

Federalism, National Security and State Policing System in Nigeria' s Fourth Republic**Ahmed Olawale MOLIKI¹, Joseph Okwesili NKWEDE² and Kazeem Oluwaseun DAUDA³**¹Department of Political Science, Tai Solarin University of Education, Nigeria²Department of Political Science, Ebonyi State University, Nigeria³Centre for Education, Research and Human Development, Nigeria¹molikiahmedolawale@gmail.com, ²josephnkwede@gmail.com, ³seundelaw@gmail.com**Abstract**

Nigerian polity in recent times is plunged in diverse security crises. Hardly any region in the federation is spared from insecurity vortex spreading like a wild fire. Resultantly, many lives and properties have been lost and destroyed, while many people are internally displaced. Curtailing these security crises by the centralised Nigeria Police Force (NPF) has proved more daunting. The study examined the imperatives of state policing system as a panacea to insecurity mantra facing Nigeria's federation in the Fourth Republic between 1999 and 2018. It employed mixed method research design. Data collected through primary and secondary sources were analysed using Chi-square (χ^2) statistics and content analysis. Our findings revealed that the NPF has not significantly curtailed insecurity dilemma caused by structural imbalance of the Nigerian state; hence the adoption of State police will significantly curb intimidating security challenges in the Fourth Republic. The study concluded that since the NPF has failed to tame escalating wave of security crises annihilating lives and general welfare of the populace, State police seems a more attractive option. It recommended that in order to guarantee a decentralised policing system capable of adequate security of lives and property, the ninth National Assembly and State Assemblies should prioritise restructuring the current federal structure with a view to empowering the States to establish their own polices for a better and robust security architecture.

Keywords: Federalism, Insecurity, Security Architecture, Restructuring, State Policing.

Introduction

Over the years, Nigeria' s history and practice of federalism is replete with socio-political conflicts and insecurity. The country has witnessed number of challenging security issues that have almost precipitated the breakup of our fragile federation. Hardly any geo-political zone in the federation is spared from insecurity vortex spreading like a wild fire. Since the commencement of the Fourth Republic in 1999, many lives and properties worth fortune have been lost to the *Boko Haram* insurgency, herdsman-farmers conflicts, communal clashes, militancy, cultism, ritual killings and kidnapping menaces, while many have been internally displaced. Curtailing these crises has proved more daunting. One argument put forward to the failure of security measures in place is a centralised policing system of the Federal Government. Unlike the United States, Nigeria practices a centralised police system. Apparently, centralised security arrangements in Nigeria have failed to meet the current security needs of this nation.

However, state policing has been widely suggested as one of the alternative channels through which the security situation and criminal tendencies in Nigeria could be handled and curtailed. The idea of state policing has gained popularity as a result of the inability of the federal police commands to contain the security challenges. The protagonists of State police argue that the establishment of State police is long overdue considering recent threats to national security across the country. They contend that the issue of security of lives and property of Nigerians, as well as socio-political and economy of the nation, should not be left entirely to the dictate of Federal Government alone and that the State Governments should have certain roles to play as well. It is also argued that decentralisation of the police force should be considered plausible option for timely detection of emerging crimes in rural areas. Also, the proponents thought that adoption of State police would help to achieve a more efficient and effective policing system (Dadem, 2009; Eme & Anyandike, 2012; Olong & Agbonika, 2013; Odeh & Umoh, 2015).

Conversely, the antagonists against the establishment of State police warned that the police if created would be a tool of manipulation and intimidation by the State executives, especially the governors. It has also been argued in some quarters that state police is nothing but a recipe for anarchy as it could lead to abuse of power (Agwanwo, 2014; Nwogwugwu & Kupoluyi, 2015; Ogunbiyi, 2017). However, in spite of the tremendous scholarship on insecurity and State police imperatives, there exist gap in literature on the linkage of federalism, national security and state policing system using mixed method approach. It is also important to confirm or refute earlier observations made in

theoretical studies. Therefore, this study is significant because of the urgent need to overcome current security challenges in the country coupled with the need to revisit the prospects and challenges of the ‘ State police’ for interrogation.

Against the backdrop of the foregoing, the central objective of the study was to examine the imperative of state policing system as a panacea to security crises facing Nigeria polity in the Fourth Republic between 1999 and 2018. Specifically, the study is aimed to:

1. examine the relationship between insecurity and structural imbalance of the Nigerian state;
2. investigate the extent to which the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) has curbed insecurity dilemma in Nigeria’ s Fourth Republic; and
3. establish whether the establishment of state police will curb intimidating security challenges in Nigeria’ s Fourth Republic.

Hence, the following null hypotheses were formulated to guide the study:

Ho₁: There is no significant relationship between insecurity and structural imbalance of the Nigerian state.

Ho₂: The Nigeria Police Force (NPF) has not significantly curbed insecurity dilemma in Nigeria’ s Fourth Republic.

