

FEDERALISM AND STATE POLICING IN NIGERIA: THE CONTENDING PERSPECTIVES

UABOR ELEANOR
LECTURER, DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION,
EDO STATE POLYTECHNIC, USEN
+2348034559206
Email uaborel@gmail.com

&
OSIFO GODWIN
LECTURER, DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION,
EDO STATE POLYTECHNIC, USEN
BENIN CITY, NIGERIA
+2348037252039
Email gosifo@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

In recent times the internal security crisis of the Nigerian state has assumed a frightening dimension. The Nigeria Police Force (NPP 'which has as its primary duty the task of maintaining order and enforcing the criminal law has remained an ineffective institution. As a consequence, police-society relations are at an all time low. This paper, employing secondary sources of data is a contribution to the on-going debate about the desirability or otherwise of state police force in Nigeria. It argues in favour of the adoption of state police forces if the conditions are right. These conditions include a readjustment of the powers of the partners in Nigeria's federal arrangement vis - a - vis the relationship between the central and the component units in line with the fundamental tenets of federalism. Drawing upon Nigeria's ethnic and religious diversity, the paper argues that the nation's federalism should be able to accommodate state police. It suggests further that such a scheme will represent an improvement on what is currently available, since a body assigned with the responsibility of policing should understand the customs and worldview of the local people. The paper concludes with a call on the National Assembly to, among other things, support the resolutions reached by the 2014 national conference which tend to give legal powers to states so that they can organize and maintain police forces in their jurisdictions, but in a cooperative spirit with the federal police force

INTRODUCTION

The Nigerian state is anchored on a federal system of government. Federalism aligns well with the highly heterogeneous nature of the nation's political society. Graf (1988:297), as cited in Tamuno (1992) is of the view that the country's existence as a nation-state hinges on its capacity to evolve and maintain an adequate system of federalism.

However, the nation's federal system of government is mired in imperfection and seems to have an anomalous and powerful central government that have, in much of the post colonial era usurped the resources and functions of the component units. This anomaly can easily be attributed to the prolonged military rule which had desecrated the core federalist principles of the federation. Our own understanding of a pragmatic approach to Nigerian federalism has been to use the advantages of centralized military administration to weaken the prospect of a confederation and thus strengthen Nigerian federalism (Aikhomu, 1994). In essence, Nigeria operates what has been variously described as 'military federalism' or 'quasi-federalism' (Osaghae, 2002:24; Nwabueze, 1994:31). This unitary form of federalism has often constituted the source of inter-governmental crisis in Nigeria. Thus there have been controversies relating to fiscal federalism and resources control, local government autonomy and the question of control of the police.

The police universally, is saddled with the task of maintaining and enforcing the law within civil society. This task everywhere is not easy as the police is often expected to eliminate or cure problems that

sometimes can hardly be surmounted. In the particular context of Nigeria's federalism, the duty of the police is an unenviable one. Nigeria's society is categorized as "deeply divided" and is easily susceptible to crisis (Osaghae, 2002:18). In the same vein, Nimbe (2010) aver that the inability of the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) to curtail the insecurity crisis that is presently debilitating the state is the main reason for the wide call for the Nigerian state to consider amending section 214(1) of the 1999 Federal Republic of Nigeria's constitution, which places exclusive control and establishment of police in the hands of the federal government (adediji,2016).

More often than not, attempts by the Nigerian government at finding solutions to internal insecurity focus mainly on increasing policing capacity in the areas of personnel strength, materials for work and welfare (Police Service Commission 2003; Tamuno, 1993:82). These measures assume erroneously, that once these conditions are put in place, the NPF will become extremely effective and efficient. This is not to belittle the importance of a well-resourced police force, but to suggest that experience has shown that effective policing require more than the mere men and materials (Reiner, 2000:20).

In Nigeria, internal security management has been problematic and there have hardly been unanimity as to how police and security organizations should be tailored in line with the demands of the people. This contestation is not new as it has been a major theme in the security domain in much of the post-colonial era. The idea of state police organizations for Nigeria's component units has often been rejected in much of the post-colonial era due to certain fears. Local police were said to have been routinely abused by regional governments of the First Republic, using them to oppress and hound political opponents (Dudley, 1982:53). The extreme nature to which state governors during the Second Republic viewed security issues made it safe to leave it in the hands of the federal government.

