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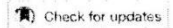
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Dynamics of Public Support for Community Policing (CP): Findings from High-crime and Low-crime Residential Neighborhoods

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ABSTRACT

Understanding the underlying forces of citizens' support for public service is of utmost importance to public administration. Among the many areas of public services, the police are inimitable. This study therefore, explores public views on Community Policing (CP) in a Nigerian case study. The study area was stratified into two: area with high crime rate (AHCR) and area with low crime rate (ALCR). The data used were from a survey of 217 respondents in the AHCR and 242 respondents in the ALCR. Results show that both the AHCR and ALCR reported support for CP, although there was higher support among the AHCR respondents. Findings show that none of the demographic characteristics were significant predictors of support for CP in AHCR; whereas, age and educational level had positive associations in ALCR. Fear of crime was positively linked with support for CP among AHCR residents. Neighborhood attachment was positively linked to support for CP in both areas. Police effectiveness was positively associated with support for CP in ALCR but not in AHCR. Combined analyses reveal that age, educational level, neighborhood attachment, police effectiveness, and support for aggressive policing all had statistically significant associations with support for CP. Results show that none of the important predictors were the same in terms of significance and/or in the same direction in the AHCR and ALCR regression models. The determinant variables explained marginally different amounts of variance of the dependent variable (CP) for the AHCR (37%) and ALCR (30%). The study concludes that factors predicting support for CP are contextual and could vary between neighborhoods. Hence, understanding the particular factors in respective locality is necessary for improved support for CP.

KEYWORDS

Community policing; public support; crime prevention; police-public relations

Introduction

Insecurity has assumed different forms in Nigeria. In the last fifteen years, Nigeria has witnessed an increase in the spate of criminality. This has placed the nation among countries with worsened national security in the world. The country is also noted to be home to a substantial network of organized crime (World Bank, 2010). The current insecurity crisis facing Nigeria is not the only rising incidence of crime but also the gradual shift in the categories of crimes committed from petty crimes to more grave and heinous crimes (Afon & Badiora, 2018). Generally, there is raising incidents of armed robbery, human trafficking, assassination, kidnapping, homicide, cultism, and related harms. Besides, different militia groups have sprung up. For instance, the Niger-Delta agitators arose due to tensions between the oil corporations and some minority ethnic groups who felt they were being exploited. There are herdsmen and farmers killings which result from the invasion of the farmland by nomadic cattle. Boko Haram revolt is another

notable security threat with a series of terrorist activities claimed by the sect. In actual fact, the spectra of insecurity in Nigeria has grown to such an alarming level that it has remained a paramount feature in national and international discourses.

In response to these emerging security threats, Nigeria police department has evolved various policing strategies that are at variant with traditional policing. One current approach is Community Policing (CP). CP is a style of policing that requires police department to reshape its forces into community change agents in order to work with citizens to reduce crime at the neighbourhood level (Siegel, 2008). CP has the goal of crime prevention and restoring sense of security among residents within their society (Mastrofski, Roger, Albert, & Robert, 1998). CP is cumulus of philosophical and organizational illustration stressing on collaborative approach from police and public to reach better lifestyle and concern shared by the community to root out neighborhood problems (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1998). CP is a local government innovation

that promises to increase public safety and trust in police. It is a program, or set of programs, increasingly used by local governments across the country. CP involves policing efforts with community participation. The evolution of CP is dated back to Peel's emphasis of policing in conjugation with community. The manner of policing should be such that where the public are the police and the police are the public (Peak & Glensor, 2002). Like Nigeria, some countries' inclusion of CP is due to dynamic shift in society to try alternate strategies by progressive public pressure accumulated against shortcomings of traditional policing and demanding police accountability (Williamson, 2008).

CP is a people-oriented policing. It is an area where the public's opinions are especially important (Skogan & Hartnett, 1997). As pointed out by Wu, Jiang, and Lambert (2011), "the community side of CP is important because the extent to which community members are willing to render support in solving problems, provide input in policy making, and participate in various crime prevention programs can significantly affect the establishment, sustenance, and effectiveness of CP programs" (p. 286). Police as a community institution rely more heavily on the support of the public to achieve success in the performance of their duties (Ayodele & Aderinto, 2014). It is therefore possible that public support can contribute to a cycle of police effectiveness, crime control and further (dis)trust of the police. Therefore, understanding policing views is important, because positive views can help foster a positive relationship between the police and the public, which in turn can enhance the effectiveness of the police. On the contrary, negative views of the police can not only hamper the effectiveness of the police and the public's trust in them, but also lead to perceptions that the police are a tool of an oppressive government, unconcerned with the wants and needs of its citizens (Goldsmith, 2005; Nalla & Madan, 2012). Furthermore, among the many areas of public services, the police are unique. It is, therefore, necessary to understand why public support for police services vary and what we can do about it. Further, as the police are a typical example of "street-level" public services with which citizens typically interact, understanding how one may improve their overall performance is a particularly important topic of research.

While there is a growing body of research on public views of CP, the vast majority of the research has focused on the views of individuals in western nations (See, for example Brown, Benedict, & Wilkinson, 2006; Cao & Dai, 2006; Wu et al., 2011). There is dearth research outcomes on public views of CP in the sub-Saharan nations, particularly, Nigeria. It should be noted that concentrating public views of CP in selected few nations' limits the generalization of findings. Khan and Unnithan (2009) pointed out that

focusing solely on policing issues in developed countries leads to a narrow-minded perspective. Besides, previous research on policing in Nigeria shows that the general public holds fairly negative attitudes toward the police, including satisfaction with and trust in the police. Based on a survey of sixty Nigerian college students, Alemika (1988) reported that the police were viewed as too quick to act, uncivil, abusive, and corrupt. Drawing on data collected from a survey of 334 randomly selected residents in Ile-Ife, Nigeria, Afon and Badiora (2016) revealed that residents had very low level of satisfaction with the police. Akinlabi (2016) established that conducts of Nigerian police are typically woeful and distrusted by local communities, leaving them ineffective in addressing security challenges. As a consequence, Harnischfeger (2003, p. 5), concluded that 'Nigeria's police has failed to protect its citizens and have therefore lost all credibility'.

