



Critical Assessment of the Nigeria Police and National Security in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

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Abstract: *The study focused on critical assessment of the Nigeria police and national security in Nigeria's fourth Republic. Specifically, the paper examined the constitutional role of the police as an important agency of the state that plays a key role in the enhancement of national security. No doubt, the Nigeria police Force in several instances have been playing some roles that have been contributing to national security in Nigeria. Over the years however, the unwholesome activities of some men of the police command have continued to leave sad memories in the mind of the people. Against this background, the paper examined some of the activities of the Police command that have constituted serious threats to Nigeria's national security in the Fourth Republic. The paper employed qualitative method through the use of secondary (library) and primary (interview) sources of data collection. The data were descriptively analyzed through detailed information gathered from documentary sources and interviews. The Marxian approach to the theory of post colonial state in Africa was found suitable in the analysis. The paper finds that despite current reforms to rightly reposition and refocus the Nigeria Police Force, some members of the command have continued to indulge in acts that have continued to constitute serious threats to national security in Nigeria. The study recommended among others; better equipping of the Nigeria police and adherence to professionalism by officers and men of the police command.*

Keywords: *Nigeria Police, National security, Corruption, Sabotage, Professionalism.*

1. INTRODUCTION

The word, "police" was derived from the Greek word "polis". Originally, policing was noted to be a non-ecclesiastical function just like health delivery, safety, law and order, service administration among others (Barnabas, 2013). The Greek word "politeria and Roman word, "politia combined to mean police. These words therefore denote the art of governing as well as regulation of the welfare, security needs, peace and order of the society for the interest of the general public. Modern police system originated from Greece but the Romans actually modernized it (Whitaker, 1979). The police occupies a pivotal position in the enhancement of the national security of every nation. Constitutionally, the police sees to the maintenance of peace, order and security of the state. In addition, the police is also duty bound to protect the lives and property of the citizens. As an arm of the executive, the police is the para-military agency of the state that relates better and closer with the grassroot. The closer relation the civil society is expected to enjoy with the police is to enhance national security as well as ensuring effective policing of the society and nation.

The Nigeria police was a colonial creation. The British created the police first as bodyguards and second as an instrument of suppressing the natives and maintenance of public order. The pre-colonial era in Nigeria saw the various kingdoms of Hausa-Fulani, the Yoruba and the Igbo establish what was known as body guards that were given various names in the various kingdoms. The formal establishment of the police in Nigeria came in 1861 following the recommendation of a 30 member consular guard under the control of the then Governor of British West Africa. The formation of the guards was necessitated by the need to protect the British trade and business interest and forestall conflicts between the native chiefs and the imperial merchants (Cromwell, 1978). Later in 1861, the Governor of Lagos by name, McCoskry got permission to set up the first Police Force for Lagos called the Hausa Constabulary which was made up of thirty men. Other administrative arrangements saw to the establishment of the Constabulary of Lagos in 1879 and the appointment of the first commissioner of police in 1896 (Adegoke, 2014).

For the protection of the British trade interest along the River Niger, the royal Niger Constabulary was set up in 1886 by the Royal Niger Company to cover the Northern territories. The Royal Niger Constabulary got disbanded in 1900 into the northern Nigeria police Force which covered the colony and police Force regiment for the protectorate. Later, the police Force of Southern Nigeria emerged from that of the colony. Following the amalgamation of 1914, two separate police formations were set up for both Southern and Northern Nigeria on 1st April 1930, the Nigeria Police Force was formally put in place with headquarters in Lagos. The first Inspector General of Police for Nigeria was C.W. Duncan. Throughout the colonial period, the police was used by the colonial authorities to fulfill their colonial commercial and strategic interests against the colonized in the colony and protectorates (Odikalu, 2004).

At independence, the Nigeria Police Force was first regionalized and later nationalized. Generally, the police was charged with the responsibility of seeing to internal security as well as complementing the efforts of the other para-military agencies such as; the prisons, immigration, custom services and the performance of some level of military duties within and outside the country as circumstances required (Barnabas, 2013). For instance, Section 4 of the Police Act of 1967 provided thus:

The police shall be employed for the prevention and detection of crime; the apprehension of offenders; preservation of law and order; the protection of life and property and the due enforcement of all laws and regulations with which they are directly charged and shall perform such military duties within and outside Nigeria as may be required of them by, or under the authority of this or any other Act (Cromwell, 1978:25).

The Nigeria police has continued to maintain the foundation of force and total allegiance to the state as inherited from colonialism. In contemporary Nigeria, there has continued to be growing insecurity and threats to national security. Recorded internal threats to national security in Nigeria include; ethnic or violent regional agitations, militant or sectarian crises, Boko Haram insurgency, herdsmen vs farmers clashes/killings, suicide bombing, ethno-religious crises, kidnapping, armed robbery, extra-judicial killings among others. Despite huge budgetary allocations for internal defence in recent years, the Nigeria police has hardly had much to show for that. The wide gap that has continued to exist between the Nigeria police which is essentially been controlled by the Federal Government and the effective policing of the nation has heightened the call for the establishment of state police in Nigeria (Odeh & Umoh, 2013).

Thus, Nigeria has continued to receive a low ranking by Global Peace Index (GPI. 2012) due to the high level of internal threats to national security being recorded in several parts of the country (Achumba, Ighomereho & Akpor-Robaro, 2013). The recent years, especially Nigeria's Fourth Republic, has been recording more of these security challenges. The effective containing of these threats has therefore remained a major challenge to the Nigeria police and other security agencies. Some scholars such as Nwaze (2011) accede to the fact that much more blood have been shed in Nigeria since the restoration of democratic rule on May 29, 1999, than any other time in Nigeria's history.

A major responsibility of the state is the protection and security of lives and property of the citizens. This role is fundamental even in Nigeria where the 1999 Constitution made it explicit that "the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of the government" (Section 14(2) (b)). The Constitution has therefore empowered the Nigeria police with the onerous duty of detecting and preventing crime, preserving existing peace and order and seeing to the enforcement of all laws and regulations pertaining to this (Adegoke, 2014).

