

# Policing, Police and the Feasibility of Their Reform in Nigeria

Chris M A Kwaja, PhD  
July 2020

→ Despite several written workable plans to improve security, the same web of problems has continued to cause the policing and police failures.

→ Improved security is not elusive. Rather, systemic corruption and a lack of political will to implement plans keep insecurity rising.

→ The country needs an institutionalised deliberate coordinated and cooperative set of actions among the police, the policing agencies and the populace.



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# Policing, Police and the Feasibility of Their Reform in Nigeria

by

**Chris M A Kwaja, PhD**

Senior Lecturer and Researcher  
Centre for Peace and Security Studies  
Modibbo Adama University of Technology  
Yola, Adamawa State, Nigeria  
[kwajaamc@gmail.com](mailto:kwajaamc@gmail.com)

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This analysis titled *Policing, Police and the Feasibility of Their Reform in Nigeria*, written by Dr Chris M A Kwaja, is number 6 of 6 analyses. The other analyses of this series are:

**Analysis 1:**

*Inclusive Participation in Nigeria's Security Sector: Trends and Opportunities* by Dr Iro Aghedo

**Analysis 2:**

*Towards an Accountable Security Sector in Nigeria* by Dr Abdulwahab Ademola Lawal

**Analysis 3:**

*Institutional Capacity and Capability of Nigeria's Security Sector* by Dr Wilson O V Ijide

**Analysis 4:**

*Non-State Security Sector in Nigeria: Trends and Challenges* by Dr Ndubuisi N Nwokolo

**Analysis 5:**

*Nigeria's Security Architecture for the Future: State of National Security Agencies' Coordination and Cooperation* by Brig Gen Saleh Bala (Rtd)

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The rising intensity of insecurity challenges in Nigeria necessitates the quest for effective and efficient security. The ideal expectation is that the country reflects the findings of the analytical discourses in its security reform as evidence-based decisions.

**Ulrich Thum**

Resident Representative,  
Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Nigeria  
July 2020



# Policing, Police and the Feasibility of Their Reform in Nigeria

## Abstract

One of the most challenging tasks of governance in Nigeria is the provision of security. The country, especially after the return to a democratic rule, is facing several and rising insecurity challenges, which point to the country's failure in providing security. The Constitution of the country made the responsibility of ensuring internal security the statutory duty of the police. Effective policing requires the integration of non-violent preventative and security-led actions. However, over time, policing in Nigeria has been mostly reactive than proactive. Such a reactive approach to policing has hampered the police to effectively address the fundamental causes of insecurity in the country. This study examined policing in the context of the structures put in place by the Nigerian governments to ensure security in the country. Conditioned by some vexed issues that challenge and affect the ability and capacity of the police to effectively discharge their duties, the study also explored the linkage between policing and the feasibility of undertaking policing reforms in the country. The study argued that institutionalising effective policing in Nigeria requires enforcing a deliberately coordinated and cooperative set of actions that mitigate the institutional gaps that inhibit appropriate policing in Nigeria. The conclusion established the need to foster trust and constructive relationships among the various security agencies and between the agencies and populace.

**Keywords:** Police, Policing, Policing Reforms, Community Policing, Nigeria Police Force, Coordination and Cooperation

## 1 Introduction

Crises threaten the world in forms as natural disasters, violent conflicts, persistent poverty, epidemics, pandemics and economic downturns. Crises, as noted by the United Nations Human Security Unit (UN HSU 2016), "impose hardships and undercut prospects for peace and stability as well as sustainable development entailing multiple forms of human insecurity." The rational response is to seek to be safe, to seek security. Security implies the protection of lives and properties requiring strategies that compel the establishment and observance of norms, law and order as well as the defence of sovereignty such that people and nations are neither threatened nor in danger with internal or from external force(s). Security also implies the welfare of people. On the declaration of the International Bill on Human Rights as the general standard pursued by the international community, the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU

2016) reaffirmed that security is one profound aspiration of humankind.

That the world is full of threats on many fronts (UN HSU 2016) with the complex forms of crises suggest that security is complex. Thus, security remains an intrinsic and a complex concern for individuals, peoples and governments across the world. Security concern is natural in humans and has been developed to be part of the fundamental responsibilities of governments.

As part of the complex security concerns, guaranteeing safety from threats or danger, which is policing society, is integrated with the strategies of enforcing law and order and maintaining peace within the country and defending the country from external forces. Policing means enforcement of law and order, the control of disorder, the prevention of crime and the detection of offenders carried out by the 'police' that means official groups engaged with

policing matters (Radzinowicz 1956: 1–8; Rawlings 2008). Security of the individual is a basic human right, and protecting individuals is a fundamental obligation of Government (United Nations [UN] 2008). Most governments of the world, likewise Nigeria, entrusted the responsibility of policing society to the police. Thus, this discourse concentrates on the police.

However, ensuring that policing strategies and that the police effectively deliver their mandate of safety necessitate an understanding of the various prerequisites that combine for effective policing (Reiner 2000). Some of the prerequisites include statutory policing institutions, collaboration between and among security agencies, resource mobilisation, contextual and geographic knowledge, understanding the drivers of insecurity and threats to peace, as well as identifying the distinct and collective models that enable broader security collaboration across society. For Nigeria, the country is facing increasing security challenges, necessitating the design and delivery of a range of policing strategies to curb them. Some of the security challenges include insurgency and terrorism, kidnapping, resource-related conflicts (especially between farmers and herders), gang violence, cybercrime, armed robbery and thievery, among other crimes.

The rising security challenges in Nigeria generate mixed opinions about the outcomes of different policing strategies aimed at curbing the protraction of the security dilemmas and their impacts on society. Policing in Nigeria tends to be more reactionary (Kupoluyi and Nwogwugwu 2015) as it is designed for enforcing law and order unlike proactive policing that promotes organisational strategies by using systemic partnership and problem-solving techniques to tackle the causes of crimes. The reactive nature of policing limits attempts at addressing the fundamental causes of insecurity. It treats the symptoms rather than prevents them. Thus, reactive policing trickles the increase of opportunities for gross violations of the rights

and freedom of citizens (natives and inhabitants), queries the ethics associated with policing, widens misconceptions and mistrust between the citizens and security services and can hinder possible points of leverage that can facilitate and consolidate collaboration between the citizens and security services, particularly the police. This study reviews the current concept of policing in Nigeria and its challenges, tracing how the historical conceptualisation of formal policing affects modern Nigeria. The analysis seeks to provide a nuanced understanding of policing in Nigeria by reviewing; the establishment of policing and police duties, police implementation of duties, status of performance, the impacts, the challenges, a comprehensive categorisation of different factors that impede the effectiveness of policing in Nigeria and the failure of policing and the police, how the resolution of the challenges associated with the categorisation will transform policing and improve security delivery across Nigeria. The study also examines the mixed debates on state policing and non-state policing with the latter questioned whether as a complementary or alternative concept.

It summarises that policing and the police in Nigeria requires holistic reform that will address weak institutional capacity, inadequate human resource, remuneration of officers, effective governmental support and funding, facilitation of constructive opportunities that increase collaboration with and among the people and various public and private sectors to build trust, clear misrepresentation and improve social relationships. Consequently, the welfare of the people will be improved.

### **1.1 Historical Overview of Policing and the Police in Nigeria**

One may rationalise that even in the Stone Age, the earliest humans were concerned and sought to live in peace, harmony and safety. Logically, policing could be said to have started with people's instinct for wellbeing. It evolved out of people's concern and responsibility for safety, to

protect society from any form of harm (Newburn 2004). Even a newborn baby would instinctively blink for safety at a fly flying inches close to his or her eyes, an invasion of space. The early humans at sighting an uninvited person(s) or unknown object or animal around a cave or forest they adapted as theirs would likely react (wonder or shudder). This is typical of people reacting by seeking protection or justice when another person infringes their right (space). Thus, there is the instinct to protect and the course for law and order.