However, these arguments have not gone unchallenged. Even though, experiences of the past are crucial, efforts should be made to regard them as guides instead of all - time impediments to subsequent organization, operation and composition of policing arrangement in Nigeria. Osaghae (2002:137) suggests that the politicization of the police and the highhandedness of federal authorities and their failure to consult with states on issues of security in the cooperative spirit required in a federal state make the present arrangement very clumsy. State police, therefore, aligns properly with not just the Nigerian federal state but also its kaleidoscopic diversity. Federalism is in fact "a compromise between two demands- on the one hand for a large state and on the other for placing political authority in the hands of smaller units of government which corresponds more closely to the units of which men feel themselves to be members" (Passin and Jones-Quartey, 1963:89-90). Security matters may be better handled within the confines of the smaller units since men are often duty bound to obey communal laws and custom. They do so because they share a common appreciation of what is right or wrong. Group conscience is a strong moral sanction that can make policing easier by enforcing socially acceptable behaviour. In fact some critical research questions can be raised. Why is there a clamour for state police? Can state police forces be adopted in isolation of other core tenets of true federalism? Are the necessary conditions for establishment of state police in place? What have been the abuses or what possible abuses could occur? Can state police enhance internal security management which is currently in a deep crisis? Is the present refusal of the Nigerian state to develop state police situated within the context of a flawed federal structure? These are crucial questions that must be answered.

This paper, therefore, is an effort gear towards contributing to the discourse on the effectiveness or otherwise of state police within the Nigerian federal structure.

CONCEPTUAL AND ANALYTICAL PERSPECTIVES: THE CONCEPT OF FEDERALISM

According to Where (1953:15), who is largely regarded as the father of modern federalism, "a federal system of government connotes the constitutional division of powers between a central government and the component units, with each level of government limited to its own sphere and within that sphere, should be independent of the other". Federalism is therefore a joint venture between two independent but coordinated bodies. For Mclean (1996:179) "federalism involves a complex web of checks and balances between a national or federal government on the one hand, and a multiplicity of regional governments on the other". Federalism as a concept presupposes a governmental arrangement that accommodate different interests at one end and at the other, negate over-centralization of powers and the extreme decentralization of powers. Mclean (1996:180) also submits that the term is a debatable concept which, overtime, has become a middle way mantra to engendering co - operation and consensus in societies that exhibit fissiparous

tendencies.

In the archetypal federal state, which in essence is a federation, component units retain specific powers and relinquish other specific powers to the central government. They retain some control over their internal affairs and in order that their rights are properly defined, there is usually a federal constitution which allots powers between the units and the centre government.

INSECURITY AND SECURITY

Insecurity refers to those actions, series of actions, events or series of events that serve as threats and degradation to the quality of lives of the citizenry of any state (Al-Rodham, 2008:13). Insecurity in developing countries is often the result of weak economies as poverty and unemployment are usually inherent in such climes. In Nigeria, insecurity is also a consequence of ethnic and religious heterogeneity.

Security is an invaluable concept which is usually equated to reduction in the level of threat to life and property. "It involves the ability to pursue cherished political and social ambitions" (Williams, 2006:6). While survival is thought to be a necessary condition, security is state to develop state police situated within the context of a flawed federal structure? These are crucial questions that must be answered.

This paper, therefore, is an effort gear towards contributing to the discourse on the effectiveness or otherwise of state police within the Nigerian federal structure.

CONCEPTUAL AND ANALYTICAL PERSPECTIVES: THE CONCEPT OF FEDERALISM

According to Where (1953:15), who is largely regarded as the father of modern federalism, "a federal system of government connotes the constitutional division of powers between a central government and the component units, with each level of government limited to its own sphere and within that sphere, should be independent of the other". Federalism is therefore a joint venture between two independent but coordinated bodies. For Mclean (1996:179) "federalism involves a complex web of checks and balances between a national or federal government on the one hand, and a multiplicity of regional governments on the other". Federalism as a concept presupposes a governmental arrangement that accommodate different interests at one end and at the other, negate over-centralization of powers and the extreme decentralization of powers. Mclean (1996:180) also submits that the term is a debatable concept which, overtime, has become a middle way mantra to engendering co - operation and consensus in societies that exhibit fissiparous tendencies.

