

Nigeria's Contemporary Security Challenges: Is the State Police the Answer?

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Abstract

The issue of Insecurity has been a very disheartening one in the Nigeria nation-state. Being the most populous State in Africa, it is yet faced by and with a plethora and an array of serious security challenges. Although law enforcement agencies such as the Nigeria Police Force (as the primary Law Enforcement), the Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC), the National Drug Law Enforcement Agencies (NDLEA) and so on with specialized functions are in place, the problem of insecurity yet remains unabated and still stands as a mitigating factor against the development of the country. Premise on this fact that insecurity has remained uncurbed and apparently undefeated, there became a rise and a great clamour of a system of State Policing as a probable solution for the raging torrent of insecurity that the country has overtime, plummeted in. Sequel to this, one issue that has continued to generate controversy and heated debate about the practice of federalism in Nigeria is the issue of states having their Police Force. This paper, therefore, dwells on observation and desk-based studies to examine and subsequently challenge the opinion of the creation of a system of state Policing in Nigeria. The paper concludes that most states in Nigeria are not ripe for state Police politically and financially as it will become instruments of oppression and harassment in the hands of state chief executives and politicians. Instead of a system of State Policing, it should rather be substituted for Intelligence-Led and Community Policing where officers must be allowed to serve in their communities. The existing security agencies have to be rejigged. There is the need for the recruitment of more personnel and procurement of modern security gadgets while political leaders must be proactive in addressing security issues.

Keywords: Community Policing, Security, Security challenges, State Police

Introduction

The present Nigeria has been taken over and slowly gripped by destructive forces which have coalesced to affirm that the country is a failed state. Eteng (2018) states that these insecurity issues include: arms proliferation, drug trafficking, human trafficking, kidnapping, political assassinations, armed conflicts, extra-judicial killings, cybercrimes of varying dimensions and other grievous criminal activities. There is, as a matter of fact, no proper and comprehensive statistics and documentation on the actual figures of civilian casualties, who have been left internally displaced and subjected to a life of desolation as a result of the recurrent violence.

It must be recalled that the essential duty of any government is the provision of peace and security for its citizenry. Safety being the backbone of any thriving economic or state-system and,

by implication, the security of a state has an overwhelming bearing in the course of the quality administration of that state (Afolabi, 2019).

It is imperative to state that security without a scintilla of doubt has a direct impact on the quality of living of the people in every society and the country at large. There is hence no undermining of the importance of the role which security plays in every community and every state-system. It is by understanding the importance and true essence of security to any organization that every state government has established agencies that function to fulfil the security needs of the State. Nigeria, like other states, has followed in this same trend as it has the Police Force as the central agency that works to ensure the obedience to Law and maintenance of order in the country. The Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC), Nigerian Social and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC), National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), National Agency for Food, Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC) are also established to address security issues (Afolabi, 2017).

The System of Law Enforcement which has been established premising on the vitality of ensuring the security of life or even an attempt at development has over time proven to be ineffective. For instance, it appears that the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) has not been able to curtail the insecurity rates effectively. It has been proved over time that the seeming failure of the Police Force has been itself one of the security challenges facing the Nation-State. They have been the major causes of the clamour for the creation of state Police system in the country. This clamour for state police, however, may not be the solution or remedy to the morbid ailment of insecurity which has plagued the country.

Conceptual Clarification

Security

Security is a universal concept like other various Social Science terminologies. It does not have a singular or generally accepted definition due to philosophical differences. Despite the lack of precision and agreement on the specificity of meaning for the concept, Nwolise (2015, p.166) states that "Security is the most sacred, critical and strategic value in the life of any human being or a nation, because, in its absence, nothing else will be useful and desirable". By deducing from this, therefore, Security is of invaluable essence to any individual, institution, organization, or even a government establishment. Security is therefore a requisite for survival in any society.

