To the Faculty of Washington State University:

The members of the Committee appointed to examine the dissertation of GASSAN ABESS find it satisfactory and recommend that it be accepted.

___________________________
Otwin Marenin, Ph.D., Chair

___________________________
Melanie A. Neuilly, Ph.D.

___________________________
David A. Makin, Ph.D.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

God Almighty has been very kind and generous to me over the years and I do sincerely appreciate it and for which I am very grateful indeed. Coming from a very poor background and with parents who never went to school, this journey has been a very tough one and I do know that without some divine intervention from God it will have almost been impossible. I thank you Lord for all what you have done for me so far and what you will also do for me in the future and I just want you to know that I am very grateful and do feel loved by you for all the good things in life that you have provided me with, for all the protection, strength, wisdom, courage and tenacity to complete this dissertation.

To my parents, I just want to say thank you for all your unflinching support over the years financially, morally, for believing in me, for the continued motivation that I can do it and for keeping me focused, and for your strong belief that education will take our family out of poverty and dependence, and finally for believing in education as a game changer and equalizing force, and one that has the power to transform reality for individuals and whole societies, even though you did not know how but you did believe and placed your hopes and bet on it. For all these, please allow me the opportunity to say thank you mom and dad, and you folks are truly my heroes.

To the Fulbright Commission, the Institute of International Education, the United States Embassy in Freetown, the Department of State, and the United States government, please accept my sincere thanks and appreciation for providing me with this opportunity to pursue a Ph.D. Program of study in criminal justice and criminology, for all the financial support, facilitation,
and care that has been provided to me throughout my program of study. Special thanks go to Marilyn S. Kamara, and John Kargbo, at the United States Embassy in Freetown, and Jacqueline Sindoni, and Martinez Allyson at the Fulbright Commission/Institute of International Education at San Francisco. I shall forever be grateful and highly indebted to all of you. Special thanks also goes to all the folks at the Department of State, the United States government and all the peoples of the United States for such a wonderful exchange program (the Fulbright Program) in providing world peace, and in understanding and appreciating the different peoples of the world and their cultures. I am very grateful for this great opportunity of a life time and shall always be indebted to the people and government of the United States.

To the Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology at Washington State University, please permit me to say that I personally feel loved, blessed and lucky to belong to such a great department with all the expertise and real life training that it has to offer, for a wonderful and very supportive staff in addressing students’ needs and learning the ropes or craft of the trade, for making the curriculum more relevant and fitting to the demands of the job market and that of the 21ST Century criminal justice systems and security issues not only facing the United States but the world at large. Also, please accept my sincere thanks and appreciation, and my stay in the department will forever continue to guide my world views. I shall be forever grateful and indebted to the department. In one sentence, the department has been awesome.

On the personal note, I will like to thank my committee members: Dr. David A. Makin, Dr. Melanie Angela Neuilly, and Dr. Otwin Marenin. The committee members have been very supportive, providing many critical comments, pushing for more clarity, willing to find the time to read my drafts and meet with me independently and as a group within their very busy
schedules. For this special training in how to do research work and learning the ropes or craft of social scientific research please accept my sincere thanks and appreciation. Words cannot express how much I have learnt throughout this dissertation research and writing process all because of your unflinching support through the very helpful feedbacks, and desire for fine details and good academic research. Let me also personally thank the chair of the committee Dr. Otwin Marenin for being very patient in listening to my stories and challenges in this journey and for making me believe in myself that the task can be completed and for all your expert advice and critical evaluations, and for demanding excellence and for providing me the big picture. Also, I am very grateful for your patience and understanding in finding the time to write all those letters to the Fulbright Commission and the Institute of International Education (IIE) keeping them well informed about my academic progress and financial needs. Please permit me to say thank you and God bless you. I shall forever be grateful and highly indebted to you. Also, I am personally thanking Mrs. Regina Silletti and Mr. Harry Silletti, Mr. John Murry and Lana Murry, for all their financial and moral support in my academic journey in the United States, and for all the love showed to me and my family.

To the current chair of the department Dr. Craig Hemmens, please allow me to say thank you so much for providing me with the financial support to continue my Ph.D. program and for your patience and understanding in writing all those letters to the Fulbright Commission and the Institute of International Education. Without such a support my study program would have come to an abrupt end. To Dr. Mary Stohr, thanks so much for all your kind support and for making me believe in myself and for all the advice. Also let me take this opportunity to thank the former chair of the department for his financial support in providing me with the opportunity to teach (as
a teaching assistant-TA) which helped a lot in making my academic life at Washington State a very good experience and less stressful. Let me also personally thank Dr. Zachary Hamilton our statistician for his patience and understanding in teaching a very difficult course in a friendlier way that makes it easy to comprehend and for walking us through all those many small steps and fine details within the SPSS Program and how to do research in the real world. Please accept my sincere thanks and appreciation. On a personal note also, let me take this opportunity to thank Dr. Faith E. Lutze for all her support and advice as my academic advisor in working me through the course schedule and expectations of the program. Dr. Faith E. Lutze has also been very supportive in writing all those letters to the Fulbright Commission and the Institute of International Education either asking for extensions of my DS-2019 or confirming my academic progress within the department.

To my friends and colleagues in the department let me also take this opportunity to thank Francis D. Boateng, Routh Doug, Michael Campagna, and Chris Campbell for all their support in getting me into shape and adjusting to the courses, preparing for prelims, and doing research work. Hey buddies, please accept my sincere thanks and appreciation. I owe you guys a very big lunch.

To DeeDee, Sis, and Andrea, let me say thank you in helping me stay on schedule for all the numerous deadlines and for been in very good standing with the department and the graduate school, and for listening and addressing my frequent concerns and for providing answers to my numerous questions. I owe you all a great deal and I am very grateful that all of you provided the support that I so direly needed for my adjustment in the program and for keeping my immigration status in good standing.
Finally, to all those who have contributed in their own way in making my academic journey a success but were not mentioned here, please accept my sincere thanks and appreciation. I do appreciate all your support and I will forever be grateful and indebted.
There are considerable variations in the level of trust and legitimacy of the police among the citizenry in different countries for a host of factors. The purpose of the current study is to determine how citizens’ perception of the level of corruption and politics within the Sierra Leone police influences citizens’ levels of trust and legitimacy of the police. The present study utilizes quantitative and qualitative data collected from Sierra Leone to test the following hypotheses: 1) Perceptions of police corruption will reduce public trust in the police in Sierra Leone; 2) Perceptions of police corruption will reduce legitimacy of the police among the citizenry in Sierra Leone; 3) Perceptions of political interference in police operations will reduce public trust in the police in Sierra Leone; 4) Perceptions of political interference in police operations will reduce the legitimacy of the police among the citizenry in Sierra Leone.

A sample size of 800 was selected from the 2004 Population and Housing Census of Sierra Leone. Freetown (study area) had approximately 800,000 people. The response rate was 70 percent as 560 individuals actually consented to participate in the study and completed the questionnaire. The study was conducted from February 28th, 2014 through April 27th, 2014. The
unit of analysis was at the individual level and the Ordinal Logistic Regression Model, and the thematic network analysis were used to analyze the data. Two hypotheses were not confirmed. Perceived political interference in the work of the police was not significantly related to public trust and legitimacy in the police.

The findings provide empirical support for two research hypotheses: “Police Corruption will reduce public trust in the Police in Sierra Leone” and “Police Corruption will reduce the legitimacy of the police among the citizenry in Sierra Leone”. A statistically significant negative relationship exists between corruption and legitimacy, and that of public trust. Thus, as corruption increases, public trust and legitimacy in the police decreases.

Age and education were strong predictors of police legitimacy, while annual income and age were strong predictors of public trust. Policy implications and recommendations are discussed.
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DEDICATION

With love and appreciation this dissertation is dedicated to my mother Kumba Koroma for all her unflinching support over the years financially, morally, and for all the pain and sacrifice she had to go through while I was away studying, my wife for always believing in me and motivating me to go on, and two children for their love.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACC                Anti-Corruption Commission, Sierra Leone
AFRC              Armed Forces Revolutionary Council, Sierra Leone
APC                 All People’s Congress, Sierra Leone
AU                  African Union (Formerly Organisation of African Unity (OAU))
CDIID             Complaints Discipline and Internal Investigation Department
DfID                United Kingdom Department for International Development
ECOMOG        Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group
ECOWAS         Economic Community of West African States
INEC                 Independent National Electoral Commission, Sierra Leone
MRU                Mano River Union
NEC                 National Electoral Commission, Sierra Leone
ONS                 Office of National Security, Sierra Leone
RSLAF              Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces, Sierra Leone
SLP                    Sierra Leone Police
SLPP            Sierra Leone People’s Party, Sierra Leone
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>SSG</td>
<td>Security Sector Governance</td>
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<td>SSR</td>
<td>Security Sector Reform</td>
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“No man is above the law and no man is below it:

nor do we ask any man’s permission when we ask him to obey it”

~ Theodore Roosevelt

“The primary purpose of the police is to protect life.

All policy follows from that”

~ James J. Fyfe
CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Policing remains an essential requirement in any well-functioning society irrespective of the system of government. The institution of policing is expected to provide peace, order, security, and safety for the common good (Cartwright & Shearing, Van Dijk, 2008; 2012; Law Reform Commission of Canada, 2006). However, what strategies the police apply in attaining their mandate and how accountable they are to the citizenry will depend on the type of government (Bayley, 1990; Bracey, 2006; Dammer, Fairchild, Albanese, 2006; Van Dijk, 2008). Defining the term police as it is used here will help focus the discussion and broaden one’s understanding of the issues discussed. Police is defined as “an organized body of municipal, county, state or [federal] officers engaged in maintaining public order, peace, and safety, and in investigating and arresting persons suspected or formally accused of crime” (Rush, 1977 p. 271). It is also relevant to note that the term police as it is used here only refers to the public police (rather than private police, or military police) particularly in an age of pluralization of policing where the public police no longer enjoys monopoly in the use of force or in providing peace, order, security, and safety (Dijk, 2008; Jones & Newburn, 2002).

In Sierra Leone it is very common to see the military coming out and helping the civil public police in maintaining law and order particularly during the general elections for the office of president and members of parliament. This is known as Military Aid to Civil-Power (MAC-P) (ONS Report 2007). The president will only invoke MAC-P if State security is under threat and the civil police cannot cope with the security challenge or threat at hand. Another reason why
MAC-P was introduced was because the majority of Sierra Leoneans then were very suspicious of the police, and public trust and legitimacy of the police was at its lowest then in the history of the country as it was just emerging from war and the accusations that the police sided with the junta during the civil war (ONS Report 2007).

Sierra Leone is no exception to these core values of policing and how politics and corruption have impacted public trust in and legitimacy of the police. The research problem under investigation is how corruption and politics within Sierra Leone affect public trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone police. The purpose of this research is to show how public perceptions of corruption and politics have influenced public trust, and legitimacy of the police in Sierra Leone. The joint effect of corruption and politics is likely to have an even more deleterious effect than each separately. The cost and implication to society both in terms of the financial cost and public trust in the criminal justice system and the legitimacy of the Sierra Leone police could be enormous (Baker 2006; Stapenhurst, & Kpundeh, 1998). Previous studies on Sierra Leone have shown that corruption is endemic to the country and the police in particular have been ranked at the top of the list of corrupt institutions in Sierra Leone and corruption is shown to permeate the force at all levels (Anti-Corruption Commission, 2012; African Human Security Initiative, 2008; Backer, 2006; Potter & Thompson, 1997, Szeftel, 2007). Additionally, the police are caught in a web of political interference by the political elite and the effect of this is that individuals with the right political connections are often not investigated and tried for crimes committed (African Human Security Initiative, 2008; Allen, 1968; Horn, Olonisakin, & Peake, 2006).
By way of policy, police officers are prevented from becoming members of any political party or union (Police Act, 1964). However, in practice it is very difficult to see how the Sierra Leone Police (SLP) can be separated from politics when members of the Police Council, the head of the police, heads of departments or units, and districts (Local Unit Commanders (LUCs)) are appointed by the political party in power. This has painted a very bad image of the police: as a tool of the political elite who are used for their personal interests to harass and intimidate opponents and other political parties (African Human Security Initiative, 2008; Baker, 2006; Potter & Thompson, 1997). The issues of corruption and politics have been researched generally within Sierra Leone but their effect on the Sierra Leone police has been discussed in passing (Bangura, 2000; Baker, 2005; Kposowa, 2006; Kpundeh, 1994; Maru, 2006; Meek 2003; Riley, 1998; Stapenhurst, & Kpundeh, 1998). That is, no study has specifically looked at citizens’ perceptions of corruption and politics within the Sierra Leone police to determine their effects on public trust, and legitimacy of the police in Sierra Leone. I expect to find that citizens’ perceptions of corruption and politics will negatively influence or impact public trust, and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police (SLP).

**Statement of the Problem**

Sierra Leone as a country has huge problems with corruption and is one of the most highly corrupt countries in the world (Anti-Corruption Commission Report, 2013; Transparency International-Corruption Perception Index Report, 2013; Potter & Thompson, 1997). The Sierra Leone Police have had their fair share of the corruption problem in Sierra Leone and studies conducted internally in Sierra Leone and by the Anti-Corruption Commission itself found that the police as an institution is the most corrupt in Sierra Leone (African Human Security
Initiative, 2008; Baker, 2006; Potter & Thompson, 1997; Transparency International-Corruption Perception Index Report, 2013; and The Global Corruption Barometer Report, 2013). Their high visibility due to being in uniform and in public by the roadside (Traffic Division) has also immensely contributed to the visibility of police corruption by members of the public and those who directly experience police corruption either in the form of bribery, police neglecting a particular problem or crime, or no police patrols for certain poor neighborhoods.

Political corruptions have found their way into almost every facet of society and governmental institutions in particular, the Sierra Leone Police being one of them (Bangura, 2000; Baker, 2005; Kposowa, 2006; Kpundeh, 1994; Maru, 2006; Meek 2002; Riley, 1998; Stapenhurst, & Kpundeh, 1998; Transparency International, 2013; Global Corruption Barometer Survey 2013). Many Sierra Leoneans see the police as representing the state and political elite rather than seeking to protect the interests of the citizens and their protection. The police have been used in the past to suppress political dissent (Baker, 2005; Kpundeh, 1994; Potter & Thompson, 1997). Promotions or growth in the Sierra Leone Police by individual police officers is sometimes tied to political connections. For some of the sensitive matters before the police (for example: political disputes/conflicts, or when the accused is a big player in the government), whether a case will be investigated and prosecuted or not is politically determined or influenced.

Citizens’ perception of the Sierra Leone Police is very negative and citizens’ dissatisfaction with the police is also very high (Baker, 2006; Castillejo, 2009, Charlie & M’Cormack, 2011). “There has been acknowledgement from the highest levels of the police that corruption is a problem…The most common complaints against police are of demanding bribes” (Castillejo, 2009 p. 15). This negative perception and high dissatisfaction with the police has
been largely shaped by the level of corruption and political interference into the daily police activities or operations. However, no one knows for sure just how citizens’ perceptions of corruption and political interference impact public trust and legitimacy of the police in Sierra Leone. This is what the current study focused on investigating in order to empirically determine their impacts on daily police activities or their normal routines by gauging citizen perceptions on these very controversial issues. The goal is to establish whether citizens’ perception of corruption and politics have contributed to reducing public trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police while also coming up with recommendations on how to improve public trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police.

**Theses**

My argument is three fold. First, I argue that political interferences/politics have played a very large role in shaping public trust and legitimacy of the police in Sierra Leone; second, corruption within the Sierra Leone police itself had also to a very a very large extent influenced the low level of trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police (SLP); third, in order to improve public trust and legitimacy of the SLP, the twin problem of politics and corruption need to be seriously addressed. The research findings provide support for my second and third argument or propositions. Perceptions of police corruption were shown to negatively influence public trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police. The findings also clearly demonstrate that there is an urgent need to address the twin problems of political interference and corruption if public trust and legitimacy should improve.
Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the current survey study is to answer the four research questions and test the four research hypotheses (which are stated on page of the dissertation), and to show how citizens’ perceptions about the problem of politics and corruption within the Sierra Leone Police had impacted citizens’ public trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police (SLP).

Based on the research findings, recommendations will be made as to how to mitigate the effect of politics and corruption on public trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police, and what should be done to address the problem of politics and corruption within the Sierra Leone Police.

Significance of the Study

The police we shall always have. The public views the police as an entity that should be capable of protecting them while solving crimes. During the civil war (1991-2002) public trust and legitimacy of the police was severely eroded due to politics and corruption (Baker, 2006, Zack-Williams, A. B., 1999). “The inability of the police by themselves to provide security within the country has created a security vacuum, and as a result an array of private and informal policing agencies have arisen to fill the gaps” (Baker, 2006, p. 56). Despite the fact that the war has ended, this negative image of the police still persists due to the continued political interference in police activities and corruption within the Sierra Leone Police (Maru, 2006; Meek, 2003).

It is thus necessary to know just how widespread the problem of citizens’ perception of politics and corruption is within the Sierra Leone Police in order to address these problems and
to mitigate their effects on public trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police. The current study is also significant in the sense that the public police are the face of the government and for the majority of citizens that is just how far they will ever get into contact with governmental authority. Thus, if citizens see the police as corrupt and influenced by politics, this negative image will also affect the public’s trust and legitimacy of the government as well (Jang et al., 2010; Kääriäinen, 2007; Kposowa, 2006; Kpundeh, 1998, 1994; Krogstad, 2013, 2012; Newton & Norris, 1999). To improve public trust and legitimacy of the government, efforts at reducing or preventing police corruption and political interference should be seriously addressed. The findings of the current study will also help to inform and develop policy to improve public trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police given the fact that citizens’ perceptions about corruption and politics within the Sierra Leone Police had been negative.

Lastly, considering the fact that the Sierra Leone Police is now participating in international peace keeping efforts, and policing and providing security in post conflict societies and in societies with current political crises and civil wars (UN Security Council Report 2013) in Darfur, Somalia, and South Sudan). Sierra Leoneans should be concerned as a country about the image of the police with regards to citizens’ public trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police for Sierra Leone to be respected as a truly independent and democratic country that upholds the rule of law and to be included among the civilized nations of the world.

**Organization of the Study**

I started by first reviewing the literature on the influence of corruption and politics on public trust, and legitimacy generally and as they relate to Sierra Leone. The literature review was presented using two broad themes: 1) Impact of Corruption on public trust and legitimacy;
2) Impact of politics on public trust and legitimacy. These two themes were discussed generally on the one hand and specifically as they pertained to Sierra Leone and the Sierra Leone Police (SLP). This was followed by a methods section that clearly explained how the data were collected and analyzed, including the development of questionnaires, as pretested and actually implemented in the field to collect the data. The data were then coded, and Ordinal Logistic Regression and “thematic network analysis” were used to analyze the data, and the research findings are presented. The findings are discussed, their limitations highlighted, and their policy implications proposed. This was then followed by a summary of the research findings, and conclusion to help reduce police corruption (bribery in particular), politics, and to improve police performance in order to increase public trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone police in Sierra Leone.
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Researchers in the fields of Criminal Justice, Political Science, and Sociology have separately studied the effects of corruption and politics on public trust, and legitimacy of the police in different parts of the world (Baker, 2006; Van Dijk, 2008; Klockars, 1984; Lersch, & Mieczkowski, 1996; Newburn, 1999; Shaw, 2002; Stern, 2006, Tyler, 2001, 2004, 2006; Zack-Williams, 1999). None, however, has simultaneously looked at the effect between corruption and politics in their studies as they relate to public trust and legitimacy, and none whatsoever for Sierra Leone. Thus, the current research will look at these problems from a different angle as they relate to Sierra Leone. The focus of this particular research is to show how citizens’ perceptions about corruption and politics impacts public trust, and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone police. This chapter will focus on the concepts as they relate to the current study by reviewing the existing literature.

Background on Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone is located on the Western part of Africa sharing land borders with Guinea in the North East and Liberia in the South East, while also bordering the Atlantic Ocean (CIA & U.S. Department of State, 2011). It has a total land area of 71,740 sq.km, or 29,925 sq. mi. which is slightly smaller than North Carolina in the United States and has a tropical climate meaning that it is hot and humid during the dry season from December to April and cold during the monsoon season (wet/rainy season) from May to December (CIA & U.S. Department of State, 2011). The country is very rich in natural resources (diamonds, gold, chromite, titanium
ore, bauxite, and iron ore) and has a very good climate and soil for agricultural purposes. Sierra Leone exports cocoa, coffee, palm oil, piassava and cashews as agricultural products. It’s Gola Forest in the East and South is known for quality timber which is both used for domestic consumption and export (CIA & U.S. Department of State, 2011, Richards, 1996). Sierra Leone has a population of 5.7 million (2009 United Nations Estimates) and 20 ethnic groups with Temnes and Mendes accounting for the majority of the population.

Sierra Leone has both a slave and colonial history. Sierra Leone was a former colony of Britain and gained independence on April 27th, 1961. European contact with Sierra Leone was established as early as 1652. The first slaves that were brought to North America were from Sierra Leone. They were settled in the Southern States of Georgia and South Carolina where their skills in rice farming were highly needed (US Department of State 2012).

With the abolition of the slave trade in 1787, the British repatriated 400 freed slaves from the United States, Nova Scotia and Great Britain back to Sierra Leone. This led to the creation of the “Province of Freedom.” This first group of returnees suffered at the hands of the indigenous people and from diseases that nearly wiped them out. The name “Province of Freedom” was later changed to Freetown and in 1792 the Province was transformed into a Colony of the British Crown (US Department of State 2012). It is important to note that the slaves who were repatriated back to Sierra Leone were known as the creoles and were from all parts of Africa. The British Governor who also ruled over the Gold Coast (now Ghana) and the Gambia Settlements resided in Freetown.
Sierra Leone played a leading role in spreading education in British West Africa. For more than 100 years, Fourah Bay College which was established in 1827, served as the only European-Style University in West Africa (US Department of State 2012). “As a nation, Sierra Leone began its transition from a traditional society to a modern state with the advent of colonialism. Established as a Colony and Protectorate of the British Crown in 1808 and 1896, respectively, it remained under British tutelage until April 27, 1961 when it became an independent sovereign” (Potter & Thompson 1997, p.140). Thus, Sierra Leone is a relatively new country compared to that of the United States. Sierra Leone has just celebrated its jubilee at 50 in 2011 since independence in 1961. Sierra Leone has 20 ethnic groups and English is the official language, while creole remain the lingua franca widely spoken in daily interactions and commerce (Potter & Thompson 1997, US Department of State 2012).

As a former British Colony, the Sierra Leone police and legal systems have been largely influenced by the British (Allen, 1968; CIA & U.S Department of State, 2011; Horn, Ononisakin & Peake, 2006; Kposowa, 2006). As recently as 2000, the United Kingdom had to militarily intervene in Sierra Leone in order to bring the eleven year-old civil war to an end (Horn, Ononisakin, &Peake, 2006). After the war ended in 2002, the United Kingdom was again asked for help to overhaul the entire criminal justice system mainly focusing on reforming the security sector in Sierra Leone (Maru, 2002; Castillejo, 2009; Zack-Williams, 1999). The police and the judiciary were the main focus of the security sector reform which saw a British Officer head the Sierra Leone police in order to institute reforms as the legitimacy of the police was being questioned by the citizenry.
Democratic rule is gradually returning to Sierra Leone after the eleven year civil war (1991-2002) that left several thousands dead, a few thousands injured, and led to the displacement of two million people (CIA & U.S Department of State, 2011; Kposowa, 2006; Millar, 2012; Zack-Williams, 1999). In order to implement the Lomé Agreement and end the war, the United Nation had to deploy armed peace keepers in Sierra Leone. The United Nations played a major role in restoring democracy, rule of law, and security following the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement in July 1997. Thus, UN Security Council Resolution 1270 and adopted on October 22, 1999 established the United Nations Armed Mission to Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL). The United Nations had to deploy 17,500 armed peace keepers to Sierra Leone in order to fully implement the peace agreement signed between the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and the government of Sierra Leone, and to guarantee security throughout the country. The United Nations Mission (UNAMSIL) proved to be very successful in achieving it aims (of ending the war, restoring peace, and providing security) in Sierra Leone and in the history of the organization (Albrecht & Jackson, 2009; Olonisakin, 2008). The military seemed to be doing well in providing security and maintaining stability in the country following the withdrawal of the United Nations Peace Keeping Forces in 2005. The United Nations Armed Mission to Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) was replaced by the UN Civilian Mission which was known as the United Nations Integrated Office in Sierra Leone (UNIOSIL) and worked closely with the military, police, and the Sierra Leone Government to consolidate peace, security and promote the rule of law throughout the country (CIA & U.S Department of State, 2011; Horn, Olonisakin & Peake, 2006; Maru, 2002; Millar, 2012).
With the end of the war officially declared in 2002, the country has successfully conducted three democratic elections for both the Presidential and Parliamentary Offices; in 2002, 2007, and 2012. The last general elections for both the Presidential and Parliamentary Offices was held on November 17, 2012. The elections were a success as it was declared free and fair by both the international observers and the international community. If the litmus test of stability, democracy, and the rule of law hinges on the outcomes of the last presidential and parliamentary elections; then the success of the election, and seal of approval by international observers and local monitors implied that as a people and as a country, Sierra Leone had just passed the test. This clearly indicates that the country has turned away from its recent war past which was the concern of the international community and the critics (African Human Security Initiative, 2009; CIA & U.S. Department of State, 2011; Millar, 2012). Independence Day, however, is observed every year as a National Holiday and for self-evaluation on the progress of the Nation. The evaluations have not been good to say the least.

Despite the above, the country remains desperately poor due to bad governance and corruption at the governmental level (Bangura, 2000; Kposowa, 2006; Millar, 2012) and has been ranked consistently very low by the United Nations Human Development Index at the bottom end of the twenty least developed countries since 1991 to date (UN HDI Report 2011). The natural wealth (abundant natural resources) of the country is sometimes viewed as a scourge rather than a blessing for it played a major role in prolonging the civil war (Kposowa, 2006; Millar, 2012; Zack-Williams, 1999). The war was also fiercely fought in the mining areas for control of the diamond and gold mines. Proceeds from the diamond trade in particular paid for the war machine and logistics not to mention the deaths and widespread exploitation of child
soldiers and miners that accompany it, thus the label “blood diamonds” became synonymous with Sierra Leone and its civil wars (Richards, 1996; Rupert, 1999; Zack-Williams, 1999; Zack-Williams, 1995).

The Temnes live in the North while the Mendes live in the South. These two ethnic groups often support the two dominating parties in the country’s political history since independence from the British. The Mendes in the South East of the country often support the Sierra Leone People’s Party (SLPP) while the Temnes often support the All Peoples Congress (APC) party. The current President is Dr. Earnest Bai Koroma of the All Peoples Congress Party and the Vice-President is Chief Samuel Sam-Sumana with a host of Ministers representing the different ministries in the Cabinet (CIA & U.S. Department of State, 2011). The fact that the political life of the country and its democratic parties are tribally (ethnically) influenced based has led to a lot of tension, patronage, widespread corruption and political interference in all aspects of the State; the police being no exception. This is also coupled with the fact they are used by the party in power to suppress the opposition and any form of dissent. (Allen, 1968; Bangura, 2002; Kposowa, 2006; Millar, 2012; Zack-Williams, 1999). The use of the police by the party in power to suppress dissent was a major factor that led to the civil war and the erosion of the rule of law in the country and lack of confidence in the police (Bangura, 2002; Baker, 2006; Baker, 2005; Kpundeh, 1994; Potter & Thompson, 1997).

