

Human Security Situation and State Police Establishment Contention in Nigeria

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Abstract

This study looked at the state of the Nigerian state police establishment and the level of human security. The ideas in this theoretical study are mainly derived from secondary sources of information, including textbooks and journal articles. The investigation came to the conclusion that the deployment of a sizable number of police officers to perform "guard duties" and provide private security services for the wealthy and well-to-do in the community further hinders the police's ability to operate. Corruption is still arguably the biggest barrier to Nigerian police performance. Those in charge of their use misappropriate the scarce resources intended for security and other developmental goals. As a result, there is an endless circle of poverty, deprivation, greed, exploitation, unemployment, and general underdevelopment that erodes the ability of the government to deliver social services.

Keywords: human security, state police, security, Nigeria

Introduction

Nigeria has been bedeviled by myriads of challenges ranging from ethno-religious conflicts, political corruption, inept leadership and human security challenges. What has threatened most of all these is that of human insecurity (Alozieuwa, 2012). The increase in crime rates and the perceived lapses inherent in the central or unitary-factored police system in Nigeria have helped to raise the important question of whether life and property can be safe in Nigeria. After decades of dictatorship, Nigeria returned to democratic governance in 1999. Since inception of the country's nascent democracy in 1999, the country has been tested by campaign of terror threatening safety of life as witnessed in the south, to the East, gangs who kidnap for ransom, lie in wait on the roads, in bars and cities, and to the North, the Islamic terrorist sect called Boko Haram had reigned both in number, terror and brutality fourteen good years (tracing the emergence of Boko Haram 2009). All these posed brazen challenges to the Nigerian state and policing system in the country. There seems to be common disposition among lay Nigerians and scholars (Olatoyegun, 2006; Owemena, 2006; Shettima, 2012) alike that the police in Nigeria as presently constituted and controlled, lacked the capacity and capability to provide efficient and effective policing service in the country and thereby leaving the issue of human security in perpetual jeopardy. Indeed, the citizens of this country have never felt so insecure and crime rates had never been this high as being currently witnessed in the country. In Nigeria today, there has been upsurge in herders/farmers clashes in most parts of the country especially in the middle belt region.

There are also new trends of criminal activities or operations such as banditry, rampant incidence of kidnapping, highway robberies, ritual killings among others witnessed in Nigeria today. All the assortment of violent crimes seems to have overstretched the capacity and capability of the Nigeria Police as presently constituted. In 2017, the Global Terrorism Index (GTI) ranked Nigeria as the fourth country with the highest number of deaths resulting from terrorism after Iraq, Afghanistan and Syria on account of the 1,832 deaths linked to terrorist acts in 2016. Similarly, in 2018 the International Crisis Group (ICG), a nongovernmental organization working to prevent war in a new report revealed that violent clashes between herders and farmers in Nigeria had claimed six times more lives than the Boko Haram insurgency in 2018. Disclosing that 1,300 people had been killed in attacks in the Middle Belt with three hundred thousand people displaced. The report attributed the escalation of the violence in 2018 to the growing number of ethnic militias, failure of government (Ogbu, 2004, Okafor, 2007) to prosecute perpetrators of violent crimes amongst others. Ugwu, Ngige and Ugwuanyi (2013) contend that Nigeria is a divergent and ethnically-oriented complex country which only a decentralized police operation can serve better. According to these scholars, no country in the world bears a standardized format of police to be imitated by other countries. However, the arrangement of policing system of any country takes into account the contextual size, population, political, legal, ethnic and cultural identities and level of development of development in a country. The above scholars insist that considering the size of Nigeria which is put at measuring over 923, 768,000 square kilometers with over 140 million people, (NPC, 2006) instead of wholesome decentralization of the policing system, a compromised mid-point approach in the form of increased state and community participation in policing the country will work very well.

Adefi (2010) and Ewepu (2012) align with the trio above when they argue differently that the contextual peculiarities of Nigeria; particularly its geographical space and other demographic as well as peculiar social-cultural factors also contributes to the problem of effective policing in Nigeria. Bunyard (1978) for instance states:

Even if policing stems from the same necessity 'to primarily secure life and property, police practices are as diverse as there are police forces, not necessary in the methods of policing...But

in the relationships with the society in which they exist (Ugwu et al., 2013).

