



Police, Civility, and the Media: News Coverage and Policing in an Age of Democratic Turbulence

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INTRODUCTION

Democratic governance in the West Africa sub-region is sailing in a turbulent water. The expectation of citizens was a better self-government upon the attainment of independence after years of colonial rule. This hope became a mirage with the emergence of military rules which had contagious effects across West African states soon after independence (Galadima & Umar, 2017). The unbargained military regimes derailed democratic values and created a negative political culture in the West African sub-region with the military as an alternative to democratic

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regimes. Olukotun (2010) argued that because of this symbiotic relationship between military dictatorship and democracy since the 1980s to the current democratic experience, there has been a rise in repressive state infrastructure in the midst of shifting contentions and contestation practicable in a post-dictatorial state. On the return to democratic rule, the police and the mass media were saddled with the responsibility of promoting democracy in the sub-region. Despite researching pointing to the collapse of norms of democratic policing in Africa (Alemika, 2009), hand in hand with growing calls for policing the media as well in the continent (Chibita, 2010), the citizens see the police as an institution with the constitutional responsibility of fostering internal security against the military brutality and impunity that characterised military regimes, while the media will give voice to the voiceless citizens and serve as a guide in the democratic governance of the state. Both the police and the media are expected to work as partners in the advancement of democratic governance, however, the relationship is not as cordial as anticipated. The police across West Africa were more loyal to the regime than the nation. The media on its part was mostly guided by the owners/the proprietors, who are also a subset of the society. Faced with these challenges, fear and suspicion became the order of the day between the police and the media Practitioners. According to Okonkwo and Ezeonuegbu (2022) in a study found out that with the inception of social media, the perception of the Police, and the fear of terrorism has gone a long way to compound the challenges of national security. This potentially impact how the media function, to the extent of even imbibing underground tactics (Olukotun, 2002).

The political class see the Police as belonging to their political parties, not the police for the whole nation. This position was easily taken as the police is under the Minister of Police Affairs a Politician, so the Police could be used to protect the parochial interest of the politicians. In so doing, it would intimidate any media that is publishing anti-government news no matter how factual such stories/news could be. Based on this institutional crisis, scholars such as Ikuteyijo and Rotimi (2014) observed that the image of the Police in Africa, specifically Nigeria, constitutes a challenge to national security. Colbran (2014) also heralded the impact of media representation on the Police, and the social effect it has on the larger society. The media usually go the extra mile to get stories that would advance the democratic culture, but such stories may not be favourable to the government of the day. The general option is for the

politicians to use the police to raid media houses and assault the media practitioners and those connected to the story that is not pleasant to the government. The police usually embark on uncivil methods while reacting to publications by the media. This includes the arrest of the journalists, sealing off media premises, and detention for a long time in police custody without trial (Adeyi, 2018).

On the part of the citizens, they are subjected to crude use of power by the politicians, in some cases they use the police to get the uncivil action done. The media on its part would expose such inhuman and undemocratic action, leading to the attack on the media by the police, which is now acting as agents of the regime, instead of protecting national interests. Both the police and the media have similar noble roles in society, but the ruling class has over the years been manipulating the two, using divide-and-rule strategies to ensure a lack of harmony between the police and the media. This has in no small measure promoted uncivil behaviour of the police against the media and the citizens in most West African states. This has systematically replaced the brutal military action against the media and the citizens.

POLICE IN DEMOCRATIC REGIMES

In all sovereign nations, the Police are seen and accepted as custodians of law and order without bias. It is expected of the police to protect lives and property, prevent crime, and instil confidence in the citizens and foreign nationals residing in the country. Effective policing is one of the main condiments of democratic rule globally, especially in developing nations. Like most nations, police have constitutional roles, which in practice legitimise the government, as such police functions serve as a source of confidence for the citizens in obtaining strength and trust in the government. However, Odeyemi and Obiyan (2018) argued that in Nigeria, there are high cases of police-citizen adversarial relationship, such that the need for the improvement of public security glaringly becomes imminent. In addition to the provision made in the constitution defining the responsibility of the police, most countries also have Police Acts that supplement the constitutional duties of the police (Gambo, 2008). A look at the laws backing police in Ghana, Nigeria, The Gambia, and Liberia, it is obvious that these West African countries have similar expectations for police duties. Citizens from these West African countries equally have their desired protection from the police. The media is in the channel

of ensuring adequate protection as it promotes human rights, and other democratic values. Post-colonial development in most of the West African states is similar, more so that the people have related pre-independence systems of government and socio-cultural connections that made modern political boundaries, artificial.

