

**CORRUPTION IN THE POLICE FORCE IN NIGERIA:
AN AFRO-CENTRIC ETHICAL CRITIQUE**

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, this thesis is my original work which has not been submitted to any other University.

Sophy Ndidiamaka Akpunonu-Ogu

CERTIFICATION

It is hereby certified that this dissertation entitled “Corruption in the Police Force in Nigeria: An Afro-Centric Critique” is an original work carried out by Sophy Ndidiamaka Akpunonu-Ogu (Student Registration Number: 210556765).

This work was carried out under my supervision and guidance and is hereby accepted and recommended for Approval for the Award of the Degree of Masters of Arts, in the School of Religion, Philosophy and Classics by University of KwaZulu-Natal.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation discusses corruption within the Nigeria Police Force as a moral decay facing the institution. It provides an overview of the historical background and establishment of the Nigeria Police Force as an institution charged with the responsibility of protecting life and property, and maintaining peace and order in the country. The dissertation identifies various forms of police misconduct, such as bribery and extortion, mass arrests and detention, illegal bail charges and corruption within the leadership of the police. This deviant behavior has undermined the integrity of the force, with the result that public perception of the police force is negative and national security and development is undermined. Despite numerous anti-corruption strategies that have been devised to curb police misconduct, it remains difficult to reduce corruption within the force. This dissertation argues that implementing documented strategies in the workplace requires a deeper moral consciousness of their civic duties on the part of the police. This would promote the common good and increase the effectiveness of community policing.

To support this view, the dissertation critically analyses the inadequacies in the anti-corruption strategies from an ethical perspective, and reveals the contending ethical implications facing the strategies. In search for solution to curb police corruption, the dissertation proposes incorporating in policing certain virtues embedded in the Afrocentric ethic of *Omoluabi*, such as good character, respect, diligence and communalism. This approach could provide insights to complement the existing anti-corruption mechanisms that aim to reduce police misconduct. In conclusion, the dissertation argues that embracing values in traditional African culture could contribute to the ongoing search for ways to combat police corruption. Therefore, there is a need to look into admirable values gleaned from an African indigenous understanding of morality, in order to address the ethical issues facing the police force in Nigeria.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my very dear Professor and Mrs. N. I. Okeke-Uzodike, to my mother, Mrs. Virginia Akpunonu, to my brothers, Mr. Charles Akpunonu, Mr. Azubike Chukwunyelum and finally to my sister, Mrs. Ifeoma Kalu.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

EFCC	Economic and Financial Crime Commission
ICPC Commission	Independent Corrupt Practices and other related offenses Commission
NPF	Nigeria Police Force
PSC	Public Service Commission
XSU	The X-Squad Unit

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

One of the challenges facing national development and economic growth in Nigeria is corruption. The former military regime of 1983-1998 justified their overthrow of the government on the basis of corruption. In addition, the former President, Olusegun Obasanjo, during his first term inauguration speech identified corruption as “the country’s biggest problem, that pervades all aspects of human life: from the home to both public and private institutions” (Igbuzor, 2008:21 and Adebayo 2005:94). The corruption has become a widespread phenomenon that has deeply permeated into the core of society and has almost become the normal way of life. Preye Inokoba and Weleayan Ibegu (2011:283) have observed that “corruption generally has eaten so deep into Nigeria’s body politics that its practice is seen more like a societal norm than an exception.” People have internalized the belief that hard work, honesty and integrity, which contribute to the essence of human kind, are no longer worthy principles since one can do very little to get or earn so much. Corrupt practices in Nigeria include bribery, fraud, embezzlement, extortion, favoritism and nepotism (Aluko, 2009:5). These practices have affected national development, political stability and good governance resulting in severe hardships, a high rate of unemployment, the aggravation of poverty and inequality, and poor service delivery, for instance in the provision of electricity and water.

The Nigerian Police Force (NPF), in spite of the major role they are required to play in protecting the public and in the maintenance of law and order, are often viewed by the public as a corrupt institution. This is because there are daily reports in the media of abuse by the police. The corrupt practices within the police department in Nigeria is so endemic that despite the numerous efforts made by the government in policy and regulatory control, corruption remains difficult to manage. The failure of the government strategies to reduce corruption makes the issue of police misconduct an ethical challenge. The researcher’s hypothesis in this study is that the various anti-corruption strategies have not touched the core of society, considering the extent of police corruption in recent times. The researcher argues that there is need for policy makers to extend the search for the solution to traditional culture to see if whether it offers certain values that can challenge corruption in the contemporary Nigerian Police Force. In other words, there is a need to explore other approaches that have the potential to contribute values that will be effective in reducing police corruption. This study draws on two theories: Anthony Giddens’ structural-functional approach and

the Afrocentric ethic of *Omoluabi* of the Yoruba ethnic group in Nigerian. On the basis of these theories, it can be argued that human behavior is embedded in the structural pattern of the society and that a moral theory will be able to inform and transform present society. The ethic of *Omoluabi* is the theory that underpins this study. As a moral belief that is distinctively African, it will assist in making recommendations as to how police social conduct could be informed by cultural perspectives.

1.1 Background and motivation

The motivation for this study comes largely out of my desire to examine how corruption has contributed to the negative public perception of the Nigeria Police Force. My interest in this topic is informed by my own personal experience of police corruption, and by the experience of family and friends. We have witnessed the manifestation of several forms of police misconduct towards very many people in our society. Having lived in Nigeria for a longtime, the researcher has been exposed to the irregularities and deviant behavior displayed by members of the police force. Corruption creates distrust and tension between the police and members of the public. As the level of misconduct appears to be on the rise, the phenomenon of corruption within the force becomes an interesting area of study to research.

Another reason for undertaking this research stems from a growing concern that corruption within the police force remains difficult to manage despite several anti-corruption strategies that the government has put in place to respond to it. The researcher is of the opinion that academic research might be able to analyze the inefficiencies in the government strategies, and make suggestions that could effectively contribute to the changes needed in the police force. This is the basis upon which this dissertation is constructed. In response to public concern about police misconduct, some authors argue that police institutions have deviated from their constitutional role by engaging in behavior that is eroding the integrity of the force (Oluwaniyi, 2011; Adebayo and Ojo, 2009; Hills, 2008 and Eyram, 2011). The common view shared amongst these authors is that the maintenance of law and order and the protective role of the police is being compromised due to the inability of the police to ensure national security. Some of the reasons behind this failure include corruption, bribery and mismanagement.

The concern for police misconduct requires a study of the constitutional roles of the police force in Nigeria. The primary functions of the Nigeria Police Force are: to prevent, investigate and detect crime; apprehend offenders, preserve law and order, protect property, enforce all laws and

regulations with which they are directly charged, and to perform military duties (Section 4 Police Act, 1967). To carry out these responsibilities, the police were officially granted extensive powers:

1. To conduct prosecutions (section 19 of the Police Act 1967.)
2. To arrest with or without warrant in accordance with statutes creating particular offenses (Sections 21-22 of the Police Act; Section 10 of the Criminal Procedure Act).
3. To serve summons issued by court any time during the day (Section 22 of the Police Act).
4. To grant bail to persons arrested without warrant (Section 23 of the Police Act).
5. To search and seize property believed to have been stolen (section 24 of the Police Act).
6. To detain and search (search 25 of the Police Act).
7. To apprehend deserters (Section 10(e) of the Criminal Procedure Act).
8. To take finger-prints (section 26 of the Police Act).
9. To interpose for purpose of preventing crimes (Section 53 of the Criminal Procedure Code and Section 112 of the Criminal Procedure Act).
10. To arrest “any person who has no ostensible means of subsistence and who cannot give a satisfactory account of himself” (Section 10 (i) of the Criminal Procedure Act), a provision which has been widely used to harass the unemployed, homeless, etcetera.
11. To regulate assemblies including issuance of permission for assemblies and processions (Public Order Act 5 of 1979).

These responsibilities outlined above are granted to police to ensure they discharge their duties more effectively. The functions and powers granted to the police are guided by a standard of conduct. Section 339 of Police Act (*CAP 359 of the Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 1990*) states that:

The standards of conduct required of a police officer are that he shall:

1. Offer prompt obedience to lawful orders;
2. Be determined and incorruptible in the exercise of his police duties;
3. Have a strict regard to the correctness of his general behavior;
4. Take a proper pride in his appearance both in uniform and out of uniform.

To unpack the details of the Code of Conduct Olusola Karimu and Adebukola Foluke say that:

The code of police conduct in Nigeria requires officers to have a thorough understanding and knowledge of the laws, and of police orders and instructions, and to develop among others the attributes of courtesy, forbearance and helpfulness in his

dealings with members of the public; patience, tolerance and control of temper in trying situations; integrity, in refusing to allow ethnic or personal feelings or other considerations to influence him in the exercise of his/her (sic) duties and strict truthfulness in his handling of investigation; and in the giving of evidence (2012:252).

It is clear from above that the Code of Conduct is meant to lay down key guidelines for the focus and responsibilities of the force. Members of the police force are to understand the policy guiding the institution they are serving, and also to operate under the conditions stipulated in the Code of Conduct. The code acknowledges that a police officer has to demonstrate integrity and also show loyalty towards the institutional values. The code could also be interpreted to mean that a police officer is not allowed to involve him/herself in any form of misconduct such as demanding or accepting money or gifts to carry out his or her professional duties. In addition, the code stipulates that police officers cannot abuse their position of power, or undermine public trust invested in institution. Essentially the policy was designed with clear rules and regulations to control police conduct. In spite of the above, adherence to the standard of conduct is relatively low as “few police officers in Nigeria demonstrate the consciousness and intellectual capacity to discern that lawful order must be judged in terms of statutes and constitutional guarantees rather than a simple command of a superior officer or of the government of the day” (Alemika, 1993:201). This suggests that in upholding constitutional principles, not all members of the force are obliged to be submit to the regulations and standards stipulated by the code of conduct. The issue of misconduct and negligence of duty in all levels of police institutions was addressed by Assistant Commissioner of Police, Ibrahim Coomasie, in his speech delivered at a police reform seminar, The following quote appeared in *Discipline: Senior Police Officers (SPOs)* in which he said:

The spate of disciplinary offences against Superior Police Officers (SPOs), has been on the increase considering the large number of cases investigated arising from petitions and complaints which daily inundate force Headquarters. The commonest amongst these cases include corruption, lack of supervision, negligence of duty, and abuse of office, insubordination, and disobedience to lawful order and incivility to members of the public. Serious other cases include criminal offences bordering on stealing/theft, armed robbery, rape, forgery and altering, misappropriation of funds, obtaining under false pretenses, extortion and demanding by menaces. In some instances, capital offenses as murder, arson and libel against the state are included. Some SPOs are known to have bought stolen cars, engaged in smuggling activities, dealt in dangerous drugs and planted exhibits on unsuspecting victims. The rate at which these incidents occur is not only alarming but an embarrassment to the force. The pity of it all is that these disciplinary offences are committed by those who are supposed to be the shining examples to subordinates (1990:1).

The statement above confirms the widespread corruption within the force and indicates that even those in the leadership positions are not innocent of misconduct. It can also be argued that the manner in which the junior police officers carry out their duties suggests that they are not accountable to any authority. For instance, in an exclusive report by *News watch Magazine* (2003) it was reported that“-----more often than not, Nigeria police personnel are seen unashamedly with guns tucked under their arms or pointing at motorists, demanding and collecting N20.000 (equivalent of USD \$0.13) from each passing commercial vehicle they come in contact with” (Adebayo and Ojo, 2009:73). This means that demanding and collecting bribes in the roadways seems to be a regular police activity. Beyond public extortion of money from the motorists, another form of corruption common among the police is illegal bail charges. In some cases of arrest that do not require bail charges, the police will not allow the suspect to leave without paying bail. The amount paid differs from offence to offence and is based on the social status of the suspect. If unable to pay, the suspect will remain in the police station for as long as possible. Illegal arrest and detention without trial are regarded as violations of fundamental rights pertaining to personal liberty and to human dignity.

In view of the pervasive misconduct amongst members of the police force, several strategies have been introduced with the aim of restoring public trust in the force. These strategies are meant to hold members of the police force accountable for misconduct and other related corrupt practices. The structures established for dealing with police misconduct include: the Code of Conduct Bureau the Police Service Commission (PSC), the X-Squad Unit and the Public Complaint Bureau (PCB), the Independent Corrupt Practices and other related offenses Commission (ICPC) and Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC). The records of these anti-corruption strategies documented by bodies such as Country of Origin Information (COI), African Press International (API), Human Rights Watch and Cleen Foundation Resource Centre (CFRC) will be discussed later in this study. However, in my readings on the literature related to corruption and the police force in Nigeria, it was evident that a number of workshops and seminars have been organized for police reformation. Several recommendations have been made about how to improve the situation. For instance, in a recent workshop on police reformation organised by the Civil Society Organisation (CSO), it was recommended in the report that strengthening the existing anti-corruption strategies would be a tremendous contribution to improving police performance (Civil Society Panel on Police Reform 2012:10-14). This suggests that the policy makers need to find other means of supporting the existing strategies aimed at fighting corruption. Such reform will endeavour to motivate police officers to fulfil their constitutional roles secondly; it will aim at

restoring the credibility and integrity necessary to promote ethical policing in Nigeria. It is this search for other approaches to reform the police force that is the central concern of this study.

1.2 Literature review

A number journal articles, books and theses about police corruption have been published in different academic fields. Given that policing is a social science discipline, these studies discuss problems, issues and remedies for the growth in police misconduct and corruption. Among notable studies is Vincent Jike's book, *The Nigeria Police and the Crisis of Law and Order: a Book of Readings* (2003). In this book he discusses the history of Nigeria Police Force and the impact of colonialism on the force. He further analyses the extent of police brutality and crime in post-independence Nigeria and also provides insight into the effects of police misconduct on society. In the book, Jike presents a sociological analysis of police corruption and the enormous efforts of the Nigerian government in handling the issues associated with policing as it concerns the citizens. The book is useful to the present study as it provides background information on the origin of policing in Nigeria, and the constitutional role of the force after independence.

Oluwatoyin Oluwaniyi in *Police and the Institution of Corruption in Nigeria* (2011) explores the phenomenon of police corruption, and the inadequacies of policy recommendations in tackling corruption. Oluwaniyi focuses on the failure of the Police Force in fulfilling its constitutional role as "a major institution charged with the responsibilities of preventing crime, protecting life and property, enforcing law and order, and maintaining peace and order and regulatory activities" (2011:68). She argues that these responsibilities are denuded due to corrupt motives and activities on the part of police personnel. She further identifies several forces that are at work in institutionalizing corruption, namely leadership problems, greed, fear of poverty, discontentment, easy access to arms and ammunition, lack of accountability and transparency. Furthermore, Oluwaniyi successfully analyses people's perceptions of police corruption and its consequences for citizens and the Nigerian state. She recommends a total reformation of the police sector. Such reform includes an increase in salary that would reduce extortion and bribery. Punishment of corrupt people must be based upon the severity of crime committed. Accountability and transparency should be enforced with the utmost regard for the rule of law and justice in order to reduce the opportunities that perpetrators of corruption (and their accomplices) have to engage in corrupt practices. In this work, attention is given to the institutional reforms required to enhance better service in the police force.

Alice Hills (2008) in her recent work, *The Dialectic of Police Reform in Nigeria*, suggests that reform can make a normative and organizational difference, but that, in the absence of fundamental socio-political change, its effect tends to be superficial, localized and temporary. Therefore, reform means more effective policing, as well as community based partnership. For this reason, police reform is best understood as a dialectical movement.

In a thesis by Agbemabiessie Eyram, *An Assessment of the Operations of Police Officers in Ghana: A Case Study of Police Officers at the Cantonments Station* (2011), Eyram points out that the major causes of poor operation in the police service include poor leadership skills, lack of training, lack of financial support from the government, and bad working conditions among other factors. To support the argument, Eyram analyses the effects of poor police operation in Ghanaian society, and suggests that the police service is an institution which is long overdue for rebranding and which needs to be changed in order to restore a better public image. The central argument in the thesis is that the police service must build a new name with the intention of developing a differentiated position in the minds of Ghanaians. In order to achieve improved police performance, she recommends some strategies such as full professionalism in leadership through further training, a ticketing system whereby tickets with a specific financial penalty based on the offence committed are issued to offenders. In addition, police officers may have to be given a certain percentage of the amount; this will serve as a way of encouraging them to be proactive in checking the bribery and corrupt activities among the force. The thesis tends to be narrowly focused on the operations of police officers in cantonments, their functions, and organizational structure. The approach is relevant to the present study as it identifies possible solutions for improvements in the way police perform their civic duties.

It is clear from the above that some works have been published, focusing on the sociological impact of police misconduct and making recommendations on how to reduce the growing corrupt practices within the force. Other works on policing society focus on a gendered analysis of police work. Among these is Dada Adebayo's *Gender and Attitudes towards Professional Ethics: A Nigeria Police Perspective* (2005). In the thesis, Adebayo uses a gendered approach to analyze the ethical issues in the police force. The interest in the study has been informed by the structural changes in the workforce of the Nigeria Police Force and the need to arrest the incidence of corruption among personnel. Using socialization development theory, Adebayo, (2005:15) examines the predictive value of gender and attitude towards professional ethics among the Nigerian Police Force. He further emphasizes how gender is a significant predictor of unethical

reasoning in the police force (Adebayo, 2005:34). The thesis argues that female and older police recruits are likely to be more ethical than their male and younger counterparts. This suggests that gender influences ethical attitudes in the workplace. His recommendations for fighting corruption suggest that employment of more female police officers may help to reduce the level of corruption in the force, and could improve their tarnished image. Adebayo engages in a study that examines the nexus between gender and attitudes of police professionals. The approach makes a valuable contribution to the search for police reformation as it concerns this dissertation.

