The Lack of Political Impartiality of the Police in Ghana and its Effect on the Public’s Trust and Confidence in the Police and on Public Perception of Police Legitimacy

A thesis presented by

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DEDICATION

The thesis is dedicated to my deceased parents; to my dear wife, Theresa; and to my four children: Princess, Katachie, Kaachire, and Obaahemaa Kwartemaa.
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Kwabena Osei-Adubofour
Abstract

In liberal democracies, the police are expected to be scrupulously objective, impartial, upstanding, and protective of all segments of society in enforcing the law. However, centralized police establishments in post-colonial countries such as Ghana tend to operate as appendages of the ruling governments and are almost invariably politically-biased against sections of society that do not share the same political views as the ruling governments. When there is such a lack of political impartiality of the police, how are the police perceived by the citizenry, and what is the effect on the legitimacy that the citizens accord to the police? What is the effect on public cooperation in the police’s mandate of law enforcement? This study sought answers to these questions. Drawing on data from a survey of 584 adults in the West African country of Ghana, the study found that Ghanaians perceive the police as lacking political impartiality and that this correlates with low public trust and confidence in the police. These then were associated with low perceptions of police legitimacy. The study further found that Ghanaians’ desire to cooperate with the police irrespective of these negative assessments can be attributed to dull compulsion in their attitude towards the police. The study concludes with recommendations for policy reforms for police conduct to conform to democratic policing principles in line with procedural justice, and a review of the Ghanaian Constitution to make the police more politically independent of executive leadership of the country.

Keywords: political impartiality, public trust and confidence, procedural justice, police legitimacy, public cooperation, dull compulsion, normative compliance, instrumental compliance.
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Chapter One

Background

Introduction

In countries that have centralized national police systems, such as those that are found in many transitional democracies on the African continent, the police’s political posture is a crucial national issue. As Tankebe (2008a) writes, in such democracies, the police are “key socio-political actors” (p. 67). The conduct and posture of the police in such societies affect the entirety of the citizens. Therefore, to ensure social cohesion, it is incumbent on the police to strive to be as objective, fair, and impartial as possible, and be protective of all segments of society (Lipsky, 2010). The police are required to do so because, without a doubt, they are a dominant element in social control in society. The ability of the police to investigate and initiate the prosecution of instances of crime, particularly corruption in government depends on their neutrality and independence. So also, is their ability to obtain the cooperation of the entirety of the citizenry in their law and order enforcement mandate.

However, with such police that have centralized national administrations, especially those in Sub-Saharan Africa, there sometimes appears to be a lack of political impartiality in the police institutions, as well as a deficit of democratic policing that emphasizes the protection and respect of the individual’s fundamental rights and freedoms, and the upholding of the rule of law. The police in these societies tend to be biased in favor of the ruling government and party of the day, and they pursue policies that discriminate against sections of their societies that are not “pro-government.” This, obviously, goes against democratic principles and undermines the
human rights of citizens in equality before the law, free speech and free association, and equal protection under the law (United Nations, 1948, Articles 7, 19, 20{1}).

As a law enforcement institution, the police need the maximum cooperation of all segments of society. Given this, they cannot afford to alienate some sections of the public by their politically-biased practices in favor of the ruling government and its party. Unfortunately, during the reign of the National Democratic Congress government in Ghana from January 2009 to January 2017, the lack of political neutrality of the Ghana Police Service¹ (GPS) became extremely pronounced (Daily Guide, 2011b; Latest News from Myjoyonline, 2012). The police, during this era, was overtly political in conduct and outlook to the displeasure of many Ghanaians, when it came to politically-related issues (Chronicle Editorial, 2013; Kwakofi, 2015; Peacefmonline, 2016).

The Ghana Police Service has as its motto; “Service with Integrity,” which is captured on its official emblem. In line with this, a May 2010 Ghana Police Manual captures the following under the heading: “POLICING IN A DEMOCRACY, ETHICAL AND LEGAL CONDUCT”

- Police officers shall at all times act impartially and in accordance with existing laws, which must be enforced on all persons without discrimination.
- Police officers shall respect and protect human dignity, maintain and uphold rights of all persons.
- Police officers shall perform their duties without partiality and discrimination to all persons.

¹ This is the official name of the police institution in Ghana. Unlike police departments in the United States and other countries which are independent and decentralized at the municipal level, the police in Ghana are a centralized institution at the national level. They take their general command and control management instructions from the national leadership of the Police, who are appointed by the president of the Republic.
Police officers shall treat all suspects as innocent persons, politely, respectfully and professionally.

Police officers shall respect and uphold the rule of law.

Police officers shall ensure that they treat all persons in a courteous manner and that their conduct is exemplary and consistent with the demands of the profession and the public they serve (Ghana Police Service, 2010).

One would expect that were the Ghana Police Service to conduct themselves in accordance with their stated motto and the above code of conduct, they would be a most-loved institution of state in the country. Contrary, and sadly, the non-adherence to such democratic principles is a principal feature that continues to characterize policing in Ghana over the past several years (Boateng & Darko, 2016; Tankebe, 2008). Consequently, the police in Ghana stand accused of undemocratic practices, and their political neutrality has been a subject of concern for many political watchers for the past several years. The Ghana Police Service is, by multiple accounts, a most-loathed institution of state in the country due to corruption of all sorts in the Service (Daily Graphic, 2017; Daily Guide, 2011c; GNA, 2014).

Between 2002 and 2014, public trust in the Ghanaian police has experienced a continuous deterioration. Afrobarometer (n. d., p. 22) reports that in the years 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012 and 2014, the percentage of Ghanaians trusting the police ‘a little’ or ‘not at all’ were 46%, 32%, 51%, 58% and 62% respectively. Unfortunately, there is a love lost between Ghanaians and their police, and public distrust of the police in the country has been increasing over this period.

What therefore accounts for the lowering public trust in the police in Ghana over the years? I hypothesize that the lack of political neutrality of the Ghana Police plays a part in the declining public trust of the police. With such a political bias on the part of the GPS in favor of the ruling government and party, and the suspected negative effect it has on public trust and
confidence in the police, how do these affect the public’s perception of the legitimacy of the police in Ghana? This study hypothesized that police legitimacy is negatively affected by these public perceptions of the police.

The objective of this study was to empirically establish whether the Ghanaian public believes that the Ghana Police lack political neutrality, which therefore, attends to some of the trust and legitimacy deficits the public have about the police. The study also sought to establish the effect of these deficits on the willingness of the public to cooperate with the police.

If we answered these questions in the affirmative, then policies and changes in law that will allow the police to work in a manner whereby they can shed this negative perception and re-establish the public’s trust and confidence in them would be recommended. An increased trust and confidence of the public in the Ghanaian police will go a long way to increase the police’s effectiveness in law enforcement. If the hypotheses were not supported, then further studies to establish the determinants of the low public trustworthiness in the police in Ghana would be recommended.

**Policing in Ghana: From Colonial Era to Now**

The history of the administratively-established police in Ghana can be categorized into two distinct eras: the pre-independence colonial policing, and the subsequent post-independence policing regime. There is, however, little difference in policing culture between the colonial and post-independence eras (Arthur & Marenin, 1996; Atuguba, 2003; Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative. 2007).
Policing in the colonial Gold Coast (now Ghana). Policing is central in the social and political accounts of colonialism in sub-Saharan Africa (Anderson & Killingray, 1991). To understand today’s policing, it is necessary to understand policing during the colonial era.

The history of colonial policing is a pertinent topic of inquiry since the way the colonial police forces were conceived, organized, and gradually underwent changes has contributed to shape contemporary modes of law enforcement in the African continent and is a necessary element in our understanding of contemporary policing issues today (Deflem, 1994, p. 46).

Ghana, then the Gold Coast, was a British colony. It ceased to be a colony on the 6th of March 1957. Most police forces in the British colonies were then centralized in organization and control, and ultimate authority for the police rested with the colonial executive, which in Ghana’s case was the Governor (Anderson & Killingray, 1992). The first official police force was established in the Gold Coast, in 1865 (Beek, 2016; Deflem, 1994; Gillespie, 1955). The force was made up mainly of Hausas of West Africa who were mostly alien to the Gold Coast. The British recruited Hausas because they were viewed as a martial ethnic group but obedient (Beek, 2016; Gillespie, 1955). The Gold Coast Armed Police, what it was then called beginning 1872, was also derisively called the Hausa Constabulary, though it had some local Fanti people in their ranks. It was effectively a paramilitary police arm of the colonial administration. The force was renamed the Gold Coast Constabulary in 1876. By 1885, the police force was then exercising both military and police functions, with the Hausas in charge of the military functions and the Fantis assuming the civilian duties under the command of the civilian District Commissioners.

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2 Historians differ as to the exact date of the establishment of the official police force in the Gold Coast. Some, like Teku (1984) have put the date as early as 1831 when the colonial authorities put 129 men together in a force to maintain the provisions of the Treaty of Peace signed with Fanti chiefs and the king of the Asantes. Others put it at 1873 when an ordinance was enacted that formalized the operations of the Gold Coast Police Force. Still, many others consider 1865 to be the definitive date for the establishment of the official police in the Gold Coast.
In 1901, the force was officially separated into the Gold Coast Regiment and the Gold Coast Police Force, ostensibly to be military and police forces respectively. It was the Regiment which was used by the British in the Anglo-Asante war of 1873-74 (Beek, 2016), also known as the Sagrenti War. The separation required a transition for the police force from both military and police functions to purely police tasks. However, the transition occurred only in rhetoric rather than in reality (Deflem, 1994; Gillespie, 1955).

When the British occupied the Northern Territories in the mid-1900s, Gillespie (1955) writes that, in January 1907, they formed the Northern Territories Constabulary, a semi-military force, to take care of policing in the new territories. This constabulary force did not have any difficulties recruiting men into their midst and were thoroughly efficient. On March 31, 1929, the Northern Constabulary was disbanded and its members joined the Gold Coast Police.

The colonial police were depicted by many scholars as a political vehicle of foreign oppression, separate from the community, applying alien laws, and utilizing brutal methods (Arthur & Marenin, 1996; Beek, 2016). Anderson and Killingray (1992) describe the role of the Gold Coast Police as the “principal agency of colonial control” (p. 1). Jan Beek (2016) writes further that “[t]he police were definitely an instrument of foreign rule” (p. 26).

The police were unpopular in the Gold Coast (Anderson & Killingray, 1991; Gillespie, 1955; Ward, 1948). They were kept separate from the community by housing policemen (there were no females then) in the barracks, and to further entrench the British colonial policy of policing strangers by strangers (Deflem, 1994; Gillespie, 1955). These strangers, who were the police officers of the Gold Coast, were mostly from other West African nations, though some could also have come from distant countries in other parts of the British colonial empire. There
was difficulty in recruiting locals into the police force because police work was not only unattractive, but was abhorrent to the natives of better class who considered police work as more disgraceful than to be a convict or ex-convict (Gillespie, 1955). A policeman from the natives was considered “a traitor to his race” (Gillespie, 1955, p. 38). There was an extreme public discontent for the police in the Gold Coast which arose out of the brutality of the earlier Hausa Constabulary whose “social distance to local civilians enabled them to act more forcefully and without repercussions” (Beek, 2016; p. 26).

By the 1920s, the Gold Coast Police had specialized civil divisions, such as the Mines, Escort, and Railways Police Units whose functions were for the protection of the European-owned mining investments, agricultural production facilities, and the transportation of minerals and merchandise (Deflem, 1994). Deflem posits that the police were unconcerned with service to the local community but rather remained, first and foremost, a force committed to the paramilitary protection of the political and, more importantly, the economic interests and authority of the colonial regime and its cohorts, which were all foreign. Writing on the same subject, a Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (2007) report maintains that the colonial authorities established a “Colonial Policing Model” whose main goal was to advance and protect the interests of the colonists at the expense of the rights of the colonized. The principal function of the police institution was not to preserve the peace and orderliness of the Gold Coast but to offer protection to British companies such as the United Trading Company (UTC), then operating in West Africa (Arthur & Marenin, 1996). This posture of the Gold Coast Police is made abundantly clear in an 1896 order issued by the then Governor, Sir William Maxwell, that “no police should be stationed at places where there are no European officials” (Gillespie, 1955, p. 36).
Therefore, one could surmise that, to the colonial authorities, policing, and for that matter, fair policing, was a government function that was not to benefit the indigenous people of the Gold Coast. Cole (1999) states this clearly:

Incidents of police brutality, corruption, violence, murder and abuse of power [against the colonized] punctuated almost every decade of colonial police history. The political image of the colonial police was most visible during the period of decolonization when development in colonial policing shifted rapidly towards political policing against the ‘enemies’ of the colonial states (p. 101).

The enemies were the local and indigenous elite intent on agitating for the decolonization of their countries. Thus, at the dawn of the independence struggle in the then Gold Coast, the culture of the Gold Coast Police as a brutal force with an alien character, intent on enforcing the political status quo, had been established (Anderson & Killingray, 1991; Deflem, 1994; Gillespie, 1955). “The police were a political tool used to protect the interests and values of the colonizers” (Arthur & Marenin, 1996, p. 170).

The anti-colonial agitation and the movement for political independence from the colonial power began in the Gold Coast with the riots of 1948, which were brutally put down by the police. These riots were occasioned by the 28th February Christiansborg Crossroads Shooting Incident in which the police caused several deaths to unarmed ex-servicemen who were demonstrating over meager pensions after their service to the British Empire in World War II (Bourret, 1960; Rathbone, 2012). The riots exposed the inadequacies of the police and the colonial administration responded by recruiting 21 police officers from Palestine and three from British Guyana, Mauritius, and Uganda (Gillespie, 1955; Rathbone, 2012). A new police wireless network was also put in place; the Special Branch of the police was greatly increased; and the size of the police force was doubled by the end of 1952 (Gillespie, 1955; Rathbone,
In 1949, there were further riots and industrial unrest in the country. These riots became the forerunning events that would lead to the country’s independence from colonial rule within a decade, specifically, on March 6, 1957. It was then that the country was re-named Ghana. After the 1949 riots, in a last attempt by the British colonial authority to retain power, they professionalized the Gold Coast Police. After independence, the Gold Coast Regiment became the Ghana Army, and the Gold Coast Police became the Ghana Police Service.

Anderson and Killingray (1992) write that when independence ensued, the transfer of power between colonial and independence governments brought forth serious concerns with respect to operational and administrative control of the police. The pursuit of a stable transfer of power at both central and local levels in respect of the police was not easy. The authors maintain that the need to transform an institution that had, hitherto, been an alien body committed to ensuring the parochial political interests of the colonial authorities into a body that would be an effective arm of government, clashed with the need for it to become politically neutral.

**Post-independence policing in Ghana.** Policing in Ghana under more than a century of British colonization can be described as one of violence, heavy-handedness, and politicization aimed at protecting the colonial regime’s interests and not to serve the Ghanaian citizenry (Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, 2007). The police in Ghana today, the Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (CHRI) report continues, still exhibit many of the same characteristics (Boateng & Darko, 2016).

When the British left the shores of Ghana at independence, the new indigenous government maintained the same military and political policing structure put in place by the colonists (Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, 2007). As a testament to the police’s
political nature, the police were involved in the overthrow of the first independence democratic government. The senior leadership of the police constituted half of the subsequent ruling junta that was installed to rule the country after that military-cum-police overthrow of government (Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, 2007).

At independence in March 1957, among the key actions that the new Ghanaian government undertook regarding its policing was to promote indigenous Ghanaians to fill officer positions in the Police Service that were previously occupied by the British (Arthur & Marenin, 1996). Accordingly, the subsequent appointment of the first Ghanaian police leader in 1958 was to signal the desire for the police to work for the interests of the citizens of Ghana.

The new Ghanaian leader, President Kwame Nkrumah, had among his initial tasks in governing, the need to establish social institutions for the integration of diverse tribal and ethnic groupings in the process of nation building (Arthur & Marenin, 1996). To undertake this, the police became a powerful social and political institution to be used by the leader. President Nkrumah used the police to keep his political opponents at bay and had them spied on by the intelligence branch of the police (Arthur & Marenin, 1996). The Ghanaian leader recruited loyalists from his governing political party, the Convention People’s Party, to infiltrate the ranks of the police.

A year into the Nkrumah regime, in 1958, the president passed the Preventative Detention Act (PDA), which gave him broad powers to detain citizens indefinitely, and in 1964, he turned the country into a one-party state. Early in the year, in January 1964, a police officer had attempted to assassinate the president. Following the attempt, a Commissioner of Police and other senior officers were dismissed after their arrest and detention. Because of the distrust that
President Nkrumah begot for the police thereafter, he drastically reduced the size of the police from 13,247 to 10,709 within a year (Arthur & Marenin, 1996).

After the PDA was passed in 1958, President Nkrumah used the powers granted him under the Act to detain and imprison his political opponents and to suppress citizens’ rights to freedom of speech, assembly, and free and independent media using the police (Arthur & Marenin, 1996). In February 1966, the Nkrumah regime was overthrown in a coup d’etat that was organized by the Ghanaian military and the police, equal members of whom formed the succeeding governing National Liberation Council. Thus, the police’s deep involvement in the political administration of Ghana was established early in post-independence Ghana.

When Ghana was returned to civilian democratic rule in October 1969, The Police Service Act (1970), Act 350, was promulgated to regulate the affairs of the police. This civilian government was overthrown in another military coup in January 1972. The new junta changed the name of the police from Ghana Police Service to Ghana Police Force, to signal the military orientation it wanted the police. To protect himself from his own army, the new military leader, General Ignatius Kutu Acheampong subsequently equipped a unit in the police with sophisticated weapons in a bid to create a counterforce to the military which would protect him (Arthur & Marenin, 1996). By this, the police were drawn deeper into the political arena for the maintenance of the survival of the country’s leader and his government. After this military government was itself overthrown by other soldiers in June 1979, the military handed over power after three months, and Ghana was subsequently governed by another civilian and then another military government, until the country was ushered into the current political dispensation of today’s Fourth Republic in January 1993 (Asamoah, 2014; Oquaye, 2004, p. 2).
Thus, sixty years after independence, the structure of the police has remained centralized, and the Police Service has continued to dutifully be at the service of the powerful and political elite in Ghana (Arthur & Marenin, 1996; Atuguba, 2007). The Ghana Police Service characteristically lacks accountability and regard for the average citizen’s fundamental rights (Tankebe, 2008a). Tankebe maintains further that “the influence of the colonial militaristic orientation to policing … remains strong and visible” (p. 82), as the post-independence police assumed the shape and character analogous to that of the colonial police. From the legal framework of the modern police in Ghana, the aspect of political neutrality seems never to have been part of police culture since its inception. To this, Jan Beek (2016) states emphatically; “the Ghana Police Service never had a legally mandated organizational autonomy” (p. 93). However, Ghanaians are ready for a reformed Police Service that reflects Ghana’s role as a model of successful democracy in Africa (Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, 2007).

**Police culture in both eras.** The GPS, after independence, remained and continues to be beholden to the political and propertied class, and intent on always advancing that class’s interests and ensuring their maximum security (Boateng, 2015). The Ghana Police maintained the same essential objectives established by the colonial authority (Atuguba, 2003). Notably, police institutions that were established post-independence in countries with colonial pasts rarely strayed away from their colonial orientation (Deflem, 1994). Per Deflem (1994), this is because the overall culture and purpose for which the colonial police were established could not be exorcised from the succeeding post-independence police. Though the colonial authorities were, during their rule, aware of the need to demilitarize the colonial police forces, the shift was always halted as new political and economic tensions re-occurred, requiring military-style attention using the police. For example, for the British colonial authorities in the Gold Coast, not
long after the consolidation of territory in the colony, the decolonization agitation ensued, and the colonial authorities had to use the police for political purposes. Since colonial times, the police have been used to being employed to satisfy the political whims and caprices of the governing authorities (Deflem, 1994).