According to Imobighe, in Afolabi (2015, p.2):

Security has to do with freedom from danger or threats to a nation's ability to protect and develop itself, promote its cherished values and legitimate interest, and enhance the well-being of its people. Thus internal security could be seen as free from or the absence of those tendencies, which could undermine internal cohesion, and the corporate existence of a country and its ability to maintain its vital institutions for the promotion of its core values and socio-political and economic objectives, as well as meet the legitimate aspirations of the people.

As a variance of the traditional perception of security as highlighted above by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) which popularised the concept of Human Security defines it as "...first as safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease, and repression. And secondly, it means protection from sudden hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life- whether in homes, jobs, or communities" (UNDP 1994: 3, 23).

Showing the importance of Security to Nigeria, Afolabi (2019) giving reference to the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, states that:

Exhorting the relevance of the concept of Security is the quixotism of the Sections 14(2) of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigerian does well to highlight; *"the security and welfare of the people" as being the primary purpose of government* thereby reaffirming that Security is the very plinth upon which any government rests and without which there can be no successful administration of any sort. This is because ensured Security shows the quintessence of any government or credible administration (Afolabi, 2019, p.4).

This shows that Security is essential to any structure or government organization and the ensuring of security of the people is backed up by the constitutions of modern-day democratic government.

Security Challenges

Nigeria has been crippled by varieties of Security threats as Afolabi (2019) rightly posits that:

Nigeria has been plagued with an array of security challenges which has posed a great deal of worry in the social fibre as these insecurities have cost more than we ever bargained. This is not to say that other Nations do not have their security issues, but Nigeria as a Nation-State has faced quite an overwhelming trend of insecurity; however, the gravity of the Nigerian Insecurity has coalesced into a level where it is almost termed as a failed state (Afolabi, 2019, p.8)

The insecurity rates have accelerated to such great heights that the citizens in the country cannot move freely without the fear of being attacked, especially in the North-Eastern areas because of the terror organization- Boko Haram, and very recently, the South-Eastern and South-Western States of the country on the accord of the attacks on farmers by the nomadic herdsmen. In concordance to this, Adegoke in Afolabi (2019) states that the most common of these challenges is the terrorists' attacks in major parts of the Northern region. With the scourge and surge of the multi-dimensional insecurity such as the incessant kidnappings, herdsmen attacks, political killings, and so on, which have all led to the conception of established security outfits as being incapable thereby giving way to unprecedented violent activities which have skyrocketed the upsurge in the number of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) (Eteng, 2018).

In an attempt to classify the forms of conflict confronting the country, Fayomi, in Afolabi (2019) states that insecurity in Nigeria is being manifested in the following aspects: ethno-religious conflict, economic-based violence, politically based violence, and that each conflict situation in

Nigeria can be subsumed under these significant highlights. Afolabi (2019), in highlighting the insecurity factors of the country, states that poor leadership, god-fatherism, lack of internal democracy, political high-handedness, the lack of feeling of nationalism and uniform individual identity/allegiance to the State are all contributory to the insecurities and tension in the country. He equally states that election tensions could not be undermined in the Nigerian security concerns as it seems like the elections are usually marked as a festival of violence. Additionally, he identified that the religious factor cannot also be subtracted in this chain; as religion which is supposed to be a unifying platform for peace is now operating in its reverse order and being used as a justification to perpetrate so many unspeakable evils.

The Concept of Police and its origin

Roberg, Crank and Kuykendall, in Johnson (2013), maintain that the word 'Police' is related to the Greek words '*policemen*', which means to be a citizen or engage in political activity, and '*polis*,' which means a city or state (Johnson, 2013). Police, in this sense, carry out the functions of law enforcement, maintenance of order, service, and to gather information. Thus, the police are the major representatives of the legal system in their transactions with citizens. Reiss, in Johnson (2013) equally maintains that they are also the major emergency arm of the community in times of personal and public crisis. In carrying out their mandate, the police possess a vital monopoly on the legitimate use of force.

