



Volume 6 (1) (2023): 54-85

The Indonesian Journal of Social Studies

Available at <https://journal.unesa.ac.id/index.php/jpips/index>

TACKLING THE CHALLENGES OF HUMAN SECURITY AND THE QUEST FOR STATE POLICE IN NIGERIA

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Abstrak

Abstrak ditulis secara ringkas dalam satu paragraf, meliputi: tujuan penelitian, metode penelitian, hasil dan simpulan. Abstrak ditulis dengan dua bahasa (Bahasa Indonesia dan Bahasa Inggris); Panjang abstrak diantara 150-200 kata, ditulis dalam satu paragraf. Hindari pengutipan dan menyingkat kata dalam penulisan abstrak. Jenis huruf cambria dengan ukuran 10, dengan jarak baris 1 spasi.

Kata Kunci: Kata kunci terdiri dari 3-5 kata dipisahkan dengan koma

How to Cite:

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e-ISSN 2615-5966 (Online)

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INTRODUCTION

The Nigeria Police Force (now better called, the Nigeria police) has been one government agency that has evolved with the socioeconomic and political development of the country. Suffice to state here that the present Police force in Nigeria was inherited from the British colonial masters' design. The establishment, organization, control, command and management of the Nigeria Police Force are governed by colonial legislation (Police Act (CAP 359) of the laws of the federation of Nigeria 1990 and the 1999 constitutions. The law was initially enacted in 1943 by the British colonial government in Nigeria. With the stark realities of socio-political development experienced by the country today, especially with regard to the issue of human security, the Police in Nigeria appear to be out of tune with contemporary realities as it concerns providing and ensuring maximum human security in the country.

Undoubtedly, Nigeria is currently bedeviled by myriads of worrisome challenges. The most recurring of these are bribery and corruption, unemployment, poverty and insecurity. Since independence in 1960, Nigeria has not experienced the nature and magnitude of insecurity she is enmeshed in, since her return to democratic form of governance in 1999. The return of democracy has witnessed an upsurge in violent crimes because of the withdrawal of the military personnel from security duties within the states (Ihekire 2014). Obviously, the level of violent crimes, such as militancy, armed-robbery, ritual killings, child and women trafficking, rape, politically motivated killings, ethno-religious rivalry, on one hand, and non-violent crimes, such as prostitution, bribery and corruption, public disorder, gambling and so on, on the other hand, appear to have defiled all known criminal justice system solution. The Boko Haram terrorism has further aggravated already the tensed security situation in Nigeria.

This current state of crime and insecurity has given rise to Nigeria being on the security watch-list of many industrialized countries and has sternly warned their citizens about doing business in Nigeria. For instance, in its 2014 predictions of countries with likelihood of social unrest, the Economic Intelligent Unit, a subsidiary of the Economist, has warned investors of higher than normal level of social unrest in Nigeria in the current year. They also categorized Nigeria among the "Very high risk" countries along with Afghanistan, Egypt and Somalia (Agwanwo, 2014). For those already operating in Nigeria, a good number of them have started relocating to other safer countries to avoid losing their lives and investment. In the northern part of Nigeria particularly in the North East, the Boko Haram terrorists have destroyed life and property, driving out investors both local and foreign. In other commercial cities like Lagos, Kano, Port Harcourt, Ibadan, Aba, among others, armed-robbery attacks, kidnapping for ransomed, Fulani herdsmen's attacks among other social vices are on the increase. This situation has made Nigerians to live in fear in their own country.

Also, the increasing incidence of violent and non-violent crimes have led to the formation of various vigilante group like the Bakassi Boys, Egbesu boys, the Oodua people's congress (OPC), Amotekun boys and the emergence of neighbourhood watch in some communities that have been denied peace by criminals and also the spread of private security companies. The Nigeria police force, in all these mounting security challenges has not been able to provide respite to this ugly menace. Constitutionally, the provision of security for life and property is enthused on the police. Based on daily occurrence, the police have been ineffective in fighting or curbing the high level of crime in the counties. They have been ignobly defected in the very task they were created for.

In the face of novel human security challenges in the country, prime among which are armed robbery, kidnapping, internal insurgency or terrorism, assassinations and cyber crime and because of this, significant questions are raised about how Nigeria got to where we are now in terms of high rate of insecurity as well as the articulation and understanding of security options for the country. The question of state police has remained one of the unanswered constitutional issues in Nigeria. Yet, the question of security challenge and policing are issues that have direct bearing on the status of Nigeria as a federal state. As it appears today in Nigeria, there seems to be

general expression of despair among Nigerians (Ekweremadu, 2014) on the high level of insecurity in the country as well as the lack of trust in the capacity, capability and integrity of the Nigeria police as it is presently constituted to protect life and property.

It is argued here, that, apart from low police motivation that is at the root the force being immersed in bribery and corruption; poor public perception; dearth of modern policing technology; criminal elements in the force; among others, the growing monster of insecurity and crime in Nigeria and the inability of the Nigeria police to curb it, is due to the centralized structured of the police in Nigeria. This situation has obviously made a lot of people to lend their voice in the call for a state police as means reducing the disturbing and heart breaking issue of crime and insecurity in Nigeria. What then constitute problem for the proposed study is the challenge of identifying the point where and how Nigeria started to experience human security challenges and policing conventions that exposed the inefficacy and mounting challenges of the existing centralized police system in Nigeria. This enlists the challenge of attempting a critical investigation and analysis of the comprehensive effects of the failure of the existing police system and therefore a justification for the necessity of state police in Nigeria. The general objective of the study is to examine the necessity and feasibility of the establishment of state police system in Nigeria. While the specific objectives are to:

- i. Examine the epistemological connection between inefficient policing and human insecurity in Nigeria.
- ii. Ascertain the level of security challenges under the present central controlled police system in Nigeria.
- iii. Explain the variables that account for the perceived or real failure of the central-controlled police in providing efficient and effective policing in Nigeria.
- iv. Highlight the adequacy of state police as alternative to ensure improved policing in Nigeria.

Hypotheses

Ho₁: There is no significant relationship between police inefficiency and human insecurity in Nigeria.

Ho₂: There is no significant relationship between the present security challenges in Nigeria and the clamour for state police.

Ho₃: There is no significant relationship between the structure of the Nigeria police and ineffective police security service delivery in Nigeria.

Ho₄: There is no significant relationship between the institution of state police and improved security situation in Nigeria.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Concept of Human Security

The concept, "Human Security" has been conceptualized as a condition of being free from fear threat or want (Gasper, 2008). Koeler (2010), Thomas (2011), Tadjhakhsh and Odette (2007) in their separate works insist that Human Security correlates with human development or that it is a pre- requisite for human development. The aim of development is to ensure is to ensure that people have the opportunity to live long and have access to resources so that they can enjoy descent standard of living. Indeed, if human development works in the direction of expansion of opportunities - then human security looks at ways of dealing with, avoiding, mitigating and coping with threats (LAPAS, 2003).

Further articulating relationship that human security as a conceptual entity may exhibit as a second order cognitive manifestation is that it addresses two types of threats namely:

- Chronic embedded threats to security such as hunger, disease, violence against women and,

- Sudden and painful changes such as consequences of conflicts, natural disaster and of course, sudden economic meltdown.

The postulation above can be summarized by saying that human security is sine qua non for development. Therefore, since development cannot occur when human security is not guaranteed, human security therefore must be given priority, Zabadi (2005) explains that security is a situation where a person or something is not exposed to any form of danger or risk of physical or moral aggression, accident, theft or deterioration. Some security experts like Zartman and Faure (2011), Freedman (2004) and Schwartz (2010) argue that the concept of security has always been associated with the safety and survival of citizens of a country from harm or destruction or from dangerous threats. These conceptions generally maintain that the state holds basic responsibility and the power to ensure the safety and well being of the citizens. Therefore, there is existential dilemma if the state fails in this primary responsibility. Thus, the concept of security is operationalized within the concept of human security in this study.

