

This paper starts by examining some of the changes which have taken place in the environment of law enforcement over the past thirty years. It then proceeds in the second section, to discuss the scope and character of crime in Nigeria, while referring in passing to stages in the social

history of other countries (notably, the United Kingdom, and the United States) at which criminality posed a similar challenge to the police. In the third section, the paper undertakes a capability analysis of the Nigeria Police force as well as a comparative review of police strength, organization, and professional ethics. In the fourth section, the paper outlines a programme of action.

I. THE ECOLOGY OF LAW-ENFORCEMENT IN NIGERIA

The problems facing law-enforcement agencies in Nigeria cannot be fully appreciated in isolation of the larger socio-economic and political environment. In the traditional society, law and order was maintained through strict adherence to the customs and traditions of each community. Superstitions also played a part in ensuring compliance with social codes of behaviour. True, there were deviants, but the traditional society had its own methods of discouraging criminal tendencies - among them, ostracization of families whose members engaged in "shameful" and anti-social activities; capital punishment, especially, in case of heinous crimes and invocation of ancestral spirits against betrayers of trusts. To deprive another person of his property was to invite social disapproval. To take a human life was to disturb the equilibrium of the earth and make the gods angry.

For a time - and most probably up to the eve of Nigeria's independence - the stabilizing ethics of the traditional, agrarian society served to promote law and order. The tempo of modernization was relatively slow. In numerical terms, Nigeria was a "small", easy-to-police country. According to the 1952 census, the total population was 30.4 million. The general level of education was also, by the present standard, very low. At independence, Nigeria had only one university and a handful of colleges of technology. Facilities for primary and secondary education were still not widely available or fully developed. In 1957, for instance, there were 15,533 primary schools with a total enrolment of 2,528,801 in the whole of the Federation. In the same year, the secondary schools numbered 194 with a total student population of 31,851. The economy (at least up to the mid-60s) was yet to be stimulated by earnings from petroleum, and was based on small-scale agriculture. In 1958/59, GDP at 1962 factor cost was £1,023.0 million, and agriculture accounted for not less that 65 per cent of the GDP. By 1986, agriculture's contribution to the GDP had declined to 54.9 per cent. And by the early 1970's, the economy had come under the influence of oil. In 1985, the GDP at current market prices had risen to N93,228 million.

As the economy boomed - or perhaps in response to
the economic stimulus - the population of Nigeria began
to surge. The census has been a subject of controversy
for years, but there is general agreement that the number
of Nigerians has increased tremendously over the past quarter
of a century. If we go by official statistics, the 1963
population was 56 million. The estimate for 1980 was 85
million, and for 1986, 100 million. Today, it is believed
that the figure is in the neighbourhood of 120 million.
There is no reliable data on the rate of urbanization,
but it is assumed that over 20 percent of the population
live in urban areas. The Lagos metropolis alone contains
not less than 3 million people today, in contrast to less
than 1 million in 1970. The demographic changes, in any
case, have implications for internal security agencies'
"span of attention" (by which is meant the territory,
population, and the wide-ranging socio-economic and political
transactions which need policing). On the other hand,
a high rate of urbanization increases the tempo of social
mobilization, and for this reason, strains the capacity
of law enforcement agencies. It must also be emphasized
that the unplanned growth of urban areas poses serious
problems for the investigation of crime. Given where motor
cycle squads reinforce the work of foot patrols, policing
the slums and sub-urban communities becomes a nightmare
in view of the facts that the streets may be badly lit
or maintained, and the houses may not be numbered in a
systematic, easy-to-spot manner.

The problem of law enforcement in the specific case
of Nigeria is confounded by the fact that the Police Force
has to operate in a society which is not only becoming
rapidly urbanized but also increasingly literate. The
introduction of the Universal Primary Education scheme
in 1976 represents a landmark in the history of education
in Nigeria. It also fore-shadowed the current traumas
in internal security. Tables 1 and 2 indicate the increase
in the number and population of primary and post-primary
schools in Nigeria between 1970 and 1978.

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Table 1: Total Number of Primary and Post-Primary Schools in Nigeria: 1970-78

Year	Primary	Secondary	Teacher Training	Technical and Vocational
1970	14,901	1,155	158	66
1971	15,324	1,234	164	71
1972	14,538	1,219	151	64
1973	14,494	1,320	160	70
1974	16,252	1,136	198	72
1975	21,335	1,558	250	78
1976	30,090	1,560	247	84
1977	34,310	1,928	250	91
1978	35,300	2,249	258	103

Source: Annual Abstract of Statistics, 1981, Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos.