Newburn in Johnson (2013) highlights that:

Historically, policing and police work did not start as a paid profession, but rather, it started as a noble, incorruptible profession with considerable responsibility and distinction. However, the police, as we know it today, went through three distinct stages before it became a profession. First, the populace, though small was responsible for maintaining law and order, then a justice of the peace emerged on the scene to provide both the law and justice at the bar and in the present era, paid professional police were established to maintain law and order (Johnson, 2013, p.2).

In furtherance of this, Johnson (2013) explains further that:

For Nigeria, policing was dated back to the colonial era. Policing in Nigeria has always reflected the society that created it. In this period, the primary purpose of the police was to advance the economic and political agenda of the colonialists. In many areas, the police engaged in the brutal subjugation of communities and the suppression of resistance to colonial rule. Thus, the use of violence and repression from the beginning of the colonial era marked a dislocation in the relationship between the police and local communities, which has characterized law enforcement practices in Nigeria ever since. In spite of this colonial enterprise on policing in Nigeria, the police are at the forefront of the criminal justice process and, for people, the only personal experience they have with that process is contact with local police (Johnson, 2013, p.2).

By implication, the need for the usage of violence by the police, to have the populace submit to the will of the colonialists, has been a prominent feature of the Police Force, and this

trend of violence has lived on even decades after its inception. And although the pattern of violence has persisted in the Police Force, from the colonial era till the modern day, there was however a remarkable difference in the system. In an attempt to discover ways in which the Law Enforcement system of Nigeria can work, the method of state policing been proposed by quite several concerned citizens and scholars and the clamour for the decentralization has ranged on for quite a while.

The Clamour for State Police in Nigeria

Webster Dictionary defines State Police as “the police organized and maintained by a state as distinguished from those of a lower subdivision (such as a city or county) of the state government.” This implies that the State Police system is a system in which each state organizes and coordinates its Police Force independent of the Federal Police System or even the low-end Policing System- Community Policing. The Nation (2015) states that:

There have been growing calls for the establishment of state police over the years, to complement the efforts of the federal police in combating crime and criminality in the country. The idea has always been shut down each time it surfaces.

Still, on the clamour for the establishment of a State-controlled Police Force for each of the 36 states in Nigeria, The Pointer Newspapers on its account of the Nigeria Governors’ Forum asserts thus:

The Nigeria Governors’ Forum, at a recent meeting in Abuja, presented a strong case for the creation of state police. The Governors’ clamour is no surprise because, since the advent of unbroken democratic rule in 1999, there have been calls from various quarters seeking the creation of state police (The Pointer, 2019).

The Pointer Newspaper argues, in connection to the above, that:

From an objective perspective, the issue of establishing State Police in Nigeria ought to have been given a presidential fiat long ago. In an ideal democratic setting, federating states owe it a duty to guarantee the safety of lives and properties within their territories, while the Federal Government is saddled with giving the needed buffer for internal security and forestalling external aggression.

This, and many other arguments that have been given to support the need for a state-controlled policing system all prove to be commendable propositions to guarantee effective security since all would agree that the police system as a whole has not been very functional or rather effective in combating security challenges in the country. But is the creation of State Police really the solution for security challenges? Without a scintilla of doubt or any mincing of words, the challenge for the enthronement of popular democratic control of the country’s Police and to enhance police efficiency accounts for the people’s agitations for State Police Forces in the country.

Historically, local Police Forces existed in Nigeria throughout the era of colonial rule, and up to 1966. Thus, section 105 of the 1963 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria provided for

the establishment of Nigeria Police Force and other Forces. This provision was also contained in the 1999 Nigerian constitution, under Section 214(1) in concordance with the Part II (3) of the Police Act:

“...there shall be established for Nigeria a police force to be known as the Nigeria Police Force.”