Ho₃: The establishment of state police will not significantly curb intimidating security challenges in Nigeria’ s Fourth Republic.

Literature Reviews

A considerable large number of scholars have written on the concept of federalism. However, there is common trend in the literature to view federalism as a governmental system aimed at maintaining unity and stability, preserving diversity and managing conflicts in society (Ayoade, 1980; Long, 1991; Muhammad, 2007a,b; Ozoigbo, 2009; Fawole & Bello, 2011; Eze, *et al.* 2012; Elaigwu, 2013; Fakanbi & Raji, 2013; Amadi, *et al.* 2017; Orluwene, 2018). Some scholars also consider federalism as the formal division of powers between levels of government (Wheare, 1963; Nwabueze, 1983; Ola, 2001; Ozoigbo, 2009; Fawole & Bello, 2011; Enu, *et al.*, 2017). Others perceived the concept from instrument of governance perspective (Kincaid, 1995; Nkwede, *et al.*, 2018). Efforts would be made in this section to identify some of these viewpoints.

Muhammad (2007b) described federalism as a governmental and institutional arrangement which seeks to maintain unity in diversity because power is shared between a central government and other component units each maintaining its identity within the federal union. Thus, Fawole and Bello (2011:211) consider federalism to mean the “ political arrangement which appreciate the existence of a central authority and a number of regionalised governments in such a way that each unit including the central authority exists as a government separately and independently from the others”. In other words, federalism serves as a process of unifying powers within the unified state. Similarly, Nwabueze in Orluwene (2018:76) shed more light on the concept of federalism by defining it as an arrangement whereby powers of government within a country are shared between a national (nation-wide) government and a number of regionalised governments in such a way that each exists as a government separately and independently from the others, operating directly on persons and property within its territorial area, with a will of its own, and its own apparatus for the conduct of its affairs and with an authority in some matters exclusive of all others. Being federal implies having a system of government in which the individual states of a country have control over their own affairs, but are controlled by a central government for national decisions (Olayiwola, 2012).

Ayoade in Fawole and Bello (2011) posited that federalism is a device for the management of diversity – which presupposes the existence of opposing and often conflicting groups in the state. Likewise, Long in Fawole and Bello (2011) argued that federalism is an institutional solution to the disruptive tendencies of intra-societal ethnic pluralism; it is a system which mediates the potential and actual conflict that often arises from the heterogeneity within a political entity federalism, as well as help reduce the potential effect of ethnic imbalance in the country (Muhammad, 2007a). Elaigwu (2013) maintained that federalism is a technique of managing conflicts in a multinational state. It is a system of government that has always been adopted as a way of ensuring peaceful coexistence in a heterogeneous society (Fakanbi & Raji, 2013). As Watts (2006) has correctly observed, for a federal

association to take place, there has to be a willingness to abide by democratic procedures, non-centralisation of power – as no tier or level of government is subordinate to the other in its areas of competence – and respect for the rule of law or constitutionalism. However, it is pertinent to note that there is no ideal federal form and that the application of the federal solution or formula depends on the degree of cultural diversity being reconciled; the number, size, the symmetry or asymmetry of component units; distribution of political and fiscal powers; mechanisms for resolving conflicts; and the electoral system, among others.

In practice, no country has been able to embody all the federal principles identified above in its traditional definition. In fact, it is generally agreed that federal systems vary in content from one country to another. The particular political colouring that a country's federal government takes, is often reflective of its historical experiences, its political, cultural, social, and economic environment and the disposition of its people at a particular point in time (Elaigwu, 2013). The year 1954 remains a watershed in the evolution of Nigerian federalism. As Elagwu (2013:17), has maintained, the Lyttleton Constitution of 1954 confirmed the direction of constitutional reforms in favour of federalism. Regional governments became effectively established with nigerianised executives and legislatures. Political parties had followed the regional pattern. By 1957, a central government under the leadership of Balewa as Prime Minister emerged. Regional leaders operated a federal constitution in the context of the Westminster model of government. The 1960 Independence Constitution only ratified what was started in 1954 - Nigeria as a federation.

Ojo (2009:384) opined that federalism is indeed the bedrock of democratic edifice for a country of Nigeria's size and bewildering diversities. Nigeria is a deeply divided and plural society with over 400 ethnic groups, and that these ethnic groups are always in conflict and competition for scarce resources is not a gainsaying. The federal idea which was a colonial construct has incurred different reactions from the foremost Nigerian nationalists and political leaders after independence. Bello in Orluwene (2018:76) once remarked that the making of Nigerian federation was the “mistake of 1914”. Commenting on the beginning of the end of Nigerian federalism with the incursion of military in governance, Ibrahim (2008), asserted that:

It was the military that subsequently succeeded in almost completely destroying Nigerian federalism, by sacrificing it on the altar of centralisation. The tripartite structure which had become quadripartite with the creation of the Mid West in 1963 has been significantly transformed.... The multiplication of States has produced a Jacobin effect that strengthens the centre by eroding the autonomy of the regions. Rather than correct the ethno-regional balance in the country, the fissiparous state creation tendency has concentrated enormous powers at the centre and weakened all groups except those who directly control federal power. Nigeria thus finds itself now with a so-called Federation that is for all practical purposes a unitary state with some limited devolution of power to the states (p. 6).