Historically, most communities of peoples that would be later amalgamated as Nigeria set up groups of people like the vocational guilds (hunters, farmers or fishers), certain age grades, the youth and other selected or volunteer members of the community, overseen by the community heads, to secure their environment. With oral guidance (Tamuno 1970), assimilation and no written operation code, the communities' groups dealt with violators of their norms and order.

Guards and individuals worked to protect their societies. For instance, the ancient Benin Kingdom, and to date, has guards protecting the kings and used to execute judgement on violators. The Igbos had selected groups, who either worked directly for the community or for the traditional priests who meted out punishments on violators of societal norms or saw to their banishment (exclusion to the evil forests) on the grounds of certain violations. The Hausas had mostly hunters who helped protect their communities. Ibidapo-Obe (1995) pointed out that society's protection was mostly without violence. In South Africa, there was also Shaka the Zulu. Morris (2020) work published in Britannica reported that Shaka was a fighter for his people. He developed their fighting tactics,

grouped and reformed their army (*impi*<sup>1</sup>), arming them with oxhide shields and spindly throwing spears. Of course, Shaka's era lasted into the colonists' advent. However, he took over his community's practice of protecting society for safety and against invasion, which was decades before him and the colonists.

With the end goal of policing being protection and safety, Nigerians like most other Africans had policing measures and practices with assigned or voluntary groups policing their environment. Thus, historical Africa had internal and external protection (policing) functions but did not separate the functions as the police responsible for internal security and the army for external defence, as with the advent of the colonists. Invariably, today's policing is a continuation of the culture of self-defence and community policing is a continuation of the culture of self-reliance (Baker 2002) and communal living. So, before the coming of the colonists, policing was mostly a collective responsibility and not a paid profession.

Then came the emergence of the nation-state and modern democracies to protect the citizens who have surrendered some of their natural rights to the state in line with the social contract theory of Thomas Hobbes. The norm rests on the assumption that the citizens are best protected by the state. The state protects its citizens using the police. Thus, Nigerian police became established in 1820 by the British colonial government, with most of the police linked to the native authority system, which was later transformed into today's local governments.

In the colonial regime, the primary purpose and function of the police were to advance the economic and political agenda of the colonists (Kupoluyi and Nwogwugwu 2015). They

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<sup>1</sup> *Impi* is an armed band of Zulu warriors involved in urban and rural conflicts. Before Shaka reformed the band, that was more of a loose mob, that fought frequent conflicts on cattle raiding, personal insults and resolved disputes. The *impi* developed from the tribal custom that had age grades transition from boys to full-fledged adults and warriors and

for certain duties. The kraal elders handled disputes and issues. See Morris, D (1986): *The Washing of the Spears: A History of the Rise of the Zulu Nation Under Shaka and Its Fall in the Zulu War of 1879*. New York: Touchstone.

engaged in brutal subjugation of the local population and communities, especially, when the people opposed the dictates of the colonists and colonial rule. The brutality, a repressive tactic of policing from the colonial era, is often identified as the beginning of the failure of policing and the collapse of the relationship between citizens and the police in Nigeria. The breakdown of the relationship was further deepened in post-independence when the police force became nationalised but carried on in brutality that would contribute to worsening policing and the police officers' acceptability and relationship among the citizens.

The Federal Republic of Nigeria (FGN), as a nation-state and democratic government, in its 1999 Constitution (as amended) declared that the primary purpose of the government shall be security and welfare of the people and that the Constitution shall ensure the participation of the people in their government. The federal government, as provided in Section 214 of its Constitution, uses the state police as the principal agency with the statutory mandate of managing mostly the internal and partly external peace and security.

## 1.2 The Mandate of Nigeria Police Force and Its Current Operations

Chapter VI, Part III, Section 214 of the Constitution of the FGN 1999 (as amended) provides that there shall be a police force for the country named Nigeria Police Force (NPF), and subject to the provisions of the Constitution, no other police force shall be established for the country. And the NPF is to be organised and administered by the provisions as may be prescribed by an Act of the National Assembly (NASS). In line with the provisions of the constitution, the powers and duties were conferred on the NPF by the enactment of the Police Act (Cap 359) Laws of the Federation of Nigeria (LFN). The duties of the police include the management of internal security, which has to do with crime detection and prevention, apprehension of offenders, preservation of law

and order, protection of life and property, and due enforcement of all laws and regulations which they are directly charged with. The police shall as well perform military duties within and outside the country as may be required of them.

The Vision and Mission of the NPF as in its website (NPF 2019) reads as seen in the text box below:

### **Vision Statement**

To make Nigeria safer and more secure for economic development and growth; to create a safe and secure environment for everyone living in Nigeria.

### **Mission Statement**

1. To partner with other relevant Security Agencies and the public in gathering, collating and sharing information and intelligence with the intention of ensuring the safety and security of the country.
2. To participate in efforts aimed at addressing the root causes of crime while ensuring that any criminal act is investigated so as to bring the criminals to justice in a fair and professional manner.
3. To engender an efficient, effective, well-trained and highly motivated workforce, with deliberate efforts aimed at improving the capacity and welfare of all officers and men of the Force.
4. To build a people's friendly Police Force that will respect and uphold the fundamental rights of all citizens.
5. To build a gender-sensitive and gender-friendly Police Force that will give equal opportunity to female Police Officers, while at the same time respecting their peculiarities.

In respect of the protection of lives and property, there are other core agencies (paramilitary and civilian agencies) responsible for policing assignment in the country. See *Analysis 2* Section 1 Introduction and *Analysis 3* Sub-section 2.1 Nigeria's Security Landscape and *Analysis 5* Section 3 Scope of the Nigerian Security Architecture for the list and roles of the agencies.

The agencies have similar duties as designated to the police. For instance, while the country has FRSC designated to maintain traffic offences, one still sees the NPF, the Vehicle Inspection Service (VIS, another paramilitary agency under the Ministry of Transport) that its officers are commonly called VIO (for Vehicle Inspection Officers) as well as the FRSC deal with traffic and vehicle conditions and movement on the roads. All the agencies are known to harass both traffic offenders and non-offenders (Olajide 2019). The NIS was NPF's department and later extracted to be an agency. Presently, the Nigerian Army (NA) is also carrying out human and road check duties in most of the highways of states in the country, which is debated as interference with the duties of the NPF (Campbell 2019; Ogundipe 2019).

There are also laws and provision to ensure professionalism and to regulate the power conferred on the police. These include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the Covenant against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT) and the United Nations Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials. The Nigeria Police Code of Conduct stipulates the set of guiding principles and standards of behaviour of the officers while on or off-duty. It is intended to be used by police officers in determining what is right and proper in all their actions. Part of the mission statement of the NPF is encapsulated as "to build a people's friendly Police Force that will respect and uphold the fundamental rights of all citizens." While this sounds good on paper, the reality for most Nigerians is different.

## 2 The Failure of Policing and the Police in Nigeria Necessitating Action

Unfortunately, policing and the police in Nigeria do not have good performance records. They have remained the same (Johnson 2013; Kupoluyi and Nwogwugwu 2015; Oyemwinmina and Aibieyi 2016) from their establishment to their nationalisation. The lack of will and ability to change for improvement is despite the establishment and nationalisation of the police force that should expectedly use formalised strategies as statutory police institutions to improve contextual and geographic knowledge to instil professionalism, mobilise resources and funds for policing and further on-the-job training, make police personnel accountable to the funds and their policing, improve collaboration among security agencies and the relationship of receptiveness of the police by the citizens. Policing and the police have continued to fail with the historical antecedents of improper conceptualisation of the policing mandate and the brutality as absorbed from the colonists persisting.