In *Gender Relations and Discrimination in the Nigeria Police Force* (2001), Etannibi Alemika and Austin Agugua draw our attention to the underrepresentation and status of women in the Nigeria Police Force. They argue that gender discrimination is one of the challenges facing police reformation. In their analysis of gender relations in policing, they observe that patriarchy and social relations of gender are the basis for the social exclusion of women from positions of power, employment, wealth and other resources. This book focuses on gender discrimination and recommends that deliberate efforts, such as affirmative action, need to be introduced to attract women to the police force. They conclude that full participation of women in policing is likely to be a strategy worthy of emulation in the attempt to reform the police force.

Peter Adebayo and Emmanuel Ojo, in their work titled *The Challenges of Effective Policing as a Measure of Controlling the Phenomenon of Police Corruption in Nigeria Today* (2009) question why corruption is so endemic in the police force and discuss the effect of the problem on the emerging democracy. They critically examine the traditional and constitutional functions of the Nigeria Police Force and also take a cursory look at the pervasive phenomenon of corruption within the Nigeria Police Force. Adebayo and Ojo, (2009: 72-74) present a detailed account of forms of police corruption and its implications for society. Instances of police corruption are presented, including extortion of money from motorists, the arrest and prosecution of crime suspects, the destruction of exhibits and evidence, and the process of issuing licenses and permits. They assert that Nigerian police are dysfunctional because of the culture of corruption that has eaten deep into their marrow. The strategies they suggest for better policing include upgrading police recruitment standards, motivating police by providing communication equipment and better transport to assist them in carrying out their duties, improving information technology to enhance efficiency in police force, and involving the media to assist in the re-orientation of police and the entire public by educating people on the relevance of human rights.

The above literature review has shown different strategies to improve the situation in the police force. What is clear from the review is that several recommendations put forward for police reform point towards improving the socio-economic situation of the police and striving for gender equity. Even though these factors would contribute positively to the force, the literature fails to address how human behavior is central to implementation of the official policies. This salient area seems to be ignored in works on police reform. The centrality of morality in social conduct and management was foregrounded by John Pauw in his essay on ethics and budgets. He speaks of the primacy of moral values before all other values, including economic values and values of freedom. In his analysis of ethics as a reflection of morality, he argues “that individuals might disagree about certain moral values, but human beings have a common moral intuition that guides their behavior, for example not to steal or not to commit murder” (1999:181-206). This dissertation acknowledges the same concern as Pauw, that human beings were created and endowed with certain qualities that inform their character. These human qualities reflect in social relations and can influence how individuals are expected to carry out their responsibilities. This means that the appropriate ethical conduct is integral to implementing documented anti-corruption strategies in the work place. For this reason, the study argues that the reformat required in the police force will need to acknowledge the importance of human character as the root determinant of social conduct. One such approach that could be used to promote good human behavior is the ethic *Omoluabi*, a term drawn from the language of the Yoruba ethnic group in Nigeria. It is a moral belief that places emphasis on character as central to social relationships. It is my hope that the virtues rooted in *Omoluabi* will have the potential to make a valuable contribution to the quest for rebuilding trust between the police force and members of the public.

The present study does not only propose a moral approach to tackle police misconduct, it also draws on African indigenous understanding of morality. As an approach informed by traditional African values, it subscribes to “the conception of philosophy as a critical and systematic inquiry into fundamental ideas or principles underlying human thought, conduct and experience” (Gyekye, 1997:5). In other words, “philosophical activity may be inspired by situation or experiences that pose certain fundamental problems for a particular society” (Ajei, 2007:11). This suggests that if human problems are associated with their orientation of social relationship, then paying critical attention to these concerns that arise within their social conduct is considered a philosophical practice. The fact that police corruption in Nigeria is considered to be a social ill that needs to be change, implies that subscribing to the indigenous philosophical knowledge of ethical conduct could offer clues for solutions. To support this view, the study argues that, in order to achieve

effective policing, it may be necessary to integrate traditional ethical conduct (with which the police are familiar) into the codes and standards governing their conduct and responsibilities..

This study is worthwhile as it is expected to contribute to other ground-breaking works that endeavor to promote unexplored territory of knowledge in the discipline of African ethics. In addition, it is hoped that the findings of this work may enable government policy makers in Nigeria to look into embedded values in African morality when designing strategies required for policing society. Essentially, this may serve the purpose of using African concepts to address African problems. Finally, the study opens the way for further research that advocates incorporating the values of African indigenous knowledge in social-economic development in modern African society.

1.3 Research problem and objectives: Key questions to be asked

From the earlier discussion, it has been noted that there is overwhelming and uncontrollable corruption in the Nigerian Police Force, to the extent that the ordinary citizen has lost confidence in those who are supposed to protect them. In the light of this statement, the principal research question is: Can the Afrocentric ethic of *Omoluabi* contribute to changing the current corruption in the police force in Nigeria? The sub-questions in this study are:

1. What are the forms of police corruption in Nigeria?
2. What are the causes of police corruption and what is its impact on society?
3. What is best approach that can be identified to complement the existing anti-corruption strategies designed to achieve better policing in Nigeria?

The objectives of this study are:

1. To show the extent of corruption in the Nigerian Police Force.
2. To examine the efforts of the anti-corruption strategies established by the government to curb police corruption.
3. To introduce the Afrocentric ethic of *Omoluabi* to serve as a means of re-awakening the mind-set of the police officers in the discharge of their civic duties.
4. To make recommendations as to how traditional morality can contribute to proactive policing in Nigeria.

1.4 Theoretical framework

The study will draw on two theoretical frameworks: structural-functionalism, and the Afrocentric ethical concept of *Omoluabi*. These theories will be discussed in the section of the chapter.

Structural functionalism has two fundamental concerns. On one hand, it is concerned with the organization of the whole society in terms of the relationship between the different parts that make up the entire society. On the other hand, it is also concerned with how the proper functioning of each part of the society ensures the well-being and survival of the whole society (Bothamley, 2004:18). According to Anthony Giddens, structural theory explains the link between personal action and social structure (1976:34). This suggests that society could have its own influence on the attitudes of its members who may be tempted to engage in non-conformist conduct. To support the assumption that social structure guides people's behavior, thought and understanding of society, Giddens has noted that: "Structure is both the medium and the outcome of human activities which it recursively organizes" (1984:24). He further argues that institutions and large-scale societies have structural properties by virtue of the continuity of the actions of the members of the society. This implies that those members of the society could carry out their daily activities by virtue of their competence for applying those structural properties within their society. This brings us to the question; how can the social conduct of the police officers be seen in the light of the Giddens's structural-functional framework? To Giddens, the structure of a society is relevant in determining the conduct of the members of the society. This could mean that how the society functions could have an impact on the occurrence of corrupt practices amongst the members of Nigeria Police Force.

The current study is interested in using traditional knowledge of morality to show how this approach could complement the existing anti-corruption strategies for better policing in Nigeria. In undertaking research aimed at addressing the ethical conduct of the police force from a cultural perspective, this study will specifically rely on the African ethics of *Omoluabi*. This serves as the ethical framework upon which this study is built. Even though we are venturing into new territory in search of a solution, it is my belief that the research will be successful. Seeking moral conduct in policing modern African society may require indigenous knowledge and understanding of social conduct. This is because the cultural orientation of morality and values was integral to social conduct and order in a traditional African community. This understanding of morality could inform and address ethical issues in policing modern society. The relevance of subscribing to traditional ideals and values in contemporary African society is supported by some scholars. In the words of Molefi Asante, Afrocentricity is "the belief in the centrality of Africans in postmodern

history” (1987:10). This suggests that within the African context, Afrocentricity places Africans at the center of their own experience and allows them to obtain self-knowledge. The philosophy of Afrocentricity is based on traditional African values. In the words of Maulana Karenga, Afrocentricity is “essentially a quality of perspective or approach rooted in the cultural image and human interest of African people” (1988:404). In a traditional African setting, communal security entails setting right the issue of ethics in work and in the social lives of the community. According to Abiodun Salawu, to have the right attitude is to grapple with those good values prevalent in traditional African society (2004:58-59). Speaking of traditional morality, Kwame Gyekye, points out that “African moral values are based on people’s experiences as they live together or in attempting to establish a common harmonious social life”(1996:57). These values are centered on the Afrocentric paradigm that speaks to notions of commonality, holism, inclusion, racial equality and unity. For Felix Murove, the African traditional ethic of communalism and its humanistic values need to be incorporated within the modern context (2011:44). In order to apply these values, Afrocentric ethics which advocate these values must be employed.

Against this background, the researcher will utilize the notion of *Omoluabi* as the preferred ethical approach to challenge the moral consciousness of the Nigeria Police Force. In other words, the moral obligations of police civic duty will be critically examined through the lens of *Omoluabi*, a term derived from the Yoruba worldview. Adeniji-Neil affirms that the Yoruba worldview affirms that a person is not merely human by being born, but becomes a human being because of the deeds and actions that connect us to others: to families, friends, the community and to the nation as a whole. Such a person is called an *Omoluabi*, *the way of being human* (2012:2). In describing the philosophy of *Omoluabi*, Sophie Oluwale says “*Omoti o niiwa bi eniti a ko, ti o sigbaeko*” (A person that behaves like someone who is well nurtured and lives by the precepts of the educations/he has been given). She goes on to remark that the Yoruba term *Omoluabi* can be appropriately rendered as a conflation of three connected descriptions. These are: *Omotioni’ wa bi* (A person who behaves like.....) *Eniti a ko* (Someone properly nurtured) *Ti o sigbaeko* (and who behaves accordingly) (2007:13).

In offering his philosophical interpretation of *Omoluabi*, Wande Abimbola states that *Omoluabi* embodies the exhibition and demonstration of the inherent virtues and values of *iwapele* (1975:89). In his analysis of *Iwapele*, he says that “good or gentle character” is the ultimate basis of moral conduct in Yoruba culture and at centre of defining the attribute of *Omoluabi* with the most distinctive virtues such as *orosiso* (spoken word), *iteriba* (respect), *inurere* (having good mind to

others), *otito* (truth), *iwa* (character), *akinkanju* (bravery), *ise* (hard work) and *opolo pipe* (intelligence). The personality of *Omoluabi* connotes respect for self and others. This means that an *Omoluabi* is someone with personal integrity, a high degree of responsibility and moral standards, and above all an *Omoluabi* is someone with humanity as a whole and dedicated to the service of his community. The inherent values of *Omoluabi* find an expression in the concept of *ubuntu*. For instance, in words of Johann Broodyk, “*ubuntu* is an ancient African worldview based on the primary values of intense humanness, caring, sharing, respect, compassion and associated values, ensuring a happy and qualitative human community life in the spirit of family”(2002:56). In addition, Barbara Nussbaum recognises similar virtues when she describe *Ubuntu* as the “capacity in African culture to express companion, reciprocity, dignity, harmony and humanity in the interest of building and maintaining community with justice and mutual caring”(2003:21). These values constitute the values found in *Omoluabi*, as has been explained above.

From the above description of *Omoluabi* it is clear that the philosophy that underpins traditional morality is concerned with human behaviours, in that embedded virtue can influence human conduct. *Omoluabi* is central in assessing individual morality. In the Yoruba worldview, the conception of education is extends beyond attending formal institutions, and includes having cultural training in character and attitude. In explaining the value of character in the traditional Yoruba community, Taiwo Awoniyi, says that “the end-product of education in Yoruba culture is to make an individual, an *Omoluabi*” (1975:365). The idea here is that “the traditional Yoruba notion of education can be appropriately understood only in relation to the concept of *Omoluabi*” (Fayemi and Macaulay–Adeyelure, 2009:46). *Omoluabi* is understood as a person of a good character in all its ramifications. To explain further, “by good character, the Yoruba meant respect for old age, loyalty to one’s parents and local tradition, honesty in all public and private dealings, devotion to duty, readiness to assist the needy and the infirm, sympathy, sociability, courage and itching desire” (Majasan, 1967:37). This explanation suggests that an individual needs to possess these many qualities to attain the personality of an *Omoluabi*.

In view of the above, the present study proposes to show how the virtues of the ethic of *Omoluabi* have the potential to make a valuable contribution to bringing about the changes required in the police force. The researcher is of the opinion that if proper social conduct is required in policing a society, it will help to challenge the police with the morals and ideals that are informed by the traditions and culture of the police themselves. Even though few works have been published in this area, the desire to contribute to the body of knowledge in this field of study motivates this study to

propose the relevance of an African indigenous understanding of morality to modern society. In presenting the value of the ethic of *Omoluabi* in bringing about change in the conduct of the police force, the researcher suggests that it is culturally appropriate for Africans to complement other existing anti-corruption strategies with this approach in the search for solutions to corruption in the police force.

1.5 Method of investigation

It is evident that the research methodology to be adopted in the realization of the aims of this study involves historical analysis and critical social analysis. A historical study will be carried out to understand the background of the Nigeria Police Force. This is relevant to the study, because the historical record and development of the police force will provide insight into the various forms of corruption, their causes and their effects on society. The social analysis seeks to critique the corrupt practices within the police force and to discuss government efforts in curbing corruption. The various reforms introduced to curb corruption have been documented. These include measures such as improved recruitment processes, frequent training, an increase in salary, provision of communication equipment, accountability, transparency, and so on.

In light of the above, this study is an ethical enquiry into the-would be contribution of African indigenous morality in the search for reducing police misconduct in Nigeria. Even though, it seems morality and the values surrounding African ethical belief have been over-looked. The critical tools derived from Giddens and African ethics of *Omoluabi* will attempt to explore the possibilities of incorporating these sets of values to assist other existing anti-corruption strategies within the force.

The research method for this work is a non-empirical study. According to Johann Mouton, “a non-empirical study refers to research which mainly utilizes existing data on a particular issue, For instance, using literature to review an issue and conceptual analysis” (2001:145). In light of the above definition, this study will be based on the review of existing relevant literature. The method of investigation will involve library research. This is because other researchers, such as Agbemabiessie Eyram (2011) and Oluwaniyi (2011), have compiled substantial reports from interviews and questionnaires conducted with members of Nigeria Police Force. The review of literature relevant to the study will play an important role in providing information with regard to what has been documented about police corruption. This study will draw on the interpretation of documents and analysis of the reality of the policing situation in Nigeria. Data will be derived from

a selective review of literature from written sources such as books, dissertations, periodical and archives, articles from newspapers, magazines, published documents and papers presented in seminars and conferences. In addition, electronic source such as the internet will be used.

1.6 Definition of terms

1.6.1 Ethics

Ethics is a “branch of philosophy (theology) which is concerned with the study of moral principles and moral actions” (Lenkabula, 2006:135). This implies that ethics is that part of philosophy that is concerned with our moral intuition in knowing the right or wrong actions. According to a similar definition, ethics is defined as a “system of moral principles (relating) to that branch of philosophy dealing with values related to human conduct, with respect to rightness or wrongness of certain actions and to the goodness or badness on the motives and ends of such actions” (Fulmer and Franklin, 1982:90). Here ethics can be seen as the sub-discipline of philosophy that has to do with the virtues of human conduct and actions. In a detailed explanation, Yvonne Andrews asserts:

Ethics is “the application of values to individual behaviour and action. They provide the moral and legal basis for guiding personal conduct in different circumstances and situations. Ethics are reflected in laws and regulations, codes of behaviour and professional standards” (1988:34).

This suggests how ethics influences our daily social activities. The knowledge of ethical values guides our moral conduct in relationship with others and when facing ethical dilemmas in life. Andrews adds that ethics is:

The science of character is the science which deals with moral customs and habits of conducts. It deals with the character and conduct of man, in so far as it is good or bad, right or wrong. Ethics always approves or disapproves; it sets a value, negative or positive, upon conduct. It reflects on conduct and pronounces human action good or bad, with reference some standard or criterion (1988:34).

From the above definitions, ethics is described as the deeper knowledge or belief that informs right and wrong behaviour of an individual conduct. In other words, Ethics is a branch of study that establishes the principle of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour in human character. (Webb, 2010:75). This suggests that ethics cannot be separated from morality; some people have argued that ethics and morality are the same, while others think they can be separated or used interchangeably.

1.6.2 Morality

Morality is the personal conduct of individuals and has a bearing on the moral duties of individuals and how these duties conform to conventional rules such as a code of ethics (Hanekom, 1989:152). To Jesse Prinz, morality means widely accepted customs, and a shared understanding, within a society or community of people, of the right things to do: those things that are accepted as norms that do not have to be rationally questioned or challenged (2008:3). The inference here is that morality stands for the standard by which behaviours are evaluated to be right or wrong. Furthermore, morality can be either descriptive or prescriptive. Prescriptive morality attempts to prescribe what is considered good or bad, as well as which norms must be accepted or how an individual must make use of these norms (Andrew, 1988:35). Descriptive morality could determine whether acting in a certain way is right or wrong, while prescriptive morality represents the ideal norms and behaviour. In explaining this further, Joel Mbatha, asserts that morality can also be viewed as having a particular connotation attached to it, for example, Christian values, as well as being adversative through their measurement of moral manifestation in accordance with a specific norm (2005:38). Here, morality from a Christian perspective has its own implications as part of the principles guiding the religion.

Oftentimes ethics and morality are used in the same context referring to the conception of what is wrong or right. These concepts refer to the “collection of norms, values and principles that are considered to be supremely authoritative” (Menzel, 2007:6). As a result, virtues and beliefs are intrinsic to human nature, in the sense that one’s moral intuition is guided by these intrinsic values.

1.7 Limitations to the study

Review of various literature has pointed at improving the socio-economic situation and gender equality as means of reducing corruption in the Nigeria Police Force. Little or no consideration has been given to Afro-centric ethics as means of controlling corruption. Though the use of Afro-centric ethics as a means of controlling corruption is considered to add to the existing body of knowledge, however, the limited literature on the Afro-centric ethics is considered a limitation to this study.

1.8 Structure of dissertation

Having laid out the background information, general introduction, problem to be tackled, the motivation and research approach in this dissertation, in this first chapter, the researcher provides a brief synopsis of the entire dissertation.