Kriol (Creole) which happens to be the first language for 10% of the population is spoken by 95% of the population. It is widely used as the medium of communication for daily transactions and interactions. However, English remains the official language for the government and the country (CIA & U.S. Department of State, 2011; 1991 Constitution of Sierra Leone).
country has a very high illiteracy rate of 64.9% (CIA & U.S. Department of State, 2011), which has forestalled the country’s developmental strides politically and economically. Despite the fact that Sierra Leone is a democratic country, the high levels of illiteracy have severely impacted the politics of the country and the performance of political parties, and whether they are held accountable or not (Allen, 1968; Baker, 2006; Kpundeh, 1994; Millar, 2012; Zack-Williams 1999). Instead of voting on development issues or job performance of the candidates, people vote based on their tribal affiliations for the majority of voters (Allen, 1968; Bangura, 2000; Kposowa, 2006; Millar, 2012, Potter & Thompson, 1997). On the positive note, Sierra Leone is renowned for its religious tolerance as people of different faiths inter-marry, respect and observe all the religious holidays, visit each other’s place of worship, etc. (CIA & U.S. Department of State, 2011).

**Governance and Justice Sector Reforms in Sierra Leone**

Chikwanha (2009) asked the following fundamental questions: how has the country (Sierra Leone) fared in re-establishing the criminal justice system during the transitional phase from war to peace? How have the post-war structures performed in delivering justice? How well has the country fared in complying with international standards, protocols and norms? What are the constraints on the system? Sierra Leone’s legal system is made of the Constitution, Common Law, Statutory Law and Customary Law. A two-tiered system of Law exists. One based on the British system and the other on local Customary Law. Judicial power in Sierra Leone is in the hands of the judiciary as there is clear separation of powers among the three organs of government (that is, the executive, legislative, and the judiciary), or so it is supposed to be, and is headed by the Chief Justice.
Findings from the above study indicate that, firstly, there is a high demand for legal representation among the poor and illiterate population in Sierra Leone and the Lawyers’ Centre for Legal Assistance (LAWCLA) provides some free legal assistance for the poor (although they are unable to provide for all the needy) (Chikwanha, 2008). Women suffer the most when it comes to accessing justice as they are constrained by many factors such as cultural, social, and legal discrimination in relation to the law, family relationships and the security agencies (Chikwanha, 2008). Prisons are overcrowded and conditions remained terrible (the UN Minimum Standard Rules of Detention are not met) (Chickwanha, 2008). Persons are held in remand for up to 2 or 3 years while awaiting trial (totally forgotten by a system that is inefficient and unaccountable). Remand prisoners, women and juveniles are held in prisons or detention facilities alongside convicted criminals (Chickwanha, 2008). The police do sometimes perform the role of prosecutors in courts, a role for which they are not properly trained as there is a shortage of state lawyers in the Law Officers Department (Chickwanha, 2008). The practice of police serving as prosecutors can be traced to the British system of policing (and criminal justice system).

The priority of the Justice Sector Reform Strategy in Sierra Leone is to provide justice at the community level given the fact that 70 percent of Sierra Leoneans have no access to any formal legal systems to deliver justice. Thus, there is the need to provide other alternative sources of informal justice or community justice. A major criticism of the Justice Sector Reform is the fact that it had focused more on formal institutions that administer justice in the country than the informal/community justice systems such as the customary system, local leaders and chiefs. The Justice Sector Reform Strategy also recognizes the role of civil society in monitoring
justice and providing information to citizens, and the sensitization of the public. It is important to note that civil society organizations should not be seen as a replacement for state oversight of the justice system in Sierra Leone. Civil society organizations should primarily serve as external watchdogs and sensitize the public, campaign and lobby for progressive laws and against bias and discriminatory laws. “The Justice Sector Reform Strategy’s main emphasis is on strengthening those institutions that deliver justice to the public (courts, police, prisons etc.)” (Castillejo, 2009, p. 20). However, to strengthen the justice system and improve access to justice for Sierra Leoneans, the ministries that are directly responsible for the direction and oversight of these formal and informal institutions of justice should work closely and cooperate in promoting affordable justice for all. It does not matter how well the intentions of the court are to give victims the justice that they need, it will not happen if the police fail to make an arrest because of issues relating to corruption or political interference. Thus, a holistic or integrated approach to security sector reform in Sierra Leone should be taken into consideration if such efforts are to yield any gains to the criminal justice system or society generally. Examples of such ministries are: the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Local Government, and Community Development; the Ministry of Social Welfare, Gender and Children’s Affairs (Castillejo, 2009; Charley & M’Cormack, 2011).

Variations exist among the criminal justice systems of nations around the world and are still undergoing transformations as they continue to search for what works (Deflem & Swygart 2001). Key differences also exist between western systems of criminal justice and other countries of the world (Adler 1983, Ebbe 1996, Fennell 1995, Fields & Moore 1996 in Deflem & Swygart 2001, p.1). Even within Anglo-Saxon systems there are differences in terms of ideologies. The
US system relies on due process by focusing on the rights of the defendant, while that of the United Kingdom’s crime control policy focuses on punishing the guilty and protecting the innocent (McKenzie 1994).

Corrections and punishment have received very little attention in comparative research when compared to policing. Most often people and researchers see corrections (punishment) as the final stage in the criminal justice process and an outcome that is determined by arrest, prosecution and conviction. This focus on the previous stages has led to an underestimation of the role and influence of corrections on inmates’ life and the criminal justice system as a whole (Deflem & Swygart 2001). Punishment and prison culture have been shown to be influenced by the traditions of national criminal justice systems. Those countries who believe in corporal punishment are likely to be more punitive while those that believe in deprivation of liberty are less likely to be punitive and inflict pain (or bodily harm) (Vagg 1994).

Differences exist among nations based on their correctional policies. While the United States has focused on building more prisons to house its inmates in an effort to avoid overcrowding, while the United Kingdom has been experimenting with alternatives to imprisonment and shorter sentences (Hirschel & Wakefield 1995). Canada and Sierra Leone tend to be copying the United Kingdom to regulate problems of overcrowding in their prison system. In Sierra Leone, prison reform is driven by international organizations such as Transparency International, Amnesty International, Civil Society Organizations, and the media making demands for more humane treatment of inmates and improved housing conditions on the one hand, and lack of motivated personnel, lack of resources to house and feed inmates, and the lack of willingness and sometimes inability by the government to adequately provide for the needs of

It is important to note that the police share characteristics with the larger criminal justice system. Issues of inefficiency, corruption, and political interference cuts across all the different institutions (Kpundeh 1994; Transparency International 2012, 2013). It is thus likely that the public image or perceptions held by citizens towards courts and prisons may influenced public trust and legitimacy of the police; afterwards the criminal justice system is a system and is such as such by many. This clearly indicates that the police are not alone in how the public views the performance of justice, order maintenance, and service delivery by the Sierra Leone Police.

Prisons in Sierra Leone are run and managed solely by the Government of Sierra Leone. The country’s 1991 Constitution and the prison rules which are contained in the Prison Ordinance Act of 1960 provide the legal framework for corrections in Sierra Leone. The prisons are run by prison guards (correction officers), the police paramilitary forces and sometimes even army personnel’s, and is headed by the Director of Prisons (Justice Sector Development Program 2007). The “Pademba Road Maximum Prison” (this is the largest prison facility in Sierra Leone and is located in the Capital, Freetown) houses about 2,466 inmates. Of these, 50% are on pre-trial remand (1,183 men and 50 women) (Justice Sector Development Program 2007). This remains a major contributing factor to prison overcrowding in Sierra Leone. Additionally, both male and female prisoners are held within the same detention facility though in different blocks/dorms. Only 21 percent of the prison population in Freetown and the Western Area are in prison because of actual convictions and sentences. This pattern cuts across the country. For
instance in the Northern region of Sierra Leone only 4 percent of the prisoners (of the 1,129 inmates) have been convicted of any offense or criminal activity. Similarly in the Southern region of Sierra Leone only 30 percent of inmates have been convicted of any offense, while in the Eastern region only 34 percent of the inmates have been convicted of any offense. What these statistics show is that a lot of people are in prison awaiting trial. The undue delays in criminal trials and long pretrial detentions are major contributing factors to prison overcrowding in Sierra Leone. (Justice Sector Survey Program 2007, p.29).

Many factors are responsible for this very poor state of affairs within the prison system. First, the justice system in Sierra Leone has failed to deliver speedy and fair trials to inmates. Second, the shortage of lawyers (defense attorneys) has led to delays or adjournments of cases. Due to the lack of legal representation, accused persons are unable to apply for bail or pre-trial release. Magistrates sometimes have to spend time explaining the rights of the accused and criminal procedures to accused persons on trial before the Court. Also, there is the need for translators as many accused person cannot read, speak or write adequately in English which happen to be the official language of the Court. Thus, a lot of time is wasted explaining and translating questions and responses back and forth during criminal trial and civil trial proceedings (Justice Sector Development Program 2007, p. 30). Another factor responsible for the poor state of affairs of the prison and overcrowding is the fact that there is a critical shortage of prisons in the provinces. “Prisoners are often transported 14 to 16 hours by road to Freetown (the capital) to be held and their cases heard” (Meek, 2003).

The SLCMP (2005) has observed that “delays in courts are most times avoidable” (SLCMP 2005, p.1). Despite the fact that the Constitution guarantees a speedy and fair trial to
those accused of a criminal offense, the courts have failed to uphold the law as cases continue far longer than expected and proceedings move very slowly. Also, the lack of professional prosecutors to prosecute all cases has often led to the police doubling as prosecutors. Thus, most of these cases are poorly prosecuted by the police who are not professionals in this regard. Witnesses are also hard to come by and witnesses who happen to be police officers might not be available at the time of proceedings due to other official matters. All these contribute to undue delay in the trial process and accused persons continued to be held awaiting the conclusion of trial when they cannot afford bail, which in turn leads to overcrowding in prison. This in itself is a gross violation of the 1991 Constitution of Sierra Leone which clearly states in Section 23(1) that “Whenever any person is charged with a criminal offense he shall unless the charge is withdrawn, be afforded a fair hearing within a reasonable time by an independent and impartial court established by law” (1991 Constitution, p.14).

With regards to the death penalty, it still exists in the law books. However, it has not been invoked in the last ten years as there is a moratorium on carrying out the death penalty. “Sierra Leone currently has a moratorium on executions; the last one was in 1998. One person is on death row in the country” (Voice of America (VOA), 2014). This has given the country sometime to rethink its position on the death penalty and to reevaluate its effectiveness as a crime prevention and control tool for violent crimes (particularly in cases of murder and treasonable offenses). Studies have shown that governmental performance influences trust in the police. Thus, if citizen’s view the government favorable in protecting human life and upholding the rule of law, they are more likely to have more trust in the police (Francis, 2012; Kääriäinen, 2007). The death penalty has been used in the past to kill opposition members on trumped up
charges as well (Bangura, 2000; Kposowa, 2006; Zack-Williams, 1999). The death penalty also contributed to the onset and escalation of the civil war from 1991-2002 which in turn led to the near collapse of the criminal justice system and the subsequent need for justice sector and governance reforms in Sierra Leone. Thus, putting it on hold or permanently eliminating it in our constitution will be a great thing to do.

In Sierra Leone, the poor are more likely to end up in prison. Also, more males end up in prison than females. For instance in May 2006, out of a total prison population of 2,466, half of these were found to be on pretrial remand. Also, of the approximately 50 percent that were on remand 1,183 are males while only 50 were females (Justice Sector Development Program 2012, p.28). Two major contributing factor as to why women and the poor also suffer other forms of abuse and injustices by the criminal justice system is due to the fact that majority of them are unable to hire the services of a defense attorney for legal representation, and their inability to pay for bail (Chickwanha, 2008). The inability of the poor and women to either pay for legal representation or bail has exacerbated the problem of overcrowding in prison, and continues to undermine public trust and confidence in the criminal justice system in Sierra Leone (Chickwanha, 2008; Justice Sector Development Program 2007).

Politics, Corruption, Public Trust, and Legitimacy of the Police (Generally)

Generally, the criminal justice system in the United States had been shown to put premium on due process by guaranteeing the right to a fair trial and procedural justice whether in the courts or in citizens’ encounters with the police (Deflem & Swygart, 2001; Goldsmith, 2003; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2001). Several factors have been shown to affect or influence
public trust and confidence in the police in the United States (Bayley, 1990; Bobo & Thompson, 2006; Cao & Hou, 2001; Jang, Joo & Zhao, 2010; Maxson, Hennigan & Sloane, 2003; Newton & Norris, 1999; Reiman & Leighton, 2010; Rem, Cao, Lovrich & Gaffney; 2005; Rosenbaum, Schuck, Costello, Hawkins, & Ring, 2005; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2005; Tyler, 2004; Tyler, 2003; Wu, Sun, & Triplett, 2009).

The majority of Americans tend to have a positive attitude towards the police and thus have higher levels of trust and confidence in the police than the Chinese, South Koreans and Japanese, but these positive attitudes are not equally distributed among members of the public for various reasons (Buckler & Unnever, 2008; Cao, Stack & Sun, 1998; Maxson, Hennigan & Sloane, 2003; Newton and Norris, 1999; Reiman & Leighton, 2010; Ren, Cao, Lovrich & Gaffney, 2005; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2005; Tyler , 2004; Tyler, 2001; Wu, Sun, & Triplett, 2009). Some of the reasons for these differences have to do with social status, educational level, age, race, gender, procedural justice, and neighborhood characteristics.

Jang and colleagues (2010) examined the determinants of public confidence in the police from an international perspective. They argued that “confidence in the police is an important issue in any country because of its close association with the legitimacy of a police force” Jang and colleagues found that at the individual level, demographic and attitudinal variables were shown to have an effect on the level of public confidence in the police. For example, age, education and gender were found to have a significant effect on the level of confidence in the police after controlling for country level variations. Persons with higher levels of education were less likely to report favorable attitudes towards the police. Women were also shown to have a marginally higher level of confidence in the police than men. Socio-economic status (SES) was
also found to be marginally significant. Attitudinal variables were also found to have a significant and positive effect or influence over one’s confidence in the police. Thus, individuals who are highly satisfied and politically conservative tend to have a higher level of confidence in the police. While the other three attitudinal variables such as acceptance of deviant subculture, conflict perception of the political system, and satisfaction with democracy was also found to be significant. Individuals with a greater acceptance of deviant subculture were shown to have lower levels of confidence in the police. Similarly, for the conflict perception of the political system, individuals who believed that their country was run by and for a few elite people tend to have lower levels of confidence in the police. Also, individuals who were satisfied with their country’s democratic development tend to have higher levels of confidence in the police and were found to be the strongest predictor of confidence in the police at the individual level (Jang et al., 2010).

At the country level, two independent variables; the homicide rate and level of democracy were utilized to gauge the level of public confidence in the police after controlling for the individual level variables which has been discussed above. A significant negative relationship was found between homicide rates and citizens’ confidence in the police. Thus, individuals living in countries with higher homicide rates had low levels of confidence in the police. The level of democracy was found to be positively related to citizens’ confidence in the police across countries, that is, individuals living in countries with higher levels of democracy tend to have a higher level of confidence in the police. However, the homicide rate was found to be a strong predictor of the level of confidence in the police than the level of democracy (Jang et al., 2010).
Tyler (2001) focused on studying majority and minority group member’s’ expectations from the law and legal institutions despite the fact that minorities tend to suffer the most from law enforcement agencies. Tyler argued that instead of focusing on the outcomes received by individuals from police encounters and the courts (police officers and judges) in determining the level of public trust and confidence scholars should instead focus on individual experiences to judge the fairness of the procedures used by the authorities or law enforcement agencies. Generally, people tend to judge procedural fairness both in citizens’ police encounters and court trials by relying on two key issues “(1) how people are treated by the legal authorities with whom they deal and (2) whether people think that those legal authorities make their decision fairly” (Tyler, 2001, p. 216). Thus, the underlying assumption of their study or thesis is that contrary to what is often believed, public trust and confidence in the police and courts is not primarily linked to judgments about cost, delay, and performance but on whether the authorities treat people fairly, recognize citizen’s rights, treat people with dignity, and care about people’s concerns. “In other words, evaluations of the quality of the police and courts are a reaction to views about how legal authorities deal with community residents” (Tyler, 2001, pgs. 216-217).

Despite the fact that majority and minority group members were shown to be influenced by procedural justice on their trust and confidence in the police and the courts, special attention should be given to minorities as minority groups tend to have a lower level of confidence and trust in the courts and police (Tyler, 2001).

It is also important to take into consideration the role played by the war on drugs on eroding police legitimacy and trust. The disproportionate impact of the war on drugs and related laws on minorities and their communities have largely eroded the level of confidence and trust in
the police in the United States (Bobo & Thompson, 2006; Reiman & Leighton, 2010). Thus, there has been an increased concern with police behavior toward racial minorities and how American politics and policy has shaped the response of law enforcement agencies towards the war on drugs (Bobo & Thompson, 2006; Reiman & Leighton, 2010).

Bobo and Thompson found that the police were under pressure to show progress on the war on drugs by increasing their arrest rates, which ended up targeting minorities and African Americans in particular who happened to live in disadvantaged neighborhoods and are poor. The increased arrest rates of minorities left blacks disillusioned about the war on drugs and reduced their level of trust and confidence in the police and given the racial bias of how the police implements the law, the legitimacy of the police in the eyes of minority groups was severely eroded. Also, Reiman and Leighton (2010) found that increasing the arrest rate and rate of incarceration is not going to get the USA out of the crime problem nor help it to win the war on drugs. However, despite the fact that the policy is failing badly in achieving its goals and objectives, the policy has remained the same, that more cops are on the street arresting criminals, violent offenders, and drug dealers, and keeping them behind bars for as long as possible drug use and crime has not diminished. Given the fact that more minorities are arrested and given longer sentences has made the war on drugs to disproportionately affect African Americans and poor neighborhoods; specifically for crack cocaine, which happen to demand a higher sentence length than powdered cocaine. This in turn has not only negatively influenced minorities in their level of public trust and confidence in the police, but has cast doubt on the criminal justice system as a whole in the United States (Reiman & Leighton, 2010).
These findings provide support to Tyler’s (2001) study that outcome issues are not irrelevant to evaluations of legal authorities (police and courts/judges) but outcomes are not the decisive force driving or influencing such evaluations as is often suggested by political officials and the middle class. Procedural fairness remains the predominant and strong predictor of public trust and confidence in the police and courts even for members of high crime areas and minority communities. Individual’s personal experience with the police and courts are judged based on the quality of treatment received. Buckler and Unnever (2008) also found that race and ethnicity also influences one’s perception of injustice. African Americans and Hispanics were found to have higher levels of perceived injustices with the police than whites and among minority groups African Americans tend to have the highest level of perceived injustices and racial profiling from the police and had a negative influence on their trust and legitimacy of the police.

Tyler (2004) also made some recommendations on how to enhance police legitimacy and a justification for doing so. To enhance police legitimacy, the police should not only focus on outcomes/performance on how effectively they are able to combat crime and arrest criminals but on the appropriateness of the manner in which the police exercise their authority and discretion (procedural justice) (Tyler, 2004). In essence, if citizens perceive police actions as been fair and guided by procedural justice they are likely to view the police as legitimate and policing by consent becomes the norm rather than the rule, which in turn makes citizens to readily engage in self-regulating behavior and to become law-abiding citizens without any need for coercion or constant supervision by the police (Tyler, 2004).

In a related study by Tyler (2005), he found that public trust and confidence in the police is generally low and minority group members are much more distrustful of the police than
whites. Tyler argued that despite a reduction in crime rate, the ratings of the police and the legal system by the public has failed to increase. However, compared to the courts, the police tend to have a much favorable rating. Public dissatisfaction is much higher for the courts. Trust was found to be a major determinant of the level of cooperation between the public and the police. Public trust and confidence in the police motivates members of the public not only to cooperate with the police but to become law abiding citizens who voluntarily comply with the laws and regulations governing society with very little or no supervision.

Thus, voluntary compliance with the laws reduces the need for more external regulation, thereby freeing up resources that can be used for other social development projects, increases the legitimacy of the police, and improves on the efficiency of the legal system as it extremely reduces the need for coercion and use of force which is fundamentally against the core values of good governance and respect for the rule of laws and citizens’ basic human rights and dignity of all persons in a democratic society (Tyler, 2005).

In another study by Sunshine and Tyler (2003) they focused on the role played by procedural justice and legitimacy in shaping public support for policing. They found that the key to having public support for the police has to do with issues of legitimacy and legitimacy of the police is strongly determined by the public perception of the fairness of the procedures used by the police (procedural justice) in implementing the law and in their encounters with citizens. If the public see the police as legitimate, irrespective of whether they are whites or minorities, they are more likely to comply with the law, cooperate with the police and to support policies that empower the police (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Also, they argued that a procedural justice based approach to policing should focus on crime control and prevention policies (like community
policing) which recognizes the fact that the police cannot do it alone and needs the cooperation of the public (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

Rosenbaum and colleagues (2005) argued that for the police in America to succeed in fighting crimes and maintaining order they need to have support and cooperation from the public. “The public’s trust and confidence in the police is considered the cornerstone for public cooperation and the basis for police legitimacy in a democratic society” (Rosenbaum et al., 2005, p. 344). Rosenbaum and colleagues found that direct contact with the police regardless of whether it was initiated by the police or by the citizen is not enough in itself to change attitudes about the police, that direct experience was shown to have no effect across racial and ethnic groups, and that focus should be on the quality of the encounter between police and citizens. Attitudes towards the police were found to be relatively stable and are not easily influenced by one or two police-initiated contacts. Race was also shown to have a negative influence on attitudes toward the police for African Americans but not for Whites. Vicarious experience and entrenched negative disposition was found to have a negative influence toward the police. Vicarious experience is a better predictor of the public trust and confidence in the police as only one in five American will ever have a direct contact with the police. Thus, citizen’s perception about the police or legal institutions is often shaped by the experiences of others (Rosenbaum et al., 2005).

Goldsmith (2005) found that the police in low-trust settings have little legitimacy and a poor reputation in the eyes of the public. Low trust settings are places with problems of police accountability (or are lacking altogether), human rights abuses by the police, and a historical neglect of citizens’ safety, which are common in developing countries (than developed countries)
in which state formation and consolidation is uneven or remains incomplete (Goldmsith, 2003). The trust deficit is extremely high and the need for improved citizen’s safety is also extremely high in such places. The police in low trust settings have been shown to engage in regime policing or social discipline in encounters with the public (Choongh, 1997) and such experiences by citizen’s often led to a lack of public trust in the police. In order to build trust within the police there is the need to improve accountability within the police and to encourage the police to act fairly, transparently and with respect in their encounters with citizens. Also, building a trustworthy police force remains a daunting task for police reformers in low-trust settings as trustworthy police forces are difficult to maintain and much more harder to establish where they are lacking (Goldsmith, 2005). Interestingly, without a trustworthy police force, ordinary citizens are left vulnerable to human rights abuses and other forms of police brutality and corruption which in itself makes the concept of policing by consent an illusion (Goldsmith, 2005). In a related study by Weitzer (2002) it was found that highly publicized incidents of police misconduct by the media are likely to have a very negative impact on public opinion and trust on the police. Weitzer used examples from the Rodney King beatings and the widespread corruption in the Rampart Police Division in Los Angeles, and the shooting of Amadou Diallo in New York which saw a drastic drop in job approval ratings and satisfaction with the police in both cities (Weitzer, 2002) given the fact that the media highly publicized these stories and roughly more than eighty percent of residents followed these events on television and led to public demonstrations against the police.

Accountability and respect for the rule of law are major principles of democracy and central to regulating police misconduct and abuse of power (from corruption to use of excessive
force). In the social contract between the governed and governing elite (governors), citizens willingly give sweeping powers to the state and state apparatus, the police for the greater good of public security and safety. In their peace and order maintenance, the police are expected to exercise such powers equitably and impartially. Citizens surrender certain liberties to the police by giving the powers of arrests, legitimacy to the police to use force and restrict citizen’s freedom all in the name of social order and the public good (Currie, Dekeseredy, & MacLean, 1990; Law Commission of Canada; Sheptycki, 2002). Thus, the police should act within the boundaries of law and their authority, and must not encroach or violate civil liberties. To guaranty the citizenry that their civil liberties cannot be violated some form of control mechanism for the police should be developed and put in place which will serve as checks and balances to regulate police behavior as they go about fulfilling the social contract between them and the public. Left on their own, there is the high possibility that the police will become very corrupt and less accountable to the people.

Police accountability and the regulation of police conduct is done from two broad approaches, either internally/direct regulation (that is from within the police organization itself) or externally (by outside bodies/third parties such as civilian complaints review commissions, Royal Commissions of Inquiries, Ombudsmen, Judicial Reviews etc.) which may have no direct governing functions (Currie, Dekeseredy, & MacLean, 1990; Graham, 2006; Law Commission of Canada, 2006). There is a strong and urgent need for regulating police behavior and holding them accountable in Canada. “Perhaps ever more striking than the absence of critical studies of policing at the local level is the degree of scandal associated with virtually every major metropolitan police force in Canada” (Currie, DeKeseredy, & MacLean 1990, p.33). Scandals
were associated with the metropolitan police forces in Toronto, Edmonton, Vancouver, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, Montreal, and several small cities across Canada for various police misconducts ranging from murder to soliciting prostitution. In 1998, a Deputy Police Commissioner was arrested after he was caught red handed with a prostitute in the back of a police van having sex. There was also the racially motivated killing in Montreal of a young black man Anthony Griffin in 1987 which led to some street protests in Montreal (Currie, Dekeseredy, & MacLean, 1990).

Public police administrators are often in denial of a problem that is widespread and in an effort to reduce public dissatisfaction and animosity towards the police. They blame these police misconduct and abuse of power on a few bad apples. “The difficulty with the ‘bad apple theory’ is that it deflects public attention away from institutional practices and individualizes police malpractices” (Currie, Dekeseredy, & MacLean, 1990, p.33). Punishing one officer for misconduct when there is a huge public outcry does not solve the problem as was demonstrated in 1987. With well over 189 pending civil and criminal law suits against the Montreal Urban Community Police Department (MUCPD) demonstrates that this approach to use individuals within the police force as scape goats is not going to solve this difficult and complex problem that has severe consequences for the police, the government and the public. The only form or strategy of police accountability in Montreal is the court and it remains overwhelmed with such complaints of police brutality and use of excessive force (Currie, Dekeseredy, & MacLean, 1990, Law Commission of Canada, 2006).