Consequently, different themes have been used in literature to describe Nigeria's federalism, for instance, “a federation in disarray”, “a union without unity”, “convoluted federalism” and so on. Corroborating this assertion, Fakanbi and Raji (2013) submitted that Nigerian federalism has witnessed a plethora of cataclysmic social tornadoes which carried the capacity and potential to precipitate disintegration. The lack of workability of this system of government has evoked and is still precipitating insecurity in the nature of militancy in the Niger Delta region, Boko Haram insurgency, kidnapping, ritual killings, farmers-herdsmen conflicts and killings by cultists. Nigeria presently consists of 36 States and a Federal Capital Territory (FCT), as well as 774 local government areas. Despite this number of sub-national unit, there exists agitation for more states and local government areas to be created due to observed imbalance (Bassey, 2012). Nwabughio (1996:55) noted that the Nigerian federation “was a federation that was to continue to be hunted by the twin forces of structural imbalance and the quest for sectional security”. Enu, Opoh and Bassey (2017) presented some of the imbalances in the structure of the inherited federalism in Nigeria such as over-control and weakening of lower units, high cost of governance, resource control, unhealthy competition, multi-level tiers of government, and ethnic, religious and regional conflicts.

Correspondingly, Nkwede, *et al.* (2018) believed that there are many unresolved issues associated with Nigeria federalism in contemporary time such include over-concentration of governmental powers at the centre, sectional domination of powers and political leadership, inept and corrupt leadership/bad governance, socio-economic crisis, insecurity, corruption, favouritism and nepotism, problem of power sharing, and poor implementation of federal

character principle. The scholars further observe that insecurity and political instability have been the permanent features of Nigeria body-politic. In a similar trend, Katsina (2012) argued that the major sources of threats to Nigeria's national security are predicated upon socio-economic and political imbalances. He further claimed that the challenges with Nigeria are structural and socio-economic. The anger and frustration due to structural imbalance has increasingly found expression in violent conflicts, inter and intra-tribal and religious, armed groups engagement with the state, as well as ever rising level of urban crimes and insecurity. Groups, such as Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) and Niger Delta Avengers (NDA) in the South-South, Boko Haram in the North-East; herdsmen-farmers clashes in the South-East and South-West, and other parts of the country; kidnappers, armed robbers and ritual killers, among other threats to national security have done a greater havoc on the Nigeria's socio-economic and political life.

Policing has always been necessary in all societies for the maintenance of orderliness, law and security. The necessity of policing becomes even more evident in modern societies characterised by diversities and contradictions arising from population heterogeneity, urbanisation, industrialisation, conflicting ideologies on appropriate socio-political and economic form of organisation (Reiner, 2000; Alemika & Chukwuma, 2003). As argued by Kasumu (2017), policing refers to measures and actions taken by a variety of institutions and groups (both formal and non-formal) in the society. The emergence of the police, a body of eligible men, enlisted, trained, equipped and maintained by the state, to enforce laws with which they are charged, ensure orderliness, protect society and reduce the apprehension of citizens is a notable development in human history (Alemika & Chukwuma, 2003). The central objectives of policing are to prevent, control and combat criminality, maintain public order and peace, render assistance and service to all citizens needing or requiring security, and favourably symbolise the law and the government by always upholding the rule of law (Kasumu, 2017). The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria makes provision for a single police force, that is, no other security agency is allowed to be established by the other component units (see Section 214(1) of the 1999 Constitution). The Nigeria Police Force (NPF) is therefore statutorily responsible for the detection and prevention of crime, apprehending and prosecution of offenders, protection of lives and property of the citizens, enforcement and maintenance of laws and order (Inyang & Abraham, 2013).

The aforesaid shows that Nigeria has a highly centralised policing arrangement. Consequently, the state governments have little or no control over the security of their states and people. Security constitutes one of the fundamental objectives and indeed the foremost responsibility of every government. It is the freedom from danger, intimidation, apprehension, the feeling or assurance of safety, peace of mind or absence of fear, and the certainty or assurance of the good life or welfare (Robert-Okah, 2014). The state has as its central purpose to ensure that the people are protected and secured. Security should mean the establishment of measure for the protecting of lives and property against hostility and the existence of conditions within which people in a society can go about their normal socio-economic daily activities without any threat to their lives or property (Achumba, *et al.*, 2013). National security is a "state where the unity, well-being, values, and beliefs, democratic process, mechanism of governance and welfare of the nation and her people are perpetually improved and secured through military, political and economic resources" (Oriakhi & Osemwengie, 2012:89). Adebakin and Raimi (2012) identified economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political security as critical dimensions of national security. It embraces all measures designed to protect and safeguard the citizenry and the resources of individuals, groups, businesses and the nation against sabotage or violent occurrence. Security should not be managed in a highly centralised manner as currently observed in Nigeria. States need to be allowed to establish their own policing system aimed at curbing incessant security crisis at the grassroots.