Chapter two of this dissertation is theoretical frameworks guiding the study. The chapter presents two ethical approaches: structural-functionalism and the Afrocentric ethic of *Omoluabi*, and argues that human behavior is embedded in the structural pattern of the society and that a moral theory will be able to inform and transform the society. Using the concept of *Omoluabi* as the theory that underpins this study, it is pertinent to see how the concept could be used to challenge police misconduct. However, discussing police corruption requires insight into the origin of policing in Nigeria. In order to tackle the issue, chapter three examines the historical background of the Nigeria Police Force. From an historical perspective, the establishment of the Nigeria Police Force is tied in with the history of the British colonial administration in Nigeria. The aim of the colony was to regulate and maintain civil order in society. This system of policing continued after independence and developed into what is known today as Nigeria Police Force. The chapter further examines the nature of police work and the improper conduct of individuals within the police force. The findings suggest that corruption remains one of the challenges facing national development and economic growth in Nigeria. This leads on to an examination of the anti-corruption strategies put in place by the government to reduce corruption in the force.

Chapter four examines the institutional and national anti-corruption strategies established by government for curbing police corruption. The strategies include Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB), Police Service Commission (PSC), the X-Squad Unit and the Public Complaint Bureau (PCB), the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offenses Commission (ICPC) and Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). The chapter also analyses the strengths and weaknesses of the strategies from an ethical point of view. Dealing with the improper conduct of police individuals is considered a moral issue that should be analyze from ethical perspective.

In light of the above, chapter five presents the critical analysis of corruption in the police force through the lenses of *Omoluabi*. In doing this, it draws from embedded values, such as character, honesty, and respect, to argue that those forms of corruption in the police force such as bribery and extortion, mass arrests and detention, illegal bail charges and police leadership corruption contradict the values uphold by the ethic of *Omoluabi*. The chapter furthers discusses the relevance of these virtues in communal living, as they are central in community policing.

Finally chapter six is the conclusion of the dissertation. The chapter summarizes the main findings of the dissertation. The chapter contains recommendations for how the indigenous knowledge of

social conduct could be integrated in the policy designed for socio-economic development. This will provide the answer to the research question “Can Afrocentric ethics contribute to changing the current police corruption in Nigeria?”

1.9 Conclusion

The present chapter has introduced the focus of the dissertation, which is how African indigenous knowledge of morality could assist the existing anti-corruption strategies in reducing corruption within the police force in Nigeria. This nature of study relies on structural-functional theory and the African ethics of *Omoluabi*. The study is an ethical inquiry in an uncharted area in search of solutions required in a modern society. The values rooted in the ethics of *Omoluabi* will emerge as the argument begins in the dissertation. These ethical ideals are very critical to the social conduct of police officers. In light of this, the next chapter discusses the theoretical approaches that underpins this study.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

The previous chapter provided general introduction and background information to the entire study. The present chapter presents the theories underlining the study. It specifically deals with structural-functionalism and the Afrocentric ethic of *Omoluabi*. As mentioned in chapter one, these approaches are based on the assumption that human behaviour is embedded in the functional pattern of the society and a moral approach will be able to inform and transform the society. A morally-structured society is likely to make corruption a high risk option, whereby social institutions will be able to function with moral consciousness. Therefore applying these theories to police misconduct in Nigeria could contribute to changing and transforming the moral status of policing for the better in the society.

The first section of the chapter argues that the social structure of a nation affects the level of conduct of its members; therefore, the extent of police misconduct depends on how the network of social relations is structured in the Nigerian context. This will help us find solutions to the current state of affairs in the country. The second section discusses extensively the Afrocentric ethic of *Omoluabi* as the normative ethical theory that will contribute positively to moral discourse and conduct, particularly among traditional Nigerian police. As a word coined from the Yoruba traditional context, the basic assumption is that *Omoluabi* can contribute greatly to the discourse on strategies aimed at challenging and transforming the conduct of the Nigerian police force.

2.1 The structural–functional theory

In defining the theory, “structure” refers to the social practices or organizations and groups that have a role to play in solidarity and capacity building including social relationships (Hustedde and Ganowicz, 2002:4). This definition suggests that social order and harmony can be achieved through the significant role of social institutions such as the Police and Military Forces, Health and Education and Nongovernmental organisations. Function refers to the activities of the members of the organizations and groups in the society. Structural- functionalism has two fundamental concerns. First, it is concerned with the organization of the whole society in terms of the relationship between the different parts that make up the entire society. Second, it is also concerned with how the proper functioning of each part of the society ensures the wellbeing and survival of the whole society (Bothamley, 2004:18). These structures are informed by norms and

ideologies that govern the basis of the social system, thereby becoming the enduring pattern of social arrangement of a particular society. The interdependent relation between social structure and the behaviour of members of the society shows the link between personal action and social structure. To support the assumption that social structure guides people's behaviour, thought and their understanding of society, Anthony Giddens noted that:

Structure is both the medium and the outcome of human activities which it recursively organizes. Institutions, or large-scale societies, have structural properties in virtue of the continuity of the actions of their component members. But those members of society are only able to carry out their day-to-day activities in virtue of their capability for instantiating those structural properties (Giddens, 1984:24).

The above quotation implies that the structure of any society determines the social behavior of institutions such as families, churches, government institutions and voluntary organizations that constitute the society. A morally-structured society is likely to be promoted by the range of these institutions that enable people act in a more positive way. In a similar vein, Samuel Asante asserts that "it is the totality of the values, norms, attitudes, beliefs of a society which shapes its social, political and economic organization and inculcates a general feeling towards development" (1991:68). In the Nigerian context, the growth and development of the society depends largely on the moral uprightness, expressed in human actions to the standard of behavior stipulated by law that governs the nation (Ocholor, Egbai and Odinakachukwu, 2011:23). In fact, this is true of every society. Looking at the state of corruption, it is imperative that the present Nigerian society re-defines its morality, taking into account what people uphold as values and ideals that guide the society. The upsurge of corruption in the society seems to weaken the sense of loyalty to the civil service, due to the belief that one can do very little to get or earn so much. Does this therefore mean that the idea of a moral society could hardly be achieved in modern day Nigeria? This is what the next section will unpack.

The current moral crisis in the form of corruption, crime and the decline of socio-economic growth in the country has detrimental effects for all social structures and at all levels. The social analysis of police misconduct, as examined in chapter two, provides a clear understanding of the moral decay facing the police force. Indeed, the police force has a poor reputation in the eyes of the Nigerian public. A major concern of government is to restore confidence, trust and legitimacy in the security institution of the country, thus the introduction of various strategies to curb the level of corruption in the country. In terms of structural-functional theory, it can be argued that the nature of Nigerian society plays a significant role in the social conduct of the police force. Corrupt

practices usually involve police officers and members of the public. An individual may approach the police officer with money or a gift in order to perform an illegal act. The police officer may receive a bribe without specifically seeking for it. In the view of this, it appears that the way a society function has been affected by corruption. This justifies the need to address the moral conduct of the police force from ethical viewpoint in particular, using an Afrocentric ethical approach. It is in this context that this study draws attention to the concept of Afrocentricity and its values as they find expression in the ethic of *Omoluabi*.

2.2 The concept of Afrocentricity

The concept of Afrocentricity originated from Egyptian philosophy and it emphasises the idea of holism, which includes both the physical and spiritual aspect of being (Verharen, 1995:45). From an Afrocentric view, it seems that all aspects of being were created to co-exist with each other. Afrocentricity was expressed and articulated by Molefi Kete Asante with the understanding that “we are led to the African-centred idea of holism, everything is everything, and we are a part of the one and the other is our own measure” (Asante, 1990:39). This suggests that Afrocentricity is a source of knowledge and understanding of the unity of everything in the universe from an African worldview. Maulana Karenga, adds that “Afrocentricity is essentially a quality of perspective or approach rooted in the cultural image and human interest of African people which places African values and virtues at the centre of African life”(Karenga, 1988:404). Karenga’s definition maintains that the foundation of the Afrocentric worldview is embedded in the values of traditional African culture. Speaking of the African-centred worldview, Verharen asserts that Afrocentrism is a “holistic philosophy that is centred on each individual, but only with the understanding that it is the individual that makes the whole possible, just as the whole makes the individual possible. Any separation of the two is purely artificial” (1995:71-72). In essence, an Afrocentric paradigm views the group as an organised community made up of individual members where both entities have obligations for the well-being of the community. An Afrocentric paradigm places emphasis on the notions of commonality, inclusion and unity.

The above description of Afrocentricity offers the fundamental perspective of the moral beliefs in the structural pattern of traditional African society which is rooted in African culture. The key idea is the relevance of the underlying values of African traditional culture. These cultural values are the “ideals that Africa still embraces within it’s (albeit diverse) societies and cultures” (Gibson, 2000:55). It represents the traditional morality that has been incorporated in and sustained by the diversity of African communities. These ideals are the vital aspect of African culture since “culture

is a way of life and morality is the core of any way of life” (Wiredu, 1991:211). This suggests that an understanding of people’s cultural belief system is relevant to the worldview of its social morality. In his reflection on the structure of African social life, Gyekye asserts that “African moral values are based on people’s experience as they live together or attempting to establish a common and harmonious social life” (1996:57). This implies that morality in Africa is informed by communal living and reflects in the virtuous behaviours of people as they co-exist with others in order to attain harmonious society. In defining social morality, Gyekye affirms that social morality is “a set of social rules and norms intended to guide the conduct of people in a society” (1996:54). He goes on to say that “moral values are forms or patterns of conduct that are considered most worthwhile and thus cherished by the society” (1996:55). Essentially, the ideals of a society are those behaviours that guide its social conduct. These social bases of behaviour require “having right attitudes that has good values as prevalent in the traditional African society” (Salawu, 2004:62).

An African knowledge of morality that upholds these values needs to be applied in the social context in order to propagate these values. The need to apply a culturally informed ethics of human behaviour to the society makes the ethic of *Omoluabi* relevant to this discussion. As the key concept of this study, it represents cultural morality that could bring about ethical changes if integrated into the existing anti-corruption measures in the police force. This study argues that the ethic of *Omoluabi* can be applied to existing strategies that aim at transforming the force. First, it is a more culturally appropriate ethical approach that may inform the relevance of moral conduct of police force in the society. Second, the approach is ethical and potentially helpful to Africans in their goal of improving the modern public service and successfully meeting African human resource management and development challenges. As an Afrocentric concept, it may offer solutions to the police about how to deal with corruption. Recognizing the need of indigenous knowledge in seeking solutions could be relevant in Nigerian society, as it is considered appropriate for people to incorporate cultural approaches while facing problems.

In order to understand the embedded virtues of *Omoluabi* in the social order, it is pertinent to define the origins of *Omoluabi* to show its relevance to the present study.

2.3 Background of Omoluabi

The term *Omoluabi* is derived from the Yoruba ethnic group in Nigeria, and defines the features that constitute an ideal person. The Yoruba are socio-linguistic cultural group in Nigeria with a

common heritage that has been traced to Oduduwa, who is said to have reigned in Ile-Ife around 1100 A.D. (Afolayan, 2004 cited in Lawal and Dopemu, 2004:36). The Yoruba have a rich cultural heritage and way of life. Their cultural symbolic elements include language and native names, food and dress, patterns of kingship and religious affiliation, a myth of a common ancestor, and specific artefacts. Their cultural beliefs and history inform the morality that guides the community. As an ethnic community, members share the same value system, principles and laws that govern the behaviour and morals of the community. In describing the traditional knowledge of morality, Ayokunle Omobowale says that “right from the pre-colonial era, the Yoruba nation has had sophisticated forms of indigenous philosophies which have guided their beliefs about the environment and their social relations up to contemporary times” (2008:205). This implies that the ethical reasoning and social conduct of the Yoruba is of long standing, and has guided the people till the modern age. The ethical concept that speaks of these intrinsic values of morality in a human person is *Omoluabi*.

The concept of *Omoluabi* places great emphasis on the individual character as the highest and essential value in the community. The inherent virtues of *Omoluabi* reflect in the individual relationship with others and community. Among the Igbo ethnic group *Omoluabi* is expressed as *ezigbo*, In the Hausa-Fulani ethnic group, it is referred to as *mutumkirki* (Akinwale, 2010:138). This implies that *Omoluabi* as an ethical ideal common to the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria. In understanding the concept of *Omoluabi*, the Yoruba believe that “a person is not merely human by being born, but becomes a human being because of the deeds and actions that connect us to others: to families to friends to community to nation. Such a person is called an *Omoluabi*, the way of being human (Adeniji-Neil, 2012:2). In describing the ethic of *Omoluabi*, Sophie Oluwale, speaks of *Omoluabi* as “*Omoti o niiwa bi eniti a ko, ti o sigbaeko*” (A person that behaves like someone who is well nurtured and lives by the precepts of the educations/he has been given)”. She goes on to affirm that the Yoruba term *Omoluabi* can be appropriately rendered as a conflation of three connected descriptions. These are: *Omotioni’ wa bi* (A person who behaves like.....) *Eniti a ko* (Someone properly nurtured) *Ti o sigbaeko* (and who behaves accordingly) (2007:13). Fayemi describe *Omoluabi* as a person who has a deep knowledge and wisdom, and is therefore trained to be self-disciplined and to develop a sense of responsibility that is evident in private and public actions which earn individuals recognition for their social integrity and personality in the Yoruba society. The personality of the *Omoluabi* connotes respect for self and others. This means that an *Omoluabi* is one with personal integrity, a high degree of responsibility and sound moral standards, and, above all, the *Omoluabi* is one with humanity as a whole and dedicated to the

service of his/her community (Fayemi, 2009:168). The *Omoluabi* is described in the popular Yoruba saying, “*iwarerel’ esoeniyan*”. Literally this can be translated as, “Lofty conduct is the pride of a human being” (Oyeniya, 2012:14).

In offering his philosophical interpretation of *Omoluabi*, Wande Abimbola states that *Omoluabi* embodies the exhibition and demonstration of the inherent virtues and values of *iwapele* (1975:89).

In his explanation of *iwapele* (character), Abimbola says:

Good or gentle character as the ultimate basis of moral conduct in Yoruba culture and at also at the centre of defining the attribute of *Omoluabi* with the most distinctive virtues such as *orosiso* (spoken word), *iteriba* (respect), *inurere* (having good mind to others), *otito* (truth), *iwa*(character), *akinkanju* (bravery), *ise* (hard work) and *opolo pipe* (intelligence).

These values form the basis of the concept of *Omoluabi* which asserts that human beings are originally beings in relationship with others. Adeniji-Neill goes on to say that, in the Yoruba culture, the philosophy of *Omoluabi* is informed by the social relationships that work in a beneficial way for all in the community. The two prominent ideals that represent this belief are “*Ajobi*” (consanguinity/blood relations) and “*Ajogbe*” (co-residency). She adds that an *Omoluabi* personality is expected to balance these ideals in harmonious relationship with others at work, at school and in the home in order to achieve self-actualization and fulfilment. The description of *Omoluabi* points to the understanding that one needs to have a mutual relationship with others in order to attain fulfilment in life. This implies that the intrinsic values of a human being, such as respect, dignity and honesty, are expressed in people’s behaviour towards one another.

The above concept of *Omoluabi* explains what it means to be human in the Yoruba worldview. The understanding that humanness is the core value of humankind is well captured in the common Yoruba aphorism *iwalafi n mo Omoluabi*, and the same is captured in Zulu maxim *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*, which means “a person is a person through other persons, otherwise expressed as I am because we are” (Mkhize, 2008:35). Here, humanism is based on shared humanity that first recognises an individual as a communal being. The ethical maxims explain clearly what it means to be humane from an African viewpoint, namely, that “to be human is to affirm one’s humanity by recognizing the humanity of others and, on that basis, establish humane relations with them” (Ramose, 1998:231). The dominant understanding here is that, as human beings, the existential reality of our being has to do with our mutually belonging to each other. He further adds that “a humane, respectful and polite attitude towards others constitutes the core meaning of this aphorism”.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu adds to this aphorism in his description of *Ubuntu* and says that “*ubuntu* ...speaks of the very essence of being human”. Rather than “I think, therefore I am”, the attention here is the sharing of humanity contained in the phrase “I am human because I belong, I participate, I share” (1999:42). Here, the sense of belonging and sharing shows the communal nature of Africa and the idea behind this implies that human beings only become beings in relationship with others. In other words, the mutual relationship that develops as people live together in a community makes an individual into a humane person. From the Yoruba viewpoint, the development to *Omoluabi* comes through relationship with others, as people need one another to attain fulfilment in life.

As seen from the discussion, *Omoluabi* is an ethical system that emerged within Yoruba traditional culture; it plays a significant role in shaping morality as it provides the guiding principles and upholds moral values. As a culturally informed ethic, the Yoruba people incorporate the inherent values of *Omoluabi* in their social conduct. These virtues embedded in the cultural knowledge of morality are an integral part of social order in traditional African community. This will be discussed in detail in the following section.

2.3.1 The ethics of Omoluabi and its communitarian perspective

As noted in the above discussion, *Omoluabi* reflects the Yoruba view of communal living and is captured emphatically in the Yoruba maxim *iwalaṣi n mo Omoluabi* (*A person is a person through other persons*). In his explanation of this, Ramose asserts that it is “a humane, respectful and polite attitude towards others that constitutes the core meaning of this aphorism” (1998:231). This implies that in *Omoluabi* community, humanness marks the framework of communal living, such that a person acts with mutual respect and caring towards others. In that way, the community forms and defines the individual character. Augustine Shutte adds that this set of relationships is “based both on the community and on the person and in which because it was founded on dialogue and reciprocity, the group had priority over the individual without crushing him, but allowing him to blossom as a person” (1993:49). In other words, in a communal setting the well-being of the community is as relevant as that of an individual member of the community. Gyekye points this out when he says:

The community alone constitutes the context, the social or cultural space, in which the actualization of the possibilities of the individual person can take place, providing the individual person with the opportunity to express his/her individuality, to acquire and develop personality and to become the kind of person he/she wants to be, that is attain status, goals and expectations (1997:321).