Most of the previous research in Nigeria had focused on limited areas of views of the Nigerian police, such as satisfaction, confidence, trust, legitimacy, and civility as well as effectiveness. It is unclear what level of support exists among residents in a Nigerian society for CP. Hence, there remain gaps in the literature of public perceptions of CP aspects of crime control in Nigeria. Badiora (2018) conducts a nearly related study when he explores whether what is already known about perceptions of procedural (in) justice of state police also applies to self-help security groups in Nigeria. Six categories of variables were analyzed. These are procedural justice, distributive justice, vigilante corps' performance, legitimacy, residents' satisfaction with vigilante corps activities and socio-economic characteristics. Results show that respondents who perceived vigilante corps use procedural justice are more likely to view them as legitimate, and in turn, are more likely satisfied with their activities and services. This research was merely experimental survey with no consideration for neighborhood-level or intra-urban comparison. Hitherto, there is paucity of research that is designed to measure public opinion and make clear other important factors explaining public opinion on policing beyond these six factors and/or in a cross-neighborhood context. Attachment to neighborhood; fear of crime and concerns for offenders' punishment, for instance, have not been studied as factors in support for CP in the previous research conducted in Nigeria. However, these can be an important factor. Research on the public's views on CP and the factors associated with support for CP is, therefore, urgently needed in order for CP to gain a greater stability. The public's views on CP are key to understanding the level of success of CP efforts (Nalla & Madan, 2012). In order for people to engage in behaviors necessary for CP,

support for CP activities is crucial. Besides, identifying and understanding those factors linked with support for CP is essential. This study therefore examines the level of support for CP and the factors associated with support for CP in Ile-Ife, Nigeria. This exploratory study was conducted to compare and contrast public views on CP from neighborhood with high crime rate (AHCR) and neighborhood with low crime rate (ALCR) and to explore the variables that may be linked with support for CP. A total of 217 respondents in the AHCR and 242 respondents in the ALCR residents were surveyed on their views on CP. Findings and information provided in this study can be useful for researchers and police commissioners interested in increasing support for CP.

Overview of the Nigeria Police Force (NPF)

In history, what is known today as the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) is the brainchild of British colonial government. This happened following the takeover of Lagos in 1861. The British Envoy charged with the administration of Lagos established a Consular Guard in Lagos by the Police Act of 1861 to help maintain law and order. This was later extended to the Northern and Southern protectorate. The British used the police to control and suppress the native population during its colonial rule. During this period, police were mostly associated with local/native authorities in the Nigerian urban centers. In 1963, these forces were first regionalized and then nationalized in 1967. The primary functions of the Nigerian police are general detection and prevention of crime as well as the preservation of law and order. However, the police has over the years, been divested of many of its original responsibilities. For example, intelligence gathering and analysis are now the responsibility of the State Security Service (SSS) and the Office of the National Security Adviser (NSA) with regard to security and public order; control of crimes of corruption, fraud, and related practices are now virtually under the auspices of Anti-Corruption Commission (ICPC) and the Code of Conduct Bureau; organized crime is being handled by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), the Customs Department, and even some traffic offences are basically under the purview of the Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC). Nonetheless, successive Nigerian Constitutions have provided for the existence of the Nigeria Police Force alone as the national police of Nigeria with exclusive jurisdiction throughout the country.

While the police are the most visible part of the above security agencies, the public image of the police is far from what is expected. The NPF is so far incompetent, defective in training and organization and inadequately supervised;

generally regarded as corrupt and oppressive (Alemika, 1988). NPF are typically woefully under resourced, inadequately trained, unaccountable (Akinlabi, 2016) and failed to secure the confidence and cordial cooperation of the people, leaving them ineffective in addressing crime and security challenges (Afon & Badiora, 2016). According to Harnischfeger (2003, p. 5), 'Nigeria's police has failed to protect its citizens and have therefore lost all credibility'. The integrity of the police in the country has been eroded by widespread corruption and brutality among them. The Nigeria police is characterised by extortion, incivility, extra-judicial killings and impunity (Odinkalu, 2004). As a consequence, the Nigeria police are confronted with a legitimacy crisis. The Nigeria police suffer deficit of public legitimation and support; the public do not respect, trust and support the police because their performance is poor. Also, the public regards the character and level of accountability of the police as grossly unsatisfactory. The police in Nigeria are generally feared but not trusted by the Nigerian public (Alemika, 2003).

Besides performance, integrity, and legitimacy crisis, Nigeria police problem can also be linked to outdated policing practices (Afon & Badiora, 2016). As shown in the history, the British formed the Nigerian police for urban areas. As an organization, it was not designed to have much input from the grassroot community, and, for the most part, this style of policing has continued until lately when police departments experimented with new forms of law enforcement, called CP (Ordu & Unam, 2017). Thus, CP is a relatively new concept in Nigeria. The NPF search for a more responsive approach to policing witnessed the setting up neighborhood watches and hosting of community meetings. Specifically, there have been CP initiatives, such as the neighborhood watch programs in Lagos, the Neighbourhood security Committees in Ile-Ife, Oyo and other towns, the Friends of the Police program in Kano, the CP Initiative in Asaba, City Vigilance Committees in Lagos, Port-Harcourt, Ado-Ekiti, Ile-Ife, Oshogbo and many other towns. Furthermore, the agency has constituted Police Community Relation Committee (PCRC) and Citizen Advisory committees in all its commands including, Ile-Ife; the study area. Nevertheless, it has been identified that one of the major setbacks in CP in Nigeria is that most of the efforts in CP, however, have not included significant community input at the onset (Ordu & Unam, 2017).

Previous studies

In literature, there are different thoughts over the concept of CP. However, one opinion that is common to all is that CP entails partnership with people or community. This is what provides a contextual setting for community

style of policing. For instance, Goldstein's (1979) problem-oriented policing, Wilson and Kelling's (1982) "broken windows" theory as well as Shaw and McKay's (1942) theory of social disorganization are the most renowned and widely accepted theoretical anchors for CP. Although, these scholars have different perspectives towards engaging crime and insecurity problems, they all place public collaboration at the center of CP approach to crime prevention. Goldstein's (1979) problem-oriented policing supports the idea of engagement of police in community and communicate them effectively in order to identify underlying causes of problems. Likewise, "broken windows" theory asserts that social cohesion and community involvement are the key factors required to deal with physical and social signs of incivilities from the neighborhood. The Police, by working closely with the community is saddled with the onus of removing the signs of incivility from the neighborhood thereby preventing crime through this proactive approach. Shaw and McKay's (1942) theory of social disorganization proposed that police agencies should work with community in order to build a sense of community that takes care of its own problems and provides social control to solve neighbourhood crime problem. From the array of theoretical underpinnings on CP, it is evident that support and sharing of responsibility with public or community are indispensable strategies adopted by CP to maintain order.