The Police in Ghana were a creation of the colonial administration. It was created not for the interest of the local citizens, but to promote and defend the interest of the colonial masters, which in a real sense is contrary to the interest of the citizens. In 1960, the Ghana civilian administration under the late Dr Kwame Nkruma established the Police Act, giving the police, the constitutional powers to protect citizens, manage and prevent crime, and also to advance the internal security of the country. The first attempt to overthrow a democratically elected regime in Ghana was initiated and masterminded by the Ghana police. It was an aborted action, but the Coupsists paid dearly for attempting a coup. It was a setback for the Ghana police as it was no longer taken in confidence by the Nkruma's government. The military coup that eventually pushed Nkruma out of power, was jointly executed by the police and the military. Ghana police may be seen as independent of the regime, but later events show that the police could not sustain its anti-government position, as it metamorphosed into an effective tool in the hands of government apologists: gagging the media, fighting a lost battle, serving the military interest instead of policing a crime-free nation, and ensuring sanity in society. Some scholars posit that police-media relations need to take off smoothly.

Liberia National Police came into existence in 1956, when it was established to protect citizens and property, with the sole aim of ensuring good governance in the country. The internal security of Liberia is the key duty of the police. This duty revolves around protecting life and property, controlling and management of crime, and ensuring the implementation of the rule of law. This is to be done by the law establishing the Liberia National Police, and the constitution of the country. The vision of Liberia National Police is to foster effective, efficient, and professional police service, that is citizen-driven in line with democratic culture. It is very interesting to note that, the Liberia National Police's main functions are the protection of people and property, maintaining public order and safety, identifying and recovering lost and stolen property, preventing, detecting, and fighting crime, identifying and arresting criminals, and enforcing the law and testify in court. These functions are not peculiar to

Liberia; police in other West African countries are performing the same function.

No much difference could be seen in the evolution of the Sierra Leone Police and other West Africa countries. A royal Gazette created the Sierra Leone Police in 1894, and in 1964 the Independent Sierra Leone through an Act of Parliament passed the Police Act, which is not different from that of the other West African countries. The common foundation of the police in West Africa made it practical to examine the role of the police in democratic governance in the sub-continent. We need to understand that the police are created globally as a necessity for good governance. The history of establishing the police in all the West African countries points to how the police would protect the government. It was created to protect the government and also handle those working against the government, in the manner that, those opposing the government would be handled by the police and also ensure sanity in the society.

THEORETICAL FOCUS

This chapter engaged the *structural-functional theory* in interrogating the nexus between the police and the media in a challenging democratic experience. The theory has multi-disciplinary usage as it is built on the understanding that the society is an organic entity, and every institution, profession, component are subsets of the organic entity, and the hierarchical control relative to institutions and groups (Parsons, 1975). The implication here is that every action and inaction of one subset will affect other subsets. This explains the relationship between the police and the media as interrogated in this chapter. Both the police and the media have crucial responsibilities in society, especially in a democratic dispensation, in the discharge of their duties, civility may be challenged. The goal of this theory is that every actor should function well in society; to do otherwise will lead to frictions of various degrees.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology used in the work aligns with the descriptive research method. This is more of an all-purpose method that seeks to present result as it is, without any bias or manipulation. It is applicable here in the sense that the method goes for both quantitative and qualitative research. Purposive sampling was adopted to capture various stakeholders, mainly

the police, media practitioners, and political gladiators. A secondary source of data came from purposively picked media organisations within the study area.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Police officers between the ranks of Inspectors and Deputy Commissioners of Police, media practitioners, and political aides of politicians were the three groups of people that were asked questions. Media reports of some events were also captured as secondary sources. The questions are: what are the expected relationship between the Police and the media? To what extent is civility expected in police duty? Are people aware of media law and democratic practice? Are the police in West Africa loyal to the state or the regime? Who can “police” the Police?