Agwanwo (2014) averred that State police is the act of policing in a federal system in which the State government employs police officers for the purpose of policing the state. Aremu (2014:33) described State policing as a sub-national form of policing in which there is devolution of security operations in the hands of the federating states of regions. State policing operationally is when policing and all its operations and logistics are controlled by other governments other than the national or federal government. Scholars are of the opinion that Nigeria is fast degenerating into the Hobbesian state of nature where life is short, nasty, brutish and living has become an issue of

survival of the fittest, due to the serial attacks by hoodlums, criminals, armed robbers, kidnappers, cultists and terrorists, that have virtually taken over the nation. The resultant effects have been the destruction of valuable facilities and properties, loss of lives and increase in budgetary appropriation and expenditure on security. In the face of these, the security forces appear helpless and ineffective in curbing the security trends (Adebakin & Raimi, 2012; Eme & Anyadike, 2013; Odeh & Umoh, 2015; Nkwede, *et al.*, 2018).

In the same vein, Ugwu, *et al.*, (2013) established that there have been the phenomenal of Nigeria Police Force' s inability to ameliorate the security crisis bordering on kidnapping incidences, electoral and ethno-religious violence, politically-inclined, ritualist-oriented and cultism-related killings, and armed robberies in Nigeria. These have resulted in several clarion calls for an expanded and decentralised structure of the Nigerian policing system. Instances abound on the federations in several parts of the world operating a decentralised policing (state police) with different system. Mention should be made of the United States, Spain, Canada, Italy, India, Germany, Britain, Denmark, Belgium and others, who run a decentralised policing system and are doing well (Olong & Agbonika, 2013; Chiedu, 2018). Dadem (2009) argued that the centralisation of the Nigerian Police has made their operations unwieldy, and difficult to respond to local situations of a minor detail. This takes away the benefit that was conferred by the 1963 Constitution, which grants the regions the powers to establish and operate local Police Force (see Section 105 of the 1963 Constitution). Contrariwise, Section 214(1) of the 1999 Constitution (as amended) establishes a Police Force for the Federation, and no other force is to be established in any part of the federation. Agitations by many state governors in the recent past for the right to create " State police" are due to the dissatisfaction with this stipulated constitutional provision. The practical problem in the operation of this provision, as observed by Dadem (2009), lies in cases where the Commissioners of Police have refused to take directives from the Governors of the States, until they receive clearance from the President. Over-centralisation of security through the NPF has turned out to be a less effective way of managing security crisis in Nigeria (Restructure Nigeria, 2017). The debate on the necessity or otherwise of State police in contemporary Nigeria, as Nwogwugwu and Kupoluyi (2015) has noted, stems from the breakdown in general insecurity as manifested by high level of armed robbery, rape, kidnapping, massacres, ritual murder, unresolved assassinations, ethno-religious conflicts, urban terrorism and rural banditry, among others. The scholars argue further that these incidences of insecurity have generated untold anxiety and fear, especially in the inability of the federal controlled Nigerian police to curb or curtail their occurrence to some reasonable degree. In their study on " State policing and national security in Nigeria" , Odeh and Umoh (2015) observed that Nigeria is battling its worth level of security. According to them, the nation has suddenly metamorphosed into an abode of serial bombings, hostage-taking, kidnapping, armed robbery, cold-blooded murders and ethno-religious conflicts traceable to militant groups. Hence, the rising insecurity has called to question the centralisation of policing in the country. They however advanced the need to decentralise the Nigeria Police Force, and ensure that states establish, maintain and control their police formations.

Against the backdrop of Nigeria' s current huge security challenges, Ochei (2016) opined that one veritable way out of the quagmire of insecurity and similar challenges would be the establishment of State police. His submission is borne out of what he referred to as the persistent allegations of abuse of the NPF by those who currently run and control it. He goes further to state that State police formations would be more penetrable and widespread, as well as more community friendly, relative to the NPF. As such, it would be sensible if the states are constitutionally allowed to establish, fund and operate state police. Lending credence to the foregoing submission, Egunjobi (2016) traced the inadequate and centralised policing by the Nigeria Police Force to the failure of Nigerian federalism. The scholar notes that the over-centralisation of the Nigeria police against all known principle and practice of federalism, has made it a tool for political intimidation of opposition politicians by the wielders of the power of the federal government, and made deployment of the police to rapidly address crimes and criminality ineffectual, considering the vastness of the Nigerian space and its attendant challenges of diversity. This situation has led to continuous call for the decentralisation of the Nigerian police, through constitutional devolution of the powers to establish, organise, maintain and control the police, by sub-national units making up the Nigerian federation. Sharing similar opinion, Restructure Nigeria (2017) maintained that there are hundreds of Nigerian villages and thousands of neighbourhood

without any Nigerian police presence. This is in fact a threat to national security. It assert further that by devolving security duties of the national police to state and communities, the federal government would kill two birds with a stone, in that, the federal recurrent expenditure will be drastically reduced, while the blame on the Federal Government for certain crimes will be shifted on the State Governments.