Interpol (2012) revelation indicates that the structure and size of the Nigeria Police Force corresponds to a below approximate mean score for United Nations member states. The UN's recommendation is a ratio of 400 policemen per 100,000 people (UN, 2012). However, in Nigeria, the case is that the Nigeria's Police Force earn a rating of 205 policemen for 100,000 Nigerians for the year 2012. This goes to clearly show under-policing scenario in Nigeria if compared with international standard ratings. To further exhibit the scenario of under-policing in Nigeria, Ugwu et al. (2013) reveal in their study that even smaller neighbouring African countries like Botswana, South Sudan, Swaziland and Zimbabwe boast of manpower capacity than Nigeria. In their presentation, Botswana has 418 policemen for every 100,000 citizens, South Sudan boasts of 629 policemen per 100,000 citizens while Zimbabwe presently boasts of 401 policemen for 100,000 citizens, Swaziland has 351 policemen per 109,000 citizens.

The implication of this is that Nigeria is at the back-seat in terms of Police Force manpower capacity. Perhaps it is in view of the above scenario therefore that the phenomenal inability of the Nigeria's police force as currently constituted to ameliorate the crisis of human security can be hinged. No doubt, all of these have occasioned the clamour for an expanded and decentralized police system in Nigeria. It is the conviction of the state police creation protagonists that an expanded and decentralized police force arrangement in Nigeria will ensure adequate containment of the social malaise of rising crime and violence. So, it thus appears that the Nigeria police as it is now cannot guarantee effective rendition of adequate policing for Nigeria. Reasons therefore emerge that give verve to the imperative need for restructuring the existing system of police so that the constitutional powers, resources and responsibilities of policing are devolved to the state level. The study therefore sets out to examine human security situation and state police establishment contention in Nigeria.

Literature Review

The Concept of Security

The concept, "Security" is a cross-cutting and multi-dimensional concept which has, over the last century, been subject of great debate. In all places and countries, security has been considered as a "first order value" worth preserving (Anyadike, 2013:12). The aforementioned notwithstanding, there is no consensus on the definition of security. This is not surprising for the fact that security, as a social phenomenon can be approached from different perspectives. Zabadi (2005:3) conceives that security is a situation where a person or thing is not exposed to any form of danger or risk of physical or moral aggression, accident, theft or deterioration. Zabadi seems to align himself with the estimate of security experts who believe that security has always been associated with the safety and survival of the state and its citizens from harm or destruction from dangerous threats. Those conceptions starkly holds that the state is the only institution with the primary responsibility and power for the safety of its territory and its people (Wolfer, 1962).

Aghedo and Osurnah (2012) explain that the term National security has been broadened to encompass both state and human security. While state security is analogous to the dominant notion of national security, human security, on the other hand, emphasizes the preservation of the well-being of persons, including the protection of their socio-economic, political and environmental rights. Security must be related to the presence of peace, safety, happiness and the protection of human and physical resources or the absence of crisis, threats to human injury among others. Adebakin and Raimi (2012) identified seven (7) critical dimensions of national security which are:

Political Security: It pertains to the protection of fundamental human rights of the electorates as well as freedom from systematic torture, ill treatment and coercion. It broadly describes electoral rigging, vote buying and such frauds etc.

Food Security: It requires that all members of the community, at all times, have access to basic food and nutrition that ensures stable wellbeing and protection from hunger, starvation and malnutrition. Poor yield from farmlands; endemic famine/drought etc threaten food security.

Economic Security: It entails an assured basic income for individuals, which manifests as provision of productive employment opportunities and adequate remuneration. Unemployment, economic hopelessness and chronic poverty threaten economic security.

Environmental Security: It requires a planned protection of people from the short and long-term ravages of nature, spill-over negative effects of environmental degradation and abuse of the ecosystem as a result of desertification, gas flaring/emission, pollution of fresh water, careless use of industrial chemicals, etc.

Personal Security: It concentrates on the protection of lives and property from physical violence created by the state, external states, violent individuals and sub-state actors. It broadly conceptualizes human security as that aspect of national security which refers to freedom from fear and freedom from want, safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and repression as well as protection from sudden and harmful disruptions in the patterns of daily life, whether in homes, in jobs or in communities.

Health Security: It requires an assurance of a minimum protection from all forms of diseases and unhealthy lifestyles that cut short human lives. Threats to health security are absence of clean water, dirty environment and poor hygiene/health education.

Community Security: It assures the protection of people from the loss of traditional homeland, customs and values from all types of sectarian and ethnic or religion-related conflicts.

National security is a sacrosanct and non-negotiable phenomenon in human society and cannot be accorded a single definition. In his view, David (2006) posits that security in an objective sense, refers to the absence of threats to acquire values while in a subjective sense, it refers to the absence of fear that such values will be attacked. In spite of its conceptual complexities, security is evidently vital for national cohesion, peace and sustainable development.