THE POLICE AND THE MEDIA

Both the police and the media have a critical responsibility to the society. The role of the police as discussed above affirms that without the Police, we cannot experience a civil society. Life will be brutish, carefree, antagonistic, and oppressive. Nobody or group can perform the police duty as the police itself. For the Police to function well, there must be free flow of information, it must be well-informed of the happenings, and the key function of the Police must be known and exposed to the public. This kind of mutual relationship is expected to foster unity and enhance nation-building and democratic values. In some situations, we see the police and the media working hand in hand, exchanging information, and reporting the events that would enhance democratic governance in the country. Most media organisations, have formidable Crime Desks, with experienced staff as Crime Editors. Journalists on this beat usually establish strong relationships with the Police’s top brass (Oshinfowokan, 2018). Across the West Africa sub-region, the major area of conflict between the police and the media is on matters of governance, citizens’ right, agitation against unpopular government policies, and government inaction on matters of public interest. The media will report the stories revolving around these challenges, support the citizens against the government, the Police on its own will want to defend the government and go to the extent that it would charge the media of aiding

protest against the government or instigating the citizens to run down the government.

With prolonged military rule, the political culture in most West African countries is militarised, the ruling class do not want any form of opposition, the opposition group usually form informal alliance with the media to challenge the government in power, of undemocratic policies and actions. The government on its part engages the police to defend the regime under the guise of defending and protecting the sovereignty of the country. Just as we have Police Acts and other laws defining the role of the police in all the West African countries, the Constitutions of the countries of this sub-region also made adequate provision for effective media in a democratic system. Under the fundamental objectives in the constitution, a special role is given to the media. The section empowers the media to uphold the fundamental objectives as stated in the Constitution; the media has the responsibility to monitor the government, ensuring that public officers are accountable to the masses.

The police and the media practitioners are both members of civil society; they are also equally affected by the effect of governance, and they have some forms of relationship with those in government. Some were recruited into the police through the efforts of Politicians, some got promoted through political connections. The Political class also cannot be excluded from control of the media. Some of them are Proprietors of media organisations, and such media will not rise against the owner. Some control the media, through huge patronage in terms of regular advertisement, ethnic or religious relationship with the Proprietors (Obateru, 2022). Considering all these factors, the police and the media, that are expected to work in harmony, turn out to be enemies by the strategies of the ruling class. The enmity is with resultant effects on democratic governance, having a direct bearing on the helpless citizens. There are several instances the police would go on rampage, acting on the “orders from above”. Such orders are always ruthless, inhuman, and unimaginable, as they do not sound civil or democratic. The media on its will damn the consequences and publish the stories at its disposal without considering the resultant effect of the publications. Both the police and the media have professional mindsets and are so determined to protect and advanced their interests (Gambo, 2008). The ruling class know the powers of the police and the media in democratic governance, to keep the two, is a no mean task. Control over the police is visible, as the police is a faction of the Executive arm of government, the media although recognised as the

Fourth Estate of the Realm, is not accepted as the friend of the government. This lack of trust and confidence in the media by the government, no doubt, created the usual clamp down on it by the police on behalf of the government.

POLICE AND THE TASK OF CIVILITY

In most modern nations, the Police are the chief custodian of internal security, it is very close to the people, and attends to day-to-day security challenges of the citizens, hence it is the friend of the people. One of the confidence-building attributes of the police is civility. This is more important in democratic rule. The electorate voted for the government of their choice, and the government must civilly give the citizens protection. The brutish experience of the military dictatorship should not be replayed, more so that the citizens see the democratic government as their own. Civility hangs on a decent, respectful, and dignified attitude to human beings without any form of discrimination. This means in the discharge of its duty, the police should not demonstrate negative emotions, like the use of crude and excessive force, violation of human rights, and unprofessional conduct. It is expected of the police to respect every citizen, treat people as innocent until the law establishes a case for them. The rights of humans should not be looked down upon, and proper education of citizens on the danger of falling foul of the law should be the task of the police, rather than waiting for them to fall short of the law and then subjecting them to torture and extortion (Onoja, 2020).

The uncivil action of the police is not because they were not properly trained. The driving force is the pressure from the government, giving orders that certain actions must be taken in the interest of those in government contrary to laid down procedures. This probably explains why most of the time, the police actions are uncivil, go without punishment. Traditional government backing somehow helps to institutionalise impunity and increase incivility against the Media, and other sub-sectors of society. This loyalty to the regime instead of the state has gone a long way to ensure that incivility is part of the police way of life. Some scholars have posited that the police are always having the support of their superior officers and the political class in carrying out every unholy action (Adeyi et al., 2018). Against this background of support for Police incivility, there is a need for us to look at how the media is affected.