In the archetypal federal state, which in essence is a federation, component units retain specific powers and relinquish other specific powers to the central government. They retain some control over their internal affairs and in order that their rights are properly defined, there is usually a federal constitution which allots powers between the units and the centre government. **INSECURITY AND SECURITY**

Insecurity refers to those actions, series of actions, events or series of events that serve as threats and degradation to the quality of lives of the citizenry of any state (Al-Rodham, 2008:13). Insecurity in developing countries is often the result of weak economies as poverty and unemployment are usually inherent in such climes. In Nigeria, insecurity is also a consequence of ethnic and religious heterogeneity.

Security is an invaluable concept which is usually equated to reduction in the level of threat to life and property. "It involves the ability to pursue cherished political and social ambitions" (Williams, 2006:6). While survival is thought to be a necessary condition, security is perceived as safety, confidence, freedom from danger, fear and doubt. Security therefore transcends mere survival of persons, communities, organizations and nations. It is in this light that Booth (2007:15) conceptualized the term as being able to enjoy substantial freedom from life-determining threats and some life choices.

INTERNAL SECURITY MANAGEMENT

The internal security management mechanism of a state refers to those bodies, structures and institutions giving the mandate to ensure law and order are maintained in a state. (Malik, 2010:3). Generally, for a state to have an effective internal security management system, the critical elements relating to internal security management must work in tandem with one another. In the particular context of the Nigerian federal state, the relevant structures and institutions include the Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Police Affairs and Ministry of Defence. These ministries control the Nigerian prisons services, Nigeria police force, Nigerian

immigration services, Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps, Nigeria Customs Services, the State Security Service and National Drug Law Enforcement Agency. These bodies function under the auspices of the National Security Adviser (NSA), which directly reports to the president and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed forces.

THE POLICE

A body of persons constituted by law to enforce laws, protect property, and limit civil disorder is known as the police (Walker, 1977:143). The legitimate use of force is one of its powers. The police force may be authorized to exercise the police power of a state within a defined legal area. However, law enforcement and preservation of order does not constitute all there is about policing activity. There may be a plethora of activities under different circumstances.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

For a complete grasp of the issues in this paper and for a proper view, it is crucial that we adopt a theoretical lens. Structural-functionalism seems to align properly with these issues as it analyzes society in terms of the whole and parts.

McClellan (1996:480) avers that the theory sees the society as complex structure of interdependent parts, each tending to fulfill various requirements that contribute to the maintenance of the whole society. The theory employs an analogy which sees the various parts and the whole in the society in the context of a living or human organism. As Urry (2000:23)

argues, this analogy as popularized by Herbert Spencer, sees the parts of the society as the organs that work towards the proper functioning of the body as a whole.

Merton (1948), as cited by Urry (2000:23), brings to the theory an important refinement. He emphasizes it as a middle-range theory rather than a grand theory. He suggests that most social structures have many functions and that some functions are more obvious than others (Macdonald, 2010:14). In this vein, Robert Merton formulated the concept of deviance to indicate that some institutions may become perverted. He drew a distinction between the dual concepts of manifest functions and latent functions.

Inherent in the Structural functionalists argument is that if outcomes or consequences of a particular social institution contribute more to individual and group achievements and goals than it does to impeding them, the institution will be further entrenched and survive. Conversely, if the outcomes, decisions and consequences of the institution are more of an impediment to the goals and aspirations of the major segments of the society, then such institution is dysfunctional and the tendency will be to change it or to destroy it. In a situation where an institution becomes dysfunctional, other institutions will adapt so as to restore stability and balance for the whole society. This continuous process of change and adaptation is referred to as dynamic equilibrium by functionalists. A disequilibrium will engender cultural lag in the society (Ogburn, 1922). All societies experience or exhibit this tendency since they are often in a constant state of flux.