Theoretical Exploration

There exist two schools of thought on “State police” debates in Nigeria's federation. Belonging to the first school are the proponents of the idea of state police as imperatives for effective and efficient policing in Nigeria. The underlying argument is that the present structure of the police makes them more alienated from the grassroots, so having State police will make the police institution more effective (Nwogwugwu & Kupoluyi, 2015). The peculiarity of the security challenges of each state can be better managed by the officers who understands the language, geography and the peculiar security challenge of the people they would be policing (Agwanwo, 2014). Given the spate of indiscriminate killings and kidnappings around the country, some analysts believe this is the ideal time to have State police in Nigeria. They maintain that it is only a decentralised police force that can rescue the nation from the precipice (Eme & Anyadike, 2012). The Senate on July 4, 2018, disturbed by escalating killings and insecurity in Nigeria, settled for state and community policing, through constitutional amendment. Recently, the Deputy Senate President, Senator Ike Ekweremadu, laments that the Plateau killings had clearly shown the inability of the federal police, to nip in the bud the security challenges facing the country. Reiterating his call for creation of State police, as a way out, Ekweremadu said that: “I have been saying it here anytime issues of senseless killings in the land come up that creation of State police is the way out since the centralised police have proved to be incapable of addressing the problem” (Umoru, 2018).

The vastness and geographical factor have also been reasoned for the need to establish a State police. The protagonists note that the country is too big to have a single and centralised police structure. In their views, State police has always been necessary in Nigeria because of its land mass and population. They then conclude that State police should have been in place since the return to civil rule in 1999 (Eme & Anyadike, 2012; *ThisDay Admin*, July 18, 2018). Another argument is the federal nature of the Nigerian state. Fashola in Onwuzuligbo (2012) observe that every state that has the power to give judgment through its state high courts and magistrates, and make laws through its state assemblies and legislators, must have the concomitant powers to enforce its law and police its state. This is an extension of the principle of federalism, to which Nigeria's federal and state courts exist (section 6 of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria). Thus, federalism is not complete without the existence of State police. In more advanced federating societies, there are federal and state police (Aleyomi, 2013). Since Nigeria operates a federal system of government that allows the devolution of power among the federating states, therefore the creation of a State police structure is a *sine qua non* to genuine principles of true federalism (Eme & Anyadike, 2012).

The advocates also maintain that establishing State police will give room for the central command to focus on raising a crop of highly professional police corps that may be deployed from time to time whenever the need arises (Eme & Anyadike, 2012). For the protagonists of state police, state governments have been funding the police as a result of the inability of the Federal Government to adequately cater for the institution. Adefi (2010:220) contended that “most State governors have provided vehicles and logistic support to the police in their states... With the creation of state police, states can constitutionally appropriate funds for the police force under their jurisdiction...” However, it has been averred that the state governors, who are the chief security officers of their states, are seemingly powerless as they have no control over the police domiciled in their states (Nwogwugwu & Kupoluyi, 2015). The main argument of the second school, which comprises the opponents of state police, is premised on the over-ambitious governors and mischievous money-bags, who may hijack the police in their states for selfish purposes. They further base their position on politicians who already use all manner of funny-looking guys as personal guards to terrorise the common man. In addition, they argue that state funds will be used to influence a handful of members of the security agencies to intimidate, harass, maim and in extreme cases, kill innocent citizens who perform their statutory duties. Some may resort to the use of security agents to force reporters to do their biddings. They also argue that there may arise situation where Governors can order certain uncompromising members of the House of Assembly for

voicing their dissenting views on an election. It will be better imagined than not, if such governors have powers over the police in the name of State police (Egbosiuba, 2013; Odeh & Umoh, 2015).

The opponents of State police use some of the human rights abuses perpetrated by some groups as basis for their arguments, saying that these groups often operate contrary to the provisions of the Nigerian constitution. This school of thought also argues that the State police will be abused by the State governors. They opined that it will produce the same result as the immunity clause which has entrenched corruption at various levels of government (Odeh & Umoh, 2015). Instances abound on the experiences Nigerians have had with the Native Authority (NA) Police, which operated at the local government level in the Northern and Western regions in the First Republic till April 1967. Despite its attractions, during the period it lasted, the NA/Local Government Police became a major instrument for harassing political opponents in the years before 1966, due mainly to intolerance of opposition by government in power, thereby leading in part to the failure of Nigeria's first experience in multiparty democracy (Rotimi 1991 cited in Egunjobi, 2016). Notwithstanding the arguments for and against the institution of State police, it is obvious that Nigeria has over the years been characterised by high rate of insecurity while men of the federal controlled police forces have not been able curbing the threat. Hence, embracing the federating principle of State police may seem the only way out of the security quagmire the country is facing at the moment.