Since Nigeria's return to civilian rule in 1999, the spate of insecurity has spontaneously and steadily increased across the country. Many studies confirmed that the last 20 years of civilian rule have hosted the worst forms of insecurity in the country's history (Agwanwo 2014; Odey and Umoh 2015). The Global Peace Index (GPI 2019: 9), ranked the country 148 with a score of 2.889 on the deteriorating state of peace, implying insecurity in the country is high and one of the worst cases among 163 countries. The most peaceful country, Iceland, ranked number 1 with a score of 1.027, and the least peaceful, Afghanistan, ranked 163 with a score of 3.574. To date, the country's insecurity appears daunting such that it causes hundreds of fatalities and the high, the average and the low citizens lose valuables, businesses and overall trust in the country's security architecture (Onifade, Imhonopi and Urin 2013; Adegoke 2014).

Nigeria's authorities have continued failing in managing insecurity. Bassey (2011) revealed that achieving internal stability and promoting actions that will support Nigeria's security objectives have "remained elusive despite several strategies and implementation framework adopted by the government." There are claims that insecurity has overwhelmingly grown beyond the capacity and control of the government, as seen in the continued failure and rising insecurity. However, it is necessary to clarify that insecurity has not grown beyond the control of the country. Rather, it is the absence of political will and transparency in the security and policing strategies' design and implementation that amplify and protract insecurity in Nigeria. Thus, the failure is the consequences of sustained weak security strategies, several delinquencies associated with analytical frameworks for reviewing and conceptualising security and other social, economic and political challenges in Nigeria. The deficiencies emphasise the need to seek a path to changing the dynamics which necessitate this analysis.

### 3 A Critical Categorisation of Causes of Failure of Policing and the Police in Nigeria

The necessity for safety cannot be overemphasised. Thus, it is imperative to understand the causes of the policing and the police failures which have not only lasted for over two decades since the country's return to a democratic government but as well increased in their rates and types. The causes of the failures are categorised as follows:

#### 3.1 The Conceptualisation of Policing and the Police in Nigeria

The concept of policing in Nigeria, especially in the country's security architecture and practice, either appears to weakly articulate comprehensively the changing dynamics of security in society or lacks the sufficient support and willingness to implement institutionalised plans and recommended reforms that can

drastically reduce insecurity to the barest minimum (Nwagboso 2018; Nwogwugwu and Odedina 2018; Agwanwo 2014; Obeagu 2014; Johnson 2013; Zumve 2012).

The NPF is still governed by a framework of a law enacted in 1943. The conceptualisation has issues with its reactive against proactive orientation, prioritisation of sovereignty over individual and collective welfare. Consequently, these contribute to the meagre human and physical capital allocated to the police.

#### a. Reactionary Orientation against Proactive Orientation

The Constitution made policing the statutory responsibility of the 'police force', with no emphasis on the citizens' (civilian population) participation which it had in Chapter II, Section 24 (b), (d) and (e) that the duty of 'every' citizen shall be [the italicised words in open inverted quotes in the quote are for emphatic analysis]:

"(b) help to enhance the power, prestige and good name of Nigeria, *'defend Nigeria'* and render such national service as may be required;

(d) *'make positive and useful contribution to the advancement, progress and 'wellbeing of the community where he resides';*

(e) *'render assistance to appropriate and lawful agencies in the maintenance of law and order'.*"

Yet, the Constitution does not specify the participation of the citizens. The members of the NPF and other state security agencies are also the citizens but are hostile and brutal in dealing with most of the civilians. The forces' attitude scares the civilians from cooperating with them.

The FGN has continued to challenge the communal and most other non-state policing groups as illegal rather than seeking to integrate them in security activities. By implication, every other member of society is not inclusive in participating in their security, wellbeing.



Several security analyses confirmed that security agencies in Nigeria, especially the NPF, lack sufficient capacity and resources to proactively identify threats and develop responses to prevent their execution. Instead, the responses to threats are reactionary. Reactionary policing or security operation also exposes the weak collaboration and communication level between local populations (and their communities) and the police. Proactive policing prevents outcomes that are dastardly and enhance any positive efforts made towards curbing insecurity. Conversely, reactionary policing increases human casualties and shows security actors' inability to use intelligence to identify and deal with threats effectively. It could also validate the gaps of the police to leverage their understanding of local contexts and geography to develop policing strategies based on observed changes in security trends within society. For instance, Kupoluyi and Nwogwugwu (2015) observed that "... the situations where security agencies only react after the terrorists or other criminals have finished unleashing mayhem across communities and local governments leave residents of such communities petrified at the utter helplessness of the security agencies and make them unwilling to return to those communities even after the places have been reported as having been recovered from the terrorists."

The institutionalised policing and the police were conceptualised mostly on reactionary strategies as seen in the Constitution's pronouncements such as crime 'detection' and 'prevention', 'apprehension' of offenders, 'preservation' of law and order and 'protection' of life and property. Most of the words in quotes have their meaning and application not in tackling the diverse causes and sources of criminality and insecurity. The prevention of crime seems to mostly take effort as seen only in the NCS (prison correction service) efforts at training and reforming prisoners, which is after a crime has taken place. It may also be seen where the police act to prevent crime with information ahead of

it being performed with the state not actively working on tackling the source and causes of crime. The Chibok schoolgirls' abduction took place despite some security tips. Again, the Dapchi incident happened after Chibok's. The events are partly blamed on the lack of cooperation among the security agents.

## **b. Prioritising of Sovereignty over Individual and Collective Welfare**

The policies and strategies of the central police have failed to achieve the desired security outcomes because the sovereignty of the Nigerian state appears to be prioritised over the individual or collective security and welfare needs of the citizens (Alozie 2019). Agwanwo (2014) blamed the current practice of a centralised police system for the protraction of these circumstances of police failure and pointed out that a centralised policing system stresses the NPF and prevents it from effectively policing society.

Thus, emphases were on the need for devolution of police power to facilitate the repositioning of the institution to deliver on its constitutional mandate of protecting society. While devolution has the prospects to salvage the problems associated with insecurity and poor policing in Nigeria, the security authorities and stakeholders should monitor the structural and institutional factors that could constitute lapses for implementing an effective state policing system that is participatory, collaborative and apolitical. However, the state governments and governors wield powers and have corrupt tendencies in modern Nigeria. So, it will be difficult to guarantee the non-manipulation of a state police services as a political weapon of the politicians, especially the ruling regimes, to perpetuate violations that will lead to the undermining of state-owned security services. Also, currently, there are too many security services that are involved in policing society. They need detailed attention to structure a devolution of policing. Section 4 of this work attends to the issues on the other security services.

### c. Meagre Funding and Resources for Policing and the Police

The dearth of funds and resources are some of the salient challenges behind not only the failure but as well the farcical state of the NPF. The meagre funding is reflected in the poor recruitment process, poor training, use of outdated equipment, poor remuneration, poor looks of most police officers in their offices and on the roads, inefficient policing and the inclination of the police officers to misuse funds, extort the masses and generally contribute to their abuse of power and human rights violations.

In 2019, Nigeria's Senate, claiming to fight armed insurgency and other crimes, hiked the budget from ₦8.83 trillion to ₦8.92 trillion (approximately \$25 billion each). A year on, every part of the country is facing a rising level of insecurity. The increased insecurity is not surprising because as at August 2019 (ten months) after President Buhari had, in November 2018, approved ₦13.3 billion (\$36.9 million) for an enhanced salary structure for the NPF, police officers are yet to receive the pay rise (Adepegba and Baiyewu 2020). The Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC 2020) pointed out that of the appropriated national budgets of ₦9.12 trillion in 2018, ₦8.92 trillion in 2019, ₦10.59 trillion in 2020, the NPF was allocated 3.56 per cent (₦324.2 billion), 4.1 per cent (₦366.1 billion) and 3.81 per cent (₦403.7 billion)<sup>2</sup>, respectively, of the national budget. The NPF was allocated 23.9 per cent, 26.1 per cent and 22.3 per cent of the security budgets, respectively for the three years. The former IG, Ibrahim Idris, also stated that of the ₦16 billion appropriated to the NPF in the 2016 budget for capital projects, only ₦4 billion, about 25 per cent, was released

to the police as at the end of the year (Omolere 2017). The 'cuts' appear a norm.