This is an emerging paradigm for understanding global vulnerabilities whose proponents challenge the traditional notion of national security by arguing that the proper referent for security should be at the human rather than national level. Human security exposes a people - centered and multi-disciplinary understanding of security and which involves a number of research fields including development studies, strategic studies, international relations and even human rights.

Broadly speaking, the traditional approach to security mainly regards states as a sole referent object of security and dismisses an attempt to broaden the concept of security. This understanding is known as a realist approach. This approach however has been challenged recently, by the Copenhagen School, the Welsh School, and the Human Security approach. The Copenhagen School assumes that there is now a duality of security; state security and societal security. However, both the Welsh and human security schools, otherwise referred to as emancipatory realism, look at individuals as a sole referent object of security.

Human security allows individuals, the pursuit of life, liberty and, both happiness and justice (Lotta and Owen, 2006) Human Security puts the individual at the receiving end of all security concerns and also becomes a potent impression that promotes and sustains stability and progressive integration of individuals within their states, societies and regions (UNDP, 1994, Ahire, 2003, Floyd, 2007)

A major weakness of the human security perspectives is that it fails to take into account that the articulation of climate change as a (human) security issue might trigger a whole range of other policies which were not intended by the proponents of human security school. Rita Floyd (2007) for instance argues that broadening security in the direction of human security has not always had positive consequences - it has been counterproductive in some instances. (Floyd, 2007).

Origin of Human Security

The principal possible indicators of movement toward an individualized conception of security lie in the first place in the evolution of international society's consideration of rights of individuals in the face of potential threats from states. The most obvious foci or analysis here were the UN charter, the UN declarations of human rights (1984) and its associate covenants (1966), and conventions, related to particular groups such as women, racial groups and refugees.

The emergency of the human security discourse was the fallout of a convergence of factors at the end of the cold war. The increasing rapid pace of globalism; the failure of liberal state building through the instruments of the Washington consensus, the reduced threat of nuclear war between the super-powers, the exponential rise in the spread and consolidations of democratization and international human rights norms opened a space in which both "development" and concepts of "security" could be re-considered.

It was Mahbub Ul Hag that first drew global attention to the concept of human security in the United Nations Development Programme's 1994 human development report and further sought to influence the UN's 1995 world summit on social development in Copenhagen. The UNDP's 1994 Human Development reports definition of human security argues that the scope of global security should be expanded to include threats in several areas such as:

- Economic security
- Food security
- Health security
- Environmental security
- Personal security
- Community security
- Political security

(See: United Nations Human Development Reports, 2020).

Concept of State Police

The practice of state policing is not uniform across the world and so its conceptualization is quite complex. State police is defined by Agwanwo as "policing in a federal system in which the state government employs police officers for the purpose of policing the state" (Agwanwo, 2014:166). This definition tends to imply that state police exists only in countries having a federal system of government, but this is not necessarily so. Egunjobi, taking Nigeria into consideration, is of the view that "state police is a kind of sub-national police formation which is established, organized, maintained and under the direct control and jurisdiction of a particular state (sub-national unit) government" (Egunjobi, 2016:2). While this is a broader definition, it does not take into consideration the fact that in some countries practicing state policing, such as the United States of America and Canada, the Counties and Municipalities also have their own autonomous police forces. This is captured by Aremu who opines that "State policing operationally is when policing and all its operations and logistics are controlled by other governments other than the national or federal government" (Aremu, 2014:33). In essence, this means that the state police force is not a part of the national police but serves a sub-division of the nation such as a state, province and/or its smaller units. The most important issue, however, is not territoriality but that of decentralization of the police force.

Police and policing in contemporary political systems have undergone remarkable changes. Advanced democracies have evolved a police system that cut across the federal, state and the local unit. The state form of police and policing is regarded as indispensable feature of a federal system of governance. It allows its constituent units the constitutional right to provide security for life and property of people within the state. A state form of police and policing differs remarkably from the current centralized Nigeria police force in its creation, funding and control. Unlike the present reality, the state police force is one that would be created, funded and controlled by the state government within a federal system. The recent clamour for a state police force in Nigeria is not empirically unfounded. Nigeria federalism stipulates the devolution of power between the federating units (federal, state and local). Ideally, this must encapsulate powers. The centralized federal police force in Nigeria, have not been able to squarely deal with or respond to the yearnings of citizens for the security of lives and property. Arguably, the central focus of the state police force is to bring the police and effective policing closer to the policed within the state. The state police force is made up of officers who understand the language, geography and the peculiar security challenge of the people they would be policing. Also, as 'insiders' they would work hand in hand with members of the community to provide quality policing service to the people. The constitutional responsibility of the state police force would be to enforce all criminal and crime related laws made by the state legislature and maintain social order within the state (Agwanwo, 2014).

State police became prominent due to a number of reasons going by the experience of the United States of America, in the sense that:

1. The movement responds primarily to the increasing consciousness on the part of dwellers in rural and suburban districts of a need for a greater degree of police protection. The coming of the automobile and improved highways has widened the range of crime and rendered its control more difficult.
2. Local sheriffs and constables are not adequate nor especially fitted for this work.
3. State militia is a clumsy and extremely expensive agency and is not trained for police duty. It is designed primarily as a supplement to the standing army for national defence.
4. It is a movement toward centralization of government for the purpose of economy and efficiency (Nwogwugwu & Kupoluyi, 2015).

The Controversy over State Police in Nigeria

The issue of whether or not the federating states of Nigeria should have their own police forces has become a vexed one in recent times. While some insist that Nigeria is not ripe for multiple police forces, others are of the view that the solution to the security problem of Nigeria is an amendment to the constitution to permit the states to own their own police forces. In what follows, we will examine the arguments for and against state police beginning with the former.

Arguments in Favour of State Police

The argument often adduced in favour of the establishment of state police is that it accords with the principle of federalism that Nigeria claims to operate (Aganwo, 2014). As a federalist state, Nigeria is divided between the central government called the Federal Government and the 36 states. Law making function at the centre is the responsibility of the National Assembly while the State Houses of Assembly perform similar function subject to the limit permissible by the legislative list contained in the second schedule to the constitution; an extension of the principle of federalism to which Federal and State courts exist. Thus, while there are federal courts with powers and jurisdiction as spelt out in the constitution, state courts are allowed to exist side by side with them, and their own jurisdiction clearly spelt out (Eme & Anyadike, 2012). The executive powers of the federation are by virtue of section 5(1) vested in the president while that of the states are vested in the governors. The exercise of executive powers in both cases extends to the execution and maintenance of the constitution and all laws made by either the national or state assemblies, as maybe appropriate.