Although, there is paucity of empirical research on CP practices, available related few merits acknowledgment in this study. Using survey data of 377 residents of Lagos, Nigeria, Badiora (2018) explore whether what is already known about perceptions of procedural (in) justice of state police also applies to self-help security groups in Nigeria. The study adopted a case study approach and analyzed six categories of variables: namely procedural justice, distributive justice, vigilante corps' performance, legitimacy, residents' satisfaction with vigilante corps activities and socio-economic characteristics. Results reveal that respondents are not primarily instrumental in their support for vigilantisms. Instead, their support is associated with their basic communal values. More than effectiveness in controlling crime, vigilantisms receive community support provided they use procedural justice in dealings with the public. Respondents who perceive vigilantisms use procedural justice also view them as legitimate, and as well satisfy with their activities and services. Besides, results show that support for and satisfaction with vigilantisms are associated with environmental, social and economic characteristics of the residents in the community they serve.

Having collected data from a nationwide, representative sample of about 1800 Americans who reside in large metropolitan areas, Weitzer and Tuch (2004) found that a substantial majority of the surveyed Americans favored two policies that fall under the rubric of CP: more meetings between the police and community residents and more police programs in the schools. Minority respondents, both black and Hispanic, were more likely than white respondents to support these policies. Furthermore, findings from the study show that 69%, 73%, and 78% of white, Hispanic, and black respondents, respectively, reported no CP practices in their neighborhoods and said that they wished the police administrators would practice CP in their neighborhood. Similarly, a survey of a total of 434 Indian and 484 US college students by Lambert et al. (2014) showed that punitive orientation had a significant effect on attitudes toward CP, but was related to an increase in the support in India and reduction of support in the USA. Among the Indian respondents, concern for crime and support for aggressive policing had positive associations with support for CP, and police involvement in the community had a negative association. Among the US respondents, age, educational level, and perceptions of police effectiveness had positive associations with support for CP, and holding a punitive orientation had a negative association.

Based on secondary data from a telephone survey of 6977 respondents from two cities, Yuksel and Tepe (2013) undertook an examination of the predictors of satisfaction with CP in Indianapolis, Indiana, and St. Petersburg, Florida. The principal aim of the study was to examine the effects of feeling of safety, quality of police contact, victimization, and neighborhood and police work ratings on satisfaction with CP. The study also investigated the effects of control variables such as race, age, and gender. Their findings show that race was important predictor of citizen satisfaction with CP. Feeling of safety was a moderate level predictor. Their analysis confirmed that those who were victimized previously had lower level of satisfaction with CP. Although their study confirmed that those who rated police contact positively expressed more satisfaction with CP, it was not a strong predictor of it. Their study also revealed that those who expressed positive ratings for their neighborhood expresses less satisfaction with CP.

Unlike CP, there is depth of empirical research studying public perceptions of traditional or conventional policing. The study by Huang and Vaughn (1996) indicated a positive supportive attitude toward the police. Findings suggest, however, that the level of satisfaction can vary across a variety of factors (Brown & Benedict, 2002).

Socio-economic characteristics such as age, gender, and educational level have been found to be associated with opinion about policing (Lai & Zhao, 2010). Previous research has reported that women tend to be more supportive of the police (Lai & Zhao, 2010; Reisig & Parks, 2000). Likewise, both age and educational factor have been found to be positively associated with trust and confidence in the police (Cao, 2001; Lai, Cao, & Zhao, 2010; Reisig & Parks, 2000). The literature mostly suggests a strong relationship between respondent's race and satisfaction level (Hong, 2017; Linos, 2017; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). In relation to demographic characteristics, findings have shown people having more income to be more satisfied, with police (Walker, 1972). However, some studies have challenged this relationship. In fact, much of the empirical research that has tested the association has found non-significant and contradictory results (See Afon & Badiora, 2016; Dunham & Alpert, 1988; Kelly, 2003).

Perception of crime and feeling of safety is another important determinant of citizen satisfaction studied by many scholars. Wu et al. (2011) postulated that perception of crime views help shape the views of CP. They contended that those who felt crime was a serious problem were less likely to advocate for CP because they may see CP as not effectively dealing with crime. Wu et al. (2011) further postulated that individuals with a more punitive orientation would be less likely to support CP, because it may be seen as being soft on crime. Most research suggested that people who have a great sense of safety and who rate their neighborhoods favorably hold a higher opinion of police controlling for individual characteristics such as race and age (Hwang, McGarell, & Benson, 2006). In line with these findings, satisfaction with police and fear of crime are found to be negatively related with one another (Scheider, Rowell, & Bezdikian, 2003). Victimization are also found to be a significant factor that changes the perception of individuals on feeling of safety and fear of crime, leading a change in their attitudes towards police (Tewksbury & West, 2001).

Previous studies have shown a link between social bonds and public perceptions of the police as well. Researches have indicated that attachment to parents, commitment to school, and pro-social values exert significant effects on youth perceptions of the police and willingness to assist the police (Flexon, Lurigio, & Greenleaf, 2009; Lurigio, Greenleaf, & Flexon, 2009; Nihart, Lersch, Sellers, & Mieczkowski, 2005). Attachment to significant others may signify support for the police among the adult population as well. Such bonds can insulate individuals from the influence of antisocial forces and behaviors, keep them away from

deviant values and subculture, and nurture positive sentiments toward conventional institutions including the police (Lambert et al., 2014). Following from this new trend, neighborhood characteristics are claimed to be associated with citizen satisfaction with police. Mastrofski et al. (1998) found that the neighborhood with a reasonable level of interaction with the police has significant effects on citizens' positive perception of police. Especially, in urban areas where there is likelihood of greater social problems such as poverty and high crime rates which may contribute to citizens' negative perception of police (Nofzinger & Williams, 2005).

Perceptions that the police are civil in their interactions with the public may increase public willingness for the police to become more involved in the activities in the community (Lambert et al., 2014). In fact, confidence in the police, especially regarding police civility and fairness, captures the concept of procedural justice (Tyler, 2001). How police officers interact with citizens, including officers' manner, attitudes, and behaviors, have important implications for citizen compliance with the police. When citizens perceive that the police are fair, respectful, and friendly, they are more likely to comply with the law and cooperate with the police voluntarily. Similarly, views that the police are effective in dealing with crime were postulated to improve the image of the police in the eye of the public, and this positive image would, in turn, increase the willingness of people to have a partnership with the police. It has been argued that people who perceive the police as effective may see no need to partner with the police (Wells, Schafer, Varano, & Bynum, 2006).