One fundamental purpose for the creation of the police is the maintenance of national security. Generally, security is fundamental to every nation's survival in the sense that it helps forestall lawlessness, chaotic situations and possible disintegration of the entire system (Adegoke, 2014). Security therefore, denotes a dynamic condition of safety as well as the relative ability of a state to take all necessary measures to counter threats against her core values and interests (Umede, 2011). A nation's security is usually based on two assumptions which include; the concerted efforts towards the maintenance and protection of a nation's socio-economic foundation in the midst of internal threat as well as the promotion of the desired order with the aim of addressing the threat to the nation's core values and interests in addition to the domestic order (McGrew, 1980).

Although a good number of factors have crippled the effectiveness of the Nigeria police in enhancing national security in recent times, some members of the Police Force have also constituted a cog in the

wheel of progress of the Nigeria police. Thus, the police on several instances has hardly lived up to their constitutional obligation to defend the course of justice; fight crimes and protect citizens life and property in an unbiased, and non-partisan manner; maintain integrity and enhance overall national security.

Consequently, in view of the persistent challenges and threats to national security in Nigeria being perpetrated by some men and officers of the police command despite several efforts put in place to promote professionalism in the police Force. This paper therefore focused on the critical assessment of the Nigeria police and national security in Nigeria.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is anchored on the Marxian approach to the theory of the post-colonial state in Africa. Scholars such as Alavi (1972), Ake (1981), Eke (1986) and Jakuboski (1973), at various times applied this theory in their analyses. Simply stated, post-colonial states are also known as comprador, rent seeking, and developmental states. They are mainly those states that emerged in Africa out of the process of decolonization especially after the World War II.

Thus, most post colonial states in Africa including Nigeria manifest some of the features of weak states in view of the weakness of some state institutions and agencies to effectively perform those functions for which they were set up. Besides, some of the state agencies such as the police Force still exhibit some primordial loyalty and unnecessary sentiments in the discharge of their functions. In the view of this theory, the ruling class of the modern capitalist state usually device several means through the various state apparatus to perpetuate themselves in power and pursue vested interests peculiar to their class.

Aside having limited autonomy as a major character (Ake, 1985), the post colonial state in Africa is also constituted in such a way that it reflects and protects specific and narrow individual interests. The interests being referred to here are basically the interest of the greedy political and economic elites that control, influence and dominate societal politics and law (Odigbo, 2015). Furthermore, Marxist scholars generally hold the view that in every capitalists state, state institutions and agencies such as the police, bureaucracy, prisons, the judiciary among others only serve the interest of the bourgeois class instead of reflecting the public good (Aja, 1997).

Given the fact that Nigeria is a post colonial state, where there have been the persistence of primitive accumulation of wealth by some managers of state affairs and manifestation of some level of impurity by some Government agencies. The study contends that some actions and inactions of some members of the Nigeria police Force have continued to constitute threats to national security in Nigeria.

2.1. Application of the Theory to the Study

Applying the Marxian approach to the theory of post colonial state of Africa to this study, the fact remains that Nigeria up till the fourth republic has continued to manifest some of the features of weak states. For instance, there has continued to be misappropriation and embezzlement of public funds especially the ones meant for the equipping of public agencies such as the police Force. In addition, the state in most post colonial states such as Nigeria has continued to assume an "Omnipotent status" in the sense that some overzealous leaders often manipulate some state agencies that are supposed to serve the public good and convert such to fulfill personal or regime objectives. A clear case in Nigeria has been the incessant use of the police in certain quarters and by certain authorities to illegally arrest, harass, intimidate and carry out other forms of unwholesome acts against perceived opponents of the state or the ruling party in order to actualize some political, party, economic and other selfish intentions.

2.2. Functions of the Nigerian Police

Professor Eke aptly described the Nigeria police as one of the migrated "social structures the British bequeathed to Nigeria just like the prisons, political parties, civil service, the military, etc" (Nwakanma & Amugo, 2018). Due to the hang-over of colonial mentality, these structures have not actually been domesticated to the extent that the Eurocentric orientation earlier inherited has continued to affect their overall performance. Aina (2014) contended that the duties of the Nigeria police are stationary and that the police owe these duties to Nigerians as well as other individuals legally domiciled in Nigeria. In the performance of their duties, the police therefore is expected to be guided by the established laws that regulate their functions in order to promote professionalism.

The efficiency and effectiveness of the police in carrying out their functions has continued to attract public attention and outcry. Effectiveness explains the ability of the police to realize set targets and substantially confront their problems (Etzioni, 1964). Similarly, Odekunle (2004) submitted that police effectiveness has to do with her ability to successfully execute its constitutional duties whereas efficiency measures the extent to which the Force executes its functions with the least or limited input putting into consideration the time, material, personnel, public goodwill among others. In this vein therefore, an efficient police is measured by its ability to significantly achieve its goals with minimum efforts, that is, fewer men, lesser materials and minimal expeditions (Skogan, 1976).

The role of the police in the effective policing of society tells so much about public perception of the Government which the police represent. This is therefore drawn from the following impressions about the police:

- The police represent the officials of government trained for crime detection, prevention or control and overall process of law enforcement.
- The exhibition of honesty, integrity and adherence to the rule of law in handling issues will have a correlation with the citizens' perception with respect to fairness, equity, justice and overall trust, confidence and respect the citizens will have for the law.
- The opinion of the citizens on the government will have so much to do with what the people see on the police who they normally have more contact with (Odekunle, 2004).

In Nigeria's legal system, the police have been constitutionally empowered to deal with criminal acts through surveillance and routine patrol of the community. Crime detection, apprehension of offenders, gathering of evidence from investigation, arraignment of suspects at lower and higher courts as well as recovery of stolen property are the police duties that when effectively carried out enhances the trust and confidence of the citizens on the government (Cromwell, 1978).