This probably explains why in most transitional democracies of the Global South, especially in states that have colonial pasts, the police tend to conduct their affairs as an appendage of the ruling party and government, and rarely maintain political neutrality. For example, from late 2015 to early 2016, the pronounced lack of political impartiality of the police in Uganda was allegedly poisoning the country’s electoral environment ahead of national polls in February 2016. This caused a US State Department press bulletin on January 15, 2016 that expressed concern about how the Uganda Police’s use of “excessive force, obstruction and dispersal of opposition rallies, and intimidation and arrest of journalists, ha[d] contributed to an electoral climate of fear and intimidation, and raise[d] questions about the fairness of the process” (Kirby, 2016). The statement further deplored the lack of political neutrality of institutions such as the Ugandan security forces as eating away at the core of constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech, assembly, and free and fair electoral processes, and generating a lack of equal protection of the rights of all citizens of Uganda.

Thus, there appears to be little difference in the political orientations of many police institutions in transitional democracies between colonial times and what currently prevails even several decades after political independence (Arthur, & Marenin, 1996; Atuguba, 2007; Boateng & Darko, 2016; Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, 2007; Tankebe, 2008a). Such police administrations apparently continue to be pro-ruling government in political orientation, thus making it difficult for democratic policing and democratic gains to take root in their respective
countries. This then appears to constitute an undermining of democratic development in such countries.

What then informs such apparent lack of organizational autonomy in post-independence police organizations in many transitional democracies, especially of sub-Saharan Africa? The following is the constitutional context within which the Ghana Police Service is situated.

**The Legal Contextual Frame of the Ghana Police Service**

The most current legal instrument establishing the duties and regulations governing the police in Ghana is the Ghana Police Service Act (1970) Act 350, passed by Parliament in the Second Republic (Ghana Legal, 2012). Subsequently, the current Fourth Republic is governed by the 1992 Constitution which has clauses that deal with the regulation of the Police Service.

**The legal mandate of the GPS.** The functions of the Ghana Police Service as stipulated under the Ghana Police Service Act (1970) Act 350, Section 1 are:

(1) It shall be the duty of the Police Service to prevent and detect crime, to apprehend offenders, and to maintain public order and the safety of persons and property.

(2) Every police officer shall perform such functions as are by law conferred upon a police officer and shall obey all lawful orders and directions in respect of the execution of his office which he may receive from his superiors in the Police Service (Ghana Legal, 2012).

What is significantly missing in Act 350 is the absence of clear and positive regulatory guidelines that is required to underpin police conduct (Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, 2007). Whereas modern police legislative frameworks regularly contain a statement of police values, this is conspicuously absent in the Ghanaian context. Something close to it appears to
have rather been provided, not in law, but in a May 2010 Ghana Police Manual (cited above on page 2). Similarly, the Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (2007) report argues that since Ghana is part of the international community, international agreements that govern policing, and to which Ghana has subscribed should be reflected in Ghanaian law and practice.

**The Ghana Police Service and the 1992 Constitution of Ghana.** In addition to Act 350, several Constitutional Articles and Clauses in the 1992 Constitution of Ghana govern the affairs of the GPS as the principal state institution charged with the maintenance of law and order in the country. Among them, Article 201 provides for a Police Council that serves as a supervisory Board in charge of the affairs of the police. Article 202 and some sections of Article 203 also spell out the appointment and duties of the leadership of the GPS.

Per constitutional provisions in Ghana’s 1992 Constitution, the leadership of the Ghana Police is under the beck and call of the president of the republic. The president appoints and removes the Inspector-General of Police\(^3\) (IGP), who is under the supervisory authority of a Police Council that is chaired by the president’s deputy, the vice-president. Of the nine members of the Police Council aside the vice-president, seven are appointed to the Council directly or indirectly by the president of Ghana. The president uses the powers vested in him under Article 202 Clause 3 and Article 203 Clause 1 to appoint all the top leadership of the Police Service.

Furthermore, the Constitution provides for police command at the Regional (provincial) level under Article 204. Here too, at the provincial level, the president of the republic wields control over the Regional Police Councils through the National Police Council and the appointments he makes to the individual Regional Police Councils.

\(^3\) The Inspector-General of Police is the head of the Ghana Police Service
These constitutional arrangements situate the Ghana Police Service, as it were, under the command and control of the president of the republic. Thus, the police have been legally structured in such a way that they appear not to have any administrative autonomy of their own that is without political influence from the political leadership of the country. This has led to the common practice that among the first acts of any new president since the start of the Fourth Republic on January 7, 1993, is the compulsory retirement of the Inspector-General of Police, regardless of the IGP’s age or years left for him or her to retire.

For example, upon being sworn in as president on January 7, 2009, President John Evans Atta-Mills removed the then IGP, Mr. Patrick Kwarteng Acheampong on January 28, 2009 (Myjoyonline, 2009). Mr. Acheampong was then 57 years old and had three years left to his otherwise compulsory retirement age of sixty. When the current Ghanaian President, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo also assumed the reins of government on January 7, 2017, the then incumbent IGP, Mr. John Kudalor, who had been less than a year on the job, had to tender in his resignation on January 25, 2017 (Ansah, 2017).

These are the political dynamics in constituting the leadership, and lack of administrative autonomy, in the Police Service in Ghana. There is lack of independence and secure tenure for police leadership that is devoid of political influence; a situation mandated by strictures in the Ghanaian Constitution. This appears to shape the conduct of the police towards anything political, engendering a pro-ruling government outlook, most of the time. This political bend of the police has been very pronounced in the past several years and is eating at the core of the credibility of the police (Chronicle Editorial, 2013; Daily Graphic, 2016; Latest News from Myjoyonline, 2012; Peacefmonline, 2016).
The 2010 Strategic Policing Plan of the Ghana Police Service

In May 2010, the GPS launched a five-year Strategic Policing Plan to improve the operations and all aspects of policing in Ghana in line with their constitutional mandate. This included general policing issues, and how to partner with civil society; as well as to fulfill the vision and mission of the Ghana Police Service (Mensah, 2010). The aim was to turn the Police Service into a world-class organization. The Five-year Strategic National Policing Plan sought to combine strategic objectives, policing targets, and capacity building programs and activities in the medium term. According to Boateng (2012, p. 10), the specific goals in the plan were:

1. To increase the level of protection of life and property; increase the rates of prevention and detection of crime; speed up the apprehension and prosecution of offenders so as to enhance public confidence and satisfaction.
2. To enhance the capacity of the force by improving its human resources through training and development of personnel and by recruiting appropriate skills and competencies.
3. To acquire relevant, modern information and communication technologies that would enable the force perform its service.
4. To establish closer and more mutually beneficial working relationships with essential stakeholders to improve the partnership and public image of the Police Service.

These strategic milestones were intended to usher the Ghana Police Service into a period of policing policy that focuses on democratic policing practices in service to the communities and the people of Ghana, as stipulated by the country’s 1992 Constitution (Mensah, 2010). The plan sought to institutionalize a culture of democratic, non-coercive policing procedures that
make for achieving policing objectives, targets, and reporting practices, in order to fight crime successfully from local to national levels.

It has been more than seven years since the launch of this strategic plan of the GPS. What then has been its effect on the delivery of policing services by the GPS? How has the Ghanaian public in the past assessed, and currently view the police in the police’s mandate of enforcing safety and law and order? Has there been a marked change in the way the people perceive the police since the launch of the police strategic plan? Has the image of the police changed in the eyes of the Ghanaian public?

**Public Views of the Ghana Police**

Ghanaians have for a long time not held, and continue not to hold their police in any high esteem, as they identify the police as the most corrupt and most-disliked institution of state in the country (Atuguba, 2007; GNA, 2011; GNA, 2014). The GPS has lost trust in the eyes of the citizens (Afrobarometer, n. d.; Boateng, 2012). Only suspicion, hatred, discontent, and distrust mark the relationship between the Ghanaian public and their police (Atuguba, 2003). A 2011 United States State Department human rights report on Ghana stated that “Police brutality, corruption, negligence, and impunity were problems” (U.S. Department of State, 2011, Section 1(d)). The report talked of delays in the prosecution of suspects, rumored collaboration between the police and criminals, and a widespread public perception of police incompetence. Writing on the need for reforms in the Ghana Police Service, Atuguba (2007) asserts that “The chief complaints against the Police today are that they are politicized, too powerful, too brutal, and too corrupt” (p. 5).
When the Ghana Police Service launched their five-year Strategic National Policing Plan in May 2010, the plan had four major themes. Two dealt with the image of the police. These two themes sought, among others, to: 1) enhance public confidence and public satisfaction with the police, and 2) enhance the public image of the police (Boateng, 2012; Daily Guide, 2010a). However, using data that were gathered from June to August 2011, a little over a year into the operation of the Strategic Policing Plan, Boateng’s (2012) study of public trust in the Ghanaian police found that 53% of Ghanaians did not trust the police; only 35% trusted them.

After more than seven years of the strategic plan’s implementation, these police efforts still appear not to have achieved their intended goals. Today, the public image of the police in Ghana continues to be extremely low. The perception is that the police continue to suffer from a lack of the citizens’ trust and confidence in them. As an illustration, the Ghana Centre for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana) reported in their January 2016 Annual Afrobarometer Survey Report that the Ghana Police Service was perceived by the Ghanaian public as the least trustworthy institution of state. In this report, the survey found that 41% of Ghanaians do not trust the police at all; 21% trust them just a little; and 18% trust them somewhat. Only 17% of Ghanaians trust the police a lot (Afrobarometer, n. d., p. 15). This shows that after seven years of adopting their strategic plan, the police have achieved virtually nothing by way of image-improvement.

In February 2016, Mr. John Kudalor was installed as the new and substantive Inspector-General of Police (IGP) by the president of Ghana, John Mahama. In July 2016, IGP Kudalor paid a courtesy call on Otumfu Osei Tutu II, the King of the Asante people of Ghana, at his Manhyia Palace in Kumasi. The visit of the IGP was ostensibly to introduce himself and seek
the blessings of the King who is the pre-eminent traditional ruler in the country. A report carried by Daily Graphic online publication on July 5, 2016, captured the visit in the following excerpt:

The Asantehene, Otumfu Osei Tutu II, has tasked the Inspector General of Police (IGP), Mr. John Kudalor, to let truth and the rule of law be his guiding principles in the discharge of his duties. He said … his allegiance should be to the people of Ghana, and … the IGP should eschew any partisan tendencies in his administration. Otumfu Osei Tutu stressed the need for the police to win the trust of the people in order for Ghanaians to assist them in the fight against crime. According to him, for the police to succeed, they would need the cooperation of the citizenry, adding that the people must have confidence in the police before they could offer them the needed help. He said although the country had opted to go to the polls every four years, there was always tension and fear of violence every election year. He attributed that situation to the lack of truth and fairness in the system which he said made people apprehensive every election year. Otumfu Osei Tutu charged the police to ensure that they did their work, enforced the law and sanctioned those who fell afoul of the law without fear or favor. He wondered how people could snatch ballot boxes from polling centers in the full glare of the police without the police doing anything. "You cannot allow this to continue if you want the people to believe and have trust in you," he stated. That, he said, was the only way the people could trust the police and assist them in the discharge of their mandate (Daily Graphic, 2016).

The King had cause to give such an admonition to the police chief because the matters he raised are among the major issues that Ghanaians complain about the police. He was giving voice to those complaints. Indeed, the issues the King raised point to a serious trust deficit for the police on the part of the citizens, and a concern for the apparent lack of political impartiality in police conduct.
Over the past several years, there have been numerous instances of politically-biased conduct by the Ghana Police Service (Chronicle Editorial, 2013; Daily Guide, 2010b; Daily Guide Editorial, 2017). Voices in the Ghanaian opposition political parties, as well as objective journalists and think tanks, have continuously complained of a lack of political neutrality in police conduct (Latest News from Myjoyonline, 2012; Peacefmonline, 2016). For instance, many point to multiple cases in which the police fail to investigate to prepare case dockets for prosecution when suspects accused of political crimes are allied to the ruling party (Daily Guide, 2010b). On the contrary, the police are also accused of being more vigorous and severe in the prosecution of such crimes when the suspects are linked to the opposition parties in Ghana (Daily Guide, 2012).

Such has been the conduct of the police in Ghana in recent years. Many Ghanaians, especially sympathizers of the opposition political parties, accuse the police of operating as an appendage of the ruling party. Atuguba (2007) argues that the police in Ghana still exist and work for the protection of the political class, business interests, and the enforcement of a certain “rule of law” that benefits the political and business classes just as they did during the colonial era.

Specific Examples of Politically Partial Police Conduct

The lack of political impartiality in the affairs of the police has serious consequences to democratic processes as well as perceptions of police trustworthiness and legitimacy. Such legitimation deficits have sometimes resulted in self-help policing and vigilante justice in Ghana (Tankebe, 2009b) which does not bode well for society. To fully appreciate the background of
this problem, specific examples of such incidences of police conduct or misconduct are useful to present some concrete instances of such politically-biased police conduct.

**Lack of police interest in investigating political crimes by ruling party affiliates.** In August, 2009, during a clash between supporters of the-then Ghana’s ruling party, the NDC, and supporters of the opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP), four supporters of the NPP were murdered close to the Agbogbloshie Police Station in Accra,\(^4\) allegedly by some of the ruling party supporters (Daily Guide, 2009). As of August 31, 2011, the police had failed to arrest any suspects (Daily Guide, 2011a). Even though the murders occurred close to a police station in broad daylight, at the time of this writing, it has been more than seven years, but the murders continue to be a cold case (Daily Guide Editorial, 2017). Observers believe that the Ghana Police Service have the capacity to solve such murders, especially one that they invariably witnessed, because they have solved more difficult ones before. It is believed that the police were not interested, or had been asked by the-then ruling party leaders not to be interested in solving these murders because the alleged perpetrators were supporters of the-then ruling government of the NDC (DailyGuideAfrica, 2017).

**Lack of prosecution of political misconduct due to ruling party affiliation.** In the lead-up to the December, 2012 elections in Ghana, the Electoral Commission was compiling a voters’ register in the country in April of that year. During voter registration events in the Odododiodoo Constituency\(^5\) in Accra, where a presidential aide was the parliamentary candidate of the-then ruling party, the NDC, intimidation of voter registrants purportedly occurred. There were credible reports that political hooligans aligned with the NDC candidate were alleged to

\(^4\) Accra is the capital of Ghana

\(^5\) A constituency is a parliamentary electoral district analogous to a congressional district in the United States.
have, on several days, been roaming intimidatingly in the streets, moving from registration center to center. They reportedly brandished machetes and other deadly weapons, and used violence to prevent other citizens from ethnic backgrounds perceived not to be supporters of their candidate, from being able to register to vote (Sarpong, 2012). This was made known to the police by many different entities but they reportedly failed to take any action.

**The police are severe in dealing with opposition elements.** The intimidation of voter registrants in the Odododiodoo Constituency prompted Honorable Kennedy Ohene Adjapong, a then opposition member of Parliament from the New Patriotic Party, to declare on a radio station a few days later in April 2012 that if the police were allowing the actions of the NDC activists to go unpunished, then he was calling for ‘a war’ to be waged on people from the same ethnic group as the NDC parliamentary candidate who live in opposition strongholds in other parts of the country. Apparently, the call was to prevent them from also registering to vote for the NDC, since it is perceived that most Ghanaians vote on ethnic lines. This led to the immediate arrest of the parliamentarian, with the police storming into his house in a six-car convoy to arrest him. He was subsequently and very speedily charged with treason and held without bond for several days (Daily Guide, 2012). The police swiftly processed the case for court, where it was subsequently thrown out by a high court judge (Erin, 2013; Ghanamma, 2013; Daily Graphic, 2013).

**Unequal police prosecution of similar political misconduct.** On January 5, 2016, an activist and local spokesman for the-then ruling party, NDC, allegedly declared openly on a local radio that in the upcoming December 2016 elections, the NDC party was ready to deal violently with any opposition elements who would stand between the party and victory at the polls. He allegedly swore that the ruling party had stocked up arms and sharpened machetes for that purpose (GraphicOnLine, 2016). On this occasion, it was only after numerous entreaties from the
public for the police to arrest him that the police acted. In reluctantly causing his arrest, the police did not storm his house as they did with the Honorable Kennedy Ohene Adjapong. They only invited him to report to the police, which he honored after several days. The police were reported to have subsequently questioned him for a few hours and granted him bail thereafter the same day. As of this writing, there has been no prosecution of the culprit, and nothing has been heard of the case ever since.

**The police treat politicians highly-connected to the ruling party differently.** Ms. Anita de Sooso was the National Women’s Organizer of the-then ruling NDC in September 2010, when there was a bye-election held in the Atiwa Constituency in the Eastern Region of Ghana. The bye-election was occasioned by the death of the NPP Member of Parliament for the constituency. As is conventional with bye-elections in Ghana, the major political parties fought for this vacant seat with all vigor and as a national affair; with all the national officers of the respective parties getting involved very intensely. The NDC lost in this bye-election, with the parliamentary seat being retained by the NPP.

As it is with many elections in Ghana, in the night of the declaration of the results, the youth within the constituency where the elections were held and whose party was victorious gathered in their numbers in the streets of the various towns to celebrate their victory. In these celebrations in the streets, they impeded the flow of traffic and caused motorists to slow down to navigate past the jubilant crowd.

It is alleged that when Ms. de Sooso who was returning from the bye-election to Ghana’s capital that night reached one of such NPP victory celebrations in the town of Abomosu, she

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6 A bye-election is a special election that is held during a parliamentary term to fill a vacancy in the legislative assembly.
became angry at the celebrating crowd. She allegedly refused to let the driver of her cross-
country vehicle slow down. Instead, they sped through the crowd, mowing down several of the 
jubilating youth. Several of them sustained severe injuries. Onlookers report that it was a miracle 
that there were no deaths recorded. It took several months for some of the victims to recuperate 
from their injuries at the hospital. As of this writing, despite several calls on the police for Ms. de 
Sosoo’s arrest, the police have not even called her nor the driver in for questioning (Daily Guide, 
2010b).

**The police most times do what is best for the ruling party and not as the law requires.** The Ghanaian Constitution, under Article 21 (d) guarantees the “freedom of assembly 
including freedom to take part in processions and demonstrations” (Constitution of the Republic 
of Ghana, 1993). The police have sometimes sought to scuttle this freedom by insisting that 
people wanting to demonstrate should seek a permit from them (Adogla-Bessa, 2015). However, 
in a celebrated case, *New Patriotic Party v. IGP*, the Supreme Court of Ghana ruled that 
organizers of demonstrations do not need a permit or consent from the police as “prerequisites 
for the enjoyment of the fundamental human right to assemble, process or demonstrate,” and that 
requirements for police permits are “unconstitutional, void and unenforceable” (African Human 
Rights Case Law Database, 1993, paragraph 60).