Materials and Methods

The study adopted mixed method research design. The study population comprised the inhabitants of the rural and urban settings in the six local government areas within the three Senatorial Districts of Ogun State. These local governments were selected using purposive sampling technique. A sample size of 400 was selected using Taro Yamani's (1975) sample size formula. The respondents were selected using simple random sampling technique. The target population for the study comprised the students, unemployed youths, public servants, self-employed, traders, community leaders, elder statesmen and retirees of 18-79 years and above. A structured questionnaire was used as instrument of data collection. The data collected were analysed using chi-square statistics. Content analysis was used to analyse the theoretical positions of scholars and analysts on federalism, national security and state policing in Nigeria, based on the information derived from secondary sources, such as newspapers, books, journals/articles, constitutions, government publications, magazines and materials downloaded from websites.

Data Analysis, Findings and Discussions

This section analysed the data collected on the field through the questionnaire. Out of the 400 administered copies of questionnaire, 384 were retrieved, while 381 were useful for statistical analysis. The three null hypotheses were tested using Chi-square inferential statistics at .05 level of significance. Chi-square (χ^2) statistics was employed for the purpose of deductive inference from the responses of the respondents. The decision rule is that if the Chi-square calculated value (χ^2_{cal}) is greater than the tabulated value (χ^2_{tab}), null hypothesis (H_0) would be rejected while accepting alternative hypothesis (H_1), and vice versa.

Hypothesis one: *There is no significant relationship between insecurity and structural imbalance of the Nigerian state.*

To test the above hypothesis, Chi-square (χ^2) test of independence was applied using items 1-4 in the questionnaire. The test was carried out at .05 level of significance and 12 degree of freedom (df). The hypothesis sought to determine the relationship between insecurity and structural imbalance of the Nigerian state. The result of the test is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Summary of Result of Chi-square (χ^2) Test

<i>Hypothesis</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>χ^2_{cal}</i>	<i>χ^2_t</i>	<i>Decision rule</i>
1	381	12	.05	28.523	21.026	<i>H₀ Rejected</i>

Source: Field Survey, 2018.

Interpretation: The result of the test as shown in Table 1 reveal that χ^2_{cal} (28.523) is greater than χ^2_t (21.026). Hence, H_0 was rejected and H_1 was upheld. This implies that structural imbalance of the Nigerian state was

responsible for security crisis in some states of the Federation.

Hypothesis two: *The Nigeria Police Force (NPF) has not significantly curbed insecurity dilemma in Nigeria' s Fourth Republic.*

To test the above hypothesis, Chi-square (χ^2) test of independence was applied using items 5-7 in the questionnaire. The test was carried out at .05 level of significance and 8 degree of freedom (df). The hypothesis sought to determine whether the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) has been able to curb insecurity dilemma in Nigeria' s Fourth Republic or otherwise. The result of the test is presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Summary of Result of Chi-square (χ^2) Test

<i>Hypothesis</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	χ^2_{cal}	χ^2_t	<i>Decision rule</i>
2	381	8	.05	9.872	15.507	H_0 Accepted

Source: Field Survey, 2018.

Interpretation: The result of the test as shown in Table 2 reveal that χ^2_{cal} (9.872) is less than χ^2_t (15.507). Hence, H_0 was accepted and H_2 was rejected. This implies that the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) has not significantly curbed insecurity dilemma in Nigeria' s Fourth Republic.

Hypothesis three: *The establishment of state police will not significantly curb intimidating security challenges in Nigeria' s Fourth Republic.*

To test the above hypothesis, Chi-square (χ^2) test of independence was applied using items 8-10 in the questionnaire. The test was carried out at .05 level of significance and 8 degree of freedom (df). The hypothesis sought to determine whether the establishment of state police will significantly curb intimidating security challenges in Nigeria' s Fourth Republic or otherwise. The result of the test is presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Summary of Result of Chi-square (χ^2) Test

<i>Hypothesis</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	χ^2_{cal}	χ^2_t	<i>Decision rule</i>
3	381	8	.05	17.741	15.507	H_0 Rejected

Source: Field Survey, 2018.

Interpretation: The result of the test as shown in Table 3 reveal that χ^2_{cal} (17.741) is greater than χ^2_t (15.507). Hence, H_0 was rejected and H_3 was upheld. This implies that the establishment of state police will significantly curb intimidating security challenges in Nigeria' s Fourth Republic, especially since 2009 when the Boko Haram insurgency became rife.