According to the Inspector General of Police, Mohammed Adamu, the NPF needs ₦1.3 trillion annually to function effectively. Meanwhile, as seen from PLAC (2020: 7) factsheet, in 2018, out of the ₦25.2 billion capital appropriation and ₦10.3 billion overhead cost allocation meant for the NPF, only ₦12 billion and ₦8.4 billion, respectively, were released to the NPF. In 2019, of the ₦22.1 billion capital appropriation and ₦9.1 billion overhead cost allocation, the NPF received only ₦6.3 billion and ₦8.6 billion, respectively. The PLAC (2020: 7) record for the years 2015 to 2019 showed that the released amounts were all less than the allocated amounts. As seen from Adepegba and Baiyewu (2020), what the officers get reflects neither the approved nor released amounts. As meagre as the allocation is, only about 10 per cent of the budget covers overhead and capital costs. The remaining 90 per cent is dedicated to the payment of salaries and emoluments of its personnel.

In a country of about 200 million people, the police strength is about 371,800 police personnel. There is no way the NPF with such a workforce can adequately secure the country. At that rate, it translates to one police officer to secure about 538 citizens. It falls short of the UN's recommended 1:400 police to citizen ratio. In contrast to the situation in Nigeria, African countries like Egypt with ratios of 1:199, Botswana 1:242 and South Africa 1:347 more than beat the recommended ratio. To meet the UN's requirement, the NPF needs to recruit 31,000 police officers annually over the next five years to effectively police the nation. While the NPF noted the deficit of officers, it, however, is

<sup>2</sup> The national budget and allocation to the Nigeria Police Force for the years 2018 to 2020

National Budget	Allocation to NPF	Percentage of Budget to NPF	Year
₦9.12 trillion (\$25.3 billion)	₦324.2 billion (\$899 million)	3.56%	2018
₦8.92 trillion (\$24.7 billion)	₦366.1 billion (\$1.02 billion)	4.1%	2019
₦10.59 trillion (\$29.4 billion)	₦403.7 billion (\$1.12 billion)	3.81%	2020

Nigerian naira converted to the Central Bank of Nigeria's posted central value (the average buying and selling rates) to the United States' dollar, ₦360.50 to \$1 as of July 7, 2020. Source: from CBN Exchange Rates <https://www.cbn.gov.ng/rates/ExchRateByCurrency.asp>

unable to recruit more officers to support the personnel that are overwhelmed and overstretched with the increasing rise of criminal activities in the country.

### 3.2 Corruption, Interference/Interruption and Abuse of Power

In the country, corruption has pervaded private and public institutions and overwhelmed all levels of government (Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission [ICPC] 2020). It has become the norm. Some of the people in public service do not represent the others that they are supposed to be serving. Corruption undermines democratic institutions, retards economic development and contributes to government instability (ICPC 2020). Corruption is undemocratic. Democracy<sup>3</sup> is a product of scientific age and thought and so survives on morality with a scientific outlook (Nwuzor 2002: 150). It is morality and the understanding of science (of rational action) that help one appeal to the reason to keep to due process, and not keep to a norm. Unfortunately, moral decadence has made room for corruption as seen in:

#### a. Police Corruption and Brutality

All the way, there are several allegations and proven cases of complicity among different ranks in the force and their lack of devoted service to society. While the NPF rarely receives its full appropriated funds, the high-ranking officers are complicit in expanding the gap as they are not accountable to the funds given the force. The lower-rank officers are not exonerated. The public's confidence in the integrity of the police has been damaged by the lack of professionalism and institutional dysfunction of the NPF. As Alozie (2019) noted,

Nigeria's police officers hardly live up to their constitutional mandate. Citizens' abuse by the security officers has remained unabated. Extrajudicial killings, torture, violence, brutality, bribery, inhuman and degrading treatment continue to characterise the NPF as well as most other paramilitary agencies.

NPF has continued to maintain the foundation of force and total allegiance to the state as inherited from the colonial era and heightened by military regimes. Alemika and Chukwuma (2004) and Suleiman (2015) traced the brutal, suppressive and oppressive behaviours that characterise NPF to the colonial framework that established the police. Zumve (2012) argued that the framework for the establishment of a police force designed in 1943, was to forcefully protect the economic and political agenda of the colonialists. Seventy-six years on, with intermittent military regimes and a series of unsuccessful police reforms, the NPF still keeps its oppressive and aggressive character towards the citizens. Clampdowns of civil unrest and militarisation of policing have remained the Nigerian state's approach to managing conflicts.

NPF's excessive use of force has remained unchanged because many of the abuse cases have not been investigated. The inability of the state to investigate and hold perpetrators to account for their acts of terror on citizens have helped to build public distrust and resentment towards the men and women of the criminal justice institutions and the state more generally.

#### b. Unaccountability to Responsibility and Unpatriotism to the Democratic State

As seen in the discussion about meagre funds yet unaccounted for, the explanation of

<sup>3</sup> A feature of democracy is a move from an authoritarian type of society to a non-authoritarian one, a stance of science that morality shares with science. Morality and science appeal to reason. See Peters, R S (1973): *Authority, Responsibility and Education* New Edition. Unwin University Books, George Allen and Unwin Limited pp 24-28. This analysis captures democracy and moral education as essential to correct the wrong paths in the country's

systems' failure. Education is a means of mind formation and an agent of cultural transformation. It is morally conscious citizens that will, for instance, accept and play by a rule, be accountable to responsibility, investigate criminal cases, make a judicial process function or implement a reform's recommendations.

unaccountability is the corruption that is deeply rooted in the system. Corruption, insufficient knowledge and understanding explain the abuse of power. The police officers need to understand that the dispensation is a democratic government. Security means wellbeing, welfare and development. So, police officers and other paramilitaries should protect society with endearing responsibility, and not intimidating or even killing the ones they are supposed to protect. Moreover, Nwuzor (2002: 19) observed that from the Gowon administration's suggested five national objectives for the country's second national development plan with the National Policy on Education (NPE) centred around the democratic social order tenets, it is not just the civilians, but also the military that love democracy and national unity. So, the security officers as paramilitary can incline to apply democratic principles in discharging their duties.

Unfortunately, the meagre funding also affects the inability of the police to train recruits and provide on-the-job training and knowledge update for the officers. Meagre funding also affects the provision of modern and reliable equipment, especially like surveillance equipment, for the police to carry out their duties.

### c. Politicians' Corrupt Practices

As Nwuzor (2002: 14) put it "Generally, African politicians seemed to be more of power wielders than nation builders. The quest for power in place of efforts for nation-building and development will produce an environment hostile to sustenance of democracy. Rather, it breeds autocracy and dictatorship." The actions and behaviours of the police in Nigeria have continued to be undemocratic and are more of a reflection of the political character of society (Suleiman 2015; Owen and Cooper-Knock 2015). The former Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) acting chairman, Ibrahim Magu, said that between 2011 and 2015, ₦1.3 trillion was stolen from the public purse (Papachristou 2019). Ironically, it is the

amount said to be needed by the NPF to perform effectively. "Everyone's in on the game", are the words of a former member of Police Service Commission, which the Human Rights Watch (HRW 2010) titled its report of NPF corruption and abuses, even the politicians are complicit in the instances (seen in Section 3.1c of this work) of the appropriated budgets differing from the released amounts. That the NPF rarely receives its full appropriated funds, is an explanation that the Senate, the country's Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Interior Finance and the Accounts Department overseen by the Nigeria Civil Service in the ministry owe the country. The NPF has delays in payments of salaries and makes part payments for security items it would have used in combating insecurity.