On September 16, 2015, a Ghanaian political pressure group calling itself “Let-My-Vote-
Count” Alliance (LMVC) embarked on a demonstration in which they wanted to end up 
picketing at the offices of Ghana’s Electoral Commission, and to present a resolution to the 
Commission for the compilation of a fresh voters’ register to replace an allegedly bloated 
existing one. The then-governing party, the NDC, was notably and vociferously opposed to this 
demand. During the demonstration, the police were alleged to have forcefully prevented the
demonstrators from reaching the premises of the Electoral Commission. In the ensuing melee, many of the demonstrators were allegedly brutalized by the police (Laary, 2015; Myjoyonline, 2015). This action of the police caused LMVC to send a petition to the Human Rights Council of the United Nations General Assembly against the Government of Ghana and the Inspector-General of Police for human rights violations (Daily Graphic, 2015). They complained of police brutality and use of unnecessary force, and accused the police of taking sides.

**Impacts of these incidents of police bias.** Demonstrations and protests in Ghana are generally facts of life, and the police regularly protect such demonstrators. However, there appear to be instances where the police in Ghana do what are singularly in the interest of the ruling party as against what the law demands, in thwarting demonstrations. These incidents feed the public perception of police unfairness and lack of political impartiality of the police, creating a serious public image challenge to the police as an institution (Chronicle Editorial, 2013; Daily Guide, 2011b; Kwakofi, 2015; Latest News from Myjoyonline, 2012; Peacefmonline, 2016). It is eating at the core of public trust in the police, and ultimately, public perception of police legitimacy. The police need the full cooperation of the entire population to fight crime and maintain law and order. However, as the King of the Asante people asserted, when sections of the Ghanaian society question the legitimacy of the police, such cooperation of the public with the police may suffer severe lapses (Daily Graphic, 2016).

**Theoretical Foundation for this Study**

The way the police behave in a democratic society determines the actions of the public towards them. It is now an established criminological concept with respect to democratic policing that the public do not give an automatic right to the police to exercise power (Beetham,
They evaluate police behavior before according the police such a right to exercise power, at least abstractly. Furthermore, such assessments form the basis of whether the public exhibit law-abiding behavior and offer their cooperation to the police or not. These assessments are normative and are rooted in citizens’ democratic expectations on the police in ensuring that the police are subject to accountability. “If citizens perceive that the police act in a procedurally just manner – by treating people with dignity and respect, and by being fair and neutral in their actions – then the legitimacy of the police is enhanced” (Mazerolle, Antrobus, Bennet, & Tyler, 2013, p. 2). This legitimacy assessment is “the right to exercise power” (Tankebe, 2013, p. 1). This is the procedural justice theory, and it is the basis of democratic policing or community policing, the central notion of which is “policing by consent” (Tankebe, 2008b, p. 186). It is the main theoretical foundation of this study.

The theory was popularized by Tom R. Tyler after many years of research. It posits that “public judgements about the fairness of the processes through which the police make decisions and exercise authority” (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003, p. 514) influence police legitimacy. With the police being perceived as legitimate, citizens thereby comply more with the law and offer their cooperation to the police, and “the likelihood of defiance, hostility, and resistance is diminished” (Tyler, 2003, p. 286).

When citizens are assessing the police, the normative judgements that take place, which are based on established norms and values, allow trust for the police to be established. It is these trust assessments that inform the perception of the legitimacy of the police. Thus, police trustworthiness has been found to be a predictor of police legitimacy assessments (Hough et al., 2010; Hough et al., 2013). According to Mishler and Rose (2001), trust connects citizens to political and legal institutions, and in so doing, the legitimacy of these institutions is enhanced.
These legitimacy and trust theories, as part of the larger concept of procedural justice, undergirds this study, with police political impartiality constituting a potential aspect of procedural justice.

Additionally, the “dull compulsion” theory of Carrabine (2004, p. 180) underlies this enquiry. This theory focuses on the power relationships between authorities and subjects, such as the police and the policed. Dull compulsion occurs when subordinates in such power relations, who otherwise genuinely feel abused and mistreated, obey authority and exhibit an attitude of hopelessness and defeatism that their situation cannot be helped, though fundamentally illegitimate (Sparks & Bottoms, 2007). This theory explains cooperation with the police even when the police are viewed as an illegitimate institution.

The Current Study

This study sought to determine whether the Ghana Police is seen by the citizens of Ghana to be apolitical in their conduct. In addition, the study sought to establish the level of trust and confidence that the Ghanaian public has in the police. It also measured the perception of Ghanaians of the legitimacy of the police in Ghana. Finally, it established a level of cooperation that the Ghanaian populace is willing to offer the police, based on their perceptions of the police. We further explored whether there is a correlation between the public’s perception of lack of political impartiality of the police and the level of trust and confidence that the people have in the police. Similarly, we explored whether there is an association between the perceptions of political bias on the part of the police, and the level of legitimacy that the public perceive the police to have. Additionally, we explored the relationship between public trust and confidence in the police and public perception of police legitimacy. Finally, the study determined whether
there is an association between the public perception of police legitimacy and the willingness of Ghanaians to cooperate with the police in Ghana.

**Study findings.** The significant findings in this study are that the Ghanaian public perceives the police in Ghana to lack political impartiality and they have a low level of trust and confidence in the police. They identify the police as lacking legitimacy. This lack of political impartiality of the police is negatively associated with public trust and confidence in the police. Also, the low public trust and confidence in the police solidly correlates with a low public assessment of police legitimacy. Further, the perceptions of Ghanaians of the police lacking political impartiality are negatively correlated with police legitimacy.

At the same time, Ghanaians have a high desire to cooperate with their police. This desire does not arise out of assessments of political impartiality, trust and confidence in the police, nor police legitimacy. There appears to be an in-built willingness of the Ghanaian to cooperate with the police regardless of the level of these normative considerations. The study concludes that the phenomenon of dull compulsion (Carrabine, 2004; Sparks & Bottoms, 2007) is at play in the Ghanaian citizen in respect of police-public relations.

**Main recommendations.** This study recommends that the police in Ghana undertake policy reforms that will make them truly politically neutral and impartial to all segments of the Ghanaian society. They are called upon to publish and be bound by a ‘statement of values’ that is in line with democratic ideals and grounded in procedural justice conduct of the police. They must be seen to be democratic, fair, impartial, respectful of the Ghanaian populace; eschew all arbitrariness, and impunity; and be bound by the rule of law, and equal protection under the law.
To facilitate the police in these efforts to become truly politically impartial, the constraints in the Ghanaian Constitution that, as it were, take away the organizational autonomy and independence of the police from political leadership must be removed. A call is hereby made for a constitutional amendment to the Ghanaian Constitution to remove the power to appoint the IGP and other senior members of police leadership from the powers of the president of Ghana. Also, the power of the president of the republic to appoint most of the members of the Police Councils at the National and Regional levels should be taken away. These powers should be given to a neutral body. Similarly, the Vice-President of the republic should not head the National Police Council, the supervisory body of the Ghana Police Service.

The need for the police to be a professional state institution dedicated to serve all segments of the Ghanaian society always, and all governments, and insulated from party politicking, requires such measures. These legitimation strategies are what will endure and ultimately create a truly professional police organization with the capacity to obtain and maintain the trust and confidence of the people of Ghana always.

Summary

The necessity for the police in the affairs of society cannot be over-emphasized. They are the institution that makes the amicable living among the individuals in society possible. The police as the law enforcement organ of the justice system has taken the place of man in the state of nature’s prerogative to punish those who would offend the law of nature, or to take his own care to defend himself against fellow men who would, otherwise, offend him. The police’s responsibility to society therefore requires that they are fair, impartial, beyond reproach, and work to the benefit of all sections of society (Lipsky, 2010).
Chapter Two

Literature Review

Introduction

The Ghana Police Service may not be any different from any other police organization anywhere in the world in respect of the rationale and processes of policing. How the police in general go about their work of law enforcement and the provision of safety and security to citizens has been the subject of much scholarly work and much social commentary over decades (Eck & Rosenbaum, 1994; Gillespie, 1955; Goldsmith, 2005; Hahn, 1971; Jackson & Sunshine, 2007; Manning, 1978; Marenin, 1982; Nagin, 1982; Tyler & Fagan, 2008). In current times, there has been constant media spotlight on the work of the police, and the police are being judged by citizens all the time. Such judgments largely tend to be focused on the effectiveness of the police in combating crime and providing safety to citizens. Their modus operandi also seriously come under scrutiny. For example, over the past few years, in the United States, the police have come under severe criticism on their methods of policing, especially towards the minority community, particularly African-American men (Davis, 2015; Department of Justice, 2015; Sweeny, A., Gorner. J., & Hinkel, D., 2017; Wamsley, 2017).

The work of the police necessarily involves daily and constant interactions with the public. Such interactions leave an impression not only on those at the receiving end of such interactions, but also on the whole society, as the public gets to assess police conduct. These public assessments in turn inform public attitudes towards the police, and whether citizens thereby choose to obey the law and police authority, as well as whether they decide to cooperate with the police voluntarily.
This chapter begins with a discourse on the policing models with which the police exact citizens’ compliance with the law. This in turn leads to a discussion of a more recent theory by which the police can obtain citizens’ compliance with the law on the citizens’ own accord. I then discuss the psychological assessments by citizens that take place through which the compliance theory postulates citizens’ deference to the law and their decision to cooperate with law enforcement. I later discuss the motivation and the nature of the citizens’ cooperation with the police, and end with a discourse on the rationale and the context that underpins the need for this study.

**Policing Models**

The police, along with the courts, are the legitimate institutions of social control in society. Policymakers, legal scholars, and social scientists therefore should be concerned with the effective instruments of this social control (Tyler, 2006; Tyler & Huo, 2002). Society expects the police to control and deal with social deviants, and thereby looks to the police to provide citizens with safety from crime. However, the police generally cannot detect crime before it occurs. David Bayley (1994) posits that the police do not prevent crime, and that it is a myth when the police say that when more resources are put at their disposal, particularly personnel, they would be able to offer protection to citizens against crime. It is on very few occasions that the police can avert crimes before they are carried out. Largely, what is in the power of the police is an ability to solve some crimes after they have been committed. Even in these instances, the police generally depend on the cooperation of the public to solve many of such crimes (Bayley, 1994).
In any case, even solving crimes would not be the first choice in the public expectations of the police; rather, the public would expect that the police could do something that will prevent crime from occurring (Center for Problem-Oriented Policing, 2009; Manning, 1978). Truly, the police solving crime would be of less benefit to the victims of crime. Sadly, and more importantly, to crime victims who get maimed or lose their lives, solving crime is of little or no benefit at all. Since “the police have more control over how they treat people than they do over the crime rate” (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003, p. 535), society, therefore, would be best served if, through police conduct, people generally comply with the law, cooperate with the police, and desist from committing crime.

Certainly, it would be much to the advantage of the police if citizens comply with the law on their own accord due to procedural justice considerations (Tyler & Huo, 2002). When most citizens readily comply with the law and respect police authority and orders, it makes the job of the police a little easier and enhances the effectiveness of the police (Fagan, 2008). This allows the police to concentrate their efforts on hardcore social deviants who are motivated not by values but by rational choice (Jackson, Bradford, Hough, Kuha, Stares, Widdop, … & Todor, 2011). How, and what then makes citizens comply with the law and cooperate with the police? There are two main categories of compliance: instrumental compliance, which is based on self-interested calculations; and normative compliance, which is derived from a moral obligation and commitment (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

**Instrumental compliance.** Until quite recently, law enforcement authorities have obtained citizens’ compliance with the law through what is termed ‘instrumental compliance.’ This model of crime control is deterrent-based and premised on peoples’ rational and “self-interested calculation[s]” (Jackson, Bradford, Hough, & Murray, 2012, p. 30) of the utility in
non-compliance; of the likelihood of being caught and punished for criminality (Nagin, 1998); and of the severity of the punishment attendant to the crime involved (Robinson & McNeill, 2008; Tyler, 1997). Offenders and would-be offenders are presumed to be “responsive primarily to the risk of punishment, which can vary on dimensions of certainty, severity, and celerity” (Hough, Jackson, Bradford, Myhill, & Quinton, 2010, p. 203). Adherents of the deterrence theory posit that people rationally weigh the maximum utility to be derived in breaking the law, vis-a-vis the incentives and penalties stipulated for offending the law (Western, 2006). The knowledge of the punishment that is attendant to crime then shapes the attitude and the decision of would-be offenders to commit crime or break the law, or not. For example, deterrence occurs when sanctions of incarceration prevent people from engaging in criminality which can land them in prison (Lynch & Sabol, 1997).

Breaking the law and getting punished for it would seem to be deterrent enough to cause people to stay away from crime, which would then lead to reductions in criminality. But the reality is that people continue to break the law, and politicians and policymakers thereby also continue to increase the severity of the punishment for some crimes and law-breaking. They do so, especially with serious crimes, to appear ‘tough-on-crime,’ and they calculate that being tougher on crime will offer more deterrence.

In the United States of America, beginning in the early 1980s, getting tough on crime to legislate stiffer criminal penalties as deterrence-oriented resulted in ‘sentencing reform.’ This brought about mandatory minimum penalties, determinate sentencing, and guideline-based sentencing in the criminal justice system in that country (Lynch & Sabol, 1997). Slogans such as “three strikes and you’re out” were invented not only to communicate toughness and deterrence-
motives in criminal punishment (Stevenson, 2014), but have since been in use on a massive scale.

These measures, which narrowed judicial discretion in sentencing, may have altered the balance of powers in the criminal justice system in a fundamental way, and today, some judges have begun to question their efficacy (Fagan, 2008). Some of the manifestations of this deterrence mindset in the United States during the 1980s and the 1990s were the punishment regimes associated with homicides and the ‘war-on-drugs.’ For example, long prison sentences were prescribed for hitherto minor drug offenses. This new sentencing framework in the criminal justice system led to an explosion in the prison population in the United States. The result is that the country is the number one per capita incarcerator of its citizens when compared to all other countries in the world, with 693 of every 100,000 of its population in prison as at the end of 2014 (Wagner & Walsh, 2016; World Prison Brief, n.d.). This equates to a total prison population of almost 2,218,000 as at the end of 2014 (World Prison Brief, n. d.).

As an illustration, the total prison population in the United States at the end of 1992, just before President Clinton assumed office was 883,593 (U.S. Department of Justice, 1993). When Clinton left office in January 2001, the state and federal prison and jail inmate population in the United States had grown by over 673,000 incarcerations since his inauguration in January 1993, eight years earlier (Center on Juvenile and Criminal Justice, 2001). Per available figures, the prison population increase peaked at 2,307,504 and a per capita of 755 per 100,000 residents in 2008 (World Prison Brief, n. d.).

Such a deterrence mindset is endorsed by some politicians, and it makes the police tend to feel empowered to be heavy-handed in their approach to policing to exact compliance with the
law from citizens. However, Hough et al.’s (2010) research in England and Wales did not find support for compliance with the law due to deterrence considerations. Instead, data from the fifth European Social Survey across 26 European countries rather finds support for an alternative and more effective policing model: the normative compliance model (Hough, Jackson, & Bradford, 2013). The authors argue that it is a fundamental error for the police to adopt instrumental compliance strategies as the centerpiece of policing policy, as such policies are costly and ineffective.

The politicians who encourage the police to adopt instrumental models of policing tout themselves as tough on crime and ‘law and order candidates.’ Many do so for other motives aside their effectiveness as law enforcement tools. For instance, in the United States, some politicians who tout tough-on-crime credentials do so with a ‘conventional-wisdom’ belief that it would help them in winning elections. Many political commentators believe that when then-Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas left the campaign trail in New Hampshire in January 1992, during the Democratic Party presidential primaries to ‘supervise’ the state execution of Ricky Ray Rector, a convicted mentally-retarded murderer with a mental capacity of a ten-year-old, Governor Clinton did so mainly to proclaim his tough-on-crime credentials. This might have insulated him against possible opposition Republican Party portrayal of him as ‘soft-on-crime.’

Incidentally, the soft-on-crime label was put on Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis, the 1988 Democratic Party presidential candidate, by his Republican opponents. The belief in the 1990s was that Governor Dukakis gave a ‘wrong’ soft-on-crime response to a death penalty question in the second televised presidential debate, and that this caused him to lose the 1988 presidential elections (Germond & Witcover, 1989; Steiker & Steiker, 2016). Such conventional-wisdom belief in respect of winning elections and being soft on crime is, however,
contradicted by Steven A. Krieger’s (2011) study which found no empirical evidence to support the assumption that tough-on-crime politicians win more elections. Krieger, in his study on elections in the state of California, also found no correlation between being soft on crime and re-election efforts being impeded.

It is therefore instructive that Tyler (1997) writes persuasively that “threats of punishment are largely ineffective in changing law-related behavior” (p. 220). For such threats to be effective in implementation, the police must be sufficiently empowered and must bring credibility to the threat of punishment only with the use of force and the perceived danger of harm to the would-be offender. Such threats must also communicate a looming shadow of mandated severe penalties from the courts (Tyler & Huo, 2002). To exact citizens’ compliance with the law through instrumental measures, the police may have to resort to saturation patrols, traffic stops, and field interrogations (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

Such policing strategies have found manifestations in the use of controversial police tactics such as the much talked-about stop-and-frisk procedures famously used by the New York Police Department (NYPD) and other police departments in several jurisdictions across the United States over the past several years (ACLU of Illinois, 2015; Fermino, 2013; Goldstein, 2013; Saul, 2016). The stop-and-frisk policy had been made lawful in the United States since 1968 when the US Supreme Court ruled in Terry v. Ohio. Fallout from such policing tactics has been soiled police-community relations and antagonism between the police and the policed (Center for Constitutional Rights, 2012). NYPD’s stop-and-frisk policy, as practiced over the years, culminated in two class-action lawsuits against the police department in 2008. In 2013,

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7 392 U.S. 1 (1968)
that policing policy, as practiced by the NYPD, was ruled unconstitutional by a federal judge who declared it as amounting to racial profiling (Goldstein, 2013; Vaughan, 2013).

As Tyler (2006) warns, such instrumental compliance strategies are costly and may largely be inadequate (Hough et al., 2013). Deterrence alone is ineffectual in seeking to maintain a social order (Fagan, 2008). Can the alternate policing model in general work better for the police and society?

**Normative compliance.** The contrast to the instrumental policing model is the normative compliance concept of policing. In this process-based model of compliance, citizens decide to comply with the law because of an intrinsic motivation to obey the law arising out of a Kantian belief that it is the right thing to do (Fagan, 2008; Hough, Jackson, & Bradford, 2012; Murphy, Bradford, & Jackson, 2016). This model of compliance is self-regulated of authority (Tyler, 2007a), motive-based, and voluntary (Hough, et al., 2012). In engaging in such self-regulatory conduct, citizens generally operate based on their feelings of obligation and responsibility (Tyler, 2004).

Normative compliance is premised on citizens’ personal values that lead them to comply with law enforcement authority and legal rules (Tyler, 2006). In their California study on people’s personal experiences with the police and the courts, Tyler and Huo (2002) found that citizens yearn to behave in ways that are in line with their personal intrinsic values and this leads to their voluntary deference to the police and the courts. The normative motivations for obedience and compliance with the law are greatly enhanced when the citizen has a conviction
that the law-enforcing authority exhibits legitimacy and has earned the right to enforce the law (Tyler, 2006).

Legitimacy thus plays an essential role in encouraging such compliance behaviors (Tyler, 2006). It does so by shaping citizens’ willingness to cooperate with the police in the fight against crime (Tyler & Fagan, 2008), and people’s general law-abiding behavior (Tyler, 2004). The Police Executive Research Forum (2014) reports that the success of police operations depends on police legitimacy, as the effectiveness of the police largely depends on the willingness of the public to offer information and to cooperate with the police.