What the above quotation implies is that an individual can only define his/her identity on the basis of the identity of the community. Gyekye goes on to say that the African understanding of a person as a communitarian being takes into account that a person is born and raised in a community. This implies that a human being is naturally bound to exist and have a mutual relationship with others, and that, “I am because we are, because we are I am”, is an indication that a person needs others in order to grow and flourish. Hence the communal relationship forms the personality and dignity of the human person. The words of South African theologian, Denise Ackermann, elaborate on this:

In this boundless human web I acquire my humanity as something which comes to me as a gift... shaped and nurtured in and through the humanity of others. I can only exercise my humanity by being in relationship with others and there is no growth, happiness or fulfillment for life apart from other human beings (1998:17-18).

In this sense, community becomes a relational network space that supports the foundational values of traditional African conduct. Communal living means maintaining harmonious relationship, where members of the community see themselves in solidarity with others for the well-being of the community. In other words, the communal relationship is a way of life whereby what happens to an individual, happens to the entire community. This community-based approach to life is inculcated from an early stage of life. The society is structured in such a way that from early stage of life harmony and solidarity becomes part of traditional orientation of an individual in the community. Segun Gbadegesin observed this and remarks that:

The children are exposed to the display of selfless efforts by others to uplift the community. They gain firsthand experience of how adults contribute to the welfare of children, how women and men work on farms, and how the warriors risk their lives to save the community. Building on the initial exposure in the family compound they now see themselves as those who should carry the banner and, having been prepared for the task, they, severally and collectively, cannot but shut out individualism (1998:293).

Gbadegesin here identifies an Afrocultural social ethos that underpins the African’s ethical framework. The idea is that the moral upbringing of a child creates an interest in maintaining a harmonious relationship in the community. In other words, Africans uphold from childhood the cultural values that envisage the relevance of morality in building a communal society. This means that instilling the African traditional values in the community becomes part of cultural orientation from early childhood to adulthood.

So far, the study has discussed the concept of *Omoluabi* through the maxim *iwalafi n mo Omoluabi* (*A person is a person through other persons*). From the discussion it is clear that virtues such as

humanness, interrelatedness and communalism are foundational values in the ethic of *Omoluabi*. The moral implication here is that each of these values is relevant as they are collectively required to accomplish communal well-being. With this in mind, it can be argued that an *Omoluabi* community advocates solidarity and unity for advancing the common good of the people. As a home grown ethics, the moral values embedded in the concept are considered to be appropriate and to have wider relevance to the principles of social conduct. Even though globalisation has influenced this ethic, it is still cherished by most Nigerians, considering the cultural orientation of values in the society. In spite of the understanding of African communal living, there have been different critiques of the traditional African social order. These will be discussed in the next section.

2.4 Critiques of African communal philosophy

The African philosophy of communalism is not without its limitations. The concept of communalism in African social thought has been criticised by some scholars. Jacke Donnelly and Rhoda Howard, have argued that “traditional African societies did not have a concept of rights, since fundamental human rights, which they believe are in scope and application are inherent in one’s humanity not community that these communities have notions of human dignity but not of human right” (1984:400, 1983:467). These authors seem to argue that, in African communal philosophy, even though individuals may be accorded dignity but the fundamental human rights seem to be violated. It must be noted that in pre-colonial African society, “the individual rights have been in existence and their exercise helped to strengthen those societies” (El-Obaid and Appiagyei-Atua, 1995:832). This implies that the notion of human rights has been present in African traditional society and implementing these rights assisted in building a stronger society.

In his critique, Gyekye argues that the communitarian conception of an individual has some implications:

1. That the human person does not voluntarily choose to enter into the community.
2. That the human person is at once a cultural being.
3. That the human person cannot or, perhaps, must not live in isolation from other persons or the community.
4. That the human person is naturally oriented towards other persons and must have relationship with them.
5. That social relations are not contingent but necessary.

6. Following from (4) and (5), the person is constituted, but only partly, by social relationships in which he necessarily finds himself (1992:104).

To Gyekye, the moral implication of the above limitations on the relationship between community and individual draws attention to human rights within the cultural context. These limitations reflect his understanding of individual position in the traditional African society. He firmly argues that what appears to be the reality of human existence in cultural setting is that human person is considered not completely independent of his social being. This is because the community takes prominence over individual.

In reaction to Gyekye's assessment of an individual's position within the cultural context, a number of authors (such as Murove, 2005; Lutz, 2009; Oyeshile, 2003; Mbiti, 1990; Omobowole, 2008) have in many ways contributed to the on-going debate concerning the nature of relationship between the community and the individual. These scholars maintain that the emphasis placed on community over the individual seems to support the belief that the community is the main element of human existence, and that the community forms an individual through his/her mutual relationship with others and, since community is made up of individual members, social relations are highly valued for communal existence. In view of this, the next section discusses in details the strength of the African communal structure.

2.4.1 Understanding of individual-community relationship in African society

In traditional African society, the conception that community has priority over the individual is based on the understanding that the community forms the individual in a context of interdependence, rather than dependence. This implies that common belonging can promote the interrelatedness and wellbeing of individuals in the community (Murove, 2005:176). Writing on the same subject from an ethical perspective, David Lutz argues that:

In a true community, the individual does not pursue the common good instead of his or her own good, but rather pursues his or her own good through pursuing the common good. The ethics of a true community does not ask persons to sacrifice their own good in order to promote the good of others, but instead invites them to recognize that they can attain their own true good only by promoting the good of others (2009:314).

In the above quotation, Lutz describes the idea of the community–individual relationship in the structure of African traditional society. Lutz maintains that community represents the springboard of life as such that communal welfare takes prominence over individual's interest. This is because

an individual is expected to build a harmonious relationship with others in order to maintain solidarity and unity within the community. In expressing the importance of communal welfare in society, Olatunji Oyeshile says that:

The communal values of the Yoruba are anchored in the notion of common will (the common or public interest), which the community believes supersedes each individual's interests; the community at the same time recognizes the rights and duties of each individual. Communal values such as solidarity, co-operation, being one's brother keeper, mutual aid, and interdependence show the need for human beings to live together in society, not as atomic entities, but as social beings who are brothers, sisters, uncles, cousins, fathers, mothers, nieces, and nephews to one another (2003:86).

The description above implies that an individual is formed by the community through interconnectedness and interdependence. The common good is valued and regarded more importantly than personal autonomy. This does not mean that an individual does not have right to make decisions or act independently, but must take care that these decisions and actions do not harm others. In keeping with the norms that weave community together, John Mbiti says:

Africans believe that "the individual does not and cannot exist alone except corporately". He owes his existence to other people. Essentially we have shared humanity that whatever happen to the individual happens to the community and whatever happens to a community happens to individual (1990:106).

The inference here is that an individual in the communal setting needs to co-exist with others, in that sharing joys and sorrows shows common belonging. With this understanding, the Africans' emphasis on community life and communalism as a living principle aims to produce and present an individual as a community cultural bearer (Kanu, 2010:155). This suggests that African society places great value on interdependence and solidarity, in the belief that one is not human on the basis of one's genetic make-up, but becomes human through relationship with others. To grow in personhood is to become more of a person, and this growth comes from the commitment to selfless service (Shutte, 1993:47). Expanding on this, a self-sacrificing being is described as the social worth of an individual within his or her community that can be measured by the qualitative value of the differential between the types of conducts he or she initiated or received (Omobowale, 2008:210). This means that, growing up in Africa, one is raised to have certain qualities that characterize a virtuous person, such as honesty, respect, truthfulness and trustworthiness, all of which guide harmonious relationships among members of the community. The possession of these

virtues places great importance on the individual as an essential part of the community, while the community serves as the foundation that forms the essence of being in the individual.

The African traditional knowledge of social order and individual relationships raises a number of questions: for instance, to what extent does the Afrocentric ethic influence social conduct? Does it encourage social ills such as corruption, conflict of interest and other moral issues?

2.5 Corruption and the structure of traditional African community

It has been argued that corruption is part of African culture. The argument has been debated among scholars from a Eurocentric perspective. They argued that:

What is regarded as corruption in Africa is a myth because it is expected that a beneficiary should show appreciation for a favour granted him/her. If a government official offers one a job or contract, the beneficiary would be obliged to show appreciation either in kind or cash to the government official just he would do to a village chief if granted a land to cultivate crops or build a house. Corruption is a myth because one's culture's bribery is another's mutual goodwill (Briggs and Bolanta, 1992:47).

The response to this view was given in a speech delivered by Olusegun Obasanjo, the former President of Nigeria. The speech appeared in *Corruption, Democracy and Human Rights in West Africa* and, in it, Obasanjo said:

I shudder at how an integral part of our culture could be taken as the basis for rationalizing otherwise despicable behaviour. In African concept of hospitality, the gift is usually a token. It is not demanded. The value is usually in the spirit rather than in material worth. It is usually done in the open and never in secret. Where it is excessive, it becomes an embarrassment and it is returned. If anything, corruption has perverted and destroyed this aspect of our culture (1995:37).

From the above statement, the President is concerned that corruption should be separated from the act of showing appreciation in African culture. Traditionally, it is a common understanding to show and receive appreciation for favours. This is confirmed by Micheal Maduagwu who says that:

It is mere trivialization of the serious issue of corruption in the modern society for anyone to suggest that corruption or embezzlement of public funds or extortion of money (bribes) from people looking for jobs or contracts or other benefits from government could be equated to the customary requirement of bringing present or gifts to the chief for permission to cultivate a land and such things (1996: 67).

The inference here is that the African cultural obligation of showing appreciation should not be confused with corrupt practices occurring in modern African societies. With regard to morality in the structure of the African community, it is believed that traditional institutions, such as native authority, ancestors, extended families, and age groups, guide and control the social order (Onadeko, 2008:16-17). These institutions constitute the mode of social conduct, owing to the understanding that human beings belong to the human community starting from family level to clan and village. In essence, the morality of community members was believed to be guided by the traditional institutions that contributed to policing the community. As cultural institutions responsible for dealing with offenders, they guide the social order and endeavour to make it the ideal to uphold ethical norms in the community. Even though people may have been inclined to abuse the social order, they took care to conform to the norms and values of the community out of fear of severe punishment and sanctions, such as social ostracism and public humiliation. Takatso Mofokeng says that:

In the pre-colonial Africa, the value system is informed by traditional morality whereby people are guided by an ancestral belief. The virtues of moral conduct such as caring, respect, compassion and hardworking are social values found at the centre of communal life. Any behaviour contrary to these principles was considered against the cultural beliefs and understanding of social conduct (1983:23).

In view of this, the present study argues that the structure of traditional African society played a significant role in the order in the community. There was a moral consciousness in social relationships which guided people's behaviour so that the extent of misconduct was different from that found in the present society. In modern African societies, forms of corrupt practices, such as nepotism, bribery, embezzlement and money laundering, that were not known or acceptable in the traditional community, seem to be the order of the day, particularly in the Nigerian context. Nontobeko Msengana asserts that "this level of corruption was previously not known to be culturally acceptable in Africa" (2006:101). This suggests that African traditional culture did not just abhor corruption, but was devoid of any form of social disorder. Hence, it can be argued that an African understanding of moral conduct informed by the ethics of *Omoluabi* may have potential value in reducing the level of dishonest behaviour within the police force.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has explored structural-functionalism and the Afrocentric ethic of *Omoluabi* as the theoretical frameworks of this study. It has argued that structural-functioning theory examines

the social system that forms the enduring pattern of social arrangements within a particular society. The relationship that exists between the social structure and the members of the society shows the link between personal action and social structure. Giddens' social structure posits that the arrangement of the society contributes to the outcome of human activities. This means that societies have structural properties by virtue of the continuity of the actions of its members. The members of the society function on a daily basis according to their capacity to maintain these structural properties. Police corruption is therefore shaped by a social structure that affords many opportunities for offering and receiving bribes to police in order to buy protection from them. Thus, corruption within the police force is functional in the context of Nigerian society.

In an attempt to address the concerns of police misconduct through adopting an ethical approach, this chapter found the concept of *Omoluabi* to be appropriate in addressing police misconduct. It outlined the strengths and weaknesses of moral conduct from the African worldview. The defence of African communal structure led to a discussion of the roles of traditional institutions towards policing in African society. The chapter argued that the structure of the traditional African community contributed to social order and limited the extent of dishonest behaviour in society. This raises the key research question: can Afrocentric ethics contribute to changing the current police corruption in Nigeria? In order to tackle the central question, it is pertinent to have an insight into the origin of policing in Nigeria and to understand the level of misconduct within the force. With this in mind, the next chapter provides the historical account of the Nigeria Police Force.

CHAPTER THREE

CORRUPTION AND THE POLICE FORCE IN NIGERIA

Policing has always been necessary in all societies for the preservation of order, safety and social relations. The necessity of policing becomes even more evident in modern societies characterized by diversity and contradiction arising from population heterogeneity, urbanization, industrialization, conflicting ideologies on appropriate socio-political and economic forms of organization (Reiner, 2000:67).

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the theoretical approaches required to put this study in a particular perspective. Structural-functionalism and an Afro-centric ethic of *Omoluabi* were discussed as the selected theories of the study. Giddens's structural-functional theory indicates that social structure plays a significant role in the way the police force are expected to carry out their duties. The theory argues that social structure influences human conduct and that there is a necessary link between the values and beliefs of the society. Structural-functional theory seems to support the assumptions that the structure of society and its values could influence police conduct. The chapter progresses to a discussion of the origin and meaning ascribed to the concept of *Omoluabi*. The values inherent in *Omoluabi* serve as a means through which African indigenous knowledge of morality can be used to address the menace of police misconduct.

This chapter explores the historical development of the police force in Nigeria in order to gain insight into the origins of the force. The second section discusses the various forms of police corruption which include bribery and extortion by the traffic police officers, illegal arrests and detention, mismanagement in the administrative offices and embezzlement of police funds. The following section identifies different factors that contribute to the growth and prevalence of police corruption: these include poor remuneration, social status, family commitments. The chapter concludes that police corruption in Nigeria has undermined social and economic development in Nigeria and that this requires government attention to put in place strategies to address the appalling situation in the force.

3.1 Historical background of the police force in Nigeria

The history of the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) can be traced as far back as 1861 in the colonial era (Ahire 1989:67). Between 1861 and 1960 Nigerians were subject to foreign domination and

control by the British administration. The colonial rulers introduced a system of policing, arguing that the Native authorities would be allowed to use police powers to safeguard their communities. The British administration established Police Ordinances that empowered the traditional rulers in the regions that have centralized authority to convert the palace guards to local policemen in order to assist them in carrying out police duties (Oyakhire, 2010:6). Tadena Tamonu affirms that “in the Western region, the Yoruba native authorities recruited the *akoda*¹ as *olopas*². In the same way, the king’s *dogarai*³ in the Northern regions were also recruited as *yan/dandoka*⁴ by the native authorities” (1970:54-56). This means that the local police in Nigeria were recruited by the native authority and they became the regional centre of the local police force due to the legal system of control given to them by the colonial administration. With this arrangement, policing was to be more efficient and effective in the regions that had centralised authority than in other regions that did not have central traditional governance. Tamuno, concludes that:

The police powers given to the Native authorities after the 1914 amalgamation were therefore of greater relevance to Western and Northern Nigeria than to the South-Eastern parts of Nigeria. As Native Authorities, the Chiefs have their police powers extended and consolidated under the laws of 1916 and 1924. The Native Authority Ordinance (No 4 of 1916) conferred on the Native Authorities the responsibility for maintaining order in their respective areas. Under it, they were allowed to prevent crime and arrest any offender by employing ‘any person’ to assist them in carrying out their police duties. Their police powers were increased under the Protectorate Laws (Enforcement) Ordinance (No 15 of 1924). (1970:90).

It is clear from above that the native authorities in Western and Northern Nigeria seem to have preference over other regions in the country for mercenary police system due to the centralised traditional authority in these regions. The country was ruled under the control of the strong British administration that the Governor of British Colony situated in Lagos, invested into cabinet members of the native authorities the power of a police constable and regard them as “very Respectable Constables” (Alemika, 1993:190). This implies that these subordinate native authorities were accorded respect and police power that placed them above the local police. Under this arrangement the regional native authorities were commanded under the central colonial administration in Lagos.

For the sake of civil policing, the British Consular situated in Lagos established the Consular Guard by the Police Ordinance of 1861 in order to maintain law and order (Olowokere and

¹*akoda* is the native name for palace messengers in the Yoruba ethnic groups in Nigeria.

²In Nigeria, *olopa* is the native name for local police in the Yoruba ethnic groups.

³*Dogarai* is the traditional name for the King’s guards in the Hausa ethnic groups in Nigeria.

⁴*Yan/dandoka* is the native name for local police within the Hausa ethnic groups.

Oluduro, 2011:146). The Consular Guard was made up of thirty members and was renamed the Hausa Guard in 1863. The force was renamed because the Hausa ethnic group dominated the Consular Guard and the Hausa region had centralized authority that recognised the traditional ruler and its council members. With this development, the Hausa police were regularized and their number was increased: the first tier of the police force was comprised of captured slaves from Jebba, a city in the Western Nigeria. The second tier was made up of police recruits mainly from the Hausa ethnic group. By 1879 the number of police recruits from the Hausa ethnic group had increased to the extent that it was renamed the Hausa Constabulary (Okoigun, 2002:12). The progression witnessed notable changes in the force, such as an increase in the number of regional based police forces, and they were also brought under the administration of the Inspector-General of Police. Clearly, the early Hausa Police were organised to suit the administrative convenience of the ruling power. They were armed by the British authority to conquer the indigenous people surrounding Lagos. In 1896, the Lagos Police Force was inaugurated and armed like the Hausa Constabulary. The administrative structure assigned different ranks to police officers. The ranks include a commissioner, two assistant commissioners, a superintendent, an assistant superintendent, a pay and quartermaster, a master tailor and two hundred and fifty other ranks (Okoigun, 2002:14). The Lagos Police Force complemented the Hausa Constabulary, but each force was operating in a different region.

The need to expand British territory led to the creation of regional polices force across the country in order to control and regulate civic order. The next section examines the process of establishing regional Armed Police nationwide.