Human Security: Are people centered. Its focus shifts to protecting individuals and respond to ordinary people's needs in dealing with sources of threats.

The following table is adopted from Tadjhaksh to help clarify the relationship between the concepts of human development of human security.

Variables	Human Development	Human Security
Values	Wellbeing	Security, stability, sustainability of development gains
Orientation	moves forward, is progressive and aggregate “together we rise”	Looks at who was left behind at the individual level. “divided we fall”
Time frame	Long term	Combines short term measures to deal with long term preventions efforts
General objectives	Growth with equality, expanding the choices and opportunities of people to lead lives they value	“Insuring” downturns with security identification of risks, prevention to avoid them with root causes, preparation to mitigate them and cushioning when disaster strikes.
Policy	Empowerment, sustainability, equality and productivity	Protection and promotion of human survival. Freedom from fear and want and avoidance of indignity (to live life of dignity).

Source: (Tadjhakhs and Odette 2007)

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Historically, Nigeria used to be one of the relatively safe havens or secure nations in the West Africa sub-region (Odeh and Umoh, 2015). Unfortunately, that narrative has changed as the country suddenly turned into abode of serial hostage taking, armed robbery, kidnapping, cold blood murders and ethno – religious conflicts traceable to militants, terrorists groups with conflictual political and religious undertones (Eme, 2009). Simply and squarely, Nigeria has been experiencing unprecedented level of insecurity till date. Ethnic tensions, limited economic opportunities and so many other socio political grievances and ructions are aggravating the’ already bad security situations in the country. Infact, many political science scholars and analysts have held the common opinion that Nigeria is fast drifting into uncertain future or the Hobbesian state where the lives of the citizens are in perpetual fear and danger (Adebakin and Raimi, 2012). Now, anarchy looms in the land as hoodlums, criminal elements, and terrorists have not only laid siege but taken over the country with their everyday activities.

In the face of this rising wave of insecurity in Nigeria, Okechuku and Anyadike (2013) exposed that helpless Nigerians now sleep with one eye open as those who are lucky to escape burglars are kept awake all night by scary sound of criminals gunshots. Indeed, the rising insecurity situation in Nigeria in recent times has provoked (Nwakwocha, 2003, Okafor, 2007) many Nigerians and scholars to question the centralization of the police system in Nigeria while making proposition for the necessity to decentralize the police force and .to establish state police. In a study conducted by Adebakin and Raimi (2012), it was revealed that the federal government of Nigeria’s expenditure on national security is rising faster than ever. The study also revealed that the federal government has continued to appropriate huge amount of money for defence and internal security in the national budget to the denial other sectors like .health, education and agriculture that needed attention and capital of same (Odeh and Umoh, 2015). Since 2010 to 2019, fiscal years, the total expenditure earmarked for both internal security and defence in the approved budgets were so huge. However, the Nigerian police force (2008) in their annual reports noted that the police is handicapped by a combination of factors that plunged them, among which are; lack of resources, poor government support, poor condition of service, lack of appropriate and inadequate training and ill-equipped workforce coupled with corruption (Alemika, 2002).

Lending his weight to the views that the abysmal performance of the police force in Nigeria is as a result of underfunding, the current head of the police in Nigeria, Mohammed Adamu (2019) argues that the police in Nigeria is underfunded and that makes the police work more difficult. According to him, the police in Nigeria needs more funding to maintain neutrality and avoid compromises in the performance of its statutory duties. However, amidst claims by Nigerian security agencies that they have been or they are being underfunded, Ndujihe (2019) lending credence to authoritative evidence of budgetary allocations to the federal security sector between 2008 and 2019 disagrees with the position of Adamu. This scholar was convinced that the federal government’s yearly expenditures for security have been huge.

According to Ndujihe (2019), the sums of money voted for federal security between 2008 and 2019 have been so huge but how those huge sums were spent or have been spent remained unclear as there are no reliable performance reports by the security agencies in Nigeria. Ndujihe (2019) presents the infographics below to show a detailed overview of Nigeria’s budgetary allocations to the security sector between 2008 and 2019.