Therefore, one could create a law-respecting and law-abiding society where citizens are motivated by internal values that lead them to voluntarily defer to the law and to authority, if the authorities would behave in ways through which the citizens perceive them as legitimate. In such a society, there is a willing consent and cooperation from the people. Murphy et al. (2016) found empirical support for a positive relationship between perceptions of legitimacy and compliant-related behavior in an unexpected way. The study reported that fairness and respectfulness of tax authorities have a positive effect on tax-compliance in the study of Australians. The authors determined that these normative value-based considerations of taxpayers were mediated by perceptions of legitimacy of tax authorities. Those who viewed the tax authorities as more legitimate were less likely to evade taxes.

For the police, cooperation from the public is indispensable to their effectiveness (Tankebe, 2009a; Tyler & Fagan, 2008). Justice Tankebe (2009b) suggests that normative assessments are at the core of public support (or otherwise) for vigilante justice, which is seen when the public takes the law into their own hands, and withholds cooperation from the police.
The police therefore need the cooperation of citizens to fight crime, solve crime, and so that citizens will desist from criminal behavior. When this occurs, the job of the police is made a little easier with people’s normative compliance with the law (Jackson et al., 2011; Fagan, 2008). As such, current discourse on public safety and law enforcement regarding effective policing must put heightened emphasis on the centrality of such normative considerations to the ability of the justice system to efficaciously secure compliance (Fagan, 2008).

How then do people’s normative considerations work to produce a feeling of an obligation to obey the police and the law, and to cooperate with the police? The procedural justice theory may provide a mechanism through which normative compliance with the law may be achieved.

**Procedural Justice Theory**

Tom R. Tyler developed the procedural justice theory following from his years of research on normative compliance with the law as an alternative policing model to the deterrence-based approach. The theory is a relatively new and different policing paradigm that is process-based (Tyler & Huo, 2002) and premised on values-based compliance with the law. The procedural justice theory is what underlies community policing, which is fast gaining acceptance the world over. The underlying elements are the public’s perceptions of objectivity, consistency, neutrality, and impartiality in the decision-making processes of the police; and public assessments of whether the police treat people with fairness, politeness, respect, and dignity (Paternoster, Brame, Bachman, & Sherman, 1997; Tyler, 2001; Tyler, 2006).

The theory suggests that when citizens perceive the police to be fair and democratic in their processes of policing, and the police deal with the public with respect, the people in turn...
gain trust and confidence in the police (Sunshine & Tyler 2003; Thomassen, 2013; Tyler & Huo, 2002). The citizens then see the police as a legitimate institution, cooperate more with the police, and comply readily with laws and police orders. In doing so, citizens defer to law enforcement, and thereby the likelihood of public defiance, antagonism, and resistance to the police is reduced (Bradford, 2014; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2003).

Procedural justice is a primary predictor of police legitimacy (Hough et al., 2013; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Thus, legitimacy is obtained when justice institutions comply with the rules, maintain neutrality, and show dignity and respect to citizens (National Research Council, 2004). With procedural justice, citizens who are treated procedurally fairly by the police are more likely to adopt collective patterns of behavior and values that are consistent with the concept of legitimacy (Reisig & Lloyd., 2009). Such values are a feeling of obligation to defer to law enforcement authority during encounters with the police, and to cooperate with the police. When the police treat citizens poorly, it weakens the citizens’ moral identification with the police institution (Tankebe, 2009b) and the citizens consider the police as illegitimate.

In a multi-wave comparative study that focused on delinquent and non-delinquent youth in three high-crime Philadelphia neighborhoods, Carr, Napolitano and Keating (2007) concluded that the negative attitudes of the respondents about the police were mainly the result of lack of fairness in the treatment of the respondents by the police. The views of the youth were, however, not permanent, as the youth were positively disposed to supporting police crime-control measures that concentrated more on justice and fairness in police procedures than on outcomes. Reisig and Lloyd’s (2009) study of Jamaican youth came to similar conclusions that adolescents who had higher procedural justice scores also exhibited a higher willingness to cooperate with the Jamaican police in normative crime-control efforts.
There are three central tenets of the procedural justice theory (Tyler, 1997). First, citizens view fair treatment and fair decision-making by the police and justice officials more highly than any beneficial outcomes that arise out of encounters with such law enforcement personnel. Second, procedural fairness fosters legitimacy, and in so doing, secures compliance with the law and cooperation with law enforcement officials (Hough, Bradford, Jackson, & Quinton, 2016). Finally, citizens value procedural fairness and, especially, the quality of treatment during encounters with justice officials, more importantly than any advantageous outcomes (Paternoster et al., 1997; Tyler & Huo, 2002).

Procedural justice is the key normative assessment that influences the impact of citizens’ experience on police legitimacy (Tyler, 2006). Citizens’ perceptions about such institutions of authority are correlated to the fairness of the procedures through which their decisions are made. There is therefore a strong relationship between trust in police fairness and public perceptions of police legitimacy (Hough et al., 2016). This sense of legitimacy of the institutions of justice then results in the readiness of the public to cooperate with such institutions, and to comply with the law (Hough et al., 2013).

There are many notable advantages for the police if they adopt procedural justice practices. They have much to gain when they conduct themselves in a procedurally fair manner during even short encounters with the public (Mazerolle et al, 2013). Mike Hough (2013) analyzes procedural justice in the context of police budgetary constraints. He set out from the premise that adopting the instrumental mode of policing is costly, as it is dependent on more police presence, what he called over-policing. He concluded that when the police act in a procedurally fair manner, the public respond by judging the police to be legitimate and comply more with the police on their own accord. When citizens readily comply with police orders and
obey the police, we therefore need fewer police officers to be on the beat, making the job of the police a little easier, and thus enhancing the effectiveness of the police (Jackson et al., 2011).

Therefore, if police officers and their leaders can be persuaded that procedurally fair treatment of the public builds trust and legitimacy, and thereby produces public compliance with the law, then procedural justice offers an opportunity to achieve more with fewer resources (Hough, 2013). In these times of budgetary austerity, this process-based policing model may be what brings sanity to the budgetary committees of city governments, police administrations, and national governments in their commitments to provide policing services for their citizenry. Hough’s (2013) conclusions are particularly relevant to policing in the sub-Saharan African context. Most governmental institutions in Africa, including the police, rarely get the adequate levels of resources that would enable them to perform most efficiently. Therefore, if such advantageous results are achievable by the police when they adopt procedural justice conduct in their day-to-day interactions with citizens, then it may be worth practising. Police legitimacy is therefore a worthy goal and a condition for police success (Police Executive Research Forum, 2014).

Procedural justice has also been found to affect recidivism. In their domestic violence arrest study in Milwaukee, Paternoster et al. (1997) discovered that when arresting police officers exhibited procedurally fair conduct in their response to spousal assault complaints, the occurrences of subsequent repeat offending for domestic violence by the offenders were markedly reduced than when they did not.
This raises several questions. What is the general understanding of police legitimacy? What are the other dimensions of the relationship between procedural justice and police legitimacy? What are the sources of legitimacy?

**Police Legitimacy**

Legitimacy is that feature of an institution that makes it command respect and earn acceptance from the public (Hawdon, 2008). This occurs because the institution is seen to live up to the morality and expectations demanded of it from the people, and the people decide that the institution should be obeyed and deferred to (Police Executive Research Forum, 2014; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Huo, 2002). Legitimacy denotes the extent to which a justice institution is perceived as morally just, honest, and worthy of citizens’ trust and confidence (Police Executive Research Forum, 2014). Every encounter that the people make with the police is a socializing opportunity that builds or undermines police legitimacy (Tyler, 2011).

Legitimacy lies within the hearts and minds of the people (National Research Council, 2004). Police legitimacy is the public judgement regarding the rightfulness of police procedures and the police as an institution. It is relational, contextual, negotiated, and extends far beyond the scope and ability of the law (Karpiak, 2016). Perceptions of legitimacy are also subjective (Major & Schmader, 2001). Legitimacy is a social value that has a distinct influence on the public’s support for the police and offers a strong normative basis for such support (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Police legitimacy constitutes both a social and a public good to the extent that when there are low levels of police legitimacy, it makes social regulation more difficult and costly (Fagan, 2008). Legal cynicism is the logical outcome of and a coping mechanism when citizens consider the police as not legitimate (Carr et al., 2007).
Legitimacy is different from legality, as legality is conferred on institutions, like the police, because the law of the land (e.g., the Constitution) has decreed it (National Research Council, 2004; Police Executive Research Forum, 2014). An institution can be legal but not necessarily seen as legitimate in the eyes of the people. Legality, which is a recognizable element of legitimacy, alone, is an inadequate justification for successful claims to legitimacy (Beetham, 2013).

The search for police legitimacy as an antecedent to an effective policing model has spawned the much-talked about community policing that is currently in vogue globally (Freidman, 1992). Community policing emphasizes community engagement, mutual respect, friendly police postures, and fairness in how the police handle their encounters with the public. Through this strategy, the police gain legitimacy from the public, which influences the public’s view of police effectiveness and their willingness to cooperate with the police. The police do not necessarily need to be effective to be legitimate; rather, they need to be perceived by the people as legitimate to be effective (Tankebe, 2008b).

Tyler (2006) measured legitimacy as 1) perceived obligation to obey, and 2) support for legal institutions. Sunshine and Tyler (2003) offered the Sunshine-Tyler legitimacy scale that uses the two subscales of ‘public trustworthiness of the police’ and ‘obligation to obey police directives.’ Many researchers have since been using the Sunshine-Tyler scale in the measurements of police legitimacy.

Interestingly, in his study of the police in Ghana, Tankebe (2009a) did not find empirical support for the Sunshine-Tyler legitimacy scale. Similarly, in Pryce’s (2014) study of Ghanaian immigrant community in the United States, the ‘trust’ and ‘obligation to obey’ subscales that are
usually used to conceptualize police legitimacy were found not to be applicable. In support of the above issues on appropriate measures of legitimacy, there is current and growing evidence that evaluations of trust and perceptions of police legitimacy are different conceptual frameworks in normative evaluations, and the two do not load onto a single construct of legitimacy (Reisig, Jason, & Gertz, 2007). Scholars are therefore attempting to modify the Sunshine-Tyler scale of measuring police legitimacy.

To this end, Jacinta M. Gau’s (2014) study sought to establish a valid measurement model for procedural justice and police legitimacy and then test for their directional relationships. In doing so, the author disaggregated procedural justice into two parts; “global procedural justice” and “specific procedural justice.” He defined global procedural justice perceptions as the public’s “general assessments of the aggregate levels of procedural justice that the police afford members of the public during typical face-to-face encounters” (p. 190). Such global attitudes may be formed through the media or other important sources of information, including friends, family, and social networks. He then defined specific procedural justice assessments as judgements by persons who have had personal face-to-face encounters with the police. His study showed that ‘trust’ and ‘obligation to obey,’ which are the two scales regularly used to measure police legitimacy, were not convergent. Instead, they are two separate factors. Gau suggests that legitimacy should not be assessed as a composite of trust and obligation to obey.

Tankebe (2013) also investigated the main contents of the dimensions of police legitimacy as a concept in social control in a liberal democracy. He used empirical data to test these dimensions and further determined the relationship between police legitimacy and the public’s willingness to cooperate with police authority. He tested the impact of police legitimacy
and public obligation to obey the police on public cooperation with the police. The findings supported the hypothesis that public perceptions of the lawfulness of the police, procedural fairness of the police, police distributive fairness, and the effectiveness of the police constitute the dimensions of police legitimacy to the public. He also concluded that legitimacy has both a direct and indirect relationship to the public’s willingness to cooperate with police authority, with the indirect influence flowing through obligation to obey. Thus, the relationship between legitimacy and cooperation with the police is independent of the public’s obligation to obey the police.

The recent scholarship raises several questions. Is there a possible mediating factor between procedural justice assessments and police legitimacy? What role does public trust and confidence play in the normative evaluations of the police by citizens?

**Public Trust and Confidence in the Police**

In capturing the essence of what ‘trust’ is, Hardin (2006, p. 17) writes, “To say we trust you means we believe you have the right intentions towards us and that you are competent to do what we trust you to do.” Mishler and Rose (2001, p. 30) further argue that “[t]rust is critical to democracy.” It connects citizens to the institutions that are supposed to represent them in society (Bianco, 1994). In so doing, the legitimacy and effectiveness in the governance of institutions of authority are thereby enhanced (Braithwaite & Levi, 1998; Hetherington, 1998). Trust in the police exists when the citizens judge the police as an honest and competent institution that exercises its mandate for the good of all the citizens (Boateng, 2012).

Indeed, institutional trust motivates compliance with the law (Tyler, 2006). Studying public trust in the police is of much importance because how the public perceive and evaluate the
police can directly or indirectly inform the way the public responds to the police, the support and cooperation they give to the police, and the public’s willingness to participate in joint police-community anti-crime efforts (Boateng, 2012).

When the public sees the police to be fair, effective, and to exhibit shared values as well as a solid commitment to and interest in the community, they see the police as a trustworthy institution (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Huo, 2002). Thus, procedural fairness assessments by the public have a positive association with greater trust in local law enforcement (Nix, Wolfe, Rolek, & Kaminski, 2015; Thomassen, 2013). To build public trust in the police, therefore, policing must be democratic, and must adhere to procedures that ensure the protection of the civil liberties and respect for the dignity of all citizens (Gau, 2014; Tankebe, 2009b). Widespread public perception of police untrustworthiness usually undermines the exclusive claims of the police to legitimate power in dealing with wrongful behavior (Tankebe, 2009b). As such, people’s trust in the police is a major predictor of perceived police legitimacy (Hough et al., 2010; Hough et al., 2013). Therefore, trust is not necessarily a factor of legitimacy, but a mediator between procedural fairness and legitimacy.

In studying the relationship between citizens and their government, the standing of the police amongst the public is one of the most important and central issues. This is because the police are the most visible representation of social control and the authority of the state (Tyler, 2006; Tyler & Huo, 2002). This makes the public’s trust in the police an important indicator of the legitimacy of governmental institutions in general (Fleming & McLaughlin, 2010). Police legitimacy and trustworthiness are important for a more effective design of crime-control policy, as well as assessment of changes in public trust and institutional legitimacy arising out of new policing policies (Hough et al., 2012). In a European Social Survey carried out in 28 countries
involving 51,000 people, Hough et al. (2012) present findings that support a clear and strong correlation between police trustworthiness and public perceptions of police legitimacy.

Public satisfaction in the work of the police influences public trust in the police (Boateng, 2012). In his study of the Ghana Police, Justice Tankebe (2010) found support that the satisfaction of the people with police leadership’s reform efforts against corruption is a predictor of increased levels of public confidence in police trustworthiness and legitimacy, among others. Citizens’ values and moral evaluations that appear to be at work in their normative considerations of police legitimacy and how fair and humanely the police treat people (Tankebe, 2009b), also seem to inform what they make of police reform efforts to fight corruption. The underlying precept is the enhanced perceptions of the legitimacy of the police and their ensuring of the rule of law; with the police conducting themselves as the watchdogs of society who work to serve the interests of the citizenry.

This then gives credence to the theoretical foundation of one of my research hypotheses that fair and impartial political conduct of the police in Ghana may affect the public’s trust and confidence in the police and the public perception of the legitimacy of the police. And when this trustworthiness is established, there is more deference to the police and less support by citizens for anti-social behavior such as a resort to vigilante justice (Tankebe, 2009b).

Police trustworthiness is a strong predictor of public cooperation with the police (Tankebe, 2009a; Reisig et al., 2007). This puts a high premium on the need for the police in Ghana to seek the trust and confidence of the people to enhance the cooperation from the public and the public’s obligation to obey the police. With this, the police would be able to accomplish
their mandate effectively. How critical, then, is the need for the police to obtain citizens’ cooperation?

**Public Cooperation with the Police: The Ghanaian Context**

The success of the police in controlling crime and maintaining social order depends largely on citizens’ active public cooperation with the police (Tyler & Fagan, 2008). Public cooperation with the police, on the other hand, is strongly predicted by perceived police legitimacy (Hough et al., 2010; Tyler & Fagan, 2008). Thus, procedural justice – from which legitimacy is derived – predicts citizens’ intention to cooperate with the police (Bradford, 2014; Murphy, Sargeant, & Cherney, 2015; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2003).

However, Tankebe’s (2009a) study in Ghana did not find empirical support for public cooperation with the police because of procedural justice reasons. This is contrary to the general procedural justice theory that police procedural fairness assessments by the public create citizens’ perceptions of police legitimacy, which is what in turn creates an obligation to obey and cooperate with the police. Tankebe maintains that in Ghana, citizens’ cooperation with the police is shaped by police effectiveness. He continues that people cooperate with the police not out of procedural justice considerations or feelings of a moral obligation, but because of what they stand to gain or avert personally or collectively, security-wise. This finding about Ghanaian public perceptions of the police is corroborated by Pryce (2014). Pryce’s findings are that in the Ghanaian immigrant community in the United States, police effectiveness is an antecedent of both the legitimacy of police in the United States and the willingness of the immigrants to cooperate with the police. Furthermore, he argues that instrumental considerations of policing appear to be more important than normative concerns in the Ghanaian immigrant community.
This also appears to go against procedural justice expectations regarding citizens’ cooperation with the police in the United States. The author’s conclusion was that the Ghanaian immigrants appeared to have imported their views of the police in their home country and brought those views of the police with them to the United States.

It is possible that Ghanaians in Ghana decide to cooperate with the police not out of a moral obligation, but what they stand to profit or avert for non-cooperation and non-compliance, as “[p]olicing in Ghana … continues to be characterized by abuse, violence, intimidation and widespread corruption,” (Tankebe, 2009a, p. 1271). Brutal beatings at the hands of the police in Ghana are not uncommon. As Tankebe (2009b) points out, “In too many states, however, dehumanizing treatment, injustice, and abuse have characterized the experiences of some sections of society with legal authorities” (p. 249). This Ghanaian attitude to cooperation with the police would appear then to be in line with dull compulsion (Carrabine, 2004).

Dating back to the colonial era, the police in Ghana have mostly sought to exact compliance to the directives of the police “through force, fear, and intimidation” (Tankebe, 2009a, p. 1282). This has apparently created the fear of the police that is more in line with deterrence rather than normative considerations for compliance. Interestingly, this basis for compliance is corroborated by another significant finding in Reisig and Lloyd’s (2009) study of Jamaican adolescents, a study that offers insights from a non-Western or developed world setting. On the whole, they found empirical evidence that procedural justice significantly predicts police legitimacy. The main finding was that perceptions of fair and just processes in police

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9 Dull compulsion occurs when subjects, such as the policed, in power relationships decide to reluctantly cooperate with authority not because of being convinced that the authority figures are right in their conduct which therefore would require that they be obeyed, but they do so because of a more terrible loss to them if they refuse to comply. In such situations, the subjects resign to an attitude of helplessness that their condition cannot be improved despite the illegitimacy of the treatment being meted out to them.
conduct are associated with a general sense of an obligation to obey the police and people’s willingness to cooperate with the Jamaican police to fight crime. But contrary to expectations, the authors also found that the association between citizens’ perceptions of police illegitimacy and citizens’ non-cooperation with the police was weak and statistically insignificant.