An analysis of the above constitutional provisions would clearly reveal that each of the federating states is meant to be a complete government of its own with powers to make laws, enforce them and punish offenders through the judicial arm. Yet, under the Nigeria legal system, the only institution saddled with the responsibility of enforcing laws is the Nigeria Police Force, a national outfit. As observed by Etanbi Alemika and Innocent Chukwuma, "the police are agents of the state, established for the maintenance of order and enforcement of law" (Alemika & Chukwuma, 2010:144). Without a coercive power, a state no matter how big or rich is just like any other organized society. It may be able to bark but it certainly cannot bite. Architects of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria seemed to have appreciated the problems that were likely to be faced by the federating states operating without coercive powers when they inserted a clause allowing the government of a state to give any lawful directives to the commissioner of police in charge of a state with respect to the maintenance of public safety and order (Aganwo, 2014). However, the constitution makes no pretense as to who really, is the overall boss of the Nigeria Police. The provision in section 215(4) is unequivocal that a state commissioner of police shall be at liberty to refer a directive given by a state governor to the president before acting on it. In Nigeria where most government decisions are influenced by politics, a governor's directive to the state commissioner of police is prone to constant veto. A classic example of the usage of presidential power to undermine the state was the murder trial of Nigeria's former Senate majority leader, Teslim Folarin in 2011 (Aganwo, 2014). Without waiting for the legal advice to the issue on the

murder charge brought against Teslim Folarin, the police, believed to be acting the script of the Federal Government of Nigeria, unilaterally withdrew the charge against the accused person. Another example of the powerlessness of the states in security matters was manifested in the unilateral disbandment of Bayelsa State security outfit by former President Goodluck Jonathan (Aganwo, 2014).

Advocates of state police also argue that it is illogical to ascribe the managerial capability of an institution like the Police to a particular tier of government (Aganwo, 2014). They observe that the decision to completely cede policing to the federal authorities in Nigeria was premised on the wrong assumption that the federating states in Nigeria lack the power to maintain a disciplined force, especially against the backdrop of the experience of the First Republic earlier mentioned, and that experience has shown that the Federal Police are not insulated from the vices that afflicted the Native Police while it existed. Indeed, they argue that vices such as corruption, indiscipline, oppression, extortion to mention but a few that contributed to the demise of the Native Police still hinder the Federal Police in the discharge of their constitutional role. Pro-state Police agitators also draw attention to the issue of over-concentration of responsibilities on the federal government as a reason for the clamour for state police. 68 items on the exclusive legislative list to contend with, the Federal Government of Nigeria is already overburdened with responsibilities, they argue (Aganwo, 2014; Eme & Anyadike, 2012). As a result, they note that security these days is seen as the protection of only Abuja, the seat of power alone and that it is the individual states that now spend heavily to supplement the operation of police personnel deployed to their domains to secure lives and property. If a state spends heavily on matters relating to security, then it should be able to exert some form of control, advocates of state police maintain (Aganwo, 2014; Eme & Anyadike, 2012).

On his part, former Vice-President Osinbajo, arguing for state police, noted: We cannot realistically police a country the size of Nigeria centrally from Abuja. State police and other community policing methods are clearly the way to go. The nature of our security challenges is complex and known. Securing Nigeria's over 900,000sq km and its 180 million people requires far more men and material than we have at the moment... It also requires a continuous reengineering of our security architecture and strategy. This has to be a dynamic process. For a country of our size to meet the 'one policeman to 400 persons' prescribed by the United Nations would require triple our current police force; far more funding of the police force and far more funding of our military and other security agencies. (Onyedi, 2018) What seems clear from the Vice-President's remark is that Nigeria is too large for its security matters to be overcentralized. In a country that is usually bogged down by administrative bottlenecks, a lot of time is wasted on matters like the deployment of security operatives to quell insurrection. The efficacy of local militias like Oodua People's Congress, Bakassi Boys, Egbesu Boys, to mention but a few seem to lend credence to the believe by many that security is largely a local problem and only those who understand the terrain can manage it (Tangban & Audu, 2020).

Olong and Agbonika (2013) in their contributions to the state police controversy hold the view that most civilized nations operate state police because of its benefits. According to them, the peculiarities of each state and region of Nigeria alone, make it tenable to have state police or regional police outfits. They further emphasized that adopting a decentralized police system will be justified on the grounds that state and local police forces will be thoroughly familiar with the people, their terrain, culture, religion, and so on and that will be extension confer on the police and policing, the semblance or appearance of being part of the state and the local communities rather than being seen as contemptuous occupying forces from the outside.

Oke (2013) in a similar vein harps on the contention that those who point to the United States of America as a model of police ownership for Nigeria are overlooking an important difference between the United States and Nigeria. This author argues that in the USA, aside from the occasional bias against black people, Hispanics and so on, ethnicity is not much of serious issue. In practice, American met in the state of Texas or Chicago, for instance, will most likely say that he is

an American when asked, but when one is asked in Lagos, he or she will identify himself or herself as a Yoruba, Huasa or Igbo or as the case may be. Oke (2013) attempting to compare the policing system in Britain to that of the United States analyses that in Britain the policing system is also decentralized, though in a slightly different form from what obtains in the USA.

According to Oke (2013), in Britain, the police system is locally administered but subject to strong central government influences. Funding is borne substantially by the central government and it is thereby in a position to influence decisions and enforce standards by lacks operational control over the local administration thereby leaving them with some measures of autonomy. As Oke (2013) further explained, the direction and control of each regional force falls on the Chief Constables, with the police authorities overseeing their work to ensure that adequate and efficient work is carried out by all police forces. This tripartite system avoids political interference in policing and prevents an single organization or individual power over the activities or operations of the police force. There exists a national (metropolitan) police and the city of London Police which are directly administered by the home office (<http://www.bbc.co.uk.crime/fighters/policeforce.shtml>).

Bamigbetan (2004) drawing analogy between a decentralized system of policing and that of a highly centralized National Police force identified France as a country with a highly centralized police system. Bamigbetan (2004) was however, quick to point out that even in France, policing is provided by two National Police Forces while a third much smaller force is employed directly by local authorities to perform the duties of local town majors including traffic and enforcement of bye-laws.

Though, it has been repeatedly contended that the idea of state police establishment is a dangerous proposition at this stage of Nigeria's socio0political trajectory (Balogun, 2004, Habeeb, 2004, Jemibewon, 2001) which will not solve the country's security imbroglio but would instead create more chaos that might lead to the balbanization of the country (Babeeb, 2004). Taking stock from policing systems existing in other parts of the world tends to suggest that both federal and state governments run police have operated successfully in different countries. What is derivable epistomolgically however is that, none of the policing systems is inherently ineffective but peculiarities of each country in terms of size, population, political development, ethnic terrain and so on determine what system would work better in a particular country.

Given the upsurge in security challenges and its abysmal management in Nigeria today, Ogwuda (2018) lends voice to the proposition for state police establishment stating that the centralized system of policing in Nigeria and its attendant problems has failed. This scholar further explains that the usurpation of the powers of state governors as chief security officers of their respective states further intensified the call for state police. In the views of Ogwuda (2018) therefore, state police establishment will mitigate the current realities of insecurity in Nigeria.

Ndagi (2018) points out that security realities in Nigeria presently have shown that the Federal Government alone cannot solve the problems associated with policing due to the urgency quantum and nature of the problems. Ndagi (2018) belief is that is to resolve these problems, partnership is required between state police force and the Federal Police Force especially with respect to manpower shortage, inadequate equipment, sagging morale and poor communication capabilities.

Another contention is favour of state police is hinged on the fact that Nigeria is too vast a country and heterogeneous for its security matters to be over centralized as it is now (Idoko and Dasuma, 2018). In situations of emergencies where swift and decisive actions are needed to respond to such emergency security situations by deploying quick response troops, time is often wasted on issues of administrative battle necks and needless bureaucracies (Aganwo, 2014, Elaigwu, 2013, Bassey, 2012).

The effectiveness and efficiency if regional security outfits in recent time in Nigeria such as the south-west states jointly formed security operation coded – named operation Amotekun in 2020 and the South – East States security outfit coded-named Ebube Agu in 2021 have since been in

operation with success records just as the Benue State government in 2022 launched the Benue Guard. These security formations have lent credence to the conviction that security is a local problem which can also be effectively handled by those who understand the terrain (Tagban, 2014).