The literature also showed that race, class and neighborhood context influences one’s satisfaction with the police but that neighborhood characteristic is a more robust predictor of the
level of satisfaction with the police (Wu, Sun, & Triplett, 2009). Race and class were found to be
significant predictors of the level of satisfaction with the police as it was found that African
Americans and lower-class people are more dissatisfied with the police (Wu et al., 2009).
However, when neighborhood characteristics are included in the model, the effect of race and
class disappeared. Thus, neighborhood racial composition becomes a robust predictor of the level
of satisfaction with the police as it was found that residents in predominantly white and mixed
neighborhoods tend to have a more favorable attitude towards the police compared to those that
are predominantly African Americans (Wu et al., 2009).

In a similar study Maxson, Hennigan, and Sloane (2003) found that resident’s perception
of the level of crime and disorder in their community will influence their opinion of the police
than their race or ethnicity and the media was found to have no effect on public opinion of the
police. Thus, neighborhoods with lower levels of crimes and disorder tend to have a positive
perception and a higher approval rating of the police compared to those with higher levels of
crimes and disorder (Maxson et al., 2003). Maxson and colleagues also found that informal
police contacts with citizens had more positive perceptions and tend to increase the approval
rating of the police than formal contacts with the police by citizens. Thus, informal contacts by
the police should be encouraged in order to improve public opinion and approval ratings of the
police (Maxson et al., 2003).

On the other hand Newton and Norris (1999) have called our attention to the fact that
governmental performance strongly determines the level of citizen’s confidence in public
institutions like the police and courts. Also, given the fact that government policies and
performance affect every one (but not equally) and as very few people have the ability to escape
certain national problems such as economic failure, governmental corruption, foreign policy disasters which has the possibility of reducing trust in public institutions like the police (Newton & Norris, 1999). At the aggregate level, a strong correlation was found between social trust and confidence in government, and its public institutions. Social trust was found to have a positive impact on social and political institutions as it improves governmental performance on the job, which in turn improves confidence in civic institutions like the police (Newton & Norris 1999).

Trust and legitimacy in the police can be improved through police reforms and other means (Goldsmith, 2005; Ren, Cao, Lovrich & Gaffney, 2005; Scheider, Rowell & Bezdikian, 2003; Tyler, 2004; Weitzer, 2002). This is very important given the fact that studies had shown that public trust in the police does not only improve police effectiveness and the legitimacy of police actions in the eyes of the public but also leads to voluntary compliance with the laws by citizens (Bobo & Thompson, 2006; Maxson et.al, 2003; Newton & Norris, 1999; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003, Tyler, 2004). Scheider and colleagues (2003) found that increased community policing efforts had a positive impact of increasing citizen’s crime prevention behavior in their neighborhoods and to increase satisfaction with the police as well.

Deflem & Swygart (2001) examined comparative criminal justice around the world. Their focus was on contemporary issues and developments in criminal justice, issues such as criminal law and procedure, adjudication, law enforcement, corrections and other forms of punishment are investigated. Also, the relevance of ethnicity, age and gender as they relate to criminal justice are discussed.
They argued that many differences exist between western systems of criminal justice and other parts of the world. However, even within western nations there are variations, but these variations are centered on similar themes. Countries like the United States and Canada were greatly influenced by Anglo-Saxon legal culture (England). Despite this fact, differences still persist, for instance the Canadian legal system, unlike the American system, puts more premium on the right to a fair trial over the rights of a free press as judges have the right to ban the public and the press from court proceedings once it is in the interest of public morality and in maintaining order. It is also important to note that the number of felony arrests lies squarely in the hands of the police, with their commitment and determination to arrest people for certain crimes and not others. The kind of bad or good quality work that the police does go a long way in making prosecutors successful or not in getting the criminals convicted or acquitted. It is also shown that the number or volume of cases that the court receives will influence case outcomes either in favor or against the defendant.

Newburn (1999) examines the literature on police corruption in order to provide us with ways of understanding and preventing corruption. Newburn’s methodology was basically a review of the existing literature on corruption and how to address it. Firstly, Newburn provides us with a number of definitions that are out there on corruption, as there is no single definition that is universally accepted. However, two of the definitions found in the study are worth mentioning: 1: “Police officers act corrupt when, in exercising or failing to exercise their authority, they act with the primary intention of furthering private or departmental/divisional advantage” (Klenig (1996: p.166 in Newburn, 1999, p.7). 2: “When an official receives or is promised significant advantage or reward (personal, group or organizational) for doing
something that he is under a duty to do anyway, that he is under a duty not to do, for exercising a legitimate discretion for improper reasons, and for employing illegal means to achieve approved goals” (Punch, 1985 in Newburn, 1999, p.6). Newburn also highlights in Figure 1, nine (9) different types of police corruption. These types of police corruption are: corruption of authority; kickback; opportunistic theft; shakedowns; protection of illegal activities; the fix; direct criminal activities; internal payoffs; flaking or padding.

Key findings of the study show that despite the denial of police organizations and their belief in the bad apple theory which has been debunked by research, police corruption is pervasive, ongoing and includes all ranks within the police in London and in other places as well. Also, having a universally acceptable definition of corruption is problematic as there is no clear cut line between what is a corrupt and non-corrupt behavior as it involves issues of ethics. There is the need to take into consideration both financial and process corruption in trying to come up with a general definition of corruption. Police corruption cannot simply be explained as the product of a few bad apples as some of the causes of corruption are intrinsic to policing as a job. It is interesting to note that some departments or areas of policing are more corrupt than others.

However all is not lost, the research findings also show that police agencies can be reformed. To make these reforms more successful, the reforms need to go beyond merely addressing the immediate causes of corruption by focusing on the political and task environments as well as the organization itself. To sustain the gains of any reform demands a lot of vigilance and continued skepticism.
Hills (2000) argued that there are three fundamental questions about African policing that need to be answered if we are to make any sense and to understand how African policing works. First we need to answer the question who are the police?; second, what is policing?, and third, what is a police system? In the 1990’s self-policing and private policing gained attention in post-apartheid South Africa. Thus, people began to look for a definition of who are the police in South Africa and what do they do in terms of their functions and roles in policing and providing security. In the past, the police in South Africa was viewed in terms of its statist function and previous studies that had focused their attention on township and commercial policing began to question the validity of their interpretation and relevance of policing that are based on western modelling in trying to understand the theory and practice of policing in South Africa and Africa as a whole. Private policing at the state level is often a joint venture between the state and the private providers, or based on contracts from the state. Thus, it is sometimes the case that private police may be performing a state role as is seen in Angola, Nigeria, and South Africa.

“The police function is therefore based on two premises: first, the national police forces in Africa are the formal conduit through which regime power or authority is normally channeled in most states and that they should therefore be treated as the primary statist policing agents; second, that policing in Africa nevertheless goes beyond formal civilian groups and that the focus should be on policing (as is the provision of order and enforcement) rather than on what organizations call themselves” (Hills, 2000, p.6).

Police is therefore used to mean the public force of the state or government and reflects the character of those regimes. For example, brutal regimes have brutal police. Also, when states are fragile and lack instrumental capacity, their police are unwilling to be disciplined. Thus, the
police then can be defined as an instrument that has the right or authority to use coercive force by the state within the state’s domestic territory (Bayley, 1994). It is interesting to note that police function is different from police role in the sense that function indicate the formal requirements (regulating activities and regime representation) placed on the police as an organization while the role indicates the specific activities they perform based on the practical demands of the police job. Hills also argued that the police in South Africa do not serve the interests of the citizens. “The police are part of but apart from society-not least because they supposedly serve the interests of the state or regime concerned rather than its citizens” (Hills, 2000, p.7).

The issue of police legitimacy in South Africa has been of great concern to the citizens and academic researchers given the history of the country during its apartheid days and in the current era as well in the post-apartheid era (Wilson, 2001; Cawthra, 1993; Bayley & Perito, 2010). The rationale of the police was to maintain order that the apartheid regime deemed appropriate.

**Policing in Sierra Leone: History, Reforms and Challenges**

The history of policing in Sierra Leone can be traced back to the establishment of the Colony in 1808 in Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone when it was declared a British Crown Colony (Sierra Leone Police 2011-2012). The British needed control over their subjects and to maintain law and order in the colony to further both the political and economic interests of the Crown, retired British Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates were appointed as Magistrates and sent to Sierra Leone to maintain law and order. “The Sierra Leone Police force has its origin in the West Africa Frontier Force which, between 1863 and 1906, was responsible for
maintaining British Colonial frontier in the region, and maintaining law and order within the Colony… The Force was considered one of the best and well-disciplined forces in Colonial British West Africa” (Charley & M’Cormack, 2011 p.9) The 1881 Koya and 1888 Sherbro disturbances saw the deployment of police along the frontier to quell the disturbances. The Colonial Police was repressive in handling the situation. Thus, the neutrality of the police was first called into question and left a lasting impression of the police on the minds of ordinary citizens. However, it was not until in 1894 that the police was officially given the name “The Sierra Leone Police Force” (SLPF).

Captain V. F. Laphan an Army Officer was seconded to the police force and acted as its head with a rank of Superintendent. It was not until in 1809 that Brooks who was the then deputy to Laphan was appointed the First Commissioner of Police. Brooks did not embark on any significant changes within the police. He was content with keeping things as they were. Any meaningful change within the Sierra Leone Police had to wait until C.H. Ward, a Superintendent of Police from Nigeria, was sent to Sierra Leone to head the police force as Commissioner of Police in 1943. The police force then was only 300 officers on duty (Sierra Leoneans) and two expatriates who served as Commissioner and Assistant Commissioners. Commissioner Ward made an increase in the number of police officers from 300 to 600 in order to address the growing problem of riotous conduct. Ward then went on to introduce a special riot squad with the sole mission to handle and contain riotous conduct. This increase in the number of police personnel was highly welcomed by the police who had already been stretched thin and wide and for once had the opportunity for promotions to the rank of Assistant Superintendent of Police (ASP). Ward also ensured that logistics in the form of transportation and communication
equipment were provided for the police, and also established the first police training school in Portloko (Sierra Leone) in 1944. However, the training school was later transferred to Hastings Naval Camp where it is still located to this day.

Another major development was to follow when J.P.I Forde replaced Ward as Commissioner of Police. Forde also saw the need for further increase in the number of police personnel and thus increased it to 1,000 and sent the first African Sub-Inspector to train abroad (in Herndon, UK), a practice which is still widely used today. Forde was also credited with the establishment of the Police Federation and Police Council. However, the ground breaking development had to await Commissioner W.G. Syer (C.B.E.) when he took over from Forde in 1952. For the first time the police was introduced to the provinces (the Protectorate) beyond its usual operational area in Freetown, the Crown Colony. Syer was not only credited for expanding the police to cover the entire geographic area of Sierra Leone but also internationally. For the first time the Sierra Leone Police became affiliated to the International Police Organization (INTERPOL). Syer did not believe in the idea or strategy that the police force should have a standing riot squad. Thus, every police officer was trained on how to handle riot duties irrespective of which division or department one belongs to.

All previous police commissioners discussed so far were British citizens. However, before independence in 1961, the Sierra Leone Police was totally Africanized and in 1963 the first Sierra Leonean Commissioner of Police was appointed. In 1964 the Sierra Leone Police Act clearly spelt out the “law relating to the organization, discipline, power and duties of the police” (The Sierra Leone Police Act, 1964 in Charley & M’Cormack, 2011 p. 10). The Police Act of 1964 also provides for the establishment of a Police Council that is to be headed by the Minister
of the Interior (The Sierra Leone Police Act No 4, 1964). The Police Act of 1964 clearly states the roles of the Sierra Leone Police as “the detection of crime and the appropriation 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” (The Sierra Leone Police Act, Act No 4, 1964). The 1991 Constitution of Sierra Leone also builds on the Police Act of 1964 by establishing a Police Council, which was chaired by the Secretary of State for Internal Affairs charged with the responsibilities to make recommendations to government on policy issues dealing with recruitment, reassignment, and promotion within the Sierra Leone Police.

Recruitment into the Sierra Leone Police Force after Independence was based on patronage and was a dumping ground for the poorly educated, and those who could not finish high school or go to college. It was not until in 1984 that the then government of Siaka Stevens thought it fit to introduce some changes in the police and therefore introduced a Cadet Officer Program for the Sierra Leone Police that saw 18 graduates joining the force, some of which are still serving in the police force today, including the current head of the police (Inspector General of Police Francis Munu). Things have changed a lot for recruitment purposes since then as there are more graduates and highly trained professionals within the police force today than ever before (Charley & M’Cormack, 2011). There is still room for improvement though.

It is important to note that Commissioner L.W. Leigh became the first Sierra Leonean Commissioner of Police, and remained in post from 1963-1969. Leigh was credited with the establishment of the Police Act of 1964. The Police Act of 1964 entrenched and amended the laws relating to the Sierra Leone Police Force that deals primarily with the protection of life and property, the prevention and detection of crime, and the apprehension of offenders. Jenkins
N.E.G. Smith (1969-1972) became the second Sierra Leonean Commissioner of Police who led the force through the advent of the Republic of Sierra Leone in 1971. During his tenure, Sierra Leoneans witnessed the first political interference since independence in the daily operations of the police. The then President of Sierra Leone Siaka Probyn Stevens (now deceased) created another arm of the Sierra Leone Police Force known as the Internal Security Unit (I.S.U) which was later transformed to the Special Security Division (SSD) (a special unit indeed which many Sierra Leoneans will hardly forget) specifically to deal with riots and other forms of public disturbances. With the introduction of the SSD, we saw for the first time the neutrality of the Sierra Leone Police being called into question by the citizenry as the police quickly fell into disrepute in the eyes of the public given its heavy handedness and use of excessive force in handling riots and student demonstrations as well as its harassment of political opponents (African Human Security Initiative, 2008; Bangura, 2000; Baker, 2006; Zack-Williams, 1999).

Under the Republican status introduced by Siaka Probyn Stevens and the introduction of the 1978 Constitution of Sierra Leone, the traditional role of the police was drastically changed. Section 174 of the 1978 Constitution which gives the President Executive Powers also made it possible for the President to directly appoint the Commissioner of Police as he/she deemed fit. The appointment of Police Commissioners laid the foundation for political interference in the daily operation of the police which became widespread following the appointment of P.C Kaetu-Smith (1973-1979). The practice of appointing Police Commissioners or Inspector General of Police as they are now called has continued to this day. The next appointed Commissioner of Police was Hon. J. A. Grant (1981-1984). Honorable P. M. Johnson became the first Inspector General of Police in 1986. Johnson introduced changes that saw the creation of 14 divisions
named A to N, with 4 divisions in covering the Western Area, 4 divisions covering the North, 3 divisions covering the South and 3 divisions covering the East. James Bambay Kamara, perhaps the most controversial and most feared Inspector General of Police replaced Johnson in 1987 when he was appointed to the job of Assistant Inspector General of Police (AIG). To reduce the negative effect of Bambay Kamara’s style of policing and to redeem the good image of the Police Force, the British Government sent a retired British police officer Keith Lewis to restructure the force. Thus, new changes were introduced into police training to prepare them for effective functioning in a democratic society. These efforts were short lived as there was a military coup in 1992 which toppled the government of Joseph Saidu Momoh. Bambay as head of the police, who was unpopular, and feared, was arrested and summarily executed by the junta without any trial (Truth and Reconciliation Commission for Sierra Leone, 2004). His killing still haunts the junta leaders and the conscience of the nation and its image abroad as it has become a major issue in the 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections (Awareness Times Newspaper, 2012). With the National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC) in power, the police was heavily manipulated to carry out direct orders from the junta leaders.

Thus, the police quickly came to find themselves between a rock and a hard place. A choice has to be made between following their Constitutional mandate in carrying out their responsibilities to the people of protecting life and property or satisfying the demands of the junta at the expense of the citizenry. They chose the junta. Thus, the police force became heavily skewed towards the junta and satisfied their demands. This led to the erosion of legitimacy and confidence in the police as the force quickly became a force in crisis. Successive Assistant Inspector Generals’ of police were appointed due to the fact some Commissioners were afraid of
the junta or they were not trusted by the junta. With the execution of Bambay Kamara, Joe Stanley replaced him as Assistant Inspector General of Police. He served for a brief period, then went on leave outside the country and never came back. The junta was then forced to appoint William J. Siaffa as AIG (1994-1996) who happened to be a retired police officer. Teddy Munda Williams was appointed in 1996 as AIG and served in that capacity under the democratically elected government of Dr. Ahmed Tejan Kabba who was overthrown by the AFRC junta in 1997. Kandeh Bangura served in a tentative capacity as head of the police under the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) (Baker, 2006; Millar, 2012; Sierra Leone Police History, 2011-2012; Truth and Reconciliation Commission for Sierra Leone, 2004; Zack-Williams, 1999). During this turmoil and political upheavals in the country’s history, the public became disillusioned with the police as they came to view them in a very negative light of been corrupt and in alliance with the junta to oppress the people. Whatever little legitimacy and public confidence the people had was completely lost (Baker, 2006, Zack-Williams; 1999). When the AFRC was routed from power by the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) a lot of police officers were killed and the institution of policing collapsed in almost every part of the country, with the exception of Freetown, the Capital.

Following the reinstatement of the democratically elected government to power in 1998, President Ahmed Tejan Kabba sought the help of the British Government to restructure the Sierra Leone Police Force. The British responded positively by sending Keith Biddle and the Common Wealth Police Department Task Force. Keith Biddle was later appointed Acting Inspector General of Police upon his arrival in Sierra Leone and had this to say “the largest challenge facing the Sierra Leone Police is personnel management - after years of neglect and
the infiltration of corrupt practices - a culture of management needs to be rebuilt. This includes increasing funding for the police, as well as decentralizing the force away from Freetown” (Meek, 2003, p.114). He did a very good job in restructuring the police and restoring public confidence in the police. Also, new departments were created; key amongst which were the Complaints Discipline and Internal Investigations Department (CDIID), Media and Public Relations, Family Support, and Community Policing. The main purpose of this restructuring was to transform the police force into a “Force for Good”. Biddle’s reform of the Sierra Leone Police emphasized community policing as the major principle of policing, having an internal investigation unit, improved conditions of service by way of infrastructure and equipment, family support unit, and of improving community relations with the police and coordination with informal security groups (Marenin, 2014). To achieve the above, Biddle focused on a “basic needs” approach for policing at the local level as it was quickly discovered that the police often lacked basic knowledge about policing and thus had to be retrained as new recruits (Horn, 2004). The basic needs strategy focused on the most essential and simple work that the police are expected to do. For example develop good work ethics; and respond to citizens’ request for assistance promptly and adequately without asking for a bribe (Marenin, 2014). Due to lack of commitment and resources whatever gains that were made by Biddle quickly evaporated as the police revert back to their usual ways of doing things. “In short Sierra Leone is an example of a collapsed state in which police reforms started out well but were overtaken by a return to the former styles of politics and policing. Once external support was withdrawn, local political and social contexts reasserted themselves” (Marenin, 2014, p. 157).
His departure from Sierra Leone led to the appointment of Brima Acha Kamara (as the new Inspector General of Police— a Sierra Leonean) who had worked closely with Keith Biddle in the restructuring process of the police. He was desperate to ensure that Keith Biddle’s gains were sustained. He is widely known for introducing the Sierra Leone Police Strategic Development Plan and his slogan of “No Turning Back” which denotes that the police must not go back to its bad old ways of doing things. Brima Acha Kamara was succeeded by Francis Allieu Munu in 2010, who is still the current Inspector General of Police in Sierra Leone. His appointment is widely approved by both the police and the public. He has embarked on a series of structural changes. Key amongst which are the introduction of the Transnational Organized Crime Unit (TOCU) to deal with issues of cross border crimes, a Corporate, and the Community Affairs Department.

In an effort to restructure and reform the police after the civil war (1991-2002) and to improve public confidence once more in the Sierra Leone Police both internal and external control mechanisms were introduced in order to control for corruption, abuse of power, and sexual harassment. For the internal control mechanisms The Research and Planning Department (R&P) played a major role in identifying what is needed by police officers to do their job effectively, what police officers expect from the job, and what are the constraining factors preventing them from achieving their goals or meeting expectations. This helped to inform the restructuring and reform process. Also, the Complaints Discipline and Internal Investigations Department (CDIID) was introduced which provides a place and mechanism for both police officers and the general public to report issues of corruption, abuse of power, and sexual harassment. This is a department within the Sierra Leone Police that is staffed by other police
officers who were meant to investigate other police officers who happened to be colleagues and sometimes even superior officers. Thus, their objectivity, willingness, and commitment in investigating these matters were called into question (Castillejo, 2009; Charley & M’Cormack, 2011).

External oversight or mechanisms of control that were introduced includes a very active Police-Community Partnership Boards which includes representatives from the Media, Human Rights Organizations, the Sierra Leone Police Force, and other Civil Society members and other Non-State Actors, and other major stake holders such as the Paramount Chiefs and local authority figures that meets regularly to discuss security issues, crime, and police performance generally. It was very all encompassing of community members and it helped a lot in keeping the police focused on the crimes that community members are more concerned with, reduced the fear of crime and of been victimized, and promotes respect in citizens encounters with the police. The Office of the Ombudsman also hears complaints against serving police personnel’ s that border on issues of corruption, intimidation, use of force, abuse of power, or sexual harassment. There is also the Anti-Corruption Commission which has been at the forefront of fighting corruption in the Sierra Leone and which focuses a lot on issues of police corruption and political interference on their job performance. Lastly but not the least, there is also the Parliamentary Oversight Committee to also address issues of corruption, transparency and accountability issues within the Sierra Leone Police. It’s not that there are no control mechanisms in place for the police (internally and externally), the problem has been that these organizations had been unable to have any meaningful effect on these issues that they were meant to address. It is the failures of these control mechanisms both internally and externally and the continued perpetuation of
corrupt practices and politics within the Sierra Leone Police that has severely eroded public trust confidence, and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police (Baker, 2005, Castillejo, 2009; Charley & M’Cormack, 2011, Meek, 2003).

Also, in an effort to increase public satisfaction with the Sierra Leone Police and decrease fear of crime a new policing philosophy was introduced, that of Community Policing (CP). However, it is important to note that Community Policing was introduced under a new name in order to adapt it to the Sierra Leone policing needs of the people. Thus, when it was introduced in 1998 it was known as Local Needs Policing (LNP) (Albrecht & Jackson, 2009). Local Needs Policing (LNP) was defined as “A system of policing that meets the needs and expectations of the local community, delivered within a national framework of standards and guidelines” and “The basic organizational structure was the Local Command Unit (LCU): A body of people, effectively and efficiently managed, accountable and with devolved authority, and designed to deliver the policing needs of the local community” (Albrecht & Jackson, 2009 p. 32). It was introduced throughout the police in the different parts of the country. There was a total shift in ideology and structure of the Sierra Leone Police. However, I should point out that there was a lot of resistance when it was first introduced and even to this day. Community Policing is a form of policing that required both a change in the philosophy and structure of the police. The British having relied so heavily on community policing as a major principle of doing policing introduced it to Sierra Leone. There was the recognition that the police will not be able to maintain law and other on their own alone without assistance from the public. Thus, the need to engage community members became a priority and with it community policing. However, there were challenges encountered as most police officers then had no idea about what community policing
is all about and where reluctant in accepting it. Also, there was the need to adapt the strategies of community policing that would fit the different communities in Sierra Leone, and the country as a whole, as it was just not feasible to implant the type of community policing in Sierra Leone given the cultural differences and the differences in crime types, prevalence, and threats faced by communities that were just emerging from a civil war (Albrecht & Jackson, 2009; Baker, 2005, Castillejo, 2009; Charley & M’Cormack, 2011, Meek, 2003). The main elements of Community Policing were identified as follows: policing directed by community engagement, devolution of responsibilities to officers on the ground, and a proactive approach to problem solving (Mackenzie & Henry, 2009). “Community Policing is meant to result in better outcomes in the following areas: increased public satisfaction with the police, decreased fear of crime; reductions in levels of crime and anti-social behavior; community involvement in solving local problems associated with crime, and improved levels of job satisfaction among community officers” (Charley & M’Cormack, 2011 p. 25).

**Public Trust, Political Interference, Corruption, and Legitimacy in the Sierra Leone Police**

Baker (2005) addresses the question who is responsible for authorizing and delivering policing; what the providers offer and how they relate to one another; and how the public perceives each of them in terms of competence, accessibility and accountability. He argued that most African countries have tried to establish western models of policing and security but with very little success. Most African Police forces have failed to deliver on their promise of crime prevention and control, and on crime investigation. Most African countries lack the resources and competence to attain the underlying assumptions and objectives implicit in the western model of policing. Sierra Leone is no exception. Due to the decade long war in Sierra Leone, the
country’s police institutions were severely destroyed and public trust and legitimacy in the police severely eroded. The UN had to physically intervene with a 17,300 UN Armed Mission (UNAMSIL) in Sierra Leone, the world’s largest peace keeping mission ever in the UN’s history.

The Sierra Leone Police Force used to maintain a neutral role in politics before and immediately after independence. But that changed in 1978 when Sierra Leone became a one-party state devoid of any form of Multi-Party Democracy (Bangura, 2000; Kposowa, 2006; Zack-Williams, 1999). Also, the Commissioner of Police was also made a nominated Member of Parliament and Cabinet Minister. Thus we witnessed the direct involvement in politics and a means by the then government to have direct control over the day to day activities of the police and laid the ground work for the use of the police to settles political scores and harass members of the public who had a contrary opinion against the status-quo. Starting in 1985, the title for the head of the police was changed from Commissioner to Inspector General, and Inspector Generals (head of the Sierra Leone Police) have been appointed since by the Government in power.

The politicization of the position of Inspector General proved to have far reaching consequences for both police officers and the general public. For the police it lowered morale and job satisfaction, increased indiscipline and corruption, as issues of recruitment, promotion, and management of the force were politically dictated. Citizens’ perception about the police was found to be negative and severely eroded police credibility as a direct result of too much political interference within the Sierra Leone Police (Castillejo, 2009; Charley & M’Cormack, 2011, Meek, 2003).
The war severely eroded the state’s ability to maintain the rule of law, and the Sierra Leone police to maintain law and order. Hence, people resorted to different means in order to complement the efforts of the police where they existed and to replace them in communities where police are totally absent (Horn, A., Olonisakin, F., & Peake, 2006; Baker, 2006). Each community, each organization, each group experimented with their own system of communal order, security and peace (Baker, 2005). For instance the extended family may protect the home while the customary chiefs settled inheritance and land disputes; and the vendors’ committee (this is a committee set up by street traders to regulate their affairs, settle trade disputes, and regulate behavior of members) and might mediate to settle trade disputes. Baker further argued that these alternatives to policing have been shown to have serious negative consequences as these alternatives have limitations and some lack legitimacy and any rules of engagement with the public. The Sierra Leone police are also not without criticisms as it has been shown in the past to be very corrupt, to abuse their power and as a tool by previous governments to harass and beat opposition members and their supporters (Baker, 2005, Maru 2006, Meek 2003). However, Baker argued that the informal policing systems have greater legitimacy, are believed to be less corrupt, more accessible, and more accountable than the state or public police in Sierra Leone and elsewhere (Baker, 2010, ). Hence, there is the need to train, equip, and provide for the welfare of the police to be more professional in their work, improve public trust and legitimacy of the police (Bangura, 2000; Charley & M’Cormack, 2011; Maru, 2006; Meek, S., 2003; Zack-Williams, A. B., 1999). “Distrusted and chased out of conflict zones during the war, the Sierra Leone police are challenged on multiple levels…the police presence in Sierra Leone was weakening through corruption and systematic neglect” (Meek, 2003, p. 105).
Human Rights Watch (2011) praised the Sierra Leone Government for rebuilding institutions, improving the infrastructure of the country, and for providing basic health and education. The government has introduced a free health care policy for pregnant and lactating women and for children under five. These efforts are very good and encouraging, but the country remains desperately poor. Rural communities, women and children remain the worst hit groups. The impact of poverty is witnessed in violations of socio-economic rights, sexual and gender-based violence, violations of children’s rights, and the general weakness of the justice system and the possibility of ethnic violence to occur is still very high. Corruption still remains a persistent problem despite the effort of the Anti-Corruption Commission and its few successful prosecutions (Human Rights Watch Report on Sierra Leone 2011). A study of changes in the Sierra Leone Police eight years after Biddle began his reform found that the Sierra Leone Police is still largely politicized and viewed by the public as “corrupt and ineffective” (Robbins, 2009, p. 2).

