

CONCEPTUALIZING STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE, POLICING AND CRIMINALITY IN THE 21ST CENTURY: A RE-READING OF CHINUA ACHEBE'S TEXTS

By
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Abstract

*The 21st century is a global age in which nation states are replete with leadership and authoritarian illegality. Hence, issues of policing, violence and criminality are everyday occurrences in present day society, experienced by different categories of individuals. Policing inter alia is for law enforcement and protection of the citizens. In these contemporary times policing has become a factor of violence for the state authority. Violence in many nation states has therefore become structural, subsumed into the system and perpetuated by government. Individuals are violated, vulnerable, and helpless. Criminality of different shades and magnitude increases by the day. Police assaults, shootings, killings, bribery, illegal arrests, intimidation of the citizens and violations of rights are rife. Some of these issues are captured in the political and satirical novels of Chinua Achebe, such as, *Anthills of the Savannah* and *A Man of the People*. These narratives present political corruption, police criminality and structural violence against the people. These are examined on the standpoints of Max Weber's theory of "State Monopoly on Violence" and Johan Gaultang's concept of "Structural Violence". This paper discusses the corroboration and culpability of the state in perpetuating violence and crime through the apparatus and agencies of the state. It specifically makes a literary analysis of the instances of state induced crime and violence through policing. The essay makes a case for a review of state structures inimical to the rights of the people in this 21st century.*

Keywords: violence, criminality, policing, structural violence, monopoly, illegitimacy.

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Introduction

The 21st century seems to be unfolding as a century of violence, with destructive acts and tendencies including structural violence, criminality and illegal policing. These acts and situations are equally global in presentation and are big a concern all over the world. Issues of crime, violence and policing are everyday occurrences, pathetically perpetrated and abetted by the organs that have the responsibility to protect the people. Hence there is a great outcry and apprehension about physical abuse, illegal molestations of the common citizenry by the agencies and apparatuses of government, especially through illegal policing supported by the state. This is against the code of establishment and rule of engagement for these agencies set up for “for the prevention and detection of crime, the apprehension of offenders, the preservation of law and order, the protection of life and property and the due enforcement of all laws and regulations with which they are directly charged” (Akintunde Kabir Otubu 3). Regrettably, the current scenario of crass illegality and criminality discredits and indicts the acts and mode of operation of the police and the state that gives it legitimacy. This apprehension is captured in this indictment of the police:

The primary institution in the front line of combating these challenges is the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) which according to the constitution has exclusive jurisdiction to protect lives and properties by fighting crime and maintaining law and order. But regrettably, of all public institutions whose record of ineptitude is prominent across the country, the Nigeria Police Force remains a customary point of reference. There is no crime that is alien to the police force, from extortion to rape to murder to kidnapping, to conspiracy; they are never far away from any atrocities one can think of. An average police officer is perceived more as a merchant of oppression than the protector of law and order with penchant to commit crime than to prevent it. Pitifully, these uncivilized demean ours are well acknowledged even within the force fraternity. (Kehinde Akinfenwa Online)

Policing from its formation enjoys constitutional use of force and firearms against the people as contained in the Police Force Order 237 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended) titled “Rules of Guidance in the Use of Firearms by the Police” which advances unchecked

and unlimited use of force on the people. However, "the permissive provisions in order 237 are made possible by the broadness of Section 33 of the Constitution and also relevant provisions of the Criminal Code" (Akinfenwa Online). The constitution accepts and upholds the code giving it State cover. With this, policing assumes an agent of mass destruction, violence, impunity and intimidation.

However, a scrutiny of this code indicates that this permissiveness and exclusive power to the use of firearms by the Nigerian police falls foul of international standards for the use of firearms. Against this ugly scenario, Akinfenwa further observes that "it is rather disheartening that the force has plummeted from being one of the pillars of grace and service to a cathedral of dishonesty as is fast becoming a citadel of illegality and institutional dissipation" (Online). Policing has deviated from the task of detecting and preventing crime to crass illegality, abuse, bribery and corruption, killings and gross abuse of human rights of the people, all done under the watch of the state authority. This situation is highlighted in the essay "Policing in Contemporary Nigeria: Issues and Challenges" asserting that "allegations of police corruption erupt on daily basis. These come in various forms, extortion from motorists, illegally mounted road blocks, collection of monetary gratification (bribery) in order to alter justice in favour of the highest bidder" (John Idowu 74). These and more, including "arbitrariness in exercising its powers and perversion of justice" (74) are the ills of policing and are ready tools to perpetuating criminality and violent in a subtle and non-physically violent ways otherwise known as structural violence. This situation leaves the citizens despondent, distraught and helpless.