Sadly, the police workforce that is not sufficient to police the entire people living in the country does not reflect the force's true operational strength as some officers are assigned to the service of few private individuals: politicians and elites. According to former Inspector-General of Police, Sir Mike Okiro, as at 2018 about 150,000 police officers were in the service of few privileged individuals and private corporations.

Several efforts have been made and are still being made to repeal the 1948 law and provide an improved legal framework for the ongoing Police Reform Bill. The politicians' corrupt practices mean the lack of will and patriotism to seek and implement suitable recommendations for reform and make them fail to understand the complexity of policing that they budget meagre funds for the police to get a recommendable workforce and equipment. The general practice in the country is to inaugurate committees that come up with far-reaching white papers that will receive minimal or no implementation. The funds wasted. The failure of the politicians to ensure justification for committees' budgeted funds and as well investigate police officers' misuse of the funds suggest their compromise in the same vice. Another reason for failure to implement recommendations is the nation's

challenge with continuity of successive administrations. The end of an administration's tenure usually implies the end of its initiatives and policies (Makinde 2005).

All these are the consequences of the dismal corruption and lack of patriotism within the security institutions, the government officials' and elites' instrumentalisation of security to repress certain categories of people or constituencies in society. Thus, policing, the police and security institutions are politicised (Emah 2019) affecting the NPF's performance.

### 3.3 The Policing and the Polity

Olong and Agbonika (2013) argued that indiscriminate violence in Nigeria thrusts the atmosphere of fear, uncertainty and anxiety, and makes members of local populations vulnerable. Insecurity causes individuals and the state to encounter difficulties in engaging in diverse forms of productive activities. It impedes the effective harnessing of material and human resources. By implication, insecurity increases the difficulty of achieving meaningful development and the overall well-being of citizens (Nwogwugwu and Odedina 2018; Eme and Onyishi 2011; Imobighe 2003). Ineffective policing threatens not only the safety of the citizens in the immediate environment, but also affects businesses of foreigners whose investments in the country support job creation, economic flourishing, sustainable development (infrastructural and human capital), and improved local and international relationships that contribute to social cohesion. Weak policing of society can inhibit social growth because society becomes unreceptive to ventures that can improve the welfare of citizens across the country. Internal security challenges in Nigeria threaten its sovereignty and undermines its people's diversity; a value that is a significant element of the country's strength.

#### a. Poor Operational Procedure

Given the faulty policing and the police conceptualisation, it is not surprising to see the

poor operational procedure manifest itself in the frosty relationship between the police and other security agencies and between the police and the people. Expectedly, the negative relationship contributes to the failure of NPF's performance as discussed below.

#### i. Poor Inter-Agency Relationship and Collaboration

Right from the 1970s, there have been recurrent violent clashes and armed confrontations between the police and the army and among the police and other policing agencies. The clashes have continued to date that they have become a norm (Odoma and Aderinto 2013). The creation of many other state policing units in the country as security actors often duplicate roles, making room for the competition of significance and relevance. The result is the negative relationship between the agencies, which is grossly affecting their performance level and the trust of citizens in their ability to fight crime.

Bodunde, Ola and Afolabi (2014) examined the duties of the multiple security outfits – NPF, NSCDC, NCS (correction service), NCS (customs service), NIS, FRSC NFS, NDLEA, PCRC, Peace Corps in many states of the federation and many registered private security outfits, Vigilante Group of Nigeria among others assigned to tackle the insecurity in the country. The study identified that the challenge is not necessarily in the inadequacy of security outfits, but lack of collaborative effort and sharing of intelligence strategy along with institutional indiscipline, making the multiplicity ironic. The study also identified inadequate funding, lack of modern technological equipment, inadequate training, inadequate workforce and poor remuneration as some other causes of the negative relationship.

Olomu, Alao and Adewumi (2019), Odoma and Aderinto (2013) and Dimejesi, OkorieAjaj and Egbegi (2019) studied inter-agency rivalry between the NPF and NCS (customs service), between the NPF and NSCDC and between the NPF and NCS (correction service) warders in



Ogun State, respectively. They found that rivalry, fight for superiority, corruption, low formal education required for entry into the agencies and lack of cooperation play conflicting roles among them. Despite the creation of security Joint Task Forces (JTF) like Operation Safe Haven to mitigate the challenge of the duplicity of duties, inter-agency rivalry persists. The result is that the works of ensuring the security of the people and ensuring order and peace are not achieved but ironically that those engaged to deliver security further the insecurity situation. The recurrent clashes are not surprising, given the faulty conceptualisation of policing with the growing duplication of functions that relegate the police and confuse security activities in the country. The system failure, lack of a forum for interaction among the force, discrepancies in welfare packages and illegal duties add to compound the inclination to lack of professionalism and the clashes.

## **ii. Poor Relationship of the Police and the People**

The police in most countries of the world often abuse the rights of citizens, even in a developed country like the US. There are cases of NPF officers' abuse of the citizens. Some of the explanations for the deterioration of the relationship between the police and civilians in Nigeria are linked to unprofessional conduct, complicity (direct or indirect) with crime perpetration, intimidation, extrajudicial killings, alteration of crime details, falsification of suspect information, sexual assaults, politicisation of the police, disrespect for rules and regulations by the civilians, among other allegations (Adegoke 2014; Katsina 2012; Uhunmwuango and Epelle 2011).

It must be noted that the unhealthy relationship between the forces and the public is not only the fault of the forces. The demeanour of the citizens also influences the officers' attitude towards people. Edet (2017) noted that when civilians are disrespectful and refuse to cooperate with police officers, it increases the

likelihood of confrontation and excessive use of force by the officers. Also, although there are security actors that are complicit and contribute to insecurity in Nigeria, such perception must not be generalised. Many security actors remain resolute, professional and consistent with their constitutional mandate. The patriotism and zest displayed by such actors contribute significantly to the constructive efforts and some of the positive results achieved towards ensuring maximum security and policing in Nigeria. Efforts should be focused on capacity building and remodelling actions and resources that will boost the morale of security actors, especially those engaged in on-the-ground security, to deliver improved policing of society.

## **b. Poor State of the Polity**

Poverty, as a driver of insecurity, cannot be ignored as a contributor to unprofessional conduct among some officers of the NPF. The existence of socio-economic deprivations, which are products of poor remuneration within the force, stirs a culture of discontent and greed, makes some police officers resort to illegal activities and actions to supplement their immediate self and household needs.

Poverty, which is also a product of unemployment, forces many members of the local populations, especially the youth, to engage in crime, complicating policing further (Adegba, Ugwu and Eme 2012; Nwagboso 2012; Katsina 2012). *Vice versa*, unemployment is a product of poverty. Some of the effects of poverty are as well its causes (Nwuzor 2007), a vicious circle. Unaddressed poverty and its driving factors and outcomes increase insecurity, precarity, polarity, and influence the overall state of policing. Thus, the state of the polity affects the state of policing. The citizens' (including security actors) inaccessibility to basic and sufficient resources to cater for their primordial needs widens inequality and exposes people to a life of crime as an alternative means of acquiring resources (fundamentally or as a supplement) to make ends meet.

Security or policing strategies that primarily seek to protect citizens will successfully achieve their support, which will then increase their patriotism to participate in implementing frameworks that will ensure state security. This goal is attainable when citizens have a guaranteed sense of safety from the state, which enables their voluntary provision of security information or intelligence that reduces the perpetuation of criminality and insecurity. The positive effects of citizens' participation in policing add to the concerns that a centrally led policing system is relatively ineffective, and spurring demands within policy and academic arenas for the establishment of state police, to reduce the difficulties associated with the FGN's centrally managed police force.