On the legal front, there was some improvement in the criminal justice system with the implementation of some recent legislation such as the Child Rights Act (2007), Chieftaincy Act (2009), Domestic Violence Act (2007), Devolution of Estate Act (2007), and Registration of Customary Marriage and Divorce Act (2007). Despite the above the justice system is still beset by many challenges. The criminal justice system still need to overcome problems of lengthy delays in proceedings, shortage of prosecutors and magistrates, public lawyers handling many cases, delays in the appointment of local court clerks and issues relating to capacity of all court personnel and corruption. All of these problems jointly impede the road or access to justice in Sierra Leone. The Sierra Leone Police was found to be brutal and use excessive force (Baker,
2005, 2006; Kposowa, 2006; Kpundeh, 1994, 1998). Suspects are unlawfully held in detention for long periods than that which is usually accepted despite the fact that conditions in police detention cells are overcrowded and sanitation is poor.

Potter & Thompson (1997) examine the definition and context of official corruption in Sierra Leone. Their methodology was based on review of the existing literature of historical, legal, and sociological studies, official documents, and personal experience from the second author (Bankole Thompson who was a former prosecutor in Sierra Leone). They argued that governmental corruption in Africa and Sierra Leone in particular negatively affects its criminal justice system. There is too much interference in the work of the police whom the public views as too close to the power elite which brings into question their independence and neutrality in the administration of justice. Corruption has affected the criminal justice system particularly the judiciary and the police, but also the customary law providers (paramount chiefs and court chairmen). Sierra Leone’s problem with providing a credible justice system is also compounded by the fact that the country has a dual legal system, customary law and general law. This implies that the country has to reconcile contradictions that exist within the laws and cultures. The substantive criminal law of Sierra Leone is inherited from English criminal law and is found in Statutes, though not completely codified, while the customary law of crime is not codified and makes it applications and interpretation based on precedence, common sense and discretion (Potter and Thompson, 1997). Also, in a study by Castillejo, it was found that respondents repeatedly accused the police of being the most abusive formal institution in Sierra Leone. “There has been acknowledgement from the highest levels of the police that corruption is a problem, as well as some initiatives to address it has been undertaken” Castillejo 2009, p. 15).
Sierra Leone’s adjustment to these concepts has been very slow, to put it mildly, and at its worst non-existent.

However all is not lost. The research findings also show that police agencies can be reformed. To make these reforms more successful, the reforms need to go beyond merely addressing the immediate causes of corruption by focusing on the political and task environments as well as the organization itself. To sustain the gains of any reform demands a lot of vigilance and continued skepticism. “Finally, the Sierra Leone experience shows the need for reform to be a society-wide endeavor. Without a holistic change, very little will change. This is most apparent with regard to one of its major persistent problems facing the police: corruption. The reality is that problems of corruption spread far beyond the institution itself” (Charley & M’Cormack, 2011, p.39). The problem of corruption is almost a cultural practice that pervades every facet of society and it has become a way of life. Any meaningful attempt at reducing or eliminating police corruption must start with the recognition of the role of the public in facilitating, or aiding and abetting the process (Charley & M’Cormack, 2011; Potter and Thompson, 1997).

**Theoretical Framework**

Theories of trust and confidence have tried to explain the loss of public confidence in the central institutions in representative democracies and how citizens have continuously demonstrated a loss of confidence in public institutions. However this loss of confidence in public institutions has not led to a general distrust of other citizens (Newton 1999). Also, the loss of confidence/trust in public institutions does not affect every facet of modern society and even
for those who are affected, the level of lack of trust/confidence might not be the same and it is generally focused on political and governmental institutions (Newton & Norris 1991).

For instance on the issue of trust and legitimacy, it is important to note that the police is also a societal institution that is meant to serve the people and enforce the laws using force if necessary “because the police has been entrusted with the power of exercising authority, by virtue of which the police have the right to use force against citizens. Public trust is also important to the police force itself, particularly in democratic societies in which the police have to ‘earn’ legitimacy for their actions from citizens. From the point of view of effective police work, good and confidential relationships with citizens are of primary importance” (Kääriäinen, 2007 p. 412).

The concept of trust has been shown to be related to social capital. “Social capital refers to connections among individuals-social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them” (Robert Putnam, 2001, p. 19 in Kääriäinen, 2007, p. 412), or “Social capital is a network together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate co-operation within the or among groups” (Healy and Cote, 2001 in Kääriäinen, 2007, p. 412). Generally social capital makes the point that norms of reciprocity and trust are relevant in promoting trust and that well-functioning social network and community are central for the emergence of norms of reciprocity and trust. Trust can mean different things to different people. But for the current study it relevant to distinguish between personal trust and generalized trust. Personal trust makes the case that interpersonal trust is based on personal experiences as we tend to trust those who have proved their trust worthiness to us in our personal interactions while
generalized trust argued that “people are willing to co-operate with each other, as well as with people whom they do not know personally” (Kääriäinen, 2007, p. 412).

The current study however makes the argument in line with the institution-centered approach to understanding public trust in the sense that generalized trust is created by societal institutions. It is important to note that “policy implementing institutions are central in creating and maintaining trust” (Rothstein and Stolle, 2003 in Kääriäinen, 2007, p. 412). The police happened to be one of these policy implementing institutions in Sierra Leone and the world. The police force is a part of government. Thus, generalized trust in government also tends to influence trust in the police. A major trust-creating factor is the ability of government to be fair and impartial. Thus, if the government is found to be trust worthy, trust in the police is likely to increase. In democratic societies the police and legal institutions are expected to be impartial in enforcing the laws and demanding compliance to the agreed norms of society. To do otherwise will reflect poorly on trust in the institution of policing (Rothstein, 2005, p. 7 in Kääriäinen, 2007, p. 413).

Three main schools of thoughts have been put forward to provide us with an explanation as to why citizens’ level of trust or confidence in public institutions has been declining: namely social-psychological explanations, the social and cultural model, and the institutional performance model. However, for the purpose of this research, the current study will focus on the institutional performance model as one of the two theories underpinning the current study.

The institutional performance model relies on the actual performance of government in order to provide a better understanding and explanation of citizen’s level of trust/confidence in
government and public institutions. It is important to note that since all citizens are exposed to some form of governmental control or actions, confidence in public institutions is therefore expected to be randomly distributed among different cultural, social types, and personality traits (Newton & Norris, 1999). Thus, citizens’ level of confidence public institutions or the government is a direct measure of the level of performance since those that perform badly will elicit feelings of distrust and low confidence. A major assumption of the model is that the general public will react accordingly based on how the government and political institutions are performing; if they perform well then public trust and confidence is likely to increase but if the perform poorly, then public trust/confidence will decrease or be severely eroded (Newton & Norris, 1999). Thus, determining the level of trust within the Sierra Leone will be based on this model or theory.

The institutional performance model has three implications. First, with accurate sampling techniques and good survey questions about institutional confidence or trust are likely to be a good gauge of how well the political system, government or public institution is performing and will serve as an accurate thermometer of public life. Second, the institutional performance model has serious implications for public policy in the sense that government can do one of two things if there exists very low public trust/confidence in public institutions (for example the police and courts). Political leaders could lower public expectations of performance by promising less or they can improve institutional effectiveness by delivering more and holding public institutions more accountable. Third, the model also suggests that an indirect relationship exists between confidence in political institutions and social trust. However, the relationship is stronger at the
aggregate-level than at the individual-level relationship (Hardin, 1996; Newton, 1999; Newton & Norris, 1999).

It is also possible for there to exist a significant indirect relationship between social trust and confidence in political institutions. Let’s assume that social trust creates social capital, and social capital also improves political institutions which are very likely to improve governmental performance, and with it comes increased public confidence/trust. It is possible that effective political institutions may not lead to good governmental performance but it is almost impossible to have satisfactory governmental performance without effective institutions that will make and implement very good policies (Newton & Norris, 1999).

While for legitimacy (the right to exercise power), the theory underpinning the study is the Procedural Justice Model. Any meaningful discussion of legitimacy will be considered incomplete without referencing the classic work of Max Weber on the subject. Weber (1978) identified three forms of legitimate power: (1) traditional authority: which is based on the sanctity of customs and traditions; (2) charismatic authority: which is based on the personal qualities, ability and charisma of the power holder, leader, or authority figure; (3) legal-rational authority: which is the source of authority in many modern states and it is the legality of such authority that gives it legitimacy in the eyes of the citizens. Legal-Rational authority is grounded in “a belief in the legality of the enacted rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands” (Weber 1978, p.215). It is interesting to note that procedural justice findings run counter to what many people tend to believe. People often want to believe that outcomes shape citizens reaction and perception in their encounters with legal authorities (Tyler, 2001). The procedural justice argument is that citizens are generally more concerned
about whether the police treat people fairly, treat people with dignity, respect their rights, explain their actions to citizens and whether they care about people’s concerns and their contributions in making their communities safe and in improving the quality of life in their communities. Fighting crimes or reducing crimes that does not take procedural justice issues into consideration is likely not going to increase police legitimacy (Mazerolle et al., 2010; Tankebe, 2013; Tyler, 2001). There is a lot of support for procedural justice theory (Tankebe, 2013, Tyler & Huo, 2002; Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2007). Tyler distinguishes between two types of compliance with authority figures: normative and instrumental. Tyler came to the conclusion that normative compliance with the law is preferable and better than instrumental compliance where there has to be direct law enforcement element (which increases the cost of providing security and improving the quality of life) and that compliance is often coerced, or there is the sense of fear among citizens that they will be arrested and prosecuted if caught breaking the laws (or if they found to be non-compliant with the laws and regulations governing society).

Normative compliance on the other hand does not need any direct enforcement or the presence of law enforcement agents to be present or to give commands for the laws to be obeyed. It is the perceived fairness of the justice system or police that shapes or improves legitimacy which in turn leads to voluntary compliance with laws. Thus, it is the nature of the interaction between officials and the public that will either strengthen or erode institutional legitimacy and in the case of the current study that of the Sierra Leone Police. In citizen’s encounters with the police, the quality of treatment received is more important than the outcome in shaping public perception of trust and legitimacy of the police.
Police legitimacy has also been shown to influence cooperation with the police. Police legitimacy increases the likelihood that citizens will assist the police in crime control and prevention for example in reporting crime or any suspicious activity to the police (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003, Tyler, 2004). Three factors has been shown to define and shape procedural justice in citizens’ encounters with the public police: (1) do citizens participate in the proceedings prior to an authority figure arriving at a decision; (2) perceived neutrality of the authority figure in his or her decision, (3) whether or not the authority showed dignity and respect throughout the encounter (Tyler, 2004).

With regards to politics/political interference two models of policing are worth discussing namely the orthodox model and radical models of policing. Several studies have shown that these two models of policing are often widespread and also influences citizens perception about the police and how society views the police, and the kinds of relationship that exist between the police and the government on the one hand, and between the police and the citizen’s they are meant to serve and protect (Kääriäinen, 2007, Reiner, 2010). “The police will appear more successful, the less they are actually necessary. The sources of order lie outside the ambit of the police; in the political economy and culture of a society” (Reiner, 2010, p. xiii). Policing is a universal phenomenon in all modern societies. It is hard to imagine a state without a police force. The ‘police’ a specialized body of people given primary formal responsibility for legitimate force to sage guard security, is a feature of any relatively complex societies. The police have developed in particular with the rise of modern state forms. They have been domestic missionaries in the historical endeavors of centralized states to propagate and protect a dominant conception of peace and propriety throughout their territories (Reiner, 2010. p. 8). Thus, it will
be extremely hard to totally separate policing from the politics of any country. In as much the police would want to be impartial, independent, and neutral in maintaining order as order maintenance itself is sustaining the status quo (the political elite). “All relationships which have a power dimension are political, so policing is inherently political and inseparable from politics. To gain legitimacy from the citizens, the police should be seen to implementing the laws impartially and to be non-partisan.

The orthodox model for policing rests on the notion that the police are there to restore law and order. The justification for policing and the creation of a modern police force was a direct response to the civil disorder and crime that industrialization and urbanization has brought to cities. Thus, police motivations for reforms under the orthodox model was a direct reaction to the presence of crime and disorder that was pervasive and increasing in the life of rapidly growing cities (Clark, 2005, Reiner, 2010). “The overall theme of the orthodox histories, then, was that police reform was motivated by fear of crime, but also by moral and mob disorder, engendered by the problems of rapid transition to an urban industrial society” (Reiner, 2010, p. 42). Thus, the underlying assumption of the orthodox model is that the people control the police and through channels of legal and democratic accountability, ensures that the police are selected in a truly representative manner, which leaves the police with the belief that their power is derived from consent rather than coercion (Reiner, 2010).

The radical model or perception of policing on the other hand was totally different from the orthodox model of policing just discussed. The rational model argued that the justification or rationale for a modern police force has little to do if any to the combating of crime and disorder but that it was developed primarily as an instrument of political control and labor dispute.
policing as an organization was developed in order to encourage obedience to the dominant political force, and to rigidly implement the laws and demand compliance even against the will of citizens (Clark, 2005, Reiner, 2010).

An important influence of the quality of government is corruption. Corruption has been shown to be relevant in accounting for the impartiality of government. “A corrupt system of government is not able to fulfill the requirement of equality but provide services mainly for those who are willing to offer public officers enough favors in the form of bribery. Corruption can thus be defined as the misuse of public office for private gain” (Kääriäinen, 2007, p. 413). Kääriäinen provided us with the empirical evidence to argue that the quality and structure of the system of government indeed clearly affect the degree of citizen’s trust in the police of their countries. Thus, as the level of corruption increase in the system of government, trust in the police continues to decrease, and the same can be said of other public service institutions. The structure of government and services provided were also found to be significant predictors of public trust in the police. Thus, “the fewer resources societies invest in public safety services, the more trust citizens have in the police” (Kääriäinen, 2007, p. 429).
Research Questions and Research Hypotheses

a) Research Questions

The current study has four (4) research questions

1) How does citizens’ perception of corruption within the police impact public trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police?
2) How does citizens’ perception of politics/political interference within the police impact public trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police?
3) Are the influences of citizens’ perception of corruption and politics on public trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone police similar to those of previous studies in other countries?
4) How can the influence of citizens’ perception of corruption and political interference on public trust, and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone police be addressed?

b) Research Hypotheses

The study has four (4) hypotheses:

1) Perceptions of police corruption will reduce public trust in the police in Sierra Leone.
2) Perceptions of police corruption will reduce the legitimacy of the police among the citizenry in Sierra Leone.
3) Perceptions of political interference in police operations will reduce public trust in the police in Sierra Leone.
4) Perceptions of political interference in police operations will reduce the legitimacy of the police among the citizenry in Sierra Leone.
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology of the study and how the data were actually collected and analyzed. First, it provides the design overview of the study. Second, the issues of sampling, administration, coding, variable formation and measures, and statistical tools used for analyzing the data and presenting the findings are discussed in detail. This was also followed by using “thematic networks analysis” (Attride-Sterling, J, 2001) to analyze and present the qualitative responses. The research findings were then presented and discussed.

Design Overview

The object of this study was to test the four hypotheses above that corruption and political interference in police operations have negative influences on public trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone police using a mixed methods approach. The current research used a survey design methodology (with some open-ended questions) to collect primary data in Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone - ( given its cosmopolitan and ethnic diversity makes it less biased and helps a great deal in controlling for ethnic differences and political allegiance that may lead to response bias ) if the city of Kenema ( which is predominantly Mende speaking and more aligned with the Sierra Leone Peoples Party ( SLPP ) or the city of Makeni ( which is predominantly Temne speaking and more aligned with the All Peoples Congress ) were selected. The research instrument (questionnaire) contained a set of thirty five questions covering the demographic characteristics of the respondents, issues dealing with corruption, politics, public trust, and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone police. The survey questionnaires were administered using pencil
and paper personally in the field. This was done to increase the response rate as Sierra Leone has a very high illiteracy rate of 64.9% (CIA, 2011). Another reason for the administration of the questionnaires in this manner was to probe further and to clarify issues related to the study as most respondents were hesitant to fill out survey questionnaires that are mailed out to them or just did not have the time (and some respondents cannot read or write) (or presented the questionnaires to them in person, say for two or three days, and then come back to collect it after it has been filled) asking to know whether corruption and politics do influence public trust, and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police. I tried it in some other research work that I did with some other agencies in Sierra Leone before and it just did not work. Hardly will you get any high response rate. The data collectors and I were able to adequately explain to the respondents that their participation was voluntary and that they could refuse to answer any question that they were not comfortable with. Also, no information that can be used to trace responses to any particular respondent was recorded. This gave the respondents more confidence in the team of field data collectors and myself.

Thus, the current study focused on quantitative survey research. The questionnaires contained 35 questions and were administered in the field by four interviewers and me. These four field researchers; Sheku Sesay, Mohamed Alieu Bah, Mohamed Adams Bah, and Sembu Forna, university students from Milton Margai College of Education and Technology, and the Fatima Institute/University of Makeni) were trained for three days. All four of the researchers had diplomas in various disciplines and were still furthering their education to pursue full degree programs. In comparison to the United States, all four field researchers had attained an educational level above GED. Sheku Sesay already has a National Diploma (ND) in Electrical
Engineering at the time of the study and is currently pursuing a Higher National Diploma (HND) in Electrical Engineering at the Milton Margai College of Education and Technology. Sembu Fornah also has a Higher Teachers Certificate (HTC) and is currently pursuing a Bachelor’s Degree in Education at the Milton Margai College of Education and Technology during the current study. Mohamed Alieu Bah is currently pursuing Higher National Diploma in Information Technology (IT) and already had National Diploma in Information Technology (IT) from the Fatima Institute in Makeni. Lastly but not the least, Mohamed Adams Bah who had a Diploma in Paralegal Studies and is currently pursuing Bachelor’s Degree in Law (LLB). After the training, I personally administered the pilot survey to people living in the East End and West End areas of the city, and respondents/participants in the pilot survey were randomly selected based on availability. It was after the pilot survey that we started collecting the data in the field using paper and pencil in a face-to-face interview (PAPI) (de Leeuw, Hox & Dillman, 2008, de Vaus, 2002; Dillman, 1977) over a period of two months effective March 5th, 2014-April 25th 2014.

We would also meet at the end of each day for an hour to discuss challenges or constraints experienced in the field, and I would give them (the four field researchers) advice on how to deal with these issues and sometimes, I would go there myself the next day to address or fix the problems which ranged from outright refusal based on suspicion that this is a government survey to refusal based on respondent fatigue as there are other surveys and studies going on. Also, another reason why some of the respondents refused to participate was that they have been participating in different kinds of studies but no gains or development had come to them as individuals or their neighborhoods. I had to calmly and politely explain to them that the
government had no hands in my study and I was doing this purely for academic purposes. Some respondents were asking for tips/compensation to participate (given the fact that we were using their time and some were suspicious that I was doing the research for a non-profit organization and that I was getting paid for doing it). I would tell them that I am a student and that their participation was purely and totally voluntary and based on their own free will and consent. Thus, if they chose not to participate that was totally fine with me. Also, women were a little hesitant and shied away from the research considering culturally in Sierra Leone the women tend to leave the public talking to the men most of the time.

The questionnaires were pretested in the field to know whether respondents understood the wordings and meaning of the questions. Utilizing the split-half method twenty questionnaires were actually pretested and divided equally between the two sections. The questionnaires for the pre-testing or pilot survey were randomly administered. Thus, ten questionnaires were administered in the East End of Freetown, and ten in the West End of Freetown. For those who could not properly understand the words or questions in English, we had to translate into pigeon English or Creole. The responses were then compared to see whether the survey instrument can be interpreted consistently across the different areas. It was found that the survey instrument provides stable responses, and repeatedly with some consistency indicating that the survey instrument was reliable and reproduce a set of results that are the same or similar. It was also found that respondents or survey participants understood the wording and meaning of the questions and were adequately able to respond. It was after the pre-testing that the actual data collection commenced. The collection of data in the field lasted for approximately two months, effective March 5th, 2014 to April 25th, 2014.
Sampling

*Population Under Study/Target Population:*

The target population for this study includes all adult males and females age 18 and above who reside in Freetown, Sierra Leone. The current study was only focused on administering questionnaires to adult males and females who reside in Freetown, where people from diverse backgrounds with different cultural practices who often speak different languages and practice different faiths often lived together or in close proximity to each other. The country, Sierra Leone is heavily polarized into a North/South divide when it comes to politics and also along tribal lines, that is Temnes (with the Temnes been predominantly APC-All Peoples Congress) in the North, and Mendes (being predominantly SLPP-Sierra Leone Peoples Party) in the South (Allen, 1968; Baker, 2006; CIA World Fact Book, 2012; Kpundeh, 1994; Millar, Potter & Thompson, 1997; 2012; Zack-Williams 1999). In order to mitigate the effects of tribal leanings, region, and political party affiliation the study was primarily conducted in Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone. Also, it is relevant to note that Freetown has a higher literacy rate than the rest of the country given the fact that it has better schools and teachers compared to other areas in the country (Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology, 2006, 2012) but not high enough to embark on letting the respondents fill the survey questionnaires on their own as it will likely lead to a very low response rate. The fact that the survey questionnaires (research instrument) was administered in a face-to-face interview method using paper and pencil interviews (PAPI) (de Leeuw, Hox & Dillman, 2008, de Vaus, 2002; Dillman, 1977), gave those respondents who cannot read and speak English well on their own a better understanding of the questions, and thus helped increased their response rates.
**Sampling Frame:**

The sample for the study was drawn from the 2004 Population and Housing Census of Sierra Leone. The current study focused only on the section dealing with Freetown in the 2004 Population and Housing Census for Sierra Leone. It greatly helped me in the mapping process, and the selection of survey participants, streets, and clusters. I also utilized a detailed map of Freetown to systematically select the streets and clusters. The sampling frame consist of 772,873 individuals who reside in 65 different sections or neighborhoods in the Western Area Urban which happened to be Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone (2004 Population and Housing Census). The 2004 Census happened to be the most recent census that data is available for. Also, the 2004 Population and Housing Census has information on sections, areas, districts, number of people residing in the community, gender information etc. The country Sierra Leone was planning to hold another census in 2014 but the Ebola outbreak has put the exercise on hold. It is hoped that the new census will be carried out soon (before the end of 2015).

**Sample Size:**

A total of eight hundred (800) respondents were selected from the sampling frame to be included in the study. The city was divided into two main areas, East End and West End. This is a traditional way of dividing the city geographically (2004 Population and Housing Census). Each of the two sections selected accounts for 50% of the respondents included in the sample. Freetown is a big city with approximately one million residents (Estimated Projections from the 2004 Population and Housing Census-2010). However, the city is divided into three areas or sections, the East End, Central, and West End. The East End is predominantly poor,
overcrowded, has poor social services, with a lower literacy rate, and is where the majority of industries are located, and accounts for the majority of people living in Freetown (approximately 462,000 people) which happened to be a large percentage of the total population under study. The West End is generally more affluent, has better social services, is safer, and people living here hold senior positions in Government, the Non-governmental Organizations or generally work for the government, or own big businesses (it is important to note that this does not mean that there are no poor and illiterate individuals in the West End) and accounts for approximately 251,000 inhabitants. The Central area is where the business houses, security forces (the Sierra Leone Police Headquarter), Financial Institutions (example Commercial Banks and the Central Bank of Sierra Leone) and many Government Ministries (the Law Court, Minister of Justice and Attorney General, Finance Ministry and the Minister of Finance) and where the President and Vice President work and State House is located. Thus, the majority of people who work there go home after work when businesses, non-profit organizations, government institutions and organizations closed down, and the Central area empties out. Very few people actually lives in the Central area.

The main purpose of selecting the respondents from the East End and West End is that the characteristics of the two areas (or communities) of the city are different despite the fact that they constitute what is known as the city. Thus, it greatly helped in the analysis of the data at the individual level (which was the unit of analysis) as it enabled the sample selected to be more representative of the population under study, thus enabling the research findings to be generalized to the city as a whole while also appropriately accounting for the effects of politics and corruption on public trust, and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police (SLP) by the citizenry.
Selection of Survey Participants:

Two of the methods for designing a probability sample were utilized to select survey participants or respondents. Probability samples are the gold standard for sampling as they enable the researcher to quantify the sampling error, may also reduce coverage error, and allow probabilistic inferences of sample findings to a larger population (de Leeuw, Hox & Dillman, 2008, de Vaus, 2002; Dillman, 1977). The 2004 Population and Housing Census was utilized as the sampling frame. The 2004 Population and Housing Census compiled the number of people living in a particular locality, section, area, chiefdom, district, or region; number of households, the sex ratios and a total count of the country’s population. Given the fact that most respondents had left, or no longer exist due to death, I had to conveniently select the survey participants based on availability and willingness to participate after the areas, sections, and streets were systematically selected using multistage cluster sampling techniques. A major reason for this problem is the fact that the sampling frame was old but this is the most current population census data that exists for the country (Sierra Leone). Also, the Census result does not indicate individuals by name, nor street addresses. It basically just provides the total counts of the population or residents for cities, areas, and sections, coupled with the total number of males, females, and number of available houses (2004 Population and Housing Census).

From this sampling frame, survey participants or respondents were selected using systematic and multistage cluster sampling methods as they are more effective for a face-to-face interview for national or city wide surveys (de Leeuw, Hox & Dillman, 2008, de Vaus, 2002). The multistage cluster sampling largely enabled me to separate the city into two areas (that is East End, and West End at the first level of clusters), and then into the lower levels of clusters
that was carried out at the level of Census Districts, or sections. The clusters or sections within the two areas (areas) were systematically selected. That is, for every other Census District or neighborhood (every third section was selected from the list). In total, there are 65 sections for the Western Area Urban (which includes the West End, Central and East End). Of these, I selected 20 sections based on the 2004 Population and Housing Census results. This was done in order to increase the representativeness of the sample and make the selection process (of respondents or research participants) easier.