A lot of studies have been done on the issues of policing, criminality and violence in the 21st Century. In "Solution for Policing in the 21st Century" commentators on Crime and Justice in the Heritage Foundation concretize the global nature of policing, violence and criminality highlighting the challenges of policing in American Law enforcement saying that "Violent crime is increasing in major cities across the country. They observe that "at a time in which police should be concentrating on protecting the communities they serve and when Americans ought to be supporting them in this dangerous and difficult work, policing as an institution finds itself under attack" (Edwin Meese III and John Malcolm Online). This report underscores the global challenges of policing in the 21st Century. The report further highlights people's disenchantment with the police showing that "damaging false narratives have emerged in mainstream and social media that

encourage distrust of and even open hostility towards police, some denounce law enforcement as 'systematically racist', a change rooted in undeniable historical injustices but which unfairly maligns the modern profession" (Online). This assertion though, of "damaging false narratives" against policing does not exonerate the fact of illegal and violent policing as it has become a constant ugly experience by the people.

The evidence to this is "the predictable result of friction between police departments and the communities they serve which has occasionally erupted in violence" (Online). Therefore, what is obtainable in the Western world is equally experienced elsewhere. Thus in "Policing in Contemporary Nigeria: Issues and Challenges" Idowu Johnson while chronicling the challenges of policing and the allegations against the police states that "Policing System has been politicized in Nigeria. In most Nigerian cities, party politics, local political leaders understood that controlling the police was a means of maintaining their own impunity. In fact, in some States, the police were clearly extensions of the State party machine which attempted to dominate all activity in a community" (74).

Also, the essay, "The Myth poetics of Chinua Achebe's *Anthills of the Savannah*" makes a prescription for African political leadership problem using the myth poetic deconstruction of the biblical narrative and myths and legend of hymn to the sun 'the pillar of fire' and the Idemili myth of 'Pillar of Water'. It is asserted that "the former is an epic prose poem, an apostrophe to the sun. It reminds us of Yeats' line "A gaze as blank and pitiless as the sun" for it describes in hyperbolic terms the desiccating power of the sun in Abazon in the Northern part of Kangan. It is a wasteland of Crimson touches, furnaces of heaven, a roaring holocaust and 'an incarcerated world of the bulging eye of madness" (John Aning and Gbolo Sanka 38). This essay describes in hyperbolic form power thrust and the abuse of power by all shades of political leaders. The paper which exposes the abuse of power by political leaders advocates the inclusion of women in political leadership. Further studies by Mawuloe Koffi Kodahla lampoons the socio-political and economic actors in fictional Nigeria for unprecedented levels of corruption in the essay "Discourse of Denunciation: A Critical Reading of Chinua Achebe's *A Man of the People*". Specifically, the narrative "denounces the media practitioners as incredibly corrupt in the text ... The media purposely helps politicians to pervert the truth and discredit their perceived opponents" (163). The media and the police are usually the willing tools in the hands of the state and political leaders for their own course. However the essay

makes a conscious effort to combine irony, paradox, antithesis, colloquialism and anti-climax, violence ... to bring to the fore the express need for socio-cultural, economic and political transformation and behavioural change to eschew corruption and ensure sustainable democratic governance" (167). The media as a state structure comes under attack here for their unethical practices.

The works reviewed have still left some gaps on the issue of policing, violence and criminality and specifically on the state use of policing in perpetuating criminality and illegitimate use of force on the citizenry. Thus this essay "Conceptualizing Structural Violence and Criminality in the 21st Century: A Re-Reading of Achebe's Tests" examines incidents of political corruption, illegal policing and criminality in Achebe's *Anthills of the Savannah* and *A Man of the People*. The paper is premised on the standpoint of Max Weber's Theory on "State Monopoly on Violence" and Johan Galtung's Concept of "Structural Violence". It makes a literary analysis of the State's use of policing as a state apparatus and agent in hounding their perceived opponents and intimidating the people. The essay however makes a strong case for an overhaul of the constitutional provisions of the use of force for law enforcement in order to build confidence of the people in policing in the society.

