

**POLICING STRUCTURE AND INSECURITY IN NIGERIA'S
FEDERAL SYSTEM**

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CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this study was carried out by ODEYEM Temitayo Isaac of the Department of Political Science under my supervision and has been approved as meeting part of the requirements for the award of Master of Science (MSc.) Degree in Political Science of the Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria.

Professor A Sat Ohiyan
Supervisor & Head of Department

Date

DEDICATION

To God, the Chief Potter of my destiny. In His hands, I remain a work-in-progress. And to the memory of the late Prince Adetunji Adegbohunge (General Secretary at *Ilegans Alumni*, Club 56-60), a wonderful creature who taught me to pursue a life of selfless service and integrity at all times; and never get tired of advancing new ways of getting things done in manners that do not compromise forthrightness, respect and submission to constituted authorities. May your blessed soul rest in peace.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AI	-	Amnesty International
AI G	-	Assistant Inspector General
APC	-	All Progressives Congress
APC	-	Arewa Peoples Congress
BCA	-	Business Council of Australia
CNP	-	Concerned Northern Professionals
CP	-	Commissioner of Police
CPI	-	Community Policing Initiatives
DI G	-	Deputy Inspector General
DPO	-	Divisional Police Officer
EFCC	-	Economic and Financial Crimes Commission
FRSC	-	Federal Road Safety Commission
GI	-	Global Integrity
GPI	-	Global Peace Index
GII	-	Global Terrorism Index
HR W	-	Human Rights Watch
ICPC	-	Independent Corrupt Practices and other related Offences Commission
IEP	-	Institute of Economics and Peace
IGP	-	Inspector General of Police
IGSR	-	Institute of Governance and Social Research
IAG	-	Ibrahim Index of African Governance
IPS	-	Indian Police Service
KAI	-	Kick Against Indiscipline
LASTMA	-	Lagos State Transport Management Authority

LGPF	-	Local Government Police Forces
MASSOB	-	Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra
MEND	-	Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta
NAPEP	-	National Poverty Eradication Programme
NAPTIP	-	National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons
NAPF	-	Native Authority Police Forces
NDIC	-	National Deposit Insurance Corporation
NDLEA	-	National Drug Law Enforcement Agency
NGF	-	Nigeria Governors' Forum
NBA	-	Nigerian Bar Association
NOPRI N	-	Network on Police Reforms in Nigeria
NPF	-	Nigeria Police Force
NSA	-	National Security Adviser
OPC	-	Oodua Peoples Congress
PDP	-	Peoples Democratic Party
POP	-	Problem Oriented Policing
PSC	-	Police Service Commission
RCMP	-	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
RMAFC	-	Revenue Mobilisation, Allocation and Fiscal Commission
RMP	-	Royal Malaysian Police
SSS	-	State Security Service
TI	-	Transparency International
USCIRF	-	United States Commission on International Religious Freedom
UBE	-	Universal Basic Education
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme



- UNICEF - United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
- WEF - World Economic Forum

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ABSTRACT

This study appraised the nature of centralised policing in Nigeria's federal system and ascertained the effect of ethno-cultural and religious diversities on insecurity in the country. It also examined the dispute between levels of government over control of the police as well as its possible influence on insecurity, and determined the prospects of a noncentralised policing system in Nigeria. These were with a view to providing information on police reforms that could enhance law and order maintenance as well as crime fighting in a federal system like Nigeria.

The study made use of primary and secondary sources of data collection. Primary data were sourced from twenty-one respondents purposively selected for semi-structured interviews from the academia, political actors and security personnel. These selections were based on geo-political spread as well as expertise, knowledge of, and involvement in issues relating to policing security and the federal system. Three senior academics each were selected from the Peace and Conflict Studies programme of the University of Ibadan, Department of Political Science and Administrative Studies of the University of Port Harcourt and the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies, Kuru, Jos. The selection also included five serving or retired senior security officials from among the nation's pool of security personnel. The remaining six respondents were selected from relevant past and present political office holders across different levels of government. Tape recorder device was used and note-taking utilised as back up during the interview. Secondary data were sourced from books, journals, the Internet, magazines, government publications, publications by organisations and newspapers. Data collected were analysed using descriptive and content analyses.

The results showed that the politicisation of ethno-religious differences by the political class, perpetual state incapacity and the struggle for socio-economic and political resources by various groups triggered violent conflicts and insecurity. The results also showed that personalisation of political offices to attain political objectives by political actors, especially political office holders, had often times resulted into unending controversies that heated up the polity, thus precipitating or exacerbating insecurity. The results further revealed that centralised police had not been effective in Nigeria due mainly to factors internal and external to the police and less on ownership. Finally, the results affirmed that for factors that are political, economic, operational, psycho-social and societal, state police would not address Nigeria's security crisis.