Year of Budget	Total amount appropriation for the Fiscal Year	Amount Allocated to Security Sector	Percentage (%)
2008	N2.74 trillion	N446.6 billion	20.09
2009	N3.049 trillion	N233 billion	7.64
2010	N5.248 trillion	N264 billion	5.03
2011	N4.972 trillion	N348 billion	7.00

2012	N4.877 trillion	N921.9 billion	18.90
2013	N4.987 trillion	N1.055 trillion	21.16
2014	N4.962 trillion	N968.127 billion	19.51
2015	N5.068 trillion	N388.459 billion	7.67
2016	N6.064 trillion	N429.128 billion	7.08
2017	N4.444 trillion	N465.87 billion	6.26
2018	N9.012 trillion	N580.145 billion	6.26
2019	N10.033 trillion	N569.07 billion	

Source: (NBS, 2019)

The significant hike in budgetary allocation to interior and defence (security sector) underscores the fact that the country is currently grappling with severe and diverse security challenges with an on-going military operations in 34 of the 36 states in Nigeria. In all these, the Federal Government has not made any tangible effort to give attention to the fundamental immediate and remote causes of these operant manifestations. (Adebakin and Raimi, 2012). All that the Federal Government has done over time, have been deployment and re - deployment of top subaltern security personnel that have no bearing on high unemployment and the excruciating decapitation of the living standard of the population that have become unbearable to ordinary Nigerian citizens (Odeh and Umoh, 2015). Corroborating the evidence of Odeh and Umoh (2015), Okechukwu and Anyadike (2013) contend that the police force in Nigeria as centrally controlled currently have not done enough to justify the huge expenditures voted for the forced. They maintain that the security forces still appear helpless and defeated to curb the trends of insecurity in the country. No doubt the forgoing evidences tend to lend justificatory ground for a reform in the security sectors since it is the sole responsibility of government to protect the lives and properties of the citizens as enshrined in the constitution of Nigeria, 1999.

The rising tide of human insecurity across Nigeria in recent times has sparked off political and academic debates on the need to reform and reposition the current centralized police system in Nigeria. Many scholars like Eme (2019), Adebakim and Raimi (2012), Okechukwu and Anyadike (2013), Oladesu (2012), Eboh and Obodoe (2012), Nwagboso (2012) among others have, following the insecurity situation in the country adduced reasons why it has become imperative to establish an effective and preventive state policing system in Nigeria. These protagonists of state police formation in Nigeria are of the position that if Nigeria as a country will be serious to contain the current trends of human insecurity in the country, an informed constitutional approach and policy decisions must be taken to revamp the security sector through target – oriented productive police reforms (Egbosiuba 2013, Odeh and Umoh, 2015). Ochie (2014) holds the view that a veritable way to curb the current human security problem would be the formation of state police. Osibanjo (2014) aligns with Eboh (2014) when he argues that pundits' argument that state executive would abuse the state police force cannot be water - tight especially considering the failure of the Nigerian police force (NPF) by those who centrally control and run the force currently. Eboh (2014) goes further to insist that state executives cannot abuse the state police as feared because the state house of assembly will always exercise its over-sight function to monitor the activities of state executive.

Fashola (2014) on his part states that the call for establishment of state police is a subject of the wider clamour for true federalism espoused today as clamour for restructuring in Nigeria. Fashola (2014) decries the over-centralization of the police force while questioning the nexus between state executives who are the chief security officers in the various states and security votes, yet they do not have control over the police in their respective states. Eboh (2014) compares that human security record in the first republic were far better when we had then, local, regional and central police institutions in accordance with the tenets of true federalism until the military destroyed that arrangement and replaced it with the unitary system which the current democratic order in Nigeria has retained. What we have currently in Nigeria is a monolith command structure where state commissioner of police depends on the instructions and orders of the Inspector-General of police to act.

Reflecting on the historicity of police operations in Nigeria, Olowokere (2011) in a study conducted argues that the federally controlled police operation in Nigeria has always aroused contending views. This contention on the nature of police operations in Nigeria in terms of its decentralization or contrariwise according to Nwakwocha (2003), Adeboye (2006) and Owemena (2006) continued even among the delegates and members of the Willinks Commission of 1958 and the Nigerian constitutional conference of 1958 in London. The result of the debates helped to shape the outcome of the 1960 Independence Constitution and the 1963 Republican Constitution, which among other provisions, allowed the creation and maintenance of police operations at the regional, local government and native authority levels. (Olowokere, 2011).

The argument of Olowokere (2011) and others tend to suggest that the clamour to have and maintain centralized system of police operations in Nigeria or a decentralized has a long history in Nigeria and which is still continuing. However, there is no denying the fact that the current debate and clamour for the continuance of centralized police system or decentralization of police operations in Nigeria is stirred by several causal factors such as ideological, political and economic. In Nigeria, we are touted to be operators of the political ideology of federalism – which emphasizes the principles and methods of sharing political powers among the central government and the component units. The central and the component units are assumed to be independent and co-ordinate in status. Ideally therefore, keeping faith with this sanctity of this national ideological belief, allowing each state in Nigeria to create and maintain its own police force to satisfy the peculiar socio-cultural and environmental needs would not be out of place. On the basis of this federal ideological creed, proponents of state police project in Nigeria like Shettima (2012), Obetta (2012), Ewepu (2012), Adefi (2010) and Enogholase (2012) argue that police operation system in Nigeria should be decentralized in the interest of genuine practice of federalism in Nigeria. Ewepu (2012) or instance contends that: The Nigeria Police Force has central control from Abuja which is unacceptable. Crimes are essentially better controlled by local communities because it is easy for the people to know the geography, culture and crime history of the community. It is incongruous to bring somebody

