

**TITLE PAGE**

**NIGERIAN POLICE, AND SECURITY CHALLENGES DURING THE 2015  
ELECTION A CASE STUDY OF NIGERIAN DIVISIONAL HEADQUARTERS  
KABALA DOKI KADUNA.**

**BY**

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**SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE FACULTY  
OF SOCIAL SCIENCES USMANU DANFODIO UNIVERSITY SOKOTO IN  
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF DEGREE OF  
BACHELOR OF SCIENCE (HONOUR) IN POLITICAL SCIENCE.**

**OCTOBER, 2015**

## CERTIFICATION PAGE

This is to certify that this research work was carried out by Ummisalma Babangida and it is hereby submitted for assessment for the award of B.Sc Degree in the Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, Usmanu Danfodio University Sokoto.

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Date

## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to my parents.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

First and foremost, my enormous acknowledgement to Almighty Allah unto whom all sovereignty resides.

Undeniable appreciation to my parents Alhaji Ahmad Babangida and Hajia Adama Babangida for making it possible through moral and financial support that I represent a part of knowledge, may Almighty Allah grant them the highest place in this world and the hereafter.

To my supervisor Prof. M.Z Umar, whom I have so much respect and owe a debt of gratitude, I really appreciate your guidance, efforts and patience in making this work a successful one, may Almighty Allah bless you abundantly. I will also acknowledge my lecturers for their time and effort may Almighty Allah reward them.

My sincere acknowledgment to my brothers Dahiru, Muhammad, Mustapha, Aminu, Dayyib, Nura, Ahmad, and my sisters Aisha, Husaina, Amina, Fatima, Maryam, and Mariya, and my cousins, Amal, Ummaima, Hafsa, Usman, Baffah, Adamu my aunts and uncles may Almighty Allah reward them for their support.

I will also acknowledge my friends Fatima Maccido, Nafisah Mustapha, Binta Yakubu, and Rabiat Ishola and my course mates for their support and words of encouragement throughout our stay in school may Almighty Allah bless them.

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## **ABSTRACT**

Maintaining peace and order is essential in every society. Security in democratic states become challenging for the specialized force responsible for keeping order known as the police. This work examines the Nigerian Police Divisional Headquarters Kabala Doki Kaduna State concerning security challenges during the 2015 election.

The methodology used in this research are qualitative and quantitative, interview and questionnaire were used in collecting data .The research used theory of policing in analyzing the police in relation to security challenges during the 2015 election.

This research has been concluded based on our findings, the level of security maintained by the police despite the challenges during the 2015.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **1.1 INTRODUCTION**

Police is the agency of a community or government that is responsible for maintaining public order, preventing and detecting crime. The basic police mission of preserving order by enforcing rules of conduct or laws- was the same in ancient societies as it is in sophisticated urban environments. The conception of police as a protective and law enforcement organization developed from the use of military bodies as guardians of peace such as Praetorian Guard of ancient Rome. During the middle ages, policing authority, particularly in England, was the responsibility of local nobles on their individual estates. Each noble generally appointed an official, known as a constable, to carry out the law. Their duties include keeping the peace, arresting and guarding criminals.

Police origin is product of social crisis in the society. In Nigeria the development of the police force was a tangential direction to that of British Force. British trade interest and the need to prevent squabbles between the native chiefs and the imperial merchants were the impetus for the formation of the force. Consequently, the police grew up as a paramilitary force bearing arms from its inception. The Consular Guards established in

Lagos consisting of about 30 men were armed. In 1863, these Guards matured into the Hausa Police and by 1876, the latter developed into Hausa constabulary. It was armed and consisted of a Commissioner, two Assistant Commissioners, A Superintendent, an Assistant Superintendent, a Pay and Quartermaster, A Master Tailor and 250 other ranks. S. G. Ehindero (1998).

The Nigerian police began with thirty member consular guard formed in Lagos Colony in 1961. In 1876 a 1,200-member armed paramilitary Hausa constabulary was formed. In 1896 the Lagos Police was established. A similar force Niger Coast constabulary was formed in Calabar 1894 under the newly proclaimed Niger Coast Protectorate. In the north the Royal Niger company set up the royal Niger company constabulary in 1888 with headquarters at Lokoja. When the Northern and Southern Nigeria were proclaimed in the early 1990s, part of the Royal Niger Company Constabulary became the Northern Nigeria Police, and part of the Niger Coast Constabulary became the Southern Nigerian Police. Northern and Southern Nigeria were amalgamated in 1914, but their police forces were not merged until 1930, forming the Nigerian Police Force, headquarters in Lagos. The Nigerian Police Force performed conventional functions and was responsible for internal security generally; for supporting the prison, immigration, and

customs services; and for performing military duties within or outside Nigeria as directed. **The Nigerian Police** is designated by section 164 of 1979 constitution as the **national** police of Nigeria with exclusive jurisdiction throughout the country. The Nigerian Police Force maintains three-tier administrative structures of departments, zonal, and state commands. Three major Governmental Agencies oversee the control and supervision of the Police; The Nigerian Police Council, the Police Service Commission and The ministry of Police Affairs.

The Nigerian Police Force operating budget 1984 to 1988 remained in the N380 million range, and in 1988 increased to N521 million. More notable were large capital expenditure infusions of N206 million in 1986 and N260.3 million in 1988, representing 3.5 and 2.5 percent of total federal capital expenditure in those years. These increase were used to acquire new communications equipment, transport, and weapons to combat the rising crime wave. Nigerian Police Force study in 1990 concluded that the force's budget must double to meet its need.

Security, major preoccupation of the police, is the state or feeling of being safe and protected. Hence security becomes very important in any social setting. Yet, it is a fact that maintaining order becomes essential and challenging in democratic states. Since the

return of democracy in 1999, the security situation in Nigeria has been quite disturbing, and in the past fifteen years things have been worsening on a daily basis. Like any other human society, conventional crimes have been part of the experience. Being the specialized force responsible for maintaining order and ensuring security, the police play a major role as they keep watch of what goes on within the country.

Election, an activity that witnesses some level of insecurity, is a procedure that allows members of an organization or community to choose representatives who will hold positions of authority within it. The most important elections select the leaders of local, state, and national governments. The chance to decide who will govern at these levels serves as an opportunity for the public to make choices about policies, programs and future direction of government action. The threat of defeat at the polls often exerts pressure on those in power to conduct themselves in a responsible manner and take account of popular interest and wishes when they make their decisions. Elections are very important and serious events in a democratic state, where people get to choose their political leaders. But in a diverse country like Nigeria with different tribes and other pluralities, it becomes challenging to freely produce holders of various political offices. Since the return to civilian rule in 1999 until 2015 the country has been ruled by

the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), which rule had generated mixed feelings. For several years under the PDP watch, and the country has faced ineffective and inefficient administration, with security becoming the most disturbing issue especially in the northern part of the country. Indeed, the challenges of security had led to the postponement of the election that was supposed to take place on the 14<sup>th</sup> of February 2015 to 28<sup>th</sup> of March 2015, a decision that angered the people. Election over time has generated the fear of election manipulation by the ruling party, as rigging is a significant element of election in Nigeria.

## **1.2 Statement of problem**

The Nigerian Police Force experienced endemic problems recruiting training, inefficiency, indiscipline and it lacked expertise in specialized fields. Corruption and dishonesty were widespread, engendering a low level of public confidence, failure to report crimes, prevent and detect crime, investigation and tendencies to resort to self-help.

The Nigerian Police Force today is far different from the past Police Force that was known some decades ago. The past Nigerian Police Force has the history of nobility, service to humanity and sacrifice. It is saddening that in recent years, the Nigerian



Police Force has become bastion of inefficiency, illegality and institutional decadence. It has moved from being one of the pillars of grace and service to a cathedral debauchery. For more than a century now the police corruption has touched more facets of our daily lives, as there are more deficit and structural ethics in Nigerian Police Force. The Police Force has been waging war against itself, and no police force can wage war against itself and expect to perform and discharge its duties effectively and efficiently. When there is indictment in the law enforcement system and agencies, how can the illness of a country be healed, taken away and cured.

It is awful to know that no matter what the Nigerian Police Force does, the vast majority of Nigerian populace will always regard as members and groups that are corrupt. The populace will always refer them as people that loaf around most of the time and lazy people. Moreover, it is unfortunate that of all the arms of security services, the police have become the butt of vengeance. The armed hooligans i.e. armed robbers in Nigeria have better and great incentives than the police. Is there any wonder that armed robbers typically outman, outgun, and outgun the police if the general public does not respect for the police, how would the criminals desist from crime act The Police Force in Nigeria are master minds of criminal act by colliding with criminals and serving as their

godfathers. Some Nigerian police officials are also on the pay-roll of crime bosses, as they are being paid huge amounts of money, to protect their criminal acts.

The aforesaid are being caused by the superior officers in the police force, in terms of recruitment, training and proper control of the force. The recruitment processes are being used as family and political affairs, thereby neglecting the able ones and appointing those that are not capable and up-to standard.

The Nigerian political process has been very unstable since the country attained independence in 1960. Governmental instability is therefore a feature of Nigeria's political life and election crises has become part of this instability. The problem of election crisis in Nigeria is therefore not a new one. It had started soon after independence and had occurred at different times and in varying degrees.

Indeed, election crises have been examined by scholars, with all conclusions either describing the problem as caused by ethnicity, modernization or class relation. Elections in Nigeria result to a degree level of insecurity that makes it a police business. Insecurity persists during election in Nigeria which becomes a major concern to the police as to how to contain the problem.

Violence and demonstration is a relatively expected phenomenon during election. Violence comes about when election result is displeasing to the citizens, whereupon frustrated citizens wreck havoc on government properties and injure other innocent citizens as a way to express their anger. Demonstration to express satisfaction of electoral result, may also take place but can also result to violence when interrupted by intruders. Also connivance with the electoral officials to manipulate result to their advantage, which when noticed by opposition will result to violence. Franchise was limited to those who had permanent voters card (P.V.C) which not all registered voters were issued, Some registered voters insisted that they should be allowed to cast their vote without the P.V.C, which when not allowed to do so raised alarm in violent form. These violent behaviors can only be contained by the police.

### **1.3 Research question**

- Of what is the relevance of security for peaceful election?
- What are the causes of insecurity during the preparation for the 2015 election?
- What role do the Nigerian police play in ensuring security during the 2015 election?

- What are the factors limiting the performance of the Nigerian police in ensuring security during the 2015 election?
- What can be done to enhance security at the time of the election?

## **1.4 Aim and objectives**

This research will be carried out with the aim to explicate on the Nigerian Police and the challenges they meet during election in Nigeria 2015 election to be precise.

- To show the relevance of security for peaceful election.
- To examine the causes of insecurity during the 2015 election.
- To investigate the role of police in ensuring security during the 2015 election.
- To examine the limitations of the police in ensuring security during the 2015 election.
- To suggest ways of maintaining security during the 2015 election.

## **1.5 Research Preposition**

1. Insecurity at the time of the 2015 election is due to negligence from the police.
2. There are no reasons that limit the police from ensuring security during the 2015 election.

## **1.6 Significance of the study**

One of the basic pre-occupations of every individual, community or nation is the concern for security. This is because security affects not only human aspirations but also the fundamental issue of national survival (Robert McNamara, 1968). Security concerns, was believed to be one of the major factors that forced human beings into leaving the Hobbesian state of nature to live in association with each other. Thomas Hobbes posited that the earliest primitive society was characterized by unregulated freedom that made life “solitary, nasty, wicked, brutish and short” (Lyons, 2009).

