



AFRICA'S GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT:
PERSPECTIVES FROM EMERGING COUNTRIES

Managing Contemporary Security Challenges in Nigeria

Edited by

Ali Arazeem Abdullahi ·
Usman A. Raheem · Jimoh Amzat ·
Kenneth C. Nwachukwu

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Africa's Global Engagement: Perspectives from Emerging Countries

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FOREWORD

There is nothing more timely to discuss at this crucial moment in Nigeria than conversation around the management of contemporary security challenges that the country is plugged into. The textbook identifies that insecurity has emerged as one of the most pressing and complex challenges facing the country today. As a nation with a rich tapestry of cultures, resources and diversity, Nigeria has great potential for prosperity and development. However, persistent security threats have hindered its progress, stalling economic growth, undermining social cohesion and causing untold suffering to its citizens.

This Foreword sets the stage for a comprehensive exploration of the multifaceted issue of insecurity in Nigeria. The aim is not only to understand the roots of this problem but also to examine viable strategies to tackle it. By shedding light on the various dimensions of insecurity and the efforts made by various stakeholders to address it, this work endeavours to contribute to the collective understanding of this critical subject-matter.

As for the established features, throughout this discourse, the contributors delve into some contemporary security issues in Nigeria; security agencies and the challenges of insecurity in Nigeria; International environment and insecurity in Nigeria; Intelligence gathering and insecurity; and De-radicalisation and rehabilitation of victims of insecurity. Moreover, this intellectual discourse does not only address the causes of insecurity

but also alienate the far-reaching consequences of it, as per the devastating impact on human lives, economic activities, education, health care and Nigeria's international image.

The core of this work, however, lies in exploring potential solutions. The Nigerian government, civil society organisations, security agencies, regional and international partners, and citizens have pivotal roles to play in the efforts to address insecurity. By analysing past and current initiatives, best practices, and the lessons learned from both successes and failures, the book hopes to pave the way for informed and effective strategies moving forward. The book acknowledges that the management of insecurity in Nigeria is a highly complex task, often intertwined with issues such as governance, corruption, poverty and social inequality. Therefore, any meaningful approach must be holistic, adaptive and driven by evidence-based rationalities.

Therefore, managing insecurity in Nigeria is a challenge that demands collective responsibility and concerted efforts from every stratum of society. It is our hope that this book will contribute to a deeper understanding of the issues that lurk around insecurity in Nigeria and inspire meaningful action towards a more secure, peaceful and united Nigeria. The textbook is considered a valuable text that could assist us strive for a future where every Nigerian can live without fear to fulfil their potential in a thriving nation.

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Centralised Police System and the Security Challenges in Nigeria: The Need for a State-Based Approach to Policing

Habeeb A. Salihu  and *Chinyere R. Agu*

INTRODUCTION

The Nigeria Police Force (NPF) is one of the prominent and long-standing government agencies that have evolved with the political instability and socio-economic changes in the country (Bakare & Aderinola, 2019). The NPF is the most viable government agency created to ensure public safety through continuous maintenance of law and order and the protection of lives and property. Like police institutions in other countries, the Nigeria Police is the lead law enforcement agency responsible for the prevention and detection of crime, the apprehension of offenders,

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effective application and practice of rule of law and due enforcement of all laws and regulations (see Section 214 Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 1999). Since its inception, the NPF has played a critical role in nation-building and performed remarkably well in safeguarding Nigerian communities. However, the increasing rate of criminal activities across the country and poor control measures adopted by the NPF, in recent years, have questioned the capability of the institution to perform its assigned roles and responsibilities (Odalonu, 2022).

The inability of the police to effectually address crime-related issues (including insecurity) has been attributed to the country's failing system of policing which has made it difficult for the NPF to keep pace with the changing patterns of crime in Nigeria and advancements in the contemporary global system of policing (Odumesi, 2014; Saidu et al., 2019). For instance, unlike before, when Nigeria's population was somewhat low and the crime rate was moderate, the police had to fight few crimes such as theft, armed robbery, political crises, students' riots and ethno-religious crises. However, today, with technological advancement and globalisation, Nigeria is confronted with multidimensional security threats, ranging from internet fraud to money laundering, terrorism, kidnapping for ransom, jailbreak and trafficking in drugs, weapons and human beings, among others. More than ever, police personnel are vulnerable to the risks of fighting these crimes in the face of deficient basic apparatuses and poor welfare packages (Ajaegbu, 2012; Hassan, 2012; Odumesi, 2014; Olofinbiyi, 2021).