from afar to police a strange environment (Ugwu, Ngige and Ugwuanyi, 2013). Further standing in support of establishment of state police in Nigeria, Adefi (2010) argues that even in the midst of the present central monopoly of police affairs in Nigeria, most state governments in Nigeria have better ensured the sustenance of police operations in their various states with the substantial resources investment for the upkeep of the federal police deployed to their states. According to Adefi (2010), most state governors have provided vehicles and logistic support to the police through the burden of building or rehabilitation of police stations. For this scholar, with the creation of state police, states can constitutionally appropriate funds for the police force under their jurisdiction and the citizens of the state would know how the funds are spent.

The position of Adefi seems to be some vague assumption; if considered against the backdrop of corruptible dispositions of many state governors (Nigerian politicians for that matter). The question here is, if Nigerian citizens at large do not know how the funds appropriate to the federal police force are spent, what is the guarantee that the citizens in the state would know how funds appropriated to the police force in the state would be spent. Osibanjo (2019) on his part commented that the security situation in the country at the moment is such that all levels of government must be actively involved. As a matter of fact, the whole is only as great as the sum of its parts. In Osinbajo's argument in defence of state police he remarks; that he argued in favour of state police for the simple reason that policing is a local function. He adds that we cannot effectively police all parts and states of Nigeria from Abuja. As the current vice president of Nigeria (as of 2021), he tries to be very economical with his use of language and submissions. However, what is derivable from his opinion stems from the stark realities of the failure of the police as currently constituted to effectively surmount the challenges of security in the country. Osumah and Aghedo (2010) maintain that security of lives and property is a cardinal responsibility of modern state. These scholars further aver that where a state is not able to guarantee the security of its citizenry to the fullest, that state has either failed or in danger of failure. Referring to Nigeria, these scholars explained that failure of the Nigerian state and its security agencies to guarantee effective human security over the years has transformed security from a public good provided by the government to a private good that individuals and groups have to provide for themselves. (Onyeozili, 2005).

This largely explains why there were proliferations of private security outfits, companies and vigilante groups such as the Odua Peoples' Congress in south-west Bakassi boys in south-east, Dan Kalere, Arewa People's Congress, and Hisba in the north, the Egbesu Boys, the Niger Delta Liberation Force and the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) (Osumah and Aghedo, 2010). Antecedent to these proliferations of private security outfits was the idea of local policing, based on the notion of neighbourhood principle which presupposes that everyone in the locality knows each other and thereby making it easy to monitor deviants in the locality (Philippe and Abimbola, 2012). Moulaye (2006) contends that the creation of state police in Nigeria should be seen as a step towards actualizing the sustained campaign for community or close policing. According to him, policing is a philosophy that promotes organizational strategies, which support the systemic use of partnership and problem-solving techniques to proactively respond to immediate conditions that give rise to human safety issues such as crime, social disorder, and fear of committal of crime.

Adegoke (2014) harping on the point that the problem of insecurity in Nigeria at the moment seems to have grown beyond the centralized police system in Nigeria argues that establishing state police now in Nigeria may make state executives to be more accountable in terms expenditure of the security votes that they get every month. Adegoke (2014) analyzes that under the present democratic arrangement in Nigeria, state governors are given certain amount of allocation as security votes which they do not account for. Perhaps, a decentralized police system may add additional financial responsibility on the states that may force them to make judicious use of the security votes they get monthly.

Bulus (2012), Oluwarotimi, (2012), Kehinde (2013) and Aleyomi (2013) argue separately that the popular narrative that the Nigeria police force as currently constituted and controlled is overwhelmed by crime and security challenges because of the unified federal policing system cannot be very tenable. Bulus (2012) for instance maintains that the effectiveness of the existing security order is vitiated not by the type of structure it operates, but a combination of several factors such as inadequate manpower, dearth of working tools and capabilities and leadership failure. According to this scholar, the Nigeria Police Force as presently constituted cannot guarantee the security of the citizenry with their current strength, equipment holdings and absence of modern crime-fighting capabilities. For instance, drone technology, helicopters and sophisticated communication equipment are tools of choice in modern day crime fighting (Ogbu, 2004). Bulus (2012) maintains that optimum effectiveness of the police force in Nigeria is achievable by simply increasing the manpower and equipping the force with the working capabilities they need as in other climes like the United States, Germany and Italy. Acquiring cutting edge technology and increased capacity can make the difference.