Security has to do with the fight for survival by individuals in a society, these includes all form of security (social, economical, environmental, food, technology etc). In the same light, Sola focusing analysis on developing countries opines that:

*Security is more than military security from external attacks. For many of 4 billion inhabitants in the developing countries, security is conceived as the basic level of the struggle for survival. Therefore, in order to provide an integrated African security assessment, the non-military dimensions of security as a concept should be applied in its broadest sense to include economic security, social security, environmental security, food security, the quality of life security and technological security(cited in NISER, 2005).*

In Africa, one of the major challenges that have confronted the states since their attainment of independence, is the problem of adequate institutional capacity to manage the numerous socio-economic, political and security issues that pervade the society. Essentially the mechanisms for managing internal security which involves policing are severely faulty. While African states have tried to develop capacity in several areas of their socio-economic and political life, it has become apparent that there is still a great gap between the complex nature of internal security challenges and the institutional frameworks and capacity for managing them.

Nigeria is a country with a total land area of 356667 square miles and an estimated population of 167 million people, with this large territory a protective force is needed, this however laid ground for the establishment and the creation of the Nigerian Police Force (Garba, 1998). Police are the most visible governmental agents through which the character of a government and political system may be assessed. This is so because the police are the guardian or vanguard of the status quo. An adequate analysis of the problems and challenges of any police force should start with the appreciation of the history and dynamics of its development. History of the police forces in the country indicates that the various forces were established, organized and maintained by colonial and post-colonial governments primarily for order maintenance that engenders

repression, a culture of impunity: corruption, incivility, brutality, lack of transparency and accountability (NISER, 2005).

The Nigerian Police Force is a security outfit for the Nigerian state, established to combat crime and ensure security of lives and property of the citizenry. Experience over the years has shown the force has lived below expectation. Some of the reasons explaining this failure include corruption, delayed justice, impartiality among others. This has made the people to see the police as an enemy rather than a friend. That is, if crime is to be combated to guarantee security of the citizens, government should restructure the force to install into it more positive values that could ensure more effective service delivery to the masses.

Security is very important in any social setting it is so in relation to election. The state of security during election is a matter of concern since the return of civil rule in 1999. So many innocent lives have been lost all in the name of election. This study will try to understand the level of insecurity during the 2015 election and how it has been a challenge to the police.

## **1.7 Research Methodology**

This research will adopt both qualitative and quantitative method. It will use secondary and primary sources.

### **1.7.1 Primary Data**

Primary data will be derived from questionnaires and interview. The questionnaires will be administered to the police in the department of the study

### **1.7.2 Secondary Data**

Secondary sources will involve the use of literature such as textbooks, journals, articles and the worldwide web.

### **1.7.3 Sample**

The sample to be used will be purposive sample technique. This type of sample is one that is selected based on the knowledge of a population and purpose of study. The purposive sample targets those who fit a particular purpose or description. The number of sample for this research will be 20 police of the Nigerian Police Divisional Headquarters Kabala Doki Kaduna.



## 1.8 Research Limitations

- Accessing the police department as everyone is not trusted especially females.
- Being able to go out to acquire data during the election will likely be dangerous, if the election doesn't go as the will of the people.
- Disclosure of information is very low for security reasons.

## 1.9 Definition of concepts

**Police:** A police force is a constituted body of persons empowered by the state to enforce the law, protect property, and limit civil disorder. (Oxford English Dictionary)

**Nigerian police:** The Nigeria Police is statutorily required to fight crime through detection, investigation, apprehension and prosecution of offenders in law court and the protection of lives and property through proactive policing. Yecho (2004)

**Security:** As a simple dictionary definition security means “freedom from danger, risk e.t.c. ; safety”. security is a “special form of politics – a species of general genus of politics” and not all political issues are security issues whereas all security issues are

political problems (Kolodziej, pp 22). The issue of security in politics comes into agenda when “an actor or actors of political dispute threaten or use force to get what they want” (Kolodziej, pp 22).

**Election:** An election is a formal decision-making process by which a population chooses an individual to hold public office. Elections have been the usual mechanism by which modern representative democracy has operated since the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Encyclopedia Britannica Online.

## **1. 10 Scheme of chapters**

The chapter one of this study will entail an introduction to the subject matter; security and the Nigerian Police Force. Also the study points out the major problems which exist currently in Nigeria. The chapter will point out the direction which the research is going to head towards and the hypothesis which is to be reached at the end of this study.

In the chapter two of this study, literatures from the works of various scholars will be cited as related to the study. These works will contain detailed explanation of the key concepts by different scholars as related to my research and study. Also a theoretical framework will adopted to understand the case study.

The chapter three of this paper is simply going to show the background of the study. Chapter four will show the analysis of the questionnaire and interview that will us reach a conclusion.

The final chapter which is chapter five has to do with the, summary of the study, conclusion, and recommendation on how to better the situation which has been tested.

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## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **2.1 Literature Review**

#### **2.1.1 Concept of Policing**

Traditionally, policing was the responsibility of all adults in the community. In medieval society, all male adults were obliged to contribute towards the prevention and control of crime and disorder under the system. But the emergence of the state, with its vast bureaucracies anchored on centralization, hierarchical authority or power structure and professionalism changed the traditional policing method of policing being everyone's business (Weber, 1968).

The need to maintain order and control conflict, policing, has always existed in some form or another whenever people have lived in groups. 'tribal groups practiced a form of self policing through the collective efforts of their adult members. Standards of conducts were enforced by tribal heads, elders and religious leaders. When permanent settlements began to evolve, the methods of providing order and safety became more complex' (Kelly, 1973:64).

Policing goes beyond the works of the police, Odinkalu (2003), enlightens that, Policing is the most far reaching of the powers of the State anywhere. Human security is a basic

human right, the protection of which is the responsibility of government. Government is never called upon to exercise a responsibility more basic, extensive or serious than to protect its people in their persons, possessions and wellbeing. The institution of the Police exists for this purpose.

In the same manner, Baker (2008), stands to believe that policing in any organized activity, whether by the state or non state groups that seeks to ensure the maintenance of communal order, security and peace through elements of prevention, deterrence, investigation of breaches and punishment, policing has always existed. Communities everywhere have sought to maintain communal order and to correct and discipline those who depart from communally acceptable behavior.

### **2.1.2 Concept of Police**

Since the concept of policing has been examined, it is necessary to know that there are people who legally carry out the act of policing. Who is the police? Eze (1903), is of the view that the police are not having different blood or physiological component from lawyers, teachers or any sort of citizens. But by training, they are required to enforce laws duly so enacted to enhance the realization of the full potential of the citizenry.

Martin (1990), also tries to explain that Police work involves a variety of task and responsibilities. Officers are expected to prevent crime, protect life and property, enforce laws, maintain peace and public order and provide wide range of services to the citizens...Understanding that the police act as the representative of the coercive potential of the state and the legitimate users of force helps explain a number of their attitude and character.

The police are supposed to function to ensure right to life, to the dignity of the human person, to liberty, to privacy, to freedom of expression to peaceful assembly and association, to freedom of movement, to property: and freedom from discrimination whether based on grounds of social status, religion, ethnicity; sex or membership of primordial and philanthropic organization (Ahire, 1993).

The police functions are enormous, (Tinubu,1993), states that the place of police in Nigeria cannot be compromised. Their constitutional and statutory functions according to him are well defined so that the force can manage crisis situation, maintain peace and security.

The police and sundry security agents have a great role to play in the democratization processes of any organized society. According to Sam (1995), the police occupy an important place in enhancing or inhibiting development generally. They maintain law



and order and protect life and property in order to provide political atmospheres that conduce economic and social development.

It is important to note that, Police work is an old age universal trade which living thing are consciously or unconsciously engage into ensure orderliness, safely and protection of their culture (way of life). The work provides a lot of opportunities through which individual can make or mar themselves (Doma, 1998)

Alemika (2000), goes further to say that the police often misuse their power in the sense that, The police are state officials charged with responsibility for 'law enforcement and order maintenance' in society. To discharge these twin responsibilities, the police are empowered to use force, indeed violence. National constitutions and statutes, international conventions and rules; police departmental orders and professional ethics regulate the use of force or violence by police. But despite these provisions, the police in most societies use force and violence beyond the limits permissible by law.

Weisburd and Perry (2001) are positive that, police innovation over the last three decades has been focused primarily on questions of crime, disorder and community in which countries have been challenged by a new set of responsibilities of policing which are likely to require changes in police strategies and organization.

On a Nigerian platform, Yecho (2004), the Nigeria Police is statutorily required to fight crime through detection, investigation, apprehension and prosecution of offenders in law court and the protection of lives and property through proactive policing.

According to Gyong (2005), the Nigerian Police Force (NPF) occupies a very unique position within the criminal justice system. for one, it is the gate-way into the justice system; two, it is the official agency most proximate to the suspects, offenders and the victims of crime; and three, its personnel are in daily contact with members of the public whose rights must be respected and protected.

In the same light, Arase (2007) agrees in his own terms that, the conception of the police force as a protective and law enforcement organization developed from the use of military bodies as guardians of the peace. In order for police officers to do their job well, they are vested by the state with certain powers which include the powers to arrest, search, seize, investigation; and if necessary, use lethal force.

The role of the police cannot be overemphasized. For instance Lentini (2007) argues that Police organization increasingly have a key role to play in the formation and implementation of counter-terrorism strategies, police is increasingly required to blend a traditional law enforcement role with responsibilities once considered the exclusive remit of national defense.

Ogunlowo (2007) gives us a background on the responsibility of the police, whereby stating that ‘The agency of government that is responsible for maintaining public order and preventing and detecting crime, The basic police mission; preserving order by enforcing rules of conduct or laws was the same in ancient societies as it is in modern environment’.

In the same manner, Udah (2007) believes that The Nigeria Police and ascribes the duty of maintaining law and order at the shoulders of the police. As a result, whenever internal security of Nigeria is mentioned, Nigeria Police quickly comes to mind. This may provide a little explanation why police is the most talked about government institution. The understanding is that the grand norm of the land has vested enormous powers on the police to enable it maintain the security of country.

According to Mercedes and Newburn (2009), agree that ‘the police are the state’s primary legal enforcers and embodiments of the law, providing in principal protection, access to justice and redness. Police actions to detect crime and bring perpetrators to the attention of the courts for punishments are critical to the effective functioning of any criminal justice system. The police play important roles without which the sustenance of order, legality, development and democracy may be difficult, policing has always

been necessary in all society for the preservation of order, safety and social relations (Alemika, 2010).

The roles of the police are highly buttressed by Schafer (2012), he first stresses that all police officials should be seen as leader and their roles are:

- Police think not only about crime but also about people, information and relationships.
- Police need to be concerned about more than just policies and procedures; they must also focus on people, sovereigns, cultures and constraints.
- Effective police are concerned with enhancing the efficiency, integrity, efficiency, innovation and opportunities of the police organization and police profession.
- Effective police understand the importance of exhibitions developing and allowing leadership throughout the organization.