Max Weber's Theory and Johan Galtung's Concept

Both Max Weber and Johan Galtung are sociologists and political economists with evident interest in the propagation of peace studies. Thus Max Weber's treatise on 'State Monopoly of Violence' is seen as a defining characteristic of the democratic modern state whereby he defines the state in his lecture "Politics as a Vocation 1918" "as a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory" (Andre Munro Online). The state therefore entails the structures of government and leadership and policies for a given territorial enclave. In this case "the modern state emerged in centuries of bitter fights, in which competing power holders were brought down and robbed of their capacities to use violence as a political means of exerting power" (Albrecht Funk 105). Max Weber is quoted to say that "the right to use physical violence is attributed to any and all other associations or individuals only to the extent that the state for its part permits this to happen. The state is held to be the source of the 'right' to use violence" (105). The permission or permissiveness of the use of physical violence accredited to the state empowers certain

agents and apparatuses of the state over others, thus putting the rest in perpetual and invisible violence.

This however calls to attention Johan Galtung's concept of "Structural Violence" as propagated in his path breaking 1969 Article, "Violence, Peace and Peace Research" stating that violence is built into the structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances'. According to Galtung, it is the avoidable impairment of fundamental human needs ... the impairment of human life which lowers the actual degree to which someone is able to meet their needs below that which would otherwise be possible" (Andrew Dilts 207). This concretizes the fact of state monopoly of violence which gives impetus to a kind of violence that is weaved or authenticated in the structure of the government such as the constitution or government policies. Hence, Elizabeth Lewis sees structural violence as "any scenario in which a social structure perpetuates inequality, thus causing preventable suffering" (Online). Here violence on the people shows is reflected in intimidation and abuse and violation of rights of the people.

In this case, Dr. Paul Farmer is quoted to say:

Structural Violence is one way of describing social arrangements that put individuals and populations in harm's way... The arrangements are structural because they are embedded in the political and economic organization of our social world, they are violent because they cause injury to people ... Structural Violence is visited upon all those whose social status denies them access to the fruits of scientific and social progress. (Adam Burtle Online).

In effect, structural violence is subtle, invisible violence as opposed to the physical force that causes physical bodily injuries. This kind of violence is weaved in the official but illegal functioning of the state agents such as the police and its attendant illegal practices.

Violence therefore covers a range of ways of impacting people that could "be physical, philosophical, oral, [by] hate speech, an act of omission and act of physical force" (Vittorio Bufacchi 194). Violence is experienced in different ways and in different forms. It can be triggered by different factors in varied contexts and situations. Bufacchi traces the origin of violence to Latin *violentia* meaning "vehemence", a passionate and uncontrolled force. Yet because acts of excessive force frequently result in the violation of

norms, right or rules, the meaning of violence is often conflated with that of "violation", from the Latin *violare*, meaning "infringement" (194). Yet violence includes physical force and the invisible and subtle acts of force, or violation of rights, or infringement on rights of the people. Thus, going further, an American Pragmatist John Dewey one of the earliest and most authoritative proponents of violence as force argues that "violence is force gone wrong, or, put another way, force that is destructive and harmful" (194). The implication is that not all force is violent or involves physical force. Hence in furtherance of this argument Thomas Pogge claims that "a person uses physical violence if he deliberately acts in a way that blocks another's exercise of her legitimate claim – rights by physical means" (195). Physical violence is intentional and deliberate. Violence is the intentional infliction of physical or psychological injury on a person or persons (195). Violence can equally be psychological as in the infringement or violation of rights. Thus, it is conceptualized in terms of the verb "to violate" meaning, to infringe, or transgress or exceed some limit or norm" (196). Violence can therefore be a form of physical force, violation or subtle and invisible torture perpetuated by State authorities and policies such as policing. However violence cannot be isolated from crime and criminality as one leads to the other. Hence in getting to understand the concept of criminality, the sociological aspect of crime as a public and a social wrong has to be x-rayed.