3.1.1 Colonial rule and the creation of regional police forces in Nigeria

Moving towards territorial expansion in 1861, the Royal Niger Company (a British merchant company) was granted a Charter by the British government. The Charter empowered the company to set up the Royal Niger Company's army, police authority and courts for the purpose of maintaining order and administering justice within its territory. The Royal Niger Company was also granted a license to impose levies or taxes on the population to offset the cost of maintaining the army, constabulary, court and administering its "mercantile or commercial justice" (Alemika and Chukwuma, 2000:190). Here, the Royal Niger Company was commissioned by the British government to established legal authority and administrative justice to guide the region. That is, policing in this region was organised and controlled by the Royal Niger Company. Tamuno agrees that this turn of events led to the development of the Royal Niger Constabulary which later became

Northern Nigeria Police (1970:9). Under this arrangement, the police force operated in this region for a long period of time until the constabulary was separated following the declaration of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria (Alemika, 1993:191). He further says that in view of the new development, some ranks merged with the Northern Nigeria Army, while others formed a new phase of the Northern Nigeria Police. During the proclamation of the Colony of Southern Nigeria, members of Lagos Police Force and Niger Coast Constabulary were absorbed into the regional force (Akuul, 2011:18). With this new arrangement the Southern Nigeria police force was formed to carry out police civic duties, such as “the prevention and detection of crime, the repression of internal disturbance, and the defence of the colony and the protection against external aggression” (Tamuno, 1970:28). Notably, the duty of the Southern Nigeria Police explicitly included the security of the national interest and protection against external attack.

The early 1900s witnessed the consolidation and reorganisation of various forces into two major Police Forces, namely, the Northern and Southern Protectorates (Akuul, 2011:18). The police forces were operating as separate bodies until the 1st of April 1930 when the Northern and Southern Protectorates were merged as the National Police (Okogiun, cited in Danies, 2012:206). With this new development, the headquarters were situated in Lagos with jurisdiction over the entire nation. This marks the advent of the National Police Force in Nigeria. In 1943, the Police Ordinance was promulgated and came into force to make provision for the organization, discipline, power and duties of the police until after the colonial administration (Onyeozili, 2005:40).

The history of police in Nigeria is tied in with the history of British colonial administration. The advent of British rule introduced the system of local policing, where police powers were given to the ethnic leaders in the regions where centralized authority existed, whilst the central police constabulary was established in the British colony situated in Lagos. In order to accommodate other regions with decentralised authorities, the colonial administration established the Northern and Southern Protectorate with jurisdiction over the region. The British administrative arrangement established police forces in different regions across the country in order to regulate and control civil order during colonial rule in Nigeria (Alemika, 1993:192). He further stated that towards the end of colonial rule, in 1930, the police force was reformed to become the National Police Force. After Nigerian independence, the National Police Force continued to operate as one body until it was reformed and renamed the Nigeria Police Force. The next section will discuss the events that led to this new development in the force.

3.1.2 The Nigeria police force in the post-colonial era

Nigeria became an independent state in 1960 and a Republic in 1963, after century of British rule (Ibeanu and Momoh, 2008:7). After Independence, the National Police Force (NPF) coexisted with the local administrations of police forces in the local government areas in Western Nigeria and in local authorities in Northern Nigeria (Oyakhire, 2010:6). This suggests that the Native authorities still held official power together with the National Police institution. This shows the continuous administrative structure of the colonial rule, a system whereby local policing was attached to the National Police. To support the police powers given to the Native authority, Section 105 (7) of the 1963 Republican Constitution permitted the Northern and Western regional governments to retain and expand the local police forces that had been established and maintained by some of the native authorities. This structure of policing, that involved the indigenous ruling class operating within the central Police Force, continued in Nigeria until 1966 when the system began to be phased out (Alemika, 1988:168).

The local Police Force was dissolved in the first republic 1963, following the recommendation of the working committee set up during the regime of Major General Aguiyi Ironsi. This arose out of the need for a dual structure comprising the police force and the prison service. The working committee appointed for this reformation came to an inevitable conclusion, after extensive discussions and consultations, that unification of the police force was feasible and should be formally accepted as an articulation of the country's ultimate objective (The Report of the Working Party on Police, 1966:22). The committee reported on some of the deficiencies found in the administrative conduct of the local police, such as lack of training equipment, and the use of local police recruits as political thugs by politicians in the Northern and Western region. Obarogie Ohonbamu confirms the allegations against the local police by saying, "In the Western Region, there was mass recruitment into the local forces of party thugs and stalwarts- people against whom the police were supposed to be giving protection to the law abiding citizens". He added that in North, "Political opponents were arrested by native authority police for holding private meetings to discuss political issues, handcuffed or chained and marched through the street as ocular demonstration of what fate awaited those who sought to exercise their fundamental human rights (1972:76).

From the above quotation, it seems that local police deviated from their civic duties to engage corrupt practices, and the violation of human rights. Ohanbamu's observations on police activities suggest that police misconduct was rampant in the regions that had the Native Authority system of

policing. In Northern Nigeria, the political abuse of local police was alarming: Native Authorities and ethnic elders were using their position to influence and manipulate the political process of party politics in the 1950's, during the inception of the multi-party system in Nigeria. Philip Ahire, confirms that:

It is on the record that local Police Force earned notoriety by using undue coercion and intimidation to enlist support for the ruling party; deny opposition parties permits for rallies; disrupt meetings of opposition parties and generally enforced the obnoxious 'unlawful assembly' laws against opposition politicians (1993:56).

Ahire argues that the Native authority shifted from their duty and engaged in corrupt practices during the political process in the region. Local police were being used to thwart and suppress the activities of the opposition parties. The misconduct contributed to the bad reputation of the leadership of local police. The dishonest behaviour created a hostile relationship between the police and the citizens they were supposed to protect. According to Olowokere and Oluduro,

A wedge was driven between the Native Authority and the public because policemen also used their status to oppress their fellow - citizens through bribery, blackmail and intimidation. Naturally, the Native Authorities and their colonial mentors, the Resident and District Officers, applauded the police for their 'good work'. They only occasionally frowned at misdemeanours such as: misappropriation of taxes and brutal treatment of culprits (2011:147).

The above quotation implies that the attitude of the local police towards their civic duties changed to one of furthering their personal interests by abusing their powers. In addition, it seems that police misconduct did not always appear offensive to the colonial advisers, as they only occasionally frowned upon mismanagement of tax and inhumane treatment of offenders. These irregularities led to the eradication of local police forces successive Nigerian constitutions made provision for the existence of the Nigeria Police Force alone. Section 24 (1) of the 1999 constitution stipulated that: "there shall be a Police Force for Nigeria which shall be known as the Nigeria Police Force and subsequent to the provisions of this section no other Police Force shall be established for the Federation or any part thereof". Section 215 of the 1999 constitution provided that:

1. "There shall be –

1a. An Inspector-General of police who, subject to section 216 (2) of this constitution shall be appointed by the president on the advice of the Nigeria Police council from among serving members of the Nigeria Police;

1b. A Commissioner of Police for each state of the Federation who shall be appointed by the Police service council.

2. The Nigeria Police Force shall be under the command of the Inspector-General of the Police, and any contingents of the Police, shall be under the command of the commissioner of Police.

3. The President or such other minister of the government of the federation as he may authorise in that behalf may give to the Inspector-General of the Nigeria police such lawful directions with respect to the maintaining and securing of public safety and public order as he may consider necessary, and the Inspector General shall comply with those directions or cause them to be complied with (Igbuzor, 2008:2).

The above section of Nigerian constitution outlines the organization and command structure of policing in Nigeria. It represents the development process of the police force after independence. From the historical account, it is clear that Nigeria Police Force experienced major institutional transformation since its inception. The leadership, management and administrative pattern were restructured. There was also reform on the fair representation of ethnic groups and gender equity in the force. The Nigerian Constitution created the basis for integrating the fragmented system of policing inherited from British colonial rule into a unified Nigeria Police Force with designated responsibility.

The discussion on the administrative arrangement of the police force after independence shows that the police force was established to ensure the enforcement and the maintenance of law and order. With this in mind, the next section outlines the role of the police force, and how it has deviated from its duties in modern day society.

Section 4 of *Police Act 359 Laws of the Federation 1990*, states the primary duties of the Nigerian police. These include:

1. Prevention and detection of crime
2. The apprehension of offenders
3. Preservation of law and order
4. Protection of life and property
5. The enforcement of all law
6. Regulation within which they are directly charged
7. Military duties within and outside Nigeria as may be required by law

Clearly, the police are to play a significant role in sustaining order, legality and security in society. According to Oluwaniyi, “the Police Force is a major institution charged with the responsibilities of preventing crime, protecting life and property, enforcing law and order, and maintaining peace and order and regulatory activities” (2011:68). This suggests that members of the Nigeria Police Force are expected to enforce the values of the institution, which are to protect human rights, life and property, to be respectful and accountable to the community, to use their power in a responsible way and to serve with integrity and honesty. Yet in recent times, in Nigeria, the ability of police to promptly and competently carry out their duties and responsibilities is being compromised due to corruption. In view of this, the next section of the study examines the level of misconduct within the police force.

3.2 The nature of police corruption

In describing the nature of police corruption Gerald Lynch says that “corruption occurs when police officer acts in a manner that places his personal gain ahead of duty, resulting in the violation of police procedures, criminal law, or both” (1989:166). In a similar manner, Lawrence Sherman defines police corruption as “illegal use of organisational power for personal gain” (1978:30). He further says that this definition is “the most useful for studying police corruption as a form of deviance that can be both individual and organizational” (1978:31). Therefore police corruption becomes any conduct that involves the misuse and abuse of official power for private benefit. Kevin Grant affirms that police corruption is the lack of integrity; it is also one of the most significant obstacles to positive police-public relations in today’s society (2002:12). These types of corrupt practices are likely to compromise the public’s confidence and raise questions about their integrity. In a document written by the Human Rights Watch (2006:34), police corruption appears to occur both passively and actively. Passive corruption occurs if a police officer is approached with a favour or a request. For instance, someone may offer gratification bribe, such as money, gifts or liquor, in exchange for a favour from the police officer, such as not reporting a crime so that the police officer receives a reward without having specifically sought it. In such a case, there is an assumption that the police officer is ‘bought’ in return for a favour.

On the other hand, active corruption occurs if a police officer appears to initiate the act of bribery by approaching an offender with the purpose of selling a favour in order to protect the offender. This is usually carried out through intimidating, threatening or blackmailing. In this case, the police seem to ‘sell’ his/her position of authority for personal gain. The description of police corruption above has a direct practical relevance to the nature of corruption in the police force. The

culture of corruption is a major limitation on effective policing. In terms of Article 324 of the Police Act, a police officer is expected to “offer prompt obedience to lawful order” and to “be determined and incorruptible in the exercise of his duties” (Omotola, 2007:627), yet corruption has become common within the police force.

Halvor Hartz writes that “the police force is the most visible government institution that people often use to assess the character of the government” (1999:36-37). This is because the nature of police responsibility demands dealing with the members of a society on a daily basis. To a large extent, people see the activities and behaviours of the police as the guardians of society as a reflection on the political and economic character of the society. However, the police in Nigeria have always been criticized by the media and public as repressive and inefficient, so the level of corruption in the force is of paramount concern to the government. Public perception is that corruption among members of the Nigeria Police Force is extremely high. Adebayo and Ojo have argued that “a corrupt police is as good as having no police at all (2009:73). Where law enforcers are law breakers, the society becomes worse-off”. This inference here is that corruption in the police force has undermined the very essence of policing in society. A report from *Vanguard* records that the Inspector General of Police, Alhaji Mohammed Abubakar, during his stakeholders’ meeting in Minna pledged to reduce corruption in the police force by eighty per cent with the aim of making the force responsive to the needs and aspirations of Nigerians (2012:6). In 2010, the Inspector General revealed strategies his administration would employ in curbing corruption, namely removing the policemen from roadblocks, extortions of money and accepting bribes from members of the public.

Corruption within the police department in Nigeria is so widespread that there are daily reports in the media of instances of abuse by the police. In explaining the level of police misconduct, Adebayo and Ojo say that these abuses include bribery which involves police officers; mass arrests and detention, extortion of money at police check points and embezzlement of police funds (2009: 072). The extent to which corruption occurs seems to contradict the constitutional role of police in the society. It is with this background that the next section will discuss the forms and dimensions of police corruption in Lagos.

3.2.1 Forms of police corruption

Police corruption in Nigeria has received much attention. International corporate bodies and multiple Nigerian media reports present a deeper understanding of the forms and dimensions of

police corruption. These include bribery and extortion, mass arrests and detention, illegal bail charges and corruption on the part of police leaders. The nature of these forms of corruption will be explained in more detail in the next sub-sections.

3.2.2 Bribery and extortion by the police officers

Bribery and extortion have been identified as corrupt practices among the police officers. In the words of Kanday Hurburun, bribery is “the payment (in money or kind) given to or taken by a state official in a corrupt relationship” (2011:26). Similarly, Bryan Garner defines bribery as “the offering, giving, receiving, or soliciting of any item of value to influence the actions of an official or other person in discharge of a public or legal duty” (2004:78). To Bauer and Van Wyk, bribery is “the offering of money or other inducements to secure the desired action from a public official and even from a political office-bearer” (1999:56). In describing extortion, Inge Amundsen, says that extortion is “money (or other resources) extracted by the use of coercion, violence or the threats to use force” (1999:13). Extortion can take the form of either gifts or favours as a condition to the execution of public duty or the abuse of public funds for one’s own benefit (Napal, 2006:5). Essentially, extortion is a means of extracting money or other valuable items for personal gain.

Bribery and extortion by the police on traffic duty is the most common and unbearable form of corruption in the force. Policemen responsible for checking vehicle licenses, road worthiness and other duties are found extorting money from private and commercial drivers. People who resist or fail to pay always face threats from police such as unlawful detention and at times physical assault or extrajudicial killings by the police (HRW, 2010:4). Citizens going about their daily duties are also regularly subjected to police extortion. The giving and collecting of bribes is popularly known as *egune*⁴ and is done openly on the highways, and police make little or no effort to hide these acts. Drivers are the prime target of police extortion; to avoid delay, drivers pay a fixed amount of N50 less than (\$1USD) in order to operate on the highways. The rate at which extortion occurs has led the public to view it as a part of daily life. The one hundred and eight page comprehensive report of police corruption documented by HRW, (2010) takes into account oral and written complaints and experiences from the general public against the police. The report also records allegations of corruption and inefficiency in the police force. One of the common occurrences is police officers demanding or accepting bribes from the individuals while discharging their duties. In a recent publication by *Punch Newspaper*, (2012:12), it was reported that policemen in Lagos arrested a

⁴In Lagos, the offering and collecting of bribe is popularly known as *egunje*

driver of an ambulance who did not commit a traffic offence, they refused to allow him leave with a dying patient until he paid a bribe. An argument ensued and one of the policemen hit the driver with the butt of his gun and the driver died from the assault. In a similar instance, *Democratic Socialist Movement*, (2010:1) reported that a resident of Ajegunle in Lagos was beaten to death by a policeman after he refused to pay a bribe to be let out on bail when police raided and illegally arrested people watching a soccer match. According to the report, the police in that community are known for raiding business premises and illegally arresting and detaining many young people without any reason other than to extort money from them. The report recorded that such incidences are not rare in other parts of the country (2010:1). Due to bribery and corruption, threats and abuses committed by members of the police force, most citizens perceived them as the enemy, instead of people who are meant to protect them. According to Human Rights Watch “more often than not policemen with firearms demanding money and other valuables from market traders, couriers and drivers, and they had to comply to avoid arrest, beatings, or other abuses” (2010:24). Bribery and extortion appear to occur frequently between police officers and members of the public. In the report, a trader in Lagos narrated to HRW a personal experience with police on the highway. She narrated her story as follows:

In October 2008, I was going to the market to buy my jewellery. I saw one policeman harassing people on the road, and then three of them stopped the vehicle I was travelling in. I said to myself “What kind of country is this? The policemen said they were on a “stop – and – search”. One of them had a gun. They told all 18 of us to get down and line up along the road. They said they were searching for anything illegal and threatened that if they found anything, we’d have to settle it there and then or be taken to the station. The one with the gun pushed people around, saying, “you will all pay us something or we will take you to the station and you will have to pay more to bail yourself out, so pay up now”. We understood. We asked how much, and they said N2000 (\$17). Passengers that refused to pay bribe were taken to the police station. After a long deliberations in the Police station, we had to pay the amount of money the police demanded (HRW, 2012:24).

The above story reflects police activities against the citizens they are supposed to protect. In view of the occurrence of corruption, police officers have compromised public confidence and trust. It is offensive that the police officers behave in such a criminal manner while discharging their civic duties. These forms of corruption are practiced by all members of the force, not only those in the lower ranks. The next form of police corruption involves illegal arrests and bail charges in the police stations.

3.2.3 Illegal arrest and bail charges

An illegal arrest occurs when a police officer, without a warrant, arrests an individual (Warner, 1989:118). Expanding on this, Morris Ploscowe, asserts that police arresting an individual for the purpose of making an investigation to determine whether the individual arrested is involved in a crime is considered an illegal arrest (1995:473). This suggests that it is unlawful for a police officer to arrest an individual without evidence of an offence. Oftentimes, police officers engage in illegal arrests and bail charges. As mentioned earlier, they commonly raid business premises and public places, such as market places and restaurants, and carry out illegal mass arrests. Sometimes, they disguise themselves, appear in civilian attire, threaten people with guns and take them to the police station, where they force them to pay huge sums of money before they are released. The amounts they demand to pay differ from offence to offence and according to the social status of those arrested. If unable to pay, the suspects are kept in police custody for as long as possible. Illegal arrest and detention without trial are regarded as a violation of fundamental rights to personal liberty and dignity Section 35(6) of the 1999 Constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria provides that:

Any person who is unlawfully arrested or detained shall be entitled to compensation and public apology from the appropriate authority or person; and in this subsection, “the appropriate authority or person” means an authority or person specified by law

(www.waado.org/nigerdelta/ConstitutionalMatters/.../.htm).