Moreover, as the security outfit of the state that has closer link and touch with the society, the Police attempts to identify with the needs of the citizens in their crises periods. Such periods may include; child or person recovering, saving of lives of drowning victims, saving of lives and property during emergencies, dealing with public nuisance and complaints relating to all manner of breach of public peace, law and order and ensuring harmonious co-existence among the people (Cromwell, 1978: 2.5). In most cases, the police goes out of its way to bridge certain security gaps that may not necessarily be within its purview.

Since Nigeria's independence, the Police Force has been under the operational and administrative control of an Inspector-General, usually appointed by the president. The apex position occupied by the Inspector General of police places him in a pivotal position to oversee the activities of the Police Force in its onerous responsibility of maintaining law and order. Aigbiremoten (2004) and Nigeria Police Headquarters bulletin, Abuja (2018) captured the list of the officers that have served as either national commissioners of Police or Nigeria's Inspector General of Police since 1930 when the British formally institutionalized the Nigeria Police Force.

Table1. *Nigeria's Inspector General of Police, past and present*

S/N	Name	Title	Period
1	C. W. Duncan	IGP/Director of Prisons	1910-1930
2	S. H. Trantham	AG. IGP	1930-1938
3	Alan Saunders	IGP	1936-1937
4	A. Smavrogordato	Commissioner of The NPF	1938-1942
5	W.C. King	Commissioner of Police	1942-1947
6	T.V. M. Finlay	Commissioner of Police	1948-1949
7	Sir I. Stourton	IGP	1950-1952
8	MacLaughl A.N	IGP	1952-1956
9	Ken Bovell	IGP	1956-1962
10	J. E.Hodge j,	IGP	1962- 1964
11	L. O. Edet	IGP	1964-1966
12	Kam Salem	IGP	1966-1975
13	M. D. Yusuf	IGP	1975-1979
14	Adamu Suleiman	IGP	1979-1981

15	S.A. Adcwusi	IGF	1981-1-983
16	Etim Inyang	IGP	1983-1986
17	M; A. Gambo	IGP	1986-1989
18	A. I. Attah	IGP	1990- 1993
19	I. Coomasie	IGP	1993-1999
20	M. A. K. Smith	IGP	1999-2002
21	T. A. Balogun	IGP	2002-2005
22	G. S. Eiiindero	IGP	2005-2007
23	M. M. Okiro	IGP	2007-2009
24	O.O, Onovo	IGP	2009-2010
25	Hafiza. Ringim	IGP	2010-2012
26	Mohammed Abubakar	IGP	2012-2014
27	Suleiman Abba	IGP	2014-2015
28	Solomon Arase	IGP	2015-2016
29	Ibrahim Idris Kpotum	IGP	2016- Date

Source: Aigbiremoten, (2004; Nigeria Police Headquarters Report, Abuja, 2018).

2.3. Functions of the Nigeria Police Force

The Police is defined as an official body of men and women charged with the duty to protect people and their property and to make everybody obey the law of the land as well as checkmating of criminal acts. Similarly, section 214 (2) (b) of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended) made a provision that the members of the Nigeria Police Force shall have such powers and duties as may be conferred upon them by the law. Barnabas (2013:8) captures the pivotal role of the Police as a major agency of societal order and progress, thus:

The role of the Police in the society therefore positions the Force as a major catalyst in the progress of a nation. Their involvement in the procedural aspects of legal powers gets them obligated to observe the canons of legality through respect for political rights, due process and official accountability. Their observance of citizens' rights contributes to the survival of democracy in civil society. Through their involvement in law enforcement, the Force determines how much the human rights, as enshrined in both the international and municipal laws of each nation is violated or protected.

The sensitive and delicate nature of the powers and functions of the Nigeria Police made it imperative from its inception to properly strengthen the law in this regard at least to ensure adequate protection for the police in the performance of its functions. Appropriate Acts and Laws have also been put in place to checkmate acts of arbitrariness on the part of the police. At the early years of the formation of the Nigeria Police for instance, a British Royal Commission aptly observed that:

The police should be powerful, but not oppressive, they should be efficient but not officious, they should form an impartial force in the body of politic, and yet be subject to a degree of control by people who are not required to be impartial and who are themselves liable to police supervision (Nwakanma & Amugo, 2018: 85).

Although some amendments have continued to be made on the functions of the Police Force in Nigeria to reflect the dynamic nature of society, their functions have remained basically the same. For instance, the Police Act of 1967, as amended in 1985 (Cap. 41) in addition to other Acts such as the Criminal Code Procedure Act, Public Order Act, Decrees and Codes have at various times provided that the functions of the Nigeria Police Force shall include the following:

- Power to prosecute in any court of law (Police Act, section 19).
- Power to arrest (CPC, cap 43, Police Act, 52: 20, 21).
- Power to arrest a person who refuses to aid the police (Police Act, Section 41).
- Power to take finger print and photograph of persons under arrest (Crime Prevention Act, section 20:12).
- Power to detain, stop and search persons being suspected of criminal behaviour (Police Act, Section 25).
- Power to dispose of property under claimed, found or otherwise (Police Act, Section 31).

- Power to search premises suspected of being used for receiving stolen goods (Police Act, Section 24).
- Power of ingress (power to break in and out of a room especially when pursuing a fleeing felon).
- Power to grant bail to persons under arrest without warrant.
- Power to bind over a person to prevent him from committing an offence.
- Power to grant permit and regulate assemblies (Public Order Act, No 5, 1979:59).