Findings in hypothesis one indicated that structural imbalance of the Nigerian state was responsible for security crisis in some states of the Federation. Relying on the views of the respondents on the questionnaire items related to the above hypothesis, majority of them opined that the emergence of various ethnic militias in different parts of the country in the contemporary times is connected to the grievances with the structural imbalances of the Nigerian state. This finding agrees with extant studies, such as Muhammad (2007a,b), Katsina (2012), Fakanbi & Raji (2013), Nwabughio (1996), Enu, *et al.*, (2017), and Nkwede, *et al.*, (2018). Nkwede, *et al.*, (2018) observed that insecurity and political instability have been the permanent features of Nigeria body-politic. Katsina (2012) viewed that the major sources of threats to Nigeria' s national security are predicated upon structural, socio-economic and political imbalances.

Furthermore, findings in hypothesis two revealed that the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) has failed to significantly curb Nigeria' s insecurity dilemma. This conclusion is in tandem with the views of the majority of respondents on the fact that the Nigeria Police Force has been ineffective to prevent and thwart security crises in Nigeria. The finding agrees with previous findings of Dadem (2009), Eme & Anyadike (2012), Ugwu *et al.*, (2013), Nwogwugwu & Kupoluyi (2015), Odeh & Umoh (2015), and Egunjobi (2016). Ugwu, *et al.*, (2013) had earlier established that the Nigeria Police Force has been unable to ameliorate the security crisis in Nigeria. This view was also shared by Dadem (2009), Eme and Anyadike (2012), and Restructure Nigeria (2017). These studies perceive that federal police have

appeared several times helpless and ineffective in curbing the insecurity mantra in the country. Concurring to this, Nwogwugwu and Kupoluyi (2015) observed that the Nigerian Police as presently constituted has failed to live up to expectations. Similarly, Odeh and Umoh (2015) found that the current centralised system of administering the police force in Nigeria may not be tenable in adequately curbing the menace of insecurity.

Finally, findings in hypothesis three showed that the establishment of state police will significantly curb intimidating security challenges in Nigeria. This conclusion agrees with the views of the respondents on the field. The finding goes in line with the earlier observations of Eme & Anyadike (2012), Ugwu, *et al.*, (2013), Agwanwo (2014), Nwogwugwu & Kupoluyi (2015), Odeh & Umoh (2015), Egunjobi (2016), and Restructure Nigeria (2017). Having evaluated the feasibility of State policing in Nigeria, Odeh & Umoh (2015) submitted that the establishment of a State police that will be capable of tackling the current challenge of gross insecurity in Nigeria is desirable. Likewise, Ugwu, *et al.*, (2013) contended that expanded and decentralised police force mechanism will ensure adequate containment of security challenge in Nigeria.

Conclusions

The study examined the challenge of insecurity within the current facade of Nigeria's federalism with the argument for the viability of the State police as the alternative option to curbing the perceived and escalating insecurity trends in Nigeria. Based on the findings, the study submits that the centralisation of policing by the Federal Government has neither helped fight crimes nor improved security of lives and property. Without doubt, the centralised policing system has not really been effective. It is logical that the country considers other plausible options, such as the institution of State police. In an ideal federal system, the issue of State police should not be a contentious matter. Overcoming current security challenges in the polity requires the need to embrace the option of State police. The study is not recommending scrapping of the federal police rather suggesting a total overhauling of the NPF in such a way that more qualified, active and principled police personnel are recruited, while those already in the system are retrained in effective and democratic modes of policing. The federal police will work in federal agencies, parastatals and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Abuja. Their services may also be requested by any State Governor, who perhaps deems it necessary in times of crisis.

Therefore, the Police Service Commission should wake up from its slumber and ensure discipline, transparency and accountability in the police. The establishment of State police would not only stem the increasing tide of insecurity, it would also bring policing to the rural areas previously never felt the presence of police. State police would enhance prioritisation of policing objectives to match policing needs of people, make policing more accountable, and improve effectiveness and perhaps efficiency in security delivery. More importantly, the ninth National Assembly should prioritise the need to restructure the current convoluted federal structures so as to empower the States to establish their own polices thereby guaranteeing a decentralised policing system to effectively tackle all sorts of security vortex in Nigeria.