Despite the commendable efforts of the government to standardise the Nigerian police through reforms, the abysmal performance of the institution remains the same under successive administrations (Agboga, 2021). Accordingly, the security problems in the country have worsened, as there are persistent attacks on communities which continued to claim lives and displace people from their homes (Omitola et al., 2021). This, coupled with the widespread police extrajudicial practices, further exposed the inadequacies of the Nigeria Police and intensified both local and international criticisms. On the whole, the rising insecurity in Nigeria, which appears to be the result of police inadequacies, has triggered intense disapproval of the present centralised system of policing and increased public clamour for a complete overhaul of the NPF to facilitate effective policing (Agboga, 2021).

While divergent approaches to tackle the inefficiency of the NPF have been proposed by security analysts, decentralisation of the present structure, where each state will operate a police institution to address local problems, appears to be the most preferred approach (Antom, 2021; Saidu et al., 2019). However, the federal authorities seem reluctant to initiate the appropriate procedure (such as a constitutional review) necessary to launch and implement state police. This, among other factors, has increased public reliance on informal security outfits such as local hunters and vigilante groups for protection and led to the creation of regional (or state) security networks such as Amotekun, Eastern Security Network, Hisbah and neighbourhood-watch groups in some states to police their communities (Nwoko, 2021; Onah et al., 2021). Unlike before, reports on the security situation in these states suggest a drastic decline in the activities of outlaws terrorising the local communities (Agboga, 2021).

Coming from this background, this chapter emphasises the need for the Nigerian authorities to take appropriate steps towards addressing the security problems in the country by considering a more inclusive approach to policing (state police) widely adopted in countries around the world. It highlights what the country stands to gain from allowing each state of the federation to own, control and manage its police institution. It identifies the possible implementation challenges and suggests areas of policy reform on how to initiate the procedure for the adoption and implementation of state police in Nigeria. The central argument is that a state police system will, to a large extent, address some of the crimes or security-related problems which the extant centralised police structure has not been able to achieve. This chapter adopts a desk research method with reliance on already existing data from published outlets such as books, journal articles, statute documents, institutional reports and online sources. These materials were broadly collated, reviewed and summarised for a comprehensive understanding of the subject matter, increased originality and effective implementation of the research.

THE COMPOSITION OF NIGERIA AND THE ROAD TO THE CONTEMPORARY POLICE SYSTEM

Prior to the invasion by the British colonialists and the creation of Nigeria, there were different ethnic groups that occupied the various communities, empires, caliphates and kingdoms in the areas now marked as Nigeria. These groups existed independently (though not without trading

relationships) with distinct and unique ways of life, including different social, economic, political, religious and legal systems (Salihu, 2020). The British colonialists took control of these areas around 1861. By 1914, the fervent greed to fully control and rule made the British to bring all the communities together and group them into two entities—notably the northern and southern protectorates, thereby bringing more than 500 ethnic groups, with diverse cultural and religious backgrounds, under one nation—Nigeria. This singular alteration does not only affect the psychological and social well-being of the people, but it also changed all the existing structures including the political, economic and legal systems (Akanji, 2021).

For example, prominent and self-governing emperors such as Oba Dosumu of Lagos and the Ogisos of the Benin Empire that had controlled and ruled their territories for centuries were placed under British district supervisors and mandated to take instructions from them. More importantly, the unimaginable demographic composition made the country to become one of the most complex and culturally diverse nations in the world (Bala, 2019). Moreover, the indigenous systems of social control and justice administration, which were largely a product of traditional and cultural practices enforced through the instituted mechanisms, were interrupted and later supplanted by the imposition of an adversarial method of justice administration through the formal criminal justice system (the police, courts and correctional service) (Salihu, 2020). For the first time in history (of the existence of these ethnic groups), people had to report crimes to the police and suspects were arrested, detained and arraigned in a court of law for adjudication and sentenced to prison, if pronounced guilty. These structural arrangements, retained till independence in 1960, largely shaped the foundation of Nigeria's democratic dispensation, administrative arrangement and the contemporary constitutional and legal system.