Similarly, Section 4 of the Police Act (Laws of the Federation, 1990:1) further outlines the functions of the Nigeria Police to include:

- Crime detection and prevention;
- Apprehension of offenders;
- Preservation of law and order;
- Protection of life and property;
- Enforcement of all laws and regulations with which they are charged;
- Engaging in military duties within or outside Nigeria as may be required of them;

3. NATIONAL SECURITY IN NIGERIA

The concept of security has been conceived from various perspectives. In the normative sense, security denotes the orderly existence of things or a state of protective environment (Aja, 2009). In the objective sense, security has to do with the absence of threat to life, liberty, property and core values. At the subjective point of view, security measures the absence of fear, anxiety, tension or apprehension of being in danger of losing one's life, property, or values dear to an individual or nation. Security is usually taken as the topmost priority of the state as every other sector and even life remains vulnerable without security.

A foremost realist scholar, Thomas Hobbes (1588 – 1679) described security as the protection of lives and property, the entire law and order through the political sovereignty and monopoly of violence which the state or government provides. Similarly, a South African white paper on defence (1996) submitted that security has to do with an all embracing condition whereby individual citizens live in freedom, peace and safety, participate fully in the governing process; enjoy their fundamental human rights; have access to resources and the basic necessities of life, and co-habit or inhabit in an environment which is not detrimental to their health and overall well being. Generally, security is understood to mean the capability of a state to defend its territorial integrity from all forms of threat, real or imagined as well as acts of aggression from its actual and imagined enemies. This is usually why states keep a large army, the police and other intelligence outfits (Okwori, 1995).

Similarly, national security has been described by Aja (2009:10) to include:

Overall total security of life and property; security of the economy and the economic resource sectors of the country; security of food and raw material resources of the people as well as their general health; the environment; national integrity and preservation of all that a society considers to be dear, important and valuable.

With respect to Nigeria, national security represents the totality of the efforts of the state towards the protection of lives and property of the citizens, preserving her sovereignty, territoriality, the economy, and enhancement of overall socio-cultural and political harmony in the country. Total security which has been adopted for Nigeria's defence and security by the Federal Government encompasses three elements which are: total defense, diplomacy and internal security (Ogbonaya & Ehiagiamusoe, 2013)

National security is usually centred on the protection, safety and survival of both the state and its citizens from harm, destruction or some other threats dangerous for human survival (Adebakin & Raimi, 2012). National security also denotes the concerted efforts aimed at avoiding, preventing, reducing or resolving violent conflicts at various levels or dimensions of its manifestation (Stan, 2004). Moreover, Babangida (2011) contended that national security represents the physical protection and defence of the citizens as well as a nation's territorial sovereignty and integrity. National security also ensures the promotion of a better living condition and prosperity of the people under a safe and secure atmosphere necessary for the attainment of a nation's national interest as well as those of other nationals.

3.1. Some Dimensions of National Security

Adebakin & Raimi (2012), Aja (2009) and Adedoyin (2014) have identified several aspects or dimensions of national security to include:

3.1.1. State Security

The form of government adopted by a nation state usually affects the functions such a state renders to its citizens and how the state will conceive the entire security framework. For instance, the role of the state varies under unitary, federal or confederal arrangements. Each state in this case uses its own security system and network to complement the national security efforts to ensure that basic necessities of life and safety of the citizens are not compromised.

3.1.2. Domestic Security

This has to do with the protection of household lives and property against possible threats arising from the domestic environment, armed robbery attacks, fire disasters, domestic violence, cases of rape and other forms of domestic threat that may destabilize the peace of household dwellers.

3.1.3. Industrial and workplace security

This refers to measures put in place to promote safety in the workplace against insecurity of life, accident or other threats that may cripple institutional or industrial dispute. Safety measures in this regard may include personal safeguards, fire disaster management, prevention from property vandalization, hostage taking, kidnapping and environmental pollution.

3.1.4. Human Security

The safety of the human populace constitutes the bedrock of the entire social stability. Unlike traditional security, human security emphasizes on the protection of the human populace against both internal and external threats. Effective management of social disorder has been noted as one of the means of handling acts of insecurity. Conflict management and humanitarian programmes of the international community have remained key aspects of human security approach (Adedoyin, 2014).

3.1.5. Economic Security

This guarantees an assured income for individual family members, productive employment, as well as proper remuneration. On the other hand, unemployment, abject poverty, and economic handicap constitute serious threats to the economic security of individuals.

3.1.6. Food Security

This requires consistent provision and availability of basic food and nutrition to members of society to ensure their well being and protection from hunger, malnutrition and starvation, climate change, flood in farmlands, drought, outbreak of diseases on farm crops among others result to poor yield which threaten food security.

3.1.7. Community Security

This implies the safety or protection of a community from various forms of losses such as loss of traditional homelands, values and customs as well as the ones arising from ethno-religious and communal or sectarian crises.

3.1.8. Political Security

This has to do with measures undertaken to promote the safety of the political environment and make people have trust and confidence on the political system. Efforts usually put in place in this regard include, the protection of fundamental human rights, freedom from torture, extra-judicial killings, voter intimidation, vote buying, rigging and other forms of electoral malpractices.

3.2. Challenges of the Nigeria Police in the Effective Policing of Nigeria

Given the enormous responsibilities of the Nigeria police and people's expectation, it can rightly be argued that the police is yet to be properly equipped to enable it discharge its enormous functions of effective policing of the country. The absence of some of the needed tools has grossly affected the satisfactory performance of the police for which much public outcry has continued to be expressed. The paper examined the following:

3.2.1. *Inadequate Budgetary Allocation and Untimely Release of Budgeted Funds*

Government poor budgetary allocation and untimely or partial release of already budgeted funds for the police commission has continued to affect the performance of the Nigeria police negatively. Government annual budgetary allocation in the security sector has hardly taken adequate care of what the police or other security agencies need in order to effectively fight crime and enhance national security.

A cursory look at the funding of the Nigeria Police Force from 1984 to 2007 showed that the highest the Nigeria Police Force received was 7.7 percent of the total federal budget. Budgetary analysis also showed that the police received about 7.6 per cent and 7.7 per cent of the total budget in 1999 and 2007 respectively (Parry, 2008). The later years has not showed appreciable improvement on government funding of the Police Force. For instance, the percentage of the national budget for five years (2008 – 2012) as shown in table II shows a clear case of under-funding (Muazu, 2012).