Despite this constitutional clause police officers continue to unlawfully arrest and detain people, and, sometimes, innocent people are arrested. They routinely refuse to observe an individual’s right to be charged before a court of law within twenty four hours of arrest, as the constitution demands. They also carry out unwarranted arrests and detention in situations that permit outright release. Clearly corruption is out of control in the force. Even though the inscription “Police is your friend and bail is free” has been written in front of all police stations, police officers are seen negotiating bail charges in front of the notice. The next form of police corruption that needs to be discussed is mismanagement within the administrative level of the force.

3.2.4 Mismanagement among administrative offices

There is inefficiency at the operational level of the police force. In explaining this, Ngboawaji Nte has observed corrupt activities within the administrative structure in police stations across Nigeria. For instance, investigating officers often asked complainants to buy stationary to aid their investigation (2011:568). Since the authorities do not provide necessary equipment to aid

administrative services, police do what they can to facilitate their work. Another problem involves a shortage of police vehicles. The nature of police work requires functional vehicles in order to provide an efficient public service. It is common to see police carrying out their duties in vehicles impounded for traffic offences. In a situation where vehicles are not available, police vigorously take advantage of commercial vehicles and command the drivers to be at their service. Sometimes commuters are asked to come out of their vehicles so that the police can use them for their official duties. The next significant form of police corruption is embezzlement of funds.

3.2.5 Embezzlement of funds

Another form of corruption is the embezzlement of funds by the heads of the police department. Martin McCracken, defines embezzlement as “the fraudulent appropriation of money or property held in trust and a deficiency caused by a breach of trust” (2007:54). Similarly, embezzlement is “the taking or conversion of money, property or valuable items by individuals who are not entitled to them but who, by virtue of their positions or employment, have access to them” (UNODC cited in Ogundokun, 2005:8). Clearly this is an inappropriate use of power for personal gain by the police in higher positions of power. Hurburun, adds that embezzlement is “the act of dishonestly appropriating or secreting assets, usually financial in nature, by one or more individuals to whom such assets have been entrusted” (2011:26).

From the above discussion, it is clear that the police leadership is guilty of embezzlement and fraud in the performance of their duties. Since 1999, there have been problems with the leadership of each successive Inspector General (IG) of police. Admittedly, more than five IG’s have been appointed, an indication of constant change in the leadership of the force. The IG’s are supposed to ensure integrity in the police force, but the Inspector General’s, in most cases, been charged with embezzlement of police funds. Their records, for the most part, were stained with corruption and incompetence. Alice Hills says that the most notable case was that of the former Inspector General of police, Tafa Balogun, who introduced an eight-point strategy that included the development of a “people’s police” (2012:743). The strategy placed great emphasis on the pivotal role of cooperative organisation, the general public and traditional rulers in cooperating with the police to develop a collaborative relationship which would serve the purpose of improving police morale as well as community policing.

Despite Balogun’s strategy, Daniel Agbibo confirms that “due to irregularities and dishonesty in the public office, Balogun was convicted and dismissed in 2005 for massive embezzlement,

accepting bribes, and money laundering” (2013:59). Balogun was found guilty of the same misconduct the strategy was supposed to protect. This raises a number of moral and ethical questions. Hills goes on to say that Sunday Ehindero, (the immediate successor of Tafa Balogun) also had a strategic plan designed to reposition the force on the premise of being responsive, effective and accountable” (2008:224). This was branded with a new police motto “To serve and protect with integrity”. Even though the Ehindero administration promoted the idea of community policing, he tolerated a system of policing that depended on bribes, graft, exploitation and intimidation (2008:225). In 2007, he was involved with the violence during the Presidential election. According to numerous reports in the Nigerian media, he was arrested while attempting to flee the office with the sum of two hundred million naira as payment for electoral malpractice during the presidential election (*Daily Sun, 2007*). In 2007, the President-elect, Alhaji Musa Yar’Adua, appointed Mike Okiro as the Inspector-General of Police. Okiro, during his inauguration speech vowed to be committed to Yar’ Adua’s seven point agenda that included curbing corruption in the police. Just like his predecessors, he was accused of abuse of his senior leadership office position. Okiro’s last months in office, in 2009, were ruined by his association with the liquidation of the Lead Merchant Bank to which his wife’s company owed the sum of 166 million naira (Hills, 2012:172). As seen from the discussion so far, it is clear that there has been a succession of corrupt senior leaders in the Nigeria Police Force.

The poor management of the office of Inspector-General and other dimensions of police corruption, such as bribery and extortion, illegal arrests and bail charges, are indications of corrupt norms and practices associated with policing in Nigeria. Given this situation, it seems that police officers in Nigeria are not committed to their civic duties. Their misconduct undermines the role of the police in maintaining order, enforcing the law, and protecting citizens in society. As mentioned above, these cases of misconduct raise a number of ethical questions. Do leadership offices in the police force create opportunities to engage in corrupt practices? Or are there other factors that facilitate occurrences of police corruption? These questions will be tackled in the next section.

3.3 Factors that facilitate police corruption in Nigeria.

Having discussed the forms and extent of corruption within the police force, this section of the study explores the causes of the corruption. These will be grouped under the following headings, poor remuneration, social status, family commitments and greed.

3.3.1 Poor remuneration

Poor remuneration can create an opportunity for corruption. Amos Aremu, Francis Pakes and Les Johnston, reiterated that police recruits in Nigeria are the lowest paid in Africa, and that they are not paid on time (2011:197). As a result, police officers, who are exploited by way of poor wages, are likely to engage in corrupt practices in order to meet their financial needs. Poverty, combined with poor remuneration, is likely to increase the potential for dishonest behaviour. Expanding on the consequences of poor wages, David Shearing and Phillip Stenning, say that:

Police officers who are not paid enough to look after themselves and their families, and are not provided with essential resources (Vehicles and/or petrol, for instance) for effective policing, inevitably resort to corruption and other assorted forms of deviance, including brutality and extrajudicial 'justice', to supplement their incomes and satisfy the demands of their superiors and political masters (2009:268).

Clearly, the above quotation implies that a poor salary does not only prompt corruption but also impoverishes the ordinary police officer. The monthly salaries seem inadequate to cater for the basic family needs, such as accommodation, food, school fees and hospital bills. The need to satisfy these basic demands leaves an individual police in a difficult situation and may result in engaging in corrupt practices in order to survive. However, the salaries of those employed in similar institutions, such as the army and civil defence force, are also relatively low and yet these others forces seem to maintain a certain level of integrity. Poor remuneration is therefore unlikely to be the underlying cause of corruption. It appears that it is easy for people to get involved in corruption, regardless of their level of income. Does this explain why past Inspector Generals of police were involved in corruption despite their higher salaries? The next significant driver of police corruption is social status.

3.3.2 Social status

Social status is one of the factors inhibiting quality police performance in the country. Nigeria's population has grown rapidly to more than one hundred and fifty million in 2010 (United Nations, 2010). As the most populated country in West Africa and Africa, Nigeria consists of thirty-six states (Falola and Heaton, 2008:1). In recent time, many urban cities in Nigeria such as Lagos, Port Harcourt, Abuja, Kano, Kaduna, Calabar, Onitsha, and Aba, among others, have become heavily populated due to socio-economic growth. This implies that cities in Nigeria attract commercial activities, multinational companies, manufacturing companies and other activities related to the

metropolitan areas. Describing an urban centre, David Satterthwaite says that “urban centres share some characteristics— a concentration of people and enterprises and their buildings and wastes, infrastructure and usually some public institution for instance schools, police force and for some the seat of local government” (2011:1763). This implies that city dwellers tend to cope with the high qualities of life and high consumption level of resources.

Living in urban cities in Nigeria requires maintaining a relatively high standard of life due to social and economic conditions. In addition, the socio-economic structures pose a challenge to survival in urban cities in Nigeria (Roseberry, 1988:179). Standards of living are high and this affects survival, especially for people with inadequate means, as everyone is striving to measure up to these high standards of living and to attain status in the society. In trying to keep up with the challenges of city life, police officers, who are poorly paid, are likely to engage in bribery and extortion in order to gain extra income to meet the living standards. Moreover, the competition for wealth is part of life in the police barracks and offices across cities in Nigeria. As a result, the quest to attain social status may increase the level of police misconduct and corruption as they seek to meet their aspirations and lead a better life. The next major factor contributing to police misconduct is family commitments.

3.3.3 Family commitments

High demands and pressure from family is relevant to police corruption. The desire to provide financial support for family members and extended relatives usually leads police recruits to engaged in immoral activities. Oluwaniyi, recorded an interview with a police officer who explained that he is responsible for taking care of his late brother’s children, an aged mother and his immediate family which makes it impossible to survive on his salary. This led him to use police structures to find an additional source of income. Besides that, polygamy is another factor that places a high demands on police financially. Even though it is an individual preference, it is common for policemen to be in polygamous relationships. This seems to support the common view that women are attracted to men in uniform. There are a number of instances where policemen on transfer to work in different parts of the country engage in a polygamous union adding to the strain of supporting the immediate family that is already struggling to survive. Additional families increases financial responsibilities where resources are already limited. This has pushed some police officers to corrupt practices.

3.3.4 Greed

According to Elizebeth Grobler and Sandra Joubert, greed is “when temptation for material gain and self–enrichment is sometimes overwhelming and encourages a public official to sacrifice the public interest for personal gain” (2004:92). That is the desire to sustain personal enrichment by misusing official power for private gain. Such ambitious behaviour is innate parts of human nature. People are driven by the desire to acquire affluence and power. In describing this greed-driven behaviour, Polycarp Forkum, affirms that “some people are avaricious: have a passion for luxurious living and an insatiable desire for wealth” (2007:49). To sustain their self-interest, public resources are misused by these public officials who are determined to get rich quickly, at the expense of society. This may mean that “seemingly, the cause of corruption revolves around greed” (Baai cited in Mayuso and Balia, 1999:188). The inference here is that police corruption is motivated by individual greed and the desire to gain extra income and wealth. In essence, greed makes those human beings insatiable in the quest for more riches. In addition, the social value system contributes to the greed and desire to accumulate wealth and power. As mentioned in chapter one, in Nigeria, material acquisition is the ultimate value to be pursued and society does not seem to be concerned with how wealth is acquired. All that society values is people’s ability to add to their personal possession, wealth and social status. People seem to pay little or no attention to how wealth is acquired and goes along with the common saying, “If one cannot beat them, join them. Who cares?” Social values are such that fear does not limit their greed and the moral decay in the social value system perpetuate corrupts acts.

The last section of this chapter has argued that police corruption is due to poor remuneration, the desire for social status, family commitments and greed. It is clear that corruption remains one of the challenges facing national development and economic growth in Nigeria. Most importantly, it causes enormous damage to the reputation of the police force and undermines its integrity. .

3.4 Conclusions

In this chapter, corruption was discussed within the context of the police force. The extent of corruption, which has become entrenched and virtually the norm in the police force, was identified. The causes of police corruption, its manifestation and effects were analysed. What is clear from the above sections is that a number of factors contribute to the prevalence of police misconduct and irregularities. In addition, lawlessness on the part of police force is another contributing factor: those who are to uphold the law are themselves corrupt. Police corruption has undermined social

and economic development in Nigeria. The next section grapples with various anti-corruption mechanisms established by the government with a view to reducing police corruption.

CHAPTER FOUR

STRATEGIES TO CURB CORRUPTION IN THE POLICE FORCE

4.0 Introduction

In the last chapter, the study provided the stages in the historical development of the Nigeria Police Force. The extent and the causes of corruption were examined. It is clear that corruption has become a norm in all sectors of police work, and this is the reason for the distrust and tension that exist between police and members of the public.

Against this background the present chapter examines the institutional and national anti-corruption strategies established to curb police corruption. This chapter explores the factors that have led to the ineffectiveness of the government in tackling corruption. It is divided into three sections. The first section identifies the national and institutional anti-corruption strategies put in place to deal with police misconduct. The second section critically analyses the strategies from an ethical perspective in order to show the extent to which the institutional approach to eradicating police corruption has not been successful. Finally, the chapter proposes an approach that could complement the existing anti-corruption strategies and suggests the ethic of *Omoluabi*, a cultural tool that might have valuable for curbing corruption. The cultural values derived from the ethics of *Omoluabi* may provide a constructive way forward in building trust and confidence and in restoring the image of the police force.

4.1 The institutional anti-corruption strategies

In view of the pervasive corruption at all levels within the Nigeria Police Force, several strategies have been introduced by the government, aimed at curbing corruption and holding members of the police force accountable for misconduct and other related corrupt practices. The essence of the strategies is explained below:

The Nigeria Police Force has set up various mechanisms for the public to file complaints against police misconduct. These include the Public Complaints Bureau; complaint boxes or telephone hotlines at police stations, and human rights desk..... The Nigerian government has also established various external mechanisms where members of the public can file complaints against the police. Depending on the nature of the complaint, members of the public can file complaints against police at no fewer than eight government agencies'; however, most of these complaint mechanisms lack the resources to investigate the complaints (Human Rights Watch, 2010:87).

From the above quotation, it is clear that official avenues have been provided for the members of the public to report police misconduct. The avenues for handling police misconduct include: the Code of Conduct Bureau the Police Service Commission (PSC), the X-Squad Unit and the Public Complaint Bureau (PCB), the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offenses Commission (ICPC) and Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). The record of the avenues of complaint regarding police misconduct has been documented by bodies such as Country of Origin Information (COI), African Press International (API), Human Rights Watch and Cleen Foundation Resource Centre (CFRC).

The establishment of these strategies indicates that the Nigerian government has made a significant effort to address police corruption. As a corruption control approaches, these avenues are endeavouring to carry out lines of responsibilities required to improve the situation. The records of these anti-corruption strategies, as documented by the bodies mentioned above, show that these approaches have failed to curb corruption. The discussion below explains why they have failed.

4.1.1 Police Code of Conduct Bureau (PCCB)

As mentioned in chapter one, the Nigeria Police Force was established with full administrative capacity to ensure proper service delivery. The nature of the rules of policing established by the police forces, adherence to these rules, rewards or punishment for compliance or non-compliance have a serious influence on police integrity, performance and image. Olori Abimbola Ojomo, also admits that “there are rules in the Police Act and Police regulation which if enforced should positively have impact on the police-community relationship”(2010:28). This implies that there are guidelines created to maintain the rules and norms of the force that if implemented could increase the effectiveness of communal policing. Section 339 of Police Act (CAP, 359 of the Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 1990) states that:

The standards of conduct required of a police officer are that he shall –

1. Offer prompt obedience to lawful orders;
2. Be determined and incorruptible in the exercise of his police duties;
3. Have a strict regard to the correctness of his general behaviour;
4. Take a proper pride in his appearance both in uniform and out of uniform (Cleen Foundation, 2010:28).

These guidelines are meant to govern the behaviour of the members of police force. Failure to abide by these rules can lead to disciplinary actions or suspension. To unpack the details of the Code of Conduct, Karimu and Foluke, say that:

The code of police conduct in Nigeria requires officers to have a thorough understanding and knowledge of the laws, and of police orders and instructions, and to develop among others the attributes of courtesy, forbearance and helpfulness in his (sic) dealings with members of the public; patience, tolerance and control of temper in trying situations; integrity, in refusing to allow ethnic or personal feelings or other considerations to influence him (sic) in the exercise of his/her (sic) duties and strict truthfulness in his (sic) handling of investigation; and in the giving of evidence (2012:252).

It is clear that the policy was designed to control police conduct. The members of the police force were to understand the policy guiding the institution they are serving and also to operate under the conditions stipulated by the Code of Conduct. It is argued that the manner of conduct exhibited by the police can be traced to the origin and development of the force. To supports this assumption, Ojomo says that:

Nigeria Police Force were created to be unfriendly, stern (sic) and brutal so as to be to deal with people fearlessly and repressively. Coming from the colonial orientation, the force continue after independence to being mean, stern and unfriendly with the people they are meant to protect. The advent of military rule after the independence compounded the situation that the military dispose the police. This led to gross violations of human rights as the police were used as instruments of oppression against the civil populace. This alienated the police from the people creating great hostility and distrust from the police (2012:25).

The ethical guidelines were instituted at the institution of the force, but the above quotation shows that the system of colonial policing contradicted the purpose of creating a police force as a government institution that is in charge of the maintenance of law and order. The historical account of colonial policing seems to indicate that members of the force did not adhere strictly to the code of conduct. The code of conduct has not served its purpose, as the police get away with human rights abuses and other misconduct. The colonial system of policing continued after independence and, in addition, the military used the police force for the wrong reasons. The deviant behaviour within the force has led to the decline of self-respect among the police themselves. In carrying out their official duties, they do not conduct themselves with dignity. For instance, the “obsequious greetings such as” Your boys are here, Sir!” to motorists driving expensive cars at check point in solicitation of tips instead of professionally assessing the

occupants of the vehicles make the police look like beggars” (Civil Society Panel on Police Reform, 2012:14). Such conduct in their dealings with the public, have weakened the dignity and respect of police officers.

In addition, violations of human rights by the police do not “offer prompt obedience to lawful order” as stipulated in the Code of Conduct. The habit of illegal arrest and bail charging is a common practice in the police stations across the nation. These violations of human rights were among the issues discussed recently during the civil society panel on the police reform in Nigeria. It was reported that “cases of abuse of human right abuse by the Nigeria Police Force ranged from arbitrary arrest and detention, torture with all kinds of implements, maiming of suspects in detention, denials of medical assistance and extrajudicial executions” (Civil Society Panel on Police Reform in Nigeria, 2012:14). The level of misconduct and dishonest behaviour impacts negatively on the public’s perception of the police force. The argument here is that even though there is a Code of Conduct they do not adhere to it. In other words, the code has not served its purpose as they get away with human rights abuses. In order to have the police accountable for their actions, another avenue was created with the aim of reforming the police force. This is the PSC.