### **2.1.3 The 2015 elections**

The 2015 election in Nigeria-the fifth since 1999 when the military handed over power to elected civilians-will be the first time that the opposition will have a realistic chance of wresting power from the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP). All things being equal, it will be a two-horse race between the ruling PDP and the main opposition party,

the All Progressive Congress (APC)-the party formed in February 2013 from a merge of three ethnically and regionally based political parties. Before the emergence of APC, opposition parties were mostly fragmented along regional and ethnic lines, making it impossible for them to mount a credible challenge to the ruling PDP.

The emergent of a viable opposition coincides with a period of great tension between north and south, arising from the decision of Goodluck Jonathan to contest the 2011 elections, a decision that has made many northerners feel cheated of their turn in producing the president and that induced some violence. With President Jonathan a southern Christian, contesting again and very likely facing a northern Muslim candidate, the election will have implications not just for north-south relations but for the survival of the country's democracy.

The fault lines of region, ethnicity and religion run deep in Nigeria. Virtually every part of the country has an institutionalized memory of injury and injustice, which they often feel will be best addressed if one of their own wields power at the center, preferably the president. Similarly there is a pervasive fear that the president of the country will abuse the power of his office to privilege his region, ethnicity or religion-if not to punish or deliberately disadvantage others.

To allay fear of domination, most Nigerian political parties have written or unwritten zoning and power rotation arrangements in which the parties agree that the key office and candidate should be produced by designated sections of the country for a certain number of years. For instance, under the PDP's arrangement, the former president Olusegun Obasanjo, a Yoruba from southwest, served for two terms of four years before power was returned to the north. The north's turn was however interrupted after Obasanjo's successor, Umaru Yar'adua, a Muslim from Katsina state, died in office in 2010 and was succeeded by then vice-president Jonathan.

This result shortened the north's "turn" in power and extended the south's frustrating many northerners. In 2011 influential people in the north argued that Jonathan should serve out only Yar'adua's remaining first term in office and not contest those presidential elections. However, Jonathan did run and won-triggering post-election violence in the north in which an estimate of 800 people lost their lives (Human Rights Watch 2011).

Jonathan's supporters have a contrary arrangement. For them, in the 39 years between the times the country gained independence in 1960 and the inauguration of the Fourth Republic in 1999, the north ruled the country for about 35 of them and should therefore be patient for that "historic injustice" to be redressed first.

Nigeria is sometimes described as a country that runs on two unequal wheels. In 2013, the Russian investment bank Renaissance Capital produced report titled, “Nigeria unveiled” which painted the picture of Nigeria’s economy as moving on two wheels-a thriving south with rising income, lower unemployment and better educated citizens, and a much poor, less educated and struggling north(Atuanya, 2013). Based on this economic imbalance, the north’s dominance of power before 1999 was justified as a lever to balance the south’s economic advantage. Thus, for some since the south has led the country for 12 of the 15 years of civilian rule since 1999 means that the north has lost its leverage in the north-south equation.

Muhammadu Buhari-a Muslim and former military head of state with cult following in the north-was chosen as APS’s presidential candidate. The election is therefore likely to witness an intense politicization of Muslim-Christian divide and north-south dichotomy in the country, which will add to the already existing tension in the country.

Given the centrality of power in Nigeria, the election-just like almost all elections in Nigeria-will contentious and the losing side is likely to blame its fate on rigging. Post election violence is therefore likely in the north if APC losses while renewed militancy in the restive Niger Delta is likely if Jonathan does. Despite several outlandish theories

that Nigeria will disintegrate in 2015, chances are that the elections will come and go and the country will remain with its political problems largely unsolved (Adibe, 2014). The country is a master at teetering on the precipice. It has survived major crises, including a civil war (1967-1970). Hanging on the cliff without falling over may indeed be the country's comfort zone.

The 2015 general elections were first scheduled to be held on February 2015. However, the electoral commission postponed by six weeks to 28<sup>th</sup> March 2015, mainly due to the poor distribution of permanent voters card, and also to curb ongoing Boko Haram insurgency in certain north-eastern states in the country. The government closed its land and sea borders from midnight on 25<sup>th</sup> March until the end of the polling date. The election was extended to 29<sup>th</sup> March due to delays and technical problems with the biometric card readers.

It was the most expensive election ever to be held in African continent. Nigeria is the continent's most populous country, has its largest economy and its leading oil producer. Opposition Muhammadu Buhari won the presidential election by more than 2.5 million votes. Incumbent President Goodluck Jonathan concedes defeat on 31<sup>st</sup> March, before the results from the 36 states had been announced. The election marks the first time an





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Bassey (2004) is of the view that security can be defined as 'the act of making certain that persons and property remain safe and secure from danger. It includes all disciplines, means and measures put in place to protect and prevent the commission of a crime, an unwholesome or untoward act advertently or inadvertently against any subject or object of value.

In the same approach, Shikaiye (Cited in Mbachy, 2009:17), agrees with the above, also stating that 'Security can be defined to mean the sum total of actions and measures, including legislative and operational procedures adopted to ensure peace, stability and the general well being of a nation and its citizens'. In other words, Security is the protection of a nation from all types of external aggression, espionage, hostile reconnaissance, sabotage, subversion, annoyance and other inimical influence.

**2.1.5 Challenges of Security (Insecurity)**

The piece by an erstwhile head of the State, Abubakar (2004), which came from an address given at NIPSS in 2004, clearly shows that the maximum threat to the current

civilian indulgence is insecurity. As he rightly observes, in addressing the dispute to the survival of democracy in Nigeria, it is important to consider security issues and problems that have affected the approach, confidence and cooperation of all groups and segments that make up the Nigerian federation.

Oyebode (2011:11), seems to echo this position of Abubakar in his piece on the imperative of insecurity. He declares: “it is self-evident that without security, hardly is anything possible.” He nevertheless counsels that “security should go beyond law and order by surrounding meaningful existence for the generality of the populace”

Putting it more concisely, Ezeoha (2011:38), in Causes and effects of insecurity in Nigeria declares that "Security means steadiness and continually of livelihood, predictability of associations, feeling safe and belonging to a social group".

In the same token, Oshodi (2011) argues that one sure way of tackling the insecurity situation in Nigeria is to accord the field of psychology a pride of place in policy formulation and implementation to promote national cohesion and integration.

#### **2.1.6 Relationship between Policing, Police, and Insecurity**

The concept of policing helps us to understand that policing is an act, it doesn't necessary matter that does it but it is the act of making sure that security exists in a society through the vigilance of the members of the society.

The police however is an agency that the government has created to carry out the act of policing. In a nation state, where citizens have given up some of their civil rights, it is now a necessity that the government should provide an agency that will protect life and property of the citizens from internal violence. This is the job of the police.

Therefore ensuring security at the time of election is now the business of the police, as elections in Nigeria has been characterized by violence. Their creation is centrally to maintain security and order. If they are dysfunctional or unable to perform this duty, the nation will be in disarray whereby causing a case of insecurity in the nation.

In other words, Policing leads to a state where police exists and this promotes national security in which if the police is not properly managed it will cause a disfunctionalism by enhancing a state of insecurity.

## **2.2 Theoretical Framework**

There many theories in relation to policing, this study will be analyzed based on Theory of Policing.

### **2.2.1 Theory of Policing**

The concept of policing originated from the Greek City state when they established the Politeria. This Greco-Roman model has today become the index of policing generally adopted and adapted to the peculiarities of nation-states of the world. Therefore, all over

the world, the police are men and women organized by the state as a Para-military force with the sole purpose of defending the status quo, that is to enforce laws, values and ideologies that justify, legitimize and defend the prevailing distribution of power and wealth in a society. That is why Bowden observed that the police are established and maintained, not only to monitor but also to discourage and destroy challenges to the existing order of things (Bowden, 1978). He argued further that the primary task of the police is order enforcement. Consequently, whenever a government is facing a crisis or social disorder, the police are deployed or called upon as a “buffer between the elites and the masses and perform the essential holding operations against the malcontents until military force could be applied in a punitive and salutary manner”.

Theories of policing, largely relative in nature, seek to explain why policing systems vary widely in their organization, the powers and authority granted them, the roles and tasks they are entrusted with, the industrial cultures that characterize their work, their interactions with civic society and the state, the quality and effectiveness of their work, the extent of entanglements in the political life of their societies, and their ability to shape the leading ideologies of policing that, in turn, define for themselves and for society what constitutes good policing. As posited by Weber (1968:67)

*Traditionally, policing was the responsibility of all adults in the community. In medieval society, all male adults were obliged to contribute towards the prevention and control of crime and disorder under the system. But the emergence of the state, with its vast bureaucracies anchored on centralization, hierarchical authority/power structure and professionalism changed the traditional policing method of policing being everyone's business.*

In addition, as a fundamental subtext, theories include a normative element by linking the basic purposes and historical developments of policing to hegemonic ideas of social control and social order and ideologies of justice in a society. Do the police provide a service that seeks to advantage all or are the police a repressive force protecting the interests of the few at the expense of the many?

According to Alemika and Innocent (2010:12)

*'Analysis of police and policing should begin with careful delineation of the two interrelated concepts phenomena. Police refers to a socio-political and Quasi-legal institutions, state agencies charged primarily with the enforcement of criminal law and the maintenance of order...Analytically, policing refers to measures and actions taken by a variety of institutions and groups (both formal and informal) in society to regulate social relation and practices in order to secure the safety of members of the community as well as conformity to the norms and values of society'.*



The police are crucial elements in systems of social control that protect the valued dominant distributions of material and symbolic goods in a society against challenges by crime, subversion, or violent disorders through the threat or the exercise of coercive force and the collection and analysis of information. In other words, the police are vices are used to protect every form of human life and what is essential to life.

Developments in policing are seen as closely connected to and influenced by the same factors that drive developments in the societies in which they exist. The social ordering functions of policing are alike in any society, but the manner and ways in which these are carried out will reflect background societal changes, including fluctuations of criminal activity, disorder, and political instabilities. Some societies have developed patterns of policing that are extensive in their reach and activities and that reflect the original start, at least in Western societies, that policing is the government of local communities, while other societies have over time arrived at quite limited ideas of what the police should be doing.

### **2.3 Application of Theory to the Study**

The reason for the use of the theory is so that the study will be better understood by the readers and will show a better platform for analysis. The theory of Policing as put as Alemika (2010:4) "Policing refers to measures and actions taken by a variety of

institutions and groups (both formal and informal) in society to regulate social relation and practices in order to secure the safety of members of the community as well as conformity to the norms and values of society".

This theory simply explains the major roles of a security agency in this case, The Nigerian Police Force. The theory of policing simply breaks down the duties of the security agency, what they are to do to ensure safety and order and how they are to go about it. The theory is a platform in which the security institutions are there for a reason which is to secure the safety of members of the community as well as conformity to the norms and values of society.