Table2. *An analysis of Nigeria's defence allocation as a percentage of the national budget over a-5-year period*

2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
5.75%	5.78%	5.69%	8.48%	7.74%

Source: Muazu, (2012)

The records in table II clearly reveals the extent of under-funding of the Nigeria Police Force by the Federal Government. This development has led Ebo (2014) to contend that the Federal Government has abdicated her role in this regard since it has remained the genitor of the Nigeria police. This problem of under-funding has therefore affected the psyche and overall commitment of the rank and file of the Nigeria police in its effort towards enhancing Nigeria's national security (Okonkwo, 2014). Up till 2018, there has not been appreciable improvement in the funding of the Nigeria Police.

3.2.2. *Poor Remuneration and Condition of Service.*

The police service is among the least remunerated sectors in Nigeria despite the risky nature of the service. Poor condition of service has remained one of the major drives for some unprofessional conduct often witnessed among the rank and file of the Nigeria police. Over the years, the reward system in the force is nothing to write home about. For instance, before the 100 percent salary increase by late President Umaru Yar'Adua's administration, the average take home pay of a Police Constable was ₦10,000.00 which was composed of ₦5,000.00 as salary, lodging, ₦2,000.00 and others, ₦3,000.00 (Barnabas, 2013). Within the same period, a Corporal earned about ₦13,000.00 and after the increase earned between, ₦27,000.00 and ₦28,000.00. Similarly, a Sergeant earned ₦15,000.00 and with the increase, went home with about ₦31,000.00.

Following the salary increase, inspectors salary rose to ₦55,000.00. At the officer level, Assistant Superintendent of Police earned between, ₦80,000.00 to ₦85,000.00 with the increase in salary. Other affected officers were Deputy Superintendent of Police and Superintendent of Police whose salaries rose to between, ₦90,000.00 and ₦100,000.00 respectively (Barnabas, 2013). Poor remuneration in the Police Force has for long continued to attract public outcry in view of the fact that it had led to low morale among members of the Police Force in addition to contributing to their indulging in some unethical conduct or behaviour.

Apart from poor remuneration, issues such as stagnation of some officers in a particular position; favouritism and tribalism, parochialism and poor accommodation have all affected the performance of members of the Force. Describing the nature of the accommodation in some police command, Oseni (1993) lamented that:

The Nigerian policeman ...has no home. Those negligible few homes that exist are hardly worth the description. They are shanty barracks, devoid of comforts and decency. They are filthy, over-crowded and dilapidated, needing repairs that will not readily come. Even with these, they are grossly inadequate... sights of policemen and their families particularly in Lagos making their homes of broken down vehicles within the barracks under the flyover bridge that runs along the Force Headquarters premises are very pathetic. Their children are raised in ordeal, very harsh upbringing that could make them gutless adults than responsible leaders in future...

3.2.3. *Creation of Parallel Security Outfits*

The persistent challenges against national security in Nigeria has made the state to diversify efforts aimed at enhancing national security without necessarily following the due process or considering the consequences. On creation, those alternate security organizations that are supposed to play complementary roles with the police are often empowered to investigate, arrest and detain suspects and thereby eroding the powers of the conventional police whose primary constitutional obligation is to do so. Often times, such security organizations which are usually put in place by the governing powers are usually under a mandate or obligation to ensure regime, state or personal security. They are often times better funded or equipped (Parry, 2008). Some national security organizations which complement the duties of the Nigeria police include; the National Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC), the Federal Roads Safety Corps (FRSC), the Federal Special Anti-Robbery Squad (FSARS) and the rest which have in the performance of their duties clashed either among themselves or with members of the Nigeria police for various partisan, ideological and selfish reasons. The creation of these parallel security outfits has constituted a violation of section 214 of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria which emphasizes that, "subject to the provisions of this Section, no other police shall be established for the Federation or any part thereof". The Nigeria police and other security agencies have been made caricature of, and ridiculed due to the activities of some of these parallel security organizations. The morale of the police has often being dampened as there has continued to be frequent context of powers, clashes, unhealthy rivalry and in fighting as well as splitting of votes meant for these security organizations.

3.2.4. *Inadequate equipment, working materials and use of outmoded equipment*

These have remained rife in the Nigeria Police Force. Police officers in most stations have always complained of lack of basic working materials such as statement forms, bail bonds, case jackets, police diaries and other items of stationery (Barnabas, 2013). The Nigeria Police has also failed to keep pace with time in terms of sophistication of crime in modern times. In other words, there have been proven cases of criminals possessing more sophisticated weapons than the Nigeria police. Hence, there have been cases of insufficient supply of arms and ammunition, bullet proof vests, vehicles and other security gadgets. Often times, the police dies at the hands of criminal elements and bandits due to their over reliance on out moded equipments. The lack of modern crime monitoring, intelligence and surveillance gadgets for the tracking down of criminals and their hideouts has therefore, continued to affect the effective performance of the Nigeria Police.

3.3. Critical Assessment of the Role of the Nigeria Police and National Security in Nigeria

The Nigeria Police Force has indeed made some impact on crime detection and prevention as well as in some other constitutional functions of the police that have in a way contributed to societal order. However, the unwholesome activities of some members of the Nigeria Police Force have actually left sad memories in the mind of the people to the extent that such have constituted internal threats to the nation's internal security. Among these negative activities include:

3.3.1. *Endemic corruption in the Nigeria Police Force*

The manifestation of various forms of corruption among the rank and file of the Nigeria Police Force has remained worrisome to the nation and her populace in the sense that it has continued to hamper the efforts of the police in boosting the nation's national security. Despite the efforts the various administrations in Nigeria have made (and are still making) especially since the restoration of democratic rule in 1999 in the fight against corruption, the menace has remained unabated in both high and low quarters in the various sectors of Nigeria. Oxford advanced learners dictionary (2006) defined corruption as dishonest or illegal behaviour, particularly of people in authority. Similarly, section 2 of the corruption practices and other related offences Act, 2000 sees corruption to mean bribery and fraudulent acts capable of depraving morality and integrity. Generally therefore, corruption denotes abuse of office or authority for personal gains. Corruption is also used to describe the violation of laid down rules and ethics as well as misuse of public office for selfish advantage (Barnabas, 2013).