The structural-functionalist approach provides a vista through which we can analyze and properly situate Nigeria's federal system. The security problematic in the federation as a whole can be linked to certain areas or parts that have become dysfunctional. Indeed, the federal government has been largely unable to fulfill the function of policing the entire federation. Therefore, a reconstruction of the functional terrain presupposes a reconstruction of power variation in policing terms.

NIGERIAN FEDERALISM: ORIGINS, NATURE AND CONTEXT

It has been well over a century since Sir Frederick Lord Lugard was giving the mandate to engineer a unified northern and southern Nigeria. This task was unequivocally carried out, even though he kept the two regions administratively separate. Nigeria thus began her nationhood as a federation. As the nation accelerated towards independence, there were piecemeal changes that solidified federalist tenets in governance. However, most writers on the Nigerian state trace the origin of federalism to constitutional developments in the post World

War II era. Osaghae (2002:23), for example, suggests that Nigeria adopted the federal system in 1954 with the Lyttleton constitution. That constitution gave autonomy to the regions and incorporated some measures which the northern delegation took to the London constitutional conference of 1953. Some of these measures were a reconstruction of the 1951 demands and they include the demands that the Northern region be allocated 50 percent of the seats in the house of representative at the centre, the adoption of population as the criteria for revenue allocation and that no part of the Northern region should be ceded to the western region as was demanded by Yorubas in Kwara (Osuntokun, 1979:26:1, AFigbo, 1991:53).

However snippets of the federal principle could be found in the Richards constitution of 1946 which created the three regions (Northern, Western and Eastern) and the Macpherson constitution (1951) which concretized the autonomy of the regions by providing for bicameral legislature for the northern and western regions and a unicameral legislature for the eastern region. Yet Nigeria's federal system at independence was relatively good and had the trappings of an archetypal federal state. The independence constitution of 1960 gave to the regions extensive powers, thus, conferring on them status of autonomy.. The 1960 and 1963 constitutions put in place a federation with strong regional governments at the expense of a limited central government.

However, successive military administrations have diluted the core tenets of federalism in Nigeria. Although military governments have often insisted that federalism is an unchangeable basis of the nation's political structure, they nevertheless adopted a flawed variant of the concept. Thus military government seems to be an improper tool for driving the federal state. It is in this light that Dion (2000) observed that democracy is indispensable to federalism. For him, the two concepts reinforces each other. The Fourth Republic has been characterized by an overbearing central government which use it might to strangulate the component units.

THE POLICE AND THE CONTEXT OF POLICING IN CONTEMPORARY NIGERIA

The foundations of the Nigeria police, in the opinion of Tamuno (1993:4), can be traced to the annexation of Lagos in 1861 by the British when the colonial government established the Lagos Consular Guard primarily to protect its economic interests and control the restive natives in the then Lagos Colony". In the North, this Guard had by 1863 developed into the Hausa police, while by 1879 it transformed into the Hausa Constabulary. The Hausa Constabulary, as a force, was armed and consisted of one commissioner, two assistant commissioners, onesuperintendent, one Pay and Quartermaster, one master tailor and two hundred and fifty other ranks.

George (2011) is of the view that with the establishment of the Royal Niger Company in 1886, the Constabulary paid allegiance briefly to this body before it was dissolved in 1900 with the formation of the protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria (Jordan, 1985:124). The Northern police force and the Southern police force remained separate institutions despite the amalgamation of 1914. The Nigeria police force came into existence on April 1st 1930 with its headquarters in Lagos. It resulted out of the merger of the Northern police force with the southern police force. The 1960 constitution established a federal police force that was assigned the duty of maintaining law and order in Nigeria. However, because there was nothing in the constitution that expressly prevented the regions from establishing their own police forces, the Northern and Western regions had local police forces in the First Republic which co-existed with the federal police force (Alemika,2010:6). The advent of military rule led to a seeming usurpation of the autonomy of the regions (states).This centralizing tendency of military federalism was to have dire consequences for future constitutional development in Nigeria. In 1979, following the reconstruction of the political terrain, the framers of the constitution did not deem it necessary to take state governments into cognizance in the administration of the police force (Tamuno, 1993:6). This is in spite of the fact that executive presidentialism which was adopted is synonymous with federalism. Appointment of the Inspector-General of police became the exclusive preserve of the president and states were prohibited from establishing their own police forces. Subsequent constitutions have followed this logic.