THE MEDIA, LAW, AND DEMOCRACY

States of the West Africa sub-region dutifully made legislation to regulate the practice of media in the respective countries. In Ghana, we have the National Media Commission, which is saddled with the responsibility of registering, regulating, and monitoring the operations of media organisations in Ghana. The story is not different in Liberia, where the constitution guarantees free press, freedom of expression, and removal of repressive law in Liberia. Article 15 of the Liberia constitution promotes the media to operate in line with global standards. In Sierra Leone, there is Independent Media Commission, whose duty is to regulate mass media organisations and ensure professionalism. Conscious of some anti-democratic media laws, the government repealed some of the laws like the criminal libel and seditious law of 1965, in 2020. The situation in Nigeria is not different from those of other West African countries. Freedom of Information Act spiced the media legislation in Nigeria, among several other laws regulating media practice.

Most of the Press laws originated in the colonial era, while some are products of military dictatorship. The similarity of political experience among the countries of West Africa made it easier to look at the laws in any of the countries as a basis for analysis or discourse. Let us look at of such laws in Nigeria, which apply to other West African countries: Seditious Offences enacted by the colonial government in 1909, still in force. The Newspaper Act Cap 129 of 1958 was also enacted by the Colonial masters, then the Seditious Act No. 48 of 1961 by the Balewa-led civilian administration, followed by the Defamation Act No 66 of the same 1961, Defamatory and Offensive Publications Decree 44 of 1966 by the Military regime, Public Officers (Protection Against False Accusation) Decree no 11 of 1976. These laws are some of the weapons the police are using to clamp down on the media in most cases without regards to civility and the rule of law.

DEMOCRACY, POLICE, AND THE MEDIA

The Media in West Africa played a critical in entrenching and sustaining democracy after long military intervention and forceful regimes. It was a general expectation that the Media would enjoy a better atmosphere of freedom in a democracy. The relationship between the Police and the media was expected to be more rewarding, and more effective in

fostering democratic governance. Series of workshops, seminars, trainings, and other forms of public enlightenment programmes were organised to promote harmony among critical stakeholders in the democratic exercise. It was assumed that the traditional harassment of the media in the military regime would be a thing of the past in a democracy. Although cases of sealing off media houses reduced drastically, the same with incidences of physical assault of media practitioners. There are instances where police accused the media of working against national security, by reporting events that may threaten the unity of the country. The media in most cases is guided by the fact that unfolding events in a democracy should not be swept under the carpet; rather, it must be made known for collective action in the spirit of democracy (Oshinfowokan, 2018). When the media becomes the voice of the opposition or the oppressed, the government becomes worried and turn the media to be the enemy of the state. With a bad name, the media would not be accorded any civility by the law enforcement agency; hence the uncivil behaviour by the police towards the media. We must note that government-owned media and those owned by friends of the government get special treatment, patronage and enjoy uncommon civility.

SOURCES OF POLICE INCIVILITY AND THE MEDIA

Police are to protect the state in principle; we have seen from the colonial era that the Police protect the interest of the regime, not even the state, or the citizens. When it seems that the Police is civil, in interacting with the media, the duo are both serving the interest of the ruling elite. Across West Africa, we can posit that five main reasons made the police to be uncivil in a democracy:

The Question of Legitimacy

Most elections are not free and fair in the sub-region. The first action the new government takes is to fight for legitimacy; to do that means to mesmerise the Media and create fear in the Journalists who want to be making issues on the election that was not legally won. Media houses in some cases were sealed off, and the practitioners either took to their heels or were arrested by the police on the orders of the political class. To give voice to the opposition, the Police become the tool in the hands of those returned as winners and would go any length to silence the media from

giving a voice to the voiceless. No matter how legitimate the claims of the opposition are, the government would not be happy with the media giving them a voice.

A Mark of Loyalty to the Regime?