The essay "Crime, Concept, Definition and Analysis" studies degrees and situations of crime. It cites Sir William Blackstone on crime "violation of the public rights and duties to the whole community, considered as a community" (R.Sarmah27). This definition implicates that policing is a community act involving also the people in the community. Also crime as a moral wrong is "applied to those acts that go against social order and are worthy of serious condemnation" (Sarmah27). John Gillin, gives a sociological definition of crime as "an act that has been shown to be actually harmful to society, or that is believed to be socially harmful by a group of people that have the power to enforce its beliefs, and that places such act under the ban of positive penalties" (Sarmah 31). The implication of illegal policing and illegitimate use of firearms are social wrongs done against the helpless citizens and are acts of criminality. However criminality "consists of criminal acts which are legally defined as being criminal". (Eggret Petersen 32). Therefore, acts of illegal policing that cause breach of social order and impinge on the peace of individual members of the community are criminal acts.

The issue of policing which is central to this paper is viewed as the critical term that connects criminality to violence weaved in the unchecked powers granted the police by the State. Hence the unfettered powers of policing as structural in the use of firearms and the use of force is highlighted in Weber's "State Monopoly of Violence" as contained in the Police Force Order 237, titled, "Rules of Guidance in the Use of Firearms" which stipulates the conditions under which a police officer may use firearms to include, that "fire should be directed at the knees of the rioter or any ring leader" (Online). There are also a range of laws that govern police use of force in Nigeria, as stipulated in Code 237 and similarly in Section 107 of the 1960 Criminal Procedure Code "which permits the use of force by police officers to disperse unlawful assemblies or riots. The extent of the force allowed in this instance is not defined" (Online). This gap presented as unchecked or undefined powers underscores Max Weber's example of structural violence as emanating from the State. It is however this unfettered and unchecked powers of the police in policing that is the problem of illegality, criminality and violence in society.

Structural Violence, Policing and Criminality in Achebe's Texts

Structural violence, criminality and policing are co-related ills that have strong roots in contemporary society. Thus it is observed that "the relationship of the state and violence is an intimate one" (Richard Couto 64). Hence, the state is seen as a collaborator in crime and abetting violence. Policing in these contemporary times has been a challenge to society. This is contrary to what it is supposed to be. Thus Johnson Idowu in his essay "Policing in Contemporary Nigeria: Issues and Challenges" observes that "policing did not start as a paid profession, rather, it started as a noble, incorruptible profession with considerable responsibility and distinction" (71). Regrettably, the agency is replete with all forms of illegality and violent crimes against the people. Idowu further states that, "police carry out the functions of law enforcement, order maintenance, service and gathering of information. Thus, the police are the major representatives of the legal system in their transactions with citizens. They are also the major emergency arm of the community in terms of personal and public crisis and in carrying out their legitimate use of force" (71). Policing as a systemic structure is weaved in the official structure of government, backed up by law and constitution. Policing as law enforcement enjoys unlimited liberty to use of firearms and the exercise of force against members of society. This use of

force is exercised under Max Weber's "State Monopoly of Violence", meaning that policing has government backing and support for discrete use of force.

Chinua Achebe's texts, *Anthills of the Savannah* and *A Man of the People*, his two novels on politics present narratives of political leadership, corruption, police intimidation, bribery and extortion of different kinds and the use of physical and structural violence on the people. However, violence could take different forms (Vittorio 194). Unfortunately some of these ills are perpetrated by the police. In *Anthills of the Savannah* there are issues of physical and psychological violence, otherwise, structural violence recorded. These acts of violence are not majorly physical but involve police intimidation of the people to serve the purposes of the political leaders. This is found between His Excellency, Sam and his cabinet members. As is noted, instances of intimidation by the police against the perceived opponents of the leaders; for example, "there were unconfirmed rumours of unrest, secret trials and executions in the barracks. But His Excellency rode the storm quite comfortably thanks to two key appointments he had personally made – the Army Chief of Staff and the Director of the State Research Council, the Secret Police". So when Professor Okong was marched in by the fierce orderly he found His Excellency in a rough and self-confident mood" (*Anthills* 13). This shows how Sam intimidates his cabinet members with the help of the police force. The idea of a police orderly marching a Professor out is an act of violence which does not involve physical force. The impetus for the orderly to do that is as a result of a backup and powers from the State structure. Incidents of police and army invisible and subtle violent crimes include threats and verbal abuse of people by the army and police at the Gelegele Market Motor Park where hawkers of second hand materials are harassed by the police such that:

From time to time there would be a sharp stampede at some secret signal for the approach of a policeman or the market master, for none of those boisterous hawkers apparently had any right whatsoever to display their goods at that section of the market reserved for cars. It took no more than one second by unbelievable motion and all those hundreds of wooden frames bedecked with the heavy castoffs of distant affluent and consumer cultures of cold elements would simple melt away in the bright noonday sun. Usually the alarm would prove to be false and they would reappear as promptly and miraculously as

they had vanished, with much laughter and joking, and take up their illegal positions again. (*Anthills of the Savannah*⁴³).

There is in this narrative existing silent violence such that the people make a jest out of it combined with fear and expectation of harassment from the police.

Writing on the political corruption and abuse of power in *Anthills of the Savannah*, John Aning and Gbolo Sanka observe that "abuse of power is central to the novel. In other words, power is not handled with modesty and peace. Power is abused by all types of leaders in all areas of activity: politics, society, school and home" (39). Abuse of political power by Sam, His Excellency with the help of State police is a ready example. They further state that "many characters in the novel refract authority from the center either by their links with the head of State or by law, and thus the infection at the center affects the peripherals. The poison is seen most clearly in the actions of Major John Ossai, the director of the State Research Council. He is the President's Personal Choice and his loyalty, his discipline, and dedication make Sam quite happy" (GboloSanka⁴¹). His Excellency relies on his security apparatus to intimidate his perceived friends Ikem and Chris. He praises them for being effective. In an argument with Chris on the legality of the police in arresting and prosecuting Ikem for a minor traffic offence, he says "Good, isn't it, to know that some organs of government still perform effectively in this country" (*Anthills of the Savannah*¹³²). This assertion is wrong, and goes to confirm the empowering of the police by the State. His Excellency, Sam, has empowered Major Johnson as the Director SRC, the security agency. Major Johnson takes up the task of haunting the opposition. For instance, he hauled in Mr. Kent quietly for interrogation, and held him secretly and incommunicado for four days at the BMSF" (150). The function of policing and the abuse of power is highlighted in the haunt for Ikem and Chris.

Sam's determination to hound and molest his friends just to satisfy his sense of power is so pervasive in *Anthills of the Savannah*" (David A. Maughan 12). Eventually as the events in the narratives get twisted and intensified and complex, taking a very destructive turn, Sam using his state agents deals with Ikem and Sam and has this media propaganda:

In the discharge of its duty in safeguarding the freedom and security of the State and of every law-abiding citizen of Kangan working in connection with certain foreign adventures to destabilize the lawful

government of this country ... investigations by top security officers of SRC, have revealed Mr. Osodi's involvement in three separate aspects of the plot. (*Anthills of the Savannah* 155).

This allegation or propaganda is to become a veritable platform for the state to carry out illegal and criminal persecution and violation of the rights of its citizen by means of legitimate violence" (Couto Richard 65). This illegitimate violence serves to subdue political opponents and competitors.

A similar scenario is captured in *A Man of the People* at a political rally that saw Odili, Chief Nanga's political opponent at the election campaign rally brutalized by the police at the instance of Chief Nanga. Odili recounts: "The rear of the crowd was now like a thick forest all round. By this time blows were falling as fast as rain on my head and body until something heavier than the nest seemed to split my skull. The last thing I remembered was seeing all the policemen turn round and walk quietly away" (*A Man of the People* 158). This exposes the police collaboration with the state and involvement in violence and criminality and thus corroborates Weber's assertion and assumption that the means of 'politics is violence". Thus violence both physical and structural is part of the political system and leadership. The issue of illegality and criminality by the law enforcement agents is glaring in *Anthills of the Savannah* whereby "personal freedoms are threatened as we repeatedly choose between public order and individual rights". Moreover, "crime amplifies mistrust, feeds prejudice and generally degrades social cohesion. People become more fearful, often imprisoning themselves in their own homes. Guns are kept within reach a knock on the door evokes terror, a stranger in need of assistance is ignored" (J. Schiller 287). People are helpless in the face of avoidable police brutality and intimidation.