The view of the state having monopoly over the means of legitimate violence led into the creation of specialized agencies like the police and the Armed Forces charged with the responsibility of controlling the use of violence by other groups. Currently the police in Nigeria are scheduled to perform the following duties:

- i. Crime Prevention
- ii. Protection of lives and properties
- iii. Enforcing law
- iv. Maintenance of peace and public order.
- v. Providing a wide range of services to the citizens (Akuul, 2011).

By doing this, it has the right to use coercive means in order to establish social control. The Nigeria Police is statutorily required to also fight crime through detection, investigation, apprehension and prosecution of offenders in law courts as well as the protection of lives and property through proactive policing (Odeh & Umoh, 2015).

Arguments against State Police

Like advocates of state police, those opposing the establishment of state police have adduced a number of arguments in support of their own position. Firstly, they argue that the conditions that led to the demise of the Native Authority Police, the precursor of state police being clamoured for now still exist. They maintain that the Native Police of the First Republic was about the most abused public institution with local authorities exercising absolute powers which their political candidates deployed at will against their opponents. In the South-west and the North, for instance, the use of political thugs in native police uniform by politicians led to the outbreak of operation Wete and the Tiv riots, respectively which were some of the remote causes of January 15, 1966 military take-over in Nigeria ((Aleyomi, 2013). States and local governments might have been outlawed from creating state police, their recourse to ethnic militias like Bakassi Boys, Egbesu Boys, the Oduduwa People's Congress to mention but a few to wreaked havoc on political opponents is suggestive of how dangerous it would be to legally allow states to have police forces. They note that the revelation that members of the dreaded Boko Haram have sponsors among prominent politicians in Nigeria is a pointer to the possible negative use of state police by politicians (Olufemi, 2020).

There is also the issue of possible intra-police conflict between state and federal police being raised by those opposing the establishment of state police (Adebayo & Ojo, 2009). Although the police as presently structured may be guilty of most if not all allegations leveled against it, those against state police are of the view that it is better for Nigeria to face the challenge of a single police instead of having to fight many battles at the same time by creating state police, noting that it is equally doubtful if Nigerian politicians have imbibed the culture of political maturity to be able to put in place a mechanism for resolving amicably likely jurisdictional problems that would arise from operating multiple police forces; yet another argument being put forward by opponents of state police relates to funding. They posit that with virtually all the states depending on allocation from the federation account, the creation of state police would worsen the already weak financial position of most states of the federation (Adebayo & Ojo, 2009). They submit that even a state like Lagos, for example, that has been giving huge financial support to the Nigeria Police Force in its area of jurisdiction has been doing so through a trust fund system dedicated to that purpose.

In addition, opponents of state police note that many states in Nigeria presently have some sort of unofficial 'police' carrying out a variety of duties including traffic control, sanitation, eradication of illegal trading, moping of major roads of abandoned, illegally and sometimes legally parked

vehicles and so on and that the level of fraud and brutality with which these uncategorized set of people work is common knowledge (Muazu, 2004; Adebayo & Ojo, 2009). Some of them have even earned sobriquets owing to the manner with which they operate. They cite the “Ndi Mpiawa Azu” in Anambra State, for example (Muazu, 2004; Adebayo & Ojo, 2009). Among these uncategorized people, you can hardly see a non-indigene among them in every State that has them, apart from most of them being persons of questionable character. Opponents of state police submit that their *modus operandi* is a pointer to what state police will look like if ever introduced (Adebayo & Ojo, 2009). Also, those against state police express the fear that constant friction between State and Federal Police will be inevitable just as all these uncategorized groups often clash with the Police and sometimes the Army. Furthermore, if Nigeria introduces police at the state level, division of duty between State and the Federal Police will be an interesting thing to follow, opponents of state police maintain (Tangban & Audu, 2020).

In his contribution to the controversy against state police establishment in Nigeria, Obidimma (2018) states that the only tenable argument is the common conception of the likelihood of abuse of power to control state police force by state governors. The opinion here is that it could impact on both politicians and affect public security when utilized as an instrument of intimidation to oppress political opponents by the government in power (Ashi, 2013).

Also, this is hinged on the fact that the defunct native authority and local politicians of the First Republic in Nigeria, and that nothing has changed in the country in the events that led to eclipse of local police forces in the First Republic (Obidimma, 2018). The assumptionary matrix therefore, subsists that history will repeat itself if state governors are allowed to have operational control of their state police affairs.

Another argument raised against state police arrangement in Nigeria has to do with inevitability of jurisdictional conflict or the possibility of fallout of multiple security outfits. The contentious issue here is whether or not Nigeria should squarely face the challenges of a single police force rather than resolving the crises that could emanate from operation a decentralised police system. The capability of Nigerian politicians to handle the jurisdictional conflict that are likely to arise from operation of multiple police forces remains in doubt (Okemuyiwa, 2017). The problem here is whether there will be interference or clash of duties in the operation of the police force (Ogwuda, 2018) and what happens in the event of such clashes.

Assessment of the Pros and Cons of State Police

This segment assesses the arguments for and against state police beginning with the former. Proponents of state police base their arguments partly on the federalist structure which they believe should be extended to the Nigeria Police and partly on states intervention to the Police institution. On the former, there can be no doubt that the strand of argument makes a lot of sense. If Nigeria operates a federalist system, it is only logical to extend it to the Police establishment more so as the sprawling size of the country warrants such a move for more result-oriented policing. On the second strand of the argument which focuses on the occasional support by state governments to the Police, we may cite the example of Lagos State.

The former Governor of Lagos State, Akinwumi Ambode’s intervention, for example, consisted of 100 saloon cars, 55 Ford Ranger pick-up vans, 10 Toyota Land Cruiser pick-up vans, 115 power bikes, three helicopters, two gunboats, Isuzu Trucks, vehicular radio communication, security gadgets, bullet proof vests, siren and public address systems, helmets, handcuff, uniforms and kits (The African Opinion, 2018). He also floated an improved insurance and death benefit scheme. All this cost the Lagos State Government about N4,765 billion Naira (The African Opinion, 2018). What the Lagos State Governor did is what almost all state governors are doing in varying degrees, an indication that the Federal Government is unable to equip the police properly to safeguard lives and property. The governor of any state is the chief executive officer of that state. He works with the state’s Commissioner of Police (CP) to keep the state safe, yet he has no operational control over the CP. This power lies elsewhere. So why do states ‘fund’ a police force that they have no

control over? It is because their people will hold the governor responsible in the event of security lapses in the state. It should be noted, however, that the gesture of goodwill to the Police Force by state governors is just an intervention and should be seen as such. Sustaining a Police Force entails much more than such periodic intervention as most if not all the states do (Tangban & Audu, 2020).

Opponents of state police, on the other hand, maintain that state political leaders will use it to intimidate their political opponents. There is a hidden assumption in this argument that the Federal Government has more integrity than state governments. This is unproven. Indeed, the Federal Government had used the police force several times to intimidate its political opponents (Tangban & Audu, 2020). There is also another questionable assumption that the media, judiciary, labour unions, opposition parties and civil society groups would remain meekly silent while a state government rides roughshod over the citizens. This is unlikely to be the case because of the plurality of media ownership, civil society groups, the judiciary and the proactive stance of the civil population. All this could check the tendency towards oppression by a state chief executive deploying state police against opponents. Another argument of opponents of state police is that only a few states would be able to fund state police. The present reality is that federal and state governments jointly meet the operational cost of the police in all the states. The state governments would only need to make some additional fund to what they are spending now on the Police Force. Also, if the revenue sharing formula is reviewed to enable the states to get more than they now do, it would be less burdensome for them to fund state police. There is also the view that there will be conflict in operational jurisdiction between the two police forces. Such conflicts, if and when they do arise, can be amicably resolved. After all, even now, the Federal Police and Army do have clashes from time to time and no serious damage has been done to the reputation or the integrity of any of them. The other argument of the opponents is that the establishment of state police would be a quick way of laying a foundation for the break-up of Nigeria. This argument is unsustainable because the Military would still remain the dominant coercive force in the country. However, the unity of any country entails not only having a coercive institution of government but also upholding the values of equity and justice (Tangban & Audu, 2020).