Earlier, section 105 of 1963 established:

- i. A Central Police Forces with Jurisdiction over the entire country’.
- ii. Specialized police forces for securing safety over specific areas.
- iii. A Police for the Federal Capital territory and
- iv. Local government police forces established by regional parliaments.

Very worrisomely, it has been observed that Nigeria has not been a country that adjusts to change in the system of things. This is exuded in the endless rhetoric of every successive leadership often placing the blame of their government’s failures on the action of the past government(s) even after being in office for years. This also accounts for the endless criticism and blame of the British Rule as being the cause for the country’s failure and misfortune. How then could we cope with such a significant change as that of a State Police? There has always been an urge to apportion blame to the system rather than an insightful critique of the administration of such system.

The Argument for the Creation of State Police

The belief which the agitators for State Police have is that the Federalism which Nigeria practices requires that each level of government should establish its Police Force. Consequently, the historical background of the federation will determine the devolution and division of powers. The pattern and manner of devolution and division of powers will depend on what the federating units agree to be of common and mutual concerns and consequently reflected in the division of powers in the various lists. The relevance of the idea of Federalism as a method of organizing a government in rural society was stated by Nwabueze (1993, pp. 224-225) in his definition of Federalism. Nwabueze defined Federalism in Gana and Egwu (2003) as:

An arrangement whereby powers of government within a country comprising a large territory and/or diverse nationalities, are shared between a national government, countrywide government and a number of regionally based governments in such a way that each exists as a government separately and independently from the others operating directly on persons and property within its territory area, with a will of its own and its apparatus for the conduct of its affairs, and within an authority in some matters exclusive of the other’s.

Prominent Nigerian advocates of federalism who insist on the multiplicity of political institutions at the various levels of government often cite the United States of America as an example of the ideal or true Federalism not minding that America’s federalism was a product of its history. Thus, commenting on the multiplicity of the police forces in the United States of America, Geller and Morris, in McGoldrick and McCardle (2006, p.239) observed that the American police structure is a captive of the nation’s history. Thus, they argued that:

The Justification usually offered for the hodgepodge of American police forces is that freedom and a healthy system of checks and balances arising out of inter-

agency competition preclude the creation of a national police force. This, one might say passionately held belief, and it is for the time being politically assailable. Other federal systems of government, Australian, Canadian, German, Swiss seem no less free, their citizens no more threatened by police power and their more centralized police more prone to corruption, excessive force or other improprieties. There is no doubt that the need for a rational and thorough examination of the appropriate and optional police structure for Nigeria's is desirable. However, the answer does not lie with the multiplicity of the police forces because there is a range of problems associated with a multitude of Police Forces such as inefficiency, poor coordination, cooperation and communication among other problems.

Commenting on the negative aspects of multiplicity of police forces, Geller and Morris observe that, their potential inefficiency of squandering scarce resources that are desperately needed for other societal problems besides crime and disorder is not the only cause for concern about the untidy pattern of federal, state and local police jurisdiction in the United States. Effectiveness considerations arise as well, for poor husbanding of resources and deficient coordination of anti-crime and order maintenance assets may make for weak strategic and tactical planning and ineffectual. It is apparent from Geller's observation that, despite the level of maturity of the American system, and as ideal as the society is perceived to be, it is yet fraught with a lot of errors and flaws. The United States has always been a point of reference for a great model of the State Policing system. However, its operation of this system of policing has not been a completely smooth sail deducing from Geller's explanation.

Bayley (1992, p.509) undertook a comparative analysis of the police forces and observed that:

Neither the number of autonomous forces nor the extent of command centralization/decentralization within forces has any effect on human rights and political freedom. Australian, Britain, Canada, India, and the United States are all vibrant democracies, but they vary considerably in the multiplicity of forces as well as command organization within them. Furthermore, authoritarians' polities sometimes have decentralized police systems, For example, Prussia, The Soviet Union, and American South before the rights movements, while notable democratic countries have centralized ones such as Denmark, Inland, Sweden, New Zealand and France.