Taking his position in support of state policing, Alobi (2019) uses the United States as an example when he explains that in all the fifty (50) states in the US. There are individual - state police that enforce state laws without much interference from the federal law enforcement agents, except in a special circumstance like the September 11, 2008 attack on Pentagon House World Trade Centre where the US federal government decided to exercise some supremacy. According to Alobi (2019) the state police have state-wide authority to conduct law enforcement activities and criminal investigations. In general, state police perform functions outside the jurisdiction of the country sheriff such as enforcing traffic laws on the highways and inter-state expressways, overseeing the security of the state capitol complex, protecting the governor, providing technological and scientific support services and helping to coordinate multi-jurisdictional task force activities in strategic or complicated cases. Alobi (2019) further emphasizes that Hawaii is the only state in the US that does not have a specifically named state police force. The functions of statewide law enforcements are instead undertaken by the Sheriff Division of the Hawaii Department of Public Safety. Indeed, the U.S. has over 140 security agencies in-charge of security and the maintenance of law and order. Eme and Anyadike (2013) stress that, the hue and cry about the introduction of state police system in Nigeria has come against the backdrop of dismal and abysmal failure of the national security apparatus to effectively deal with the myriads of security threats that engulfed the country in recent years. For the scholars, what is more important is the identification of both the viscera and operant factors militating

against the security services and proffer a solution. These scholars insist that the question about whether or not state police system should be established in Nigeria, has become vexacious jingle in recent time. They explain that in 1989, the issue of state police was experimented in Nigeria when the federal government directed that policemen from the ranks of deputy superintendent of police down to a constable should return to their states of origin. But when the federal government saw that the experiment would not help the country for reasons best known to the federal government it was stopped.

The challenge of human security in Nigeria goes beyond mere impressionistic and self-serving clamour for state police. Egwu (2011), Imhonopi and Urim (2013) and Orhero (2020) are of the opinion that human security challenge in Nigeria is a function of the inextricable connection between a growing population of disgruntled elements in the country expressing a feeling of being short changed and having limited socio-economic opportunities to the commonwealth and clueless government. Corroborating the above argumentations, other scholars such as Onifade (2003), and Nwaze (2011) submit that the strongest factor responsible for the phenomenal wave of insecurity in Nigeria is the fact the response of the Nigerian state to the crisis of mass employment, island poverty, declining income and low savings, high rate of inflation, political intolerance on the part of the ruling party have all combined, contributed immensely to the problem of human security in Nigeria. Okute (2012), Ogunbiyi (2012), Olong and Agbonika (2013) contend that creation of state police would bring about socio-economic relief to the local people. Bukar (2012) buttressing his position argues that creation of state police in Nigeria would open up job opportunities for willing and able-bodied youths and thereby helping to reduce the prevailing level of youth unemployment in the country. This would be possible because, more youths would be recruited by the state to police their own state with pride. Ekweremadu (2014) argues that state police will allow state governments achieve their fundamental objective of guaranteeing the security and welfare of the people of that particular state. Ekweremadu however, did not expatiate how this would work. Other supporters of state police creation like Olong and Agbonika (2013) point to language and ethnic barriers sometimes faced by the police officers posted to states that they are not familiar with the terrain and hold the strong ground that state police would strengthen the strenuous relationship between the police and the citizens.

Ihekire (2014), Ben (2014), Yakassi (2014) and Alao-Akala (2018) stand on the contrary to the proponents of state police creation in Nigeria when they argue separately that any argument in favour of creation of state police in Nigeria at the moment is dismissible. Yakassi (2014) for instance insists that it will be difficult for the effective control and management of the multiplicity of police formations in all the 36 states of the federation plus the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). Iherike (2014) adds that if we have 36 police formations, 36 different laws of states and different patterns of police command, it will become too complex to manage state police system. He described Nigeria as "unripe" for state police system. Ben (2014) and Yakassi (2014) further maintain that creating state police will undermine the country's democracy. They say that state governors will make sure that only their party members are recruited into the state police force. For them, when a state police force is made up of party thugs and die-hard supporters, then you can be sure that opposition will not be allowed to have a level playing during electoral campaigns and other electioneering activities.