DANGERS OF CENTRALIZED FEDERAL POLICING IN NIGERIA: STATE POLICE AS AN ANTIDOTE

The Nigeria Police Force as organized by the Nigerian federal government is extremely inefficient. The highly centralized nature of the NPF is a major hindrance to building community trust and confidence.

Structural and institutional constraints have engendered crises for the police in areas of integrity, accountability, performance and legitimacy which have, overtime, lend credence to the clamour for state police in the country.

Integrity and Accountability problem

The crisis of pervasive corruption has created a crisis of incivility and brutality and this is reflected in police - public antagonism. Colonial legacy and prolonged military rule, which desecrated core federalist tenets, have stripped the NPF of accountability to the local population. Thus in so far as the bosses at the centre are contented, the various commands are considered satisfactory in operational terms. The Force has been severally criticized for extortion, extrajudicial killings and impunity. The Judicial Commission of Inquiry on the Apo Six Killings (FGN), (2005) headed by justice Olasumbo Goodluck concluded that the NPF is an unfriendly organization whose officers are generally high-handed and abrasive, always using their position to take unfair advantage of people. To reduce the high incidence of corruption in the force, perhaps, a decentralized system of control may be a better tool to instill discipline among members of the force.

Performance problem

There is no gainsaying the fact that the Nigeria Police Force has under - performed and evidences abound to show that this assertion is in the affirmative when viewed in terms of response to distress calls, investigation, apprehension of criminals, crime prevention etc. That is why the Presidential Committee on the Reform of the Nigeria Police Force, otherwise called the Yusuf Committee Report in 2008 posits that the negative image of the police in the eyes and minds of the public arose from the high level of crime in the force and its failure to carry out genuine police functions successfully (FGN, 2008). Apart from the frontlines of terror in the North-East, the country lies prostrate before an army of armed robbers, kidnappers, pirates, illegal bunkerers and ethnic militias. The inescapable verdict is that the configuration of the police force in Nigeria as operated under the federal government, is not a proper tool for performing the core functions of a police force.

Problem of Legitimacy

This is a fall out of problems of integrity, accountability and poor performance. Nigerians do not have respect, trust and support for the police. According to Reiner (2000:88) "the police officer is a microcosmic mediator of the relations of power in a society". The state has grown apart from the society, with the result that society at large has refused to develop any serious interest in the well-being and sustenance of the state. No state apparatus suffers this societal hatred more than the police. This prompted Alemika and Chukwuma (2002:3) to submit that "the role of the police, as organized by the federal government, is to defend the status-quo of political oppression and economic injustice". Police incivility and brutality has alienated the public from the force and its operations. The consequence of this is that the average Nigerian on the street detests the NPF as an institution and its members as individuals. As envisioned by the aforementioned crises, it becomes imperative for the Nigerian federal system to embrace the idea of state police in order to erase the brutal and uncivilized connotations associated with the police institution in the country.

ANALYSING THE CONTENDING AND COUNTERVAILING THESES OF STATE POLICE IN NIGERIA'S FEDERAL SYSTEM

In the face of the present internal security crisis debilitating the Nigerian state, there have been two broad proposals. The first is to maintain the present centralized system of policing but to carry out changes like deployment of more men and materials. The second is the adoption of the idea of state police forces. The latter suggests that Nigeria being a federal state, should allow those states that require state police to set up their own police formations to function in tandem with the federal police force. In the postulation of Okechukwu and Ogbechie (2014), those who are against the idea of state police in Nigeria usually project the view that the country, though a federal state, is not ripe for the adoption of such a force. Dudley (1982:53) argued long ago that local police were routinely abused in the First Republic. They were used to oppress political opponents. This line of thinking therefore suggests that the creation of state police forces will simply