Inefficiency, corruption, police brutality and incivility of the Nigerian Police are among the many reasons that have spurred several claims for State Police, but the underlying questions to ask are:

- i. How valid can the argument that state police forces will be more sensitive, effective, accountable, and less corrupt than the Federal Police in a society riddled with inter-regional distrust and conflicts as well as religious bigotry?
- ii. How will the rights of the minorities and non-indigenes be guaranteed in the event of State Police Forces harassment and oppression?

Socio-Economic and Political Implications of State Police

Considering the fragility of the present democratic governance, as well as the state of the nation, Nigeria, for now, cannot afford any drastic politically induced institutional change by way of establishment of dual police forces. Thus, when we talk of transformation, whether of economy, government, or social and moral values, we are referring to action within the framework of the Nigerian state. Those dramatics, which we may note concerning the Nigerian state and its efficacy, are concerned with the followings:

- (i) Its colonial origins, which even though the civil war affected, remains as yet unconsolidated and not yet matured. Universal doctrines such as democracy, the rule of law, fundamental freedoms and issues of human rights are as however undomesticated and insufficiently internalized in our psychology.
- (ii) The Nigerian state evolved out of several compromises which have allowed other competing claims for loyalty much more significant pull on the moral and psychological attitudes of the people, for instance tribalism and corruption or materialism. Thus, action by the state is evaded, undermined or vitiated by appeal to such sentiments.
- (iii) The Nigerian state lacks a moral dimension and has yet to inculcate within subjects that sense of sacredness, which makes it almost a religious duty to subordinate one's self to its demands.
- (iv) Nigeria as a state is not backed by any philosophy of common identity and community and has failed to protect the citizen and his property from the massacre, arson, and armed assault.
- (5) Nigeria is yet to achieve full organic identity, coordination, and unity in that there are unnecessary and meaningless disputes as to who becomes the President of Nigeria.
- (6) Nigeria lacks a philosophical foundation beyond the general platitudes and remains as vague a disappointing specter and a materially exploitable entity, not something to which loyalty, duty, and obligations are owed.

Given that the State, as we have observed, expresses itself through the activities of the political class, the shortcomings in the characteristics of the political class are as follows:

- (i) The political class is unconsolidated as a class; relations purely mechanical, under-educated about the state and uncommitted to it, conduct very individualistic, egotistical and over concerned with fight for office.
- (ii) Subservient to environmental factors inimical to the consolidation of the state, viral and ambivalent about principles, rules, and procedures which become subordinated to the material gain and tribal loyalty.
- (iii) Violates rules and regulations with ease in electoral competition as well as in the office, no commitment to the community and insensitive to the problems of the masses.

- (iv) Hypocritical about institutions, concepts and ideas which it adopts without a clear understanding of the philosophy, and origins and so breaks the rules or withhold enforcement with ease.
- (v) Intellectually barren, disdain for ideas and intellectually and generally does not inspire society to higher ideals or ultimate goals beyond materialism highly hedonistic, uncreative and more concerned with ego expansion and personal adulation.
- (vi) Shipwrecked currently by total loss of credibility, and so, deeply involved in tribal pursuits and, nowadays; religious manipulation of institutions and office.
- (vii) Has lost the confidence of nearly all and the public views it only as an instrument for the personal material aggrandizement of officials, especially due to the flagrant display of livid material evidence of corruption.

Nigeria is characterized by diversity in religion, ethnicity, and language, as well as in the level of social and economic development. One of the major crises confronting the contemporary Nigerian nation-state is how to manage and mobilize its diversity, in the light of the crisis of legitimacy of the state and deteriorating socio-economic conditions in the country. The enthronement of democratic rule has resulted in the emergence of social formations in the country in response to issues of minorities and internal diversity.