Tankebe (2008) reported that perceptions of police effectiveness had both a direct impact on perceived police trustworthiness and legitimacy. According to Sunshine and Tyler (2003), perceptions that the police are trustworthy and legitimate promote public support for policing and for cooperation with the police. Sunshine and Tyler (2003) argue that police's use of unfair procedures when exercising their authority can lead to non-cooperation from the public. This suggests that the actions of individual police can, therefore, have a direct and fundamental impact by either enhancing or lowering people's judgments of the police. Various studies have shown that procedural justice predicts public intentions to cooperate with the local police (See for instance: Augustyn, 2015; Jackson, Bradford, Stanko, & Hohl, 2012; Reisig, Tankebe, & Meško, 2012; Reisig, Wolfe, & Holtfreter, 2011). While Sunshine and Tyler (2003) contrast legitimacy with an instrumental perspective, which they define as embracing public acceptance of the ability of the police to effectively control crime and criminal

behaviour, Bottoms and Tankebe (2012) presupposes the existence of shared values, which define what the objectives of the police ought to be. In Sunshine and Tyler and Bottoms and Tankebe's point of view, it was evident that if police treat individuals in a procedurally just manner, people will be more likely to view the police as legitimate, and in turn will be more satisfied and more willing to participate in CP activities such as report crime and provide crime-related information, cooperate with police during an involuntary contact, call when they require assistance and serve as a witness in court proceedings. Conversely, seeing the policing as corrupt, feeling safe, and believing that the police treated people fairly were not linked with perceptions that there was police-citizen cooperation. There is a need for more research on the correlates of support for CP among people in sub-Saharan nations, particularly Nigeria.

Present study

In this study, support for CP and the factors associated with it are explored among Nigeria residents. Support for CP as used in this study referred to the people's views on the general idea of CP. This is examined with four sets of variables. These are socio-economic characteristics, perceptions of crime and penalty, attachment to locality or place attachment and perceptions of policing. Based on previous studies, a set of factors to account for support for CP in Nigeria is developed. As factors such as socio-economic and demographic characteristics, perception of crime and concern for safety are among the most frequently examined correlates of public perceptions of and support for the police in previous studies, they were also included in the present study. Furthermore, perceptions that crime and concern for safety as pressing social issue were predicted to be negatively related to support for CP in Nigeria (Afon & Badiora, 2016). As postulated by Wu et al. (2011), individuals with a more punitive orientation would be less likely to support CP, because it may be seen as being lenient on crime. In this present study, perception of offenders' penalty was predicted to be negatively associated with support for CP. This relationship could be significantly influenced in Nigeria by the relatively common public perception that the Nigerian police are corrupt in dealing with offenders in that offenders can buy his way out of his offences (Alemika, 1988; Afon & Badiora, 2016; Akinlabi, 2016). This study also explored whether views of crime and penalty were factor influencing support for CP in Nigeria, as reported by Wu et al. (2011).

Another variable used in previous studies to explore support for CP in was place attachment. Attachment to society as well as significant others was predicted to be

positively associated with residents' support for CP in Nigeria. This is because attachment to society, family and friends is very vital in Nigerian societies and culture (Faniran, 2016). Another set of variables used is perceptions of various aspects of the police and policing. This set of variables is multidimensional. According to Sunshine and Tyler as well as Bottom and Tankebe's point of view, the effect of perceived police effectiveness is even stronger if the police are perceived to be procedurally fair. As such, in this present study, both perceptions of police fairness in dealing with public and police effectiveness were predicted to be positively linked with support for CP in Nigeria. Furthermore, both aggressive policing and community policing are recent police reform initiatives in Nigeria. Support for aggressive policing was postulated to be positively associated with CP. Thus, attitudes toward CP may be positively related to attitudes toward aggressive policing. In the over all, predictors for CP were postulated to be similar for both groups of neighborhood. Finally, this study is unique because to date, no empirical evidence is available on level of public support for CP in Nigeria. It is expected that residents in Nigeria would have similarly high or even higher levels of support for CP than their corresponding residents of other cities as reviewed in the literature. Furthermore, the overview of Nigeria Police Force suggests that Nigeria police departments are less accountable to the community and suffer a poor image of being corrupt, unresponsive, and incompetent. Thus, the public may have stronger support for reform and change of policing approaches. In addition, given that CP is new and currently in a developing stage in Nigeria, it is sensible to speculate that Nigerian communities will render greater support for CP.

Methodology

Ile-Ife is one of the Nigerian traditional towns with urban problems of various forms and in varied complexities. One of these urban problems is crime. In order to address this crime problem, there have been several steps by the police to be more responsive to the community. Hence, CP initiatives, such as the Neighborhood Security Committees, Vigilante Committees, Police Community Relation Committee (PCRC) and Residents Advisory Committees. A survey of residents of Ile-Ife, Nigeria was conducted in 2017 having divided into two areas, namely: (i) area with high crime rate (AHCR) and (ii) area with low crime rate (ALCR). This was based on a study conducted by Badiora (2012) which divided Ile-Ife into these two unique areas. The survey questionnaire was administered on residents in these two areas during their neighbourhood meeting. This is a regular gathering of residents to create bonds and dialogue on issues affecting their

neighbourhood. This gathering was chosen as avenue to engage the residents because it usually represents a varied collection of residents. Besides, residents can be more easily accessible at this meeting than at their individual residences.

Systematic sampling technique was used to select one out of every twentieth residents (5%) who attended neighbourhood meeting of the day the survey was conducted. In the first instance, residents at the meetings were assigned number serially. The first participant was then selected at random while subsequent unit of investigation was at interval of twenty residents. In cases where subsequent resident did not volunteer, the next resident to him/her on the serial list was selected. Residents completed a questionnaire during neighbourhood meeting time. The questionnaire was written in English (*the official language of Nigeria*) and explained to the residents. They were made to be aware that the survey is basically for academic research purpose, which will have policy implication towards engaging crime and security in Ile-Ife. They were as well informed that the survey is voluntary, the results would be anonymous and all answer given will be treated as final opinion. Not all questionnaire were properly completed, nonetheless, it was estimated that over 75% of the residents completed the questionnaire. In all, a total of 459 copies of questionnaire were properly returned comprising 217 from residents in areas with high crime rate (AHCR) and 242 from residents in area with low crime rate (ALCR).