Table 2: Enrolment in Primary and Post-Primary Schools in Nigeria: 1970-78

Year	Primary	Secondary	Teacher Training	Technical and Vocational
1970	3,515,820	310,054	33,332	13,645
1971	3,894,539	343,313	37,119	15.884
1972	4,391,197	400,803	41,870	15,953
1973	4,661,121	497,159	44,520	18,776
1974	5,193,550	490,334	72,597	24,415
1975	5,950,297	705,516	112,995	25,947
1976	8,242,060	826,209	11,656	32,010
1977	9,834,827	998,967	170,314	36,723
1978	11,410,360	1,223,200	197,920	43,088
1979	12,749,403	--	--	--

Source: Annual Abstract of Statistics, 1981, op.cit.

Equally remarkable progress has been recorded in the field of higher education. In 1962, there were only 6 universities and 13 in 1979. Today, the number has risen to 21 with a combined student population of approximately 150,000. It goes without saying that the explosion in school and university enrolment has both direct and indirect bearing on law enforcement. In the first place, more time and resources would now have to be set aside to maintain law and order on campuses, and "manage" student crises and student union activities before they get out of hand. The indirect effect of the expansion in educational facilities is felt when the products of the educational system go out to look for jobs and discover that the labour market is saturated or that their skills are inadequate. Unemployment was not a very acute problem until in recent years, especially, as from 1982. As tables 3 and 4 show, the incidence of unemployment is highly pronounced among the ranks of secondary school leavers in urban areas. Tables 5 and 6 depict the situation in rural areas, particularly, the high percentage of unemployed iliterates in rural areas.

Table 3: <u>**Percentage Distribution of Unemployed Urban Centre Males - 1984-1986**</u>

Educational Level	Dec. 1984	June 1985	Dec. 1985	March 1986	June 1986
No schooling	10.7	10.5	9.5	14.2	9.3
Primary	32.9	23.3	22.8	23.0	17.4
Secondary	52.4	60.4	63.8	56.3	65.3
Colleges of Education	1.3	0.4	0.5	1.5	3.6
Polytechnics	0.7	1.6	1.5	2.5	0.7
University	2.0	3.8	2.8	2.5	3.5
All Levels	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos.

Table 4: **Percentage Distribution of Unemployed Urban Centre Females - 1984-1986**

Educational Level	Dec. 1984	June 1985	Dec. 1985	March 1986	June 1986
No schooling	10.1	16.2	17.7	17.7	17.3
Primary	28.3	13.8	16.5	13.4	14.1
Secondary	57.6	62.3	62.3	63.3	63.8
Colleges of Education	2.0	5.4	3.0	4.0	1.6
Polytechnics	2.0	--	--	1.8	1.1
University	--	2.3	0.6	1.8	2.1
All Levels	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 5: **Percentage Distribution of Unemployed Rural Centre Males - 1984-1986**

Educational Level	Dec. 1984	June 1985	Dec. 1985	March 1986	June 1986
No Schooling	23.3	29.4	30.0	8.2	22.9
Primary	30.1	26.5	28.0	48.5	20.5
Secondary	42.5	44.1	38.0	43.3	53.0
Colleges of Education	1.4	--	3.0	--	1.2
Polytechnics	1.7	--	--	--	--
University	--	--	0.6	--	2.4
All Levels	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 6: **Percentage Distribution of Unemployed Rural Centre Females - 1984-1986**

Educational Level	Dec. 1984	June 1985	Dec. 1985	March 1986	June 1986
No Schooling	15.9	38.6	43.0	29.4	27.3
Primary	30.1	29.8	20.3	36.8	19.4
Secondary	54.0	31.6	35.4	33.8	51.3
Colleges of Education	--	--	1.3	--	0.7
Polytechnics	--	--	--	--	--
University	--	--	--	--	1.3
All Levels	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

While attempting to cope with the direct and indirect problems brought about by the recent advances in education, the law enforcement agencies also have to face up to another fact of "modern" life - the proliferation of mass communication media. At independence, only one or two regional newspapers rivalled the Daily Times (and its Sunday edition) as media of mass communication. By 1966, there were no less than 6 newspapers in Nigeria. And today, the average reader is faced with a bewildering array of (over 30) publications including regular newspapers, journals, magazines, bulletins and scandal-sheets. Electronic media have also joined the riotous scramble for the citizen's attention. Radio stations beam news and entertainment to millions of listeners throughout the country. The national television channels co-exist with their state counterparts (or competitors) and they (the national and the state channels) bring the people up to date about local, national and international events.