The authors of the Jamaican study had operationalized police legitimacy as 1) people should accept police decisions even when they think the police are wrong, and 2) people should do what they are told by the police even if they disagree. They acknowledge that the weak and statistically insignificant relationship between police illegitimacy and citizens’ non-cooperation with the police may be due to the way legitimacy was operationalized, though other studies had operationalized it in that same manner. However, they suggested that the weak relationship might be due to the perceived costs to people for not obeying directives from the Jamaican police, which in that society, might include beatings and mistreatment from police officers.

Given that Ghana and Jamaica were both colonized by the British and both are members of the Commonwealth of Nations, the Jamaican society, especially its policing, is, in many respects, socio-politically like the Ghanaian society (Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, 2007; Deflem, 1994). It is, therefore, possible that the same dynamics that inform dull compulsion, as suggested in the Jamaican society, may be at play in the Ghanaian context regarding the procedural justice theory and public cooperation.

**Justification for the Current Study**

Due to the differing socio-political and historical contexts within which public-police relations are situated in countries in sub-Saharan Africa, such as Ghana, compared to the Western developed countries within which most of the studies on this subject have been carried
out, it is very much possible that public cooperation with the police in such countries might be enmeshed in, and motivated by, different considerations (Tankebe, 2009a). Evidence to determine the relevance of current policing theories to the sub-Saharan African setting must be sought (Marenin, 1982). Notably, Smith (2007) observes that very few of the available studies on the public’s attitudes towards policing have been conducted outside of long-established democracies of the developed world. Tankebe (2009a) adds that the criminological literature significantly lacks studies on theories of legitimacy, public cooperation, and public compliance with the law in the African context. This constitutes one of the most serious limitations in the available research on the procedural justice theory. Few existing studies are from sub-Saharan Africa. This therefore inhibits “the scope for generalization of our current knowledge [in the field]” relative to the region (Tankebe, 2008b; p. 186).

This study therefore adds to our knowledge on procedural justice from a sub-Saharan African perspective. The study utilizes the lack of political impartiality of the police in Ghana as an aspect of police unfairness in their practices to test the procedural justice theory. I hypothesized that Ghana Police fail the procedural justice test. A biased police presents many problems for policing and society in general. The recognition by sections of the society that the police do not act in their interest produces polarization and discontent, and inhibits the police from fulfilling their regulatory role in society effectively (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

Indeed, the police in Ghana would obtain more public support, more voluntary compliance with the law, and more voluntary public cooperation for effective crime control and policing from the entirety of Ghanaians, if they were to be politically neutral. In so doing, there would be diminished likelihood of defiance, lowered hostility, and less resistance to police authority (Bradford, 2014; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2003). Jang, Joo and Zhao (2010)
suggested in their study of fifteen countries that “for the police to gain confidence from the citizens … the police should maintain political neutrality and support democratic values, which represent all citizens and not only those with the power to govern” (p. 65). Though society may not be protecting of all segments of itself, the police on the other hand are expected to be painstakingly objective, neutral and upright, and protective of all segments of society (Lipsky, 2010). Police political impartiality is therefore a sine-qua-non for national unity and democratic development, especially in societies and emerging democracies with weak political institutions such as in Ghana.

There has been a liberal democratic political environment in Ghana since 1993, but the Ghana Police appear to be still irredeemably and unapologetically aligned with its historical colonial ideology and are indifferent to demands of the prevailing political atmosphere (Tankebe, 2009b). In the colonial days, they were used by the colonial masters as tools of oppression of the people by the foreign colonial government. The British colonial administration used the police to “effectively brutalize the citizenry in the process of enforcing the political economy of the time” (Atuguba, 2005, p. 10). The post-independence police appear not to have grown out of that model. They tend to behave as an appendix of the ruling party and government, and not as an institution of state working for the entirety of Ghanaians. In a politically polarized society such as in Ghana, where the winning political party at elections barely secures fifty percent of the popular vote (PeaceFmOnline, 2008; PeaceFmOnline, 2012), political partiality of the police is very detrimental to societal cohesion.

Agreeing with Hough et al., (2010; p. 204), “if people willingly offer their obedience to systems of authority that command legitimacy, questions about the ‘drivers’ of legitimacy become of central policy importance.” Therefore, any police conduct that has a detrimental
outcome on the legitimacy of the police in Ghana, or elsewhere, should be of serious concern to policymakers, civil society, and to police leadership.

Summary

The literature suggests that the instrumental compliance model of policing does not lead to effective policing. Instead, it appears to invariably lead to strained police-community relations, and overreliance on the use of force – too often excessive and deadly force – as seen in the United States. The alternative to the deterrence-based approach, which is the normative compliance approach, is what one could term “democratic policing,” and has the potential to obtain a good public image for, and acceptance of the police. It also makes for good police-community relations. It is based on a procedural justice conduct by the police, and creates feelings of police trustworthiness and legitimacy in the public frame of mind. These positive assessments engender more cooperation from the policed, making the job of the police a little easier and more effective, whilst also being less costly.

Dull compulsion sometimes also occurs when people reluctantly choose to obey justice authorities not out of normative or instrumental considerations, but because of a feeling of hopelessness in the treatment they face at the hands of justice authorities. What underlies such a decision to obey authorities is the resignation of such subjects to a fate that though the treatment being meted out to them may be illegitimate, nothing can be done about it, and that non-compliance would worsen their plight.
Chapter Three

Methodology

Introduction

The perceptions of lack of political neutrality and the documented lack of public trust in the Ghana Police raised questions about whether there is a correlation between a perceived lack of political impartiality of the police and the public’s lack of trust and confidence in the police in Ghana. Do Ghanaians perceive their police to be truly politically-biased as suggested in several reports (Citifm, 2011; Kwakofi, 2015; Ghana Star, 2016)? Is there a diminished public trust and confidence in the police, and if so, is it affecting the public perception of police legitimacy? Is the public assessment on the police’s political neutrality or otherwise also affecting the public perception of police legitimacy? What are the ramifications for the police in enforcing the law and providing safety to citizens? Finding answers to these questions are the goals of this research.

The specific research questions that inform this study are:

a) Is there a perception that the police in Ghana exhibit a lack of political impartiality?

b) What is the level of trust and confidence that the public have in the police in Ghana?

c) What is the level of legitimacy that the public feel about the police?

d) Does the public perception of lack of political impartiality affect the trust and confidence the public have in the police?

e) Do these perceptions of trust and partiality affect the public’s assessment of police legitimacy?
f) What is the level of willingness of the public to cooperate with the police, respect police authority, and obey police directives?

g) Is this level of willingness affected by how legitimate or otherwise that the public perceive the Ghana police to be?

Research Hypotheses

I hypothesized that the police in Ghana is perceived by the public to be politically-biased in favor of the ruling government and party, i.e. the police lack political impartiality. I also hypothesized that the public have low trust and confidence in the police. I again hypothesized that Ghanaians perceive the legitimacy of the police to be low. I further hypothesized that there is a negative relationship between public perceptions of lack of political impartiality of the police and the trust and confidence of the public in the police (i.e., the greater the perception of lack of political impartiality, the lower the level of public trust and confidence in the police). I also hypothesized that there is a positive correlation between perceptions of public trust and confidence in the police and police legitimacy (i.e. also that the lower the public trust and confidence, the lower the perception of police legitimacy). The lack of political impartiality of the police is potentially an aspect of procedural injustice since it constitutes unfair, unjust, undemocratic, and discriminatory police conduct. Thus, this study sought to test whether the procedural justice theory (Tyler, 1997) applies in Ghana.

I further hypothesized that the perception of lack of political impartiality of the police is negatively correlated with police legitimacy. In order words, perceptions of political impartiality of the police is positively correlated with perceptions of police legitimacy. And finally, I imagined a positive relationship between public perception of police legitimacy and the
willingness of the public to cooperate with the police and to obey police directives. However, the
dull compulsion theory (Carrabine, 2004) predicts that the policed sometimes choose to obey law
enforcement authorities not because they judge the authorities to be legitimate but because of the
fear of the repercussions of non-cooperation, and a resignation that though the treatment being
meted out to them may be illegal, their situation cannot be helped (Sparks & Bottoms, 2007). I
tested whether there was evidence of this in Ghana.

**Research Approach**

This research is an empirical study of the attitudes of Ghanaians towards their police. The
study utilized a survey methodology on a representative sample of Ghanaians. This was then
analyzed to draw conclusions about the overall attitudes of Ghanaians about the police, as well as
the drivers of such attitudes. I used this research approach because the generalizability of my
research findings was vital to my research goal. As Grinnell and Unrau (2010) note, “[s]urvey
research is often the only means available for developing a representative picture of the attitudes
and characteristics of a large population” (p. 328).

Surveys of citizen’s attitudes about the police are a good indicator of how satisfied the
public are, regarding the work of the police in communities (Eck & Rosenbaum, 1994; Frank,
Smith, & Novak, 2005). In the same vein, Frank et al. (2005) have noted that:

Information about the basis of citizen attitudes can provide police with feedback about the performance of officers or, at a minimum, citizen perceptions of performance. Thus, surveys can act as a mechanism for holding the police accountable and may ultimately enhance the perceived legitimacy of the police (p. 207).
What people think about their police force matters (Bayley, 1994). Therefore, surveys about people’s attitudes about the police provide an efficient way to gain insight into police performance and acceptance that policymakers and police leadership must take seriously.

**Study Sample**

The population sample for this study consisted of a cross-section of Ghanaians, eighteen years and older, living within the boundaries of the country at the time of the survey administration. Ghana has a population of close to 28 million spread across ten administrative regions, analogous to states or provinces (see Figure 1). I employed a survey sample of 584 adult Ghanaians as the participants in this study. They were drawn from all the ten administrative regions of Ghana to ensure fair and proper regional representation in the sample. I adopted a stratified sampling methodology to, as much as possible, allocate the number of survey participants for each region to be proportional to the ratio of the region’s population as it is reflected in the 2010 Ghana population census complied by the Ghana Statistical Service (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012, p. 92), the most recent figures available (see Table 1). This allowed the sample participants to be spread among all the geographical areas of Ghana. This sampling procedure also allowed inclusion of participants from both urban and rural sections of the Ghanaian population across all the ten administrative regions. It also made it possible to capture different ethnicities in the sample. The need for an ethnic spread is significant because Ghana has many ethnic groups, and the different geographical areas provide a fair representation of the different ethnic and tribal groupings in the country. The study sample therefore offers a very good representation of the population of Ghana.
Figure 1 - Administrative Map of Ghana by Regions
Table 1 - Regional Representation in Study Sample vrs. Regional share in Ghana Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region in Ghana</th>
<th>Regional share in Ghana Population (2010 Census) (%)</th>
<th>Regional Representation in Study Sample (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ashanti</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>19.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brong Ahafo</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>8.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>8.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>10.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater Accra</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>16.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>10.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper East</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper West</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volta</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>8.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>9.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Measures and Variables

**Definitions.** The following definitions describe the dependent and independent variables that were measured in this study:

*Lack of political impartiality of the police.* Bias in the treatment given to different people or groups of people for the same political offence, conditions, or circumstances, with the better treatment going to those aligned with the government or ruling party; or unequal treatment or processes based on political considerations.

*Trust and confidence in the police.* Harboring the feeling that one can rely on the police as an institution to do the right thing most or all the time, and for the police institution to be dependable, especially in carrying out the duties and responsibilities expected of it, and that the police institution is generally honest and worthy of that feeling.
**Trust in the police.** Harboring the feeling that the public can consider the police as truthful all or most of the time, the police will do the right thing all or most of the time, and that the police are generally honest and worthy of that feeling by the public.

**Police legitimacy.** Legitimacy is defined as that feature of an institution that makes it command respect and earn acceptance from the public (Hawdon, 2008), because the institution is seen to live up to the morality, the stated purpose of its existence, and expectations demanded of it from the people or the law. Legitimacy is different from legality, as legality is conferred on institutions, like the police, because the law of the land, (i.e., the Constitution) has decreed it.

**Public cooperation with the police.** Self-assessed felt obligation to cooperate with the police, to respect police authority, and to readily accept police decisions and directives.

**Dependent and independent variables.** Only ‘The Lack of Political Impartiality of the Police’ and ‘Public Cooperation with the Police’ are stand-alone independent and dependent variables respectively. ‘Public Trust and Confidence in the Police’ and ‘Police Legitimacy’ are both independent and dependent variables depending on the hypothesis being tested.

**Operationalization of the variables.** Several measures were used to operationalize the variables required to measure the perceptions of Ghanaian about their police. ‘The Lack of Political Impartiality of the Police’ was determined by nine items which were measured using a five-item Likert scale of Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree or Disagree, Agree, and Strongly Agree. The nine items were:

a) The police treat people differently depending on their political affiliation.

b) The police treat citizens highly connected to the ruling party differently.
c) The police apply the law consistently to different people irrespective of people’s
different political affiliation (reverse coded).

d) The police prosecute well publicized political offences equally irrespective of the
political affiliation of the alleged offender (reverse coded).

e) The police largely follow through with preparing dockets for prosecutions of political
offences equally irrespective of the highly connected political affiliation of the
alleged offender to the ruling party (reverse coded).

f) The police are severe in seeking the prosecution of political offences when the
alleged offender is allied to the opposition parties in Ghana.

g) The police make decisions based on what is best for the ruling party and not the state
or the people of Ghana.

h) The police make decisions based on what the law requires and not as a result of
political pressure from ruling government officials or officers of the ruling party
(reverse coded), and

i) The police easily bow to political pressure from the ruling government.

Each question item response was coded (1) to (5) to ensure that the highest number
denoted a higher lack of political impartiality of the police. Some questions were reverse-coded
to ensure that the highest number indicated a greater lack of political impartiality of the police.
The nine items were combined to form a ‘Lack of Political Impartiality’ index with a mean of
3.48, (SD = 0.78), and a Cronbach’s alpha value of 0.84, suggesting internal reliability.

‘Public Trust and Confidence’ in the police was measured using four items; which are:
a) Based on how I judge police conduct, I believe in the police to do the right thing most of the time.

b) Based on how I judge police conduct, the public can trust the police all or most of the time.

c) Based on how I judge police conduct, the public can largely depend on the police for the good of all the public; and

d) The police are generally honest.

Similarly, these four items were measured using a five-item Likert scale of Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree or Disagree, Agree, and Strongly Agree, and coded (1) to (5), with the higher value indicating more trust and confidence in the police. There were no reverse coded items for this measure. They were then combined to form a ‘Trust and Confidence Index’ with a mean of 2.56, (SD = 0.92), and a Cronbach’s alpha value of 0.80, suggesting internal reliability.

‘Trust in the Police’ alone was captured with two measures:

a) Based on how I judge police conduct, the public can trust the police all or most of the time; and

b) The police are generally honest.

The two items were also measured with a five-item Likert scale of Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree or Disagree, Agree, and Strongly Agree, and coded (1) to (5), with the higher value indicating more trust in the police. Also, there were no reverse coded items in this measure. The two combined to form a ‘Trust in the Police’ index with a mean of 2.35, (SD = 0.97), and an alpha value of 0.67, also suggesting adequate internal reliability.
Police Legitimacy, on the other hand, was measured by a single item asking the question; “Now that you know what legitimacy is, how legitimate do you perceive the Ghana Police to be?” A paragraph preceding this question in the survey defines what ‘police legitimacy’ is. The scale of measurement of this variable was Legitimate; Neither Legitimate or Not Legitimate; and Not Legitimate, and it was coded (1) to (3), with the highest value denoting perceptions of higher legitimacy of the police. The measurement had a mean of 1.85, (SD = 0.94).

The final variable measured was ‘Public Cooperation with the Police.’ It was assessed with the four Likert-type measures:

a) From how legitimate you perceive the police to be, how obliged do you feel to cooperate with the police?

b) From how legitimate you believe the police are, how obliged do you feel to respect the police’s authority?

c) From how legitimate you think the police are, how obliged do you feel not to defy police authority even when you feel they are wrong? and

d) Based on how legitimate you feel the police are how readily are you to accept decisions and directives from the police?

The first three items were measured on a five-point Likert scale of Strongly Not Obliged, Not Obliged, Neither Obliged or Not Obliged, Obliged, and Strongly Obliged. The fourth item was also measured on a five-point Likert scale of Strongly Not Readily, Not Readily, Neither

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10 The paragraph referred to in the questionnaire that defined ‘legitimacy’ was: “Legitimacy has been defined as that feature of an institution that makes it command respect and earn acceptance from the public, because the institution is seen to live up to the morality and expectations demanded of it from the people. Legitimacy is different from legality, as legality is conferred on institutions, like the police, because the law of the land - the constitution - has decreed it. An institution can be legal but not necessarily seen as legitimate in the eyes of the people.”
Readily or Not Readily, Readily, and Strongly Readily. The responses were all coded (1) to (5), with the higher value indicating more cooperation with the police. There were no reverse coded items for this measure. They were then combined to give a ‘Public Cooperation with the Police’ index with a mean of 3.88 (SD =0.68), and a Cronbach’s alpha value of 0.60. There is a wide variation among scholars about the cutoff Cronbach’s alpha value for internal consistency. However, given the low number of items here and the exploratory nature of this study, an alpha value of 0.60 is deemed adequate (Hair Jr., Black, Babin, & Anderson, 2010).

Data Collection

Data for this study were collected by a paper survey. For data collection, I recruited two research assistants to help administer the questionnaire. The research assistants are university graduates who were both trained on the modalities of conducting survey research and on how to successfully administer this questionnaire. In collecting the data, the research team drove throughout Ghana to sample from each administrative region in the country (See Figure 2). As we drove around the length and breadth of the country, we solicited survey participation randomly from people we encountered in their homes, work places, open markets, lorry stations, churches, mosques, and open streets in the towns, villages, and cities which were randomly selected. Surveys were either self-administered for those who could read and preferred that, or were administered by a member of the research team to the participants on location. Data were entered and stored in a secured Google form which created a spreadsheet.

An introduction to the survey instrument (Appendix C) stressed the fact that the survey was soliciting public perceptions of police conduct formed over the eight-year period, January 2009 to January 2017, specifically during the reign of the recent National Democratic Congress
government. The survey was administered between the months of September 2016 and January 2017. Since there were general elections in Ghana on December 7, 2016, as we drove around the country, various political candidates had mounted visible billboards and posters that advertised themselves, their parties, and their various constituencies along the roads and entry into various villages, towns, and cities. This made it easy for us to identify the boundaries to the various constituencies in the country as we entered them. This then allowed the research team to solicit survey participation in different constituencies as much as possible, which ensured that our data gathering was spread across as many different geographical areas as practicable, guaranteeing a more representative sample, especially, ethnically.
Data Analysis

To analyze the data, I initially performed a descriptive analysis on the whole data to obtain an overview of the nature of the survey responses and the demographic characteristics of the participants. The first analysis calculated the frequencies and percentages of sample
characteristics of Age, Gender, Educational Attainment, Nature of Residence, and Political Party Affiliation. The survey instrument included several questions measuring the four tested attributes of the police in Ghana, which were: ‘The lack of Political Impartiality of the Police,’ ‘Public Trust and Confidence in the Police,’ ‘Police Legitimacy,’ and ‘Public Cooperation with the Police.’

The next analysis was to group the different measures measuring these individual constructs into one variable index each. This resulted in only four survey variables to work with. I then tested for the reliability of the individual measures in their loadings onto their individual multi-item constructs by determining their Cronbach’s alpha in their loadings. Most authors agree that an alpha value of 0.70 indicates a good internal reliability (Streiner & Norman, 1989). However, because of the small number of items for one of the constructs, and the exploratory nature of this study, an alpha value of 0.60 is deemed adequate (Hair Jr. et al., 2010; Hinton, McMurray, & Brownlow, 2014). The resultant Cronbach’s alphas for the indexed variables are: ‘Lack of Political Impartiality,’ $\alpha = 0.84$; ‘Trust and Confidence in the Police,’ $\alpha = 0.80$; and ‘Public Cooperation with the Police,’ $\alpha = 0.60$.