Corruption in the Nigeria Police Force has to do with all forms of wrong doing by the police that go contrary to the provisions of professionalism. This ranges from extortion of money from motorists and other unsuspecting victims, compromise on standard and all forms of questionable behaviour. Barnabas (2013:175) had argued that:

Corruption in the Nigeria Police... is widespread and manifest in multi-dimensions, from arrest to detention of a suspect, and receiving reports from complaints. The police are accused of extortion with impunity; at road blocks, motorists are extorted on a large scale daily; at market places and bus-stops, citizens are forced to pay illegal tolls; even criminals are extorted to set them free by frustrating their prosecution; and rifles are leased to robbers for operation.

The problem of corruption in the Nigeria police has attracted the attention of some sections of the international community. For instance, a report released by the United States government in January 2012 noted that corruption and lack of capacity hinder the ability of the Nigeria Police Force to respond to security and terrorist threats within the nation's borders. Similarly, Human Rights Watch report of 2011 clearly observed thus in the Nigeria Police Force:

As in previous years, the undisciplined Nigeria Police Force was implicated in frequent human rights violations, including extra-judicial killings, torture, arbitrary arrests, and extortion related abuses. The police routinely solicit bribes from victims to investigate crimes and from suspects to drop investigations. Embezzlement of police funds is rife among senior police officials who also often demand monetary "returns" from money extorted from the public by their subordinates (Human Rights Watch Report, 2011)

Moreover, in what Parry (2008:44) described as organized corruption the following blog summaries have been noted as manifestations of corrupt practices by the Nigeria Police Force:

- Assisting crime suspects to escape from lawful custody;
- Obtaining money from suspects for closure of case files;
- Escorting of vehicles conveying contra-band and stolen goods;
- Stealing from suspected criminals and accident victims ;
- Receiving bribes to forestall the arrest of crime suspects;
- Receiving bribes in order to effect the arrest of an innocent person who may not be in good terms with the bribe giver;
- Making available to armed robbers police uniforms and arms for a fee;
- Leaking of information about complainants to criminals for a fee;
- Stealing from crime or accident scene;
- Demanding or receiving bribes which blindfolds the police from enforcing traffic regulations that may be conveying prohibited or contraband goods or items;
- Demanding money from suspects as a pre-condition for granting bail even though it is stated that bail is free.

In his assessment on the performance of the Nigeria police, a former staff officer in charge of training at the Nigeria Army School of military police who later became a lecturer and Head of the Department of Criminal Justice at Mississippi Valley State University, Saliba Mukoro noted that:

While there are good men and women of honour in the Nigeria Police, the bad-eggs in the police amongst the officers and the rank and file have given the police a bad name when it comes to corruption. It is now a common knowledge amongst Nigerians that corruption in the Nigeria police is pervasive and systematic... Many officers are deeply involved. (Barnabas, 2012: 176)

A few instances of police involvement on corrupt practices have further been identified by Barnabas (2013: 177-178) as noted below:

- Nigeria's former Inspector General of Police was alleged to have mismanaged police funds amounting to N13 billion.
- Another former Inspector General of Police was also alleged to have connived with his police commissioner to influence police budget and stole about N25 million belonging to the police.
- In March 1996, five Senior Police Officers, Simeon Adewuyi, Moshobalaye A. Balogun, Titus Afolayan, Musibau Alade, and Timothy Gbenga were alleged to have received the sum of \$287,000.00 and N200, 000.00 from two armed robbery suspects for co-operation.

- In September 1999, a community leader revealed the identity of criminals operating in his area to the police who later disclosed the man's identity to the criminals, the next day, the criminals wasted the man's life.
- On February 17, 2001 some policemen on duty along a road in Kogi State robbed passengers on their journey and thereafter set the vehicle on which they were travelling on fire to create the false impression that it was an accident.
- In October 2002, nine policemen on duty along Lagos – Ibadan expressway were arrested for extorting money from motorists.
- In September 2003, the Lagos State Police Command announced the dismissal of thirty two members of their Command found guilty of extortion amounting to N18, 200.
- Between January and August, 2005, over 256 policemen were caught extorting various amount of money from motorists.
- In September 2005, 11 policemen (a superintendent of police inclusive) were among 120 members of Nigerian Squad on United Nation's Peace Keeping Mission in Congo sent home for alleged rape and abuse of women and young girls in Congo.
- In October 2005, three police Constables in Kogi State Police Command were arrested for their involvement in criminal conspiracy, housebreaking and theft.
- In Aramoko, Ekiti State, seven policemen were arrested in November 2005 for alleged robbery operation that lasted for two days.

The cases recorded above are just a tip of the iceberg. Despite some disciplinary measures and sanctions metted to erring police officers, the police involvement in criminal activities has remained unabated, up till 2018. On several occasions, the Inspector General of Police had announced as illegal the mounting of road blocks on the nation's high ways which the police have taken as toll gates. There has been very poor compliance to this directive as it is hardly enforced. The South-South and South-East geo-political zones have the worst cases of these road blocks despite the frequent clashes, and fighting between the police, bus conductors, drivers' and other road users.

3.3.2. Police Brutality and Extra-Judicial Killings

Police brutality in Nigeria has resulted to serious disaffection between most Nigerians and members of the Nigeria Police. The nature of Police duties as contained in Section 4 of the Police Act, 1975 provides for a harmonious relationship or friendship between the public and the police. The often inhuman, negative and unbecoming attitude of the police to civilian matters has made the police to be almost the most hated public institution in Nigeria. Many a Nigerian have concluded that the Police Force is not only wicked, but corrupt and insensitive to the affairs and feelings of the ordinary citizens whose interest they are supposed to protect.