In the absence of empirical data, it is difficult to guage the impact of the mass media on criminal tendencies in a country like Nigeria. Certainly, the media have a number of positive features in that they educate and enlighten the generality of the people about developments within the society. The media serve as a countervailing force against profligacy, corruption, and authoritarianism in public administration. However, there is the other side of the media — the sensational and sometimes biased presentation of news, and the inadequacy of the print and electronic media in assuming the role of the "conscience"

of the nation and separating the truly bad, from the
genuinely noble. This is sometimes reflected in the
glamorization by the press of what could be interpreted
in some quarters as villanous acts (witness the coverage
given to some robbers' last hurrahs and the time/space
allocated to the economically prosperous groups in society).
But by far the most negative aspect of the role of the
media is that concerning the gruesome presentation of reports
of violence particularly wars, civil disturbances, street
fights, murders, assassinations, and public execution of
criminals. Some one some day would have to carry out the
necessary empirical research tracing the possible links
between, on the one hand, sadistic and violent tendencies
in the Nigerian society, and, on the other, the role of
the media in getting the society acclimatized to what,
in by-gone days, were regarded as abnormal conditions.
Certainly, something (perhaps a lot) in us is changing
with the material changes taking place around us. Violence
is presented as a fact of life - as an inseparable feature
of modernity. The adults are not spared from the
reconditioning influence of the media let alone the youth
with impressionable minds. It is one thing to play cops
and robbers, it is another to watch live battles between
real cops and and notorious criminals. Perhaps as an effort
to de-escalate the rising tide of violence in the society,
a review of policy on media exposure is indicated.

On no account should the advocacy of policy review
be construed as a proposal on press censorship. Press
freedom is part of the emerging political culture in Nigeria.
Nonetheless, to ensure that this freedom is compatible
with other freedoms, notably, the freedom to life, limb
and property, the views of the media houses need to be
sought in formulating a policy that would banish violence
from the shores of Nigeria.

It should be borne in mind that apart from the socio-
economic and demographic changes referred to in the preceding
paragraphs, the Nigerian society has had to grapple with
the consequences of polarization along socio-economic,
ethinc, linguistic and religious lines. Law and order
therefore has economic, social, political and religious
dimensions. Not only do the law enforcement agencies have
to police the relations between the 'haves' and the 'have-
nots' in society, they also have to contain social upheavals,
political conflagrations, and religious disturbances. More
often than not, other sectors create a problem, but the
society expects its Police Force to solve the problem.

II.   THE SCOPE AND CHARACTER OF CRIME IN NIGERIA

At one stage or the other, particularly under conditions of socio-economic or political stress, the police tends to be confronted with serious threats to public order. Such was the case in Great Britain right from the enactment of the statute of Winchester in 1285 up to the passage in 1829 of the "Bill for improving the Police in and near the Metropolis" (the Metropolitan Police Act). King George II's speech to the House of Commons in 1751 gave an indication of the magnitude of the problem. Moved by reports of threats to life and property, the King urged Parliament

> "to consider seriously of some effectual provisions to suppress those audacious crimes of robbery and violence, which are become (sic) so frequent, especially about this great capital".1/

In addition to the crimes (of robbery and violence) London had to cope with riots and civil disturbances, a feature of life throughout Great Britain in the 18th century. Even up to the beginning of the 19th century, public peace tended to be disturbed by differences of opinion on religion, politics, and economic policy.

In the United States of America, technological change and economic prosperity have not only brought with them a wide variety of crimes (dealings in narcotics, securities and exchange violations, insider-trading, espionage, assault and battery, rape and abductions, and infringement of immigration and naturalization rules, to mention a few), but also increasing sophistication of criminal methods. The Mafia is a living testimony to the organizational resourcefulness and economic strength of the deviant community. As if the law enforcement agencies in the United States do not have enough on their plate, civil rights demonstrations and the activities of extreme conservative groups further extend the agencies' "span of attention".

The situation in contemporary Nigeria is not too different from that of the United States of America or that of 19th century Great Britain. However, before the tempo of socio-economic change became accelerated in Nigeria, violent crimes were few and in between. With the changes in the structure of the economy, and with the increase in population and in the rates of literacy and urbanization, crime emerged as an urgent national issue. Table 7 depicts the trend from 1955 to 1964.