I selected every third street in each section and every third house in each street, and for every third house selected, respondents were selected in a convenient manner. That is based on availability and willingness to participate in the study. However, the respondent had to be adult females and males over 18 years of age in order to participate as this is the official age of consent, adulthood and political participation (voting age) (1991 Constitution of Sierra Leone). This was due to the fact that the study was only interested in adult males and females who were better placed based on direct and vicarious experience of the very sensitive and complex issues under investigation and how it had affected their lives, and of course how their perceptions of corruption, and politics within the Sierra Leone Police had impacted their levels of trust and legitimacy of the police.
Variables and Measurement

This study has two independent variables: political interference, and corruption; and two dependent variables: public trust, and legitimacy. In order to measure the effects of the independent variables on the dependent variables, I defined and operationalize them as they apply to this particular study.

Independent Variables:

1.) Corruption: “Corruption is the abuse of entrusted power for private gain” (Transparency International, 2012). For the purpose of this research I will operationalize corruption to mean that “corruption occurs when an official receives or is promised significant advantage or reward (personal, group or organizational) for doing something that he is under a duty to do anyway, that he is under a duty not to do, for exercising a legitimate discretion for improper reasons, and for employing illegal means to achieve approved goals” (Punch, 1985, p. 14). Given the fact that there are two broad types of corruption - “petty or grand” (Moody-Stuart, 1997), for the purposes of this study; I chose to focus only on petty corruption as I am interested in studying corruption at the individual level and how citizens’ perception of corruption influences or impacts legitimacy and public trust of the Sierra Leone Police. Petty corruption deals with every day corruption mainly at the street level. It often occurs in citizens encounters with low-to-mid level public officials in police departments (street level bureaucrats). It is important to note that the scale of petty corruption is small with regards to the monetary transactions involved but primarily impacts poor individuals and is likely to have a greater impact on public trust and legitimacy of the police in Sierra Leone (UNDP 2008, P. 8).
Corruption was measured using a 9 (nine) response categories to determine citizens perceptions of corruption within the Sierra Leone police as an institution and to determine, later, their effects on public trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone police.

“Corruption” was measured through the following 9 (nine) questions:

(1) in your opinion is corruption a serious problem within the Sierra Leone Police? Responses were coded as “1” for yes, “2” for no, and “3” for don’t know;

(2) what kinds of corrupt or illegal behaviors do the police engage in when carrying out their duties in your community? Responses were tallied and grouped based on the responses of the research participants;

(3) what’s your general view on corruption in the last 6 months: has the level of corruption in the Sierra Leone Police increased or decreased?: and responses were coded as “1” increased a lot, “2” increased a little, “3” stayed the same, “4” decreased a little, “5” decreased a lot, “6” don’t know;

(4) in your opinion why does a police officer gets involved with bribery/corruption? Responses were then coded as “1” for low income, “2” greed/ostentatious living, “3” it is a normal/acceptable practice, “4” weak institution/lack of controls, “5” external pressure from family and other social ties, and “6” Others;

(5) in the last 6 months have you or any member living in your household had any contact with the police? Responses were then coded as “1” for yes, “2” for no;
(6) in the last 6 months have you or any member living in your household willingly offer a bribe to a police officer for special favors? Responses were then coded as “1” for yes and “2” for no;

(7) in the last 6 months have you or any member living in your household been asked to pay a bribe by a police officer for special favors? Responses were then coded as “1” for yes and “2” for no;

(8) how often do you encounter bribery and corruption in your contact with the police? Responses were then coded as “1” for very frequently, “2” frequently, “3” occasionally, “4” rarely, and “5” not at all; and

(9) please recommend one way through which bribery/corruption could be minimized within the Sierra Leone Police. Responses were coded based on what the survey participants said, and were later grouped into types and tallied based on frequency.

2.) Political Interference/Politics: “Politics has to do with the discipline of government or of the operation of government and the actions of those who seek power through public office” (Rush, 1977 p. 273). The concern here with politics was whether there is political interference by those who hold public office into the daily operations of the police as an institution or not. If yes, to what extent is this practice of political interference in the work of the police? To gauge how widespread the problem of political interference is, citizen’s perception of political interference was measured rather than actual political interference as the current study is only interested in citizen’s perceptions of political interference and how it influences public trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police. This was measured using seven questions with a Likert-scale, and either yes, no, or don’t know response categories.
Political Interference/Politics were measured through the following 7 (seven) questions:

(1) in your opinion are politics/political interference a serious problem in the day-to-day activity of the police in Sierra Leone? And responses were coded as “1” for yes, “2” for no, and “3” for don’t know;

(2) what’s your general view on politics/political interference in the last 6 months? The level of politics/political interference in the Sierra Leone Police has: Responses were then coded as “1” increased a lot, “2” increased a little, “3” stayed the same, “4” decreased a little, “5” decreased a lot, and “6” don’t know;

(3) politics/political interference determine which cases are investigated. Responses are coded as “1” for strongly agree, “2” agree, “3” don’t know, “4” disagree, “5” strongly disagree;

(4) in your opinion why is a police officer influenced by politics/political interference? Responses were then coded as “1” for job security, “2” promotions, “3” external pressure, “4” internal pressure, “5” other;

(5) in the last 6 months have you or any member of your household witnessed political interference in encounters with the police? Responses were then coded as “1” for yes, “2” for no, and “3” for don’t know;

(6) if yes to the question above, what was it (please state or explain). Responses were then tallied and coded based on the responses of the research participants (based on the type of political interference); and
(7) please recommend one way through which political interference could be minimized within the Sierra Leone Police. Responses were later coded based on what the research participants said by way of recommendations in order to minimize politics within the Sierra Leone Police.

Dependent Variables:

There are two dependent variables in this study: Public Trust, and Legitimacy.

1). Public Trust: was defined as “the public perception about the fairness of the police in dealing with members of the public and whether they can be trusted to provide security and safety for the citizenry” (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003, Tyler, 2001). Public trust was measured using a Likert-scale through the following 5 (five) questions:

(1) to what extent do you trust the Sierra Leone police to operate in the best interest of the public? While responses were coded as “1” for a great deal, “2” quite a lot, “3” not very much, and “4” none at all;

(2) do you have confidence in the Sierra Leone Police to ensure adequate public safety? Responses were then coded as “1” for very low confidence, “2” low confidence, “3” moderate confidence, “4” high confidence, and “5” for very high confidence; and

(3) how often do the Sierra Leone Police give honest explanation for their actions to people they deal with? Responses were then coded as “1” always, “2” almost always, “3” sometimes, “4” almost never, and “5” for never;

(4) the police do a great job of preventing crime. Responses were then coded as “1” for strongly disagree, “2” for disagree, “3” for agree, and “4” for strongly agree;
(5) the police do a good job of keeping order on the streets and sidewalks. Responses were then coded as “1” strongly disagree, “2” disagree, “3” agree, and “4” strongly agree.

2). Legitimacy: Legitimacy was defined as “as the willingness of individuals to obey the police in carrying out their duties and to conform to the rules and laws implemented by the police and to see their authority as legitimate” (Tyler, 2004). Legitimacy was measured using a Likert-scale, and with either yes or no responses through the following 6 (six) questions:

(1) How willing would you be to assist the police if asked? Responses were coded as “1” always, “2” almost always, “3” sometimes, “4” almost never, and “5” never;

(2) If you had been harmed by a crime would you report it to the police? Responses were coded as “1” for yes, and “2” for no;

(3) If you saw something suspicious would you contact the police? Responses were coded as ‘1” for yes, and “2” for no;

(4) The police are polite when dealing with people. Responses are coded as “1” for strongly disagree, “2” disagree, “3” agree, and “4” strongly disagree;

(5) The police are helpful when dealing with people. Responses are coded as “1’ for strongly disagree, “2” disagree, “3” agree, and “4” strongly agree;

(6) The police are helpful when dealing with victims of crime. Responses are coded as “1” for strongly disagree, ‘2” disagree, “3” agree, and “4” strongly agree; and (7) the police are fair when dealing with people. Responses are coded as “1” strongly disagree, “2” disagree, “3” agree, and “4” strongly agree.
Control Variables:

Previous studies have shown other variables to have an impact on public trust and legitimacy of the police. Seven of such variables were controlled for and included in the multivariate analysis in order to estimate the true effects of the two independent variables on the two dependent variables using ordinal logistic regression.

The 7 (seven) control variables are:

(1) Gender (coded as “0” for male, and “1” for female);

(2) Age (coded as “1” for all those who fall between the ages 18-25, “2’ for all those that fall between the ages of 26-49, and “3” for all those that are 50 years old and above);

(3) Marital Status (coded as “1” for married, “2” for single, “3” separated, “4” divorced, and “5’ widowed/widower);


(5) Employment Status (coded as “1” for been employed, “2” for been unemployed, and “3” self-employed);

(6) Income Level (per annum) (note that $1=Le 4,200 Official Exchange Rate). (Responses were coded as “1” receives less than $ 400 United States Dollars or (Le 1,500,000- one million five hundred thousand Leones), “2” receives between $ 400-1000 United States Dollars or (Le
1,501,000-5,000,000), “3” receives between $1000-2000 United States Dollars (Le 5, 001,000-10,000,000), and “4” receives above $2000 United States Dollars or (10 million Leones);

(7) Political Affiliation (coded as “1” for APC (All Peoples Congress), “2” for SLPP (Sierra Leone Peoples Party), “3” PDP (People's Democratic Party), “4” PMDC (People's Movement for Democratic Change), “5” RUFP (Revolutionary United Front Party), and “6” Others.

**Survey Instrument and Data Collection**

Questionnaires were used as the research instrument for the collection of data in the field. There were some open ended questions that allowed for in-depth interviews and for respondents to explain and provide contexts and examples with regards to their perceptions of political interference and corruption within the Sierra Leone Police and how it had influenced their trust and legitimacy of the police in Sierra Leone. The current study uses a survey design by administering of questionnaires (survey instrument) in the field to respondents living in Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone in order to gauge citizen’s perception of politics and corruption within the Sierra Leone Police and to test the research hypotheses. Interviews were also conducted and this allowed the respondents to delve deeper into the issues of corruption and politics within the Sierra Leone Police. The interviews helped in providing contexts and how citizens experience issues of political interference and corruption in their encounters with the police and improves on our understanding of these complex issues and better informed us as to how they should be addressed.

A group of four people was trained to help collect data in the field in addition to myself. These four individuals were randomly selected from two colleges; the Milton Margai College of
Education in Freetown, and the University of Makeni based on convenience sampling (that is availability and willingness to work, and to be trained). They were selected also based on the fact that they speak the four major languages in Sierra Leone which is Temne, Mende, Limba, and Kriol. At first, I went over the questions with them and asked them if they understood the questions and how to effectively record the responses. To achieve this goal, we had mock runs to gauge the time needed per questionnaire, and we established it took approximately 40 minutes to administer one questionnaire. After the training was completed, the four interviewers split into two groups, each covering a section, (either the East End, or the West End). This approach, however, placed a lot of burden on me going back and forth between districts to supervise the interviewers’ work. I was not satisfied with the amount of supervision that I was providing and worried that they might not do a good job. Thus, all of us started working in only one section at a time on different days as this increased my level of supervision, and I could readily provide advice when needed. It also helped with the language barrier for those who could not read or write in English as we were able to explain the questions to them in their native languages, which includes Temne, Mende, Limba, and Kriol. However, it is important to note that most of the respondents who could not understood English as a medium of communication could effectively communicate well in Kriol which is widely spoken by almost everyone in Sierra Leone. Very few cases actually needed explanations of the questions in the other three languages (Temne, Mende, and Limba).
Unit of Analysis and Analytic Techniques

The unit of analysis is the individual respondent (De Vaus, 2002; Newman, 2000). I chose the individual as the unit of analysis as the current study was interested only in citizen’s perception on corruption and politics. Thus, issues of neighborhood and city effects were not taken into consideration in this study. That will be for some future study. The effect of politics and corruption on public trust and legitimacy was measured at the individual level in the city, Freetown. The respondents were selected from the East End and the West End of the city. The research was conducted in these two sections or areas of the capital Freetown and focused on individuals who lived in these two areas of the Capital. The research utilized a mixed methods approach. The data collected in the field were analyzed and discussed following the completion of the administration of the questionnaires to determine perceived corruption, and political interference, and their effects on public trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone police by utilizing Ordinal Logistic Regression Analysis to determine how the independent/predictor variables influence or impact the dependent variables and the direction of change or to measure the effect of the Independent Variables on the Dependent Variables at the individual level. First, the Univariate Statistics and Bivariate Correlations are presented to highlight the demographics and correlations that exist among the variables. Second, four different Ordinal Logistic regression models are carried out using SPSS statistical software as my research variables were ordinal variables in order to test the four research hypotheses. This was followed by analyzing the interviewee responses for the open ended questions and looking for common themes using the “thematic network analysis”. Responses and comments were grouped based on themes and then analyzed to look for patterns and citizens perceptions about how widespread corruption and
politics exist within the Sierra Leone Police and how it has impacted their trust and legitimacy of the police. The appendices section provides the survey instrument (questionnaire), and a summary description of the response items to each question.

Deciding which model to use in analyzing the data collected in the field was not an easy task. Different models and different interactions were run. First, scales were created and with the SPSS Statistical software program I run ordinary least-squares regression models. The overall model was significant but had very low variances explained for both public trust and legitimacy. Both of the predictor variables, that is, politics and corruption were not significant predictors of public trust. Only corruption was found to be a significant predictor of legitimacy and therefore provide support for one of the four hypotheses. That is, “police corruption will reduce the legitimacy of the police among the citizenry in Sierra Leone”. No support was found for the other three hypotheses.

Thus, I had to run ordinal logistic regression which actually improves the predictability of the model. The model was not only found to be significant but also increases the variances observed in both public trust and legitimacy. Thus, with the ordinal logistic regression model support was found for two of the research hypotheses. That is, “police corruption will reduce the legitimacy of the police among the citizenry in Sierra Leone” and “police corruption will reduce public trust in the police in Sierra Leone. However, even with the ordinal logistic regression model, politics was not found to be a statistically significant predictor of public trust and legitimacy.
Indices Formation and Coding

Indices were also created for each of the two independent variables (corruption, and politics) and the two dependent variables (public trust, and legitimacy) that take into consideration the number of questions used to measure the variable, and with a clear focus on how strong the indices are as a measure of the variable and it also helped me in deciding which questions to use for the different variables.

Four indices were created. Two for the independent variables: that is, corruption, and political interference, and also two for the dependent variables: that is, public trust, and legitimacy. Questions 5, 6, and 7 were used to create an additive scale for the corruption scale. Question (5) “In the last 6 months have you or any member living in your household had any contact with the police.” Responses are coded as “1” for yes and “2” for no, and had a loading of .76 which is actually quite good. For Question (6) “In the last 6 months have you or any member living in your household willingly offered a bribe to a police officer for special favors?” Responses are coded as “1” for yes and “2” for no with a loading of .75. Also, for Question (7) “In the last 6 months have you or any member living in your household been asked to pay a bribe by a police officer for special favors?” Responses are coded as “1” for yes and “2” for no with a loading of .81 which is very good. The Cronbach alpha value for all the three questions in the corruption scale was .66 which indicates that the three items possess acceptable internal consistency. The alpha level ranges from 0-1 and as the alpha level tends towards 1, the strength of its reliability increases. The Corruption Scale also had a mean score of 4.60 (SD=1.15) with a minimum score of 3.00 and a maximum score of 6.00. Thus, the range is 3.00.
For the other independent variable Politics Scale; two questions were used to create the scale. That is question 12 and question 13. For Question (12) “Politics determine which cases are investigated.” Responses are coded as “1” Strongly Agree, “2” Agree, “3” Don’t Know, “4” Disagree and “5” Strongly Disagree, and had a loading of .78. Also for Question (13) “In your opinion why is a police officer influenced by politics/political interference?” Responses are coded as “1” Job Security, “2” Promotions, “3” External Pressure, “4” Internal Pressure, and “5” Others (Please State), and had a loading of .78 which is also good. The Politics Scale also had a mean score of 4.30 (SD=1.57) with a minimum score of 2.00 and maximum score of 9.00. Thus the Politics Scale had a range of 7.00. The politics scale has an alpha of .33 which is really low.

For the two dependent variables: public trust, and legitimacy, two indices were created. The Public Trust variable was created with 5 (five) questions. All these five questions were combined to create an ordinal variable called public trust. That is, questions 17 (loading of .85), 18 (loading of .50), 19 (loading of .78), 20 (loading of .70), and 21 (loading of .62). For Question (17) “To what extent do you trust the Sierra Leone Police to operate in the best interest of the public?” Responses are coded as “1” A great deal, “2” Quite a lot, “3” Not very much, and “4” None at all. Question (18) “Do you have confidence in the Sierra Leone Police to ensure adequate public safety? Responses are coded as “1” very low confidence, “2” low confidence, “3” moderate confidence, “4” high confidence, and “5” very high confidence. Question (19) “How often do the Sierra Leone Police give honest explanation for their actions to people they deal with?” Responses are coded as “1” Always, “2” Almost Always, “3” Sometimes, “4” Almost Never, and “5” Never. Question (20) “The police do a great job of preventing crime”. Responses are coded “1” strongly agree, “2” disagree, “3” agree, “4” strongly agree.
(21) “The police do a great job of keeping order on the streets and sidewalks.” Responses are coded as “1” strongly disagree, “2” disagree, “3” agree, “4” strongly agree. For the new ordinal variable public trust, a new question was asked “To what extent do you trust the Sierra Leone Police” and responses were recoded as “1” A great deal, “2” quite a lot, “3” not very much, and “4” none at all. The public trust variable was shown to have a Cronbach alpha of .64 which is acceptable. The Cronbach alpha actually increased from .58 (when only two questions were used) to .64 when five questions were used.

The other dependent variable Legitimacy was created with five questions. That is, questions 22 (loading of .33), 25 (loading of .76), 26 (loading of .78), 27 (loading of .59), and 28 (loading of .68). Question (22) “How willing would you be to assist the police if asked? Responses are coded as “1” always, “2” almost always, “3” sometimes, “4” almost never, “5” never. Question (25) “The police are polite when dealing with people.” Responses are coded as “1” for strongly disagree, “2” for disagree, “3” agree, and “4” strongly agree. For Question (26) “The police are helpful when dealing with people.” Responses are coded as “1” strongly disagree, “2” disagree, “3” agree, and “4” strongly agree. For Question (27) “The police are helpful when dealing with victims of crime.” Responses are coded as “1” strongly disagree, “2” disagree, “3” agree, and “4” strongly agree. For Question (28) “The police are fair when dealing with people”. Responses are coded as “1” strongly disagree, “2” disagree, “3” agree, and “4” strongly agree. All five questions above were combined to create a single ordinal variable called legitimacy. Responses are coded based on the statement “view police as legitimate and willing to assist the police if asked”. Responses are coded as “1” strongly disagree, “2” disagree, “3” agree, and 4 strongly agree. With regards the legitimacy variable, when all the five questions were
included in the legitimacy variable, it was shown to have a Cronbach alpha of .58 which is acceptable but slightly weak. While for the control variables age 18-25 was made the reference category for age, while above senior high school education was made the reference category for education. Above 5 million was made the reference category for annual income.

**Reliability and Validity**

In order to avoid measurement error, the questionnaires were pilot-tested in the field in order to show whether it actually measures what it intends to measure (validity) and the responses remain the same or similar from the other responses even when they are repeated in different areas and with different people (reliability) (Creswell, 2009; De Vaus, 2002; Newman, 2000). Issues dealing with validity were reduced to a minimum or were almost nonexistent as the question items for corruption, legitimacy, political interference, and public trust were adapted or modified from previously tested sources including such as the Campbell Collaboration (2013), Tyler (2001, 2004), Tankebe (2013), and Transparency International measures of corruption perception survey (2013), thereby guaranteeing face and construct validity. With regards to reliability of the research instrument (questionnaires), split half methods were used as the study area was divided into two sections, and the pilot survey showed stability in the responses indicating that the survey instrument is consistent and dependable. Also, the fact that established measures were adapted increases the reliability of the research instrument. It is important to note that I personally pilot tested the 20 questionnaires, 10 from each section, and were randomly administered to survey participants based on availability and willingness to participate when each third house was selected. Effort was also made to vary the respondents selected by selecting participants based on gender and age. Using the split-half method, the preliminary results
indicates that the survey instrument measured what it intends to measure, and repeatedly so with consistency. This demonstrates the survey instrument was reliable and valid. It also indicates that respondents clearly understood the questions as they were able to adequately respond to the questions with very few exceptions.
CHAPTER 4: QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter presents the quantitative research findings in general, including univariate descriptive statistics covering the demographics of the sample under study, bivariate correlation coefficients of all the study variables, Ordinal Logistic regression models (interpreted as Ordinal Logistic regression results).
## Presentation of Findings - Quantitative Research Findings

### Table 1: Univariate Descriptive Statistics – Demographics (N=560)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEMS/VARIABLES</th>
<th>M (SD)/%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-25</td>
<td>41.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-49</td>
<td>55.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 Years and Above</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marital Status</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>64.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>35.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Employment</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>46.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>53.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Annual Income</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to 5,000,000</td>
<td>89.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Than 5,000,000</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Political Party Affiliation</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>APC</td>
<td>48.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLPP</td>
<td>29.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>62.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>37.5</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Formal Education</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Than Senior High School</td>
<td>9.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Senior High School/GED</td>
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<tr>
<td>Above Senior High School</td>
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<td><strong>Public Trust</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None at all</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not very much</td>
<td>59.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quite a lot</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A great deal</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Legitimacy</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>57.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>32.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
<td>1.4</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Corruption Scale</strong></td>
<td>4.60 (1.15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Politics Scale</strong></td>
<td>4.30 (1.57)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1 above presents the relevant demographic characteristics of the sample under study. Frequencies are presented for categorical variables while means and standard deviations are provided for continuous variables. With regards to the age of the respondents those between the ages of 26-49 accounted for approximately 56 percent of the sample under study. Forty-one percent of the sample under study was shown to be between the ages of 18-25 while participants who are 50 years old and above accounts for only three percent of the sample. In essence, the sample was biased toward middle aged and younger adults, with very few elderly people. This finding is not surprising at all as Sierra Leone has a very youthful population (2004 Population and Housing Census).

For marital status, approximately 65 percent of the sample under study was single while 35 percent were shown to be married. The sample was also shown to be biased toward singles. With regards to employment, approximately 46 percent of the sample was unemployed while approximately 54 percent of the sample was employed. With regards to employment, the sample size was equitably distributed between unemployed and employed. For annual income those earning up to 5 million Leones (approximately $1,200 United States Dollars Per Annum) accounts for approximately 90 percent of the sample while those earning more than 5 million Leones (above $1,200 United States Dollars Per Annum) accounts for approximately 10 percent of the sample participants. The sample was biased toward those earning up to 5 million Leones (above $1,200 United States Dollars Per Annum).

With respect to political party affiliation those belonging to the APC (All Peoples Congress) accounts for the majority of the respondents (approximately 48% of the sample) while approximately 30 percent of the study participants belongs to the SLPP (Sierra Leone Peoples
Party). The sample was also biased toward participants who belong to the All People’s Congress (APC) political party. Those belonging to all other parties account for 22 percent of the sample under study. It is interesting to note that the study location (Freetown, the Capital City of Sierra Leone) is a predominantly APC strong hold and such a pattern has been observed in the last two general elections (2007 and 2012) that is, for both the presidential and parliamentary elections. Note that APC and SLPP are the two most popular parties in Sierra Leone and both parties have a long history with the country’s political life. They are the only two political parties to have ruled the country since independence from the British our colonial masters in April 27th, 1961.

With regards to gender, approximately 63 percent of the sample under study was males while approximately 37 percent was females. In respect to education, approximately nine percent of the respondents had no formal education. Also, approximately nine percent had received less than senior high school education, while approximately 27 percent had received senior high school/GED education. The majority of the respondents had received above senior high school education which accounts for 55 percent of the sample under study.

For the dependent variables, the public trust variable indicates that those who said “not very much” accounts for the majority of the respondents (approximately 60 percent) when it comes to public trust in the police, those respondents who said “quite a lot” accounts for approximately 22 percent of the sample size. Also, “none at all” accounts for approximately 15 percent while respondents who said “a great deal only accounts for approximately 3 percent of all respondents.

With regards to the other dependent variable legitimacy (of their perception on the legitimacy of the Sierra Leone police) the majority of the respondents who “disagree” accounts
for approximately 57 percent of the respondents, while those who “agree” accounts for 32 percent of the respondents. Also, those who “strongly disagree” when it comes to police legitimacy in Sierra Leone accounts for approximately 9 percent, while those who strongly agree accounts for only 1.5 percent of the respondents. With regards to the independent or predictor variables, the corruption scale had an average score of 4.60 (SD=1.15) while the politics scale had an average score of 4.30 (SD=1.57).
Table 2: Table Showing Bivariate Correlation Coefficients of Study Variables

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<th>1</th>
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<td>6: Employment</td>
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<td>7: Annual Income</td>
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<td>0.02</td>
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<td>0.32*</td>
<td>0.27*</td>
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<td>14: Less than Senior High School</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.17*</td>
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<td>-0.01</td>
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<td>16: Above Senior High School</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
<td>-0.20*</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
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<td>-0.17</td>
<td>0.11</td>
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<td>-0.40</td>
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<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>-0.16</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>-0.35*</td>
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<td>18: 26-49</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
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<td>0.37</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
<td>-0.40</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>-0.94</td>
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<td>19: 50 and Above</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.11</td>
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<td>0.06</td>
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<td>-0.07</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>-0.20</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001
Table 2 above presents the bivariate correlations for the dependent variables, independent variables, and control variables. The bivariate correlations were further examined to determine whether multicollinearity issues exist or not. No multicollinearity issues were found to exist among the continuous independent variables which mean that no two variables are measuring the same thing or effect.

Neither the corruption scale nor the political scale showed any significant relationship with public trust. No formal education was shown to have a significant and positive relationship with public trust ($r=.14, p<.05$), thus those with no formal education tend to have more public trust in the police. Also ages 26-49 was shown to have a significant positive relationship ($r=.09, p<.05$), thus those between the ages of 26-49 tend to have more public trust in the police than the other age categories. Some of the control variables were found to have issues of multicollinearity between ages 26-49 and those between ages 18-25. However, since ages 18-25 was the reference category and both variables are control variables is not an issue for concern (Allison, 2012). The reference category does not have any impact on the regression model that was run. One of the control variables was shown to have a significant negative relationship as all those who have above high school education ($r=-.09, p<.05$) have lower levels of public trust in the Sierra Leone police.

With regards to legitimacy, of the two predictor variables, that is, corruption and politics; only corruption was shown to have a significant negative relationship ($r=-.15, p<.01$), thus as corruption increases, legitimacy decreases. Politics was not found to have any significant relationship with legitimacy. For the control variables, less than senior high school was shown to have a significant positive relationship with legitimacy ($r=.17, p<.01$), thus as those with less
than high school increases, legitimacy scale also increases. Senior high school was also shown to have a significant positive relationship ($r = .13$, $p < .01$), thus as senior high school increases, legitimacy scale also increases. It is interesting to note that above senior high school was shown to have a significant negative relationship ($r = -.20$, $p < .01$), thus as above high school increases legitimacy scale decreases. While for those 50 years and above, a significant positive relationship was shown to exist, ($r = .10$, $p < .05$), thus as 50 years and above increases, legitimacy scale also increases.