The theory points out the duties of security agencies, The Police Force its role to ensure order in the community. The police have a duty to keep watch of the activities and practice of the people to ensure security. i.e. elections

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**CHAPTER THREE**

**3.1 Historical Background of the Nigerian Police Force**

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**3.1.1 Police in Nigerian: Colonial Era**

The law enforcement agency which in time was transformed into the present day Nigerian police force had existed in numerous pre-colonial societies, kingdoms and nations. However some major issues have to be acknowledged about the structure of the Nigerian police. According to Alemika (2010a :13):

*In 1861, the British started to colonize the different societies that presently constitute Nigeria, beginning with Lagos. By 1903, the British colonizers have succeeded in colonizing all the nearly four hundred nationalities in the country. The colonizers executed the colonial project employing violence and fraud or deceits. Three important historical issues are relevant to the understanding of the development of police. First, colonial conquest of Nigerian nationalities took place piecemeal over a long period (1861-1903). As a nationality is conquered British colonial presence is established by establishing a police force for the territory. Second, violence and fraud was employed in the conquest of the nationalities. Consequently, the colonizer feared resistance and police forces under various names were established and employed as instrument of violence and oppression against the indigenous population. Third, given the character of colonial rule, police forces were the*

*instrument used to sustain the alien domination. The colonial police were not accountable to the colonized but to the colonizers.*

Put differently, from the beginning of the colonial rule which started in 1861, several police forces were created in such places like the Lagos colony, the Niger Coast, Northern and Southern Protectorates. In April 1861, the British Consul in Lagos obtained permission from his principal in London to establish a Consular Guard comprising of 30 men. Two years later in 1863, this small body of men became known as the "Hausa Guard". It was further regularized in 1879 by an Ordinance creating a Constabulary for the Colony of Lagos.

In 1893 the area was proclaimed the Niger Coast. Constabulary, modeled on the Hausa Constabulary, was formed. It existed for six years and featured prominently in the British expedition to Benin in 1896. In the Northern parts of the Country the Royal Niger Company, which was granted a Royal Charter in 1886 by the British Government, set up the Royal Niger Constabulary in 1888 with Headquarters at Lokoja to protect its installations along the banks of the River Niger. It had a mounted company known as Carrol's Hoses.

Native Authorities and Local Governments police forces were established, especially from 1916 onwards, under the control of the traditional rulers in the Northern and

Western parts of the country. The north however was different and formalized. Each emir possessed a group of protectors or rather body guards who were referred to as 'Dogarai'. They perform duties such as enforcing breaches of customary rules, guarding the rulers, serving as executioners of criminals and also the catching of criminals (Tamuno, 1970).

Nigeria's police began with a thirty-member consular guard formed in Lagos Colony in 1861. In 1879 a 1,200-member armed paramilitary Hausa Constabulary was formed. In 1896 the Lagos Police was established. A similar force, the Niger Coast Constabulary, was formed in Calabar in 1894 under the newly proclaimed Niger Coast Protectorate. In the north, the Royal Niger Company set up the Royal Niger Company Constabulary in 1888 with headquarters at Lokoja.

The Royal Niger Constabulary played an important role in British campaigns against Bida and Ilorin. When the British Government in 1900 following the transfer of administration from the Royal Niger Company proclaimed protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria, the Royal Niger Constabulary was split into the Northern Nigeria Police Force and the Northern Nigeria Regiment. In the South, the Lagos Police Force and part of the Niger Coast Constabulary became the southern Nigeria Police Force in

1906 while the bulk of the Niger Coast Constabulary formed the southern Nigeria Regiments.

After the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1914 both Police Forces continued to operate separately until 1st April 1930 when they were merged to form the present Nigeria Police Force with Headquarters in Lagos. Tamuno extends our understanding by stating that

*The police powers given to the Native Authorities after the 1914 amalgamation were therefore of greater relevance to Western and Northern Nigeria than to the south-eastern parts of Nigeria. As Native Authorities, the Chiefs had their police powers extended and consolidated under the laws of 1916 and 1924. The Native Authority Ordinance (No. 4 of 1916) conferred on the Native Authorities the responsibility for maintaining order in their respective areas. Under it, they were allowed to prevent crime and arrest offenders by employing 'any person' to assist them in carrying out their police duties. Their police powers were increased under the Protectorate Laws Enforcement Ordinance no. 15 of 1924 (cited in Alemika, 2010b:2)*

In the early 1900's the colonizers began to bring together all form of police force. This was the line yard for a new collaborative police force. After the amalgamation the north and south still had different police forces and they were recognized as the two major police force in the nation at that time. However this marked the beginning of a national

police force in the territory. On the 1st April 1930, the two police forces were fused to form the Nigerian Police with their headquarter being in Lagos and headed by an inspector general of police.

### **3.1.2 Police in Nigeria: Post Colonial Era**

After independence in 1st October 1960, the native political rulers did not readjust the manipulative financial system and oppressive political relation that they inherited from the colonial masters. In other words, not much change was done after sovereignty as there was no radical form of transfer of power. Without a fundamental change in the existence of colonial exploiters, there was no positive change in the political system and also in governmental institutions including the police and other organs of criminal justice and security administration.

The post-colonial Nigeria witnessed a lot of institutional and infrastructural growth. However, there was still a form of huge crisis going on in the country as a form of instability, growing inequality of wealth due to the high rate of corruption, widespread of poverty and serious violence and economic crime (Ahire, 1993). These problems lead to some major precipitated protests and expression against the then reigning government and their policies by various individuals. This resulted to violence around the country due to the inability of the government to repress violence or the oppressive

intervention by the police. In other words, the violence that arose in Nigeria can be said to be in reaction of the brutal way the security agency (police) tend to handle situations.

The creation of 12 states on 27th may 1967, which was used as police commands with each headed by a commissioner of police, rose to 19 in 1976. On the 14th October 1986, zonal commands headed by assistant inspector-general of police each were introduced to conform to the political structure of the country. In 1986, 1991 and 1996 more states were created thereby changing the federal structure to 36 states and equally providing for 37 police commands including the federal capital territory, there are also 13 zonal commands. The Force Headquarters was left to operate as police command (Etannibi and Chukwuma, 2000).

The panel (Gobir Panel named after its chairman) set up by General Aguiyi Ironsi in 1966 recommended the banishment of local police and called for a general of federal police force wherefore making the northern and southern police to co-exist and bring about the Nigerian Police Force (NPF). According to the committee, the local police force were poorly trained, corrupt and used for adherent political purpose.

Alemika (1993) certifies that the era of the Nigerian police after colonialism can be grouped into two; 1966-1979 can be considered as the good era and 1983-1992 can be

seen as the bad era. Under the military governance of General Gowon (1967-1975) is viewed as the most sweetest period of police-military collaboration in governance, The police were co-opted into governance by military as state governors and members of the national ruling council and they were highly respected like members of the military.

However in the second era (1983-1992), the police had lost its high profile and prominence in government although they were still given roles of state governors. They were also neglected in terms of funds and equipments. This was as a result of the military's fear of the possibility of the overthrowing of power more than the armed forces especially acting as counterforce during military coups.

So therefore instead equipping the police to perform their major duties and functions of promoting and protecting internal security, the military created task force with army and police personnel, where a far more junior to the police headed each task force and a much more senior police officer being subordinate. this brought about belittling of the police force.

In the 1990s, recruitment and promotion in the police force were largely suspended by the military government. This resulted in shortage of personnel. It also led to non-replacement of many retired dedicated officers. This led to shortage of some significant personnel and ineffectiveness of the force in some aspects of its functions. One of the

negative impacts of military rule on the development of the Nigeria Police Force was the abolition of the Police Service Commission almost throughout the duration of military rule. The Police Service Commission is responsible for the appointment, promotion and discipline of members of the Nigeria Police Force, other than the Inspector-General of Police. Its long nonexistence, therefore, affected effective human resources management in the Nigeria Police Force during the period, the impact of which is still felt eleven years after military rule.

This has led to the ineffectiveness of the Nigerian police force and has rendered them helpless in handling national security issues. Due to the harshness of the police force by the military regime, of security that should be available in this nation. In essence the fall of the Nigerian police force was led by the military but how hard has the Police tried to gain power to actually protect the Nigerian society.



### **3.1.3 The Nigerian Police Force under the 1999 Constitution**

The 1999 constitution ushered in a new democratic government in May 31<sup>st</sup> 1999. The constitution came with provisions of the Nigerian Police Force, The Police Service Commission and Police Council.

#### **Section 214(1) of the 1999 Constitution provided that:**

- (1) There shall be a Police Force for Nigeria, which shall be known as the Nigeria Police Force.
- (2) Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, the Nigeria Police Force shall be organized and administered in accordance with such provision as may be made in that behalf by Parliament.
- (3) Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, the members of the Nigeria Police Force shall have such powers and duties as may be conferred upon them by any law in force in Nigeria.
- (4) Subject to the provisions of this section, no police forces other than the Nigeria Police Force shall be established for Nigeria or any part thereof.
- (5) Parliament may make provision for police forces forming part of the armed forces of the Crown or for the protection of harbors, waterways, railways and airfields.

(6) Parliament may make provision for the maintenance by any local authority within the Federal territory of a police force for employment within the Federal territory.

(7) Nothing in this section shall prevent the legislature of a Region from making provision for the maintenance by any native authority or local government authority established for a province or any part of a province of a police force for employment within that province.

(8) In this section "province" means any area that was a province on the thirtieth day of September, 1954.

**The Functions of the Nigeria Police Force were specified in Section 4 of The Police Act (*Laws Of The Federation 1990*)<sup>13</sup> as:**

(1) Prevention and detection of crime.

(2) Apprehension of offenders.

(3) Preservation of law and order.

(4) Protection of life and property.

(5) Enforcement of all laws and regulations with which they are charged.

(6) Military duties within or without Nigeria as may be required of them.

Although the Constitution granted the Attorneys-General the power of prosecution, most of the criminal cases in the country handled by the lower courts, especially the

magistrate courts, are prosecuted by the police. Several laws in the country, especially the Police Act; Criminal Procedure Act (CPA) and the Criminal Procedure Code (CPC) granted the police wide powers.

### **Organization of the Nigeria Police Force**

Section 215 of the 1999 Constitution provided that: There shall be –

(a) an Inspector-General of Police who, subject to section 216(2) of this Constitution shall be appointed by the President on the advice of the Nigeria Police Council from among serving members of the Nigeria Police Force;

(b) a Commissioner of Police for each State of the Federation who shall be appointed by the Police Service Council.

(2) The Nigeria Police Force shall be under the command of the Inspector-General of the Police, and any contingents of the Nigeria Police Force stationed in a State shall, subject to the authority of the Inspector-General of the Police, be under the command of the Commissioner of Police; (3) The President or such other Minister of the Government of the Federation as he may authorized in that behalf may give to the Inspector-General of the Nigeria Police such lawful directions with respect to the maintaining and securing of public safety and public order as he may consider

necessary, and the Inspector-General shall comply with those directions or cause them to be complied with.

Operationally, the Force is structured as 36 State Commands and FCT Command, each under the command of a Commissioner of Police. The State Commands are further organized as Area Commands; Divisional Commands, Police Stations and Police Posts. The police station and police posts are the primary operational units of policing. As at early 2007, the Force had a personnel strength of 320,000 in “5000 village posts; 5515 Police Stations; 1,115 Police Divisions; 123 Area Commands; 37 State Commands (including the FCT); 12 Zonal Commands and a Force Headquarters which is the overall administrative and operational head of the Force”<sup>14</sup>. The hierarchy of the Force therefore runs from the patrol team to the Force Headquarters.

### **The Nigeria Police Council**

The 1999 Constitution established the Nigeria Police Council, as was the case in the 1963 Constitution but omitted in the 1979 Constitution. The Third Schedule of the 1999 Constitution created the Nigeria Police Council and the Police Service Commission.

The Police Council consists of:

- (a) The President who shall be the Chairman;
- (b) The Governor of each State of the Federation;

- (c) The Chairman of the Police Service Commission; and
- (d) The Inspector-General of Police.