There can be no doubt that the establishment of state police is desirable for the country for several reasons. One, state police is likely to do better intelligence work since they know the terrain and would be able to speak the local language better than non-indigenes. Two, there would be cooperation and partnership between the State and Federal Police in security matters since it is in the interest of both of them to cooperate for success. Besides, some of the state governments have their own vigilante groups or something akin to state police established by law. Where they are not established by law, the state governments still use them alongside the Federal Police. For example, Hisbah is the Sharia Police in Kano and it works hand in hand with the Federal Police. In the South west, there is the Odua People Congress; in the Southeast there are the Bakassi Boys and in the South, there are the Egbesu Boys. These informal semipolice outfits exist in various parts of the country. Their existence seems to suggest that there is a policing gap, which they, legally or illegally, are filling. If that is so, why not go the whole hog and allow the states to establish a police force of their own by law, which can be regulated and supervised by a Police Service Commission? At the moment, many of these security outfits are operating whimsically and arbitrarily.

Perhaps the most important argument for state police is that the country is seriously under-policed. The United Nations benchmark is one policeman to 400 persons. Nigeria has a population of about 180 million, which by the UN threshold should have at least 450, 000 police personnel (Kimani, 2009). At the moment, the staff strength of the Nigeria Police is about 371,800 implying a deficit of 78,200 police personnel (Dziedzic, 2002). In 2017, President Muhammadu Buhari approved the recruitment of 10,000 additional police personnel (Maciag, 2016). That is still a far cry from what is needed. Even with the present low figure, the Federal Government has not been able to take care of them adequately. Some police personnel go about their duties in torn uniform (Premium Times, 2019:4). Some wear bathroom slippers to work; the rain drenches some because they have no raincoats. Sometimes, they are owed salaries for months (IWRP, 2019). That is why

police personnel have sometimes threatened to go on strike (Adepegba, 2019). If, however, the state governments establish their own police forces, this would shore up the total number from the two police forces and bolster the capacity of the police institution to fight crime more effectively. If, on the other hand, the government decides to maintain the status quo and meets the UN benchmark on policing, that may not meaningfully impact on the effectiveness of the police establishment partly because of its unified structure with attendant bottlenecks and the sheer size of the country. Add to this, the financial implication of meeting the UN benchmark on policing in the face of dwindling resources (Tangban & Audu, 2020).

There is also the issue of how Nigeria would operate state police. As earlier indicated, there are different models of state police in the world. For example, India, Canada and the USA models; each of these models appear to have been developed by countries taking into account the internal dynamics including population, size, financial capability and the like. A transplant of any of the already existing model to Nigeria without modification as it is the case with the Presidential System of government adopted by Nigeria may create more problems for the country than solving it. This of course, implies that if Nigeria is to borrow, which seems most likely; there is the need for a proper legal instrument to be put in place to govern the operations of the Federal and State Police. Such a legal instrument would need to address a number of issues including the relationship between the Federal and State Police, funding for Federal and State Police, the powers and limitations of both levels of Police in a manner that would ensure harmonious working relationship between them and of course, the Federal and State Governments within such a legal instrument. Any rush to establish state police without such a legal instrument in place may mean invitation to conflict and confusion between the Federal and the states. Besides, there is the issue of attitude of not only the political class and police personnel which leaves much to be desired at the moment for the envisaged state police to take-off and serve the purpose intended. There is need for reorientation for not only the political class but also members of the Police Force in a manner that ensures discipline among them in matters relating to security. Without this, if the status quo is maintained and the government goes ahead to establish state police, such an approach would be counter-productive. In the interim, there should be a move towards decentralization of the Nigeria Police as a prelude to the eventual emergence of state police when the enabling environment is put in place.

Ochei (2014) held that a veritable way out of the current security quagmire would be the establishment of state police formations. He views pundits' fear of abuse of the force by state governors as untenable in the light of the damning allegations of abuse of the Nigerian Police Force (NPF) by those who currently run and control it. Moreover, Eboh, (2014) insisted that the governors will never abuse the state police because the State Houses of Assembly will always be there to monitor their activities and ensure compliance. In view of these arguments, support for the notion of state policing can be further hinged on an analysis of the following indicators:

1. Re-orientation of the Force
2. Insufficiency of Budgetary Allocation
3. Udicious use of the security vote
4. The Utilisation of policemen
5. Decentralisation and the practice of true Federalism
6. Creation of employment opportunities
7. Effective intelligence gathering.

METHOD OF STUDY

Research Design

This study adopted the Cross sectional research design and the Key Informant Interview (KII) method of gathering information. The KII is a qualitative in-depth interview with people who know what is going on in the community. The purpose of KII is to collect information from a wide range of critical stakeholders or people including community leaders, professionals or residents who

have firsthand knowledge about the community or about what is happening around (Black & Champion, 1976).

However, in deriving aggregate data for the study, both secondary and primary sources were relied on. The secondary data sources include information sourced from published scholarly journals, textbooks, magazines, newspapers' reports and the internet. The survey questions was administered to selected academics, security operatives and educated and well-informed politicians in six states in Nigeria, namely Delta, Ogun, Anambra, Benue, Adamawa and Kaduna to represent the six geo-political zones plus the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) of Nigeria.

Population of the Study

A population is made up of all conceivable elements, subjects or observations relating to a particular phenomenon that a researcher is interested in studying subjects or elements are individual item that make up the population. They may be observed or physically counted (Asika, 2014).

A population of 21, 409, 679 Nigerians drawn from the six states randomly selected from each of the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria constituted the population of the study. 384 respondents each were drawn from the six states and the FCT. The population is derived from the records of the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS, August, 2019) for the six states plus the Federal Capital Territory.

Table 1: Population Figures of States

Geo-Political Zone	State	Population
North Central	Benue	4,253,641
North East	Adamawa	3,178,950
North West	Kaduna	6,113,503
South East	Anambra	4,177,828
South – South	Delta	4,112,445
South West	Ogun	3,751,140
FCT	Abuja	1,405,201
Total		21,409,679

Source: (NBS, August, 2019)

Sample Size

A sample size is a representative of the entire population from which it is drawn. This study used the geo-political zones in Nigeria as the sampling frame of the study area. The study used the simple random sampling to select six states from the six geo-political zones of Nigeria plus the Federal Capital Territory for the purpose of eliciting information.

The sample size for the study is 2,688. This is derived from the sample size table developed by the Research Advisors in 2006. Various formulae can be used to calculate the required sample size for a given population. The study used

$$n = \frac{x^2 * N * P * (1 - P)}{ME^2 * (N - 1) + (X^2 * p * (1 - P))} \dots \dots \dots (Equation 1)$$

Where:

- n - Sample size
- X² - Chi-square for the specific level at 1 degree of freedom
- N - Population size
- P - Population proportion (...in the Research Advisors Table)

ME - Desired margin of Error (Expressed as a proportion)

Source: Kothari and Garg (2014)

Table 2: Required Sample Size

Geo-political Zone	State	Population	Required Sample Size
North Central	Benue	4,253,641	384
North East	Adamawa	3,178,950	384
North West	Kaduna	6,113,503	384
South East	Anambra	4,177,828	384
South – South	Delta	4,112,445	384
South West	Ogun	3,751,140	384
FCT		1,405,201	2,688

Source: (NBS, August, 2019)

At a confident level of 95% and a margin of error (degree of accuracy) of 0.05% would be 384. (see appendix 1, page....) consequently, 2688 respondents was randomly selected from each of the six states plus the FCT and from whom information was elicited.