The study concluded that a Police Force imbued with strict adherence to professionalism, reduced political influence and control, and less emphasis on political ownership, was important in enhancing law and order maintenance in Nigeria.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The nature, unique characteristics and features of a society determine its choice of a particular structure of government. Thus, societies have experienced diverse forms of government. The global system has witnessed different governing structures; federal, unitary, confederal arrangements and a hybrid of these in varying degrees. While societies such as the United Kingdom have evolved an enduring unitary system founded on centralised authority, other liberal democracies such as the United States of America and Switzerland have provided templates for federal systems of government with noncentralised powers (Grigsby, 2012; Heywood, 2011). The structure adopted across different political systems, in turn, determines how governmental responsibilities, such as policing and security of lives and property, are carried out.

The structure adopted by any society depends largely on its historical and socio-political peculiarities; and how homogenous, heterogeneous, fused or fragmented such a society is. Thus, while a society with a bonded socio-cultural background would appear to suit a movement towards centralisation, a more fragmented society with cleavages in socio-political orientation is likely to prefer a noncentralised model where governmental powers are shared. While the former represents a bias towards a unitary system of government, the latter is associated with federalism. Indeed, in advancing reason for the spread of the federal model across the world, Watts (1999) notes that:

The desire for smaller, self-governing political units has risen from the desire to make governments more responsive to the individual citizen and to give

expression to primary group attachments – linguistic and cultural ties, religious connections, historical traditions and social practices – which provide the distinctive basis for a community's sense of identity and yearning for self-determination (Watts, 1999: 4)

In light of the foregoing there are about twenty-five federations in the world, featuring 40 % of global population (Anderson, 2008). Out of this, Ethiopia and Nigeria are in Africa (Dickovick, 2012). Nigeria, with its geographic and demographic size as well as the plurality of ethnic, religious, cultural and linguistic composition, naturally features in the list of countries adopting the federal system and is the longest standing federal experiment in Africa (Burgess, 2012). With an estimated population of over 170 million people (Ogunjuyigbe, 2015), Nigeria is made up of over 400 ethnic groups inhabiting an area of 913,072.64 Square Kilometres (Ountokun, 1979).

The country's route towards federalism took its root in the colonial act of 1914 which amalgamated hitherto separate protectorates of the North and South. This was bolstered by the division of the country into three regions of North, West and East under the 1946 Richards Constitution. The Macpherson Constitution of 1951 strengthened this arrangement with the establishment of legislative and executive councils in the regions. The Lyttleton Constitution of 1954 established a federal state with shared governmental powers. In addition to providing for removal of powers of intervention by the central government, the constitution granted substantial autonomy to the regions in some matters including establishment of regional civil service and judicial system. A supreme court was established to handle constitutional conflicts that might arise between the central and regional governments (Ali, 2003; Gana, 2003; Obiyan, 2010; Osadolor, 1998).

The federal system was consolidated further at independence in 1960 when Nigeria was declared a federation with regional arrangements in line with the three major ethnic groups.

After independence, the constitution retained federalism but with modifications. The structure at various times was made to undergo changes in the number of units composing it; namely from two structural units in 1914, to the three federating units in 1946. In 1963, the federating units were increased to four with the creation of the Mid-Western Region. The military governments further fragmented the second tier of government into 12 in 1967, 19 in 1976, 21 in 1987, 30 in 1991, and to 36 in 1996. A third tier of government in the form of a uniform local government system also exists with the number also increasing in tandem with increase in the number of the second tier. The current figure stands at 774 (FRN, 1999; Obiyan, 2013).

As with the federal idea, enunciated by scholars who have written on federal theory and praxis, Nigerian federalism has experienced variations in power relations between the levels of government. The legislative lists in the constitution define these relations. The central government has an exclusive preserve of powers on matters in the exclusive list while it shares responsibilities with the federating units on matters contained in the concurrent legislative list (FRN 1999; Obasanjo, 1989). While there is no single formula for determining the appropriate allocation of powers in federations, Nigeria has experienced issues and controversies among the different levels of government on different aspects of legislation. An important aspect where this controversy has become a commonplace among scholars and in discourses is the area of law enforcement and security within the polity or, simply put, policing functions and the control of the country's police force (Adekanye 2011).

Enforcement of laws, crime fighting and security of lives and property have always been crucial aspects of human societies. The importance of security dominates the philosophy of Thomas Hobbes in his work on the need to quit the state of nature. Hobbes describes the life of an individual in the unsecured state of nature as “solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short” (cf.

Heywood, 2004: 66). Arising from the fallout of the “state of nature” is the need to establish a State to take up the responsibility of providing security for the citizens with a view to ensuring the preservation, safety and growth of the society (Taylor, 2013). Thus, security of lives and property is the premier function of any state. Indeed, Section 14 (2) (b) of the 1999 Nigerian Constitution (as amended) states that “the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of