The Constitution defined the functions of the Police Council as:

- (a) The organization and administration of the Nigeria Police Force and all other matters relating thereto (not being matters relating to the use and operational control of the Force or the appointment, disciplinary control and dismissal of members of the force);
- (b) The *general supervision* of the Nigeria Police Force; and
- (c) Advising the President on the appointment of the Inspector-General of Police.

Section 216(2) requires the President to consult the Nigeria Police Council before making appointment to the office of the Inspector-General of Police and before removing him or her. The state governors constitute an overwhelming majority of the membership of the highest organ of control of the Nigeria Police Force. Constitutionally, the Council is the highest organ of the state responsible for the policy on organization and administration of police in the country.

However, the Council has been lacking in the discharge of the critical responsibility assigned to it in the Constitution. Effective secretariat, framework for policy formulation and implementation monitoring as well as regular meetings are lacking.

### **The Police Service Commission**

The Nigerian constitution established the Police Service Commission with wide powers.

Under the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the membership of the Commission consists of:

- (a) Chairman; and
- (b) Such number of other persons, not less than seven but not more than nine, as may be prescribed by an Act of the National Assembly.

The Constitution stipulated that the Commission shall have the power to-

- (a) Appoint persons to offices (other than the office of the Inspector-General of Police) in the Nigeria Police Force; and
- (b) Dismiss and exercise disciplinary control over persons holding any office referred to in sub-paragraph (a) of this paragraph

**The Police Service Commission (Establishment) Act, No. 15 of 2001, in Section 6 charged the Commission with the responsibility of:**

1. Appointing and promoting all officials of the NPF (other than the Inspector-General of Police, IGP);
2. Dismissing and exercising disciplinary control over the same persons;

3. Formulating policies and guidelines for the appointment, promotion, discipline and dismissal of officers of the NPF;
4. Identifying factors inhibiting and undermining discipline in the NPF;
5. Formulating and implementing policies aimed at efficiency and discipline within the NPF;
6. Performing such other functions as, in the opinion of the Commission are required to ensure optimal efficiency in the NPF; and
7. Carrying out such other functions as the President may from time to time direct.

The membership of the Commission includes representatives of the human rights community, organized private sector, women and the media as well as a retired justice of superior court of record. Due to poor funding, the Commission, to varying degrees, still lacks the requisite human, knowledge and material capabilities for effective discharge of its responsibilities. Occasional but critical and sometimes perverse interference in the decisions of the Commission, if not discontinued, may erode the confidence of the public and the police.

#### **3.1.4 Challenges identified with the Nigerian Police Force**

**1. Over centralization of Nigerian Police Force Functions-**A potent challenge to the Nigerian Police Force is the over centralization of its functions. Also, Section 215(2) of

the 1999 Constitution makes the creation of state police impossible, except through constitutional amendment. However, certain structural arrangements could be evolved that would make decision making and internal security of the country more effective (Nwobu, 2011). Some administrative and operational powers could be ceded to the AIGs in charge of zones, CPs in charge of commands and divisional police officer (DPOs) which will encourage creativity, innovativeness, initiative, discretion and promptness. Again over centralization of police functions and powers is contrary to the principles of true federalism as practiced in US, Canada, Australia and other federal states.

**2. Overstretched Manpower-** A perennial challenge to the Nigerian Police Force in the management of internal security in Nigeria is its overstretched manpower. The Nigerian Police Force, for instance, lacks enough manpower for deployment to universities and other tertiary institutions in Nigeria. The problem is even worse under the current democratic dispensation as many of the personnel are being deployed to political office holders, political parties and government appointees (Adejumo, 2011).

**3. Inadequate Funding-** Like in other sectors of the economy, lack of funds is another challenge facing the Nigerian Police Force. Because security related issues are capital intensive and of paramount importance, more funds ought to be made available to the



Nigerian Police Force to meet her running costs. According to Patric (2009) , Nigerian Police Force need funds to reactivate her duty vehicles broken down and littered all over her formations. The vehicles also need fuel, oil and other lubricants which are found to be perpetually in short supply due to inadequate funds.

**4. Lack of Equipment-** Necessary equipments are in short supply within the Nigerian Police Force e.g. Vehicles, communication gadg, scientific tools for investigation/intelligence gathering and crowd control are inadequate. This makes the work of the NPF more tedious and less effective. According to Labaran (2001), lack of equipment especially sophisticated fire arms is the reason why armed robbers openly dare the police and engage them in shoot outs (Patric, 2009).

**5. Poor Remuneration-** The occupational hazards and risks faced by the Nigerian Police Force is not commensurate with the pay they receive. (However, it must be said that at the time of carrying out this research, the intended pay rise for the Nigerian Police Force, had not been affected). The average security personnel in Nigeria is underpaid compared to his counterpart in the advanced countries. This has a negative effect on their performance.

**6. Poor Recruitment Process-** In time past, the recruitment process for those wishing to join the Nigerian Police Force, has been below standard. There have been cases of

past criminals being recruited into the Nigerian Police Force due to the absence of security checks on some of these individuals. Also, there have been cases of bribes being paid by intending individuals wishing to join the Nigerian Police Force. The result of this misnomer is that the Nigerian Police Force is left with all kinds of shady characters that have been recruited as Police men/women; this is a major challenge for the Nigerian Police Force (Ogunlowo, 2007).

**7. Poor Training-** Many Nigerian Police Force personnel are poorly trained. This is due to lack of funds and training facilities. Commenting on this, Oshodi (2011) argued that they are poorly recruited and poorly trained. Even for the Nigerian Police Force to keep abreast with latest technological developments in scientific investigation and intelligence gathering is difficult as they hardly go for refresher courses abroad. This hampers the effectiveness and efficiency of their work.

**8. Poor Public Image-** The Nigerian Police Force seems to have serious image problem with the Nigeria public. The Nigerian Police Force estrangement from the public may be attributed to many factors. First, it may be seen as a carryover from the colonial days during which it was tagged as the main instrument of colonial oppression. Another issue is the growing feeling that the Nigerian Police Force has not demonstrated sufficient ability to protect informants. According to Udah (2007), some unscrupulous members

of the force reveal their informants to criminals thereby creating a fragile police public relationship. Hence, those with useful information that could help the Nigerian Police Force in the management of internal security are sometimes skeptical about offering them.

**9. Lack of Institutional Cooperation-** The level of cooperation between the Nigerian Police Force and other security agencies is very low. This is largely due to institutional autonomy and seeming rivalry usually witnessed among government establishment in Nigeria. This low level of cooperation has affected the management of internal security in the country. It also affects exchange of information and intelligence between the Nigerian Police Force and other security agencies (Udah, 2007).

### **3.2 Nigerian State and Election**

At the beginning of regional government in 1954, a unique feature of the structure of the Nigerian society emerged. It was the invented relation between economic and political power. Thus, instead of possessing economic power and then use that to contest of political power. The

Dominant class was given political power without economic power. Consequently the state became a source of economic power as well as an instrument of it. Again, state power was used to suppress opponents and state power became a measure of supremacy

by the faction that posses it and the faction automatically became the economically and politically dominant one (Ekekwe, 1986). It is against this background that it can be argued that the petty-bourgeoisie became the governing class; we cannot really describe them as the ruling class.

This was because even though they had political power, they did not have economic power and because of that they had to embark on different means and tactics to acquire economic power. For a ruling class “is that class in society in whose dominant economic interests to a large extent determine the nature of state power and intervention” (Ekekewe, 1986:81). The ruling class as at that time remained the metropolitan bourgeoisie because that was the class that dominated the economy.

When the local petty-bourgeoisie got political power at independence, they made the acquisition of economic wealth, of material possession and economic power their preoccupations. So at independence, the distribution of rewards became a major concern which makes politics as a means of class completion to be extremely severe. Thus, the values and norms in which the petit-bourgeoisies were socialized became the socio-political values of the hope for accumulation and therefore to be a participant in class completion (politics) one had to develop a keen sense of violent competition within the dominant class.

Thus, soon after independence, politics became synonymous with severe competition, partly because the various elements of petty-bourgeoisie never agreed on the action of colonial state and, partly because politics by its own nature is something for class competition. Although, the intensity and fierceness with which class compete in politics are functions of the development of the classes.

One thing that came out very clearly even from the 1959 federal election was that within the social and political structure of Nigeria both at the federal and as well as in the regions, it could not be said that there were significant component of a firm, durable, consistent interest of value-oriented unified petty-bourgeoisie. Thus, none of the political parties evolved by different factions of the petit-bourgeoisie possessed the qualities required for high stability performance (Bretton, 1962; Dode, 2010).

Consequently, it became imperative to that in order to engage in accumulation, access to and control state apparatus became a *since qua non* for such an enterprise. Thus, those who are able to win political power monopolized it and also monopolized the use of state resources and patronage particularly in strengthening their economic position (Ekekewe, 1986). In such situation, opposition had little hope of achieving power even constitutionally and the opposition is aware of his exclusion to access for resources. So, election, as a means of legitimating political power, for distribution,

became overvalued thereby reducing democracy to election only. Little wonder therefore that during the 2007 general elections campaign, the former president, Olusegun Obasanjo declared that the April 2007 general elections would be a do or die affair.

Thus, what we had at independence was a dominant class who was given political power but did not have economic power. The result was that the dominant class, who had broken into factions during the period of nationalist struggle, began to struggle, among themselves, for resource, political and economic, with the aim to take control of state power and consolidating it. In other words those with political power did not have control of the economy and the implication was at independence, there was no ruling class except the political elite, those who attained their political positions only because they had championed the struggle for self-determination. Therefore conscious to the necessity to fuse political and economic power and in their attempt at the realization of this imperative, the indigenous dominant class could not agree among themselves on the modus operandi of some socio-economic and political processes. Hence, election results, census figures, revenue allocation formula all become contentious issues and disagreement over election results, in particular, could not be resolved amicably and had ended in chaos. And the problem of intra-class struggle got aggravated at election time

because election is a means by which the legitimation of domination is achieved and also the means by which the legitimate use of the coercive instrument of state apparatus is used.

Thus, the nature and character of the Nigerian state, since independence cannot guarantee free and faire elections nor can it ensure violent free and crisis free elections and that is because the dominant class does not possess the democratic ethos, such as tolerance, class consciousness and democratic temper to engage in class competition.

At the inception of independence, an emergent post colonial state became weak because the society had just been incorporated into the international capitalist economy, at a time when there were no natives as capitalist. As a result, there was neither a ruling class nor a cohesive dominant class whose interests will be protected by the state. Consequently the fragmentation of the dominant class led to the violent factional struggle for power and the ensuring chaos also led to the institutionalization of hegemonic order, the order that should create the guiding values for the society. Thus, because the state is weak and coupled with the fact that dominant class is fragmented, they are not able to institute hegemonic process which will be the way the dominant class will maintain dominant culture through the use of social institutions to formalize

power. Hence, the fragmented political class is preoccupied with winning elections at all cost, because they realized political power is highly valuable.

In the process, the society became crisis ridden, making the state violent, irrational, intolerant of opposition, with the Nigerian leaders becoming lawless. Thus, elections are rigged, opposition decimated and even assassinated just because the faction with political power does not want to lose it.