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Table 7: Offences and Contraventions: Comparative Figures, 1955-1964

Year	Offences	Contraventions	Total
1955-56	62,424	14,356	77,780
1956	52,954	14,159	67,013
1957	62,435	38,219	100,654
1958	67,107	36,232	105,339
1959	68,354	35,725	104,070
1960	66,766	39,399	106,165
1961	75,409	34,606	110,015
1962	80,393	38,082	118,750
1863	88,668	40,313	128,981
1964	92,277	30,966	123,243

Source: Annual Report of the Nigeria Police Force 1964, Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos, Appendix C (V)

Although the number of cases handled by the Police Force up to 1964 was on the increase, it should be noted that, by today's standards, they were minor. Thus, of the 123,243 cases handled in 1964, only 25,750 represented offences against persons, 56,302 were offences against property, 30,966 offences against local ordinance, while 10,225 were miscellaneous offences.

The total value of property reported lost or stolen in 1963 was £1.6 million, and in 1964, it was £1.3 million (a decrease of 19 per cent).

By the time the Nigerian Civil War reached an advanced state (1968-1969) cases of armed robbery had begun to surface. And after the cessation of hostilities in 1970, threats to life and property became more frequent. Table 8 below indicates that offences against persons and against property more than doubled between 1964 and 1975.

Table 8: <u>Crime Statistics - 1975 and 1976</u>

Nature of Crime	1975	1976
Offences against persons (1)	56,197	58,555
Offences against property (2)	108,282	115,588
Other offences (3)	16,502	19,820
Other offences (3)	12.652	20,223
Total	193,633	214,286

Notes: (1) Include murder, grievous bodily harm, child-
stealing, rape and slave dealing.

(2) Theft, robbery, house-braking, forgery, unlawful
possession, arson, etc.

(3) Forgery of Central Bank notes/counterfeiting,
bribery, and perjury, etc.

Source: <u>Annual Report of the Nigeria Police Force, 1976</u>,
NPF Printing Division, Lagos, 1978.

In Lagos alone, violent crime (armed robbery, house
breaking, homicide and rape) increased from 13,700 cases
in 1979 to 18,000 in 1980 representing an increase of 31.38
per cent in one year! In May, 1980, the Police reported
that within eight months, 4,513 lives had been taken by
armed robbers operating in different parts of Nigeria.
Also within the same period, an average of N2.5 million
worth of goods was stolen <u>each day</u> in armed robbery
operations (compared with the 1964 yearly figure of £1.3
million).

An outside observer could not help commenting on the
violent and brazen tactics adopted by Nigeria's criminal
elements. Ehreinrich reported:

"More revealing than the statistics were the
brazen methods used by Nigerian criminals. Auto
theft was frequently accomplished by bandits
who walked up to a car, threatened the occupants
with a weapon, and then stole the car ... Robber
gangs posted signs in neighbourhoods declaring
their intention to raid the area in the future".3/

New dimensions have since been added to crime in
Nigeria. Whereas the Police used to worry about Indian
Hemp and illicit gin, they are now faced with a more
formidable enemy - cocaine and hard drugs. At the same
time, murder squads and paid assassins have escalated their
activities.

Access to Arms

Increasing access to arms and ammunitions might also
have exacerbated the crime situation. At the end of the
civil war, weapons went into wrong hands and remained there
pending their diversion to illegal activities. The situation
reached an alarming point in 1978 when the Federal Government
issued a decree banning the importation of certain categories
of weapons (especially, hand guns). It was a futile attempt.
The porous borders and the not-so-vigilant customs inspectors
facilitated the work of the gun-runners. In 1981, Interpol
and the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation reported that
Nigerians were purchasing fire arms at "an alarming rate"
both in Europe and in the United States, and that many
of those involved were "students" or "academics" looking
for quick profits. Whether the NSO (as it then was) followed
this up is not entirely clear.

Government Response

The response of the Government has been geared towards
solving problems of the moment rather than outlining a
long-term strategy. At the onset of armed robbery operations
in the early 70's, the Government (largely in difference
to public demand for "toughness" and for adequate "military"
response) enacted the Armed Robbery and Fire Arms Decree.
Data on the number of criminals that have so far been
silenced by firing squads was not available at the time
this paper was being prepared. Also, it is not clear to
what extent public executions of robbers has served as
a deterrent. However, the evidence so far points towards
the general ineffectiveness of capital punishment for armed
robbers. If the society wants revenge, public execution
(in the full view of every citizen, and with live television
coverage) would seem to be the answer. However, if violence
is to be removed from the national psyche, and the cause
of justice served, a critical appraisal of the penal system,
and the publicity given to it, is long overdue. The
appraisal should cover the entire system of incacetration
and rehabilitation of prisoners. As Table 9 shows, the
prison population has increased in recent years - a

consequence of the rising level of criminality. However, it is not clear if the prison authorities are making efforts to reform the criminals or whether the criminals are simply being recycled. In any case, a recycled criminal is by definition a serious threat to society in that he has acquired new techniques of his trade, and is likely to be more degenerate in the application of the techniques when he returns to society.