Results:

Table 3: Ordinal Logistic Regression Model Predicting Public Trust (n=560)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLES</th>
<th>b(SE)</th>
<th>Odds Ratio</th>
<th>Wald</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corruption Scale</td>
<td>-0.19 (0.08)</td>
<td>.76*</td>
<td>1.650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics Scale</td>
<td>0.04 (0.06)</td>
<td>1.043</td>
<td>.550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>-0.13 (0.20)</td>
<td>.881</td>
<td>.356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>0.15 (0.20)</td>
<td>1.157</td>
<td>.520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Income</td>
<td>0.60 (0.30)</td>
<td>1.804*</td>
<td>3.915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLPP</td>
<td>-0.30 (0.20)</td>
<td>.744</td>
<td>2.193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>-0.30 (0.20)</td>
<td>.747</td>
<td>1.714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>-0.30 (0.19)</td>
<td>.970</td>
<td>.029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Formal Education</td>
<td>-0.50 (0.34)</td>
<td>.610</td>
<td>2.126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Than Senior High School</td>
<td>0.61 (0.32)</td>
<td>1.831+</td>
<td>3.470</td>
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<td>Senior High School</td>
<td>0.08 (0.23)</td>
<td>1.087</td>
<td>.132</td>
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<td>Age 26-49</td>
<td>-0.26 (0.23)</td>
<td>.772</td>
<td>1.449</td>
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<td>Age 50 and Above</td>
<td>1.20 (0.55)</td>
<td>3.367*</td>
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<td>-2 Log Likelihood</td>
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<tr>
<td>Model $X^2$</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nagelkerke $R^2$</td>
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<tr>
<td>Threshold</td>
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<tr>
<td>TrustPolice A great deal = 1.00</td>
<td>-.922 (0.48)</td>
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<td>3.767</td>
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<tr>
<td>TrustPolice Quite a lot = 2.00</td>
<td>2.00 (0.48)</td>
<td>7.515</td>
<td>17.582</td>
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<tr>
<td>TrustPolice Not very Much = 3.00</td>
<td>4.45 (0.54)</td>
<td>85.341</td>
<td>67.658</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$
Table 3 above shows that ordinal logistic regression model was run to estimate the effect of the predictor/independent (Corruption and politics) variables on the dependent variable public trust, and also to estimate the effect of the control variables on the dependent variable public trust. The Chi-square indicates that the overall model is significant ($X^2=33.978$, $p<.01$). The Nagelkerke $R^2$ value shows that the variables included in the model explains 7 percent of the variance in public trust of the Sierra Leone Police. One of the predictor variables was a statistically significant predictor of the dependent variable public trust. That is, corruption was found to be a statistically significant predictor of public trust ($Wald=1.650$, $p<.05$). Thus, as citizen’s perception of corruption increases, public trust decreases. For every increase in citizens’ perception of corruption, public trust of the police decreases by 24 percent. However, politics was not found to be a significant predictor of public trust.

Two of the control variables were found to be statistically significant predictors of public trust. That is, annual income, and age 50 and above. Annual income had a ($Wald=3.915$, $p<.05$). Thus, as annual income increases, public trust of the police also increases. Thus, for every increase in annual income, there is a unit decrease of public trust. Compared to those who earn less than 5 million Leones, those who earned 10 million Leones had a 1.80 times more likely to trust the police in Sierra Leone. Also, Age 50 and above was found to be statistically significant predictor of public trust with a ($Wald=4.856$, $p<.05$). Thus, as age increases, public trust of the police in Sierra Leone also increases. With an odds ratio of 3.37, it indicates that compared to those who are 18-25 years old, those above age 50 are 3.37 times more likely to trust the police in Sierra Leone. It is important to note that less than high school was found to be marginally
significant. Thus, compared to those with above high school education, those with less than high school education are 1.83 times more likely to trust the police in Sierra Leone.

### Table 4: Ordinal Logistic Regression Model Predicting Legitimacy (n=560)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLES</th>
<th>b(SE)</th>
<th>Odds Ratio</th>
<th>Wald</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corruption Scale</td>
<td>-0.17 (0.08)</td>
<td>.64*</td>
<td>.908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics Scale</td>
<td>-0.03 (0.06)</td>
<td>.976</td>
<td>.198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>-0.23 (0.22)</td>
<td>.798</td>
<td>1.080</td>
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<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>0.00 (0.20)</td>
<td>1.002</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Income</td>
<td>0.26 (0.30)</td>
<td>1.299</td>
<td>.736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLPP</td>
<td>-0.24 (0.20)</td>
<td>.790</td>
<td>1.363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>-0.14 (0.22)</td>
<td>.870</td>
<td>.394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>-0.28 (0.18)</td>
<td>.756</td>
<td>2.397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Formal Education</td>
<td>0.28(0.32)</td>
<td>1.320</td>
<td>.732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Than Senior High School</td>
<td>1.20 (0.32)</td>
<td>3.337***</td>
<td>13.888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior High School</td>
<td>0.54 (0.23)</td>
<td>1.722*</td>
<td>5.655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-49</td>
<td>0.06 (0.21)</td>
<td>1.060</td>
<td>.073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 and Above</td>
<td>1.80 (0.60)</td>
<td>6.018*</td>
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<td>-2 Log Likelihood</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model $X^2$</td>
<td>43.386***</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagelkerke $R^2$</td>
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<tr>
<td>Threshold</td>
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<tr>
<td>Legitimacy Strongly Disagree =1.00</td>
<td>-1.68 (0.48)</td>
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<td>12.066</td>
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<tr>
<td>Legitimacy Disagree = 2.00</td>
<td>1.48 (0.48)</td>
<td>4.389</td>
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<tr>
<td>Legitimacy Agree = 3.00</td>
<td>5.20 (0.60)</td>
<td>181.435</td>
<td>75.532</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: *$p<.05$, **$p<.01$, ***$p<.001$*

Table 4 above shows **Ordinal Logistic** regression model estimating the effect of the predictor/independent variables (corruption and politics) on the dependent variable legitimacy. The Chi-Square indicates that the model is significant ($X^2=43.386$, $p<.001$). The Nagelkerke $R^2$ value shows that the variables included in the model explains 9% of the variance observed in legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police. An interesting finding was made with regards corruption
as it was shown to be statistically significant and a robust predictor of legitimacy (Wald = 4.908, p < .05). Thus, as corruption increases, legitimacy decreases. Thus, for every increase in citizens’ perception of corruption, the legitimacy of the police in Sierra Leone decreases by 36 percent. However, the other predictor variable politics was found not to be a statistically significant predictor of legitimacy.

Three of the control variables were found to be statistically significant predictors of legitimacy within the Sierra Leone police. Less than senior high school was found to be a statistically significant (Wald=13.89, p < .001) predictor of legitimacy. This suggests that compared to those with above senior high school, individuals with less than senior high school are 3.34 times more likely to view the Sierra Leone Police as legitimate. Also, senior high school was found to be a statistically significant (Wald=5.655, p < .05) predictor of legitimacy. This clearly indicates that compared to those with above senior high school, individuals with senior high school education are 1.72 times more likely to view the police as legitimate or have a high level of legitimacy for the Sierra Leone Police. With regards to age predicting legitimacy, it was found that age 50 and above was statistically significant with a (Wald=8.774, p < .05). This clearly indicates that compared to those who are 18-25 years of age, individuals who are 50 years and above are 6.02 times more likely to view the Sierra Leone Police as legitimate.
CHAPTER 5: QUALITATIVE RESEARCH FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter deals with the analysis of the qualitative data collected, and the presentation of the qualitative research findings based on the open ended questions in the survey instrument (the questionnaires), and respondents comments and observations.
Analyzing the Qualitative Data

Qualitative methods in the social sciences (as one of the approaches to conducting research) has grown in the last two decades and with it an expanding number of tools at the disposal of social science researchers to choose from and apply in the analysis of materials, information and responses from interviews in the field. If qualitative research is to yield useful results then careful thought and planning should go into the analysis process. However, choosing what to use is often not an easy task. This research utilizes the thematic network analysis to identify themes and analyze the data (Attride-Sterling, 2001). “A good thematic code is one that captures the qualitative richness of the phenomenon. It is usable in the analysis, the interpretation, and the presentation of research” (Boyatzis 1983, p.31 in Neuman, 2000, p. 421).

To develop a good theme a researcher must possess certain skills or abilities on how to see or recognize themes in the data. Developing such a skill rests on four abilities any qualitative researcher should have: 1) recognize patterns in the data, 2) thinking in terms of systems and concepts, 3) having tacit knowledge or in depth background knowledge and 4) possessing relevant information (Boyatzis, 1983, p. 7-8 in Neuman, 2000, p. 421).

Applying thematic analysis to any qualitative data first and foremost demands that you unearth the themes which are important to the study, group them at different levels, and using the thematic networks create a structure that clearly shows the common or basic themes and how they are connected to one another, the organizing themes, and to the global theme(s) that will not only enable the researcher to connect the dots but also provides both the researchers and readers with the big picture of the concept, phenomenon or problem under investigation and
show how the basic themes impacts the organizing themes and the global themes for example in my current research perceptions of politics/political interference within the Sierra Leone Police, perceptions of corruption within the Sierra Leone Police.

Thematic networks are widely used in qualitative research. “Thematic networks systematic the extraction of: (i) lowest–order premises evident in the text (Basic Themes); (ii) categories of basic themes grouped together to summarize more abstract principles (Organizing Themes); and (iii) super-ordinate themes encapsulating the principal metaphors in the text as a whole (Global Themes)” (Attride-Sterling, 2001, p.388). Web-like maps are then created to show the relevant themes and the relationships that exist between the themes or variables been studied.

Thematic network analysis involved six major steps under three broad general headings or stages:
Table 5: Steps in the Thematic Network Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANALYSIS STAGE A: REDUCTION OR BREAKDOWN OF TEXT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Step 1. Code Material:</strong> (a) Devise a coding framework (b) Dissect text into text segments using the coding framework</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Step 2. Identify Themes:</strong> (a) Abstract themes from coded text segments (b) Refine themes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Step 3. Construct Thematic Networks:</strong> (a) Arrange themes (b) Select basic themes (c) Rearrange into organizing themes (d) Deduce Global Theme(s) (e) Illustrate as thematic network(s) (f) Verify and refine the network(s)</td>
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<tr>
<th>ANALYSIS STAGE B: EXPLORATION OF TEXT</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Step 4. Describe and Explore Thematic Networks:</strong> (a) Describe the network (b) Explore the network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Step 5. Summarize Thematic Networks</strong></td>
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<tr>
<th>ANALYSIS STAGE C: INTEGRATION OF EXPLORATION</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Step 6. Interpret Patterns</strong></td>
</tr>
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</table>

(Adapted from Attride-Sterling, J. 2001, p. 391)

The above procedures for the thematic network analysis were then applied to the current study. Thus, the first thing that was done was the coding of the material or information collected in the field from the respondents in order to reduce the data, so that it will be easy to manage and utilized. Coupled with my background knowledge of the issues been researched, it was a little easier to identify patterns and themes. I focused primarily on key words and topics that have a relationship with the problem been investigated which is perceptions of politics/political interference, and corruption. However, identifying themes or patterns was not an easy task. First I went through quite a substantial number of the responses to look for themes or patterns in the responses that cuts across and speak to the issues or problems been investigated. Numbers were then assigned to the different codes which helped in the coding process and the identifying of
themes. For instance, there were about 24 codes to identify the basic themes which were then reduced to 8 organizing themes. However only seven were discussed as there was a don’t know category for all those who refuse to answer the question on corruption and those who said no. As a result of this seven types of corruption were identified and grouped as organizing themes. Thus, those organizing themes were then linked to the global theme which happens to be corruption. The seven organizing themes are bribery, begging, poor work ethics, conniving with criminals and drug lords, ethnic/favoritism, paying for investigations, and sexual harassment. Once the networks are established, the effect of these organizing themes and the global themes on public trust and legitimacy was discussed and recommendations suggested. See the next topic.

With regards the perceptions of politics/political interference on public trust of the police and the legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police, the same process was followed. However very few basic themes were identified for the politics/political interference. Thus, 9 basic themes were identified which were later grouped into 3 organizing themes and how they relate to the global theme of politics/political interference. These three themes are rich getting away with crimes, politicians getting away with crimes, and not applicable. After this process is completed, the influence of citizens’ perception of politics/political interference on public trust of the police, and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police was then discussed and recommendations suggested.

Presentation of Qualitative Research Findings

The majority of the respondents had a very negative perception about corruption within the Sierra Leone Police and viewed corruption as a very serious problem within the Sierra Leone Police and accounts for approximately 85 percent of all the respondents in the survey. Also, the
majority of corruption or corrupt practices within the Sierra Leone Police are more focused on petty corruption rather than grand corruption. What may called “bread and butter corruption” (From a male respondent, 2014) which equally has a devastating effects on the security and governance of the state as they relate to maintaining law and order, protecting life and property, investigations and the administration of justice in Sierra Leone.
Table 6: Typology of Perceived Corrupt Practices by the Sierra Leone Police in order of magnitude

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO</th>
<th>TYPE OF CORRUPT PRACTICE</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bribery (e.g. officers demanding a bribe by delaying their response, and claiming lack of resources)</td>
<td>65.4 Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Begging (e.g. from motorists and complainants)</td>
<td>13.2 Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Poor Work Ethics (e.g. Coming Late to Work, Leaving Early, Untidy, Poor Handling of Evidence)</td>
<td>6.4 Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Conniving with Criminals and Drug Lords (looking the other way/turning a blind eye, getting tips and gifts from criminals and drug lords)</td>
<td>5.2 Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ethnicity/Favoritism (e.g. protecting and seriously pursuing cases that are from individuals that are from his or her ethnic group or tribe, or friends)</td>
<td>3.2 Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Paying for Investigations (e.g. the upper class tend to pay police officers to vigorously investigate their cases while the poor who do not have money to pay get their cases put aside, and investigations of such cases get delayed)</td>
<td>.7 Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sexual Harassment (against Women, some police officers often demand sex as a form of compensation from women to protect them or investigate their cases)</td>
<td>.2 Percent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Respondents highlighted several types of corrupt practices that the police often engage in while carrying out their duties in the different communities. The most common type of corruption was identified to be bribery. Police officers in Sierra Leone are often in the habit of
asking for money from the public or victims who report incidences of crime or any physical injury to them. For example one of the respondents had this to say “When thieves break in to my house and I reported the incidence to the police I have to pay for the forensic team to come and take finger prints, and tip them, which is a very common practice. Nothing gets done without tipping the police” The majority of police officers can only vigorously investigate any complaints or crime brought before them only if they are tipped or bribed. This could take the subtle and indirect form of saying there are no papers, no fuel for the vehicle, no driver currently available for the vehicle, or they have few men on duty, the forensic officer is not available to go and get pictures and finger prints of the crime scene, and can only attend to your emergency at some later time. Hardly will officers ask for money or a bribe directly. Both junior and senior (rank and file officers) officers are involved in the bribery. It is not just the junior officers or street level bureaucrats, or officers on the beat. The level of corruption is widespread. It is not just a matter of few bad apples or “one rotten fish in the basket”. One of the respondents states that “Sometimes a junior officer will pretend to be the good guy by recommending that you will need to do something about the boss or immediate superior as he/she has an interest in this matter or case, but in reality he is also trying to rip you off and share with the boss who does not want to be at the forefront of demanding a bribe”.

It was also found that begging was widespread as a form of corruption within the Sierra Leone Police. Second only to bribery, begging is a very subtle and nice way of asking for money indirectly. Thus, police officers manning check points (border crossings or make shifts stop and searches), or patrolling the central business districts during the day and night often beg motorists or business owners for some money to buy cigarettes, coffee, or alcohol. One of the respondents
who happened to be a truck driver had this to say about police officers manning a check point on the Freetown-Masiaka highway “The police officers will always ask for bread if you are coming from the city, or gari (and other food stuffs) if you are coming from the Provinces in addition to the money that is expected. Refusing to comply will mean that your truck or vehicle will have to be thoroughly searched all the way to the bottom claiming that they have a suspicion that you are carrying some contraband or smuggling some items, and of course you will have to unload your truck which will take a lot of time. To avoid the undue delays motorists tend to comply and you better do if you do not want to waste your time”. They will often claim in an effort to justify why they are begging that the place or weather is very cold outside at night. But should that be the responsibility of the citizens to provide what these police officers need to enhance their effectiveness during patrols and manning of check points; or a reason not to patrol and manned checkpoints? Other less frequent (but not any way less harmful or damaging in effect than the previous types discussed) are ethnicity/tribalism, paying for investigations, sexual harassment (asking for sexual favors from female victims or offenders), poor work ethics, and conniving with criminals).

Poor work ethics was also found to be a very serious problem within the Sierra Leone Police and as one of the many forms of corrupt practices. The majority of police officers come to work late, which is also not just unique to the Sierra Leone but workers generally across the country. Police officers are also in the habit of leaving early despite the fact that they do not come early. Some of the police officers are very untidy and handle evidence very poorly. One of the respondents had this to say on the issue of poor work ethics “Despite the fact that we have been for almost three hours for this male officer to show up, when he did, he was desperately
searching for the file as he could not easily locate it, and to excuse himself he claimed that he was on some assignment investigating a case, the general kind of excuse they will always give you”.

Conniving with criminals and drug lords was also found to be a very serious problem although not as widespread as bribery and begging but still a problem of concern for public trust and legitimacy issues for the Sierra Leone Police (SLP). Respondents were of the strong belief that some police officers often turn a blind eye to criminals and drug lords particularly when they are tipped or giving gifts and special favors. One of the respondents had this to say, “I live near this place where people sell marijuana and trade sex (which are illegal in Sierra Leone) and the police will often raid them and arrest some and take them to the police station. What is surprising though is that you will still see the same people the following day doing their illegal businesses. If you talk to these drug lords or prostitutes they will say, the police is just after the money”. Thus, instead of enforcing the law, the police are busy making money out of criminal activities by aiding and abetting the process, and denying the state revenues that will have gone into the national treasury for the betterment of all and the country.

Ethnicity or Tribalism and favoritism were also found to be problems within the Sierra Leone Police and as one of the corrupt practices that some police officers are involved in. It is important to note that very few police officers are involved in these kinds of corrupt practices but equally damaging to the perceived corruption that citizens have with regards to the Sierra Leone Police which in turn had impacted negatively on public trust and legitimacy of the police. Some officers are in the habit of vigorously protecting, pursuing and investigating cases that have to do
with their friends and those from their ethnic group even if they are guilty of the crime been investigated.

Paying for investigations was also found to be one of the problems facing policing in Sierra Leone and also one of the corrupt practices that some police are engaged in. It’s truly disheartening to know that your case can only be investigated if you pay some money, give gifts in kindness or cash. Thus, poor people who come with complaints to the police after been victimized or if they need protection hardly ever get protection or justice. One of the poor respondents had this say “The fact that I know that I have to pay them [meaning police officers] in order for them to investigate my case or travel to go and invite the complainant, I have stopped reporting any case to the police. I just swear and ask God Almighty to be my Judge and for him to grant me peace and justice, (“ah lef me case gi God” in Pigeon English-Creole meaning God will judge or decide on the matter). Some of the respondents also believed in the powers of the gods and evil spirits to grant them justice. Thus, some of them will travel to the rural areas and swear in the traditional ways, perform the rites associated in consulting the gods and present their cases. Some claimed that it has work for them as evil befell the offenders and abusers. Hard to proof or verify though. But it did make the point that poor people are so desperate for justice that they could not get from the police and the criminal justice system in general and they are willing to look for alternatives.

Sexual harassment is also one of the problems facing the police and which happened to be one of the types that some police officers engage in. Sexual harassment disproportionately affects women complainants. Whether women are they victims or offenders, the picture remains the same. Some police officers will demand sex from women directly or indirectly by demanding
some bribery, and if the women cannot afford the bribe, then they will be tempted to offer sex in place of the bribe. This is a problem that really needs to be addressed. They women were shy to talk about this in detail but the problem exists and needs to be addressed.

It was also found that the majority of the respondents (approximately 75 percent) had a negative perception of politics and political interference within the Sierra Leone Police, and strongly believed that politics is a serious problem within the Sierra Leone Police. Politics and political interference within the Sierra Leone Police was shown to take different forms. Political interference/politics was found to take three different forms. First, politicians (that is, people or individuals whose job appointment is directly related to politics or direct governance of the state or citizens such as members of the cabinet (executive branch), the legislators in parliament (called Congress for the USA), heads of parastatals or government institutions such as Energy, National State Lottery, are Head of Universities etc.) are sometimes found to be directly interfering in the day to day activities of the work of police officers and acting as impediments in the administration of justice and denying victims any form of justice or redress.

Second, active members of political parties who are registered and fully paid up members or hold executive positions in theses political parties are also in the habit of intimidating both the police and poor victims with issuing threats that they know the establishment and have the right connections. Thus, nothing will come out of it even if the victim reports the crime or incidence to the police. Third, the rich and famous who happened for most of the time to be close friends or associates with the political elite also tend to obstruct justice by intimidating victims, the police, and the fact that they pay for the best legal service.
Very often, it is these groups of people who try to influence the police in maintaining law and order, and in the administration of justice or investigating cases for evidence. Politicians, the rich and famous, and executives of political parties, most often think that they are above the law and can do anything and get away with it. “People are often afraid to report matters of violations of rights or crimes to the police particularly if the offender is rich or part of the political elite as most often nothing comes out of it” (One of the female respondents, Freetown, 2014). The rich and political class often intimidates the police by saying that the matter or case will be discussed with their immediate superior (who is likely to tell him/her to drop the case or engage in any further investigations or at its worst destroying of evidence). In several instances, research participants stated that indeed, their bosses will interfere and call the junior officer and demand that they let go of the investigations or the offender.

Politicians do sometimes call the police high command and say that they have an interest on a particular matter or case being investigated by the police or said officer. It will sometimes take the form of the politician asking for a favor and promising that she/he will always be there for the police officer if he/she ever wanted his help administratively to get quick promotions. Given the fact that the head of the Police Council is the Current Vice President, and top appointments are made with his blessings or approval, it’s hard for any senior serving officer (let alone the junior officers) to deny a simple favor from a serving politician or deny orders from above. Except if the officer chooses not to care about his/her career, and promotions on the job. The political elite will sometimes go as far as even threatening dismissal of a junior officer by talking to his or her immediate superior. Most times this is done behind closed doors, in a subtle and indirect manner. The rich and political elite could offer a bribe as a form of monetary gifts,
or in goods and services, promise of a promotion or joining a department or unit of their choice, getting a quarter (housing) within the police barracks. It’s hard not to see why the citizens had a very negative perception about politics within the Sierra Leone Police.

The qualitative findings do provide recommendations or suggestions on how to fix the problem of corruption and politics within the Sierra Leone Police. Research participants were of the strong opinion those politicians and the elite should leave the police alone to do their job and that the police should be totally independent. That is, there should be a total and complete separation of powers with the other arms of government. This does not mean or imply that the police should not be held accountable. Of course, even now the police have their own internal mechanisms of control and a whole department known as the Complaints Discipline and Internal Investigation Department (CDIID) to deal with issues of police corruption and abuse of power. The issue of concern was whether they are able and willing to bring their fellow officers (or colleagues in the police force) who violate and abuse their power through corruption or political interference. Whatever success or gains the CDIID have had so far has been very minimal and have failed to curb police corruption or led to any meaningful change in behavior for the better. Thus, the CDIID needs to be strengthened and given autonomy from been directly controlled by their immediate superiors within the police and from any form of political interference from the political elite.

Citizens strongly believed that police officers found guilty of corruption should be dismissed in order to deter others from participating in corrupt practices. Many strongly believed that there should be active media involvement in the fight against police corruption and political interference by covering police activities, reporting on these police activities, and of course
sensitizing the public about the nature of police work, desisting from offering or paying bribes even when asked and to report such matters either to the CDIID, the Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC) of Sierra Leone. The public should also desist from paying bribes willingly and offering any benefits in kind or cash to the police with the intent of influencing their decisions and discretion in the implementation of the laws of Sierra Leone. Also, police officers who are accused of corruption should be tried by law and if found guilty sent to prison.

Some of the recommendations have more to do with increasing welfare, conditions of service, and effectiveness of the police force as many also are of the strong opinion that the police are corrupt, not been held accountable enough, and there is too much political interference because of the lack of adequate resources and poor conditions of service that they work under. They believed that if the Sierra Leone Police force is well cared for and had adequate resources, and training, they will do an effective job and are likely to abandon these petty corrupt practices. Some of these recommendations and suggestions are that the police should be provided with adequate resources and equipment such as computers, printers, papers, audio and visual recording devices, vehicles, uniforms, protective gear, and good crowd and riot control gears etc. Many believed that the Sierra Leone Police are poorly equipped to do their jobs. Of concern also, is the fact that the Sierra Leone Police are poorly paid and it was recommended that salaries should be increased to an appreciable level. The problem though is that many would recommend increasing salary but when asked how much of an increase should be made, they are most often unable to say or recommend a range or any stated amount. However, few did make a recommendation as to the amount. Generally, some of the respondents recommended a minimum
salary of Le 1, 200,000 (One Million and Two Hundred Thousand Leones) which is approximately $300 United States Dollars with no upper limit.

Another area of concern and for which recommendations were made had to do with proper adequate training and monitoring systems put in place to discourage corruption and political interference in the day to day activities of the Sierra Leone Police. The majority of the research participants were of the strong opinion that the police needs to be properly and adequately trained to do a more professional job and to improve the public image of the police in order to increase public trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police among the citizenry.

Also, it was recommended that proper and adequate monitoring mechanisms that are effective and able to deter police officers, politicians, and the rich from being corrupt and interfering into the normal police routines in the exercise of their duties and responsibilities should be put in place. Corruption and politics within the Sierra Leone Police is not just a police issue as the public is also almost always willing and ready to offer a bribe, pay a bribe when demanded by the police, or offer a favor for some advantage and police discretion in his/her favor. Holding the police alone for these corrupt practices and political interference will not speedily and adequately address the problem. Corruption and politics within the Sierra Leone Police is a two way street. Thus, there is the need to also adequately monitor and deter members of the public from engaging in such corrupt practices and to desist from using politics to get their way with the police. It is so strange to know that members of the public are so willing to pay a bribe rather than try to obey the laws and regulations of society. Corruption has become a way of life when dealing with the police. “He/She who pays more money or to the police officers on the
beat or street level bureaucrats often get justice or freedom even if he/she is guilty of an offense” (From a respondent in Freetown, 2014).

Another issue of concern is that of appointing qualified personnel to head certain positions of authority within the police or as head of departments. Many of the respondents recommended that appointments and recruitments of police officers should be made based on merits and fitness for the job. This could have been easy, only if appointments and promotions were made devoid of any political interference from the political elite by way of recommendations and direct involvement on who gets promoted or head what department, district, or program.