To recall, this study sought to find out and hypothesized on some attributes of the police and the relationships between them. These were to find out: a) whether the public perceive the police to lack political impartiality; b) the level of trust and confidence the public have in the police; c) the legitimacy level that the public feel about the police; and d) the level of cooperation that the people are ready to offer the police. To investigate these, I then undertook a second set of descriptive analysis of the survey responses including the new variable indexes to confirm my initial presuppositions. The second descriptive analysis calculated the means, standard deviations, and the standard errors of the means of the survey responses.
Then, I undertook Pearson Correlation tests to determine the relationships between the various measured attributes of the police, and to assess whether those associations were significant using a correlation matrix. A path analysis was undertaken to determine whether the perception of police legitimacy emanating from assessments of lack of political impartiality is more highly predictive if it is mediated by perceptions of trust and confidence in the police.

The present study was also concerned about the phenomenon of dull compulsion (Carrabine, 2004) in the Ghanaian public in its relationship with the police regarding the public’s decision on whether to cooperate with the police. Dull compulsion between subjects, such as the policed, and authority figures or bodies occur when the subordinates opt to obey and cooperate, say, with the police authority, not out of any shared moral values or convictions of rightful-ness in the authority’s conduct. They do so because the subjects feel that the way they are treated is inevitable, and that there is no tangible or beneficial alternative. In such situations, treatment being meted out by the authority to the subordinate might be illegitimate, but the subjects feel hopeless and powerless, and resign to a fate that their situation cannot be helped (Sparks & Bottoms, 2007).

To explore this, I did a scatter plot of ‘Public Cooperation with the Police’ and ‘Police Legitimacy,’ with legitimacy as a predictor of cooperation. The nature of the distribution visually tells the general association between the two variables (see Figure 3). Using a regression analysis between these two variables, I determined the equation for the line of fit between the two variables to show the ‘Public Cooperation’ constant in the resulting equation for the line. A high constant means that Ghanaians would cooperate with the police regardless of their assessments of the legitimacy of the police. This would indicate that the phenomenon of dull compulsion is at work in the Ghanaian citizenry.
Limitations

This study focuses on the perceptions of Ghanaians of their police arising from how the police have conducted themselves during the eight-year rule of the recent NDC government beginning from January 7, 2009 to January 7, 2017. A new Ghanaian government formed by the-then opposition NPP has assumed the administration of the country beginning on January 7, 2017. Therefore, data gathered for the study reflect the attitudes of Ghanaians formed about the police during that period of the NDC government. The data, thus, make this a cross-sectional study which therefore limits the scope for inferring causal associations (Lieberson, 1987). However, despite these concerns, this study advances the percepts of the procedural justice theory from a sub-Saharan African perspective in a profound way, using the lack of political impartiality of the police as a credible aspect of procedural injustice.

Data from this study are very pertinent to the ongoing debate in Ghana as to how the police are alleged to be unable to deal with so-called ‘vigilante groups’ aligned with the new ruling government. These groups have clashed with the police a few times, and the police in those situations appear helpless to control affairs (Citifmonline.com, 2017; CODEO, 2017, p. 4; Nyabor, 2017).

Ethical Considerations

There were minimal risks of harm to survey participants from this study. Participation in the survey was voluntary. In soliciting survey participation, participants were initially given a consent form to read that communicated to them the voluntary nature of their participation, and allowed them the option to opt out of participation, if they so wished (see Appendix B). Upon a decision to participate in the survey, participants were asked to append their initials to the
consent form before they began answering the survey questions. The survey did not ask any political questions about the incumbent government. Neither did the questionnaire ask for the name of the survey participants, nor the name of the city, town, or village of the participants to protect the participants from being identified with their responses once the data were collected. We only sought the initials of the participants to signify their freewill in responding to the questionnaire. Data were secured by storing them in a password protected internet cloud. I also kept copies of this survey data on password-protected external drives, with the paper copies slated to be destroyed after I defend this thesis. The survey instrument was reviewed and approved by the Northeastern University’s Institutional Review Board for Human Subject Research Protection (see Appendix A) before the start of data collection.
Chapter Four

Results and Findings

This study obtained data using a paper questionnaire which was filled by the respondents themselves while the research team waited, or were administered to the participants on location and filled out by the research assistants. A total of 584 surveys were ultimately obtained for analysis. All the ten administrative regions in Ghana were surveyed.

A little more than half of the survey respondents were male, and participants under the age of forty constituted sixty-five percent of the sample. Survey respondents were evenly split between rural and urban dwellers, as pertains in the general Ghanaian population, with one-third having only a junior high or junior secondary school education (see Table 2). One out of every four had a maximum of a secondary school or senior high school education. The sample also shows that apart from the “over 60 years” age group, all the other age groups were represented in the population sample in almost identical ratios as they are represented in the 2010 population of Ghana, the last time a census was taken. The following tables show the descriptive and demographic statistics from the survey respondents showing frequencies and percentages of the variables of Gender, Age, Educational Attainment, nature of residence, and Political Party affiliation.
**Table 2 - Descriptive Statistics of Demography of Sample**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent Characteristics</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Percentage in 2010 Population*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>51.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>48.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-30 years</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>37.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-40 years</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>23.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-50 years</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>16.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-60 years</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>10.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 60 years</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>12.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type of Residence Area</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Small Town</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>22.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Medium Size Town</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big Town</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>49.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Capital/Metro Area</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(Ghana Statistical Service, 2012)
Table 3 - Other Demographic Statistics of Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent Characteristics</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Educational Attainment</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Formal Schooling</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior High Graduate or Didn't Graduate Senior High/Secondary School</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior High/Secondary School Graduate</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Senior High/Secondary School, but no Bachelor's Degree</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor's Degree</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Graduate/Professional Degree</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Political Party Affiliation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Democratic Congress (NDC)</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Patriotic Party (NPP)</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convention People’s Party (CPP)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People’s National Congress (PNC)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive People’s Party (PPP)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Committal</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Descriptive Statistics of Survey Responses

Table 4 below shows the descriptive statistics of survey responses measuring means, standard deviations, and standard error of the means. Apart from the measure that assessed police legitimacy, which was measured on a 3-point Likert scale, all the measures were assessed on a 5-point Likert scale. The legitimacy scale was assessed as (1) – Not Legitimate, (2) – Neither Not Legitimate or Legitimate, and (3) – Legitimate. ‘Lack of Political Impartiality’ and ‘Public Trust and Confidence’ were assessed using a Likert scale of (1) – Strongly Disagree, (2) – Disagree, (3) – Neither Agree or Disagree, (4) – Agree, and (5) – Strongly Agree. Some of the measures
for lack of political impartiality were reverse-measured to ensure consistency. ‘Public Cooperation with the Police’ was also measured with a 5-point Likert scale of (1) – Strongly Not Obliged/Strongly Not Readily, (2) – Not Obliged/Not Readily, (3) – Neither Not Obliged/Not Readily or Obliged/Readily, (4) – Obliged/Readily, and (5) – Strongly Obliged/Strongly Readily.

**Table 4 - Descriptive Statistics of Survey Responses and Variables (N=584)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Response/Variable</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lack of Political Impartiality</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police treat people differently depending on their political affiliation</td>
<td>3.48</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police treat citizens highly connected to the ruling party differently</td>
<td>3.32</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>1.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police apply the law consistently to different people irrespective of people's different political affiliations</td>
<td>3.76</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>1.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police prosecute well publicized political offences equally irrespective of the political affiliation of the alleged offender</td>
<td>3.29</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>1.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police largely follow through with preparing dockets for prosecutions of political offences equally irrespective of the highly connected political affiliation of the alleged offender to the ruling party</td>
<td>3.53</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>1.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police are severe in seeking the prosecution of political offences when the alleged offender is allied to the opposition parties in Ghana</td>
<td>3.46</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police make decisions based on what is best for the ruling party and not the state or people of Ghana</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>1.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police make decisions based on what the law requires and not as a result of political pressure form ruling gov't officials or officers of the ruling party</td>
<td>3.48</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>1.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>1.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The police easily bow to political pressure from the ruling government

Public Trust and Confidence in the Police  
- I believe in the police to do the right thing most of the time  
  2.83  .05  1.20
- The public can trust the police all or most of the time  
  2.45  .05  1.15
- The public can largely depend on the police for the good of all the public  
  2.69  .05  1.20
- The police are generally honest  
  2.25  .05  1.09

How legitimate do you perceive the Ghana Police to be?  
1.85  .04  .94

Public Cooperation with the Police  
- How obliged do you feel to cooperate with the police?  
  3.87  .04  1.06
- How obliged do you feel to respect the police's authority?  
  4.21  .03  .82
- How obliged do you feel not to defy police authority even when you feel they are wrong?  
  3.39  .05  1.19
- How readily are you to accept decisions and directives from the Police?  
  4.06  .04  .92

Trust in the Police  
2.35  .04  .97

Conclusions from the Data Analysis

This study measured several public perceptions of the police in Ghana to make judgements about how police conduct is looked at by Ghanaians, and how that affects public attitudes to the work of the police. From these descriptive statistics, we have come to some conclusions with which we answer some of the questions that the study posed.

Political neutrality of the police in Ghana. The present study was premised on the presupposition that the Ghanaian public perceive the police as lacking political impartiality. Referencing the above descriptive statistics, we find that the ‘Lack of Political Impartiality Index’ has a mean of 3.48, (SD = 0.78; SE = .03), with a minimum and maximum value of (1)
and (5) respectively. With such standard deviation, one can then safely say that perceptions of 95% of survey respondents range in assessment of the lack of political impartiality of the police from 2.7 to 4.26 over the scale of (1) to (5). From this, we conclude that Ghanaians in the study perceive the police as mostly lacking political impartiality. With a small standard error of the mean of (SE = 0.03), this also shows that the sample mean is very close to the population mean, and therefore one can safely say that Ghanaians perceive the police as largely lacking political impartiality. We recall that the first research question was; “Is there a perception that the police in Ghana exhibit a lack of political impartiality?” This therefore answers the first research question of the present study in the affirmative.

The level of public trust and confidence in the police. The second research question sought to determine the level of trust and confidence that the public have in the police in Ghana. The study hypothesized that the Ghanaian public has a low trustworthiness and confidence in the police. We find in the study that this attribute has a mean of 2.56 (SD = 0.92; SE = .04), suggesting that 95% of respondents have trust and confidence levels ranging from 1.64 to 3.48 with a minimum and maximum value of (1) and (5) respectively. This suggests that the level of trust and confidence that most Ghanaians in the study have for the police is quite low. With a low standard error of the mean of 0.04, it implies that the study mean is also not far off from the population mean, therefore Ghanaians mostly have low trust and confidence in the police, and our hypothesis is supported. Trust (alone) in the police is even lower, with a mean of 2.35 (SD = 0.97; SE = .04) over a (1) to (5) scale.

The level of police legitimacy in Ghana. Next, we sought to find out how legitimate the public finds the police to be in Ghana. Our initial presupposition was that the public does not hold the Ghanaian police in any high esteem, and therefore their perception of police legitimacy
is low. We find that this research attribute has a mean of 1.85, (SD = 0.94; SE =.04) with a minimum and maximum value of (1) and (3) respectively, suggesting levels of perceived police legitimacy somewhat below ambivalence; nevertheless, majority perception falling under ambivalence. With a standard error of the mean of 0.04, again, the study mean is very close to the population mean. Therefore, the study finds support for our hypothesis that Ghanaians perceive their police as largely not legitimate.

**Level of public cooperation with the police.** Finally, we sought to determine how willing the Ghanaian public are to cooperate with the police. We hypothesized that there is a willingness of the Ghanaian to cooperate with the police. The study finds that the ‘Public Cooperation with the Police’ attribute has a mean of 3.88 (SD = 0.68; SE =.03) with a minimum and maximum value of (1) and (5) respectively. This shows that 95% of the survey respondents have willingness levels to cooperate with the police between a low of 3.20 (above ambivalence levels) and 4.56 on a scale of (1) to (5). It therefore attests that Ghanaians in the study sample are mostly inclined on a high level to cooperate with the police. Again, the low standard error of the mean indicates that the study mean is close to the population mean. These findings confirm the high willingness of Ghanaians to cooperate with the police and give support to our stated hypothesis.

**Correlations and Bivariate Relationships**

To determine the relationships between the different substantive attributes of the police, a bi-variate correlation analysis was performed to establish the levels and directions of the associations. Table 5 below is the resultant Pearson correlation matrix. The findings show that all the different attributes of the police are significantly correlated with each other at different
levels, and in different directions. It is important to note that no two substantive research variables had correlations between them of more than a Pearson coefficient of \( r = 0.70 \). This is significant because there is agreement among most researchers that correlations of 0.70 or more between research attributes are a cause for concern and suggest multicollinearity (Field, 2005; Hutcheson, & Sofroniou, 1999). Such multicollinearity impedes the accurate interpretation of results (Hutcheson & Sofroniou, 1999). Our data, however, do not suggest such multicollinearity and therefore it is not a cause for concern in the present study.

### Table 5 - Bivariate Correlation Analysis Results of Research Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Lack of Political Impartiality</th>
<th>Trust and Confidence</th>
<th>Police Legitimacy</th>
<th>Public Cooperation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Political Impartiality</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust and Confidence</td>
<td>-.59**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Legitimacy</td>
<td>-.48**</td>
<td>.58**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Cooperation</td>
<td>-.18**</td>
<td>.29**</td>
<td>.20**</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** p < 0.01 (2-tailed); N = 584

**Hypothesis 1.** To recall, our first hypothesis on the relationships between the police attributes was that there is a negative relationship between perceptions of lack of political impartiality of the police and public trust and confidence in the police. As shown in Table 5, these two attributes are solidly, but negatively correlated (\( r = -0.59, p < .01 \)). That is, public perceptions of lack of political impartiality of the police in Ghana lowers the trust and confidence that the public have in the police. This thereby supports our stated hypothesis. Thus, the higher the perceptions of political partiality of the police, the lower the trustworthiness of the public in the police in Ghana. That would also mean that public perceptions of political
impartiality in police conduct in Ghana solidly correlates with the Ghanaian public’s trust and confidence in their police.

**Hypothesis 2.** Our second hypothesis on the association between the research variables was that there is a positive relationship between perceptions of public trust and confidence in the police and police legitimacy (i.e. also, that the lower the public’s trust and confidence in the police, the lower their perception of police legitimacy). With a Pearson correlation coefficient of \( r = 0.58, p < .01 \), we find that police legitimacy is solidly correlated with public perceptions of trust and confidence in the police, which gives a strong support to our stated hypothesis. This finding is very much in line with the postulates of the procedural justice theory. To recall, the theory postulates that people’s trust in the police is a major predictor of perceived police legitimacy (Hough et. al., 2010; Hough et. al., 2013).

**Hypothesis 3.** The next hypothesis that we sought to find support for was that the perception of lack of political impartiality of the police is negatively correlated with police legitimacy. We find a solid negative association between the variables. This is suggested by a Pearson correlation coefficient of \( r = -0.48, p < .01 \) between the lack of political impartiality of the police and police legitimacy. Thus, the higher the public’s assessment of the Ghanaian police as lacking political impartiality, the lower they perceive the police as legitimate. In other words, the more the police are judged to be politically impartial, the more the public would assess them to be a legitimate institution. This assessment gives credence to our stated hypothesis in the present study. Political impartiality of the police is a just and democratic police conduct, and potentially therefore, an aspect of procedural justice. The police in contemporary democratic societies are required to exercise their police powers in a manner that is “unbiased, free of passion, prejudice, and arbitrariness, [and] loyal to the law alone” (Tamanaha, 2004, p. 123).
Therefore, this conclusion in the present study is an affirmation of the procedural justice theory in relation to police legitimation efforts.

**Hypothesis 4.** The next hypothesis that the study sought support for was whether there is a positive association between the Ghanaian public’s perception of the legitimacy of the police and their willingness to cooperate with the police. We find in this study that police legitimacy is a statistically significant correlate of public cooperation with the police, and that there is a weak but positive correlation between them. These two attributes have a Pearson correlation coefficient of \( r = 0.29, p < .01 \). Thus, as Ghanaians find the police to be more of a legitimate authority, they defer more to them and offer their cooperation, but not that strongly. This then partially supports our stated hypothesis, in direction, and gives only a partial corroboration to the procedural justice theory regarding the relationship between police legitimacy and cooperation from a Ghanaian perspective, albeit with a much weaker association.

Several authors maintain that public cooperation with the police is strongly predicted by perceived police legitimacy (e.g. Hough et al., 2010; Tyler & Fagan, 2008). However, in his study of Ghana, Tankebe (2009a) came out with findings like the present study. He did not find empirical support for public cooperation with the police because of procedural justice reasons. This is corroborated by other findings in this study. We find that the Pearson correlation coefficient between public trust and confidence in the police and public cooperation is \( r = 0.20 (p < .01) \), much weaker than that between legitimacy and cooperation. Also, we find that the association between public perceptions of lack of political impartiality of the police and public cooperation with the police has a Pearson correlation coefficient of \( r = -0.18 (p < .01) \). Thus, perceptions of political impartiality of the police is positively but weakly correlated with public cooperation, with a Pearson \( r = 0.18 (p < .01) \).
However, with the ‘Public Cooperation Index’ of a mean of 3.88 (SD = 0.68) in the present study, one would have expected that there would be a stronger correlation between police legitimacy and public cooperation than one with Pearson $r = 0.29$. This called for a further investigation.

**Further Inquiry into Legitimacy and Cooperation**

To further study the relationship between police legitimacy and public cooperation, we created a scatterplot of public cooperation with police legitimacy. Figure 3 below is a scatterplot summary of the results. From the figure, most of the plots on the legitimacy scale at neutral and higher levels of legitimacy occur at higher levels of police cooperation. Even at the lower end of the legitimacy scale, most plots again occur at higher public cooperation levels. This is suggesting that regardless of the level of police legitimacy, public cooperation with the police by Ghanaians seems high.
We again investigated this phenomenon further in another way by conducting a regression analysis between ‘Public Cooperation’ and ‘Police Legitimacy.’ Tables 6 is the resultant ANOVA and Coefficient tables.
As seen in Table 6, p<0.000, indicating that the regression model predicts the dependent variable significantly well (i.e., it is a good fit for the data). The coefficient of regression analysis indicates an Unstandardized Coefficient (B) of a constant 3.49, and a ratio for legitimacy of 0.21. This indicates that the perfect line of fit for the relationship between police cooperation and police legitimacy (see Figure 4) has the equation:

\[
\text{Public Cooperation} = 3.49 + 0.21 \times (\text{Police Legitimacy})
\]

To recall, public cooperation is measured over a scale of (1) to (5). This means that at a hypothetical zero-legitimacy for the police in Ghana, there is a public willingness of 3.49 (over a
maximum of 5) to cooperate with the police. Thus, Ghanaians have a high willingness level to cooperate with the police regardless of the level of legitimacy they assess the police to be. This confirms the existence of dull compulsion in the Ghanaian public to cooperate with the police. They probably decide to do so either to avert unpleasant consequences like subsequent police brutality, or for some gain unrelated to deference to the police because of normative considerations.