The pressures manifested themselves in a variety of forms. Thus, in the Niger Delta region of the country, we have had agitations and violent campaigns resulting in significant loss of life and a measure of insecurity for the oil industry. In other parts of the country, especially the Southwest zone, we have had calls and demonstrations for a Sovereign National Conference to look for a new basis for the co-existence of the country's different nationalities. In the South-East zone, and now also in the North-West and North-East zones, there are reports of complaints of all alleged marginalization by the Federal Government. More recently, the states of entire Southern Nigeria joining their counter -parts in Northern Nigeria in holding their meeting to discuss views on the situation in the country and how individual states and the wider regions should relate to the Nigerian nation. Additionally, we have had communal riots resulting in significant loss of lives in several parts of the country in places like Jos, Lagos, Shagamu, Kano, Kaduna, Nassarawa State, Benue State, Taraba State, Ife, Aba, and Bauchi State. These trends go to show that there is need to recognize and face the challenge of managing our pluralism to achieve our desire for a stable, strong and united country offering to all its parts the maximum opportunity for self-fulfillment.

The conduct of the police at present is not merely typical, but is a reflection of the training and dictatorial tradition imbibed under the military. The Police Force, indeed, after many years under the military government, has become a victim of military creation. Thus, the Nigeria Police Force embodies, as some say, a criticism of Nigerian experiences not really of manners, but the basic altitudinal approach to life. It touches on the country's withering of collective dreams, visions, and values. Like the Nigerian politicians, the Police are yet to come to terms with the reality of our democracy. With the military back to the barracks, the Police will not just man the polity and polling booths, but they will ensure orderliness in the conduct of the exercise. Thus, in the Nation's search for an enduring democracy, the most significant challenge thrust upon the police is how to manage the dynamics of change.

However, experiences in the past and even the present do not give a picture of an outfit capable of performing the role. Nigerian politicians, especially those in government, are always inclined to use the police beyond their constitutional purpose to ensure that their objectives of winning at all cost are achieved. This is understandable. The socialization process that the politicians had undergone under colonial rule prepares them for this kind of activities. The colonial state was an authoritarian one largely intolerant of opposition. The same are the Politicians and the Police of modern Nigeria. The Nigerian Politicians inherited the state along with the spirit of the age. Thus, in both the First and Second Republics, the Police were used to show off the power and intimidate the supporters of the opposition. In the First Republic, the Western Region and the Northern Region maintained Local Police Units, and as expected, the Local Police Units became instruments of victimization, political operation, and vendetta. Thus, the Local Police Units then obeyed the commands and directives of the Premiers. In the case of the American systems, Hawley in Jason and William (2010) observe about the management of Police Force that, Police administrators are always concerned about the degree and intensity of political influence and pressure on their administrative and operational decisions in managing the police force. Thus, in the United States of America, the importance and sensitivity of the relationship between a chief municipal executive and his chief police officer were summed up in an internal memorandum by an aide.

Democracy in the contemporary world, according to (1996) is sustained by two primary forces. First and foremost, it can be the result of the rather powerful demand of the population. Secondly, it can also be mostly the result of international pressures.' When the democratic transition is driven by a robust national movement for change, it could be described as a robust democratization process, whereas when it depends essentially on external support from powerful countries, it could be called a weak democratization process, because most of its activities are monitored and directed by their foreign collaborators. In this regard, the fragility of the nature of the Nigerian democratization process as well as the heavy dependence on external forces, the question is, how long can these external forces sustain the country's democratic experiment without the cultivation of a home base and what are the implications for state police.

Since we are considering the socio-economic implications of state police in Nigeria, we shall concern ourselves with the later part of the question above, and Bayley (1992) offers an insight. According to him, during the transition to democracy, democratic reform at the police is likely to be less important to emerging democratic government than security. Explaining why this tends to be the case, he stated that democracy requires stability and order, yet transition to it, are often accompanied by violence and disorder. Threats to regimes always take priority over threats to the public. At the same time, the legitimacy of government requires providing internal order for the population.