Sampling Technique

There are two main categories of sampling techniques in survey research. They are probabilistic and non-probabilistic techniques. The choice is deliberate. It represents our intention to purposely select a few critical stakeholders only to interview while we administered questionnaire to the other respondents. The choice owed to the fear of insecurity in the sampled states. For this study, the probability sampling technique was employed. The import of the probabilistic technique is that the technique makes it possible for the researcher to estimate the chances that a given population element will be selected to be members of the sample. Probability sampling is also known as random sampling or chance sampling (Kothari & Garg, 2014). Under this method every item of the population has an equal chance of inclusion in the sample.

Method of Data Collection

The study adopted combination of methods of gathering data. Data for the study were procured from both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources include the use of questionnaire items and interview guide for a broad information and interview, which were conversational and inquisitional to give in-depth information on the issue under problem that was studied. The structured questionnaire type was adopted. The questionnaires were administered to the respondents by the researcher personally with the help of field assistants.

On the other hand, the secondary sources of data include information sourced from published scholarly journals, textbooks, magazines, newspapers, reports, unprinted materials, seminar papers and the internet. It has been emphasized that what surveys are to the behaviouralist, documents are to the traditionalist (Kothari & Garg, 2014; Ikenga, 2016) and so are indispensable in the prosecution of political science research. Anchored on this premise, we adopted a detailed unobtrusive consultation of relevant secondary materials. Also, information from personal observations and experiences was utilized.

Validity of the Research Instrument

A research instrument is said to be valid if it enables a researcher elicit the correct responses from the sample subjects. In other words, before an instrument can be said to be valid, it means the instrument is appropriate for measuring what it is intended to measure. Validity therefore, is expressed as the degree to which a measuring instrument measures what it is designed to measures accurately. In this research, survey questionnaire administered to the selected sample subjects with the hope and belief that responses got from them are original and authentic. This is

in addition to the fact that the instrument was subjected to the scrutiny of the researcher’s supervisors and other research experts.

Reliability

This is concerned with the consistency obtained from the results of the application of the research instrument. An instrument is reliable if it consistently gives the same or similar result (Asika, 2012). In this study to test the reliability of the research instrument, a pilot study was conducted.

Table 3: Validity and Reliability Results

Construct	Number of items	Composite Reliability	Cronbach’s Alpha	Average Variance Extract
Structure of the Nigeria police	5	.841	.780	.628
Police inefficiency	5	.837	.773	.621
Institution of state police	5	.825	.770	.618
Human insecurity in Nigeria	5	.819	.746	
Police security service delivery	5	.810	.739	.609
Security situation in Nigeria	5	.803	.721	.600

Source: Field Survey, 2023

Table 3 shows that the values range from 0.803 to 0.841 for composite reliability and 0.721 to 0.780 for Cronbach’s alpha respectively for the three constructs. This implies that all the constructs are reliable as the values of composite and the Cronbach’s alpha coefficients are above the threshold of 0.70 (Hair, Hult, Ringle & Sarstedt, 2017). The reliability results are supported by the discriminant validity values of Average Variance Extract (AVE), which are also above the standard of 0.50 (Hair et al., 2017). Therefore, all the six constructs for this study showed high reliability and internal consistency.

Method of Data Analysis

Method of analysis is the technique for ordering and breaking down of data into constituent parts. It constitutes the statistical calculation performed with reference to raw data to provide answers to research hypotheses that are raised. The socio-demographic characteristics were analyzed using descriptive statistics, while the hypotheses of the study were analyzed using inferential statistics of correlation and simple regression analysis with the aid of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software version 23.0. As for the secondary data, the historical and content analysis approach was used for the analysis of data generated.

RESULTS

This study investigated the necessity and feasibility of the establishment of state police system in Nigeria. To achieve this, two thousand six hundred and eighty eight (2,688) questionnaires were administered across the six states plus the FCT. Of the two thousand six hundred and eighty eight (2,688) questionnaires distributed, only one thousand six hundred and twenty seven (1,927) were found usable, representing seventy one point seven percent (71.7%) response rate.

Description of Respondents’ Demographic Characteristics

The table below shows the presentation of data and analysis for the sample background information in terms of sex, age, marital status, educational qualification and working experience.

Table 4: Socio-demographic Characteristics Result

Items	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Sex		
Male	1007	52.3
Female	920	47.7

Total	1927	100
Age		
20-30	506	26.3
31-40	538	27.9
41-50	491	25.5
51+	392	20.3
Total	1927	100
Marital status		
Single	795	41.3
Married	939	48.7
Widowed	156	8.1
Divorced	37	1.9
Total	1927	100
Qualification		
SSCE	543	28.2
NCE/OND	405	21.0
B.Sc./HND	619	32.1
MBA/M.Sc./Ph.D	360	18.7
Total	1927	100
Work experience		
1-5years	335	17.3
6 - 10years	498	25.8
11-15 years	558	29.1
16 years and above	536	27.8
Total	1927	100

Source: (Field survey, 2023)

Table 4 provides an overview of the socio-demographic data. Out of the 1927 respondents 1007(52.3%) were male and 920(47.7%) were female. This implies that the majority of the respondents were male. In terms of age range, the average age of the respondents 538(27.9%) was between 31-40 years. Most of the respondents 939 (48.7%) were married; majority of the respondents 619(32.1%) had B.Sc. /HND while majority of the respondents with 11-15years work experience were 558 which accounted for 29.1% of the entire respondents. This implies that the vast majority of respondents had been in their current jobs for 11 to 15 years.

Testing of hypotheses

Table 5: Summary of a Simple Regression Analysis of Police Inefficiency and Human Insecurity

M o d e l	R	R S q u a r e	Adjusted R S q u a r e	St. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics					
					R S q u a r e C h a n g e	F C h a n g e	Df 1	Df2	Sig. F C h a n g e	D.W
1	.950a	.912	.910	.3575	.912	801.207	2	325	.000	1.955

a. Predictors: (Constant), Police inefficiency.

Source: SPSS Output, 2023

From the result, the R value of 0.950 indicates a good prediction level. The R² value of 0.912 or coefficient of determination which is the proportion of variance in the dependent variable is explained by the independent variable. Hence, 8.8% (100% - 91.2%) of the variation is caused by factors other than the predictor included in this model. Thus, 91.2% proportion of variance in human insecurity can be explained by police inefficiency in Nigeria. The Durbin-Watson statistic,

which is 1.955, implies absence of serial autocorrelation in the regression analysis and the model can be relied upon in making policies related to the subject matters.

Table 6: Summary of a Simple Regression Analysis of the Present Security Challenges and the Clamour for State Police

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	St. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics					
					R Square Change	F Change	Df 1	Df2	Sig. F Change	D.W
1	.963a	.905	.900	.3872	.963	767.121	2	325	.000	1.938

a. Predictors: (Constant), Present security challenges in Nigeria.

Source: SPSS Output, 2023

From the result, the R value of 0.963 indicates a good prediction level. The R² value of 0.900 or coefficient of determination which is the proportion of variance in the dependent variable is explained by the independent variable. Hence, 10.0% (100% - 90.0%) of the variation is caused by factors other than the predictor included in this model. Thus, 90.0% proportion of variance in the clamour for state police can be explained by the present security challenges in Nigeria. The Durbin-Watson statistic, which is 1.938, implies absence of serial autocorrelation in the regression analysis and the model can be relied upon in making policies related to the subject matters.