Today, due to the complexity of Nigeria, a federal system of government was adopted following independence. Under this arrangement, Nigeria is divided into three levels of government—federal, state and local governments. The purpose of this division was to create an all-inclusive government that will accommodate all ethnic groups, avoid any fear of ethnic domination and cater for local differences. The federal represents the central government that controls the affairs of the country within and outside. It oversees all public services categorised under the exclusive (and some aspects of the concurrent) purview. Governance at the federal unit

is coordinated at three levels—the executive, legislature and judiciary.¹ The state also has an executive governor, a legislature and a judiciary. All public services under the concurrent purview are in the domain of the state and the federal. The local government, on the other hand, is supervised under the control of an executive chairman and the subsidiary units. In addition to these divisions, all the states are administratively clustered into six geopolitical zones (Southern: South-West, South-South and South-East; North-West, North-East and North Central), basically to ease the process of governance and allocation of resources. Presently, Nigeria has thirty-six states, a Federal Capital Territory, and seven-hundred and seventy-four local government areas.

NATURE, STRUCTURE AND THE CHALLENGES OF THE NIGERIA POLICE FORCE (NPF)

To promote peace and national cohesion among all the ethnic groups across the geopolitical zones after independence, Nigeria adopted a centralised criminal justice system which reflects the colonial model. The agents of criminal justice (police, courts and corrections) have the jurisdiction to operate in all the regions, states and local governments in the country. The Nigeria Police, for instance, which today represents the national police and the lead law enforcement agency in the country, has exclusive powers to act and operate in the regions and states in the country (see Section 214 [1], Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 1999). Its emergence passed through different phases from the formation of the Hausa Constabulary between 1820 and 1879, the Lagos Police in 1896, the Niger Coast Constabulary (Calabar) in 1894 and the Royal Niger Company Constabulary in 1888. Next was the regionalisation of the Royal Niger Company Constabulary which became the Northern Nigeria Police and the Niger Coast Constabulary that later became the Southern Nigeria Police in the early 1900s. There was the merger of the northern and southern regional police forces in 1930 that formed the first national

¹ The executive unit is headed by an executive president who is the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The legislature is the National Assembly which consists of the upper and lower legislative chambers: the Senate and the House of Representatives, while the judiciary represents the court system. Similarly, there is an executive governor who heads the state and sees to all the executive roles; a legislative house-state house of assembly and judiciary.

police institution in the colony (Gholami & Salihu, 2018). Police during this period was a reactionary instrument of the state and the major duties of police officers were to suppress riots by the nationalists, oppress natives who challenged the authorities and maintain colonial interests—imperial annexation of resources and political domination with the use of violence (Saidu et al., 2019).

The NPF, as expressly outlined in the 1999 Constitution (as amended), is a paramilitary institution authorised to act exclusively as the national police with jurisdiction over all states in Nigeria. It is vested with the powers and responsibilities to maintain law and order, detect and investigate crime, process and prosecute criminal suspects and control and manage crime, among others (see Section 214, Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 1999; and CAP 359, Part II, Section 4 of the Police Act, Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 1990). To perform these mandates, able men and women are recruited into the force through the federal character principle. By virtue of this principle, all the ethnic groups (or states, including the Federal Capital Territory) in the federation shall be fairly represented in all public institutions and enterprises (see Section 4(1) of the Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 1996). In other words, all enlistments into the Nigerian public service should be conducted in a way that will give equal opportunities to all citizens of Nigeria, irrespective of gender, ethnicity, religion, status or political affiliation. In addition, all personnel recruited into the police shall be posted and prepared to serve in any part of the country.

The hierarchy of authority and command in the NPF flows from top to bottom. While the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria has the sole command over all the armed forces, including the police, the Inspector-General of Police, by law, is the Chief Police Officer in the NPF. Other hierarchies of authority in the force are the Deputy Inspector-General of Police (DIG), the Assistant Inspector-General of Police (AIG), the Commissioner of Police (in charge of state contingents), the Deputy Commissioner of Police (DCP), the Assistant Commissioner of Police (ACP), the Chief Superintendent of Police (CSP), the Superintendent of Police (SP), the Deputy Superintendent of Police (DSP), the Assistant Superintendent of Police (ASP) and the Inspector of police and Sergeant Major (see Section 215 (2) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria [as amended]; Nigeria Police Force, 2018).