Closely related to police brutality is extra-judicial killings by the Nigeria police. Extra-judicial killing represents the act of depriving a person of his/her life in an unconstitutional manner. Some innocent Nigerians or suspects (whose cases are yet to be established) such as drivers, bus conductors among others who refuse or were reluctant to bribe the police on their self made road blocks or illegal check points have often been sent to their untimely graves by some obnoxious members of the Force on the guise of accidental discharge. This has usually resulted to a chaotic and anarchic situation which has usually led to mass protests, demonstrations and uproar between members of the Nigeria Police on the one hand and the public as well as the civil society group on the other hand.

Apart from the rampant cases of extra-judicial killings of some innocent Nigerians witnessed during the era of Nigeria's military juntas, the cases have persisted under the current democratic dispensation. For instance, apart from cases of extra-judicial killings in Anambra State in 2004 as noted by Human rights lawyers and some civil society groups in the state, the Executive Director of Nnewi based Human Justice International Comrade Ifeanyi Onuchukwu who the police arrested and incarcerated recounted his ugly experience while in police cell. As he stated:

I was in the cell around 7:15pm when 20 detainees were brought out and summarily executed. I got their names as; Samuel Odoh, Oforbiki Odoh, Chibueze Ugwueke, Ugochukwu Okonkwo, Chizoba Mbaebie, Ifeanyi Nwafunanya, Ugochukwu Anakwe, Ifeanyi Izueke, Ekene Ejike, Chinedu Okoro, Uche Ubaka, Onyeabo Anakwe, Leonard Obasi, Emeka Ofoke, Chibuzo

Asouzu they were buried in shallow graves at Agu Awka, very close to Ezu River (Barnabas, 2013:126)

Nigerians have continued to express worry over the rascality and brutality of some members of the Federal Special Anti-Robbery Squad (FSARS). Their disrespect to human rights, especially right to life of the citizens has remained burdensome. For instance, one Benjamin Peters, a SARS officer in Abuja fired a shot on a moving vehicle in July, 2018 which led to the death of Miss Angela (a youth corper) who was to pass out the next day on the completion of her compulsory one year national youth service (AIT News, 5/7/2018, 8.00pm). The recklessness of some FSARS operatives on civilian matters in the country led the Acting President, Prof Yemi Osibanjo to direct the overhaul in the composition and functions of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad on August 15th 2018, in order to check mate further recklessness of the security outfit.

3.3.3. Persistence of Colonial Orientation in the Nigeria Police Force

The British conceived the idea of the police as an instrument of oppression and brutal suppression against the quest of the people for independence and self determination. The police only protected the selfish and economic interest of the colonialists, their actions were hardly people-driven. The police was placed above and not within the society it was meant to serve. Much of the human rights abuses committed by the police during the colonial days were hardly investigated to the extent that people lived in palpable fear and apprehension and often took to their heels at the sight of the colonial police. In contemporary Nigeria, the police has only ended up behaving in the same way and manner (anti people) the colonialists conditioned it. Unfortunately, after over five decades of the formal departure of the colonialists, the Nigeria police have continued to retain and manifest the colonial inherited punitive and expeditionary character instead of a society friendly law enforcement agency of Government. It has remained a sad news that up till the 21st century, the culture of force and high handedness with little regard for human rights instituted by the colonialist have continued to persist in and among the Nigeria police in the discharge of their duties to the civil society. The impression of Franklyne Ogbunwezeh about the Nigeria police shows that;

The Nigeria police Force is not only a nest of killers, but a sophisticated citadel of corruption, variously manned by cold-blooded murderers. This institution statutorily charged with the maintenance of law and order across the country, embraced a retrogressive metamorphosis, which saw it configuring itself into a notorious synonym for corruption and grotesque incompetence; noted for its arrant desecration of every rational cannon of civilized conduct... (Barnabas 2013:123)

3.3.4. Police Torture and Unlawful Detention

Torture implies a mild physical pain usually inflicted by the police on a suspect in a bid to secure information or statement from an unwilling or reluctant suspect. On the other hand, detention has to do with the physical confinement of an accused to a lawful custody. In course of their investigations, the Nigeria police often adopt the following method in the torturing of suspect(s) which often result to the death of the victim(s):

Shooting on the hips, cigarette burns, insertion of broom sticks or pins into the genitals of a male suspect and broken bottles into the vagina of female suspects, beating with horse whip, electric cables and batons; electric strokes; mock execution, removal of finger nails, denial of food and medication (Barnabas, 2013:73).

Similarly, the Human Rights Watch had identified certain forms of torture which the Nigeria police often engage in to include: the flying of arms and legs of the body, suspension by hands and legs from the ceiling, severe beatings and flogging with metal or wooden objects, spraying of tear gas in the eyes, shooting in the foot or leg, raping female detainees, and using pliers or electric shocks on the penis of small suspect (Human Rights Watch Report 2011).

3.3.5. Arbitrary Arrest by the Nigeria Police Force

Arrest implies placing an individual under lawful detention or confinement against the person's wish, for the purpose of law enforcement. In this process, the police is deemed as the servant of the state. Arrest could be with or without warrant depending on the gravity of the issue at stake (Ogbunweze. 2005). Section 35 (1) of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria guarantees citizens

personal liberty except on the reasonable suspicion that the individual has committed a criminal offence or has the intention of doing so (Jegede, 1999). In certain cases in Nigeria, perpetual tears have remained in the eyes of some families and individuals following the problem of arbitrary arrest by the police even when no serious cases were established against the victims. At the slightest provocation and suspicion therefore, the Nigeria police usually raid and arbitrary arrest persons with no justifiable reasons on the streets, motor parks, bus stops, wharfs, borders, markets and even the neighbourhood on some flimsy excuses. The police often tear gas, and release stray bullets to cause panic and scar the people away. This negative culture among the police has continued up till Nigeria's Fourth Republic. Among several other cases, on Friday 17th August 2018, in Owerri, Imo State, the Nigeria police massively arrested, detained and arraigned for trial some women who organized peaceful protest on the auspices of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) demanding the where about of the leader of the IPOB, Nnamdi Kanu. The charge against the women who were identified as female IPOB members was that their action disrupted public peace.