These complexities create major constraints on the institution's delivery of its duties, especially because of inadequate technical capacity, poor human resource, underfunding and the dearth of contemporary security apparatus. A seemingly weak and ineffectively coordinated policing architecture hinders a comprehensive approach to policing in Nigeria.

#### 4 The Surge of Non-State Policing

As traced in the historical overview, the non-state security actors have been in existence before the state's dominance of security responsibility. However, in the last two decades, the nation is witnessing the proliferation of non-state policing (Kasali and Odetola 2016). Non-state security is in various forms as armed and non-armed formal and informal, private and communal actors. Their acceptability and legality continue to generate debate. Some of the arguments are that their presence is explained by the weak and failed state while observably they are also active in some societies where the state police are seen to be arguably effective and so support the state police, complementing the efforts for security and justice (Mohanty and Mohanty 2014: 6). However, they form part of the issues that in some ways are related to the failure of policing and the police in the country as follows.

#### 4.1 Private Security Policing and Their Legal Acceptability in Nigeria

Concrete data on the number of non-state security actors in Nigeria are scarce because some are operating without a licence. According to Kasali (2011), the first registered private security company (PSC) in Nigeria was established in 1965. In 2016, about 2,000 PSCs were operating in the country (Afolabi, Akinbolade and Nuhu 2016). According to Punch Online (2019) on the country's National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) PSCs statistics, for 2016, NBS recorded that 964 registered PSCs employed 771,478 people. In 2017, there were increases in both the registered PSCs and employment as the sector recorded 1,058 registered PSCs that employed 791,210 people. In 2018, 1,110 PSCs employed 828,505 people, indicating further increases in PSCs and employment compared with the earlier years.

The *Table* on private security companies and their employees (page 14) showed a continuous rise and surge as the number of registered PSCs almost doubled from 2013 to 2018. The record does not include other non-state actors. The surge and proliferation are explained by the surges and rising of savage conflict and insecurity in Nigeria that indicate the state's failure. The failure questions the dominance, capacity and capability of the state to perform its statutory duty of protecting the people living within the country. For instance, and regrettably, while the crime and insecurity rates are rising, some fraction of the state police's 371,800 staff, which is grossly inadequate to police the over 200 million population, are contracted to work for a private purchaser (Sparrow 2014). While the PSCs are making efforts to increase their staff for years, the NPF has been on plans to increase its force strength. Non-state security operators surged to offer the option for organisations and individuals to effectively defend themselves and their assets.

Despite the state's monopoly of security in most countries, the trend of growing privatisation and

**Table: Private Security Companies and Their Employees in Nigeria (2013-2018)**

Year	No of Registered Private Security Company	No of Employees
2013	802	578,056
2014	859	601, 528
2015	902	772,401
2016	964	771,478
2017	1,058	791,210
2018	1,110	828,502

Source: Compiled from Punch Online (2019) on National Bureau of Statistics Data

commercialisation of security is not peculiar to Nigeria. Since the 1990s, there has been an increasing number of PSCs worldwide (Idowu 2018; Krahmann 2009). As Krahmann held, there has also been a steady increase in the number of private security providers in Europe and America caused by rising global terror attacks, cybercrimes and domestic unrest.

In a report by Provost (2017) published by The Guardian research, more than 40 countries—including the United States (US), China, Canada, South Africa and the United Kingdom (UK)—have more private security workers than police officers. In 2018, private security services in Europe were valued at \$36 billion. The global market for private security services is projected to grow to \$240 billion by 2020. Nigeria's NSCDC generated over ₦800 million as revenue from approval and renewal of licences of PSCs in 2018. The country's Private Guard Companies (PGCs) Act of 1986 backs the legality for the establishment of private security firms in Nigeria. The Act stipulates the operational procedure and administration of such firms. It holds that entities must first be registered by the provision of Section 34 of the Companies and Allied Matters Act 1990. The Act also outlines the procedure for applying for a license. Section 14 (2) of the Act mandates quality control through inspections, thereby subjecting all PSCs to submit all records required to be kept under this Act available to the licensing authority for

inspection on demand. To address contemporary realities and the lacuna in the 1986 Act, a new regulatory framework has been designed to supervise private security in the country.

With the signing into law of the Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps Act No. 2 of 2003 and Amendment Act of 2007, the PGCs department of the NSCDC is charged with the responsibility of monitoring and supervising the activities of the PGCs in Nigeria. The PGCs Department is empowered to licence, supervise and monitor the activities of PGCs. In addition to the Act, the Private Guard Companies Regulations 2018, ensure that the private security industry in Nigeria operates optimally within the law and complements the efforts of the NPF and other security operatives. Other laws that supplement the PGC Act include Labour Laws, the Penal Code, the Criminal Code, and the Firearms (special provisions) Act (Cap. C38. Cap. F28. Cap. E18. Cap. R11.) (Suchi 2017).

According to Suchi (2017), private security guards act as private police, separate from the public police who serve the public at large and are primarily concerned with enforcing the laws. The job descriptions of non-state security guards differ from the state security agents'. For instance, private security officers by law are not allowed to possess firearms on duty while police officers carry arms on duty. However, 90 per cent of respondents in a study by Idowu (2018) held that the private security guards have been efficient as their presence has helped in reducing criminal activities, and therefore, serve as viable tools for crime prevention and safety in Nigeria. They are effective tools not only for preventing crime and complementing the state's efforts in providing security but create jobs (Idowu 2018; Afolabi, Akinbolade and Nuhu 2016) which add to help in crime reduction. The challenge is that the recipients of PSCs' services are private and public corporations, multinational companies, financial institutions, non-governmental organisations and private individuals that can afford their services.



#### 4.2 Community Policing and Feasibility of Its Integration into Formal Policing

Community policing has been part of indigenous social control systems that existed during the pre-colonial era. The communal groups are formed and rooted in their communities. The groups perform the duties of modern police of securing the community. Thus, the support and trust of community members that the community security groups enjoy continue to sustain them. Much later came the Constitution that reorganised policing.

The country's constitutional pronouncement that security and welfare shall be the responsibility of the government, which the government handles through the NPF, and that no other police force shall be established seems to generate the argument on the legality of non-state security actors, especially, communal policing in the form of vigilante. Yet Chapter II, Section 14(c) of the Constitution states that "the participation by the people in their government shall be ensured in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution." No doubt the police are also the people of the country. But the presence of most communal policing groups is debated to be illegal, and the mode of operation of their actors (who are also the people of the country) is considered informal. For instance, the Attorney General of the Federation and Minister of Justice, Mr Abubakar Malami, opposed the six western states-backed regional vigilante network, Amotekun, as illegal (Okon-Ekong, Enumah and Sowole 2020; Kupoluyi 2020).

Nevertheless, just as nation-states recognise and increasingly accept that the federal or central government and state governments (where obtainable with rights for state policing) are not the only actors to address internal security threats, some state governments in Nigeria likewise agree. Some states in Nigeria through their assembly allow the activities of vigilante groups to support policing.

In this modern period, achieving security and effective policing are gaining grounds as a collective responsibility of all. Public safety and crime prevention are not the sole responsibility of the government or public law enforcement. Indeed, individuals, communities, civil society, non-governmental organisations and the private sector all play a role in enhancing security and community safety. "Many countries of the world have continued to adopt community policing to meeting their different security needs," (Kasali and Odetola 2016). Thus, the acceptance and inclusion of complementary policing outfits are increasingly the means of managing contemporary crime waves.