Issues addressed in the questionnaire include the personal characteristics of respondents; levels of support for CP services; support for aggressive/conventional policing service; perceptions of crime and penalty for criminal, police effectiveness at dealing with criminality, as well as questions on respondents' views about place attachment, confidence in police, legitimacy of police and views about procedural and distributive justice aspects of policing. All these were summarized into five categories of variable items. These are support for CP, support for aggressive policing; demographic/socio-economic characteristics of residents, perceptions of crime and penalty, attachment to their locality, perceptions of policing. The dependent variable is support for CP. Measures used are as discussed as follows.

(1) Dependent variable (*Support for CP*)

This comprised of five items and answered using a five-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). The responses for each of the five items were summed together to form an index for

support for CP. Higher scores on the index indicated greater support for CP. A higher score on the scale reveals greater perceptions of support for CP. The Cronbach Alpha's index was 0.75 for the overall Ile-Ife residents, 0.64 for AHCR residents and 0.77 for ALCR residents. This variable reflects the respondents' support for the general principles and philosophy of CP.

(2) Independent variables (*Socio-economic characteristics of residents, perceptions of crime and penalty, attachment to their locality, and perceptions of policing*)

Five variables were included in the analysis to control for socio-economic differences between residents in the sample. These are *age, gender, level of education, average monthly income and ethnicity*. Two variables were included for views on crime and penalty. A variable measuring concern about crime used a single item: "Crime is one of the serious problems facing this neighbourhood." Another variable which employed a penal orientation to crime was included and was measured by the item "Penalties generally are not harsh enough on offenders." Attachment to society measured specifically respondents' attachment to their different residential neighborhoods. Respondents were asked whether or not they agreed that their behavior was strongly influenced by their neighborhood. Higher scores on this index indicate a stronger attachment to neighborhood. This variable was labeled attachment to neighborhood. Four different areas of views of the police were measured. Some of the items used to construct this scale were taken and adapted from Tyler's (1997) research on policing. Confidence in the police was measured using four items: first, "The police know what is best for my community"; second, "I trust the police"; third, "Police know what is best for people"; and fourth, "Police know how to best respond to crime." This variable was labeled confidence in the police. The Cronbach's a value for confidence in the police was 0.79 for the entire city (0.76 for AHCR respondents and 0.89 for ALCR residents).

Perceptions of the police being civil to citizens were measured using two items: first, "Police generally treat everyone the same in my community" and second, "Police are generally friendly." This variable was labeled police civility. Perceptions of police effectiveness were measured using two items: first, "Police have little impact on the amount of crime in my community" (inversely coded) and second, "Criminals have little to fear of the police" (inversely coded). This variable was labeled police effectiveness. Perceptions of involvement by the police in the community were measured using

two items: first, "In my community, the police frequently ask residents to provide ideas on how to best respond to crime and criminals" and second, "The police generally attend and participate in local community meetings". Perceptions of police involvement with the community were labeled police involvement. The last predictive variable was support for aggressive policing. Aggressive policing can include a variety of policing tactics, such as traffic enforcement, frequent stops of citizens, excessive use of force, and increased searches and seizures (Novak, Smith, & Frank, 2003). Five items were used to indicate this variable: first, "increase police number in community is important crime control", second "specially trained police are needed for community security; third "extreme police scrutiny is necessary to fight crime; forth, "regular stops and search by the police in the community is necessary to reduce crime" and fifth "there should be regular raid of crime hotspot in the community". This variable was labeled support for aggressive policing. The Cronbach's α value for support for aggressive policing was 0.73 (0.70 for AHCR respondents and 0.75 for ALCR respondents). Except for the demographic characteristic variables, the independent variables were measured using a five-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree (coded 1) to strongly agree (coded 5). Survey findings are discussed as follows. Unless where otherwise stated, the tables through which facts and findings are summarized are the products of the surveyed carried out in 2017.

Findings

Before presenting the details findings on support for CP and factors influencing support for CP based on opinion of residents, important characteristics of the respondents used in further analysis are presented. In the final sample, results show that 60% of the respondents in the AHCR were 40 years and below. Results also show that 63% were male while 79% had lived in this neighborhood for more than 15 years. All the respondents were native Nigerians with 72% identified their main ethnic or national group to be Yoruba; 8% Hausa; 15% Igbo and 5% other ethnicities. Furthermore, seventy per cent (75%) of respondents were married. Eighty five percent (85%) of the respondents had formal education. However, only forty nine (49%) had attained a post-secondary school education. While 18% of the respondents earned less than the national minimum wage of N18000.00k (equivalent of 50USD as at December 2017), results showed that 45% had their income above N200000.00k (equivalent of 278USD as at December 2017) per month.

For respondents in the ALCR, results reveal 52% female and 48% male. Findings show that half (50%) of the respondents were 40 years old and below. Results further showed 74% of the respondents had lived in this neighborhood for more than 15 years while 78% of the respondents were married. Findings show that while 3% of the respondents were non-Nigerians, 97% identified their main ethnic or national group to be Nigerian (Note: from this: 69% identified their main ethnic group to be Yoruba; 8% Hausa; 17% Igbo and 6% other tribes). On income distribution, findings show that 90% of the respondents earned more than the national minimum wage of N18000.00k (equivalent of 50USD as at December 2017) on monthly basis. More significantly, 51% had their income above N200000.00k (equivalent of 285USD as at December 2017) per month. From these findings, there appeared to be variation in the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents (i.e. none of the variables were the same in the two neighborhoods). Thus, these give the impression of no problem with skewness, and the socio-economic variables therefore, appeared to be normally distributed.

Table 1 presents the result of the univariate analysis of the variables depicting support for CP. On the average, findings show that residents in the AHCR were more supportive of the CP as compared to the ALCR residents. Results show that there was a statistically significant difference between the two groups of respondents on four of the five variables measuring support for CP. These variables include (a) police-residents relationship is important to prevent crime; (b) police-residents joint security force is a must in order to prevent crime; (c) residents-police information flow increases police effectiveness and (d) police-residents information flow improves residents' self-protection (See Table 1 for

Table 1. Means and standard deviation for support for community.