be an invitation to chaos. There are also questions relating to the rights of minority groups within the states. State police forces could be used to suppress minority rights and interests. However, there has been a countervailing argument which suggests that the reasons adduced by proponents of a centralized police system are not cogent. The use of strangers to police a people, while suitable for the colonial situation, has become the Achilles heel of the post colonial state. Alemika and Chukwuma (2013:31) submit that the Colonial Governor, Denton, in a letter to London in 1893 openly extolled the virtues of using strangers to police strangers. He says "in our Hausa force we have a body of men dissociated from the countries immediately around Lagos both by birth and religion, and who are as a matter of fact are the hereditary enemies of the Yorubas". At independence, subsequent governments (civilian and military alike) did not see it proper to either refrain from this colonial philosophy and deployment strategy or reconstruct the NPF from an occupation force to protectors of the ordinary peoples and their property. The twin tragedies of terrorism and kidnapping were allowed to snowball into national crisis due to the absence of on-the ground intelligence that only a state police would have been able to provide.

When local and community based police share in local knowledge about strangers and unusual activities in their jurisdiction, they are in the best position to put an end to such activities, especially at their embryonic stages. The resort to establishment of vigilante groups by some state governments is a direct consequence of their frustration with the present situation. The arming of these groups is dangerous as it leads to the proliferation of small arms and light weapons. Furthermore, these extra-constitutional groups may become perverted and grow out of the immediate control of the states that established them in the first instance. Again, it is an injustice to have the states contribute to the funding of the police but yet refused to let them have a say in its operating methods (Eriye, 2013:14). It is in this light that there have been wide calls in Nigeria for the practice of state police forces which will operate in sync with the federal force.

SWITZERLAND AND THE UNITED STATES IN RELATION TO NIGERIA: THE IMPERATIVES OF STATE POLICE

For a profound understanding of these issues, it is imperative that we scrutinize the law enforcement institutions of countries that have successfully operated a federal system of government. Switzerland is one such state, governed as a federation since the constitution of 1848 (Appadorai, 1975:367). Switzerland is a federal state, with disparate ethnic groups that operate its government within the confines of a democracy.

The duty of enforcing the law is mainly that of the 26 cantons, each of which operate cantonal police agencies. The central government is responsible for certain specialized police duties and the protection of the border. The central police is also responsible for those security issues that involve more than one canton.

In Switzerland, the central government do not operate an all purpose police agency. A board made up of cantonal police commanders is responsible for the coordination of police duties at the national level. The federal office of police, which is an organization under the federal department of justice and police coordinates foreign operations and also requests cantonal police to furnish it with the support necessary to unravel questions relating to organized crime and money laundering (Fleiner, 2001:19). In the final analysis, most writers who argue that state police is compatible with Nigerian's federal system actually draw inspiration from the American political system (Nwabueze, 2007: Erne and Anyadike, 2013). In accordance with the federal structure of the United States government, each of the fifty component units (states) maintain and retain their own police (Erne and Anyadike, 2013:292-293). What this presupposes is that in the event of a non federal crime being committed in a state and the criminal remains within the state in question, the federal government lacks the power of jurisdiction in that instance. For those who argue that Nigeria's federalism is structurally deficient without the existence of state police, the American and Swiss federal systems remain a reference point.

CONCLUSION

Considering the fact that Nigeria has a multitude of ethnic groups with their respective idiosyncrasies, it is ideally understandable why the country adopt a federal system of government. This becomes imperative as it is the only system of government that can tailored both the centripetal and centrifugal tendencies within the state towards attaining the 'common good' for the citizenry. Thus, by taking

cognizance of the differences that exist in various local terrains, the system encourages local people to develop in line with conditions that are peculiar to them.

The Nigeria Police Force, as presently constituted, is established and operated by the federal government. In addition, the states are prohibited from organizing police formations that can supplement the existing force. The experience of the Nigerian state has shown that this police force has been anything but effective. The force has been unable to win the confidence and trust of Nigerians due to the fact that it has resoundingly failed in its primary duty as the protector of the people and the enforcer of criminal law. Dislike, suspicion and outright hatred for the police have become something of a sub-culture among Nigerians. The present situation, in some ways, can be traced to a clear disconnection between the local people and the police.