References

- Achumba, I.C., Ighomereho, O.S., & Akpo-Robaro, M.O.M. (2013). Security challenges in Nigeria and the implications for business activities and sustainable development. *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development*, 4(2), 79-99.
- Adebakin, M.A., & Raimi, L. (2012). National security challenges and sustainable economic development: Evidence from Nigeria. *Journal of Studies in Social Sciences*, 1(1), 1-30.
- Agwanwo, D.E. (2014). State policing and police efficiency in Nigeria. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, 4(25), 165-173.
- Alemika, E.E.O., & Chukwuma, I.C. (2003). *Analysis of police and policing in Nigeria: A desk study of the role of policing as barrier to change or driver of change in Nigeria*. Lagos: Centre for Law Enforcement Education in Nigeria (CLEEN) Foundation.
- Aremu, O. (2014). *Policing and terrorism: Challenges and issues in intelligence*. Ibadan: Stirling-Horden Publisher.
- Bassey, A.O. (2012). A theoretical prognosis and analysis of federal balance in Nigeria, 1954-2013. *Review of Arts and Humanities*, 1(1), 51-65.
- Chiedu, A. (2018, February 26). Nigeria: Still on state police. *All Africa*. Retrieved from <https://allAfrica.com/stories/201802260723.html>
- Egunjobi, A.A. (2016). The Nigerian federal practice and the call for state police. *International Journal of Advanced Academic Research*, 2(7), 1-14.
- Elaigwu, J.I. (2013). The practice of federalism in Africa, the Nigerian experience and the way forward. Lecture delivered at the Third Arc Goddy Jidenma Public

Lecture held at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, Victoria Island, Lagos, 12th November.

- Eme, O.I., & Anyadike, N. (2013). Security challenges and security votes in Nigeria, 2008-2013. *Kuwait Chapter of Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review*, 2(8), 10-32.
- Eme, O.I., & Anyadike, N. (2012). Security challenges and the imperatives of state police. *Review of Public Administration and Management*, 1(2), 203-218.
- Enu, D.B., Opoh, F.A., & Bassey, P.E. (2017). Balancing the imbalances in the structure of Nigeria federalism: The civic educators' perspective. *International Journal of Advanced Research in Public Policy, Social Development and Enterprise Studies*, 2(1), 71-82.
- Eze, R.C., Nkwede, J.O., & Uwabunkonye, O. (2012). The controversy of federalism in governance in Nigeria: An appraisal. *International Journal of Asian Social Science*, 2(4), 441-447.
- Fakanbi, K., & Raji, O. (2013). A federation in disarray: An interrogation of national integration and security challenges of Nigeria' s Fourth Republic. *The African Symposium: An online journal of the African Educational Research Network*, 13(2), 61-65.
- Inyang, J.D., & Abraham, U.E. (2013). Policing Nigeria: A case for partnership between formal and informal police institutions. *Merit Research Journal of Art, Social Science and Humanities*, 1(4), 53-58.
- Kasumu, T. (2017). Towards efficient and effective policing in Nigeria. Lecture delivered at Abuja. April 7.
- Katsina, A.M. (2012). Nigeria' s security challenges and the crisis of development: Towards a new framework for analysis. *International Journal of Developing Societies* 1(3):107-116.
- Muhammad, A.A. (2007a). Federalism and political stability in Nigeria: Current peril and future hopes. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 9(4), 187-210.
- Nkwede, J.O., Dauda, K.O., & Orija, O.A. (2018). Federalism and contending issues in contemporary Nigeria: Mapping alternative perspectives for a neo-federalist paradigm. *Asian Social Science*, 14(10), 111-119.
- Nwogwugwu, N., & Kupoluyi, A.K. (2015). Interrogating the desirability of state policing in Nigeria. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)*, 20(5), 1-7.
- Ochei, V. (2016). Why Nigeria needs state police. *The Pointer*, 18 June. Retrieved from <http://www.thepointernewsonline.com/?p=262.97>
- Odeh, A.M., & Umoh, N. (2015). State policing and national security in Nigeria. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 6(1), 412-422.
- Ojo, E.O. (2009). Federalism and the search for national integration in Nigeria. *African Journal of Political Science & Intl. Relations*, 3(9), 384-395.
- Olong, M.A., & Agbonika, J.A.A. (2013). Re-awakening the state police controversy in Nigeria: Need for rethink. *International Journal of Asian Social Science*, 3(11), 2307-2314.
- Oriakhi, D., and Osemwengie, P. (2012). The impact of national security on foreign direct investment in Nigeria: An empirical analysis. *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development*, 3(13), 88-96.
- Orluwene, O.B. (2018). The challenges and pathologies of Nigerian federalism. *Social Science and Law Journal of Policy Review and Development Strategies (SSLJPRDS)*, 6(1), 72-87.
- Ozoigbo, B.I. (2009). Federal balancing in Nigeria: A paradigm for sustainable democracy. *International Journal of Development and Management Review*, 4(1), 66-84.
- Robert-Okah, I. (2014). Strategies for security management in Nigeria: A roadmap for peace and national security. *African Research Review*, 8(3), 1-17.
- Smith, T. (2015, July 1). Federalism in the United States. *Oxford Bibliographies*. Retrieved from <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199756223-0024.xml>
- Ugwu, C.E., Ngige, D., & Ugwuanyi, B. (2013). Calls for state police in Nigeria: Options for sustainable national security. *International Journal of Research in Arts and Social Sciences*, 5, 402-415.