The Police will always want to go the extra mile to pledge loyalty to the regime, especially if there is a change of government. In demonstrating loyalty, it could throw professionalism away, and charge the media to the court under any of the controversial laws. While doing that, it would use certain privileges it has in law, to maltreat the media, even before the judiciary would make a pronouncement. Actions like these are taken to secure favour with a new government, and probably get more budgetary allocations or more responsibilities as loyal member of the new regime. There are cases of those retired by a new administration and replaced by those seen as more dedicated to the new regime. Consequently, it is the media that is paying for the parochial interest of the police. The unprofessional acts are not initiated by the government, but the police, and the government will not sanction the police for the misconduct as it is in the narrow interest of the government.

Political Consideration?

Unpopular government policies often render the leaders unacceptable to the masses; hence they are prone to mass revolts. The media is the prime driver of mass revolts. When the media is discharging its social responsibility duty, which may resultantly deflate the little acceptability the government is enjoying, no doubt the police will attack the media for creating political consciousness that would reduce the acceptability of the government. This is certainly a source of conflict, as the police would go the extra mile to stop the media. The police may also not be satisfied with the government's decision and action; it would no doubt do what it is professionally acceptable in checking the role of the media in fostering responsible governance.

Absence of Accountability

A regime that is not transparent would not go far. The media has the responsibility of exposing all forms of impunity the government is manifesting; hence the police action against the media under the guise of protecting the nation, and giving the media a bad name. The police may not be unaware of the negligence of the government and its activities, leading to bad governance, however, it would want to show loyalty to the regime, instead of aligning with the media to check the non-performance of the government. There are instances that government give special patronage to party members and neglect other citizens, or even deny workers their wages and they enjoy undue affluence. The media coverage of such usually attracts police uncivil attacks on the media.

Policing the Police

When the media is policing the activities of the police, reporting the unprofessional part of police daily routine under the cover of freedom of expression in a democracy, the police usually embark on assault of a multi-dimensional nature to silence the media; this in some cases may lead to killing or inestimable damage, of property depending on the issues at stake. The police with low budgetary allocations usually create avenues to generate money, which may include extortion of money from people in their custody. Reporting some of these unpleasant happenings usually breeds uncivil reactions from the police. In some instances, the police have selected media it considered friendly and associated, while some are blacklisted and would always suffer undue attacks and frustrations from the police. From what we have stated above, it is clear that the challenges the police is facing are products of the society, not specially meant for the police alone. It is important to note that the attention on the police and the media became inescapable as a result of their unique position, and role, in governance. Both the media and the police are subsets of the society, the tasks expected of them are above the general standard in any given society. All democratic governments need efficient and strategic police; it is the media that would also project the police, and give it, a positive image, that would legitimise the government.

The process of Political engineering in any democracy, put into consideration, the functions of the police, and the duties of the media. The disagreement or occasional attack on the media by the police is part of the

efforts to get it right. The goal is to have a government that is accountable, a government that exhibits checks and balances, and fully guarantees the rights and freedom of every citizen without any discrimination. The power dynamics that the ruling class usually display, work better when they engage the principle of divide and rule, set one institution against the other, not for the national interest but for the regime in power. We need to understand this, even in the police-media relationship in this sub-region of West Africa. The police and the media are two inevitable organisations in any democracy. As stated earlier, they are to work hand in hand in ensuring good governance. In the process of working together, there are frictions that create fear and suspicion which threatens democracy. We have discussed some reasons responsible for the uncivil action of the police on the media. To drive this, a look at some instances will further help us to have a better perspective with the aim of finding a lasting solution.

In Sierra Leone, far back in 2008, the Sierra Leone Association of Journalists blacklisted the police over their record of unjustifiable attacks and assaults on journalists. The peak of the police incivility was the violent attack on eight Journalists in the State House, Freetown, on 13th August 2008. The Journalist Association then imposed a News blackout on police activities. It took the intervention of the then Vice President, Sam Sumana and the Minister of Communication Ben Kargbo for the imposed blackout to be lifted on 24th September 2008. Contrary to expectations, the attack on the Media did not stop. Some incidences were managed by the leadership of the media and the police on regular basis. On February 2013, Elkass Sannoh, a reporter with a private newspaper, African Young Voices (AVY) got the unimaginable beating of his life from the police. He was caught in action taking pictures of an eviction order the police was carrying out in Freetown. His equipment made up of camera, and other gadgets were destroyed, and his money got missing in the process.