Table 7: Summary of a Simple Regression Analysis of the Structure of the Nigeria Police and Ineffective Police Security Service Delivery

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	St. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics					
					R Square Change	F Change	Df 1	Df2	Sig. F Change	D.W
1	.897a	.812	.805	.3658	.812	740.105	2	325	.000	1.935

a. Predictors: (Constant), Structure of the Nigeria police.

Source: SPSS Output, 2023

From the result, the R value of 0.897 indicates a good prediction level. The R² value of 0.812 or coefficient of determination which is the proportion of variance in the dependent variable is explained by the independent variable. Hence, 18.8% (100% - 81.2%) of the variation is caused by factors other than the predictor included in this model. Thus, 81.2% proportion of variance in the ineffective police security service delivery can be explained by the structure of the Nigeria police. The Durbin-Watson statistic, which is 1.935, implies absence of serial autocorrelation in the regression analysis and the model can be relied upon in making policies related to the subject matters.

Table 8: Summary of a Simple Regression Analysis of the Institution of State Police and improved Security Situation

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	St. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics					
					R Square Change	F Change	Df 1	Df2	Sig. F Change	D.W
1	.968a	.927	.914	.3702	.927	829.200	2	325	.000	1.925

a. Predictors: (Constant), Institution of state police.

Source: SPSS Output, 2023

From the table 8, the R value of 0.968 indicates a good prediction level. The R² value of 0.927 or coefficient of determination which is the proportion of variance in the dependent variable is explained by the independent variable. Hence, 7.3% (100% - 92.7%) of the variation is caused by factors other than the predictor included in this model. Thus, 92.5% proportion of variance in improved security situation can be explained by the institution of state police in Nigeria. The

Durbin-Watson statistic, which is 1.925, implies absence of serial autocorrelation in the regression analysis and the model can be relied upon in making policies related to the subject matters

Discussion of Findings

The study investigated the necessity and feasibility of the establishment of state police system in Nigeria. Findings revealed more male than female respondents in the study; majority of the respondents were between the ages of 31 - 40 years; there were more married respondents; most of the respondents had first degree and have good knowledge of the problem of the study. Majority of the respondents also had 11 - 15 years' life/work experience.

There were four hypotheses formulated for the study and the result of hypothesis one was supported by the findings of Ugwu Ngige and Ugwuanyi (2013) which to them improving police efficiency will enhance improved human security in Nigeria. Shettima (2012) collaborating with this finding affirms that police efficiency remains fundamental to the human insecurity in Nigeria and for this reason, placing emphasis on what can help enhance police efficiency in Nigeria is imperative.

This finding is also consistent with the study of Onyeozili (2005) "obstacles to effective policing" conducted in Nigeria that police efficiency increases human insecurity and maintenance of law and order in the country.

Consistent with the findings of this study, Baba (2012) demonstrated that today's Nigeria police witnessed unprecedented insecurity more than the civil war period (1967-1970). Since 1999 and 2009, thousands of lives and properties of billions of naira were lost to insecurity. Many more have been injured, maimed, traumatized and displaced from their abodes. It was argued that, the major problem of Nigeria police and its inability to carry out its responsibilities of protecting the lives and properties of the citizens was its leadership problems. Various reforms were advocated by previous regimes on how to reposition Nigeria police force and its leadership. Although, these reforms came out with good white papers, but the implementation of their recommendations remained the major problem on the side of government on one hand and the police leadership on the other (Alemika & Chukwuma, 2000). Among the problems that affect Nigeria police force in the discharge of its duties are favourism, ethnicity, god fatherism, etc. which have become prominent criteria for appointments, promotion and posting within the rank and file of the police.

Moreover, Achumba, Ighomereho and Akpor-Robaro (2013) opine that Nigeria has consistently ranked low in the Global Peace Index (GPI, 2012), signifying a worsened state of insecurity in the country. In the same vein, Onifade, Imhonopi and Urim (2013) assert that the challenges of insecurity has assumed formidable dimensions forcing the country's political and economic managers and indeed the entire nation to the rue, the loss of their loved ones, investment and absence of safety in most parts of the country. The rate at which innocent blood is wasted on a daily basis and the display of bottled-up frustration by the citizens remains a cause for concern. The rate of bloodshed during the Nigeria civil war is a Child's play compared to the terrorist attacks in Nigeria in recent times.

The problem of insecurity in the country seems to have grown beyond government capacity alone due to police inefficiency in the country. Achumba et al. (2013) are of the view that the efforts of the government have not yielded enough positive result. In looking at the causes of this abnormality, they argue that there is connection between increasing ethnic hate, religious bigotry, political rivalry, and a growing population of disgruntled citizens in the country who feel short-changed and having limited or no access to the common inheritance. The observation of Onifade et al. (2013) expresses the fact that the primordial tendencies of various eruption of various ethnic militias and the pre-ponderant religious fundamentalism in places, given expression to by some sections of the dominant religious establishments in Nigeria have inevitably aggravated the scale and propensity of insecurity and widened its scope in various ramifications.

With respect to the second objective of this study, it was revealed that the present security challenges had significant and positive influence on the clamour for state police in the country. This finding validates the work of Adegoke (2014) on the Nigeria police and the myriad of challenges of security in the country focusing on some local government areas in River state. Adegoke found that the quality of training and welfare, logistics and some other materials given to police personnel have significant impact on their performance. It is his belief that if the little resources at the disposal of the police are judiciously put to proper use the rate of crime in the society would not be as high as we have it today.

In support of this, Eme and Anyadike (2012) study on security challenges and the imperatives of state police revealed that state police is sine-qua-non to genuine principle of true federalism. In the immediate post independent era when regional government was in direct control of its affairs, each region had its own police structure independent of the power at the centre. Regardless of the pros and cons of the debates, creation of a State Police structure would also be a major leap in the nation's march towards the much cherished true federalism that has eluded the nation for a long time. Creation of state police is seen as a step towards actualizing the sustained campaign for community policing. However, some stakeholders have described the call by the Governors' Forum for creation of state police and special intervention fund as self-serving. Many have even questioned the governors on how they spend security monthly security votes they get. Under the present arrangement, state governors are entitled to certain amount of allocation as security votes which are unaccounted for. Without doubt, there is urgent need for state police to enable states meet the requirements of public order, public safety and democratic governance.

This finding is also in line with Aleyomi (2013) who demonstrated that the sustenance of order, security of life, legality, development and democracy may be difficult without the roles of the Police in a given polity. If these roles are assessed vis-à-vis the security challenge in Nigeria, it will be right to say that the performance of the Federal Policing arrangement falls short of Nigerian citizen's expectation. The heterogeneous nature of Nigeria in terms of tribes and diverse culture has been the major reason for the protagonists of the state police. Aleyomi (2013) concludes that as one of the major imperatives for an enduring peace and security in Nigeria, an alternative police arrangement is of utmost significance.

As a country operating a federal system of government, all the basic tenets of federalism should be put in place. A functional federalism is necessary in a heterogeneous society, such as Nigeria, and not to be practiced partially. Therefore, the need for state police cannot be overemphasized. The concerns that state police could be misused by state governors or with the fear that this could become dangerous with a political history of witch-hunting and intimidation of political opponents, and by extension, the 'do or die' political philosophy, which successive leaders have passed down the line, can be constitutionally addressed.