Variable items	AHCR		ALCR		Stat t-value
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
CP variable items					
Police-residents relationship is important to prevent crime	3.53	0.66	3.81	0.65	-4.22*
Police-residents joint security force is a must in order to prevent crime	3.50	0.65	3.77	0.69	-3.67*
Police working with residents is an effective deterrent to crime	3.44	0.71	3.51	0.71	-1.59
Residents to police information flow increases police effectiveness.	3.49	0.86	3.61	0.89	-2.78**
Police to residents information flow improves residents' self-protection	3.33	0.63	3.52	0.63	-4.55**

Item were measured using a five point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). For the independent t-test, a negative t-value indicates that the AHCR respondents were in higher agreement for the item as compared to the ALCR respondents.

** $p \leq 0.05$; * $p \leq 0.01$.

significant values computed). There was no significant difference in the perceptions that the police working with communities was an effective crime deterrent (AHCR mean = 3.44, SD = 0.71; ALCR mean = 3.51, SD = 0.71, t-value = -1.59). Nonetheless, it is important to recognize that, in the overall, both the AHCR and ALCR residents reported support for CP, even though there was higher support among the AHCR respondents.

The univariate analysis in Table 2 depicts the mean and standard deviation of the individual items in independent variables. The result of the univariate analysis reveals that there was a statistically significant difference between the two groups of respondents on the two variables measuring perception of crime and penalty. On the average, findings show that residents in the AHCR were more of the opinion that crime is

a problems facing their neighborhood as compared to the ALCR residents who did not clearly admit that crime is a problem in their neighbourhood. In similar vein, AHCR respondents strongly believed that penalties are not harsh enough on offenders as compared to the ALCR residents. In both neighborhoods, it was further observed that crime concerns (*crime is a problems facing this neighborhood*) is positively skewed. This indicates that the mean of this item in these neighborhoods is greater than the median score and it is also greater than the mode of the distribution. This demonstrates that crime is really a serious problems facing both neighborhoods when this survey was conducted. On concerns for punishment (*penalties are not harsh enough on offenders*), this was positively skewed for the AHCR and negatively skewed for the ALCR. Hence, there are high perceptions that penalties are not harsh enough on offenders, among AHCR residents as compared to the ALCR residents.

There was no significant difference in the opinion that the residents' behavior was strongly influenced by their neighborhood. (AHCR mean = 3.68, SD = 0.91; ALCR mean = 3.88, SD = 1.05, t-value = +1.11). Nonetheless, it is important to recognize that, in the overall, both the AHCR and ALCR residents reported behavior being influence by their neighborhood as this is positively skewed. On confidence in police variables, findings show that residents in the ALCR were, on the average, more confident in the police as compared to the AHCR residents. However, there was no statistically significant difference between the two groups of respondents on three of the four variables measuring confidence in the police. These variables include (a) police know what is best for this community (b) police know what is best for people; and (c) police know how to best respond to crime. Nevertheless, there was significant difference in the opinion of trust in the police (AHCR mean = 1.99, SD = 0.71; ALCR mean = 1.67, SD = 1.12, t-value = +2.19). It is important to note that, in the overall, both the AHCR and ALCR residents reported confidence in the police, even though there was higher confidence among the ALCR respondents. In both neighborhoods, it was further observed that three of confidence in the police items (i.e.: police know what is best for this community; police know what best is for people; and police know how to best respond to crime) are positively skewed. It means that the response on each item demonstrates that the respondents are very confident about the fact that police know what is best for their community; residents, and that there are high perceptions that police know how to best respond to crime. As regard trust in the police in the confidence item, it negatively skewed

Table 2. Means and standard deviation of other variable items.

Variable items	AHCR		ALCR		Stat t-value
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Perception of crime and penalty					
Crime is a problems facing this neighborhood.	3.32	0.99	2.99	0.91	-2.23*
Penalties are not harsh enough on offenders	3.61	0.75	1.73	0.67	-3.13**
Attachment to neighborhood					
My behavior is influenced by this neighborhood	3.68	0.91	3.88	1.05	1.11
Confidence in the police					
Police know what is best for this community	3.77	0.99	3.44	0.78	1.45
I trust the police	1.99	0.71	1.67	1.12	2.19*
Police know what is best for people	3.53	0.65	3.25	0.69	1.99
Police know how to best respond to crime.	3.56	0.65	3.32	0.71	2.55
Police civility					
Police treat everyone equally and fairly	1.60	0.62	1.70	0.62	1.33
Police are generally friendly.	1.67	0.60	1.76	0.60	1.12
Police effectiveness					
Police have impact on the amount of crime in this neighborhood	1.11	0.73	3.43	0.67	2.39**
Criminals have fear of the police	1.09	0.72	3.43	0.66	1.13*
Police involvement					
Police regularly ask residents to provide ideas on how to respond to crime	3.56	0.72	3.60	0.91	1.87
Police attend and participate in neighborhood meetings	1.59	0.72	1.85	0.91	1.45
Aggressive policing					
The number of police should be increased in this neighborhood	2.67	1.84	2.75	0.63	-1.03
Specially trained police crime squad should be engaged in this neighborhood	1.70	0.81	1.73	0.67	-1.03
Serious and aggressive police inspection is necessary to fight crime in this area	1.56	0.77	1.66	0.62	1.17
Regular stops and search by the police in this neighborhood is necessary to reduce crime.	1.46	0.87	1.57	0.67	1.22
There should be regular raid of crime hotspot in the community	1.44	0.65	1.49	0.71	-1.43

Item were measured using a five-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). For the independent t-test, a negative t-value indicates that the AHCR respondents were in higher agreement for the item as compared to the ALCR respondents.

** $p \leq 0.05$; * $p \leq 0.01$.

with respect to both community. Hence, public trust in the police is weak. Overall, findings in this category indicates that confidence in the police is beyond police ability to control crime.

From the summary presented in Table 2, it is evident that there was no statistically significant difference between the two groups of respondents on the two variables measuring police civility. On the average, findings show that residents in the ALCR were more of the opinion that the police treat everyone equally and fairly as compared to the AHCR residents. Furthermore, ALCR residents strongly believed that police are generally friendly as compared to the AHCR residents. Even though, items on perceptions of police civility showed negatively skewed scores in both neighborhood, it has a negative implication on how public perceive encounters and the quality of treatment and services received from the police. The result indicates that the public perception of police civility in the study area is poor. There was a statistically significant difference between the two groups of respondents on the two variables measuring police effectiveness. Furthermore, residents in the ALCR were more of the opinion that the police have impact on the amount of crime in their neighborhood as compared to the AHCR residents. Similarly, ALCR residents strongly believed that criminals fear the police as compared to the AHCR residents. Items on perceptions of police effectiveness showed negatively skewed scores in AHCR neighborhood. This result indicates that respondents' perception of police impact on the amount of crime is too little and that criminals have little to fear of the police in this area.