At another end, Utomi (2011) and Ben (2014), also arguing against creation of state police in Nigeria explained that agitation for state police now in Nigeria is misplaced. According to them, state police may be theoretically good, but looking at our political environment where political power is brazenly used against political opponents or those in opposition, state police force could be abused to the detriment of Nigerians. Alao-Akala (2018) aligns himself with Utomi (2011) and Ben (2014) position when he argues that;

Politicians will misuse state police. People clamouring for state police can go back to history and know that we are not developed to that level to operate state police. People clamouring for state police like governors now in Nigeria, want to use it for their self-end services. I was once a state governor and I know this.

The current Inspector-General of Police of Nigeria, Mohammed Adamu (2019) also opines that the solution to the security challenges the country faces at the moment remains the federal police structure. We should continue with the present system of police until we are mature enough to have state police as it is the case in countries like the U.S.A and Italy. According to the I.G of Police;

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When a stranger passes another state territory in state police system, the tendency of abusing police power will be high because of our maturity level as Nigerians

From Alao-Akala and I.G.P Adamu's insistence, there is nothing wrong with the centralized system of policing in Nigeria. What is needed from the federal government is to focus on funding and training the men of the police force and also to cautiously recruit locally. - No doubt, one of the basic purposes of government is the security of lives and property of the citizens. In Nigeria, that duty is emphasized in section 14(12) (b) of the 1999 constitution. In pursuance to the performance of that duty, the Nigerian government delegated the maintenance of internal security to the Nigeria police centrally administered. The centralized police arrangement is expected to perform its roles efficiently and effectively. But with the ever rising wave of human insecurity in the country in terms of armed banditry, kidnapping, murders and political assassinations, the Nigerian people and even the government seemed to be put on the edge (Odekunle, 2014).

The question that everybody, both the layman and the enlightened persons are asking and will continue to ask until the narrative has changed is, whether the police force as centrally administered performed their roles to the fullest of expectations. Majority, if not all the people in Nigeria believed that the centralized police force in Nigeria have not performed well. Ikeji (2013) and Odekunle (2014), have argued that there is no need to prove the non performance of the Nigeria police under the present human insecurity condition. Rather what should be done is to probe into the major challenges, inadequacies and obstacles responsible for the abysmal performance of the centrally - controlled police force

and tackle them. These scholars believe that the solutions to these are not in establishing state police. Ikeji (2013) hammers this point when he exposes that the police in Nigeria today contribute to the aggregate perpetrations of crimes such as mass killings, intimidation, rape, extra judicial killings, aid internet fraudsters (popularly called yahoo "boys" or "G-boys") and other heinous crimes against citizens they are supposed to protect. Ikeji (2013) gives an instance that the escalation of violence in the north of Nigeria perpetrated by Boko Haram sect today is inextricably connected with the police extra-judicial killings of the leader of the group, Mohammed Yusuf in July 2009 in Borno State. These scholars believe that state police officers will do even worse things. Damus (1977) argues that the thrust of human security is that the chief referent object of security should not be the state or certain sub-state groups but the individual people of which these institutions/groups are comprised. Here, the notion of security is recast as a "social construct", imbued with a human face. In 1999, the salience of human security attained eloquent expression in Amartya Sen's argument that development is essentially a process of expanding the real freedom that people enjoy. Newburn (2004) reflects on the origins, development and role of the European type of police force in Africa and explains that since public safety, maintenance of peace and enforcement of legitimate laws are the chief responsibilities of the civil police force, the police therefore is of a first order value in society. Ebiz (2008) corroborates Newburn's position when he argues that the police force helped to sustain and maintain harmonious relationship, peace and security of lives and property in the pre-colonial African communities in some ways. Ebiz makes reference to the early Hausa police upon which in 1861, the then colonial Acting Governor of Lagos Colony, McCaskey organized and established the nucleus of the first police force- a Hausa constabulary of 30 men (Aliyu 2012).