The Nigerian situation not only offers a good example of Bayley (1992) thesis but also shows how the management of security and reform dilemma faced by transitional democracies can lead to the growth or stagnation of the democratic process. The existence of the police is necessary for all involved and modern societies, though the nature and scope of their functions and performances in specific situations may either facilitate security or enforce insecurity and repression for the majority of the citizens. In this regard, police, as well as the police culture that prevail in a society at a particular time, are reflections of the nature, dynamics, scope, and intensity of social, political and economic tensions or stability in society. Also, the extent of policing problems in a nation depends on the scale, duration, and intensity of such tensions and conflicts. Thus, participatory democracy, social justice, national development, and integration and self-reliance must be nurtured and sustained in Nigeria through

viable and sustainable economic and socio-political planning involving the mobilization of the will, energy, and creativity of the people at all levels of the country's social formation. This will reduce social, political, and economic tensions and promote consensus, involvement, attachment, and commitment to society.

The conflicts between the rulers and citizens, which often lead to the deployment of police against the citizens will be minimized while public support for the police will increase. Perhaps the most dangerous trends towards the realization of democracy in Nigeria is the emergence of ethnic-regional and religious militias that have become laws unto themselves. These militias go by different names such as the "Odu'a People's Congress," "Egbesu Boys" and the "Bakassi Boys". Besides these, there are various ad-hoc concerned groups or association of regions, religions, and ethnicities established to defend corrupt politicians, top bureaucrats, and political appointees. These militias have their roots in the endemic corruption, political intolerance, and social prejudice in Nigerian society. They are also products of repressive governments that have failed to guarantee every citizen the opportunity to obtain the necessary resources to meet his basic needs. Their roles are for a fee or position or promotion to embark on violent protest and resistance against popular demand for accountability by such individuals or disciplinary actions against them for corruption, mismanagement, and oppression.

The development is a great danger to the prospect of democracy, accountability, and good governance. The Police in Nigeria is generally perceived to be very corrupt. Thus, Police corruption has been a major factor undermining the security and rights of the citizens in Nigeria. The extent, pattern, and trend of crime are determined by the political and socio-economic conditions in society. On the other hand, those who are not convinced of the state's intrinsic perversity or the market's unquestionable merits stress another aspect. The erosion of public ethics, the loss of state's legitimate status as the incarnation of the general interest, and the dilution of communal values through the pursuit of profit and the defence of selfish private interest are among issues stressed.

From the foregoing broad consideration of the general concept and sources of corruption, Police Corruption has been defined as the misuse of authority by a Police officer in a manner designed to produce personal gain for him or others. Police corruption may be in the form of improper political influence and acceptance of a bribe in exchange for non-enforcement of laws. In Nigeria, Police Corruption, which invariably has serious consequences for the security of Nigeria, include:

- i. Receiving bribe to alter evidence.
- ii. Receiving gratuities for returning stolen property.
- iii. Stealing from suspects or accident victims.
- iv. Receiving bribe in order not to effect the arrest of crime suspects.
- v. Receiving bribe to arrest an innocent citizen as a form of intimidation or harassment.
- vi. Supply of police arms and uniforms to armed robbers for a fee.
- vii. Divulging information about complainants to criminals.
- viii. Stealing from a crime scene or burglarised premises.
- ix. Receiving bribe and failing to search vehicles that may be carrying the prohibited item

Police Corruption in Nigeria has been exacerbated by poor working conditions, low pay, poor training, inadequate pre-recruitment screening, non-compliance with merit in promotion, inadequate supervision, weak leadership, inadequate logistic and facilities and institutional tolerance for corruption. Nigeria's political-economic structures have proved to be fertile grounds for corruption. Thus, in the history of the Nigeria Police Force, for the first time, the National Union of Policemen

comprised of the rank and file went on a nationwide strike on the 1st day of the February 2002 (Sowumi, 2006). Considering the problems that the present Nigeria Police Force is facing, the idea of a multiplicity of police forces, for now, can only further exacerbate the problems. Corruption, is therefore, entrenched at all levels of the Nigeria Police with serious implications for police efficiency and public security (Afolabi, Lawanson and Oyinloye, 2017).