Due to its centralised nature, the NPF is classified under the exclusive purview of the federal government of Nigeria. This implies that

the control, management and funding of the institution as well as recruitment and remuneration of personnel are in the domain of the central government; and that the President and the Chief Police Officer (Inspector-General) and anyone acting in their capacity have the power and mandate to command and/or order officers to carry out any duty. By implication, the police are not answerable to the state governors (and local government chairmen) who are considered the chief security officers of their states (Ibrahim et al., 2018). Thus, the governors have no power over police personnel serving in their states. They are answerable to the Commissioners of Police at the state level and the Inspector-General of Police and the President at the federal level (see Section 15, Law of the Federation of Nigeria, 1999). This, among other contending issues, has been the major challenge facing the centralised police system in Nigeria. In recent times, the issue of the control of police and its implications became more open with the rising rate of insecurity in the country. Governors in states that are vulnerable to insurgent attacks and violent activities of unidentified gunmen were helpless as the police seem to be overwhelmed and could not protect lives and properties (Nwoko, 2021).

Majorly, the abysmal performance of the NPF, particularly in fighting crime, protecting lives and properties and maintaining law and order, resulted from the inability of the central government to adequately fund the police and employ sufficient manpower that could be deployed to various states and local governments in the country (Gholami & Salihu, 2018). Presently, the Nigerian Police Force lacks basic facilities that will enhance and aid effective police operations in Nigeria (Salihu, 2019). For instance, most of the police posts do not have functional and equipped patrol vehicles, simple technologies such as drones to monitor inaccessible and dangerous areas, communication gadgets that can be used to call for backup, a computer system and Internet facilities to keep information and track suspected offenders (Gholami & Salihu, 2018). Also, the NPF lacks adequate, modern and sophisticated weapons to tackle the insecurity in Nigeria (Gholami & Salihu, 2018).

With regard to manpower, the actual number of police officers in Nigeria is not known, as there are no official figures available to the public. However, by all indications, it is obvious that the institution is suffering from inadequate manpower. By the United Nations' standard, it is recommended that the ratio of police to citizens should be 1:450. However, a report by Ripples Metrics Nigeria suggests that the reality in Nigeria is 1 Police Officer to 1110 citizens (Ibemere, 2022). If this

figure is accurate, it is practically impossible for the NPF to carry out its mandate. It is apparent that the central government of Nigeria is overburdened with too many responsibilities in the face of a shortfall in revenue which is often drained by corruption, thereby making it challenging to fund most of the public services. As a result, there is a continuous poor police response to distress calls and emergencies and a generally poor performance in terms of control and management of crimes (Agboga, 2021).

Another challenge hindering the operations of the police in Nigeria, which stakeholders seem to have overlooked, perhaps due to the purpose it was meant to serve, is the posting policy adopted by the NPF. To promote and ensure integration among the ethnic groups, the policy stipulates that every officer shall be posted to serve in any community in Nigeria (Gholami & Salihu, 2018). A number of scholars have emphasised the fact that many of the officers posted to serve outside their states or regions face problems such as language barriers, understanding of and adapting to the local culture and religion, and lack of familiarity with the environment and difficulty in navigating the terrain (Ibrahim et al., 2018). Consequently, they could not cope and eventually abandoned their responsibilities. Some of them even ran foul of the local standards (Nte, 2011).

While most of the problems facing the NPF are structural, scholars have also identified several ways by which police personnel have contributed to the challenge. For example, the activities of the personnel of the NPF, particularly the operational or rank and file officers, are characterised by extrajudicial practices in the process of enforcing the law and administering justice (Salihu, 2019). Police officers in Nigerian communities are known for various misconducts, including assault on innocent citizens, arbitrary arrests and detention of people without bail and trial opportunity (Nte, 2011). They are also known for taking and soliciting bribes, manipulating investigation, altering and misplacing evidence and unjustified killing of unarmed criminal suspects (Salihu & Fawole, 2020). All of these have strained the relationship between the police and the public. Consequently, people have lost trust and confidence in the police and, as result, withhold vital intelligence from them. Rather than reporting crimes, they resort to violent measures such as jungle justice (Salihu & Gholami, 2018).