However, there is a functional alternative for the Nigerian state. The considered view of this paper is that the Nigeria police force as presently constituted, structured and operated is a defective institution. Although this paper sees the adoption of state police forces as a device that can bring considerable improvement to the present scenario, it nevertheless sounds a caveat. The adoption of state police forces cannot be in isolation of other federalist tenets.

State police force, when adopted to operate in tandem with the federal police, will reduce the tendency to resort to extra-judicial bodies like the vigilante. At present some states have armed informal groups that operate under the term vigilante. They are armed and are purportedly established to fight criminality within the confines of the local communities. However, it is dangerous to arm informal groups, as they are easily susceptible to perversion and private capture. It may ultimately lead to the proliferation of small arms and light weapons within civil society and a corresponding increase in crime (Adediji, 2016).

Nigeria must properly streamline the foundations of its federalism. If the nation is to operate an appropriate federal structure, then the powers of the component units should be effectively balanced against those of the central government. The provision for states, where necessary, to maintain a police force which will operate in a cooperative manner with the federal force is one of such powers which can strengthen Nigeria's federal system. This scheme has been successfully operated in plural societies elsewhere. For example, in the United States the Federal Bureau of Intelligence, being the federal law enforcement agency, operates in sync with state police departments. The same is true of Switzerland where there are cantonal police departments.

If the attempt at restructuring Nigeria's federal system is to succeed, stakeholders in the Nigerian project must get involved in public policy advocacy to persuade the National Assembly to consider this issue with a view to amending the relevant sections of the 1999 constitution. The report of the 2014 National Conference, held under the chairmanship of former Chief Justice of the federation, Hon. Justice Idris Kutigi could also be a useful vehicle for driving the envisaged reforms. The decisions and resolutions reached at the conference should be inculcated into the Nigerian constitution upon ratification by both chambers of the National Assembly.

REFERENCES

- Afigbo, A. E. (1981). Background to Nigerian Federalism: Federal Features in the Colonial State. *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*. 21(4), 44-59.
- Aikhomu, A. A. (1994). "Federal- State Relations under the Military, 1985-1992". *Nigerian Journal of Federalism*. 1(1)8-19.
- Alemika, E. and Chukwuma, I. (2002). Analysis of Police and Policing Nigeria. Lagos: Centre for Law Enforcement Education in Nigeria (CLEEN)
- Alemika, E. (2010). History, Context and Crises of the Police in Nigeria, a paper Presented at the Biennial Retreat of the Police Service Commission on the Theme, Repositioning the Nigeria Police to meet the Challenges of Policing a Democratic Society in the Twenty First Century and Beyond. Le Meridian Hotel, Uyo, Akwalbom State. November 1-4, 2010. Pp.1-19.
- Alemika, E. and Chukwuma, I. (2000). *Police Community Violence in Nigeria*. Lagos: Centre for Law Enforcement Education in Nigeria (CLEEN).
- Al-Rodhan, N. (2008). *The Three Pillars of Sustainable National Security in a Transnational World*. Geneva: Centre for Security Policy.