The closing events in the narratives in the *Anthills of the Savannah* depict police extension and criminality on the Great North Road. This leaves the people in fear and apprehension plying the road such that:

At the provincial boundary Chris suffered a recurrence of sharp anxiety at the sudden sight of a vast deployment of police and troops larger than any they had encountered since leaving Bassa. But they took no interest whatsoever in the passengers, neither did they delay the driver who went down and across the road to see one of them. As he returned to resume his driving seat he waved to them in what seemed to Chris like a very friendly good-bye. But no sooner had he

driven clear of their road bar than he broke into loud and finally called down the curse of fire to scorch their mother's bushes. (194).

This scenario explicates the effect of silent and subtle nature of structural violence. This is violence without gun or clubs from the government supported agency. The citizens who are victims are helpless and they live with it. And so "the open bribe-taking of the policemen on the Great North Road reflects the general indiscipline at the center" so also is the case of the policemen who commandeer a truck-load-of beer to celebrate the overthrow of the government" (John Aning and Gbolo Sanke 41). This situation usually attracts a kind of expression of dissatisfaction from the people who usually feel used and intimidated. Hence, the essay "The Role of Structural Violence" adduces that:

Structural violence has the effect of denying people important rights such as economic opportunity, social and political equality, a sense of fulfillment and self worth, and so on. When people starve to death, or even go hungry, a kind of violence is taking place. Similarly, when human beings suffer from diseases that are preventable, when they are denied a decent education, housing, an opportunity to play, to grow, to work to raise a family, to express themselves freely, to organize peacefully, or to participate in their own government, a kind of violence is occurring even if bullets or clubs are not used. (Online).

Thus structural violence is a way of oppression that is not only physical, it involves denial or violation of human rights. Therefore, "structural violence is violence that results in harm but is not caused by a clearly identifiable actor, and positive peace is the absence of structural violence" (Mark Voroby 84). This is captured in *A Man of the People* which narrates the case of corruption involving law enforcement officers where Boniface offers bribe to a policeman "so he go spoil the paper for our case' ... meanwhile, a police corporal who served some time in prison becomes a councilor and supplies building materials. He sells one heap of stones in the morning, carrying it away at night and selling it again the next day, and repeating the cycle, as long as he liked" (Bernard Dickson 244). The issue of bribery by the police is a glaring everyday occurrence. The narratives in the texts indicate instances of State use of power of policing over defenseless citizenry. The pains and trauma of harassment and intimidation are found to be general, affecting a whole lot of people at the same time.

Conclusion

Structural violence varied as it is x-rayed in the narratives is commonplace in society. These leave the citizens and individuals at the mercy of the very agent or organ of the government that should guard and protect them. It becomes pertinent and urgent for the nation to amend its legislation on the use of force by the law enforcement agents, especially the police. Police should be given the means to provide protection and not be an instrument of oppression. The situation is so precarious that Idowu affirms that "no issue in policing has caused as much controversy in recent times as the use of force. In Lagos, Kaduna, Kano, Enugu, Port-Harcourt and many other cities, excessive force charge against police officers have been made and documented and resulted in the loss of public confidence in the police" (73). With this fact and situation, policing in the contemporary society in Nigeria calls for an overhaul of its code of conduct and the rules of guidance.

Hence, in his report on the 2008 mission to Nigeria, the then UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial Summary and Arbitrary executions, Philip Alston noted the flawed nature of police order. He recommends that:

Police order no 237 should be amended immediately to bring it into conformity with the basic principles on the use of force and firearms by law Enforcement Officials. The resulting emphasis should be on proportionality, on the use of lethal force as an absolute last resort, and only when strictly unavoidable in order to protect life. This, the possible escape of an alleged robber who presents no direct threat to the lives of others cannot justify shooting at kill. (Online)

This paper concurs that the life of a citizen is sacrosanct, and should be paramount. Likewise, the rule on the "State Monopoly of Violence" should be repealed to allow all calibers of citizens fair playing ground and to protect individual rights as enshrined in the constitution of the country. Hence, "referencing the Police Reform Bill, which has just passed second reading in the National Assembly, modernizing the Institution towards aligning with global practice is a logical step in the rebuilding process" (Akimfenwa Online). Violence, criminality and illegal policing should be stamped out so as to enthrone a crime free and harmonious 21st Century society.

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