Mann and Roberts (1991:5) argue that the police force recruited in Nigeria during the colonial era was to maintain law and order. However, the men in the force were stooges to the colonial masters without traditional values in areas where federalism was adopted. Alemika (2002) agree that the jackboot socialization of the early Hausa police in Nigeria unfortunately established the criteria for future relationship between the police and the communities they or disserve. Asemota (1993) argues that as society develops and becomes more sophisticated and complex in nature, so also do other field of human endeavours including crime. This sophistication in crime in society has necessitated re-appraisal of the operational effectiveness of state and community policing. Skolnick and Bayley (1988) tend to support Asemota's point of view when they explain that concern about the ability of the police force in Nigeria today to effectively control crime has led to the formation of, and reliance on local vigilante groups and other private security outfits in some parts of the country where the people believed that the police in Nigeria presently are not capable of protecting them. Beland (2005) posits that modern police managers have come to understand the limits of police activity in fighting crime over the past two decades. They argue further that solutions to crime problems are scarcely met by conducting business as usual. Thus, in looking for an alternative policing, emphasis has to move away from centralized system of policing to a better decentralized and people oriented policing style as the way forward. The antagonists of state policies system in Nigeria also canvassed that establishments of separate police force in the thirty - six (36) states of Nigeria may be unwieldy for Nigeria with over four hundred and fifty - five (455) ethnic languages (Kajo, 2015). Kajo (2015) argues that state policing is more than just impression that after all, now we are operating true federalism. It is cost - effective. Kajo (2015) insists that many state governments cannot even fund state police. According to Kajo (2015), some states in Nigeria cannot even pay the salaries of their civil servants promptly, let alone talk about acquiring equipment, armaments and technologies for state police. For this scholar, Nigeria is not mature yet for state police system.

Theoretical Framework

The social contract theoretical framework was adopted for this study. The social contract theory was originally proposed in 1599 by Jaun de Mariana prior to the writing of famous political philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes, Jean Jacques Rousseau and John Locke (Ugwoke, 2006). The social contract theorists in their writings averred that a state of nature was in existence prior to any form of social organization or political society. In such a state, men were completely free to do all sorts of things. There were no laws, no social institutions and no private property. In Hobbes' celebrated phrase for instance, man's life 'in a state of nature was merely described as "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short" (Brown, et al., 1996). According to Hobbes, in the state of nature, men live without security (Johari, 2013). The escape from such a horrible state of nature is to be effected by means of a contract made by men and a sovereign (the state or government). The essential function of the sovereign is to ensure security and peace at any price.

Under such terrible state, every individual provided his or her own security and when that security was violated, the individual had to exert whatever revenge that was deemed appropriate and feasible. This social condition proved dysfunctional especially because the distinction between the victim and the offender became blurred. It is largely because of this envisaged inevitable social disorder that men thought it wise to sacrifice part of their liberty by submitting to authority of the state which becomes protector, security-guarantor and judge-advocate. By extension, the modern state security and criminal justice system of which the police are important component is therefore the instrument through which the state as a sovereign entity attempts to fulfill its own contractual obligation of protecting the lives and property of the citizens in exchange for the taxes and loyalty of the citizens of the state. The social contract thesis in politics presupposes that there is an unspoken bargain between the government and the citizens and where the former is obligated to deliver and ensure the security socio-economic well-being and responsible governance. What the latter owe are loyalty and acceptability of the authority upon which the government governs (Orhero, 2019).

Applying the social contract theoretical framework, this study is anchored on the assumption that the Nigerian state or government has entered into an unspoken bargain with the Nigerian citizens. The sustaining faith in the bargain is that, the citizens show absolute loyalty and obey the laws of the state or the command of government while expecting to enjoy adequate human security and satisfaction of life from time to time. This also desires the people to be critical about the way institutions of the state are performing. The inability or failure of the state or government to fulfill its obligation to guarantee the security of life and property could bring about failed social contract. The citizens therefore can scrutinize the actions of the state or governmental institutions and resent in the event of dissatisfaction. The debates about the

necessity of establishment of state police in Nigeria today stems from the fact that there seems to be a general feeling and expression of dissatisfaction with the expected performance of the Nigeria Police Force as presently constituted. The situation of insecurity in Nigeria today qualifies the Nigerian state into the breached social contract thesis. But to reverse the trend and to keep the social contract in trust and intact, in cognizance of the failure of the central police system in Nigeria at the moment, the state police alternative can be employed.

Conclusions

Inappropriate and unethical security staff deployment is one of the major problems in this regard. Since many police officers are assigned to "guard duty" and provide private security services for the wealthy and well-to-do in the community, the police's ability to serve the public is further limited in this situation. In Nigeria, corruption is still arguably the biggest barrier to police effectiveness. People who oversee the use of the scarce resources intended for security and other development projects misappropriate them. This leads to an endless cycle of underdevelopment, unemployment, exploitation, greed, poverty, and misery that eventually erodes the government's ability to fund security and deliver social services, so jeopardizing national security. In 2012, the IGP issued a recall of police officers who were linked to politicians and non-combatants in an effort to monitor and improve professionalism within the service. This was somewhat, but not entirely, heeded. The gradual recurrence of the trend could be attributed to systemic shortcomings that hindered the directive's complete and appropriate implementation. The approach to overcome these obstacles is through a reform that would allow state governors authority over their states' police forces and create the framework for state police formations.

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