Thus far, we can argue that crisis at the level of Nigerian state is a genesis of election crisis and political instability in the country., and this is because dominant values in society at any historical epoch are the values of the dominant class and since the state is a representative of the dominant class, the unstable nature of the state- i.e. lack of cohesion among the dominant class- leads to absence of dominant and coherent political values and arrangement, including institutional machinery for leadership succession, one of which is election.

Election crisis in Nigeria, indeed, is a problem that reflects one of the attendant problems of state formation in emergent democracies. Thus this stage in the history of Nigerian socio-economic formation explains that the state is institutionally constituted in such a way that it enjoys limited independence from the social classes particularly the dominant social class. This situation of limited independence becomes a problem



because autonomisation is the very essence of the state as a modality of domination. (Ake,1985). The Nigerian post-colonial state is still not cohesive with common interest, necessary to establish it as a modality of mechanism for domination, for it is when the state is autonomous that it will cease to be an instrument of a single class and be above all classes.

### **3.3.1 Security in the Nigerian Fourth (4<sup>th</sup>) Republic**

After the conveyance of government from the military to a democratic government, Nigeria has undergone some major changes in its administration. The new gained democratic system came with a lot of defaults that affected the nation's security at large. Uduka buttresses this point thus:

*The emergence of democracy in Nigeria on May 1999 ended 16 years of consecutive military rule. Olusegun Obasanjo inherited a country suffering economic stagnation and the deterioration of most democratic institutions... The new President took over a country that faced many problems, including a dysfunctional bureaucracy, collapsed infrastructure, and a military that wanted a reward for returning quietly to the barracks... Communal violence has plagued the Obasanjo government since its inception. In May 1999 violence erupted in Kaduna State over the succession of an Emir resulting in more than 100 deaths. In November 1999, the army destroyed the town of Odi, Bayelsa State and killed scores of civilians in retaliation for the murder of 12 policemen by a local gang. In Kaduna in February-May*

*2000 over 1,000 people died in rioting over the introduction of criminal Shar'ia in the State. Hundreds of ethnic Hausa were killed in reprisal attacks in southeastern Nigeria. In September 2001, over 2,000 people were killed in inter-religious rioting in Jos. In October 2001, hundreds were killed and thousands displaced in communal violence that spread across the states of Benue, Taraba, and Nasarawa. On October 1, 2001 Obasanjo announced the formation of a National Security Commission to address the issue of communal violence. Obasanjo was reelected in 2003 (Uduka, 2008:27-36).*

From the above we can see the series of security disturbance, This is a major issue and is a fundamental basis of Nigeria's Foreign Policy and National Interest but instead of the problem to be well manage it has increased over the years.

While the security crisis has been on the increase, the government whose most important constitutional responsibility is the protection of lives and property have demonstrated a shocking irresponsibility and nonchalance in their response to the grave security situation. Government inaction has inadvertently sent a message of tolerance and has over the years increased the impunity with which terrorists and other criminals operate. For decades Nigeria has experienced periodic acts of terrorism in the guise of ethno-religious strife but not a single person has been convicted and punished for such heinous crimes which has claimed the lives of thousands of persons, neither has the

government accepted to hold a sovereign national conference to settle the many ethnic and religious issues that has directly or indirectly led to such acts of terrorism (Nwobu, 2011).

In support of Nwobu, Sijuade (2011) gives a list of these conflicts that affects the Nigeria of today. He posits that

*For us to sustain democracy in Nigeria it is important to consider social security issues... Unarguably, political and electioneering conflicts, socio-economic agitations, ethno-religious crises, ethnic militias, boundary disputes, cultism, criminality and organized crimes are some of the major social security problems currently confronting the nation. These problems individually and collectively constitute threats to the peace, security and development of the country. Thus, they have implications for the continuity and survival of the nation's democracy( Sijuade, 2011:24).*

Simply meaning that Nigeria as a nation that has undergone a change in governance from a military rule to a democratic rule needs to take the sustenance of security as major criteria. But now that we have many disturbance of national security the aim of a strong democratic government has been defeated. This is however pointing out the defect of having a state of insecurity in the country.

In recent times, kidnapping which ordinarily thrives only in war ravaged nations crept into Nigeria and government's lack of aggressive response has led to the proliferation of the crime. To date not a single individual has been convicted anywhere in the nation.

### **3.3.2 Cause of Insecurity in Nigeria**

For over a decade now, the prevailing question about Nigeria's security challenge that has occupied the minds of many scholars as well as citizens of the state is what the causes of these challenges are.

Don Okereke (2012) is of the view that "The unprecedented spate of terrorism, kidnapping and other violent crimes is alarming... The tranquility inherent in the nooks and cranny of Nigeria has been ruined because of the rate of insecurity". He goes further to list remote and immediate causes of insecurity in Nigeria. These are:

1. **Our Faulty or Wrong System of Government**-Not trying to be totally negative but these problems will continue recurring until we are honest and bold enough to deal with it. So far we have been treating the symptom of the disease and not the causative means. Currently it will seem we are building on sand and not on a hard foundation because many of those issues that led to the Nigerian Civil war are still widespread more than fifty years after the war ended. There is no doubt that Nigeria has come to stay but with more than 250 ethnic groups, we need a system of government

that gives, if not all, then majority of our citizens a sense of belonging and this is True Democracy. In other words the practice of a slacking democracy is one causes of insecurity in this nation. So therefore a true democracy must be practice before any change can be made.

2. **Weak Judicial System, Injustice, Nepotism and A Culture Of Impunity-**

People commit all manner of crimes and get away with them. When justice is said to be meted out, a rich man gets a spank on the wrist for stealing or embezzling billions of naira while a poor man is verdict to five years detention for stealing a goat. There is a prevalent notion that justice can be bought or sold in Nigeria depending on one's bargaining authority and contacts in the corridors of power. Some of the supposed masterminds of Boko Haram are said to have been detained in the past by security agents but swiftly released due to interference of powerful individuals while some of them were jailed for just few months, they come out sooner than later and continue with their guilty activities.

3. **Unprecedented Levels of Corruption That Has Permeated the Fabrics Of**

**Our National Life-**The figures these days are simply unbelievable! An individual steals, embezzles billions or even trillions of naira without sporadic an eye-lid! It would seem there is a competition for who wins the maximum award for corruption. The

corruption has risen to an extent that the government those not feel obligated to be accountable to its citizens. On the other hand this angers the citizen who suffer from 'Frustration and Aggression' and what better way to carry this out than to create social unrest. The rich however become richer and the poor become poorer.

4. **Quota System**-A typical Nigerian recognizes him/her self first with his tribe or state of origin rather than as a Nigerian. A Nigerian born and bred in an area and whose parents and grand-parents are also born in that particular area but are initially from another place, are still seen as strangers or settlers. They may be accepted but many a times they are not allowed to take part in some of the privileges that the so-called 'owners' of the land are entitled to. So instead of a joint patriotism from citizens, it is a tribal patriotism that exists. This is what cases tribal conflicts and can also be said to have had a leading hand in Nigerian's Civil War. Nigerians have the attitude of looking down on a tribe or region they don't belong to and the government does not really help with the implementations of its policies to subside this problem (The policies do exist but implementation is weak). The minorities now feel used and not heard and before the snap of a finger conflict and violence arises for example the Niger-Delta oil conflict.

5. **Weak Institutions, Powerful Individuals**-in Nigeria, some persons the supposed god-fathers and power-brokers are known to be more powerful than the

government or the institution. They see themselves as untouchables. They brag that nothing will happen and nothing eventually happens. A case in point is the Petrol subsidy fraud masterminds. Many a times, the Police, Economic & Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) etc needs some kind of 'clearance' from the powers that be before they can do what they are obviously supposed to do especially when a so-called godfather or powerful individual is involved and they almost never get it.

6. **A Plethora of Unpatriotic, Unscrupulous and Greedy Leaders**-Leadership in Nigeria is a do-or-die affair, it is not about contest of ideas or rendering selfless service as is the case in most Western Countries. A leadership position in Nigeria is seen as a lifetime prospect for one to enhance himself and liberate the next twenty generations of his family from poverty. The most shocking part of it all is that no verifiable background check is done on these leaders before they come into power and at the end of the day they are found wanting. For instance leaders like Diepreye Alamieyeseigha and James Ibori.

7. **Unemployment and Lack of Record/Database Of Criminals**-Also in no small measure Unemployment, contributes to instability and insecurity not just in Nigeria but in any other place. We have a superfluity of unemployed people and graduates in

Nigeria and the jobs are not forthcoming despite the promises by politicians. Some of these unemployed people take to wheeling-dealing while other ones inadvertently go into crimes to survive. In other words unemployment leads to high rate of crime so the higher the rate of unemployment the higher the rate of crime and vis a vis. So also there should be some kind of opportunities that a criminal or ex convicted individual should not enjoy, but in Nigeria there is no proper record of every individual so we find out that even a well known thief can rule the entire nation.

8. **Our Borders Are To Say the Least Simply Permeable-** With our broad borders, people can pop in and out of Nigeria without detection. Oil bunkering is prevalent because our coastal borders are not adequately patrolled. Proliferation of arms and ammunitions are also common-place courtesy of our permeable borders. The Nigerian Immigration Service, Customs, Navy and the Nigerian Air force must synergize to ensure that our borders are effectively patrolled. If need be, perhaps we can do what the Americans are doing in their borders with Mexico by erecting boundary fencing and electronic surveillance in particular hot-spots. It is done it will prevent the way all these terrorist groups get their weapons and hereby reduce the rate of deaths and killings. The inability of Nigeria to be able to control its boarders is one of the reasons that make the terrorist groups be efficient and effective.



Innocent and Oyinshi (2011) believe that the under listed are the various manifestations of conflict and insecurity in Nigeria.

1. **Ethno-Religious Conflict-** Communal and societal conflicts according to Ibrahim and Igbuzor (2002) have emerged as a result of new and particularistic forms of political consciousness and identity often structured around ethno-religious identities. In all parts of Nigeria, ethno-religious conflicts have assumed alarming rates. It has occurred in places like Shagamu (Ogun state), Lagos, Abia, Kano, Bauchi, Nassarawa, Jos, Taraba, Eboyi and Enugu and Kadun State respectively.

2. **Political Based Violence-** Inter and Intra-political party conflicts have become rife in which politicians are deploying large resources to out-do each other, changing the rules and legislations of the political game, distorting laws and employing violence and political assassination to settle political scores. The most shocking of these killings was the murder of Chief Bola Ige, Funsho Williams, Dikibo, Ogbonna Uche, and Marshall among others. Onyemaizu (2006:10) adds 'A resort to violence, including armed militancy, assassination, kidnap etc, have somewhat suddenly become attractive to certain individuals in seeking to resolve issues that could have ordinarily been settled through due process'.

3. **Economic Based Violence-** In a popular parlance, this thesis is also known as "political economy of violence". Crisis of resource control and revenue sharing regularly rent the air between proponents and opponents. It is however true that other types of resource driven conflicts have received less attention in the debate. The other thesis is that conflict in Nigeria is poverty Induced (Oladipo, 1999:12). As a result of the above, the inability of the state to provide basic services for the populace, generate new conflict or renew old ones manifested through politicized agents who have used the conditions of the poor to address the responses or non-responses of the state to the legitimate yearnings of the people.

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## CHAPTER FOUR

### 4.1 Data Analysis and Interpretation of Findings

#### INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the data that was gathered during the 2015 election at Nigerian Police Divisional Headquarters Kabala Doki Kaduna. The questionnaire was shared among the police in the department, and D.P.O of the department was interviewed which sum up 20 sample.