Nigeria has experienced serious problems with insecurity over the past decades. If the multiplicity of police forces is neither necessary nor sufficient condition for efficiency or freedom but is associated with a range of problems, such as inefficiency, poor coordination, cooperation and communication, among other forces, the need for a rational and thorough examination of appropriate police structure for Nigeria is desirable.

The argument that the state police forces will be more productive, sensitive, and accountable and less corrupt than the federal police force may not necessarily be valid. Thus, historically, local police existed in Nigeria throughout colonial rule and up to 1966. Records and research evidence show that those local police forces exhibited the same vices attributed to the Nigeria Police Force, in many cases on a larger scale. The governors who are campaigning for state police forces are to a large extent doing so for less than noble reason. There are available records to show that local polices in Northern Nigeria, and Western Region, were employed principally to manipulate elections and for the repression of opposition to the government and party in power. What is therefore needed in the area of police transformation, for now, is popular control, a system of each of community policing whereby the Law Enforcement is closer to the people who will generate a more comprehensive check on the crime tendencies in the community, that is, participation in community policing rather than State Governors' Police.

Conclusion

On a conclusive note, therefore, Nigeria and the Nigerian Citizen should understand that although there is a need felt to reorder the Police System, which has accounted for the clamour for the State Police, there should be an evaluation of the system and an understanding of what works and what does not before a proposition for a reorganization. There is also a need for us to understand why the State Policing system has worked in first world countries like the United States, and with a counterbalancing comparison of whether Nigeria has the wherewithal and internal system that can manage the introduction of such a revolutionary structure of Policing in the country. Until all of these have been put into perspective and consideration, State Police will be counterproductive. Consideration, however, should be given to community security monitoring as has been exemplified by the Neighbourhood Safety Corp (NSC), but this time, should be capitalized upon and given prerogative.

Recommendations

The recommendation for the problem of Insecurity in Nigeria stemming from the apparent failure of the Police Force to perform the functions for which they were established, must come from deep understanding of the ailments as highlighted in this work, which are plaguing the system. The propositions are, therefore, as follows:

- i. Security or Insecurity both start from the grass-roots, since a State is made up of as an omnibus of different communities and societal groups. Instead of looking to the creation of a State Police system which will only be used as a tool in the hands of the ruthless politicians, why not attempt to create a system that ensures and keeps tabs on the Security of each community, through

community policing. This will work based on the fact that society is a more homogenous human organization and almost everyone will be conversant with each other, thereby creating the ability of monitoring each activity that goes on in such a community. For example, in the case of the Boko Haram operation and the creation of a base in the Sambissa Forest, if a system of community policing was being operated, their operations would not have had such a stronghold before it was known and early attempts were made to combat. In fact, if such a community agency existed they may not have secured such an operating base. The regular patrol system of the area by such a police in the community would have checked them.

- ii. The recruitment system into the Force should be stringent such that only individuals who, like the military, have great commitment and loyal to the Force and whose integrity remains unflinching and cannot be bribed should be recruited into the Force.
- iii. Only officers who have a sense of commitment to the country and the growth of such communities should be recruited as the lack of this will only allow for indifference within the system.
- iv. Diligence to the community's service should be dutifully rewarded, and laxities at the point of duty should be grossly frowned upon and not be tolerated under any circumstance.
- v. The over – centralized structure of the present police system needs to be reorganised while officers and men of the force should be mandated to serve in their state and community of origin. Finally, the use of modern security gadgets should be prioritized.

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