Furthermore, hypothesis three showed that the structure of the Nigeria police had significant and positive influence on ineffective police security service delivery. This corroborates with Adesoji, Jide and Ifedayo (2013) who argue that the structure of the Nigeria police increased the ineffective police security service delivery in the country. Primarily, the aim of government is to protect life and properties of the citizens through its security agencies which include the police, the military, civil defence, road safety, etc. The role of police in the protection of life and properties of the citizens is indispensable, particularly in the democratic era when the citizens reserve enormous power to determine the relevance and continuity of any government in power. They further argue that police is a visible government agent through whom its character and political systems are assessed. Therefore, the strategies and structure that established police force require constant re-visitation due to dynamic nature of human society. As a tool of maintaining law and order, operational structure required making the activities of police force adequate for twenty first century crime prevention, detection and prosecution cannot be over emphasized. To a large extent, the performance of the police force depends strongly on the strategy and structure of the

organization and the mission, political terrain and the economic character of the society, and so, the strategy of police force in Nigeria cannot operate in isolation of the culture and identity of the nation, (Adesoji, Jide & Ifedayo, 2013).

In contrast, Aleyomi (2013) argues that there is no practice without advantages and disadvantages. On the issue of establishing state police, judging from the argument for and against, it is clear that the good side of state police outweigh the bad side. Even at the federal level, there are pockets of cases where the government uses the police as agents of intimidation. This is not to say that the present police force in Nigeria is castly ineffective. Hence, there is need to unbundle police institution that we have presently because of the multi-cultural and multi-ethnicity of Nigeria. To check the excesses of the state governors and other state officials when state police is established, there is need to construct the laws that would effectively recognize the challenges and put necessary safeguards in its operation to prevent abuse. More so, the fact that there is state police would not in any way abolish the federal police. It should be concurrently practiced by reviewing the constitution of Nigeria and the outdated Police Act of 1943 and laws of the federation of 1990.

The police being the symbol of the state, its efficiency and disposition determine the perception of law and order from within and without. As the argument for state police continues to gain momentum, it is imperative that the existing police structure should be well funded and equipped for better service delivery, especially now that the country is facing serious security challenges. There is obvious need to equip and reposition the force to checkmate acts of terrorism, armed robbery, kidnapping and other sundry criminalities which have all eaten very deep into the fabric of the Nigerian society and threatening the country's existence.

Lastly, the result of hypothesis four was supported by Aleyomi (2013) who argues that every state that has the power and can give judgment through its state high courts and Magistrates Courts and make laws through its state assemblies should have the concomitant powers to enforce its law and police its state. It is important to state that the essence of the adoption of a federal framework is the need to constantly adapt to changing political realities. Thus, institutional and constitutional frameworks in federations are often not cast in stone. But as Agbaje has highlighted (Agbaje, 2018), federal systems whose constitutional and institutional frameworks contained serious inherent problems that seem to contradict and negate the core assumptions underlying federal systems would not but be prone to constitutional and institutional crises. This seems to be the case in Nigeria since the return to civil rule in 1999. The contradictions and inherent problems that predispose the Nigeria federation to crisis at present might have informed Jega's position (Jega 2021) that while Nigeria is technically and substantively a federation, it is one of the worst models of political accommodation of diversities, as well as power and resource sharing.

One of the important proposals espoused on the Nigerian public space is that which call for constitutional reforms. Key in the argument of proponents of this option is the contention that the 1999 federal constitution placed too much political power, legislative authority and competency, as well as, resources at the disposal of the federal government, thus stifling the capacity of the thirty-six federating units. For proponents of the state police arrangement the best option is to devolve power, authority and resources away from the central and invest such at the federating states (Agbaje, 2018). The argument has been that doing this will stimulate competition, raise the potential for innovative ideas and promote sub-national units' development and by extension, overall national development. Key on the agenda of those calling for devolution especially on security and notably policing is the argument for the sharing of policing power between the federal government and the governments of the federating units (Saka & Oladejo, 2022). Protagonists of the agenda for the devolution of policing authority and competence as means for addressing Nigeria security crisis cut across the strata of the Nigerian society making the case for the creation of state police as away to improve security situation in the country.

Indeed, proponents of state police have argued that different regions of Nigeria had peculiar security challenges. Because of the peculiarity, it is better if personnel recruited to serve as police officers have a better grasp of the geography, and environment peculiarity of the area; including

their knowledge of the criminal elements in the area that they have even lived with. This can better be achieved when state governments are allowed by law to establish local police authority and draw recruits from within their localities against the posting of officers and men from disparate geographical and cultural backgrounds all around the country as currently practiced by the Nigerian Police Force (Eme & Anyadike 2012).

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Since the beginning of the Nigeria's Fourth Republic, robbers, kidnappers, and other criminal gangs have intensified their activities. They are everywhere, on street, and highway, in our homes, and banks, party officers and campaign and voting centres. They rob, kill, and maim. All the security outfits in Nigeria, especially Nigeria police bark without the ability to bite. Even if the Nigerian federal system is going through a trying time, the challenges faced by the country are surmountable. In conclusion, the most important existential threats facing the Nigerian federal arrangement are the heightened insecurity and rising criminalities. While the federal government and the security institutions that it controls strive to address the security crisis, their efforts had not aligned with the Nigerians' expectations. The worsening security environment has resulted in a call for restructuring with the view to decentralize policing power, authority and competency to Nigeria's thirty-six federating units. The argument is that the federal and state governments should constitutionally share the exercising of policing power so that the states be allowed to establish, operate, fund, and control police agencies. The belief is that this approach will relieve the federal government of some of the burden of policing Nigeria, encourage local policing, address the differing security problems of the different states and their localities, and ultimately help in addressing Nigeria's security crisis.

Today, the question most Nigerians ask everyday is: who will be the next victim? The security outfits whose constitutional duties and responsibilities is to control crime appear helpless. So many factors are said to be responsible for their inactivity. Among them are poor funding, lack of motivation and poor welfare services. They lack equipment and functional vehicles for their operation. Arms and ammunition are problems too. Faced with the upsurge of crimes, these security outfits are unable to perform. Some of the fallouts of this kind of situation include: social and political displacement and dislocation, social tensions, citizenship question, deepening of hunger and poverty in society and political insecurity and instability in the polity.

In spite of the alluring structures and programmes of the Nigeria police force, the image has largely not resonated with the kind of police force desired by the civil populace- a force that eschews inappropriate use of lethal force, illegal arrest and detention, extortion, intimidation, corruption, sexual violence and extra-judicial killings, robbery collaboration and exploitation. No doubt, the fact in practice is that decentralization encourages specialization and efficiency. Hence, a decentralized system of law enforcement agency must be regulated and understood. As such, there is the need to have knowledge of matters that affect multiple police in a federal system of government and also to hastily address the leadership crises and corruption in the society. If not, security threat is inescapable whether the proposed establishment of state police sees the light of the day or not. On the basis of findings of this study and conclusion, the following recommendations for policy-making are made:

- i. There is need to rejig the current security architecture in the country through provision of improved security budgets, communication equipments, better training and orientation as well as constitutional and political restructuring. The introduction of state police will help in guaranteeing improved security system in Nigeria.
- ii. State government working in synergy with local vigilante groups within the state will create an atmosphere of fairness, equity and collaboration that would eliminate the security challenges in Nigeria today. This can be achieved through the institution of state police.

- iii. The effort of the federal police alone cannot curb the rate of insecurity in the nation and this justifies, the case for the creation of state police as a way to improve security situation in the country.
- iv. State governments should be allowed by law to establish local police authority and draw recruits from within their localities against the posting of officers and men from disparate geographical and cultural backgrounds all around the country. This will go a long way in helping to affectively track down state peculiar security challenges.

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