#### 4.2 Presentation of data

**Table 4.2.1** Rank of respondents

<b>Police</b>	<b>Ranks</b>
Superintendent	1
Dept. Superintendent	2
Ass. Superintendent	2
Inspector	4
Sergeant	3
Corporal	5
Constable	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>

Source: Nigerian Police Divisional Headquarters Kabala Doki Kaduna

Table 1.1 above shows the ranks of the respondents that were assigned duties during the 2015 election at kabala Doki Kaduna. This shows all the ranks particularly those on superintendent cadre and below in the division participated in ensuring security during the 2015 election.

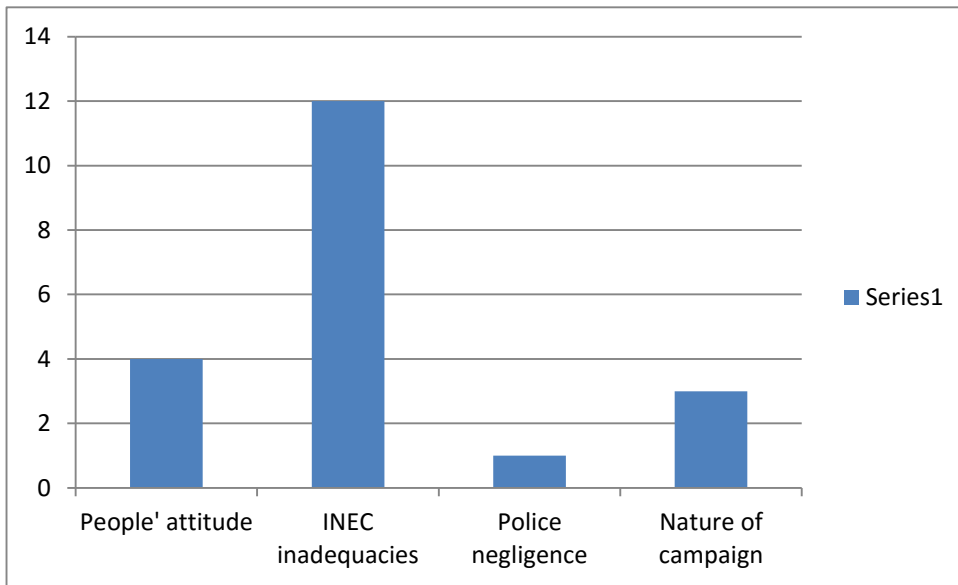
**Table4.2.2 This table shows the number of respondents that were assigned duties during the 2015 election.**

<b>RESPONSE</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
YES	20	100%
NO	0	
<b>TOTAL</b>	20	100%

Source: Nigerian Police Divisional Headquarters Kabala Doki Kaduna.

The table above shows that all the respondents representing 100% were assigned duties during the 2015 election.

**Figure 4.2.3 Causes of insecurity at the time of 2015 election**



SOURCE: Nigerian Police Divisional Headquarters Kabala Doki Kaduna.

This figure shows the causes of insecurity during the 2015 election. The figure shows that people's attitude, INEC inadequacies, police negligence, and nature of campaign are factors responsible for insecurity during the 2015 election.



Four out of the 20 respondents agreed on, people's attitude caused insecurity at the time of the 2015 election. This is so by relating to the introductory section of the study which pointed out that people were frustrated when election date was postponed by six weeks. People were frustrated for fear of election manipulations by the ruling party are were willing to go to any length to bring about change of ineffective and inefficient administration.

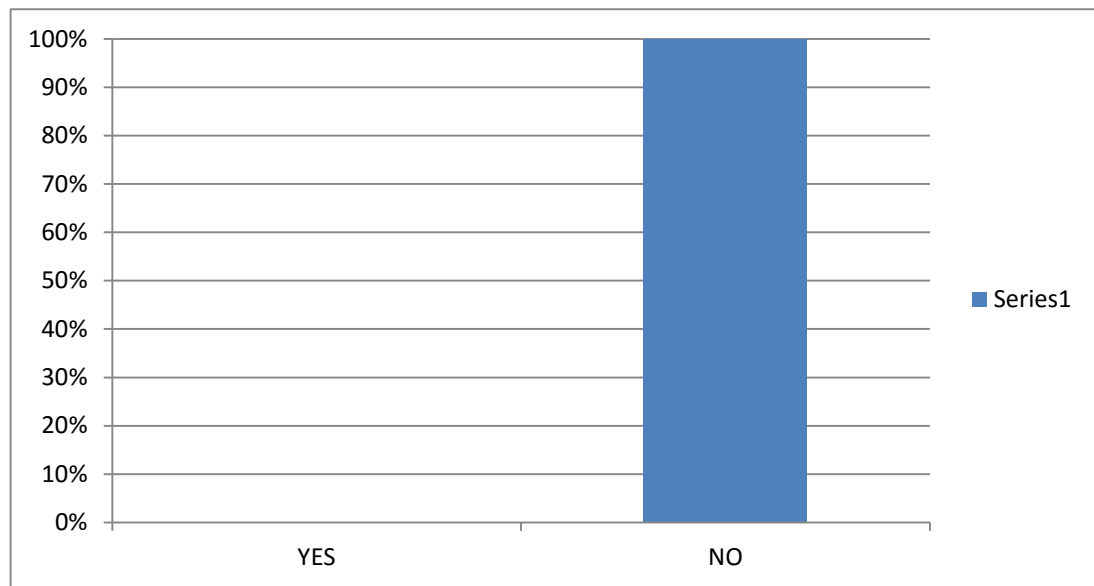
Twelve out of the 20 respondents agreed that INEC inadequacies caused insecurity at the time of the 2015 election. INEC failure to issue P.V.C (permanent voters' card) to all registered voters raised concerns as some people were frustrated. Also failure of some card readers stimulated some people's anger at the time of the election.

Just one out of the twenty respondents opined that, police negligence caused insecurity at the time of the election. This is so based on the literature of the study that made it clear how poor the police contend with issues of insecurity in the country.

One the other hand, three out of the 20 respondents agreed that the nature of campaign contributed to insecurity at the time of the 2015 election. This is based on the general knowledge about the ruling party (PDP) for inducement using money to buy people as a strategy of its campaign to secure its ruling position. While the opposition party (APC)

on the other hand promises complete change for the people, both parties can go to every length to make their wishes.

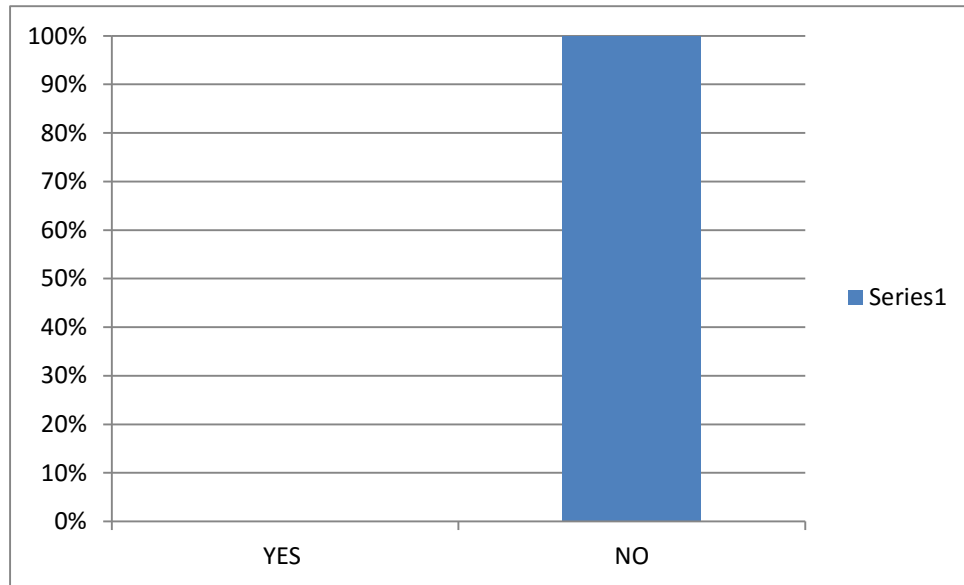
**Figure 4.2.4 Incidence of violence during the 2015 election**



Source: Nigerian Police Divisional Headquarters Kabala Doki Kaduna.

Figure 2. Shows, 100% of the respondent agreed there was no any form of violence in the study area at the time of the 2015 election.

**Figure 4.2.5 casualties**

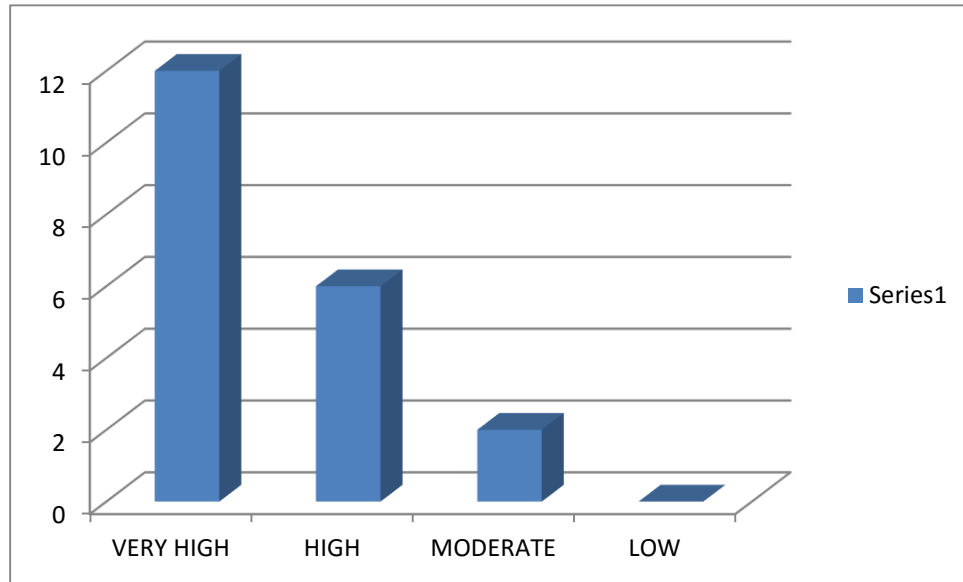


Source: Nigerian Police Divisional Headquarters Kabala Doki Kaduna.

This figure shows that there was absence of casualties at the time of the 2015 election.

Since casualties are only to be expected where violence ensue, it is reasonable or logical to deduce that on account of information on figure 4.2.4 on page 65.