This is another major reason why the Sierra Leone Police should be totally independent to run their own affairs as deemed fit within the law and in the enforcement of laws and regulations governing society. Since Sierra Leone is a democratic society where the rule of law is supposed to be respected, the police should also have autonomy and should be held accountable for their actions. “No man is above the law and no man is below it: nor do we ask any man’s permission when we ask him to obey it” (Theodore Roosevelt). Policing in the Twenty First Century should be more transparent and accountable to the people. There are laws that are in place in Sierra Leone that makes this possible if followed and implemented for example, The Right to Access Information Act (2013), also known as the Freedom of Information (FOI) Law or Bill, the Anti-Corruption Commission Act (2000), the Office of the Ombudsman which was created by the Ombudsman Act (1997), the Complaints Discipline and Internal Investigation (CDIID) of the Sierra Leone Police. Thus, issues of policing and how appointments and recruitments are made should be public knowledge. This will take away any doubts in the minds
of police officers and the public about what standards and guidelines are followed or used in the recruitment and promotion of police officers.

Also, to address the problems of corruption and politics within the Sierra Leone Police it was recommended that the judiciary should be independent. There seems to be some political interference in the running of the Judiciary. Thus, members of the public are afraid to take matters or cases of police abuse of power, and corruption to courts. The public is of the opinion that hardly will a police officer be found guilty of an offense before the court and the same is also true for politicians who influenced police decisions by interfering, and abusing their authority.

In order to strengthen and improve public trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police, there should be in place a strong and independent external mechanism of control for the police to deal with issues of accountability, political interference, and corruption. Thus, there is the urgent need to have non-state actors, civil society organizations, and citizens review boards or commissions put in place to monitor police activities and to deal swiftly with complaints against corruption and political interference.
CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION, POLICY IMPLICATIONS, AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion of the research findings in a reader friendly manner and easy to comprehend version. This is followed by a thorough discussion of the policy implications of the research findings. The limitations of the study is also discussed with a clear focus on the limitations of the research design, its applications, generalization, and those experienced in the field (with regards to the data collection). The practical applications of the research findings (benefits to society and Sierra Leone in particular) are also discussed under the conclusion section in this chapter. Also, some suggestions for future research and recommendations to improve public trust and legitimacy of the police in Sierra Leone among the citizenry are discussed.

Discussion of Findings

This is one of the very few studies that have been carried out in Sierra Leone to examine the influence or impact of politics, and corruption on public trust, and legitimacy of the police among the citizenry. The overall model was found to be a statistically significant predictor of public trust and legitimacy. Also, the results/findings clearly provide support for two of the four the research hypothesis that “Corruption will reduce the legitimacy of the police among the citizenry in Sierra Leone”, and “Police corruption will reduce public trust in the police in Sierra Leone”. In essence, as corruption increases, public trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police also decreases. The Nagelkerke $R^2$ values shows that the variables included in the model explains 9 percent of the variance observed in legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police and 7
percent of the variance explained in the public trust variable. These finding are supported by previous studies (Boateng, 2012; Charley & M’Cormack, 2011, Chicwanha, 2009; Goldsmith, 2005; Mazzerolle et al, 2013; Kpundeh 1998, 1994; Marenin, 2014; Meek, 2003; Newburn 1999, Potter & Thompson 1997, Punch, 2000; Tankebe, 2013; Tyler 2001, 2004, 2005). Thus, attention should be paid to addressing corruption in order to increase police legitimacy in Sierra Leone.

Contrary to study expectations, the research findings (results) failed to provide support for the other two research hypotheses. No significant relationship was found to exist between politics and public trust, politics and legitimacy. Despite the fact that the current study failed to provide support for these other two hypotheses, previous studies shown that politics is a significant predictor of public trust and legitimacy (Albrecht & Jackson, 2009; Boateng, 2012; Charley & M’Cormack, 2011; Castillejo, 2009; Jang et al., 2010; Kääriäinen, 2007; Kposowa, 2006; Kpundeh, 1998, 1994; Meek, 2003; Richey, 2010, Tankebe, 2013; Zack-Williams, 1999). Thus, there is need for more in-depth studies and future research that might use a more advanced mixed methods approach, or more advanced analytic techniques such as Structural Equation Models (SEM) and Hierarchical Linear Modelling (HLM) to arrive at a conclusion. Previous studies have shown that neighborhood characteristics are more robust predictors of the level of satisfaction with the police (Mason et al., 2003, Wu, Sun, & Triplett, 2009). Thus, if neighborhoods and neighborhoods characteristics had been included in the research design with regards to the data collection and analysis, the models might have been better and more robust.

Some of the control variables were also found to be significant predictors of legitimacy and public trust. The results show that education and age were significant predictors of legitimacy and public trust. Individuals with less education tend to trust the police more than
those with higher levels of education and are also likely to view the police as legitimate. Also as age increases, public trust and legitimacy of the police also increases. This finding is also supported by previous studies (Boateng, 2012; Boateng, Lee, & Abess (Under Review); Jang et al.; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Rosenbaum et al., 2005). Older people are more likely to trust the police more than the younger ones. This finding is also supported by previous studies (Boateng, 2012, Jang et al.; Wu & Sun, 2009). Annual Income was found to be a significant predictor for public trust. Thus as annual income increases, public trust for the Sierra Leone Police also increases.

Theories of trust, confidence, and legitimacy have tried to explain the loss of public confidence in the central institutions in representative democracies and how citizens have continuously demonstrated a loss of confidence in public institutions albeit in different levels and ways (Newton, 1999, Newton & Norris 1991). The findings of the current study provide support to the institutional performance model (Newton, 1999, Newton & Norris 1991) and the procedural justice model as well (Tyler, 2001; Tankebe, 2013; Tyler & Huo, 2002; Tyler, 2003: Tyler, 2007). The procedural justice argument is that citizens are generally more concerned about whether the police treat people fairly, treat people with dignity, respect their rights, explain their actions to citizens and whether they care about people’s concerns and their contributions in making their communities safe and in improving the quality of life in their communities. Fighting crimes or reducing crimes that does not take procedural justice issues into consideration is likely not going to increase police legitimacy (Mazerolle et al., 2010; Tankebe, 2013; Tyler, 2001). It is very likely that corrupt police officers will hardly make it a priority to explain their actions to citizens in police-citizens encounters.
It is also interesting to note that corruption takes many forms in Sierra Leone (examples bribery, begging, tribalism/ethnicity, and conniving with criminals. Read the qualitative section under Chapter Four, and Appendix 2 for more details). Such corrupt practices have largely undermined citizens’ view about police legitimacy and public trust. One interviewee comments “The police are just there to harass and take money from people”, while another comments, “The police are part of the criminal gang as they are protecting the criminals and aiding and abetting crimes in the country”. One of the interviewees also comments that “The police are just there to suppress public dissent against the political elite.” Thus, citizens’ view about police legitimacy and public trust is at its very lowest due to corrupt practices by the police and is likely to influence citizens’ decision making process whether to voluntarily obey the law or cooperate with the police law and order maintenance or investigate crimes.

Despite the fact that politics/political interference was not a significant predictor of public trust and legitimacy it is still relevant to talk about it. As it has helped to establish that in Sierra Leone, politics/political interference was not a significant predictor of public trust and legitimacy notwithstanding the fact that previous studies have shown that politics/political interference/governmental performance can and do influence public trust and legitimacy of the police (Albrecht & Jackson, 2009, Baker, 2010, 2006; Boateng, 2012; Clark, 2005; Goldsmith 2005, 2003; Jang et al.; 2012, Kääriäinen, 2007; Krogstad, 2013, 2012; Tankebe, 2013). Also, we can now theorize and come up with either a new proposition or hypothesis and try to test it in the field with regards the effect of politics on public trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police. Also, it can be stated with certainty that the research finding on politics provides support for the null hypothesis or the alternative hypothesis since the hypotheses on the influence of
politics on corruption and public trust has been rejected by the current study on the Sierra Leone Police. However, caution is advised against generalizing the current finding on political interference to other countries in West Africa.

Reasons for why the politics/political interference variable was not found to be a significant predictor of public trust and legitimacy of the police in Sierra Leone can only be speculative at best but based on my personal experiences of the political situation in Sierra Leone as it is my home country and I have lived there long enough to make some good speculations. It is likely that since the majority of citizens loved the current government so much, and the current government is highly rated compared to previous governments in terms of its human rights record, allowing a very free press to flourish, and a Freedom of Information Act in place may have contributed to the findings that citizen’s perceptions of politics/political interference was not a significant predictor of public trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police. Also, for citizens to have a negative perception about politics influencing their trust and legitimacy of the police will have been a vote of no confidence in the government. Given the fact that the government was very popular at the time of the current study may have contributed to the finding that perceptions of politics/political interference was not a significant predictor of public trust, and legitimacy of the police in Sierra Leone. The argument can be made that since citizens over the years have seen again and again politicians almost behaving like the own the police and the police have been used in the past to suppress dissent, intimidates political opponents, and almost everyone who had a contrary opinion to what the government thinks or do (Albrecht & Jackson, 2009; Baker, 2005; Bangura, 2000; Chickwanha, 2008, Kposowa, 2006, Kpundeh, 1998; Zack-Williams, 1999). Thus, for the majority of Sierra Leoneans they see nothing wrong with
politics/political interference in the police. For most Sierra Leoneans the police and the government are one and the same thing. Citizens are more likely to have a disdain for the police if they don’t like the government in power.

However, with regards the findings on the politics/political interference variable there is need for further research at the national level, and perhaps in West Africa to see why this is the case or if the findings will differ and to also properly account for those factors that shape citizens perception of politics/political interference and how it influences public trust and legitimacy of the police in Sierra Leone and beyond.

**Policy Implications**

Based on the research findings, the current study has several challenging policy implications. First, corruption was found to be a statistically significant predictor of decreased legitimacy and public trust among the citizenry in Sierra Leone. This, demands an urgent and practical response. Higher levels of corruption within the Sierra Leone Police is more likely to make citizens’ to view the police as illegitimate and seriously undermine voluntary compliance or cooperation with the police, and reduce public trust for the Sierra Leone Police. In order to increase Public trust, and the level of police legitimacy in the minds of citizens’ for the Sierra Leone Police, it is but urgent that corruption or corrupt practices be eliminated or drastically reduced. Also, citizens’ are very likely to hold individual police officers and the institution itself in very low esteem and to view the institution as more of a money making institution (as they often take bribes from motorists, beg from the public, and are in the habit of asking for special favors) rather than providing security, protection of life and property which are the core ideals of
policing as established in the 1991 Constitution of Sierra Leone and the Police Act of 1964 (for the Sierra Leone Police).

Thus, there is an urgent need for a concerted effort by the Government of Sierra Leone, Police Administrators, the Police Institution, and the citizenry if the fight against police corruption is to be won or successful. Corruption has been shown to take different forms and at different levels of the police, the government, and society as a whole (ACA, 2002; ACC, 2012; Bowles & Goroupa, 1997; Baker, 2005, 2006; Castillejo, 2009; Charley & M’Cormack, 2011; Meek, 2003; Newburn, 2005, 1999; Newton & Norris, 1999, Potter & Thompson 1997; Punch, 2000; Transparency International, 2013). For the police to be involved in corruption as a way of life, there has to be willing citizens who prefer to bribe the officers in kind or money for the police to exempt or excuse them from the law. Also, governmental functionaries have been shown to ask for special favors from the police rather than to obey the laws of the country. This does not in any way takes away the blame and responsibility of the police to be corrupt free. Based on the research there has been many instances where police officers are the ones asking for special favors, bribes, conniving with criminals, and even begging from motorists. Corruption had also led to very poor work ethics among the sworn police officers and in some instances was found to work in cahoots or connive with the criminals or offenders based on the research findings.

First and foremost, by way of policy, the police administrators should be at the forefront in fighting corruption as they have direct control over the daily administration of the institution and individual police officers on patrol, manning check points, traffic enforcement officers regulating traffic flow and citing traffic violators etc. The government should also be highly
involved in fighting police corruption as the police (Bailey 1994, Van Dijk 2008) happen to be the face of government in all countries; police behavior or attitude is likely to reflect on the government’s image both among the citizenry and the international community. However, it’s worrying to know that governments in the past have often failed to act, or lack the political will to fight corruption both within the police and the country as a whole (Kpundeh, 1998, 1994; Transparency International Report, 2013). The government will definitely need to step up or demonstrate strong political will in fighting police corruption and corruption generally within the Sierra Leone Society. At the governmental level, there is the Anti-Corruption Commission that is charged with the responsibility of arresting, investigating, and bringing to trials those found engaging in corrupt practices both within state institutions and non-state institutions, and are also allowed to levy fines for certain corrupt practices where the evidence to take it to trial is not good enough that it might lead to a convictions (or if the amount involved in the corrupt practice is small), and sometimes culprits or guilty offenders get both jail time and fines (Anti-Corruption Commission, 2000, 2008, Transparency International, 2014). However, it is important to note there have only been very few cases that have been successfully tried or brought to conclusion.

Another Governmental effort to fight corruption has been the Office of the Ombudsman, that is specifically established to deal with individuals who hold positions of power and authority within government institutions but tend to abuse their power for personal gain, sexual harassment, intimidation of junior officers and other government employees. These institutions need to be strengthened if the fight against corruption and political interference is to be minimized. Within the police institution there is also an internal control mechanism known as “Complaints Discipline and Internal Investigation Department” (CDIID) which is charged with
responsibility of investigating complaints with regards to corrupt practices and abuse of power by police personnel’s (Charley & M’Cormack, 2011, Castillejo, 2009, Chikwanha, 2009). How successful it had been in meeting its goals and objectives remains very doubtful; yet needs to be strengthened also.

Also, citizens should be involved in finding a solution to police corruption or in mitigating its effects. Citizens are most often the one’s paying a bribe or asking for special favors, and a break from compliance with the laws of the land. Citizens must be willing to change their attitudes if the fight against corruption is to be successful (Castillejo, 2009; Charley & M’Cormack, 2011). Rosenbaum and colleagues (2005) argued that for the police in America to succeed in fighting crimes and maintaining order, they need to have the support and cooperation from the public. “The Public’s trust and confidence in the police is considered the cornerstone for public cooperation and the basis for police legitimacy in a democratic society” (Rosenbaum et al., 2005, p. 344). To enhance police legitimacy, the police should not only focus on outcomes/performance on how effectively they are able to combat crime and arrest criminals but on the appropriateness of the manner in which the police exercise their authority and discretion (procedural justice) (Tyler, 2004). Note that voluntary compliance with the laws reduces the need for more external regulation, thereby freeing up resources that can be used for other social development projects, increases the legitimacy of the police, and improves on the efficiency of the legal system as it extremely reduces the need for coercion and use of force which is fundamentally against the core values of good governance and respect for the rule of law and citizens’ basic human rights and dignity of all persons in a democratic society (Tyler,
Thus, if the police exercise their authority and discretion in a corrupt free manner, it is likely that it will improve police legitimacy and public trust as previous studies have shown.

Second, it was also shown that individuals with less than senior high school, and those with senior high school education are more likely to view the Sierra Leone Police as legitimate compared to those with above high school education. Two policy implications are derived from these findings: we should focus on knowing what is it that is making those with higher levels of education (above high school education) to have a very negative view of police legitimacy, and second what can be done to increase police legitimacy among those with higher levels of education in the country. This finding is also supported by previous study conducted by Jang and colleagues (2010). They argued that “confidence in the police is an important issue in any country because of its close association with the legitimacy of the police force” (Jang et al. 2010, p. 1), and also found that persons with higher levels of education were less likely to report favorable attitudes towards the police (Jang et al. 2010). The current study also found that a significant positive relationship exists between corruption and less than high school, thus as less than high school increases, corruption also increases. Therefore, to control corruption, attention should also be paid to increasing the level of education among the citizenry and police officers in Sierra Leone.

Third, age was also found to be a statistically significant predictor of police legitimacy and public trust. This clearly indicates that compared to those who are 18-25 years of age, individuals who are 50 years and above are more likely to view the Sierra Leone Police as legitimate and to have more trust in the police. Thus, as people get older they tend to view the police as legitimate compared to younger people or youths. There are two policy implications
also involved here. First, what is it that is making older to view the police as legitimate and to have more trust in the police compared to younger people must be identified? Second, what can be done to improve public trust and police legitimacy among the youths or younger people in Sierra Leone? Focusing on the youths or young people should be a matter of priority within the police institution and the government to address their concerns and alleviate their fears of the police in order to improve police legitimacy and trust for the police among the youths and young people. If the youths or young people have more trust in the police, and view the police as legitimate, they will be more likely to obey the laws and voluntarily cooperate with the police and that will likely prevent the police from using force or excessive force to demand compliance, and for citizens to obey police commands.

Fourth, Annual Income was found to be significant predictor of public trust. As income increases, public trust of the police also increases. It is justifiable to include adequate pay and compensation mechanisms for the Sierra Leone Police and the public in order to reduce corruption within the police.

**Limitations of the Study**

This study is not without limitations. The current study is an urban study (Freetown) and findings cannot be generalized to the whole country (Sierra Leone) or to rural settings within the country. This study utilizes survey data collected in the field and it is therefore difficult to give context and meaning to the responses of survey participants and further probe the issues or social problems of interest to this research (Creswell, 2009; Newman, 2000). It would have been better to do a more thorough mixed methods study but given the constraints I have with time and
money, this is just not feasible. Also, due to the constraints imposed with lack of adequate funds and time, the study was only conducted in the Capital City (that is, Freetown in Sierra Leone) which happens to be the Western Area-Urban. Thus, all the other 12 Districts and the Western Area-Rural in the Country were excluded from the study. Thus, generalizing the findings to the rest of the country will be extremely difficult; and is not something that I will recommend at this time. However, if it is to be generalized, extreme caution should be applied in such generalizations. Any such generalization should take into consideration the fact that it is not a random sample to start with – but convenience sample at the final individual level. We will have to wait for more future studies that will either replicate the current study in other parts of the country to see if the observed findings will still remain the same or similar. There are huge differences culturally, and in the socio-economic status (SES) of individuals living in the city and the rest of the country. The city is more diverse in terms of socio-demographic characteristics as most of the country side is regionally and tribally inhabited (Mendes in the South East and Temnes in the North West) (Allen, 1968, Baker, 2005; CIA World Fact Book, 2012; 2004 Population and Housing Census).

The unit of analysis is only at the individual level and not at the neighborhood level which may have allowed for more advanced analytic techniques and models of statistical analysis like Hierarchical Linear Modelling (HLM), Structural Equation Models (SEM), and Path Analysis to increase the predictive power of the independent variables. It is also likely that sampling bias may have been introduced as the Eastern Area had more residents than the Western Area given the fact that the same amount of people were selected from each section and
participants were conveniently selected based on availability, ability and willingness to participate.

Previous studies have shown that neighborhood characteristics are more robust predictors of the level of satisfaction with the police (Mason et al., 2003, Wu, Sun, & Triplett, 2009). Thus, if neighborhoods and neighborhoods characteristics had been included in the research design with regards to the data collection and analysis, the models might have been better and more robust.

The effect of governmental performance was not included in the study. Past studies have clearly shown that governmental performance strongly determines or predicts citizens’ levels of confidence in public institutions like the police and courts (Charley & M’Cormack, 2011, Kaariainen, 2007; Kpundeh, 1994, 1998; Newton & Morris, 1999; Potter & Thompson, 1997).

There is also the possibility that researcher bias was introduced in the explanation of the questions or in the recording of answers, and also the mere presence of the researcher might influence the response of survey participants (de Leeuw, Hox & Dillman, 2008, de Vaus, 2002; Dillman, 1977, Newman, 2000). This is due to the fact that interviewers were allowed to explain the questions into languages that people can understand for those who could not read and write well in English and record their responses. A loss of meaning about what the questions meant and what respondents actually meant could have occurred.

Also, I did encounter a lot of difficulties and challenges in training and ensuring that the four field researchers clearly followed the protocols and plan for the data collection as they were more interested in finishing their job and getting paid than following all the fine details of the
research design. Thus, I was forced to change my strategy of letting two of them work as teams in one section while the other two worked in another. Thus, we had to work together as one group as this gave me more direct supervision and control of the data gathering process. We also encountered some difficulties particularly with translation issues into the local lingua franca (Creole) which is widely spoken. Also, a very small percent cannot speak English nor Creole, but some of the other small ethnic dialects. Two issues arise as a result of this; some people had to be dropped from the study because we could not communicate with them in any sensible manner. And with regard to the translations, researcher bias might have been introduced into the study. As it is likely that researchers might have assumed what respondents meant when issues of poor communication and lack of adequate understanding of the questions arose.

**Future Research**

Future research should focus on replicating the study in the Western Rural Area and the other 12 Districts in the country to determine whether the findings of the current study will be observed given the fact that there are cultural differences and huge disparity in terms of the Socio-Economic Status (SES) between individuals who live in the rural areas and those who lived in Urban Areas, and Semi-Urban Areas (Allen, 1968, Baker, 2005; CIA World Fact Book, 2012; 2004 Population and Housing Census). Future researchers should also spend more time in training the field researchers who will be actually administering the survey instrument (the questionnaires) and also in the field with the data collectors in the data gathering process.

Future research should also focus on doing a an in-depth mixed methods approach that would involve both quantitative and qualitative research techniques and tools in order to give
context, voice, and meaning to the very complex nature of corruption and issues that are related to it. For instance, why is it that despite the fact that the majority of citizens’ agree that corruption is increasing and negatively influences their views or perceptions about police legitimacy, yet they are ready and willing to pay a bribe or provide kindness or gifts to police officers for special favors, or a brake or exemption from obeying the laws and certain regulations and traffic codes based on the discretion of the police officer? The answer is obvious – compare the gains and losses (cost-benefit analysis) from bribing with not bribing. For example, if a traffic ticket was to cost you 100,000 thousand Leones (approximately $25 United States Dollars) and you can avoid getting a ticket for 10,000 Leones ($2.50) which saves you 90,000 Leones ($22.50), what would you do? There is an increased tendency that most people will chose to pay a bribe rather than get a ticket which will not only cost more money but also take away your time if you have to go to court or to the Sierra Leone Roads Transport Authority (SLRTA) office to pay the fines levied. Also, citizens complain a lot about how how corrupt police officers are because in their perceptions the Sierra Leone Police are not following procedural justice, as the police is more focused on the outcome. That is, an arrest is made; the case is charged to court, witnesses testified in court. Hardly do they police explain or give justifications for their actions to the public and thus citizens are left in the dark as to what is going on. Thus, attention should also be paid to issues of procedural justice and fairness in citizens’ encounters with the Sierra Leone police if public trust and legitimacy of the police is to improve (Hough, Jackson, Bradford, Myhill, & Quinton, 2010; Mazerolle et al., 2010; Tankebe, 2013; Tyler, 2001; Tyler & Huo, 2002; Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2007).
Future research should also focus more on using nested models such as hierarchical linear models (HLM) to determine whether different outcomes would be observed at different levels and with the inclusion of neighborhood characteristics whether the overall predictability of the model would increase. Additionally, structural equation models (SEM) could also serve as a possible analytic tool to determine the pathways to corruption and to identify the factors that influence corruption within the Sierra Leone Police.

**Conclusion**

As stated in the introduction to this study, this is one of very few studies conducted to empirically test whether citizens’ perceptions of politics and corruption have an impact on public trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police. Four hypotheses were tested to identify the effects and relationships that exist between the independent/predictor variables (political interference, and corruption), and the dependent variables (public trust, and legitimacy): 1) Perceptions of police corruption will reduce public trust in the police in Sierra Leone; 2) Perceptions of police corruption will reduce the legitimacy of the police among the citizenry in Sierra Leone; 3) Perceptions of political interference in police operations will reduce public trust in the police in Sierra Leone; 4) Perceptions of political interference in police operations will reduce the legitimacy of the police among the citizenry in Sierra Leone. The results/findings of the study provide support for only two of the four research hypotheses that were tested. That is, hypothesis 1 “Perceptions of police corruption will reduce public trust in the police in Sierra Leone”, and hypothesis 2 “Perceptions of police corruption will reduce the legitimacy of the police among the citizenry in Sierra Leone”
The study location was Freetown the Capital City of Freetown with a population of 772,873 (Population and Housing Census-Sierra Leone, 2004). I spent approximately two months in Freetown, Sierra Leone from the 28th of February to the 27th of April, 2014 (which happens to be the Independence Day for Sierra Leone).

To test these hypotheses a total of 800 respondents were selected using random multistage cluster sampling methods which have been shown to be more effective for a face-to-face interview in administering questionnaires and multistage cluster sampling is very effective for national or city wide surveys (de Leeuw, Hox & Dillman, 2008, de Vaus, 2002). The study ended up with the actual administration of 560 questionnaires in the field. Thus, there was a 70% response rate. 30 percent of the respondents refused to participate in the studies for fear of been identified or for fear of police intimidation and harassment. The majority of the respondents who refused to participate in the study were predominantly women and persons 50 years old and above. Other reasons provided by the respondents for their refusal to participate in the study were respondent fatigue and that they or their communities/neighborhoods had not received any direct benefit from participating in previous studies. The study was able to get this high response rate due to the very fact that the questionnaires was administered in the field in a face-to-face manner by me and the other four field data collectors who worked in the project as field researchers gathering the data. The interviews were also conducted in a face-to-face manner which also helped to increase the response rate.

From the univariate statistics (demographics) the following key findings were observed within the sample under study. The demographics of the respondent’s indicates that those between the ages of 26-49 were in the majority and accounted for approximately 56 percent of
the sample, while 65 percent of the respondents were shown to be single and 35 percent were married. Respondents were found to have higher levels of unemployment as approximately 46 percent were unemployed. The majority of the sample were extremely poor and earning approximately up to Le 5,000,000 (Five Million Leones: Sierra Leone Currency) ($1,200 -United States Dollars) per annum which translates to approximately $3.28 per day for the majority of Sierra Leoneans and accounts for 90 percent of the respondents.

With respect to political party affiliation those belonging to the APC (All Peoples Congress) accounts for the majority of the respondents (approximately 48% of the sample under study) while approximately 30 percent of the study participants are affiliated with the SLPP (Sierra Leone Peoples Party). Very few respondents are actually affiliated to other parties. It is interesting to note that the study location (Freetown, the Capital City of Sierra Leone) is a predominantly APC strong hold and such a pattern had also been observed in the last two general elections (2007 and 2012 respectively-National Electoral Commission-2007, 2012 Report), that is, for both the presidential and parliamentary elections. It is also interesting to note that the APC and SLPP have dominated the political life of the country since independence on April 27TH, 1961 from Great Britain (the former Colonial Master). Other parties have emerged but none has been able to wrestle power from these two entrenched political parties and it is important to note also that they are heavily tribally based (Mende, and Temne) and regionally based (North, and South of the country). The gender variables show that 63 percent of the sample participants were males, while approximately 37 percent were females. The education variables shows that approximately nine percent of the respondents had no formal education, and thus have never darkened the walls of a classroom, while the majority of the respondents had received above
senior high school education which accounts for 55 percent of the sample under study. It is interesting to note that this was a surprising finding as the country has a very high illiteracy rate of 65 percent (CIA World Fact Book 2012). However, Freetown is the Capital City of Sierra Leone and people living in the city tend to have a higher value for education and easy access compared to people in other parts of the country (particularly so for the rural areas and to a lesser extent for the other Urban Areas). Also, Freetown tends to have more and better schools, and is also close to many of the Country’s Universities and Colleges. Or perhaps there was some sampling bias with the selection of participants given the fact that culturally men do most of the talking and interviews (as males tend to stay longer in schools and colleges than females), they are likely to report higher levels of education which might have been a possible explanation. For the public trust variable, the majority of the respondents said “not very much” when it comes to public trust of the police and are in the majority accounting for approximately 60 percent of all the respondents, while for the legitimacy variable respondents who “disagree” that the Sierra Leone Police has a higher legitimacy account for the majority of the respondents (approximately 57 percent of all the respondents). With regards to the independent or predictor variables, the corruption scale had an average score of 4.60 (SD=1.15) while the politics scale had an average score of 4.30 (SD=1.57).