Table 9:   Prison Admissions, 1972-1979

1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
69,397	81,787	84,150	87,947	108,733	112,713	128,049	129,618

Source: Annual Abstract of Statistics, 1981, op.cit., Table 3.15, p.33.

While giving serious consideration to the review of crime control policy, the Government should also, as a matter of priority, adopt measures aimed at strengthening the capacity, and boosting the morale, of law enforcement personnel. As the next section reveals, the Nigeria Police Force, as the primary law enforcement organ, needs to overcome a number of obstacles.

III.   THE NPF: AN INTERIM CAPABILITY ANALYSIS

There is no doubt that the Nigeria Police Force has expanded over the years, but the expansion has not been rapid enough to match the challenge facing the Force. In 1962, the annual budget of the NPF was £4.7 million only to increase slightly to £5.4 million in 1964.4/ By 1976/77, police expenditure had risen to N.34.1 million.

Staff Strength

The staffing position has also improved in recent years. In 1963, the total establishment was 16,601.5/ In December, 1972, the staff strength was 40,000, and in 1977, 57,114. By 1979, the figure had risen to 80,000.- All the same, it could be argued that when compared to other countries, the police-citizen ratio in Nigeria is low. The problem assumes a new significance when it is noted that if we leave out the Mobile Police, the Force lacks para-military capability. Table 9A below provides a comparative picture of police strength in selected countries of the world. It must be stressed that the figures clearly under-estimate police strength in many of the countries listed especially in view of the fact that complete and update data was not available for the constituent units of the forces concerned.

Table 9A: <u>Personnel in Selected Countries Relative to Country Size and Population, 1985</u>

Country	Area (Sq.Km.)	Population (Million)	Police Staff Strength		
			Para Military	National Police	Total
Afghanistan(a)	652,090	16.2	30,000	N.A.	N.A.
Algeria	2,381,745	20.2	24,000	N.A.	N.A.
Angola (b)	1,246,700	7.1	10,000	500,000	510,000
Benin	112,622	3.9	1,200	N.A.	N.A.
Botswana	582,000	0.9	--	1,250	1,250
Comoros	1,862	0.4	--	400	400
Congo	342,000	1.6	1,900	N.A.	N.A.
Egypt	1,002,000	46.0	92,000	N.A.	N.A.
The Gambia	11,295	0.7	200	N.A.	200
Guinea	245,857	5.4	2,600	1,500	4,100
Mauritius(c)	1,865	1.0	800	4,100	4,900

Notes: (a) The 30,000-man paramilitary force in Afghanistan is the rural gendarmerie. No figures for the people's militia or for the KhAd (Secret Police).

(b) Angola's 500,000-man Organization of Popular Defence also has limited para-military capability.

(c) Mauritius has no regular army

Attempts have been made to improve the level of literacy within the rank and file of the NPF. Table 10 shows that as early as 1963, a high level of literacy had been maintained.

Table 10: Level of Literacy in the R & F of the N.P.F.

	1961	1962	1963
Fully literate (Std. 6 & above)	10,204	10,820	11,646
Literate (Std. 4 & 5)	1,541	1,558	1,775
Below Std. 4	270	189	169

Source: General Report and Survey on the NPF 1963, op.cit., p.32.

In general, however, the NPF would seem to need additional resources to combat the rising wave of crime in the country. In terms of manpower, the ratio of one police officer to 1,000 citizens (the ratio for the early 80s) compares unfavourably with the ratio of 1:300 or 1:400 considered ideal by experts in the maintenance of public order. The manpower situation is particularly exacerbated by the weakness at the intermediate command level – especially, the superintendents cadre. As at December 1972, this cadre formed less than 3 per cent of the total establishment of the NPF. Yet it is the middle cadre which is supposed to constitute the pivot of the Force – the one which interprets the law, and provides the link between the top (policy making group) and the rank-and-file.