For most African countries, including Nigeria, the increasing insecurity and inability of the state to protect citizens increase the push for the concept of community policing and proliferate their establishment (Amadi 2014). Since the 1990s, the attention of the world has shifted to redefining security and looking for the best approach that could guarantee effective security management, different from the usual state dominance of security that fails to address the increasing security threats. The search for the best approach led to the acceptance and integration of the community policing approach (Kasali and Odetola 2016).

For Zumve (2012), community policing should be police collaboration with the community in solving community crimes. The mutual benefits attached to the strategy stand it out as a more effective approach to promote public safety and peace. To develop this complementary work implies the need for cordial relationship and trust between the community and police. The challenge is that the history of brutality and unprofessionalism of the NPF has created an institution that is dreaded, not respected or accepted. Public confidence in the integrity of the police has been damaged by the lack of professionalism and institutional dysfunction of the NPF, which add to some preference for community policing.

## 5 Policy Implications and Feasible Course for Policing and Police Reform

Given the failure of the NPF and other state security agencies as reflected in the increasing insecurity in the country, there have been various efforts, especially, since the country's return to democratic rule, to reform the police and other law enforcement structures in the country. The NPF launched a pilot community policing scheme in 2004. Yet, the rising wave of tension and insecurity in various communities across the nation call for a more effective policing strategy. According to Alemika (2018), between 2006 and 2012 three presidential committees were constituted to review the NPF and offer modalities for reforming the institution to improve its operations. The first was the committee inaugurated in 2006, led by Dan Mandami. There were also M D Yusuf-led and Parry Osayande-led committees in 2008 and 2012, respectively. Similarly, between 2011 to 2014, a committee was also set up to develop a National Public Security Strategy for Nigeria. In 2012, a Civil Society Organisations Panel was also established to ensure the civil society's input in the reform. The Panel operated under the auspices of the Network on Police Reform in Nigeria (NOPRIN) with technical support and facilitation by the Centre for Law Enforcement Education (CLEEN) Foundation. While the committees kicked against state police because of corruption, the CSOs panel sought the need to revisit it, recommending it. The committees and panel made similar findings for the causes of failure and recommendations for reform. In April 2020, President Muhammadu Buhari approved community policing using the Special Constables Model mirrored after the Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) of the UK policing architecture (Lenbang 2019).

The recommendations, of course, sought to fix the failure given the identified causes and attain a policing and a police force that respects human rights while efficient and effective. Ranging from raising the entry qualifications for officers to

devolution of powers, provision of adequate funding, enhancing remuneration, improving relations between the police and the public, prioritising capacity development etc., the committees and panel made recommendations for reforming the NPF and for compliance with 21<sup>st</sup>-century policing.

Observably, the categorised causes of the failure of policing and the police in Nigeria in Section 3 are interlinked with the effects of the failure. For instance, a poor conceptualisation that conceives less need for funding makes for poor recruitment and poor training, which are linked to poor understanding, attitude and corruption, then the corrupt mind-sets that care less about good performance and reform, brutalise fellows and citizens, then embezzle funds and back to meagre funds, implying a cycle of failure. The causes of the failure of policing and the police are also their effects. Thus, tackling one will have extended ripple effects on others. The causes can be summarised as governmental and conceptual challenges, institutional challenges, the police officers' and other security actors' attitude, the public's attitude and perception of and receptiveness to policing strategies. Hence, creating efficient and effective policing and police force entail designing strategies to meet the demands of society (including the changing dynamics of crime and insecurity), demonstrating a clear knowledge and articulation of internal patterns of security and insecurity, reviewing and improving security implementation frameworks and understanding the intersection between vertical and horizontal relationships that support and/or favour collaborative security.

### 5.1 Move from State-centric to Human-centric and Development Security Aspects

It is crucial to understand the need to re-conceptualise security, to move it away from being state-centric to being human-centric. It is also crucial to understand that security entails wellbeing which is a part of human development. Focusing security or policing

strategies on humans as the principal subjects to be protected widens support and facilitates the attainment of integral human development, a type of development that focuses on the growth and flourishing of citizens, which then spurs their support for actions aimed at protecting the state and other citizens. After all, it is the humans who make up the state and not vice versa. When humans in a state are safe and secure, the state is said to be safe and secure. An integral development also entails the development of a sense of patriotism and responsibility to work and earn a living and avoid corrupt and criminal acts. Security in society will be aimed at improving the standard of living and dealing with poverty (Nwuzor 2018).

Policing in Nigeria will be counterproductive when the social disparities (including inequality and poverty) that often contribute as underlying elements of insecurity are not resolved. Increased feelings of exclusion, marginalisation, unaddressed social needs, among other social dilemmas, can create self-perpetuating and mutually reinforcing cycles of violence that hinder effective policing in Nigeria. Strengthening patriotism help in commitment to the responsibility of protecting country's interests and being accountable to country.

## **5.2 Need for Vertical and Horizontal Coordination and Collaboration**

In many instances of deteriorating security because of conflicts and crimes, the weak analysis of security policies affects the creation of strategies that address both the root causes of insecurity and its manifesting symptoms. In essence, policing in Nigeria demands that security services engage in cooperative actions among themselves and with the different tiers of society to consolidate security. Failure to understand security or develop policing actions as a comprehensive process narrows opportunities for achieving substantial outcomes that will sustain social cohesion. The vertical and horizontal relationships need to be strengthened.

### **a. Evaluating Coordination and Collaboration for the State Security Agencies**

The state security agencies need to improve on their vertical relationship to harmonise their activities. This must start with a clarification of their duties to avoid duplication, which often causes clashes for superiority and inharmonious operations. Hence, rather than making integrated efforts and building capacities towards policing, mere rhetoric of the JTF, there should be evaluative mechanisms to assess how the different security services work complementarily rather than contradictorily and confrontationally while still implementing their mandates. Such an evaluation is important for improving policing approaches across society. An appropriate evaluation will also help effective conceptualisation of policing duties that are not duplicated. The demonstration of poise and an attitude of cooperation by security institutions are determinants for the type of support that they will enjoy from citizens. Integrated security services that are cooperative prevent citizens from inclining their support or interest towards particular security institutions over others or detesting all uniformed security operatives.

### **b. Regulation, Coordination and Collaboration of Security Actors for Collective Policing**

A comprehensively conceptualised policing and police projects should regulate and strengthen horizontal social relations and practices between the security agencies and citizens in conformity with societal norms and values and secure the citizens and communities. Hence, policing in Nigeria could be effective when it integrates surveillance, coordination and collaboration across uniformed forces and civilians to deal with factors that threaten their security. Through these methods, policing can be portrayed as a collective responsibility of members of society. However, while citizens have their roles in contributing to effective policing of society, legitimate security services, such as the police that are mandated to secure society, should

display attitudes and behaviours that allow citizens to trust them.

Therefore, the concept of policing in Nigeria should focus on a 'change model' – an approach that seeks to transform relationships between citizens and security services, promote collaboration and synergy towards solving complex policing challenges, increasing accessibility and delivery of security, managing changes related to environmental security and policing, and promoting mechanisms and infrastructures that support long-term security assessment and peace. Obeagu (2014) contended that policing is more effective when it is closest to the people who it should serve, that such closeness "can generate the police-citizen cooperation necessary for the involvement of the whole community in community protection." These claims reveal that one of the ways for policing to be effective in society is when it is implemented as a collaborative project between uniform and non-uniform populations. Increased trust between citizens and security services enables the creation and consolidation of the synergy needed to sustain effective policing and promotes a shift of policing from being too state-centric to citizen-focused.