There was no statistically significant difference between the two groups of respondents on the two variables measuring police involvement. While item "police regularly ask residents to provide ideas on how to respond to crime" is positively skewed, the item "police attend and participate in neighborhood meetings" is negatively skewed. Hence, although police regularly ask residents to provide ideas on how to respond to crime, their attendance, and participation in neighborhood meetings is poor in the study area. Further findings show that there was no statistically significant difference

between the two groups of respondents on the five variables measuring support for aggressive policing. Except for an item, 'the number of police should be increased in this neighborhood' that is a little above the median score on the support for aggressive policing scale, the scale is negatively skewed in both the AHCR and ALCR. The skewness of this scale connotes that 'support for aggressive policing' is not too extreme or above the mean score. However, this is not to conclude that the respondents did not support aggressive policing, it only indicates that the number of residents who indicated their support were lower in comparison to those who did not indicate.

A bivariate correlation was computed to shed more light on the patterns and directions of association that exist between the variables in this study. Correlations were estimated for both groups of respondents. The correlations for the AHCR respondents are reported in Table 3. Age, educational level, gender, concerns for offenders' punishment, police confidence, police civility, and police effectiveness all had non-significant correlations with support for CP among the AHCR respondents. Fear of crime or crime concern, attachment to neighborhood, and support for aggressive policing each had a positive significant correlation with CP support. The variable for police involvement had a significant negative correlation with the support for CP. The correlations for the ALCR residents show that gender, crime concern, police involvement, and support for aggressive policing all had non-significant correlations with the support for CP. Age, educational level, neighborhood attachment, police confidence, police civility, and police effectiveness all had a significant positive correlation with support for CP. Furthermore, concerns for offenders' punishment had a significant negative correlation with the CP index. Further, it was evident in AHCR that those who had concerns for crime, who perceived police as ineffective, who see the police as not being civil, are more likely to support CP. Interestingly, this study showed that those who are in support of CP in ALCR may likely have confidence in the police and perceived the police as being civil and effective. Furthermore, this results indicated that support for CP may be lower in the face of police

Table 3. Correlation coefficients for AHCR and ALCR with support for CP as the dependent variable.

Neighborhood	Independent variables											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
AHCR	.30	.18	-.08	.03*	-.11	.13**	.14	-.11	-.23	-.07	.09**	.02
ALCR	.07*	.14*	-.10	-.06	-.12**	.14**	.16*	.18**	.29*	.09	.06	.04

Dependent variable: Support for CP

Independent variables: 1. Age; 2. Education level; 3. Gender; 4. Fear of crime; 5. Punishment concerns; 6. Place attachment; 7. Confidence in police; 8. Police civility; 9. Police effectiveness; 10. Police involvement; and 11. Aggressive policing; 12. Ethnic group of respondents (See Appendix for correlations between independent variables).

* $p \leq 0.05$; ** $p \leq 0.01$.

effectiveness in AHCR. The same may occur in ALCR when there is concerns for offenders' punishments.

To define the major determinants of support for CP, a multiple ordinary least squares (OLS) regression was constructed. In this cases, the index measuring support for CP was the dependent variable and the demographic variables, fear or concerns for crime and punishment, attachment to neighborhood, and perceptions of the police were the he determinant variables. Three separate OLS regression equations were estimated. First, for the AHCR residents, second for ALCR residents and third for the entire study area (AHCR and ALCR combined). The results for the three OLS regression equations are reported in Table 4. For the combined analysis, age of respondents, educational level, attachment to neighborhood, police effectiveness, and support for aggressive policing all had statistically significant associations with support for CP. As shown in Table 4, the multiple OLS regression model was found to be significant at $p \leq 0.05$, with F -value of 9.33 in AHCR; 10.64 in ALCR and 11.22 for combined study area. Based on the R-square values for the AHCR and ALCR regression models, the determinant variables explained slightly different amounts of variance of the dependent variable for the AHCR and ALCR residents. Precisely, findings show that 37% of the variance in support for CP was accounted for by the determinant variables among the AHCR respondents and 30% among the ALCR respondents.

The regression analysis further show that none of the demographic characteristics were significant predictors of support for CP for AHCR respondents. For the ALCR respondents, age and educational level both had a positive association. This indicates that increases in either were associated with increases in support for CP.

Fear of crime was positively linked with CP support among residents of AHCR but not ALCR residents. While concerns for punishment was significant in both regression equations, as it had a positive relationship among AHCR residents and a negative relationship among the ALCR residents. For both groups, neighborhood attachment was positively linked to support for CP. It is therefore likely that the more the attachment to significant others, the more the support for CP in the study area. For both groups of respondents, confidence in the police and police civility had non-significant associations with support for CP. Police effectiveness in dealing with crime was positively associated with support for CP among ALCR respondents but not for AHCR respondents. Interestingly, among AHCR residents, police involvement in the community were negatively associated with support for CP, while for the respondents in ALCR, the relationship was non-significant. In the OLS for the AHCR residents, support for aggressive policing was associated with support for CP but had a non-significant effect in the equation for ALCR.

The results from OLS suggest differences in the relationships of some of the predicting variables with support for CP between ALCR and AHCR. In order to be statically sure, an equality of regression coefficients test was conducted. The results are labelled z-score test in Table 4. This analysis allowed for the test of the null hypothesis that the difference between the coefficients is zero and any differences observed were due to random chance. Based on the result of z-score test, the differences in the coefficients for age and educational level between the AHCR and ALCR respondents were not statistically significant. In contrast, there were significant differences in the coefficients between AHCR

Table 4. Unstandardized and standardized ordinary least-squares regression (OLR) coefficients for AHCR and ALCR with support for CP as the dependent variable.