3.3.6. Use of the Nigeria Police as an Instrument to Actualize Selfish, Parochial and Partisan Political Objectives

Since Nigeria's political independence, politicians have always used the police as an instrument to realize some political interest. The Police often use their guns and tear gas to frighten, oppress, intimidate, and harass political opponents of those whose mandate they are at polling stations or registration units to fulfill. Much of the reforms the state had organized for the Police Force are merely aimed at enabling the Force remain obedient, stooges and absolutely loyal to the directives or orders of the state, the party in power or the powers that be. The various post independence elections in Nigeria have seen the police being used to actualize various forms of electoral fraud and malpractices. For instance, the police was implicated in the various electoral fraud and malpractices that took place in the South-South and South-East geo-political zones of Nigeria in particular during the 2003 general elections in Nigeria, and thereafter, the police was found in the major cities such as Port Harcourt, Enugu, Owerri, Calabar, Onitsha, Awka and some other places within the zone hijacking ballot papers, thumb-printing, intimidating and unleashing various forms of violence to voters and members of the opposition of the party whose interest they represented. In Anambra state for instance, the police acted under the influence of a millionaire businessman to abduct the former Governor of the state, Dr. Chris Ngige following the disagreement the Governor had with his political god father and sponsor.

The indictment and conviction of Nigeria's former Inspector General of Police (Tafa Balogun) for corrupt enrichment and other fraudulent practices during the tenure of Nigeria's former president, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo knelt a serious blow to the integrity of the Nigeria Police Force. Electoral violence with all its consequences has remained a major feature of the electoral process in Nigeria due to the tendency or complicity of some policemen attached to some polling stations, acting on specific directives to resort to the use of force and other unprofessional means to deliver the vested interest or mandate of the powers that be.

4. CONCLUSION

This paper among others examined the extent to which members of the Nigeria Police Force, through their actions and inaction have contributed to Nigeria's national security challenges. As a vast multi-ethnic and heterogeneous country, there are no doubts that to police Nigeria effectively has remained an arduous task which the police has continued to be confronted with. For years, efforts have continued to be made to reform and reposition the Nigeria police for better performance. Besides, the United States and Britain have also been investing heavily in police reform initiatives in the Nigeria police without much to show for that. Although the Nigeria police has made some impact in certain areas especially in crime detection and prevention as well as tracking down of some hoodlums and criminal elements for which some of them had lost their lives, yet, the unwholesome activities of majority of them have remained a threat to national security in Nigeria. The reforms so far carried out in the Force have emphasized on professionalism, discipline as well as greater commitment among the rank and file of the Nigeria Police towards building an effective and efficient policing system with the sole aim of social justice. In this vain, concerted efforts must be targeted at refocusing and brain washing the police thoroughly for them to see themselves as servants of the state and not masters. This is necessary in order to restore people's confidence in the police given its inability to

significantly protect the lives, and property of the people in addition to the often lack luster attitude of the police high command in checkmating the persistent excesses, widespread corruption and other unethical conduct of some members of the Force. The age long culture of police arbitrariness, ethnic bias, recklessness and mischief in the handling of cases and issues involving the people of Nigeria, especially those at the grassroots should not be allowed to continue. As the unwarranted use of the police in actualizing selfish political or other objectives has persisted in Nigeria, such as the invasion of the National Assembly in August 2018 among others, the state should not see itself encouraging this ugly development, rather, the state should not relent in getting rid of the “bag eggs” in the Police command whose acts and obnoxious activities have continued to bring the image and reputation of the Nigeria police into disrepute.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS

In an effort to improve the effectiveness of the Nigeria Police Force in the arduous task of enhancing national security in Nigeria, the following recommendations are proffered:

5.1. Improvement in Police Welfare and Conditions of Service

In view of the risky nature of the service, concerted efforts must be made by the state to improve the living conditions of members of the Force through enhanced salary packages, functional pension scheme, decent accommodation and sundry allowances especially adequate compensation to the families of those that die in active service.

5.2. Security should be Seen as Everybody's Business

In view of the increased threats to national security in Nigeria in modern times, the issue of security should not be left for the police alone. Vigilante groups (where they already exist) should be equipped and given all the necessary protection and backing for them to assist on grassroot security. Police-community or police public relations should be revived, closely monitored and encouraged.

5.3. Provision of Modern Crime Fighting Gadgets and Equipments

In view of the sophistication of crime which has gone hi-tech in modern times, every effort must be made to properly equip the police with all it needs to properly combat crime effectively.

5.4. Humane Treatment to Accused Persons, Respect for Human Dignity and Human Rights

The Nigeria police should eschew every form of inhuman treatment to accused persons and other members of the public as well as giving due respect to human rights.

5.5. Security Education/Awareness

Efforts should be made by the government and non-governmental organizations (NGOS) to come up with appropriate programmes on security education and awareness for Nigerians of every strata. This will be aimed at inculcating the spirit of patriotism and raising of awareness among the people on the various forms of threats to internal security as well as the appropriate pro-active measures to counter such.

5.6. Training and Re-Training of Officers and, the Rank and File in the Force

The state should not pay lip service to the continuous training and re-training of members of the security agencies especially the Nigeria police. Part of the content of the training, workshops, seminars or symposia will centre on issues concerning professional ethics and the need for the Force to be properly focused and be abreast of contemporary security challenges and the appropriate measures to confront such effectively.

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