The NPF also appears to be deficient in highly specialised areas of crime control. In terms of the present day challenge, the Force definitely requires the services of officers with adequate training in areas such as forensic science, ballistics and explosives, the psychology of crime, drug detection, and the detection of white-collar crimes.

Logistics Support

Transport and communications are also of utmost importance for the effective performance of law enforcement functions. With the resources available, the NPF was able to purchase some essential items, particularly, motor vehicles, communications equipment, crime detection and investigation kits. As at 1963, for instance, the C.I.D.

made use of state-of-the-art facilities in cracking cases
of fraud, drug abuse, and aggravated assault. Moreover,
technical training was provided in overseas institutions
to upgrade the skills of police officers in areas such
as ballistics and explosives, forensic science, finger-
printing and photography, physical education, dog handling,
and maintenance of highly complex communication systems
(comprising wireless stations, long-rage HF single side
bank equipment, VHF 999 systems, high frequency transmitters,
transreceivers, and receivers).

However, car-snatchers continue to ride high partly
because the communications technology in the country as
a whole is at a primitive stage, and partly because the
NPF has itself not led the way in the use of
security-targeted communications devices. In addition,
the public must have lost count of the number of times
that crimes were reported at local police stations but
the criminals often got away because the police had no
vehicle, or its vehicles had no spareparts, or fuel was
in short supply. There is no question that the under-world
operators are fully informed about the weaknesses of the
police before they (the criminals proceed on their missions).

Ethics and Corporate Integrity

The effectiveness of the criminal community's
intelligence-gathering activity raises serious questions
not just about the capacity of the NPF but about its
integrity as an organization.

At this juncture, it should be noted that even police
forces and law enforcement agencies in technologically
advanced countries have been tainted by charges of corruption
and/or of attempted perversion of the course of justice.
In the United States, cases have been reported of some
police officers who compromise their official positions
by being on the payroll of crime syndicates and mafia bosses.
However, institutional mechanisms do exist in the United
States for exposing, and therefore, exfoliating, such crooked
cops.

In Great Britain, the charge against the police in
recent years is not that they aid and abet crime but that
they are sometimes too eager to put innocent citizens behind
bars. The Guildford Four claimed that they were incacetrated
after the evidence proving their innocence had been
suppressed by the Police. The court which heard their
petition upheld their claim and ordered their release.

The West Midlands serious crime squad is currently being investigated because some squad members were suspected of fabricating evidence. Not to pass up the opportunity to make things hot for the police, other accusers have since come up with embarrassing stories about "framings" and confessions obtained under duress. The up-shot of all these is that the Association of Chief Police Officers is now engaged in an exercise of damage-control and is seriously considering the establishment of an in-house ombudsman with wide investigative powers.

Professional ethics in the police assumes a slightly different character in Nigeria. Ehrenreich attributes the existence of "bad eggs" in the Nigeria police to poor pay. According to him,

"Poorly paid policemen would rent their uniforms to criminals, and witnesses to crimes often refused to inform the police out of fear that the criminal would be told the name and address of his accuser.6/

However, in view of the fact that only a few members of the force are involved in such deplorable acts (as renting uniforms and/or guns to criminals) it would appear that issues more fundamental than those of remuneration need to be fully considered. In specific terms, the methods of staff selection - particularly, for certain sensitive positions in the force - ought to be critically reviewed. Besides, it is necessary to revitalize the x-squad not just as a means of regaining public confidence, but to provide for a permanent institutional machinery for maintaining the corporate integrity of the police force. In any case, it is gratifying to note that the top hierarchy of the police is aware of the danger which bribery and corruption pose to the force, and are making every effort to combat the menace. It shoud be noted that highly senior officers (from the IG to police commissioners) have, at great personal risk, adopted tough measures against those seeking to undermine the integrity and efficiency of the Force. In attempting to improve the delivery capability of the NPF, attention must be paid to matters affecting the morale and welfare of officers and the rank-and-file. To this extent the problems of office and residential accommodation must be immediately tackled, and the working conditions of staff need to be improved.

Police Organization and Command Structure

Another major issue that requires the immediate

command structure introduced between 1969 and 1972. Before this period, the NPF existed (from 1930) side by side with local police formations. However, the politicians in Nigeria's First Republic were accused of using these (local) law enforcement organs to even political scores and to victimize members of the opposing parties. The ineptitude and corruption characterising the operations of the N.A. or Local Government Police attracted a lot of unfavourable attention, and after the overthrow of the civilian regime in January 1966, the process of intergrating the local forces with the NPF was initiated. However, it is not clear to what extent the structure is capable of responding to local security situations. The recent re-organization of the NPF was probably an acknowledgement of the need for the centralized structure to extend the "reach" of the NPF to the grassroots.