Figure 4: Line of fit between Public Cooperation and Police Legitimacy

Path Analysis

A path analysis was undertaken to determine whether perceptions of police legitimacy emanating from assessments of lack of political impartiality is better predicted if it is mediated
by perceptions of trust and confidence in the police. Similarly, we also sought to determine whether the public’s willingness to cooperate with the police arising out of assessments of police political impartiality or public trust and confidence is more predictive when mediated by police legitimacy assessments. Figure 5 is the resultant path analysis with the corresponding Pearson correlation coefficients.

From the path analysis, we find that police political impartiality is a better predictor of police legitimacy when it is mediated by perceptions of trust and confidence in the police, \( r = .58 \) (reversed), than by itself, \( r = .48 \) (reversed). We also find that, though public cooperation with the police emanating from assessments of the political impartiality of the police correlates with each other with a Pearson correlation coefficient of \( r = .18 \) (reversed), it is better predicted when the assessment is mediated by perceptions of police legitimacy, with a coefficient of \( r = .29 \).

Similarly, public trust and confidence is far more predictive of cooperation when it is mediated by perceptions of police legitimacy, \( r = .29 \), rather than as a predictor by itself, \( r = .20 \).
Summary

This study set out to measure several perceptions of Ghanaians about the Ghana Police Service. It had been suspected that the public perceive the police as politically-biased in favor of the ruling government, which perception was suspected to have a negative influence on how trustworthy the public feel about the police. These were perceived then to negatively influence how legitimate Ghanaians feel their police are. This analysis supports these suppositions. However, the presumptions about a positive and strong relationship between public perceptions of the legitimacy of the Ghanaian police and the willingness of Ghanaians to cooperate with the police has not been borne out, despite Ghanaians’ high penchant for cooperation with the police. The dull compulsion theory was substantiated by a high level of willingness of Ghanaians to cooperate with the police even at a hypothetical zero police legitimacy. We can therefore confirm dull compulsion on the part of the Ghanaian citizen in relation to his/her willingness to cooperate with the police.
Chapter Five

Conclusion and Recommendations

Study Summary

Most of the extant literature on police-public relationships has been written with a Western World and/or advanced nation context and depends on experiences within these societies. Tom Tyler and his colleague authors (Hough, 2013; Hough et al., 2010; Hough et al., 2012; Hough et al., 2013; Jackson et al., 2012; Mazerolle et al., 2013; Nix et al., 2015; Paternoster et al., 1997; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Fagan, 2008; Tyler & Huo, 2002; Tyler, 2001; Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2004; Tyler, 2006) have written extensively on this subject and grounded their call for a new paradigm in police-public relationships on the procedural justice theory. Aside from Justice Tankebe, whose research has primarily focused on Ghana (Tankebe, 2008a; Tankebe, 2008b; Tankebe, 2009a; Tankebe, 2009b; Tankebe, 2010; Tankebe, 2013), and a few others (Boateng, 2012; Boateng, 2015; Pryce, 2014), most of such scholarly researchers have not concentrated on sub-Saharan African settings (Fagan, 2008; Gau, 2014; Hough, 2013; Hough et al., 2010; Jackson et al., 2012; Reisig & Lloyd, 2009). As such, there appears to be a gap in the available literature relative to sub-Saharan Africa and other parts of the developing world. Considering that the socio-political make-up of the developed and developing worlds are very different, one wonders whether conclusions reached in the Western-World-context-specific literature can be applied to developing countries, and more specifically, to sub-Saharan Africa.

This study is an attempt to fill some of that gap. It adds to the available literature from a Ghanaian context, and for that matter, a sub-Saharan African perspective. It interrogates the procedural justice theory from a developing country context where the relationship between the
police and the public is motivated by different values and considerations from those of the developed world. As such, we can juxtapose its findings to most of the available literature to answer the question of whether the procedural justice theory (Hough et al., 2012; Hough et al., 2013; Jackson et al., 2012; Mazerolle et al., 2013; Nix et al., 2015; Paternoster et al., 1997; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Fagan, 2008; Tyler & Huo, 2002) is universally applicable in most, or even all, socio-political environments.

The procedural justice theory posits that when the public assess the police to be fair, respectful, neutral, and the police accord the public their democratic rights during the conduct of policing, the people on their part build trust and confidence in the police (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Thomassen, 2013; Tyler & Huo, 2002). The public consequently see the police as legitimate, cooperate more with the police, and readily comply with the law. The public then defer to the police, and the potential for public defiance, antagonism, and resistance to police authority is reduced (Bradford, 2014; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2003). The present study tested the validity of the procedural justice theory from a sub-Saharan African perspective. We considered the lack of political impartiality of the police in Ghana (Anderson & Killingray, 1991; Atuguba, 2007; Deflem, 1994) as a potential aspect of procedural injustice.

Comparing research goal and results. This study set out to find whether the police in Ghana is politically-biased towards sections of the Ghanaian society who did not share the same political views as the Ghanaian ruling government between January 2009 and January 2017. A further hypothesis was that this lack of political impartiality was negatively affecting the citizens’ trust and confidence in the police, and subsequently, also negatively affecting public perceptions of police legitimacy. The research also focused on the nature of public cooperation with the police arising out of these perceptions.
We randomly sampled and surveyed 584 adult Ghanaians, 18 years and older, spread throughout the ten administrative regions of Ghana for the data. A stratified sampling technique was used to ensure that the proportion of the survey sample for each administrative region was as close to the ratio of the region’s population to Ghana’s population, based on the 2010 Census population figures for Ghana. This made for a strong sample representation of the Ghanaian population.

The results of the study are that Ghanaians perceive the police as lacking political neutrality, and the trust and confidence that the public have in the police is quite low. Similarly, the public people perceive the police as generally not legitimate.

The study further found that the lack of political impartiality of the police, public trust and confidence in the police, and police legitimacy individually correlated weakly, though positively, with public willingness to cooperate with the police in Ghana. Despite these, the Ghanaian public are very willing to cooperate with the police. Thus, in this Ghanaian context, we found evidence of dull compulsion.

**Implications of the findings with theory.** We found support that the police in Ghana lacks political impartiality and that this has a negative association with the low public trust and confidence in the police that the study found. These perceptions, in turn, separately correlated solidly with low public assessments of police legitimacy, as hypothesized. Though the study determined that Ghanaians have a higher willingness to cooperate with the police, the association between public perceptions of police legitimacy and public cooperation with the police was quite low. Similarly, despite positive directions, the correlations between police political impartiality
and public cooperation, and public trust and confidence in the police and public cooperation with the police were also quite low.

These findings support the general procedural justice theory that fair, impartial, respectful, and democratic police conduct elicit feelings of public trustworthiness in the police (Nix et al., 2015; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Thomassen, 2013; Tyler & Huo, 2002), and that these then account for public assessments of the legitimacy of the police (Fleming & McLaughlin, 2010; Hough et al., 2010; Hough et al., 2013). However, the study results departed from Western conclusions about procedural justice assessments on people’s willingness to cooperate with the police. While studies in the West and advanced nations point to a strong correlation between police legitimacy assessments by the public and public cooperation with the police (Bradford, 2014; Hough et al., 2016; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2003), the present study rather confirmed what Tankebe (2009a) found in his studies in Ghana that public cooperation is weakly influenced by public perceptions of police legitimacy. The strong evidence of dull compulsion in Ghanaians’ attitude to cooperation with the police in Ghana is another departure from theory which, otherwise, studies from the developed world have corroborated.

**Implications for law and policy.** In the wake of the findings from the present study, there are obvious public policy implications. For the Ghanaian police institution to perform to the satisfaction of the entirety of Ghanaians, especially with regards to police political neutrality and respect for the democratic rights of the citizens, there is the need to use public policy to achieve the goals of democratic policing and the accompanying accountability requirements. These are the elements of procedural justice policing. We propose that we use public policy in the two areas of police policy reforms and for a review of the constitutional framework that
situates the institution of the police in the political and social structure of the Ghanaian society to achieve these laudable objectives.

Embracing such a shift by the Ghana Police Service must “be seen as a return to fundamental principles rather than the adoption of new norms” (Davis III et al., 2014, p. 12). Indeed, as far back as 1829, Charles Rowan and Richard Mayne, the first and joint Commissioners of the London Metropolitan Police, are said to have formulated nine policing principles,\(^\text{11}\) two of which are relevant here. They are that the police need:

- To recognize always that the power of the police to fulfil their functions and duties is dependent on public approval of their existence, actions and behavior, and on their ability to secure and maintain public respect.
- To recognize always that to secure and maintain the respect and approval of the public means also the securing of the *willing* co-operation (*emphasis mine*) of the public in the task of securing observance of laws (Civitas, n.d).

It is said that “legitimacy and effectiveness often work at cross-purposes” (Haass, 2017, p. 200), but procedural justice policing has shown that we can achieve both at the same time.

The GPS launched a five-year Strategic Policing Plan in May 2010. Among the objectives of the plan was a desire to improve all aspects of police operations in line with constitutional requirements. The Police Service sought to, among others, improve its image with the public and increase public confidence and satisfaction with the police institution. The plan sought to institutionalize a culture of democratic and non-coercive policing practices for

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\(^{11}\) There is some historical controversy as to who these nine policing principles should be attributed to. Some attribute them to Sir Robert Peel who is considered the founding father of modern Anglo-American policing.
achieving police objectives (Mensah, 2010). Seven years later, the jury verdict is in, and the outcome as attested to by this study is that the police have failed in this endeavor. The results in this regard are that there is low public trustworthiness in the police in Ghana, and police legitimacy in the eyes of the people is also low.

**Strength of the study.** The present study has some significant strengths. The study used primary data that was gathered throughout the country to answer the various research questions. The ability to obtain primary data allowed the researchers to design a survey that asked questions directly related to the issues defining police political partiality that the study has elucidated, and to design very specific measures. The sample population was also large enough for a strong statistical generalization to the study population.

One possible weakness, however, was the fact that the sample population could not cover Ghanaians in hinterlands and locations far off major roadways and highways. However, as the results show, the rural-urban percentages captured in the sample, compared to that of the entire Ghanaian population correlate closely (see Table 2). The 2010 Population Census of Ghana defined rural areas as localities with populations of less than 5,000 inhabitants. The study sample had enough of such localities to make rural dwellers proportionally represented in the sample as they are in the entire Ghanaian population (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012, p. ix). This therefore does not appear to be a serious limitation.

**Generalizability of Study**

This study has been designed in such a way that its conclusions drawn from the population sample can readily be generalized to the whole Ghanaian population (Goertz & Mahoney, 2012; Polit & Beck, 2010). The sampling protocol offers a good snapshot of the
population of Ghana, as it covers all geographic areas and administrative regions in the country, and ensured that the regional representation in the sample were identical to the regional representation in the 2010 Ghana population census. The sample proportions between males and females in the sample were close to the population ratios. As already noted, the population sample covered both urban and rural settings in ratios analogous to percentages that pertain in the Ghanaian population per the 2010 Ghana population census. Apart from the ratio of the ‘over 60 years’ age group that the population sample captured, all the other age groups were captured in the sample at identical percentages to how they are represented in the general population (see Table 2). Also, the sample participants were from all educational levels, though due to the lack of comparable figures in the 2010 population figures, a comparison could not be ascertained (see Table 3).

**Boundaries of Research**

The present research was occasioned by the conduct of the Ghana Police Service regarding partisan political issues during the time of the Ghanaian government of the National Democratic Congress from January 7, 2009 to January 7, 2017. The views formed by the adult Ghanaian public in response to this conduct is what informed the data for the study. Therefore, the results and interpretations from the study do not extend beyond the defined period.

**Discussion**

It is worth noting that some aspects of the Tylerian procedural justice model embrace the quality of decision making, which emphasizes impartiality, consistency, and the absence of arbitrariness in public assessments of procedural justice in the work of democratic institutions (Paternoster et al., 1997; Tankebe, 2013; Tyler, 2001; Tyler, 2006). Indeed, as this study shows,
political impartiality and public trust and confidence are drivers of police legitimacy, and they are genuine elements of procedural justice. Procedural justice is a primary factor that shapes police legitimacy (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). The present study finds support for this aspect of the procedural justice theory.

Tylerian literature on procedural justice further suggests that public cooperation with the police is highly correlated with public perceptions of police legitimacy (Bradford, 2014; Hough et al., 2010; Murphy et al., 2015; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Fagan, 2008). The assumptions that underlie this Tylerian postulate (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2001; Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2004; Tyler, 2006) which have been borne out in many studies (Hough, 2013; Hough et al., 2010; Hough et al., 2012; Hough et al., 2013; Jackson et al., 2012; Mazerolle et al., 2013; Nix et al., 2015; Paternoster et al., 1997; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Fagan, 2008; Tyler & Huo, 2002), albeit studies which have mostly been undertaken in advance nations context, are based on people’s normative evaluations and shared moral ideals with the police. Our study shows that there is lack of empirical validity to this aspect of the procedural justice theory in the Ghanaian context. This is contrary to the general procedural justice theory that police procedural fairness assessments by the public create citizens’ perceptions of police legitimacy, which in turn creates an obligation to obey and cooperate with the police. Thus, findings in the present study rather support Tankebe’s (2009a) conclusion that there is no empirical support in Ghana for procedural justice as a strong predictor of the public’s willingness to cooperate with the police.

It is Tankebe’s contention that, in Ghana, citizens’ willingness to cooperate with the police is rather shaped by police effectiveness (Tankebe, 2009a). He also postulates that Ghanaians cooperate with their police not out of procedural justice assessments or normative
considerations, but because of what they stand to gain or avoid personally, or collectively, security-wise. In line with this, the present study found support for dull compulsion in the Ghanaian citizen in his/her decision to cooperate or otherwise with the police, which one would have expected to be influenced by procedural justice considerations.

Notably, from the inception of the administratively-established police in colonial Ghana (formally the Gold Coast), continuing into the formation of the modern Ghana Police Service (GPS) after independence, the citizens and the police have never shared many values in common. And since colonial times, the police have never strayed away from an apparent preoccupation with working to satisfy the political whims and caprices of the governing authorities (Arthur & Marenin, 1996; Deflem, 1994). As Atuguba (2003) put it, the Ghanaian police have maintained the same essential objectives established by the colonial authority. They have continued to brutalize the public, be abusive, violent, intimidating, and corrupt (Tankebe, 2009a), in ensuring a ‘particular’ rule of law that benefited the political and business classes allied with the colonists of yesterday, and benefits the political class of today (Atuguba, 2007). Not cooperating with the police will subject the Ghanaian citizen to brutal beatings at the hands of the police (Tankebe, 2009a). This apprehension may be the source of the high levels of public cooperation with the police in Ghana today, that this study found.

One may then ask that if the police in Ghana would still obtain cooperation from the public no matter what the police might do or not do to be perceived as not legitimate, why then should the police bother with procedural justice conduct? In response, we will submit that all institutions in a democracy are subject to accountability. The police, as an institution, are “key socio-political actors” (Tankebe, 2008a, p. 67). Police accountability requires that the police must obtain the citizens’ consent for their actions, and this is reflected in the assessment of the
public’s trust and confidence in the police, which in turn is undergirded by the public’s acceptance of what the police are doing. Police conduct “must expand freedom and justice” (Bayley, Davis, & Davis, 2015, p. 2) and not cowing of citizens, or just providing security. The Ghana Police Service may be offering safety and protection to the citizens, “but without the legitimacy conferred by the trust and consent of those being protected, protection is not policing – it’s occupation” (Featherstone, 2017). As Hough et al. (2010, p. 209) notes; “all available evidence suggests that fostering trust and legitimacy via fair and decent treatment would pay dividends across the population.” Indeed, policing must be rooted in public service (Davis III, Alves, & Sklansky, 2014) and not public domination. Thus, effective policing must combine law enforcement – crime fighting – with the enhancement of human liberty at the same time (Bayley, et al., 2015).

Furthermore, voluntary citizens’ cooperation with the police is the safest way for the police to undertake their mandate of law enforcement. Citizens’ compliance with the law due to normative considerations is economically more viable and, over time, more stable than cooperation due to instrumental considerations (Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Huo, 2002; Tyler, 2007b). Non-voluntary compliance can easily lead to hostilities, antagonism, defiance, and social and political implosion. The ability of the police to exact citizens’ cooperation with their authority, which comes about because of the citizens’ acceptance of the rightfulness of police conduct, which thereby engenders police legitimacy, “is one of the principal characteristics by which we distinguish a free nation from a police state.”

Therefore, as the Police Executive Research Forum (2014) notes, police legitimacy is a worthy goal and a condition for police success. We

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found in this study that political impartiality of the police correlates solidly with public trust and confidence in the police, and both individually correlate solidly with positive assessments of police legitimacy.

**Recommendations**

Following from this research, we advance two policy recommendations. First, we are calling for police policy reforms which fall into the short term. Second, we propose a constitutional review, a medium to long term action, to develop more political independence for the police institution in Ghana.

**Immediate changes in policing policy.** As this study points out, police leadership in Ghana must be made aware that high public trust and confidence in police conduct, without a doubt, leads to positive police legitimacy assessments by the public as our study has confirmed (see Figure 4). And, this potentially leads to citizens’ voluntary cooperation with the police (Boateng, 2012). A good measure of such public trust can be achieved through the impartiality of the police, at least at the political level, as the present study has affirmed.

Therefore, political impartiality of the police in Ghana is an indispensable element in policing that is needed to ensure respect and acceptance of the police, and social cohesion in the Ghanaian polity which police leadership must strive to achieve. It is therefore an obvious policy implication that there is “the need for policing to … focus on constructive strategies of legitimation” (Jackson et al., 2017, p. 15), such as political neutrality and police conduct that will advance public trustworthiness in the police. The police in Ghana is therefore called upon to institute reform policies that will make them truly politically impartial to all segments of the Ghanaian society. When this is done, the people will develop trust and confidence in the police.
and have positive assessments of the legitimacy of the police. The procedural justice theory postulates this, and this present study affirmed it.

To advance this in the current Ghanaian democratic dispensation, the police must be seen to be adhering to democratic principles. Politically impartial policing is a “sincere relationship build[er] and … a foundation of community policing” (Davis III et al., 2014, p. 12). Dull compulsion in the Ghanaian people’s willingness to cooperate with the police is not enough; must be loathed; and cannot be celebrated. It has come about because of ‘wrong’ policing in the whole life of the administrative police in the country. “Law enforcement should not be defined by the tools it uses but rather by the values it embraces and seeks to promote” (Davis III et al., 2014, p. 7). The evidence is that people will comply with the law, voluntarily defer to the police, and cooperate with them if there is a normative alignment which occurs when people believe that police conduct is in line with societal expectations regarding its appropriateness and procedural justice assessments (Paternoster et al., 1997; Tyler, 2006; Tyler & Huo, 2002). What pertains here is that the positive public assessments of police conduct normatively justify police authority in the eyes of the people, which thereby activates a corresponding resolve of the citizens to exhibit law-abiding behavior (Jackson, 2015; Tyler, 2006).

Specific and Concrete Suggestions for Change

To accomplish these needed changes, the following concrete measures are recommended to be undertaken by police leadership in Ghana as part of policy reforms to ensure democratic policing by way of which political impartiality of the police can be achieved:

- Police training on the democratic and fundamental rights of the individual in a liberal democratic society.
• Training on the fundamental objectives of policing, especially with emphasis on policing by consent, and the recognition that to always secure and maintain the respect and approval of the citizenry amounts to also securing the willing cooperation of the public while enforcing the law.

• Training in procedural justice policing and the benefits of such policing methods.