### 5.3 Community Policing and Formalised Mandate

The challenge with policing and police failure on brutality and unprofessionalism, mostly linked to poor orientation, corruption and lack of patriotism, which are major issues around the world, continue to generate public discourse for police reform. The growing trend and acceptance of non-state (civilian, private and communal) security services are part of the reform options. Experience shows that non-state security services present the states with resources (like extra policing efforts and personnel, an opportunity for closeness for collaboration of information for effective policing etc.), which if properly regulated, can contribute significantly to reducing crime and

enhancing community safety. Thus, the recommendation for communal policing. However, instances abound of human rights abuses by members of non-state and its civilian security as with the state security. Given the communal policing positive resources, it requires appropriate mechanisms for regulation and oversight to ensure compliance with policing regulations and international best practices.

While these challenges can be best addressed 'as a process', community policing serves as a critical strategy for engaging a collaborative policing project. Structured and unstructured contributions to policing, therefore, require collaborative capacities that are coordinated to enable joint problem-solving of complex security issues. When the police and local populations partner creatively, the possibilities of reducing and preventing crime and promoting a climate of safety is high. The partnership becomes effective when there are trust and transformed perceptions about the agency of the police and citizens. When these changes occur, it becomes possible to pursue a comprehensive community policing agenda, which Djurdjevic-Lukic (2014) put under two complementary categories: community partnership and problem-solving.

The emphasis is that community policing should be viewed from three complementary components instead: i) acknowledging and accepting the distinctiveness of group agency (security and community), ii) formation and consolidation of partnerships and iii) engaging in collaborative problem-solving actions. These three core components will offer recognition and respect to the distinct and collective resources and roles that each actor contributes to police society. They will eliminate any form of identity or power asymmetry that exists among different actors and nurture a collective sense of responsibility toward securing/policing society.

Community policing in Nigeria, therefore, should not be considered as an alternative but a complement to the police's efforts through effective 'top-down' and 'bottom-up'

partnerships. A partnership between top actors of the security echelon and local communities is critical and remains pivotal to the success of policing in Nigeria.

The NPF has adopted community policing as a critical strategy for improving the safety of citizens and local communities (Zumve 2012), demonstrating a clear departure from the earlier 'reactive and incident-based policing' to a 'proactive problem-solving oriented model' (Kpae and Adishi 2017; Mulugeta and Mekuriaw 2017; Okeshola and Mudiare 2013). While the strategy is promoted to increase trust, partnership and joint problem-solving, implementing community policing strategies varies from one context to another. This variance occurs because of local demands and the peculiarity of the cultural structures and diversity in various contexts.

Nigerian traditional, CSOs' and religious leaders should constructively engage the leadership of the police at all levels to build and foster improved communication and relationships within their communities. The communities respect and trust their leaders more. The leaders can influence positive awareness and relationship between the police and their communities. Additionally, CSOs should step-up their work in conflict management, as a basis for institutionalising a community-based policing architecture in communities.

#### **5.4 Funds for Education, Reorientation, Recruitment, Equipment and Policing**

Part of the problems that effective collaboration between the population and the police can address are issues of poor funding for the development of the force to become sophisticated like its counterparts across the globe. Other outcomes that collaboration can help to address include capacity gaps (through training), logistics (including donation of patrol vehicles and police station maintenance), advocacies by CSOs to relevant central authorities for improved remuneration and

compensation of police officers and supply of basic stationery (such as pocketbooks). Also, the capacity building of police officers can mitigate the unprofessional attitudinal and behavioural conducts of police officers. Addressing these challenges that constitute clogs in the wheel of policing in Nigeria will enhance their performance and relationship with the public.

#### **6 Conclusions**

The concept of policing within any society hinges on the protection and defence of life and property while adopting proactive and reactionary strategies to ensure social order. While the police in Nigeria have a responsibility to ensure and uphold internal security within the country, the delivery of their actions is, expectedly, to be guided by legal frameworks that are binding within the country and internationally – that is, a structure appropriate for the country while following globally accepted best practices. This review reveals that while there is a constitutional mandate to policing, particularly concerning the protection of life and property, consolidating the mandate with the required resources continues to constitute a major bane of policing failure in Nigeria. The absence of these resources and the make-up of the police and policing strategies require attention; thus, the necessitation of the security sector reform. The emphasis around policing in Nigeria must transcend from rhetoric of protection and civilian defence to institutionalisation of practice. Also, while attempts to institutionalise effective practice are critical, it is important to assess how much emphasis is placed on the ethics of security delivery, both at the level of individual officers and the police as an institution.

Identifying and transforming unethical behaviours are the emphases placed on developing the cognitive and critical thinking competencies of the country's police officers. Often, most of the misbehaviour experienced in policing can be better understood when triangulated around the type of morale boost

that officers receive, the attitudinal and behavioural competence of police officers and their possession of the right human relation skills to engage civilians. When these issues are not thoroughly investigated and resolved, policing in Nigeria stands the risk of deteriorating further. Furthermore, institutionalising effective policing requires enforcing a deliberately coordinated and cooperative set of actions that mitigate the several institutional gaps that inhibit appropriate policing of people within Nigeria, while also fostering trust and constructive relationships among the citizens, inhabitants and various security agencies.

Policing in the country requires a hybridised structure with more emphasis placed on preventative actions. Hybridised policing requires the development of preventative and reactionary methods of policing. While the preventative is crucial for achieving more long-term peace and social cohesion, reactionary methods should be a last resort and should focus on adopting the highest level of ethics to prevent unnecessary civilian casualties. Preventative methods focus on detecting, assessing and developing adaptive mechanisms to prevent the escalation of threats into uncontrollable infernos. Prevention of insecurity, therefore, entails developing problem-solving models that are participatory and collaborative, adopting strategic and multi-level engagements to institutionalise effective policing across society.

### 6.1 Limitations

While the discourse does not necessarily trace the cause-effect causal relationship, discussing one cause borders on some other causes and effects. Further studies could investigate the causal relationship to find which of the causes when tackled could yield a greater virtuous cycle of positive result. Also, studies should seek if it is better to engage more people to work under the NPF to make up for the increasing need for security personnel and delegate duties for them under different departments or merely creating more different agencies.

### 6.2 Recommendations

Invariably, the discourse of the Policy Implications and Course for Feasible Policing and Police Reform in Section 5 charts the path to recommendations for effective policing and the NPF. The analysis re-establishes and adds to the need for reform of policing and the police in the country. As seen in the literature, several findings and recommendations point to the same causes of failure as well as the same effects of failure. This analysis distinguishes its approach by categorising the causes of failure. One of its distinguishing recommendations is the emphasised need to implement reform as the links between the causes-effects relationship, being a vicious circle, will go a long way in improving policing and the police in the country. Tackling each of the causes would have significant effects on some other causes.

The analysis recommends the need for the education of the people for the overall human development, which comprises security and democracy. It is a proper achievement of the goals of education that can bring overall human development, inculcate patriotism and the needed understanding to implement reforms. In essence, it is not that the country has lost touch with the problems of why it is failing in security but the willpower to do what is needed as pointed in Section 5. For instance, even some of the wealthy also commit crimes. So, it is not just about the poverty of wealth but as well as the poverty of mind and willpower to be accountable to mandates. A reform is workable and will improve policing and the police in the country.



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## About the Author

**Chris M A Kwaja**, PhD, is a Senior Lecturer and Researcher at the Centre for Peace and Security Studies (CPSS), Modibbo Adama University of Technology, Yola, Nigeria. Dr Kwaja lectured at the Centre for Conflict Management and Peace Studies, University of Jos, Jos, Nigeria. He is a Visiting Research Fellow with the Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD), Abuja, Nigeria, Global Fellow of the Centre for Human Rights and Humanitarian Studies at the Watson Institute of International Affairs, Brown University, United States and Senior Advisor at the United States Institute for Peace (USIP). He is the Chairperson-Rapporteur of the United Nations Working Group on Mercenaries. His research covers the politics of identity in Africa, governance, conflict and peace studies, and security sector reform.

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