4.1.2 Public Service Commission (PSC)

The PSC is an independent body established in 1960, and is responsible for police discipline (Country of Origin Information, 2011:30). It served as anti-corruption strategy established by the government to control police conduct during the early period of independence. Other functions of the PSC are outlined below:

The Nigeria Police Act 2001 section 6 charged the PSC with the responsibility of:

1. Appointing and promoting all officials of the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) (other than the Inspector-General of Police, IGP).
2. Dismissing and exercising disciplinary control over the same persons;
3. Formulating policies and guidelines for the appointment, promotion, discipline and dismissal of the officers of the NPF;
4. Identifying factors inhibiting and undermining discipline in the NPF;
5. Formulating and implementing policies aimed at efficiency and discipline within the NPF;
6. Performing such other functions as, in the opinion of the commission, are required to ensure optimal efficiency in the NPF; and
7. Carrying out such other functions as the President may from time to time direct.

These responsibilities required effective co-operation and proper coordination of the appointed members of the Public Service Commission. The PSC collaborates extensively with the police force disciplinary committee to monitor police conduct in terms of implementing the policy guides and tools for policing. PSC was structured with a process that is meant to be fair and transparent. As a strategy against corruption; it required police officers to report any incident of misconduct within the force. It required a complainant to sign a complaint form to be forwarded to the office of the Inspector General of Police for further investigation of the case. The strategy worked for a while. For instance, in 2008, five hundred and eighteen junior police officers were dismissed from the police force as a result of various disciplinary matters (Annual Report of the Nigeria Police Force, 2008:170-72). Again, as a result of this strategy, in February 2010, the PSC dismissed former Borno State police commissioner, Sambo Mohammed, for embezzling N16 million (\$105,960) in state government funds allocated to the force (*Punch Lagos, 2010*). Borno state is situated in the Northern region of the country. Despite the efforts of the strategy listed above, it must be noted that the record reveals the weaknesses of the strategy. Resources are limited and there are insufficient trained investigators (HRW, 2009:17). The unavailability of funds and resources, coupled with poor coordination, makes it difficult to carry out the functions of the PCS. Another significant threat to the strategy is that police officers are not committed to complying with rules, such reporting misconduct amongst the colleagues, as this is seen as betrayal and can endanger their jobs. All these irregularities mentioned above pointed to the need for an internal strategy to complement the existing strategies. It is against this background that the X-squad unit was established.

4.1.3 The X-Squad unit

The X-Squad was set up in 1966 to investigate officers involved in bribery and corruption, based on complaints received from the public or on internal reports (API, 2010). X-Squad was headed by a commissioner of police in the Criminal Investigation Department at the force headquarters. The strategy of the X-squad was that monitoring officers were deployed without police uniform to police check points on the highways to arrest those engaged in corrupt practices (HRW, 2012:91). It is a strategy that is designed in such a way that members of the force are at the forefront of curbing corruption. However, little sustained work has been done on the performance record of the unit. This is because the strategy was established during Military rule and was not operating effectively, as the police force was absorbed by the military force during the years of the regime. In February 2012, the police in Lagos paraded, before the journalists, nine junior officers

arrested by the X-Squad for extorting money from vehicle drivers (*Vanguard*, 2012:20). The follow-up disciplinary action concerning this case has not been made open to the public. A recent document by Human Rights Watch recorded that X-Squad, which was meant to be a disciplinary body and to investigate corruption within the force, is itself not free from corruption. There have been widespread allegations that superior police officers are taking a share of the money extorted by junior police officers, whom they accuse of corruption (HRW, 2010:92). It had been anticipated that such internal mechanisms of the police policing the police would improve enforcement of the policy to clean up the force. However, the X- Squad has failed to carry out its responsibility as expected due to misconduct and inconsistency. In the recent report from the Civil Society Panel on police reform in Nigeria, the two notable recommendations for X-Squad were:

1. To resuscitate the police X-Squad in all police commands and formations across Nigeria by providing a line budget for their work.
2. To work with civil society groups to introduce the use of new media technologies to map low-level police corruption in Nigeria and deploy more officers from X-Squad to corruption hotspots as identified in the mapping (Civil Society Panel on Police Reform, 2012:40).

These recent recommendations suggest that the record of X-Squad over the years does not indicate considerable progress in dealing with corruption. The shortcomings in implementing the X-Squad strategy are the result of two major factors. First, the police themselves are not willing to cooperate by reporting corrupt practices within the force, because reporting colleagues was considered “betrayal”. Secondly, the police officers and civil society leaders interviewed by HRW, (2012) confirmed that officers in charge of the units are also engaging in corrupt practices by extorting money from junior police officers who are accused of abuses. These and other weaknesses are the challenges facing the X-Squad unit in curbing police corruption. In order to ensure compliance with policy rules and guidelines on the part of all staff members in carrying out both administrative and operational duties another strategy was established. This was Public Complaint Bureau and it will be discussed in the next section.

4.1.4 Public Complaint Bureau (PCB)

The need to enhance transparency and accountability led to the establishment of the Public Complaint Bureau. The complaint system shows the importance of involving individual police in investigating matters of misconduct and corruption. The PCB was established in 1979 and was managed by the public relations officer at the each section of the force (COI, 2012:17). Its mandate

was to receive and investigate complaints from members of the public on police misconduct. This bureau was supervised by the Inspector-General of Police at the Federal level and by the Commissioner of Police at state level (Dayil and Sjöberg, 2010:192). This suggests that PCB was established to ensure that citizens have access to lodge their complaints and about police misconduct. It must be noted that the PCB made significant progress but was also confronted with many challenge. Among them were insufficient funds to carry out its functions. In addition, the internal administrative review function was not effectively utilized and administered due to deep mistrust between police and the citizens (Cleen Foundation, 2010:18).The document also revealed that there was lack of confidentiality when lodging complaints against police, and this contributed to the hostile relationship between the police and members of the public. In the case of complaints of abusive practices by police officers or any other form of corruption, the disciplinary procedure and actions were not always made open to the public. There was evidence of inefficiency in the PCB which might discourage members of the public from using the PCB to deal with matters of police delinquency (Alemika, 2010:67).

So far, this section has identified a number of strategies instituted within the police department aimed at reducing the level of corruption. It has also outlined these strategies. The major challenges identified include lack of funds, lack of trained investigators and the decline in public trust. This means that the strategies themselves are good but the moral and ethical culture within the police forces makes it difficult for these strategies to work. One can have a good strategy on paper but if those who implement it are morally corrupt, the strategy will not work. For instance, these strategies were implemented successfully in Singapore and Japan where the PSC in Singapore served as “the gate keeper to the SCS by entering fair play and impartiality in recruiting and selecting candidates for appointments to Divisions 1 and 11 on the basis of merit” (Quah, 1986: 74-75). Apart from the anti-corruption mechanisms in the administrative sections of the police department, other mechanisms were established at the national level to assist in preventing and minimizing corruption.

4.2 The national anti-corruption mechanisms in Nigeria

As has been mentioned above, in an effort to curb corruption, increase transparency and accountability in the country, the Nigerian government introduced the Independent Corrupt Practices and other related offenses Commission (ICPC) and Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) between 2000 and 2004 during President Obasanjo’s administration. The EFCC and ICPC were supposed to be responsible for reducing corrupt practices such as money

laundering, embezzlement of public funds and corruption-related enrichment. In commending the impact of the EFCC on society, Hycenth Ajie and Ebiwari Wokekoro, admit that “EFCC succeeded in creating fear in the hearts of many corrupt government and business officials who before the birth of EFCC would not have been jailed for corruption” (2012:101). Clearly before the institution of EFCC, offenders in the leadership positions, such as state governors, top government officials and the Inspector General of Police were not convicted and jailed for corruption or other related crimes, although they may have been demoted or dismissed from their positions. Since the establishment of EFCC, the strategy has had a remarkable effort in curbing corruption. For instance, in 2005 the EFCC charged the former Inspector-General of Police, Tafa Balogun for embezzling \$98million and in 2006, ICPC charged twenty police officers for corruption and in 2006, ICPC charged twenty police officers for corruption (Inokoba and Ibegu, 2011:284). The case of Balogun made a significant contribution in dealing with corruption. Despite the efforts of the anti-corruption measures in reducing the level of corruption, “its operations are still being debated due to the fact that its actions are selective between the bigwigs and those in the “Good Book” of the ruling government” (Ajie and Wokekoro, 2012:103). There appears to be inconsistency in the way ICPC is carrying out their duties. The track record and the system of its operations revealed that EFCC has not been very efficient as it became an instrument in the hands of presidency to perpetrate political corruption (Inokoba and Ibegu, 2011:228). These irregularities indicate that the innovative and laudable provisions of anti-corruptions strategies have not been able to effectively curb the prevalence of police corruption and to reduce the level of systemic corruption. The challenges facing the implementation of national anti-corruption strategies and the institutional mechanisms may arise from the fact that these strategies do not touch the core realities of the members of the force. The systemic corruption in the country requires an urgent attention. To explain further Geetanee Napal says that:

This situation is referred as a systemic or entrenched corruption where major institutions and processes of the state are routinely dominated and used by corrupt people and where citizens have few practical alternatives to dealing with corrupt officials. This type of corruption features in societies characterized by low competition, low and uneven economic growth, a weak civil society and an absence of institutional control mechanisms (2006:6).

Napal argues that corruption led to ineffective implementation of anti-corruption strategies. In the view of Werner Webb, one of the reasons that explains the situation is that “anti- corruption strategies are not always successful due to the absence of a strong and focused lobby against corruption, a too legalistic, or even moralistic approach and even a lack of total

commitment”(Webb, 2010:72). Webb acknowledges that implementing strategies or working towards reforming any institution needs to include the moralistic approach and commitment. This is because if the strategy is designed to involve the affected institution itself in curbing corruption, it is necessary to consider the specific type of corruption existing within the institution. For instance, the nature of police work involves having regular contact with the members of the public. For this reason, policy makers designing an anti-corruption strategy need to incorporate in the policy the relevance of behavioural conduct of police officers.

So far the discussion has identified a number of ethical issues facing the implementation of anti-corruption strategies. These include violation of moral obligations, distrust and disregard for the welfare of people. It is against this background that the next section examines the inadequacies from a moral viewpoint. For a deeper understanding of the purpose of the ethical inquiry into the implementation of anti- corruption strategies, it is pertinent to first define the concepts of Ethics and Morality.

4.2.1 Ethical critique of anti-corruption mechanisms in the police force

Ethics and morality ought to guide the management of the police misconduct. This is because ethical behaviour is important in the management of human conduct. Correct or right ethical conduct means the police force should conform to the code of conduct of the force and fulfil their social responsibility. In the discussion of anti-corruption strategies, lack of trust, violation of moral obligations and disregard for people’s welfare were identified as ethical challenges that hinder the effectiveness of the strategies. A discussion of moral theories such as virtue ethics, deontology and consequentialism might shed light on what is needed in building a morally good society. These moral theories are briefly explained below to show the theory most relevant to this study.

4.2.2 Virtue ethics

Virtue ethics is one of the oldest moral theories that explore the intrinsic value of a well-lived life (Bessant, 2009:427). Virtue theory is an ethical approach that is concerned with developing a moral quality such as honesty. Aristotle in his work, “*Nichomachean Ethics*”, argues that virtues are “good character an individual acquires which regulate the emotions”. This means that having good morality is a criterion for a virtuous person. Looking through the lenses of virtue ethics, it can be argued that the behaviour and attitudes of members of the police force show a lack of virtuous character. It is important to develop a virtuous character, since “the basic judgement in ethics is judgement about character” (Statman, 1997:8). In other words, character is at the centre of

moral judgement and shows an individual's inherent worth in the relationship with others. Virtue ethics provides a helpful description of what constitutes social good and how we ought to live a good life. The next moral theory that needs to be discussed is deontology.

4.2.3 Deontology

The term “deontology” originated from ancient Greek word “deon” which means “duty”. It is regarded as a “duty-based” approach, which is concerned with moral obligation that requires one to act in a just manner. Deontological or non-consequentialist theory is a “moral theory of duty which affirms that some features of actions other than or in addition to consequences makes action right or wrong” (Beauchamp and Childress, 2009:343). Deontology is referred to as Kantian because the philosophy of Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) influenced its formation. Kantian is one of the central deontological ethical approaches that view morality as human obligation such as duty based and categorical imperative. By duty-based, Kant believes that “the basis of moral obligation must not be sought in the nature of man [sic] or in the circumstances in which he [sic] is placed, but sought a priori solely in concept of pure reason” (Kant, 1959:5). This implies that moral obligation may not only be viewed as inherent to the nature of man or based on certain conditions, but can also be viewed as a reasonable obligation. Kant's concept of categorical imperative argues that “one should act only according to that maxim by which you can at the same time will that it should become a universal law of nature (Kant, cited in Ellington, 1993: 6). Deontology holds that moral obligations are based on human action which is acceptable as a universal way of acting. Deviation from moral duty, such corruption, is regarded as dishonest behaviour which does not conform to deontology. In this approach, morality is seen as a virtue that is universal, exceptional and uncompromising. This ethical position speaks to the way we ought to act in order to achieve what is good or just.

Deontology is an ethical ideal that could be linked to virtue ethics since being a duty-based agent is as important as being a virtuous person. In the current study, corruption within the police force does not conform to deontology because its practices sometimes involve negligence of duty, by committing immoral acts such as bribery, extortion and other forms of misconduct. Deontology and virtue ethics informs the intention of cultivating good character equipped with ideas of how to achieve a valuable life. These ethical traditions reveal human obligations and character required in a morally good society. Failure to conform to these ethical norms has its own consequences; this will be the subject of the next section.

4.2.4 Consequentialism

Consequentialism affirms that the moral reasoning of any action is to be found in its consequences. In other words actions are considered right or wrong depending on their consequences. In the words of Beauchamp and Childress, “the right act in any circumstance is the act that produces the best overall result as determined by the relevant theory of value” (2009:337). This implies that the outcome of an action can be ascertained from the concept of values shared in the society. In the case of police corruption in Nigeria, the ineffectiveness of anti-corruption strategies has resulted in negative effects to the reputation of the force; people have lost trust and confidence in the security system of the country. Their actions have not brought the greatest happiness to the greater number of people. For instance, chapter two revealed the manner in which police extorted money from drivers going about their daily duties, and also the incidence of mass arrest, detention and illegal bail charges that occurs commonly in police stations across the country. Essentially, corruption affects nation building negatively as it creates deprivation in the form of unemployment, poverty, disparities and poor service delivery (Idris, 2013:62). It can be argued that the prevalence of police corruption is as a result of the loopholes of the policies which seem to create opportunities for police officers to engage in corrupt activities.

Close reading of forms of corruption in chapter three shows that the way police officers in Nigeria are carrying out their duties reveal that some of them seem to perform their duties without being accountable to any authority. The argument is that the level of corruption within the force contradicts the essence of anti-corruption strategies that were established to reduce corruption. These strategies have not produced positive results for the majority of the citizenry and the nation.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the strengths and the weaknesses of government anti-corruption strategies put in place to curb corruption in the police force. It has also examined the reasons for its failure. From all the facts discussed above, it can be argued that the strategies are good, but those who are responsible for seeing these strategies work are failing in their moral obligations. The current study maintains that if these strategies are implemented properly, it might contribute to change and help solve the challenges faced by the police in society. These include:

1. Inadequate salaries
2. Huge family demands placed on them
3. Individual tendencies of trying to live above their income.
4. Globalisation and the desire to acquire material wealth.

In order to survive, police officers engage in corrupt practices such as bribery and extortion to meet their needs and aspirations. It is these acts that undermine the integrity of the police force with the result that it continues to be negatively perceived by members of the public. In spite of the government utilizing more resources to establish anti-corruption strategies to reduce police corruption, the situation is not improving and it is affecting the nation-building. The situation raises a number of ethical questions. Why has police corruption remained difficult to manage despite various attempts to combat it? Could it be that existing anti-corruption strategies need to be more efficient or are the police force not paying attention to the proper implementation of the strategies? Is it possible that the resistance by the police force in Nigeria to accepting the universal ethical demand for better practices can be challenged by appealing to their indigenous knowledge and understanding of social conduct? Or does it mean that certain contemporary ethical ideals are not suited to their cultural patterns? Do the demands of the legal policies governing their social responsibility appear to have a different ethical understanding from the orientation of their traditional social values and conduct? These are all ethical concerns about the strategies which need to be examined and addressed for better policing in the country.

The current study maintains that moral obligation is central to police social conduct, as well as relevant to the proper implementation of anti-corruption strategies. Not only is this study concerned with the relevance of morality to social order but it also points to the valuable contribution that African indigenous knowledge of morality could make to bringing about the change needed in the force. These traditional moral values guide the ethos of life in African communities. The relevance of social values from an African perspective is outlined by Godwin Sogolo, who says

African values may be taken to mean a set of institutionalized ideals which guide and direct the patterns of life of Africans. African values therefore are goal-oriented because they point to a desired goal, which actions are geared towards and upon which the expectation of every individual and community is hinged. Individual actions are mirrored through the approved society's values upon which the test for justification is based. This makes an action moral one. The question of moral justification provides us with the notion of ultimate value. The society may or may not actually or consciously recognise it, yet it is part of its moral value (1993:119).

It must be noted from the above that the core values in traditional African is seen as the nature of African community. It is the belief that "the total well-being and welfare of the community are essentially important, thus responsibility, kindness, honesty, hospitality, accommodation,

generosity, compassion, faithfulness, fruitfulness, love, dignity, etc., are all considered to be moral values” (Igboin, 2011:11). This suggests that moral values are reflected in social relationships in the community. The search for a traditional cultural ethic that will significantly enhance these principles and moral values, points to *Omoluabi*, an ethical ideal that is built upon social relationships. In attesting the shared values of *Omoluabi*, Bukola Oyeniya says that “Yorùbáness is more than being urbane; it also entails being guided by the internal, ethical value of *Omoluabi*, which qualifies individuals for socio-economic, political and religious office within the Yorùbá ethnic group” (2012:104). Here, Oyeniya expresses the Yoruba worldview of a humane person. It entails having qualities of *Omoluabi* as the basis for any leadership position. These ethical ideals are very critical to the social conduct of police officers. This will be the subject of the next chapter which discusses the concept of *Omoluabi* and its relevance to this study.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS OF POLICE CORRUPTION THROUGH THE LENS OF *OMOLUABI*

5.0 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the anti-corruption strategies of the Nigerian government to curb police corruption. The strategies were critiqued and the challenges were identified, including the systemic corruption which creates further incentives for corruption even on the part of those tasked with implementing the anti-corruption strategies. For this reason, it is imperative to seek ways of strengthening the existing strategies in order to effectively challenge police corruption. The chapter concluded with the suggestion that African indigenous knowledge of moral conduct is able to inform police conduct.