• Training to re-orient police officers to accept that they are subject to accountability in all their actions to all segments of society.

• Re-orienting the psychology of the police for officers to consider themselves as custodians of the administrative state, and not agents of any particular government.

• Training on a promulgated statement of values of the police in line with international policing protocols that Ghana has subscribed to.

Recommendations for Further Research

This study confirmed the existence of dull compulsion with the Ghanaian public in their willingness to offer cooperation to the Ghana Police. This phenomenon is not the best of circumstances in seeking democratic accountability from a modern police institution in a liberal democracy as pertains in Ghana. As such dull compulsion in citizens’ cooperation with the police is not the most effective form of policing policy for a democratic society (Carrabine, 2004; Sparks & Bottoms, 2007), there is the need for further studies into this phenomenon with the Ghanaian public. Society should aim for a democratic policing framework which it can be proud of, so that citizens would thereby defer to police authority as a matter of a moral obligation due to normative considerations, and not out of fear (Tyler, 2006; Tyler & Huo, 2002). A further study is recommended, especially one complemented qualitatively to deepen the understanding of this phenomenon, and possibly recommend measures to curtail it.
Since the time that data for the current study was gathered, the-then ruling government in Ghana of the NDC has lost elections to the-then opposition NPP. A new government of the NPP has therefore been formed since January 2017. A few years into the tenure of this new government, it will be necessary to replicate this study to see the results from such a new enquiry. It will be important and interesting to see whether the conclusions from the present study about the Ghanaian police will still be valid then. Or, would police conduct have changed in response to, maybe, a different political orientation of this new NPP government in not using the police for political purposes or otherwise? Such a new study would shed more light on this.

**Implications for Sub-Saharan Africa**

Hough, Jackson, Bradford, Myhill, and Quinton (2010) proclaim that “if people willingly offer their obedience to systems of authority that command legitimacy, questions about the ‘drivers’ of legitimacy become of central policy importance” (p. 204). This research set out with the presupposition that the police in Ghana lacks political impartiality and that they do not show neutrality in political issues. The belief was that the police pronouncedly acted on behalf of the governing party between January 2009 to January 2017. The research examined whether this stance of the police negatively affected public trust and confidence in the police, and whether, subsequently, both were negatively affecting public perceptions of police legitimacy. Furthermore, the study sought to determine the impact of these assessments on the willingness of the public to cooperate with the police in Ghana. Constitutionally, the Ghana Police Service exists as a state institution, and therefore, their political neutrality should be paramount. They are required to deal with all segments of the Ghanaian society equally and fairly, and ensure that there is equal protection of the laws in Ghana. The study, therefore, sought empirical evidence to support the above presumptions. Granted that fairness in police practices and public
trustworthiness in the police are drivers of police legitimacy, the study also tested the procedural justice theory in a sub-Saharan African context.

The findings from this study confirm that the police in Ghana do not evince political neutrality and that this correlates with a low public trust and confidence in the police (see Figure 4 and Table 4). These then also are associated with low public perceptions of police legitimacy. In other words, police political impartiality correlates with higher levels of public trustworthiness in the police (Gau, 2014; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tankebe, 2009b; Tyler & Huo, 2002), and, in turn, higher perceptions of police legitimacy (Hough et al., 2010; Hough et al., 2012; Hough et al., 2013). As noted already, the findings in this study correlate with the postulates of the procedural justice theory that fair, impartial, respectful and democratic policing processes elicit public feelings of police trustworthiness, and thereby higher public perceptions of police legitimacy. A biased police institution presents many drawbacks to democratic development, to policing itself, and to society in general.

The findings and recommendations presented in this study may also be very much applicable to many transitional democracies of the Global South, especially those found in sub-Saharan Africa. These African countries tend to have common socio-political characteristics as Ghana’s. The police in these countries are mostly centralized and generally have colonial pasts which have continued to shape policing culture till today (Deflem, 1994). Normative identification and shared values between the police and the policed in these countries are likely to be weak or lacking (Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, 2007). These police institutions therefore tend to have legitimation deficits which do not bode well for democratic development.
In many African countries, inequality, lack of inclusiveness and political marginalization of sections of the population, and the feeling of politically not belonging are among the factors that have led to many political upheavals, and in some cases, to civil wars and strife on the continent (Brown & Stewart, 2015; Department for International Development, 2001; Vallings & Moreno-Torres, 2005). And, these are mostly enforced by political leadership using the police institution. As this study shows, political marginalization by the police is linked to public perceptions of lower police legitimacy.

Whilst such sub-Saharan African countries seek to deepen democracy in their respective societies, the call for police reforms to achieve procedural justice policing inclusive of political impartiality should be trumpeted far and wide. As this study has shown, such policing conduct will enhance public trustworthiness and assessments of police legitimacy among the citizens. The evidence shown here in this study is that procedural fairness of the police and a motive-based trust in the police institution are very important to people.

**Conclusion**

Adopting the recommendations provided in this study will bring the police in Ghana closer to realizing the public image aspects of the objectives of their strategic policing plan. It will not only enhance their image with the public and make for beneficial and free-willed cooperation from the public, it will also situate them as a loved and credible democratic and justice institution in the liberal democratic political landscape in Ghana.

It is incumbent on the police in Ghana to act in ways that advance their effectiveness and at the same time allow the people to enjoy their democratic rights and freedom from arbitrariness, impunity, discrimination, and political marginalization. When the police adopt such
democratic principles in their conduct through procedural justice policing, it allows them to respond to the safety needs of society effectively and, at the same time, adhere to the constitutional principles of respect for the dignity and civil liberties of individuals that enhance public trustworthiness in the police and police legitimacy. We must acknowledge that legitimacy and orderliness are both a function of process in the same way that they are a function of policy. It is only from marrying the two that the police in Ghana can proudly and truly say that, indeed, they “serve with integrity,” as says their motto.

**Endnote**

We have seen from elsewhere in this discourse that the leadership of the Ghana Police Service lacks a secure tenure that is devoid of political interference from the executive branch of government in Ghana. The police institution also lacks an organizational autonomy that is independent of political leadership – a fact of the Ghanaian Constitution. A police force whose leader serves at the pleasure of the Head of State is archetypal of a totalitarian state and not a liberal democracy such as Ghana’s. If it was so in the colonial era when Ghanaians were under the hegemony of the British, and policing was carried out in a manner that benefited the political and economic interests of the colonial authorities (Anderson & Killingray, 1991; Anderson & Killingray, 1992; Arthur & Marenin, 1996; Deflem, 1994; Gillespie, 1955), policing today in independent Ghana with a liberal democratic political system should depart markedly from policing in the colonial era.

We therefore recommend that Ghana undertakes a constitutional amendment to insulate the police administration from the control of the executive political leadership of the country. We
call for the constitutional powers of the president of the republic that gives him/her the authority to select and remove the Inspector-General of Police at will, and to appoint the senior leadership of the police to be taken away from the president. As well, the powers that the president wields to effectively control who serves on the Police Councils at the national and regional levels should be proscribed. These functions should be depoliticized and be given to a non-political body. This author has some ideas as to what such a neutral body should be, but this issue is beyond the scope of this enquiry.

As a matter of fact, these recommendations were mostly shared with us by many of the survey participants during data collection. After they finished taking the surveys, they voluntarily offered such insights into what they deemed were the root causes of the police’s inability to be politically neutral.

This recommendation, though a logical outcome of this research, cannot be implemented immediately. It will require a national consensus, coalition-building, and collaboration from many stakeholders for it to come to fruition. Undoubtedly, we expect these changes in law, which need to happen on a grand scale, to be a work in progress for a while. However, one needs not to be perturbed by the timeline, because, democracy itself, if we define it as the "human relations between the governors and the governed" (Wilentz, 2005, p. xviii) is always a work in progress.

The concerns raised in this study necessitate these changes in law so that the police in Ghana would, as well, be able to thoroughly investigate and initiate the prosecution of corruption, malfeasance, and wrongdoing on the part of members of all the branches of government. However, one can hardly see a police administration whose leadership is under the
beck and call of political leadership in Ghana being up to such a task. This does not augur well for democratic development and accountability in Ghana. Ghana needs a police institution with a depoliticized administrative control and a real organizational autonomy, so that the call for police reforms to achieve political impartiality in line with democratic policing and procedural justice principles can be given a major boost. Most assuredly, it is there and then that the desire and commitment of the Ghana Police Service to be democratic, fair, impartial, upstanding, and protective of all segments of society can be truly measured without any pretensions, equivocation, excuses, or encumbrances.
References


_Criminology & Criminal Justice, 13_(2), 181-197._


http://www.prisonstudies.org/country/united-states-america
APPENDIX A – IRB APPROVAL

Northeastern

Notification of IRB Action

Date: August 30, 2016
IRB #: CPS16-08-13

Principal Investigator(s): Neenah Estrella-Luna
Kwabena Osei-Adubofour

Department: Doctor of Law & Policy
College of Professional Studies

Address: 20 Belvidere
Northeastern University

Title of Project: The Lack of Political Impartiality of the Police in Ghana and Its Effect on the Public’s Trust and Confidence in the Police and on Public Perception of Police Legitimacy

Participating Sites: N/A

Informed Consent: One (1) unsigned consent

As per CFR 45 46.117(c)(2) signed consent is being waived as the research presents no more than minimal risk of harm to subjects and involves no procedures for which written consent is normally required.

DHHS Review Category: Expedited #6, #7

Monitoring Interval: 12 months

Approval Expiration Date: AUGUST 29, 2017

Investigator’s Responsibilities:

1. Informed consent form bearing the IRB approval stamp must be used when recruiting participants into the study.
2. The investigator must notify IRB immediately of unexpected adverse reactions, or new information that may alter our perception of the benefit-risk ratio.
3. Study procedures and files are subject to audit any time.
4. Any modifications of the protocol or the informed consent as the study progresses must be reviewed and approved by this committee prior to being instituted.
5. Continuing Review Approval for the proposal should be requested at least one month prior to the expiration date above.
6. This approval applies to the protection of human subjects only. It does not apply to any other university approvals that may be necessary.

C. Randall Colvin, Ph.D., Chair
Northeastern University Institutional Review Board

Nancy X. Regina, Director
Human Subject Research Protection

Northeastern University FWA #4630
APPENDIX B

SURVEY PARTICIPATION CONSENT FORM

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Kwabena Osei-Adubofour. I am a Ghanaian doctoral student at Northeastern University in Boston, Massachusetts, USA, studying towards a Doctor of Law and Policy degree. As part of the requirements for my doctoral degree, I am conducting a research on the views and attitudes of Ghanaians towards the conduct of the police in Ghana over the past eight years.

You have been chosen to complete this confidential survey because the views of Ghanaians like you are very vital in informing how the public view the Ghanaian police. This is voluntary and you can refuse to accept this invitation. If you choose to participate in the survey, it will probably take not more than 25 minutes of your time.

Your participation in this survey is very important to me, and is confidential. In other words, written reports regarding the research will not contain any identifying information about you. Your views, as contained in your answers to these questions, will never be communicated to anybody here in Ghana, or abroad. As soon as I defend my final thesis research, the paper surveys, including yours, will be destroyed.

If you choose to accept my invitation to complete this survey, please put your initials below and go ahead to complete the questionnaire. I am waiting around to collect your completed questionnaire. If you have any questions, please feel free to ask me or my assistant for explanations and clarification.

You may contact me at my student e-mail address: osei-adubofour.k@husky.neu.edu, or my adviser, Professor Neenah Estrella-Luna at her e-mail address: n.estrellaluna@northeastern.edu.

If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact Nan C. Regina, Director, Human Subject Research Protection, 960 Renaissance Park, Northeastern University, Boston, MA 02115. Tel: 617.373.4588, Email: n.regina@neu.edu. You may call anonymously if you wish.

I thank you very much for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Kwabena Osei-Adubofour

IRB# CPS16-08-13
Approval Date: 8/30/16
Expiration Date: 8/29/17
To Survey Participant:

I willingly declare my consent to participate in this survey.

__________________________________

Initials of Survey Participant
APPENDIX C – SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

SURVEY ON GHANA POLICE
* Required

Thank you very much for agreeing to participate in this survey. My name is Kwabena Osei-Adubofour. This survey is being undertaken as part of the requirements for my Doctorate in Law and Policy at Northeastern University in Boston, Massachusetts in the USA. This survey is seeking your perceptions about the Ghana Police in reference to their conduct and attitudes over the past eight years. You may have witnessed their conduct, read about their conduct, heard about their conduct and attitudes being discussed in the media, or personally have had encounters with the police. I want you to be as candid as possible, and be assured that these answers are for academic research purposes only. Your answers will under no circumstances be known to anyone; neither will it be possible for you to be identified with your answers, to any entity in Ghana or overseas, either public or private.

PERSONAL INFORMATION:

1. GENDER *
   Check the box that applies.
   - [ ] Male
   - [ ] Female

2. YOUR AGE * Mark only one oval.
   - [ ] 18-30 years.
   - [ ] 30-40 years.
   - [ ] 40-50 years.
   - [ ] 50-60 years
   - [ ] Over 60 years

3. YOUR EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT * Mark only one oval.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not Educated/No Formal Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior High School Graduate/Didn't Graduate Senior High/Secondary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior High/Secondary School Graduate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Senior High/Secondary School, but no Bachelor's Degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor's Degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Graduate/Professional Degree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Begin the actual survey:

YOUR VIEWS ON THE GHANA POLICE

4. Question 1: The police generally respect people. * Mark only one oval.
   - [ ] Strongly Disagree
   - [ ] Disagree
   - [ ] Neither Agree or Disagree
   - [ ] Agree
   - [ ] Strongly Agree

5. Question 2: The police treat everyone with respect irrespective of political affiliation. * Mark only one oval.
   - [ ] Strongly Disagree
   - [ ] Disagree
   - [ ] Neither Agree or Disagree
   - [ ] Agree
   - [ ] Strongly Agree

6. Question 3: Generally, the police respect people's rights irrespective of people's political affiliation. * Mark only one oval.
   - [ ] Strongly Disagree
   - [ ] Disagree
   - [ ] Neither Agree or Disagree
   - [ ] Agree
   - [ ] Strongly Agree

7. Question 4: The police generally treat everyone equally. *Mark only one oval.
8. Question 5: The police treat people differently depending on their political affiliation. * Mark only one oval.

9. Question 6: The police treat citizens highly connected to the ruling party differently. * Mark only one oval.

10. Question 7: The police apply the law consistently to different people irrespective of people's different political affiliations. * Mark only one oval.

11. Question 8: The police prosecute well publicized political offences equally irrespective of the political affiliation of the alleged offender. * Mark only one oval.
12. Question 9: The police largely follow through with preparing dockets for prosecutions of political offences *equally irrespective of the highly connected political affiliation of the alleged offender to the ruling party.* * Mark only one oval.

- [ ] Strongly Agree
- [ ] Agree
- [ ] Neither Agree or Disagree
- [ ] Disagree
- [ ] Strongly Disagree

13. Question 10: The police are *severe in seeking the prosecution* of political offences when the alleged offender is *allied to the opposition parties* in Ghana. * Mark only one oval.

- [ ] Strongly Agree
- [ ] Agree
- [ ] Neither Agree or Disagree
- [ ] Disagree
- [ ] Strongly Disagree

14. Question 11: The police make decisions based on what is *best for the ruling party* and not the state or the people of Ghana. * Mark only one oval.

- [ ] Strongly Agree
- [ ] Agree
- [ ] Neither Agree or Disagree
- [ ] Disagree
- [ ] Strongly Disagree
15. Question 12: The police make decisions based on what the law requires and not as a result of political pressure from ruling government officials or officers of the ruling party. * Mark only one oval.

- [ ] Strongly Agree
- [ ] Agree
- [ ] Neither Agree or Disagree
- [ ] Disagree
- [ ] Strongly Disagree

16. Question 13: The police easily bow to political pressure from the ruling government. * Mark only one oval.

- [ ] Strongly Agree
- [ ] Agree
- [ ] Neither Agree or Disagree
- [ ] Disagree
- [ ] Strongly Disagree

17. Question 14: Based on how I judge police conduct, I believe in the police to do the right thing most of the time. * Mark only one oval.

- [ ] Strongly Agree
- [ ] Agree
- [ ] Neither Agree or Disagree
- [ ] Disagree
- [ ] Strongly Disagree

18. Question 15: Based on how I judge police conduct, the public can trust the police all or most of the time. * Mark only one oval.
19. Question 16: Based on how I judge police conduct, the public can largely depend on the police for the good of all the public. * Mark only one oval.

- [ ] Strongly Disagree
- [ ] Disagree
- [ ] Neither Agree or Disagree
- [ ] Agree
- [ ] Strongly Agree

20. Question 17: Based on how I judge police conduct, I can trust the police to defend the constitutional rights of all citizens most of the time. * Mark only one oval.

- [ ] Strongly Disagree
- [ ] Disagree
- [ ] Neither Agree or Disagree
- [ ] Agree
- [ ] Strongly Agree

21. Question 18: The police are generally honest. * Mark only one oval.

- [ ] Strongly Disagree
- [ ] Disagree
- [ ] Neither Agree or Disagree
- [ ] Agree
- [ ] Strongly Agree
Legitimacy has been defined as that feature of an institution that makes it command respect and earn acceptance from the public, because the institution is seen to live up to the morality and expectations demanded of it from the people. Legitimacy is different from legality, as legality is conferred on institutions, like the police, because the law of the land - the constitution - has decreed it. An institution can be legal but not necessarily seen as legitimate in the eyes of the people.

YOUR PERCEPTION OF THE LEGITIMACY OF THE POLICE IN GHANA:

22. Question 19: Now that you know what legitimacy is, how legitimate do you perceive the Ghana Police to be? * Mark only one oval.

- [ ] Legitimate
- [ ] Neither Legitimate or Not Legitimate
- [ ] Not Legitimate

23. Question 20: From how legitimate you perceive the police to be, how obliged do you feel to cooperate with the police? * Mark only one oval.

- [ ] Strongly Obliged
- [ ] Obliged
- [ ] Neither Obliged or Not Obliged
- [ ] Not Obliged
- [ ] Strongly Not Obliged

24. Question 21: From how legitimate you believe the police are, how obliged do you feel to respect the police’s authority? * Mark only one oval.

- [ ] Strongly Obliged
- [ ] Obliged
- [ ] Neither Obliged or Not Obliged
- [ ] Not Obliged
- [ ] Strongly Not Obliged
25. Question 22: From how legitimate you think the police are, how obliged do you feel not to defy police authority even when you feel they are wrong? * Mark only one oval.

- Strongly Obliged
- Obliged
- Neither Obliged or Not Obliged
- Not Obliged
- Strongly Not Obliged

26. Question 23: Based of how legitimate you feel the police are how readily are you to accept decisions and directives from the police? * Mark only one oval.

- Strongly Readily
- Readily
- Neither Readily or Not Readily
- Not Readily
- Strongly Not Readily
As you end this section and the survey, I convey my profound appreciation to you in helping my educational endeavors. Thank you very much.

27. Question 24: Region in Ghana in which you reside *

   - Village
   - Small Town
   - Medium size Town
   - Big Town
   - Regional Capital/Metropolitan Area

29. Question 26: Which of the major political parties in Ghana do you belong to? * Mark only one oval.
   - National Democratic Congress (NDC)
   - New Patriotic Party (NPP)
   - Convention People's Party (CPP)
   - People's National Convention (PNC)
   - Progressive People's Party (PPP)
   - Other
   - Non-committal

END OF SURVEY