With regards the bivariate correlations, there was no issue with multicollinearity as no two variables are measuring the same thing or same effect and there is no double counting as no two predictor or independent variables were found to be strongly correlated. Both the corruption scale and politics scale were found not to have any significant relationship with public trust. No formal education was shown to have a significant and positive relationship with public trust,
thus, those with no formal education tend to have more public trust in the police. Also, ages 26-29 was shown to have more public trust in the police than the other age categories. Above high school was found to have a significant negative relationship as those who have above high school education have lower levels of public trust in the Sierra Leone Police.

With regards to the legitimacy, of the two predictor variables, that is, corruption scale and politics scale, only the corruption scale was shown to have a significant negative relationship with legitimacy. Thus, as the corruption increases, legitimacy decreases. However, the politics scale was found not to have any significant relationship with legitimacy. The control variables indicate that less than senior high school had a significant positive relationship with legitimacy. Thus, as those with less than high school increases, legitimacy also increases. Senior high school was also shown to have a significant positive relationship, thus as senior high school increases, legitimacy also increases. It is interesting to note that above senior high school was shown to have a significant negative relationship, thus as above high school increases, the legitimacy scale decreases. Also 50 years and above was found to have a significant positive relationship, thus as 50 years and above increases, the legitimacy also increases.

The results also show that the politics was not a statistically significant predictor of public trust and legitimacy. However, corruption was found to be a statistically significant predictor of both public trust and legitimacy. Thus, as corruption increases, public trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police decreases. This clearly shows that in order to increase the legitimacy and public trust of the Sierra Leone Police, serious consideration should be given to the problem of corruption within the Sierra Leone Police and how it can be reduced, controlled, and of course what can be done to mitigate the effects of corruption. It is highly likely that it will

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affect citizens’ cooperation with the police, and their willingness to obey the laws and the police in the administration of their duties or in the absence of police presence.

With regards to the effects of the control variables on public trust, it was clearly shown that annual income was a statistically significant predictor of public trust and has a positive relationship with public trust. Thus, compared to individuals who receive above 5 million Leones, those who received less than five million Leones have less trust in the Sierra Leone Police. Also, age 50 and above was found to have a statistically significant and positive relationship with public trust. Thus, compared to persons who are 18-25, individuals who are 50 years, and above tend to have more trust in the police. Thus as age increases, one’s trust in the Sierra Leone Police also increases.

With regards to the effects of the control variables on legitimacy, it was found that less than high school was a significant predictor of legitimacy. This suggests that compared to above high school (the reference category), individuals with less than senior high school are more likely to view the Sierra Leone Police as legitimate and to obey the police or follow police instructions and commands. Also, senior high school was found to be a statistically significant predictor of legitimacy. Thus, compared to those with above senior high school education, individuals with senior high school education are more likely to view the police as legitimate or to have higher levels of legitimacy for the Sierra Leone Police. Thus, as education increases, legitimacy decreases. It may be that the more highly educated are likely to question police actions more and to demand accountability. Age was also found to be a statistically significant predictor of legitimacy. It is interesting to note that compared to those who are 18-25 years old,
individuals who are 50 years and above; are more likely to view the police as legitimate. Thus, as age increases, legitimacy in the Sierra Leone Police also increases.

Corruption is widespread in Sierra Leone at the governmental level, state institutions, non-profit organizations, and the private sector (Anti-Corruption Commission Report, 2013; Transparency International-Corruption Perception Index Report, 2013; Potter & Thompson, 1997). Amongst state institutions and actors, policing as an institution, and as individual police officers have been found wanting and often ranked as the most corrupt in the country (Anti-Corruption Commission Report, 2013; African Human Security Initiative, 2008; Baker, 2006; Potter & Thompson, 1997; Transparency International-Corruption Perception Index Report, 2013; and The Global Corruption Barometer Report, 2013). Equally so, Politics and direct political interference in the affairs of state institutions have been pervasive and widespread and particularly so for the police as an institution, given the fact that the police had been used by politicians in power to suppress dissidents and any form of opposition or contrary opinion (Bangura, 2000; Baker, 2005; Kposowa, 2006; Kpundeh, 1994; Maru, 2006; Meek 2002; Riley, 1998; Stapenhurst, & Kpundeh, 1998; Transparency International-Global Corruption Barometer Survey 2013). It is thus necessary to know just how citizens’ perception of the problem of politics and corruption within the Sierra Leone Police affects public trust and legitimacy of the police in order to address these problems and to mitigate their effects on public trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police. Generally, the current research focused on empirically demonstrating that corruption and politics (the independent /predictor variables) influence or impact public trust and legitimacy of the police.
However, the research findings fail to provide support for two of the research hypotheses. That is, politics/political interference was not a significant predictor of public trust and legitimacy of the police in Sierra Leone. This finding was contrary to previous findings which had shown that politics/political interference/governmental performance was a significant predictor of public trust and legitimacy of the police in different countries and settings (Albrecht & Jackson, 2009, Baker, 2010, 2006; Boateng, 2012; Clark, 2005; Goldsmith 2005, 2003; Jang et al.; 2012, Kääriäinen, 2007; Krogstad, 2013, 2012; Tankebe, 2013). A speculative reason for why this is the case is that since citizens liked the current government so much, to say otherwise would have been a vote of no confidence in the government. Also, years of police involvement in the day to day affairs of the state on behalf of politicians and the government (although not a good thing for democratic policing in the 21st Century) has become like the new normal for many Sierra Leones who in fact see no difference between the state and the police. Also, everyone knows that high ranking promotions and appointments are made by the government of the day, and this has been the practice over the years. Thus, no police man or woman who wants to keep his job will challenge the government of the day. Thus, citizens have come to the sad reality that the government more or less owned the police and can use them to further their political agenda, suppress dissent, intimidate political opponents, and anyone who dare to have a contrary opinion about what the government does or say.

These findings could help inform social policy on identifying many effective ways of improving police legitimacy and public trust of the police among the citizenry. A positive view or perception of public trust and police legitimacy will go a long way of improving police performance, effectiveness, and efficiency on the job. It will also reduce the cost of policing.
giving the fact that Sierra Leone is a very poor country. As it has been shown in previous studies, legitimacy will lead individuals to voluntarily comply or obey the laws without the need for direct police supervision or to enforce the laws, regulations, codes, and commands (Castillejo, 2009, Charley & M’Cormack 2011; Jang et al., 2010, Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler 2005, 2004, & 2001; Rosenbaum et al., 2005). Also police legitimacy and trust in the police can be improved through police reforms and other means (Castillejo, 2009, Charley & M’Cormack, 2011; Goldsmith, 2005; Marenin, 2014; Ren, Cao, Loverich, & Gaffney, 2005; Scheider, Rowell, & Bezdikian, 2003; Tankebe, 2013; Tyler 2004, 2001; Weitzer, 2002). For instance if governmental performance is deemed to be effective public trust in the police is likely to increases. Research has shown that there is a reciprocal relationship between trust in government and trust in the police.-“the quality and structure of the system of government indeed clearly affect the degree of citizens’ trust in the police” (Kaariainen, 2007, p.428).

Also, the fact that the two other research hypotheses were not supported by the research findings does not mean that the study society does not benefit from the findings. It basically asserts that for Sierra Leone politics was not found to be statistically significant predictor of public trust, and legitimacy. Thus, future research will have to replicate the study to see if the findings will remain the same or not, and will possibly have to look for other social variables that might be better predictors of public trust. Also, the findings clearly indicate that the politics variable was not a statistically significant predictor of public trust, and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police.
Recommendations

Based on the research findings the followings recommendations are suggested in order to improve police legitimacy and public trust of the police in Sierra Leone:

1) - It is now empirically known that citizens were very concerned with the issues of police corruption and that citizens’ perception of it influences both trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police (SLP). Thus, action needs to be taken to control corruption within the Sierra Leone Police and to increase public awareness about the effects of corruption and how it is undermining public trust and the legitimacy of the police, and the government both internally and externally.

2) - It will help to inform social policy with regards to corruption within the Sierra Leone Police and how to reduce or eliminate police corruption within the Sierra Leone Police and in the overall fight against corruption in the country. It will also help a lot in developing recommendations in finding solutions to the problem of corruption within the Sierra Leone Police.

3) - It will also help to improve public trust and police legitimacy within the Sierra Leone Police by addressing those issues that contribute to the negative view on police legitimacy and lower levels of trust among the citizenry.

4) - It will also help to guide and shape future research that will be interested in dealing with police corruption in Sierra Leone, and corruption generally as it relates to other institutions and the government.
5) - The government image in terms of fighting corruption and having a higher social standing in the international community, and in its bilateral trade agreements and foreign policy relations will increase if it demonstrates the political will to fight corruption and is likely to increase both police legitimacy and also the legitimacy of the government both within the country and externally as well.

6) - With regards the fighting of corruption within the Sierra Leone Police in order to drastically reduce it among police officers, and the rank and file, the anti-corruption commission should be provided with the necessary training and resources to track suspects and bring them to trial. The anti-corruption officers should have the will power to also apprehend corrupt police officers and bring them to trial. The anti-corruption commission had very effective means of controlling corruption in the country as the act or policy governing its operations is all encompassing and very broad in its nature and scope. What is lacking is the necessary expertise to ensure a very serious investigation is done as everyone who has some legal background knows, any case is as good as the evidence it presents before the Court or during the trial process and are required to prove their case beyond a reasonable doubt. Thus, the anti-corruption commission need to have better expertise not just in arresting but also taking the case to trial and having the evidence that it takes to win which makes the demand for better expertise and training in proper investigation, sting operations, and detective work in order for the personnel at the anticorruption commission to work effectively. Employees of the anti-corruption commission should also be paid well for them to be above bribery and to say no to any form of corrupt practices both within the police and the country.
7) - Strong internal mechanisms of control and monitoring of police officers, the rank and file, should also be put in place within the police institution in order to hold police personnel’s accountable for their actions particularly as it relates to corruption and make existing internal mechanisms of control (CDIID) that deals with corrupt practices and abuse of power more effective by strengthening them with expertise, training, and autonomy.

8) - The media should also be highly involved in educating the citizenry that they should not give money or gifts of very large value to the police and to educate the police on the dangers of police corruption to the police and society, and the erosion of police legitimacy and public trust of the police among the citizenry.

9) - The police should be highly trained and paid a decent living wage. A living wage according to my own view and experience should be 2 million Leones or approximately 450 United States Dollars (as minimum wage).

10) - Citizens should be included and truly involved in designing any policy to fight corruption and improve police legitimacy as they have a lot of direct and vicarious experience with police corruption and have also been shown to be more than willing and ready to pay a bribe when demanded by a police officer, or to voluntarily offer one for special favors from the police, or to obstruct justice.

11) - Get more youths/young people involved in the police partnership board meetings and other community meetings with the police in order to build rapport and improve trust between the youths and the police that will eventually lead to improved police legitimacy and public trust. In essence, make Community Policing the mantra of the organization that will take
into consideration changing the philosophy, structure of the organization, and the devolution of
certainty, collaborate with community members, and be open, transparent, and accountable to
the citizenry.

12) - The government should be willing and able to demonstrate the political will in
fighting corruption and in giving the anti-corruption commission complete autonomy and
separation of powers with very little or no government intervention by the politicians.

13) - Individuals who provide relevant information and evidence about police corruption
should be compensated, free from any form of intimidation, and protected (witness protection
programs should be established) from being identified, or suffer from police harassment or
brutality.

14) Recruitment and promotions within the Sierra Leone should be based purely on
merits in order to reduce the effect of politics and the rich on the decision making process of the
police and to be fully able and capable of enforcing the laws without fear or intimidation from any
one.

15) Government should give the police limited autonomy or semi-autonomous with some
oversight from the government in enforcing the laws and running their own affairs.

It is also important to note that all of these recommendations can be extremely hard to
implement all at once given the lack of expertise, resources, and personnel needed to address
these issues. However, this should be taken as an excuse for doing nothing. We should start
somewhere and make good use of what we have available. To make such a decision will require
the prioritization of needs and how they fit into the local needs for policing by the residents in
the community, and to adapt police operations in addressing those needs and challenges whether it is in providing security or improving quality of life and the provision of services. The police should be willing to try new approaches, learn and adapt best practices for policing from other countries acquired through international cooperation with other police agencies, countries, and organizations around the world (for example those with the United Kingdom, Interpol, Chiefs of Police). The government of Sierra Leone should also demonstrate the willingness to provide the resources, and to grant autonomy to the Sierra Leone Police. Whatever changes or programs that are implemented should have program fidelity not just a haphazard or lip-service implementation of programs and new strategies of policing (for example community policing, the Complaints Discipline Internal Investigation Department (CDIID), Anti-Trafficking Laws, and Narcotics control).
REFERENCES


Potter, G. W., & Thompson, B. (1997). Governmental corruption in Africa: Sierra Leone as a case study. *CJPS Faculty and Staff Research, 1*(1), 137-154.


http://www.transparency.org/country/#SLE.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1- Survey Instrument (Questionnaire)

Letter of Consent

I am a PhD. Doctoral Candidate (ABD) graduate student in the Department of Criminal Justice & Criminology at Washington State University and conducting a study to examine how politics and corruption influences public trust and legitimacy of the Sierra Leone Police. The study is entitled “Legitimating the Sierra Leone Police: Politics, corruption, and public trust.”

Please note that any information provided will be used for purely academic purposes. Your opinions shall be treated with confidentiality and your anonymity is guaranteed. No other party shall have access to the information provided. Your candid opinions to the questions below are valuable to my study.

Note: Your participation is voluntary and you can stop the interview at any time if you choose to, and you have the right not to answer any question you are not comfortable with.

Thank you so much for accepting to answer the questions in the questionnaire below.

Sincerely,

……………………………………

Gassan Abess
PhD. Doctoral Candidate
Dept. of Criminal Justice & Criminology
Washington State University
Email: g.abess@email.wsu.edu
QUESTIONNAIRE

A- Corruption in the police: For the following items please state or circle what is applicable to you

1) In your opinion is corruption a serious problem within the Sierra Leone Police?
   1. Yes                                           2. No                                  3. Don’t Know

2) What kinds of corrupt or illegal behaviors do the police engage in when carrying out their duties in your community? ..............................................................

3) What’s your general view on corruption in the last 6 months: the level of corruption in the Sierra Leone Police has:
   1. Increased a lot.
   2. Increased a little
   3. Stayed the same
   4. Decreased a little
   5. Decreased a lot
   6. Don’t know

4) In your opinion why does a police officer get involved with bribery/corruption?
   1. Low income
   2. Greed/Ostentatious living
   3. It is a normal/acceptable practice
   4. Weak institution/lack of controls
   5. External pressure from family and other social ties
   6. Others (Please state): ..............................................................

5) In the last 6 months have you or any member living in your household had any contact with the police?
   1. Yes                                           2. No

6) In the last 6 months have you or any member living in your household willingly offered a bribe to a police officer for special favors? 1. Yes 2. No
7) In the last 6 months have you or any member living in your household been asked to pay a bribe by a police officer for special favors?  1. Yes  2. No

8) How often do you encounter bribery/corruption in your contact with the police?
1. Very frequently
2. Frequently
3. Occasionally
4. Rarely
5. Not at all

9) Please recommend one way through which bribery/corruption could be minimized within the Sierra Leone Police.  

.................................

B-Political interference in the police (Politics): For the following items please state or circle what is applicable to you

10) In your opinion is politics/political interference a serious problem in the day-to-day activity of the police in Sierra Leone?  1. Yes  2. No  3. Don’t know

11) What’s your general view on politics/political interference in the last 6 months? The level of politics/political interference in the Sierra Leone Police has:
1. Increased a lot
2. Increased a little
3. Stayed the same
4. Decreased a little
5. Decreased a lot
6. Don’t Know

12) Politics/political interference determine which cases are investigated.
1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Don’t Know
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree
13) In your opinion why is a police officer influenced by politics/political interference?

1. Job security
2. Promotions.
3. External pressure
4. Internal pressure
5. Others (Please state) .................................................................

14) In the last 6 months have you or any member in your household experienced political interference in encounters with the police? 1. Yes  2. No  3. Don’t Know

15) If yes to question 14 above, what was it? (Please state or explain):
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

16) Please recommend one way through which politics/political interference could be minimized within the Sierra Leone Police........................................................................................................................

C-Public Trust in the Police: For the following items please circle what is applicable to you

17) To what extent do you trust the Sierra Leone Police to operate in the best interest of the public?
1. A great deal
2. Quite a lot
3. Not very much
4. None at all

18) Do you have confidence in the Sierra Leone Police to ensure adequate public safety?
1. Very low confidence
2. Low confidence
3. Moderate confidence
4. High confidence
5. Very high confidence
19) How often do the Sierra Leone Police give honest explanation for their actions to people they deal with?

1. Always
2. Almost Always
3. Sometimes
4. Almost Never
5. Never

20) The police do a great job of preventing crime.

1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Agree
4. Strongly agree

21) The police do a good job of keeping order on the streets and sidewalks.

1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Agree
4. Strongly agree

D - Legitimacy of the Police: For the following items please circle what is applicable to you

22) How willing would you be to assist the police if asked?

1. Always
2. Almost Always
3. Sometimes
4. Almost Never
5. Never

23) If you had been harmed by a crime would you report it to the police?

1. Yes
24) If you saw something suspicious would you contact the police?
   1. Yes
   2. No

25) The police are polite when dealing with people.
   1. Strongly disagree
   2. Disagree
   3. Agree
   4. Strongly agree

26) The police are helpful when dealing with people.
   1. Strongly disagree
   2. Disagree
   3. Agree
   4. Strongly agree

27) The police are helpful when dealing with victims of crime.
   1. Strongly disagree
   2. Disagree
   3. Agree
   4. Strongly agree

28) The police are fair when dealing with people.
   1. Strongly disagree
   2. Disagree
   3. Agree
   4. Strongly agree
E - Demographic Characteristics: For the following items please state or circle the appropriate category

29) Gender

0. Male
1. Female

30) Age – What is your age? ________________

31) Marital Status

1. Married
2. Single
3. Separated
4. Divorced
5. Widowed/Widower

32) Educational Level Attained

1. No Formal Education
2. Primary
3. JSS/Junior High School
4. SSS/Senior High School Diploma/GED
5. National Diploma (ND)
6. Teachers Certificate (TC)
7. Higher Teachers Certificate (HTC)
8. Higher National Diploma (HND)
9. Undergraduate Degree
10. Graduate Degree
33) Employment Status

1. Employed
2. Unemployed
3. Self-Employed

34) Income Level (Per Annum) ($1=Le 4,200)

1. Less than Le 1,500,000
2. 1,501,000-5,000,000
3. 5,001,000-10,000,000
4. Above 10 Million Leones

35) Political Party Affiliation

1. APC
2. SLPP
3. PDP
4. PMDC
5. RUFP
6. Others (Please Specify)..........................
Appendix 2-RESPONSES (FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS) TO INDIVIDUAL QUESTIONS/ITEMS ON THE SURVEY INSTRUMENT (QUESTIONNAIRE)

1). Responses to Question 1 above in the questionnaire showed that 480 respondents (%85.7) viewed corruption as a serious problem within the Sierra Leone Police, 6.6 percent said no, and %7.7 said they don’t know.

2). While responses to question 2 on what kinds of corrupt or illegal behaviors do the police engage in when carrying out their duties provides us with 8 major kinds in order of magnitude: bribery %65.4 of the respondents, begging %13.2, poor work ethics 6.4 percent, don’t know 5.7 percent, selling drugs/conniving with criminals 5.2 percent, ethnicity/favoritism 3.2 percent, paying for investigation .7 percent, and sexual harassment .2. It will actually surprise you that begging was second only to bribery as a form of corruption within the Sierra Leone Police.

3). What’s your general view on corruption in the last six months: the level of corruption in the Sierra Leone Police has: increased a lot %45.4, increased a little %22.3, stayed the same %12.7, decreased a little %12.1, decreased a lot 2.0 percent, don’t know 5.5 percent.

4). In your opinion why does a police officer does get involved with bribery/corruption? Reasons are low income %39.3, greed/ostentatious living 7.9 percent, it’s a normal acceptable practice %17.7, weak institution/lack of controls % 23.4, external pressure from family and other social ties %10, others 1.8 percent.

5). In the last 6 months have you or any member living in your household had any contact with the police? Responses are yes %52.9, and no %47.1.
6). In the last six months have you or any member living in your household willingly offered a bribe to a police officer for special favors? Responses are yes %41.3, and no %58.8.

7). In the last 6 months have you or any member living in your household been asked to pay a bribe by a police officer for special favors? Responses are yes %47.7, and no %52.3.

8) How often do you encounter bribery/corruption in your contact with the police? Responses are: very frequent %15.4, frequently %35.7, occasionally %27.1, rarely 4.1 percent, not at all %17.5.

9). Please recommend one way through which bribery/corruption could be minimized within the Sierra Leone Police. Responses were dismissal/execution %11.8, provide resources for the police 6.3 percent, increase salaries/allowances %42.5, public flogging .7 percent, active involvement of the media/sensitization 3.2 percent, trial of culprits 10.2 percent, proper training/monitoring systems put in place %20.0, appoint/employed qualified personnel 2.3 percent, independence of the police/separation of powers from the other arms of government 3.0 percent. It is very interesting to note that approximately 43 percent of the sample under study does recommend increasing salaries and allowance of police officers as a means of reducing or eliminating police corruption.

10) In your opinion is politics/political interference a serious problem in the day-to-day activity of the police in Sierra Leone? Responses are yes %74.8, no %12, don’t know 12.7 percent.

11). What’s your general view on politics/political interference in the last 6 months? The level of politics/political interference in the Sierra Leone Police has: Responses are increased a lot
%32.9, increased a little %23.9, stayed the same %15, decreased a little %15.7, decreased a lot 1.6 percent, don’t know %10.9.

12). Politics/political interference determine which cases are investigated. Responses are strongly agree %25.7, agree %35.7, don’t know %16.4, disagree %17.5, and strongly disagree 4.6 percent.

13). In your opinion why is a police officer influenced by politics/political interference? Responses are job security %29.3, promotions %60.2, external pressure 3.8 percent, internal pressure 5.5 percent, others 1.3 percent. It is interesting to note that promotions on the job are a major factor why police officers allow themselves to be influenced by politics in the exercise of their duties.

14). In the last 6 months have you or any member in your household experienced political interference in encounters with the police? Responses are yes %15.2, no %68.9, and don’t know %15.9.

15) If yes to question 14 above, what was it? Responses are not applicable %84.5, rich people getting away with crimes 4.1 percent, politicians getting away with crimes %11.3.

16). Please recommend one way through which politics/political interference could be minimized within the Sierra Leone Police. Responses are increased the power of the police/improve the institution %10.4, local/international training %22.5, dismissal of culprits 6.6 percent, separation of powers %29.8, police promotions and recruitment should be based on results/performance not region/politics 8 percent, independence of the judiciary/constitutionally defined 6.4 percent, increase salaries/allowances of police officers 6.6 percent, arresting/trying(prosecuting)
politicians/police officers who engages in such activity 6.3 percent, non-political institutions and citizen’s review commissions to monitor police activities 3.4 percent.

17). To what extent do you trust the Sierra Leone Police to operate in the best interest of the public? Responses are a great deal 9.6 percent, quite a lot %22.5, not very much %50.7, none at all %17.1.

18). Do you have confidence in the Sierra Leone Police to ensure adequate public safety? Responses are very low confidence %21.4, low confidence %47.3, moderate confidence %22.7, high confidence 6.8 percent, and very high confidence 1.8 percent.

19). How often do the Sierra Leone Police give honest explanation for their actions to people they deal with? Responses are always 6.6 percent, almost always 4.6 percent, sometimes %54.8, almost never %12.1, never %21.8.

20). The police do a great job of preventing crime. Responses are strongly disagree 8.4 percent, disagree % 47.9, agree 37.9, strongly agree 5.9 percent.

21). The police do a good job of keeping order on the streets and sidewalks. Responses are strongly disagree %16.8, disagree %48.2, agree %28.6, strongly agree 6.4 percent.

22). How willing are you to assist the police if asked? Responses are always %31.1, almost always %12, sometimes 47.5 percent, almost never 3.6 percent, and never 5.9 percent.

23). If you had been harmed by a crime would you report it to the police? Responses are yes %85.7, and no %13.9.
24). If you saw something suspicious would you contact the police? Responses are yes %79.5, and no %20.5.

25). The police are polite when dealing with people. Responses are strongly disagree %12.3, disagree %55.2, agree %27.1, and strongly agree 5.4 percent.

26). The police are helpful when dealing with people. Responses are strongly disagree %12.3, disagree %53.4, agree %29.8, strongly agree 4.5 percent.

27). The police are helpful when dealing with victims of crime. Responses are strongly disagree %15.7, disagree %42.5, agree %34.1, and strongly agree 7.7 percent.

28). The police are fair when dealing with people. Responses are strongly disagree %23.2, disagree %47, agree %25.7, and strongly agree 4.1 percent.

29). Gender. Responses are males’ %62.5, and females’ %37.5.

30). Age, Response categories are: 18-25 accounts for %41.1, 26-49 accounts for %55.9, and those 50 years and above accounts for 3 percent of the sample under study.

31). Marital Status. Responses are for married %35.4, single %55.5, separated 4.3 percent, divorced 3.4 percent, and widowed/widower 1.4 percent.

32). Educational Level Attained. Responses are no formal education 8.9 percent, primary/elementary school 1.3 percent, JSS/Junior High School 8.0 percent, SSS/Senior High School Diploma/GED %26.8, others 35.2, Undergraduate Degree 10.4, and Graduate Degree 9.5 percent.
33). Employment Status. Responses are for employed %33.0, unemployed %46.3, and self-employed %20.7.

34). Income Level (Per Annum) ($1=Le 4,200). Responses are Less than Le 1,500,000 accounts for %55.9 of the sample size which is slightly more than half, 1,501,000-5,000,000 accounts for %33.6, 5,001,000-10,000,000 accounts for 7.1 percent, and above 10 million Leones 3.4 percent.

35). Political Party Affiliation. Responses are APC %48.2, SLPP %29.8, PDP 4.6 percent, PMDC 4.5 percent, RUFP 3.0, and Others 9.8 percent. It is important to note that APC and SLPP have dominated the country's political landscape since independence.

NOTE: Also additional analysis was conducted to determine how many respondents who said “no” to question 5 also responded “yes” to questions 6 and 7. It was found that those who said “no” to question 5 but said “yes” to question 6 accounts for 11.2% of the total number of respondents who said “no” to question 5. It was also found that those who said “no” to question 5, but said “yes” to question 7 accounts for 11.8% of the total number of respondents.