The present chapter seeks to analyse police misconduct using the insight provided by the ethics of *Omoluabi* to answer the central question of the study: Can Afrocentric ethics contribute to the search for an appropriate strategy that can address and transform the current police corruption in Nigeria? In order to answer the question, this chapter critically examine forms of police corruption discussed in chapter two to see if they find expression in the ethical ideals of *Omoluabi*. The essence of this approach is to see how the values of *Omoluabi* could point towards reshaping the social relationship between the police force and members of the public. Hence, the chapter is divided into two sections. The first section is a critical analysis of corruption in the police through the lens of the ethics of *Omoluabi*. The second section focuses on the shared virtues of *Omoluabi* as values that are important for communal living and necessary for promoting effective community policing.

5.1 *Omoluabi* and police corruption

A close reading of chapter two identified forms of police corruption, such as bribery and extortion, mass arrests and detention, illegal bail charges and corruption in the police leadership. As mentioned in chapter three, police misconduct runs counter to the role of police in maintaining order, enforcing the law, and protecting citizens in society. The extent of corruption implies that the corporate image of the police force needs to be rebranded and reformed in order to restore a positive public image. In order to improve the social standing of the police, it is pertinent to examine features that characterize the ethic of *Omoluabi* and which are required if the police force is to be reformed. These features such as character, respect and honesty, are examined below.

5.1.1 Character as the central virtue of *Omoluabi*

Dishonest behaviour negates the ideals which *Omoluabi* epitomises and seek to promote. *Omoluabi* emphasises that good character (*iwapele*) is the foundation of moral conduct in social relations. In his explanation of *iwapele* (character), Abimbola says that:

Good or gentle character is the ultimate basis of moral conduct in Yoruba culture and at the centre of defining the attribute of *Omoluabi* with the most distinctive virtues such as *orosiso* (spoken word), *iteriba* (respect), *inurere* (having good mind to others), *otito* (truth), *iwa* (character), *akinkanju* (bravery), *ise* (hard work) and *opolo pipe* (intelligence) (1975:90).

It is clear from the above that *Omoluabi* represents the exposition and demonstration of the virtues and values of good character. To support this, Omobowale agrees that “it is the character formed in an individual through socialization, which informs the personality of the behaviour that will be eschewed by the individual” (2008:211). This implies that good character is central to *Omoluabi* as it reflects in social relationships and forms an individual personality. Adeniji-Neill also confirms that, in the Yoruba culture, the philosophy of *Omoluabi* is informed by social relationships that work in a beneficial way for all in the community (2012:4). This is because an *Omoluabi* personality is expected to show ideal morality in his or her relationship with others in order to achieve self-actualization and fulfilment (Payne cited in Okome, 2011:4). Based on this understanding of traditional morality, it can be argued that the anti-social behaviour as found in the police forces could be considered immoral acts from the perspective of *Omoluabi*. The moral conduct required from the police in performing their civic duties needs to be grounded in good character in order to promote communal wellbeing. In other words, drawing on the ideals of *Omoluabi* will promote good social relationships between the police and members of the public.

In explaining the relevance of good character to the concept of *Omoluabi*, Ade Dopamu, explains that an individual’s *iwa* (character) is a testimony to his being/existence and personality, and that his being is judged on the basis of the character he reflects (2004:61). In essence, the sociological conception of a ‘humane being’ is based solely on his/her attitudes towards others. Therefore, character represents the basic feature that constitutes a ‘humane being’, and this provides insight into a better understanding of an *Omoluabi* personality.

5.1.2 Respect

Respect is an “objective, unbiased consideration and regard for rights, values, beliefs and property” (Yukl, 2002:18). In traditional African society, respect and dignity are considered as one of society’s building blocks (Bekker, 2006:25). In the Yoruba language, *iteriba* (respect) is amongst the virtue of *Omoluabi* that brings forth the notion of reciprocal relationships informed by social norms and customs (Fayemi, 2009:167). With regards to respect, a child is brought up in Africa to know that, in the community, elders and authority holders, such as kings and title men, deserve to be respected and, in turn, these members of the community reserve respect for the young ones (Thelestane2007:79). It must be noted that all members of the community become dignified through respect. In his discussion on the principle of respect in the traditional African society, Cobbah asserts that:

Respect is the cardinal guiding principle for behaviour within family and in the society at large. Although African society is communal, it is hierarchical. Respect governs the behaviour of family members towards the elders in the family. It has been said that the African child learns to respect even before he learns to speak. In Akan society anyone older than you (even if by a day) should command your respect. This respect is manifested in greetings, bows, curtsies and other gestures that signal recognition of seniority. As one grows up in the society, therefore, one acquires seniority rights and moves up in the hierarchy of the community. Seniority rights bear no relation to one’s other attributes. These rights are guaranteed. Ideally every member of the family with the exception of the very young enjoys seniority rights (1987:321).

In view of the above, it is suggested that every human being deserves respect and that “a person must be respectful to other beings regardless of age, class and social status. This means that despite one’s age or social status one needs to be accorded respect, and such respect implies affirming the rights of others” (Fayemi, 2009:169). This implies that respect is amongst the duties of *Omoluabi* in the community where an individual’s behaviour shows willingness to co-exist with others.

In light of the above, there is a need to internalise the value of respect for other members of society in the characters of police officers. When engaged in corruption, police tend to lose the respect and dignity they deserve from the public. The manner in which police officers engage in corrupt practices, such as extortion of money, bribe-taking and illegal bail charges, suggests a decline of moral status in the force. Therefore people do not count them worthy of respect. Aremu affirms that “the corporate image of the police force goes on to receive a barrage of uncomplimentary remarks from the Nigerian populace” (2006:139). This means that dishonest behaviour erodes

public confidence and that members of the public do not like to come into contact with the police, despite the fact that the police are supposed to be friendly to the public. Essentially, police individuals need to exhibit the moral virtue of self-respect in their civic duties in order to promote integrity and to improve the image of the police force.

5.1.3 Honesty

The next important virtue of *Omoluabi* that is required in the police service is honesty. From an African communal viewpoint, honesty means that a person shows compassion, and is caring and trustworthy in relationship with others. Expanding on this, Broodryk, (2002:14) asserts that, in an African setting, compassion is reaching out to others and showing humanism so that relationships and friendships can be formed. Abimbola affirms that *inurere* (having good mind towards others) constitutes a fundamental moral and psychological attribute a person is expected to have, along with being truthful and honest (1975:393). Essentially, an individual is expected to have a good character towards others by practising the moral virtues of love and compassion. Abimbola also says that “in the moral conscious community, *iwarere* (good character) is central to social norm that any behaviour against the norms is deemed anti-communal”. This implies that honest behaviour is relevant in social conduct. The virtue of honesty needs to be incorporated in policing. For instance, in the past, leaders in the police force have been guilty of corruption involving massive embezzlement, accepting bribes, and money laundering. These corrupt practices are an indication of dishonest behaviour and a lack of concern for the public interest. In order to address the need for a pervasive spirit of caring in the leadership of police force, the concept of *Omoluabi* provide a basis for morality that will enable the Inspector Generals and others in leadership positions in the force to lead with compassion. Such moral conduct is guided by honesty and trustworthy behaviour in the management of public offices.

So far the discussion has shown that virtues of *Omoluabi*, such as good character, honesty and respect, are essential for promoting community policing. These virtues are the features of communal living which are required in community policing. The next section of the study will discuss the importance of communalism to the present study.

5.1.4 Communalism

The ideal of communal living was captured correctly by Benson Igboin, when he says that:

Africans place high value on communal living. Communal values express the worth and appreciation of the community; the values which guide the social interaction of the people towards a common goal. Interpersonal bonds go beyond biological affinity in expressing the values of communality, Africans share mutually; they care for one another, they are interdependent and they solidarise. Whatever happens to one happens to the community as a whole. The joy and sorrow of one extend to other members of the community in profound ways (2011:99).

The inference is that communal living represents a cultural belief whereby an individual's social growth is accompanied by the values revered in the community. In other words, community provides the context for the manifestation of a person's full humanity. Mbiti, echoes this idea vividly when he says that:

Only in terms of other people does the individual become conscious of his [sic] own being, his own duties, his privileges and responsibilities towards himself and towards other people. When he suffers he does not suffer alone but with his corporate group: when he rejoices, he rejoices not alone but with his kinsmen, his neighbours and his relatives whether dead or living. When he gets married, he is not alone, neither does the wife 'belong' to him alone, so also the children belong to the corporate body of kinsmen, even if they bear only the father's name. What happens to the individual happens to the whole group, and whatever happens to the whole group happens to the individual. The individual can only say "I am because we are; and since we are, therefore I am" (1970:141).

The point here is that an individual who grows up in Africa understands that a "human being is a communal being inseparable and incomplete without others in the community" (Murove, 2009:68). This implies that human beings only become beings in mutual relationship with others. Mkhize, noted that:

To be a human being (*ukubangumutu*) is a social practice; it requires one to co-operate with others by doing good, thereby promoting the balance that is through to characterize the universe. It requires human beings to live in solidarity with fellow human beings, their families, their communities, God and the rest of the world in which they find themselves (2008:40)

The dominant understanding here is that the existential reality of our being has to do with our mutually belonging to each other. To return to the system of policing in Nigeria, the relationship between police and the community needs to incorporate communal living whereby police

individuals enter into mutual relationship with the members of the public. Having a shared relationship means that the police should display the virtues of *Omoluabi* such as good character, respect and honesty, in order to achieve community partnership in policing.

5.2 Conclusion

This chapter has critically analysed ethical issues related to policing, using virtues that emerge from *Omoluabi* to see if they are present in the conduct of the police force. The discussion shows that policing in Nigeria is lacking that sense of community in Africa which is understood by a communal life that shows relatedness, respect, integrity, caring, compassion, and solidarity. Although the debate about curbing police corruption is on-going, the concept of *Omoluabi* has a contribution to make in assisting other anti-corruption measures. This study concludes, in the next chapter, with a recommendation about how to address police corruption from an Afrocentric perspective.

CHAPTER SIX

RECOMMENDATIONS, SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.0 Introduction

This study set out to examine why corrupt practices among the Nigeria Police Force are so rampant despite the anti-corruption strategies government has established to reduce corruption. Documented literature on the police and corruption has clearly shown that improper moral conduct on the part of police contributes to corruption. The study identified forms of corruption within the police institution. The causes of police misconduct were identified, and the need to address the phenomenon of corruption from a moral perspective was discussed. The study argues that anti-corruption strategies would need to incorporate an ethical approach to assist with the curbing police corruption.

6.1 Summary

Chapter one presented the background information and a general introduction to the dissertation. It pointed out that the study would focus on corruption within the police force and on how it affects public perceptions of the force. The motivation for this study came largely out of the researcher's concern about the effects of police corruption in society. Living in Nigerian society for a long time, the researcher has had personal experience in dealing with the Nigeria Police Force. It is common to encounter police misconduct along the highways, in police stations, in courts of law, in community policing and other places where the police are required to carry out their duties. In these places, police corruption takes different forms including extortion, bribery, illegal bail charges, destruction of evidence, and illegal arrest. This reveals that, in spite of the major role that the police are supposed to have in protecting and maintaining law and order, they are not exempt from the corruption that affects the nation. The chapter also discussed selected literary sources dealing with police corruption, and made recommendations to reduce the corrupt practices within the force.

Another motivation for this study is the researcher's belief that corruption is deeply bound up with individual morality. Dealing with the issue of corruption as a moral crisis would require engaging with a moral concept that could speak to ethical problems. Since the Nigeria Police Force is operating on the African continent, the study considered the African moral concept of *Omoluabi* to be appropriate to address police misconduct. This is the gap in the literature which this study intends to fill.

It is the need to address the moral misconduct of the police force precisely from an African perspective that underlies this study. The research problem was stated in chapter 1 that despite the existing anti-corruption strategies, there is a need for renewed campaigns against corruption. The dissertation examines the extent of corruption within the police force and the efforts of the government to address corruption.

In order to show the prevalence of police corruption, the study in chapter 1 proposed library research as the method to be used to examine the conduct of the police.

Chapter two discussed structural-functioning theory and the ethics of *Omoluabi* as the guiding theoretical frameworks of this study. It argued that structural-functioning theory is the social system that forms the enduring pattern of social arrangements in a particular society. The relationship that exists between the social structure and the members of the society shows how the functioning of society influences human actions and behaviour. Giddens' social structure posits that the arrangement of the society influences the human activities and social order. In an attempt to address the moral decay facing the police force using an ethical approach, the chapter suggested that the Afrocentric ethic of *Omoluabi* was useful to the discussion. The underlying meanings of the concept, as put forward by a number of authors, were discussed to demonstrate its relevance to the study. The virtues of this approach were identified to support the idea that the framework represents a cultural tool that could address the improper conduct of the police force in Nigeria. The chapter further discussed the strengths and weaknesses identified in the individual-community relationship in the traditional African context.

Literature on policing in Nigeria reveals the various forms of corruption within the force and its causes. The need to understand the causes of corruption and what can be done about this social ill required me to do research on the origins of the police force in Nigeria.

Chapter three discussed the historical background of the Nigeria Police Force. It was revealed that the force was established during the British colonial rule in 1861 in Nigeria. After Nigerian independence, the National Police Force continued to operate as one body until it was reformed and renamed the Nigeria Police Force. The administrative arrangement of the police force after Nigerian independence shows that the Nigerian Police Force was established to ensure the enforcement of criminal law and the maintenance of law and order. The ability of the police to

promptly and competently carry out their duties and responsibilities is being compromised by corruption. Police corruption was found to be entrenched and virtually a norm within the force. The causes of police corruption, its manifestation and effects were analysed. The conclusion was that police corruption has undermined social and economic development in the country. This led to examining government efforts in curbing corruption within the force.

Chapter four examined the institutional and national anti-corruption strategies established by government for curbing police corruption. The strategies include Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB), Police Service Commission (PSC), the X-Squad Unit and the Public Complaint Bureau (PCB), the Independent Corrupt Practices and other related offenses Commission (ICPC), Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). The discussion covered each of the anti-corruption strategies in turn. The strengths and weaknesses of the strategies were discussed in order to understand what challenges have prevented the strategies from succeeding. In conclusion, the chapter proposed a theory from a traditional Nigerian indigenous perspective that could offer assistance to existing strategies.

Chapter five critically analysed ethical issues related to policing, using virtues that emerged from the ethic of *Omoluabi* to challenge the conduct of police force. The discussion showed that the system of policing in Nigeria needs to incorporate virtues of *Omoluabi*, such as good character, respect and honesty. These virtues represent moral values underlying communal living in traditional African society. The chapter concluded that using the valuable potential of the ethic of *Omoluabi* could make a plausible contribution to the on-going search for solutions to curb corruption within the police force in Nigeria. Chapter six is the recommendation, summary and conclusion of the study.

6.2 Conclusion

The study set out to examine and analyze corruption in the police force from an ethical perspective. The study attempted to answer the question, “Can the Afrocentric ethic of *Omoluabi* contribute to informing and transforming the current police corruption in Nigeria?” Each chapter of the dissertation shows the way corruption has contributed to negative perceptions of the police force, and the need to restore public trust and confidence in the force. The lack of commitment to the common good on the part of police force is revealed within the discussion in the chapters of this study. The researcher hopes that this study will be a contribution to the quest for a solution to the moral crisis facing Nigerian Police Force.

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29 April 2013

Ms SN Akpunonu-Ogu 210556765
School of Religion, Philosophy and Classics
Pietermaritzburg Campus

Dear Ms Akpunonu-Ogu

Protocol reference number: HSS/0202/013D
Project title: Corruption in the Police Force in Nigeria: An Afro centric ethical critique

EXPEDITED APPROVAL

I wish to inform you that your application has been granted Full Approval through an expedited review process.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. Please note: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

.....
Professor Steven Collings (Chair)

/pm

cc Supervisor: Dr Beatrice Okyere-Manu
cc Academic Leader: Professor P Denis
cc School Admin.: Mrs Catherine Murugan

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Founding Campuses: Edgewood Howard College Medical School Pietermaritzburg Westville



Oil

Microwave Sample Preparation Note: XprOP-1
Category: Oils

Rev. Date: 6/04

Sample Type: Oil
Application Type: Acid Digestion
Vessel Type: 55 mL
Number of Vessels: 12
Reagents: Nitric Acid (70%)
Method Sample Type: Organic
Sample Weight: 0.5 gram

Step 1:

<u>Acid Type</u>	<u>Volume</u>
Nitric	10 mL

Heating Program: Ramp to Temperature Control

Stage	Max. Power	% Power	Ramp (min.)	Pressure (psi)	Temperature (°C)	Hold (min.)
(1)	1200 W	75	15:00	-	200	15:00

NOTE A: This procedure is a reference point for sample digestion using the CEM Microwave Sample Preparation System and may need to be modified or changed to obtain the required results on your sample.

NOTE B: Manual venting of CEM closed vessels should only be performed when wearing hand, eye and body protection and only when the vessel contents are at or below room temperature to avoid the potential for chemical burns. Always point the vent hole away from the operator and toward the back of a fume hood.

NOTE C: Power should be adjusted up or down with respect to the number of vessels. General guidelines are as follows: 8-12 vessels (50% power), 13-20 vessels (75% power), >20 vessels (100% power).

NOTE D: "Organic Method Sample Type" should be used for most sample types. Choose "Inorganic" for samples with more than 1 gram of solid material remaining at the bottom of the vessel at the end of the digest (ex. leach methods). Choose "Water" for samples that are largely aqueous prior to digestion.