The Sierra Leone Telegraph.com, on 13th February 2021 reported the physical assault and detention in police cell of a Television Camera reporter who was attacked by eight Police officers. The officers were investigating crime violence in the east of city as a result of an accident involving a police motor bike. They did not want him to report the accident, as they were guilty and do not want the victim to have a voice or justice. This painted the police black as the people at the scene went violent in protest. The Sierra Leone Police got another media blackout when it arrested Sortie Salo Sesay of Okentuhun Radio FM 94.0 in

Kamwakwie for allegedly publishing false information on the social media. The Journalist Association was not against his trial in the court of competent jurisdiction, and posited that the offence is bail able, but frowned at police refusal to grant him bail. So blackout of police event was slammed on the police, in May 2022.

A glance at the situation in Ghana is not all that different. Eric Nana Gyetuah was a radio presenter at Connect FM in Takoradi; his eardrum is now in danger as a result of assault he got from the police for taking pictures of a suspect, whom the police took to a restaurant in chains. Eric and others around the restaurant saw the development as strange and he was caught taking the picture of the scene. The police officers were not in uniform but carried guns, so he took a position in his car while taking the pictures, but the eagle eyes of the police caught him. His dress was torn; his official camera collected and was beaten mercilessly before been driven away in the police van. It was the intervention of the Journalist Association that gave him some reliefs when his matter was taken up. The medical attention gave him a relief, but his ear drum is no longer in the right condition.

Upholding Democratic Values

There is no more debate on the importance of the police and the media in any democracy. We have seen that the two organisations have no substitute. The police is operating as an arm of government with constitutional responsibility of ensuring security in the country, while the media has sacred duty of informing, educating, and defending the voiceless. In all these struggles, national interest is very important and must be given front-burner consideration. The relevant laws that the police is holding onto, are good for the governance of the society; the issue however, is the political class who at all time want the law to be interpreted to meet their narrow and self-centred interest. The expectations of the police in a democratic system are more than what the political class is offering. The frustration of poor working environment, inadequate welfare package, creation of agencies with police responsibility, misuse and abuse of police personnel are some of the piled-up grievances of the police in the sub-region.

The media on its part is seen as the Fourth Estate of the Realm, and would want to justify the status, having battled the military and all forms of dictatorship to gain democratic rule. The concept of national interest

and security, to the media, is more of the display of accountability, transparency, provision of social services to the less privileged citizens, and voice for the voiceless. The media sees the rottenness that the political class is manifesting, and would not stop at any length to address it and ensure good governance. Unlike the police that is government-controlled, the media ownership is not solely government. Some media organisations are owned by the government, while many are privately owned. The government-owned media, have no issues with the Police; they belong to the same proprietor, and serve the government sheepishly as they can push professionalism aside to do the unethical bidden of the ruling political class. In some instances, we also see media whose private owners are in government, acting as government media, protecting the interest of the regime, not the nation.

The media opposed to the government may not necessarily belong to an opposition member, but media professionals who cherish the rules of the game and determined to practise based on the ethics of the media laws. These group of media proprietors suffer attack from both government media, and media owned by friends of those in government. Their media organisations are vulnerable to police attacks and abuse. For the police and the media to survive the democratic turbulence, both must understand the issues at stake, accept their constitutional responsibilities, and resolve to promote professionalism, be honest with those in government, and work out modality for resolving crises areas. This will be fruitful when both understand the difference between national interest and interest of the regime. Good governance, must be people-oriented, hence policing should build confidence and trust, while Media should be a dependable means of informing, educating, and mobilising the citizens for a better democratic experience. Citizens need to engage their leaders to account for the mandate given to them without police harassment; the media should give voice to the voiceless without fear, discrimination, or favour.

CONCLUSION

The police and the media are a creation of the society. The performance of the two organisations is a reflection of the society that created them. The police must have a reflection of the country's political past, and identify specific areas that will require improvement instead of the unwarranted

attacks on the media. To overcome the turbulence of democratic governance, the Police should accept the reality of their status as “co-joined twins” with the media in the process of enhancing good governance. Professionalism is the solution to the “divide and rule” strategy of the ruling political class. Hence, the police and the media need to be more interested in advancing professionalism, instead of serving as errand boys to the ruling class. Confidence and trust building is very important in any democracy. The police should desist from its blind defence of regimes and focus on nation-building by promoting a transparent attitude.

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