POLICE REFORMS AND DECENTRALISATION

Following independence in 1960, successive administrations in Nigeria, from the first generation of leaders to the military rulers, introduced several measures to resolve the lingering challenges of the NPF and the criminal justice system as a whole. However, these reforms were not fruitful due to the incessant military coups (Baker, 2018). The return of democracy in 1999 also came with major reforms aimed at reviving and professionalising the NPF to ensure effective and productive policing. A number of progressive approaches made were in the form of legal, administrative and welfare policies that sought to re-organise the institution and re-orientate police officers to ensure strict adherence to rightly enforcing the law and providing better welfare for the police (Agboga, 2021). In spite of all these efforts, the challenges keep escalating, perhaps due to wrong policies or deficient implementation of the policies, inability to identify the problems and proffer practicable solutions or embedded corruption among police administrators (Bakare & Aderinola, 2019). The effects of these are evident in the increased police inadequacies that have intensified the rising rate of unabated abduction of citizens for ransom, violent attacks on communities by Boko Haram jihadists and armed Fulani-herders, cattle rustling by unidentified armed assailants, vandalism of government installations and unjustified killings across the country (Bakare & Aderinola, 2019). All these, in effect, have earned the NPF a notable position among the worst police forces in the world (see World Internal Security & Police Index by the International Police Science Association, 2016).

Consequently, the centralised policing system has come under intense attacks and condemnation from within and outside the country. In particular, the 2020 public outburst against police brutality (tagged EndSARS) is a major indication that the public is tired of and clamouring for a complete overhaul of the police institution in Nigeria (Ojedokun et al., 2021). It is, therefore, no longer a secret that the lingering security problems are beyond the present centralised system of policing. Hence, some states in the southern geopolitical zones, particularly the south-west and south-east, teamed up and formed regional police departments notably the *Amotekun* and the Eastern Security Network codenamed *Ebubeagu*, to safeguard their states. The operatives of these outfits operate mainly in remote and vulnerable rural communities. So far, assessment reports of this regional police are reassuring, though not without some

challenges (Nwoko, 2021). However, their capability in intelligence gathering, which has resulted in the arrest of some suspected outlaws and a drastic reduction in violent attacks in some areas, has increased the calls for the decentralisation of the NPF. There is continued public agitation against the extant centralised policing system and support for the creation of a state-based police system.

The demand for a shift from the present-day pattern of policing in Nigeria, as some analysts have argued, is not to discredit and/or completely discard the NPF as the national police force, but rather to allow each state to find a way to address the problems of crime and insecurity from within (Antom, 2021). Based on this standpoint, this chapter aligns with the public call for the decentralisation of the NPF and reinforces the need to allow states in Nigeria to own, control and manage police institutions. Doing this will not only allow states to address their peculiar security problems without seeking assistance from the central government but also bring the police closer to the people and involve the locals in policing themselves. The next section presents a brief explanation of what state police means, within the context of this chapter, and establishes the possible impacts it will have on policing and addressing security challenges in Nigeria.

STATE POLICE AND ITS EFFICACY IN NIGERIAN STATES

State police in contemporary societies is primarily referred to as the law enforcement department established by the legislation of a state (rather than the central or subdivisional regions) to defend the sovereignty of its territory and safeguard the general welfare of its citizens against any elements that may endanger life and property (Grassi et al., 2018). It is a sub-national system of policing where the police institution at the state level is different from that at the federal in terms of control, management, financing and operations (Lederman, 2021). The state police is a well-organised, tactical and highly trained police institution, created and controlled by a state government rather than federal or the local authority to prevent, control and manage crime, apprehend and process criminal suspects or anyone that poses a threat to the public, and safeguard citizens' welfare by protecting lives and properties and upholding law and order all over the state (Grassi et al., 2018). Generally, the state-owned police institutions are organised. Their personnel are trained to use both civil and military methods. In other words, agents of state police have

the ability to adopt both civil and military approaches, depending on the situation being handled (Drew & Martin, 2021). Unlike the federal or central police, recruitment into state police is strictly reserved for the citizens of the state and non-citizens who have acquired residential status. The selection process for the force is usually open but strict; this is to ensure transparency, eliminate favouritism and political considerations and employ individuals with the required talent and physical and moral qualifications (Lederman, 2021).