While no universal principle can be cited to justify the organization of police work or the redesign of command structures, it is advisable to examine the experiences of a few countries. It should be stated at the onset that the command structures operated at any particular time and place depend largely on the prevailing socio-political conditions and the role assigned to law enforcement agencies in "managing" the consequences of these conditions. In war-ravaged Afghanistan, at least three types of law enforcement agencies exist. First, there is the militarised People's Militia which handles general police duties in Kabul and other large cities. The second unit, the Afghan gendarmerie, polices the rural communities. The third, and perhaps the most dreaded outfit, is the KhAD (Khidamate Altilaati Daulati) which supervises internal security, and, as the operational arm of the ruling group, reports directly to the Ministry of Interior.7/

In France, as well as in countries applying the French model, at least, two law enforcement agencies tend to operate side by side -- the National Security Police or Surete Nationale, and the gendarmerie. The former is the national police responsible for general policing and traffic duties, criminal investigation, and judiciary police work. The gendarmerie is a paramilitary force in charge of internal security, and incorporating the mobile and territorial brigades.

In contrast to the relatively simple organization structures described earlier are the complex ones. An example of the latter is that adopted in Great Britain. For purposes of police co-ordination, the Police Department is headed by a Deputy Under-Secretary of State in the Home

Office. Besides, the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police is directly answerable to the Home Secretary. By and large, however, instead of a unitary command structure which one would expect to find a unitary state, Great Britain has a structure based on function (criminal intelligence) and another based on territory. The whole of Great Britain is divided into three police areas, viz. England and Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. As a principal police area, England and Wales, is sub-divided into:

(i)   9 Criminal Intelligence Offices (in 9 major cities);

(ii) The Metropolitan Police (including Greater London, areas in Essex, Hertfordshire, Kent and Surrey)

(iii) The City of London Police, and

(iv) 42 Constabularies and County Police Forces.

Even more complicated than the structure operated in Great Britain are those frequently found in countries with federal constitutions. In the United States of America, for exmaple, there are not less than 17,500 police forces - including Sheriff's Offices! To start with, U.S. law enforcement agencies operate at four levels, viz. federal, state, county and local. Duties sometimes overlap thus conjuring up the image of "keystone cops" stumbling over one another in the effort to arrest criminals. Fortunately, the situation is not always that chaotic in real life. It should further be noted that due to the increasing sophistication of the American society, specialized law enforcement agencies have been established to handle particular problems or crimes. At the federal level alone, the agencies performing different aspects of law enforcement functions include the C.I.A., the F.B.I., the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the National Security Agency, the U.S. Customs Service, Federal Law Enforcement Training Centre (which trains the personnel of at least 48 agencies) and the U.S. Secret Service (which is controlled by the Department of Treasury and is responsible for monitoring cases involving U.S. and foreign currency and securities).

Canada operates a more or less disintegrated structure, but sees to it that law enforcement personnel, no matter where they serve, are exposed to the same training courses organized at the Canadian Police College. In any case, apart from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, a federal force headed by a Commissioner, Ontario and Quebec maintain separate provincial forces, in addition to the municipal forces. Moreover, the Canadian railway companies and the National Harbor Board, among them, control the transport police.

Though not strictly speaking a technologically developed society, India, in view of its federal constitution and the multiple ethnic and religious problems, cannot but operate a decentralized and complicated structure. Its Police Service is still a branch of the All-India Civil Service. Law enforcement functions are shared among the following diverse bodies:

  (i)   The Delhi Armed Police (with three Divisions, i.e. Central, North Delhi, and South Divisions);

 (ii)   The Security Police (based at Ashoka Barracks) responsible for internal security;

(iii)   The President's Police Guard, which handles security at government level;

 (iv)   City police forces (comprising the C.I.D., Traffic, Administration and support units; each police force is headed by a Police Commissioner);

  (v)   State police forces (headed by a Deputy Inspector-General of Police);

 (vi)   The Central Bureau of Investigation (established in 1963 to handle cases involving central government employees, or having inter-state implications; the CBI also represents Interpol in India);

(vii)   The Intelligence Bureau (responsible for the acquisition analysis and dissemination of information on national security matters);

(viii)   The Criminal Investigation Department (includes the Special Branch and handles political offences; it is organized on state basis);