- Appadorai, A. (1975). *The Substance of Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Asuni, J. B. (2007). Culture and Conflict. In Bassey, C.O. and Oshita, O.O. (eds). *Conflict Resolution, Identity Crisis and Development in Africa*, pp. 121-130. Lagos: Malthouse Press.
- Awolowo, O. (1966). *Thoughts on the Nigerian Constitution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Booth, K. (2007). *Theory of World Security*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Dion, S. (2000) "Federalism and Democracy: The Canadian Experience". A paper presented at the Canadian Privy Council, Winnipeg, Manitoba. 14 April 2000.
- Dudley, B. J. (1982). *An Introduction to Nigerian Government and Politics*. London: Macmillan.
- Eme, O. I. and Ogbochie, A. N. (2014). "Limitations of State Police in Nigeria". *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*. Vol 5, No 15:130 - 140..
- Eriye, F. (2013). "Senators and their Unusual Passion" in *The Nation Newspaper*, Sunday July 7 2013. Vol.07, No.2539. p.14
- Federal Government of Nigeria (1960). *The Nigeria Constitution*
- FGN (1963). *The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria*.
- FGN (1967) "Report on Police and Prisons". *Working Paper*. Federal Government of Nigeria. Gazzette.
- FGN (1999). *The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria*.
- FGN (2005). Report of the Judicial Commission of Inquiry on the Apo Six Killings. Abuja: Main Report, Vol.1
- FGN (2008). Report of the Presidential Committee on the Reform of the Nigeria Police Force. Abuja: Main Report, Vol.1.
- Fleiner, T. (2001). "Federalism: Russian and Swiss Perspectives". A paper presented at the Institute of Federalism. Fribourg. 2001, pp.1-35
- George, O. J. (2011). Impact of Culture on Employment Relations Practice in Former British Colonies: A comparative Case Study of Cadbury (Nigeria) Pic and Cadbury Worldwide
- Graf, W. D. (1988). *The Nigerian State: Political Economy, State Class and Political System in the Postcolonial Era*. London: James Currey.
- Macionis, G. (2010). *Sociology*. Toronto: Pearson Inc.
- Marshall, G. (1994). *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Sociology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Malik, V. P. (2010). *Internal Security Management: Challenges and Policy Options*. 8 New Delhi: Centre for Land Warfare Studies. (CLAWS).
- Crowder, M. (1962). *The Story of Nigeria*. London: Faber and Faber.
- McClean, I. (1996). *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Nimbe, O. E. (2011). "Implications of State Police in a Fledgling Democracy" *European journal of Social Sciences*, vol 4:22 - 31
- Nwabueze, B. O. (1983). *Federalism under the Presidential Constitution*. London: Sweet and Maxwell.
- Nwabueze, B. O. (1994). *Nigeria '93': The Political Crisis and Solutions*. Ibadan: Spectrum.
- Nwabueze, B. O. (2007). *How President Obasanjo Subverted Nigeria's Federal System*. Ibadan: Gold Press Ltd.
- Ogburn, W. (1922). *Social Change with Respect to Culture and Original Nature*. New York: B.W. Huebsch.
- Olowokere, E. and Oluduro, B. (2011), "Implications of State Police in a Fledgling Democracy" *European Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 1 : 144 - 155.
- Onoge, O. F. (1993). "Social Conflicts and Crime Control in Colonial Nigeria" in T.N. Tamuno et al (eds) *Policing Nigeria: Past, Present and Future*, Lagos: Malthouse Press Limited, pp.172-181.
- Open Society Foundations (2010) *Criminal Force: Torture, Abuse, and Extra-Judicial Killings*, Available at <http://www.refworld.org/docid/4cbc44742.html>. assessed 8 Feb 2017
- Osaghae, E. E. (2002). *Nigeria since Independence: Crippled Giant*. Ibadan: John Archers Publishers.
- Osuntokun, J. (1979). "The Historical Background of Nigerian Federalism". In A.B. Akinyemi et al, eds. *Readings on Federalism*. Lagos: Nigeria Institute of International Affairs, pp.19- 32.
- Passin, H. and Jones-Quartey, K. (1963). *Africa: The Dynamics of Change*. Ibadan: University Press
- Police Service Commission (2003). "Police and Policing in Nigeria: Final Report on the Conduct of the Police in the 2003 Elections" *Police Service Commission*, Abuja.
- Reiner, R. (2000). *The Politics of the Police*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Shetima, K. (2012), State Police or state Social Security? <http://allafrica.com/stories/20120903Q580htm>.

assessed 9 Feb, 2017.

- Tamuno, T. K. (1993). *Policing Nigeria: Past, Present and Future*. Lagos: Malthouse Press Limited
- Tamuno, T. N. (1992). "Rights Over Land: Categories and Controversies. *Journal of the International African Institute*. Vol 62, No 3:450 - 452.
- Tunde-Awe, B. M. (2005). "Proposing a Curriculum for the Nigerian Police Force" *Ilorin Journal of Education*. 24(2), pp.23-30.
- Urry, J. (2000). "Metaphors". *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century*. Routledge: London.
- Walker, S. (1977). *A Critical History of Police Reform: The Emergence of Professionalism*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.
- Wheare, K.C. (1953). *Federal Government*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Williams, P. D. (2008). *Security Studies: An Introduction*. New York: Routledge