State policing adopts different strategies to involve the public and residents in local communities in the process of enforcing the law and safeguarding their environments. These include engaging stakeholders in communities, having regular meetings with the people to better understand their needs and identify their fears, regular sensitisation of the public and feedback and the building of police stations in residential neighbourhoods within the reach of the locals (Lederman, 2021). Through these, officers can create cordial relationships and partnerships with the locals. The public, in turn, cooperates with officers in their localities and provides them with vital intelligence (Drew & Martin, 2021). State policing is successfully being operated on countries such as the US and Canada, where the police protects lives and properties and maintains law and order. Evidence suggests that the establishment of state police in these countries resulted from several factors including the high rate of crime that intensified the need for an inclusive policing system and demand better police protection (Griffin & Sun, 2018). Through the adoption of state police, these countries have been able to bring police and policing closer to the local communities, address certain problems that are peculiar to some states and communities and promote good and functional police-public relations (Drew & Martin, 2021). Specifically, state police was introduced in Pennsylvania state as a result of the inability of the traditional police to deal with local criminal elements, unabated increase in automobile crimes, theft and traffic violation, and the reluctance of urban authorities to reform the metropolitan police departments (Norrick, 2005). Empirical evidence shows that the state has been able to manage and control local theft, gang violence and armed robbery (Norrick, 2005).

From the foregoing, it will not be out of place to suggest that a state police system is indispensable for a heterogeneous country like Nigeria that runs a federal system of governance and where the extant centralised policing system is ineffective. The adoption of a state police system, as demonstrated in the United States of America, will provide the various

states in Nigeria with the statutory right to respond to the security needs of the people and provide adequate protection within the shortest period. Relatively, the practice of state police in Nigeria would have the following implications. It will make police and policing effective and efficient. It will bring the police and policing closer to the people and recruit and deploy police officers who are from the state and who understand the culture, language, terrain and peculiar security challenges in the areas. It will also enhance a cordial police-public relationship and promote intelligence gathering and will effectively fight crime and promote a safer community.

It is clear from the foregoing that a state policing system will go a long way in addressing some of the major challenges facing Nigeria. Its adoption will specifically address such issues as the cultural and language barrier among the state police personnel, unfamiliar environment as officers will now serve within their cultural or ethnic domains and eradicate the issue of extrajudicial practices. However, its implementation will not come so easy and possibly some challenges may be encountered. Such challenges may include funding, as some states are not financially buoyant enough to manage such a huge institution, politicisation of police ranks and operations, and the use of police as agents of oppression. Nonetheless, the practice of state police is feasible in Nigeria if the measures discussed in the next section of the chapter are adequately implemented.

CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter examines the possibility of the adoption of state policing in Nigeria as a model that will address most of the lingering challenges facing the integrated policing system. It argues that the extant system is defective due to certain salient and unaddressed issues including the multi-ethnic nature of Nigeria, police structure and policy concerning the posting of officers and poor funding of the institution. All these have hindered effective police operations in Nigerian communities. Consequently, there is an increasing rate of crime and criminality that have caused a serious threat to the sovereignty of the Nigerian state. Hence, there is a need to reconsider a paradigm shift in the extant system to a decentralised and more inclusive policing system. It is important to note, however, that this chapter does not recommend a complete dissolution of the NPF. The national or central government should maintain the NPF for special purposes such as providing escorts for government officials at the federal

level and engaging in foreign assignments, securing government institutions—building and installations across the country—and deployment for national emergencies in the six geopolitical regions of the country.

Therefore, this chapter recommends what the authors termed ‘a *four-step approach*’ that incorporates public *orientation, deliberation, referendum and implementation* for the effective adoption and operation of state police in Nigeria. This approach should be carried out in all the federal constituencies in Nigeria and the national and state legislative houses (senate, national house of representative and state assemblies). In other words, the parliamentarians should be the main drivers that will steer the process and implement the outcome. First, there is a need to engage and orientate the public about the reasons behind the persistent security challenges facing the country and how the extant centralised police system has (directly or indirectly) contributed to the inability of the Nigerian authorities to address the problems. Also, people should be enlightened on the issue of decentralisation of the NPF and the adoption of a state police system where each state is allowed to own and control a police institution. The purpose of state police and its benefits will result in the resolution of the lingering security problems. The possible challenges that may result therefrom should also be highlighted. The orientation should take place in the media (both electronic and print), in public places and all communities (rural, semi-urban, shanty and metropolitan) in Nigeria. The National Orientation Agency (NOA) and the Nigeria Television of Authority can be used for the publicity of these programmes.