 (ix)   The Institute of Criminology and Forensic Science (forensic medicine, research in criminology and forensic science, training of selected police and judicial personnel);

  (x)   Central Reserve Police Force (assists state authorities in maintaining law and order, and in war-time, its personnel come under direct army command);

 (xi)   Central Industrial Security Police (guards government's industrial premises);

(xii) Border Security Police (patrols India's extensive international borders and has full para-military capability; it is supplemented by another para-military force, the Assam Rifles which guards certain sensitive borders).8/

As can be noted from the foregoing, there is no perfect or universal formula for resolving organization and command issues in the police. What is important is to be fully aware of each nation's security and law enforcement needs and priorities. It is understood that plans are under way to establish the National Guards to serve as a buffer between the Nigeria Police Force and the Army. The Guards will presumably be a mobile force trained to quell riots. In view of the fact that crimes of violence seem to be more frequent than riots, due thought need to be given and additional resources assigned to crime prevention, detection and investigation in the current re-organization exercise.

The steps so far taken to decentralize the command functions deserve to be commended. However, the decentralization exercise could only achieve the intended purpose if the NPF is able to acquire and utilize intelligence material on the broad demographic features of, and the specific criminal propensities in, the various local communities. For this reason, the NPF has a legitimate interest in the national civic registration exercise, and must co-operate with the appropriate agencies of the Government to ensure the successful completion of the project. This also requires that the NPF improve its data storage and retrieval capacity. An information revolution has started in other parts of the world with the introduction of desk-top computers. The NPF would be well advised to join this revolution, and, by so doing, facilitate its detective, investigative and general crime-control operations. And since individuals with 'locus standi' could "access into" the desk-top computers, the incidence of missing case-files would be considerably reduced.

IV. PUBLIC ORDER, CRIME CONTROL AND POLICE PROTECTION A PROGRAMME OF ACTION

That Nigeria needs to be made safe for law-abiding citizens is beyond doubt. The recent escalation of criminal activities has increased the personal insecurity of citizens, and earned the country a bad name outside. It is also possible that the efforts of the Government to turn the economy around are being undermined by the perpetrators

of violent crime. No empirical research has yet been carried out to trace the relationship between the rate of crime and the rate of capital flight. There is no doubt, however, that a crime-prone setting provides the least attraction to genuine investors. It is also a fact that Nigeria is one of the few countries in the world blacklisted by overseas insurance and credit card companies. At the very least, (even if the economic factor is secondary) the national image needs to be immediately redeemed.

Accordingly, a number of measures, some of short- and others of long-term nature, need to be considered and implemented. The first section has traced the impact of socio-economic change on social equilibrium. But no one is suggesting that, in order to maintain the equilibrium, Nigeria should work towards lower rates of economic growth, literacy, and urbanization. A population policy is already being considered, and that is as far as one can go in the interim.

With regard to the perceived consequences of the socio-economic change, efforts should be made to formulate policies designed to cope with these consequences. In specific terms, there is need for policies in the following areas:

(i) Youth and social welfare - This includes reactivating the largely moribund youths and community centres, the aim being to move the youth from the street and street corners to centres where, in addition to sports and recreation, they could discuss their career aspirations with professionally trained counsellors;

(ii) Employment, apprenticeship and skill-acquisition - (fortunately, the Government is already active in this area);

(iii) Penal reform and prisoners' rehabilitation - (A national probation service needs to be launched on an experimental basis, but this requires that the probation officers be recruited first, and trained).

In addition to the policies mentioned earlier, the Government needs to commission an Impact Study on Crime Reporting and Disposition Towards Violent Crimes. The co-operation of the mass media is essential to the successful conduct of the study, and to the formulation of an appropriate communications policy.

The NPF also needs to commission a time-phased (5-
to 10-year) "Project Document on Strengthening the Crime
Control Capacity of the NPF". This proposal ought to provide
the justification for, and the objectives of, the project.
It should state the major activities under the project,
(e.g. Gun Control, Reduction of Crimes related to Drugs
& Narcotics, Armed Robbery, Personal and Government Property)
and should give an indication of the outputs or results
expected. The resources required in executing the Project
(e.g. transport, communications equipment, desk-top
computers, manpower, office and residential accommodation)
should be stated. If external assistance is required,
the proposal should indicate what the local inputs would
consist of.

Above all, the organizational framework for law
enforcement work in Nigeria needs to be kept under constant
review bearing in mind the nation's needs and priorities
in the area as well as lessons of experience in other
countries.

Thank you for your patience and attention.

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