S/N	Variables	AHCR		ALCR		Combined		Coeff. diff. z test score
		b	β	b	β	b	β	
1	Age	.04	.06	.09	.20*	.09	.14*	-1.16
2	Level of education	.26	.10	.24	.12**	.20	.09**	.09
3	Gender	.02	.03	-.40	-.10	-.25	-.07	1.09
5	Fear of crime	.09	.25*	.03	.03	.15	.05	3.61*
6	Concerns for punishments	.29	.11**	-.33	-.14*	-.18	-.09	.55
7	Neighborhood attachment	.40	.14**	.24	.14*	.32	.14*	.16
8	Confidence in the police	.04	.04	.04	.06	.04	.05	-.07
9	Police civility	-.12	.08	.03	.02	-.12	-.09	-1.49
10	Police effectiveness	.09	.07	.36	.22*	.25	.16*	-2.07**
11	Police involvement	-.20	-.14**	.09	.06	-.06	-.04	-2.16**
12	Support for aggressive policing	.51	.25*	.11	.08	.34	.24*	-4.66*
	Constant		12.02		17.63		17.34	
	F-values		9.33*		10.64*		11.22*	
	R ²		.37*		.30*		.28*	
	Adjusted R ²		.21		.32		.19	

B: unstandardized regression coefficient; β : standardized regression coefficient. The combined total was 459; number for AHCR was 217; number for ALCR was 242.

* $p \leq 0.05$; ** $p \leq 0.01$.

and ALCR respondents for fear of crime/crime concern, police effectiveness, police involvement, and support of aggressive policing.

Discussion of findings

This study examines the level of support for CP and the factors associated with support for CP. This study represents one of the few empirical studies on support for CP in Nigeria. The majority of respondents in both AHCR and ALCR supported CP, with the AHCR residents rendering slightly higher levels of support than their ALCR counterparts. This level of support for CP in the study area can lay a basis for the implementation of specific community policing initiatives; particularly in the AHCR. In the bivariate correlation, it was revealed that beyond effectiveness in controlling crime, police civility is very significant in residents support for CP. In other words, police civility is relevant in building positive perceptions of CP. These findings are in line with Badiora's (2018) which suggest that further than effectiveness in controlling crime and disorder in the community, if vigilantisms use fairness in their dealings with member of the public, then residents are likely to view them as being more legitimate and may likely to be more supportive. Neighborhood attachment had significant effects on support for CP in both AHCR and ALCR. These results corroborates Wu et al.'s (2011) and Lambert et al.'s (2014) findings, which found that those who held stronger attachment to conventional society were also more favorable toward CP. Furthermore, for the combined analysis, age of respondents and educational level had statistically significant associations with support for CP. These means that residents with higher education level had better support for CP, as did high-income individuals. These individual-level predictors of support for CP is similar to the findings of Wu et al.'s (2011); Lambert et al.'s (2014) and Badiora (2018) which show that support for CP and/or vigilantism legitimacy is associated with environmental and socio-economic characteristics of residents in the community they serve.

That a few variables have significant effects on public support for CP in one neighborhood but not the other, further support the debate that there are intra-urban variations in attitudes toward policing. Perceptions on offender's penalty promotes support for CP in AHCR, however, reduces such support in the ALCR. This is similar to the works of Lambert et al. (2014) which show punitive orientation to have a sharply contrasting effect on attitudes toward CP in two cultures. The present study is somewhat different from previous research conducted on a sample of Chinese residents which indicates no significant effects of punitive orientation on support for

CP (Wu et al., 2011). These results seem to suggest that the impact of residents' opinion of offenders' punishment on attitudes toward CP may be contextual and conditioned on other factors beyond this present analysis. One such factor may be people's understanding of CP. For example, if residents view CP as adding to the policing means, it may perhaps explain the positive relationship, but if residents view CP as preventing crime, it possibly would explain why less people favor it. Fear of crime had significant effects on the AHCR respondents, but not on the ALCR respondents. Respondents in AHCR who thought crime was a serious problem were more likely to approve that it is vital for the police to work with the communities in controlling crime, however, for the ALCR respondents, greater fear of crime did not contribute to support for CP. These findings contradict western literature (*see literature review*) which suggests that oftentimes the very neighborhoods that the police most need support and collaboration from are also those most difficult for the police to connect and access. Residents in poor, minority-concentrated, and high-crime neighborhoods tend to be skeptical rather than supportive of the police. In these neighborhoods, police are more likely to be perceived as the enemy rather than as partners. Residents fear that more intensive policing could generate new problems of police harassment and penetration into citizens' civil lives (Skogan & Hartnett, 1997).

Conclusion

Overall, the expectation that factors influencing CP will be similar for both AHCR and ALCR respondents was not supported by the results. The only significant predictor in the same direction for both groups was attachment to conventional society. While perception of offenders' punishment was a significant predictor, it was in opposite directions for the residential neighborhoods. None of the other significant predictors were the same in terms of significance or in the same direction in the AHCR and ALCR regression models. This indicates that factors influencing CP are contextual and vary between the two societies. Efforts to increase support for CP will require understanding the particular factors necessary for increased support for CP in each neighborhood, city or nation. As such, there needs to consistent research in all parts of the World. Furthermore, this study highlights the importance of studying public perceptions of CP during a period of time when Nigeria started to introduce some forms of CP. Whether or not CP will become a successful reform movement that changes the way contemporary police operate and function, to a large extent, depends on whether it can win the hearts and minds of not only politicians, policy makers, and police practitioners, but

also the general public. Results of this study show that there are variations in residents' support for CP. The fact that the AHCR respondents held more positive views than the ALCR respondents may reflect some broader geographical, social and institutional differences in the nation that are beyond the present analysis. Nonetheless, this study generates preliminary evidence on the effects of a few key attitudinal factors, on support for CP.

This study is not without limitation. The data used in this study was cross-sectional in nature, and therefore, true causality between the variables cannot be determined. In order to address this limitation more effectively, therefore, future research should examine how residents' attitudes and behaviours change across time using longitudinal survey data collected from the same people at two different points in time. There are other theoretically relevant predictor variables that future research should test when studying public perceptions of the CP in Nigeria. For example, past research in western nations has reported that prior formal or informal contact with the police may be an important predictor, with prior positive police contact contributing to more favorable views of the police and prior negative police contact relating to decreased positive views of the police (Brown & Benedict, 2002). Furthermore, race/ethnicity of the respondent has been one of the most constantly establish significant correlates of public attitudes toward the police, with racial/ethnic minorities showing lower levels of confidence in and support for the police (Brown & Benedict, 2002). Future research in Nigeria should thus, also take people's class and social group into consideration in further examining the intra-urban variation in attitudes toward the police. This study measured support for CP using a few general items mainly indicating public perceptions of some aspects of CP philosophy. Future research should examine public views on different, more specific elements and practices of CP. Studies should also investigate both the perceptual and behavioral dimensions of support for CP. It is important to determine whether strong support for the philosophy of CP leads to real support for and active participation in CP programs and activities. Furthermore, a cross-cultural, inter-urban and cross-national assessment of support for CP should be given a priority in future analysis.

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