Following the orientation, public or town hall meetings across all the federal constituencies (and possibly in all the political wards) in Nigeria should be organised. This is to allow people to share their views on whether states should be allowed to own and control a police institution. The public deliberation will help stakeholders to recognise the position of each community on the issue, identify peculiar challenges some communities are presently facing or may face if state police is adopted and have numerous opinions that may shape policy formulation. Subsequently, a public referendum should be conducted in all the political wards in Nigeria. This will allow the stakeholders gauge peoples’ views and accentuate the general standpoint on the issue and act accordingly on the outcome of the poll. Doing these will have the following implications: the public will have a sense of belonging and responsibility in taking part in decisions or policy design on issues that concern them, the integrity of their representatives (senators and honourable lawmakers) will

be strengthened, and the authorities will have public support in the implementation and operation (if the poll's outcome is favourable) of state police.

The outcome of the referendum will then lead to the fourth stage—implementation. It is expected to form the basis for a constitutional review by the national and state assemblies. The responsibility of the federal legislative houses at this stage will be to take appropriate steps to amend the sections concerning the NPF in the constitution, move police-related matters from the federal exclusive list to the concurrent or residual list (as the case may be) and provide guidelines for the creation and operation of state police in the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Afterwards, the state legislative houses of assembly should come up with legislation that will formalise and authorise the creation of a State Police Force and State Police Commission in each state. The responsibility of the State Police Commission should cover areas such as the selection of officers into the various defined ranks and affairs of officers including recruitment, (re)training, deployment, promotion and remuneration and rewards and sanctions. The activities of the Commission should be under the supervision of a State Police Board. Members of this Board should include the head of the police, the head of the state judiciary, notable traditional and religious leaders in all the local governments, a youth representative, a representative of civil society organisations and a representative of the state legislative house. The Board should be chaired by a prominent traditional or religious leader.

Additionally, the state legislatures should provide administrative guidelines or principles that will shape the operations of the Board and the Commission as a whole. The guidelines should also reflect the peculiarities of each state and the structure of state police, particularly in the following areas:

- Police independence: The state legislature should enact laws that will strengthen the police institution to function effectively and allow it to operate without undue influence by the executive or other arms of the government.
- Structure, roles and operations: The provision of the law and the guidelines should indicate how the institution will be structured in terms of divisions, ranks, line of operation and duties.

- Personnel welfare (in the area of recruitment, training, promotion and remuneration). A clear terms of reference on the recruitment procedure, the nature of training and retraining of personnel, promotion requirements and remuneration should be provided in the guideline. Also, a reward for extraordinary performance and sanctions for any infractions should be defined. More importantly, insurance policy and compensation for retired officers and any officer who suffers (temporary or permanent) injuries and those who lost their lives in the line of duty should be part of the provisions.
- A major problem that states are likely to encounter is funding. This is because some states cannot afford the huge amount of money required to finance and make a police institution function effectively due to the low-level and/or poor methods of generating internal revenue, debt profile and servicing, excessive spending on governance and, above all, mismanagement of state funds. To address the issue of funds, the state legislative assemblies and the executive governors should devise novel methods to generate income internally from individual, private businesses and corporate organisations and other taxable components of the economy in all the local government areas in the states. This can be done by creating a state revenue body that will handle all the methods of revenue generation designed by the government. To ensure transparency, accountability and efficiency, this body should operate under the supervision of the state judiciary. In addition, the three arms of government in the states (the executive, legislature and judiciary) should jointly come up with a better approach to block all the loopholes that allow unnecessary leakages of public funds in the state ministries and parastatal. Also, the cost of governance should be reduced at the state level. Through these, generated revenues and state funds will be effectively managed and channelled to appropriate sectors such as the police. Finally, states can also seek support and intervention (particularly donation of essential equipment) from corporate bodies, philanthropists, international organisations and the federal government to augment the available resources. It is hoped that effective implementation of these recommendations would make police and policing effective and efficient in Nigerian states.

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