**Figure4.2.6 Level of security**

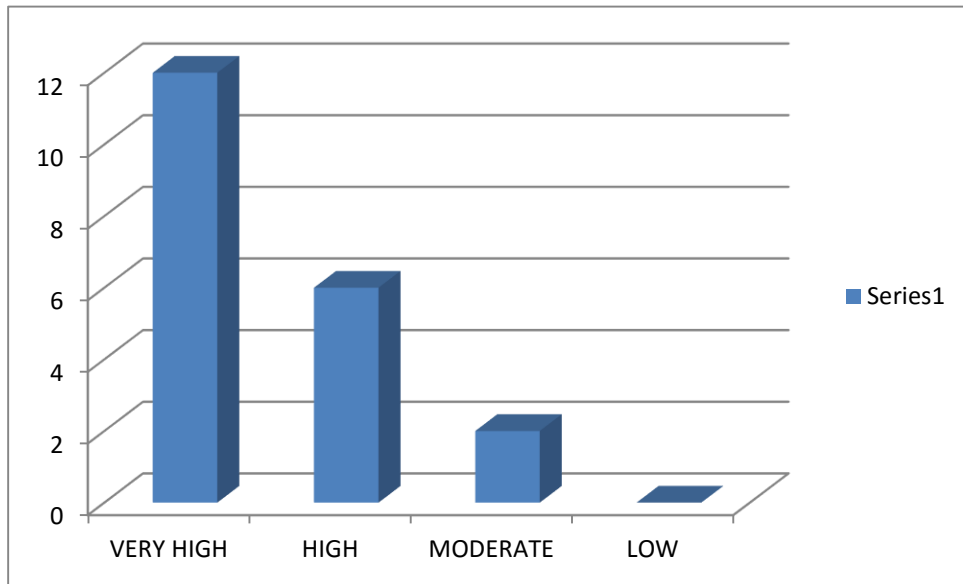


Source: Nigerian Divisional Headquarters Kabala Doki Kaduna. This chart shows the level of security maintained by the police within the ward it was responsible for.

The chart shows the level of security provided during the 2015 election rating from very strong, strong, fair, and weak. Six of the respondents agreed the security provided was

very strong, twelve agreed it was strong, two agreed it was fair and none agreed it was weak.

**Figure4.2.7 Government Assistance**

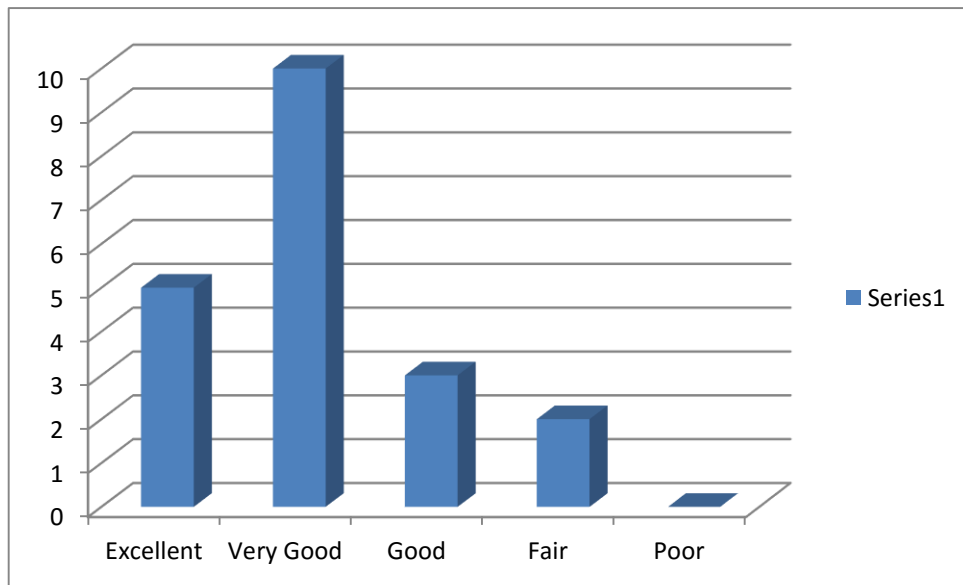


Source: Nigerian Police Divisional Headquarters Kabala Doki Kaduna.

This figure shows the satisfaction of the police in regard to government assistance in ensuring security at the time of the 2015 election.

The figure shows 12 of the respondents were very satisfied with the assistance given to them by the government especially with transportation and they were paid juicily. Six were satisfied, two agreed it was fair. And none agreed it was weak.

**Figure 4.2.8 INEC Performance**



Source: Nigerian Police Divisional Headquarters Kabala Doki Kaduna.

This figure shows the performance of the INEC during the 2015 election.

Five out of the twenty respondents agreed INEC performed excellently which performance contributed in ensuring security at the time of the election.

Ten respondents being the majority agreed their performance was very good and helped in ensuring security at the time of the election.

Three respondents agreed their performance was good, while two agreed it was fair and none agreed it was poor.

### **4.3 Discussion of findings according to statement of problem**

The Problem stated of this research posits that the police face security challenges and it is affecting the political and economic aspects of the country. Among other agencies, the Nigerian Police force is a major contributor to the installation and sustenance of peace in Nigeria. The research studies the security challenges facing Nigeria Police during the 2015 elections. The statement of problem hints at how corrupt, ineffective and inefficient the police operate and relating it to how police can contain security challenges during the 2015 election in Nigeria. The response of the police shows that they were able to provide the security needed despite the inadequacies they contend with. The success of the police in ensuring security at the time of the election can be said to be due to the absence of violence from the public.

### **4.4 Discussion of findings according to research question**

#### ***1. Of what relevance is security for peaceful election?***

Findings of this research show how important security is to individual and the importance of election in any democratic state. Nigeria being a democratic state, the survival of its democracy, necessitates the need for a peaceful election that will ensure



the safety of lives and properties of individuals in the country, only with the provision of security at the time of election can democracy of a state survive.

## 2. What are the causes of insecurity during the preparation for the 2015 election?

The study shows election is accompanied by a number of challenges, but these challenges depend on the nature of the state. In Nigerian situation, the 2006, and 2011 elections accompanied with high violence which led to destruction of properties and casualties. As a result of the previous experiences, same was expected during the 2015 election. Some reasons were identified to cause insecurity during the 2015 election, such as people's attitude, INEC inadequacies, police negligence and the nature of political campaign. The findings on figure 4.2.3 page 61 show that the inadequacies of INEC are the main challenges during the election. This is so because INEC failed to issue the permanent voters card to some registered voters and also the problem of some card readers. These inconveniences angered some people and were likely to demonstrate in such a way that will lead to violence as in the previous elections at the time of the 2015 election. According to one of the sources, in spite of the challenges, the police were able to forestall crisis arising at the time of the 2015 election.

## 3. What role do the Nigerian police play in ensuring security during the 2015 election?

The findings show that the police as the institution vested with the responsibility to enforce law, protect lives and properties, arrest law breakers, create security awareness and ensure that members of the public abide by the laws and regulations of the state has met the expectations of the people where 100% of the respondent claimed that the police provided the needed security which is expected of them at the time of the election.

4. What are the factors limiting the performance of Nigerian police in ensuring security during the 2015 election?

The study shows that the police institution is corrupt, has personnel with low level of education, suffers from insufficiency personnel. Furthermore, inconsistent government policies and inadequate orientation are some of the challenges of insecurity in Nigeria.

The findings show that even though the police have a number of challenges, 100% of the police agreed that government gave them the needed assistance during the 2015 election and also they were able to provide the security needed. This shows that there are no any factors limiting the their performance at the time of the election.

5. What can be done to enhance security at the time of the election?

The findings show that government played an important role in ensuring security during the election. So did the police and INEC. The study shows that the effort of government, police and INEC brought about peaceful election, so to enhance security government, police and INEC should continue to work and support each other.

#### **4.5 Discussion of findings according to research prepositions**

##### **1. Insecurity at the time of the 2015 election is due to the negligence of the police**

The findings show that the level of security was high (figure 4.2.6 page 67). Using a bar chart that rates from very high to low.

The study shows that there was absence of insecurity at the time of the 2015 election in the study area which shows that the police provided the security needed.

##### **2. There are no reasons that limit the police from ensuring security during the 2015 election.**

The study shows that the police had all that is needed to ensure security at the time of the election. The government gave the police all the needed assistance and also there was no expected violent behavior from the people at the time of election that will make it difficult for the police to provide the security needed.

#### **4.6 Discussion of findings based on theoretical framework.**

Theory of policing.

Bowden (1978) observed that the police are established and maintained, not only to monitor but also to discourage and destroy challenges to the existing order of things (Bowden, 1978). The findings of this research show that the police was quite effective during the 2015 election as a result of non-existence of critical challenges. Expected violence and government negligence was lacking at the time of the election which shows that the police challenge at the time of the election was limited. This situation of non violence and absence of casualties as agreed by 100% of the police shows that the police had little to do to maintain security at the time of the election.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **Summary, conclusion, and recommendation**

#### **5.1 Summary**

The research studies the Nigerian Police and security challenges during the 2015 election. The research confirms the level of insecurity at the time of the 2015 election was not as expected. The findings of this research show that, the election was conducted in a relatively peaceful manner. As a result, the police faced minimal or no challenges during the 2015 election. The findings also show that no violence and casualties were recorded in the study area. The government also gave the police the needed assistance at the time of the election.

The literature of the study shows that, it is the responsibility of the police to enforce law, protect lives and properties, arrest law breakers, create security awareness, and ensure that members of the public are abiding by the laws and regulations of the land, but rather the Nigerian police mostly arrest offenders than prevent offence. This shows that absence of offence during the election led to the success of the police in ensuring security.

The background of the study shows us a clear picture of how the Nigerian police is, its structure and how it operates. And also the Nigerian police force has not met the demands of democracy policing which cardinal elements are “justice, equality, accountability, and efficiency” (Law commission Canada 2002).

The findings of this research show that the causes of insecurity at the time of the 2015 election were abated even though experiences from the previous elections show high level of insecurity. Attitude of the people, INEC inadequacies, police negligence, and the nature of campaign have fuelled instability. The research shows INEC inadequacies such as the malfunctioning of some card readers, and not issuing permanent voters card to some registered voters angered some people and were expected to react violently but the election turned out to be the most peaceful election in Nigeria.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

We can argue that insecurity at the level of Nigerian State is the genesis of election crisis and political instability in the country. Election, the process of leadership succession often leads to insecurity for it is a class struggle. There is every need to reposition the police in Nigeria to conform to what is obtainable in other countries of the world. Security is a very sensitive issue and no nation can afford to toy with it. The

police force as an institution is one that the Nigerian society cannot do without. It is however, necessary that in-depth and comprehensive reform be carried out within it, to make it a force that will discharge its constitutional duties without alienating or making itself an enemy of the Nigerian people.

### **5.3 Recommendation**

- i. Act of policing should not be left in the hands of the Nigerian police alone. States and other institutions such traditional institution, the clergy and civil organizations should be actively involved.
- ii. The present situation in Nigerian politics produces individual politicians that have no interest but their personal interest to protect, who are ready to set the society ablaze whenever election results do not favor them. This makes it police business and necessary for the retraining towards attitudinal change and proficiency among both the rank and file and other officer cadre of the police.
- iii. To minimize chances of election leading to chaos and violence, a number of pre-and-post election arrangement are imperative. These include updating and double checking the electoral register at least one month before the polling date. The electoral commission should also develop robust early warning system

where there are likely to be logical problems and where election violence are likely to occur.

- iv. Credible local and international observers must be allowed to monitor the elections to ensure that the entire electoral processes are transparent.
- v. The police are high visibly subservient to the rich and powerful politicians. Policies should be put in place to withdraw police men attached to these politicians.
- vi. The police should be shield from political appointments. The role of any law enforcement in any civilized society is to serve and protect the citizens. This is because political appointment destroy the spirit of de corps, skew their sense of neutrality and impartiality, and infuse a sense of allegiance to appointing authority.
- vii. The federal governments as a matter of urgency equip the police with ultra modern arms and ammunitions as well as security gadgets.
- viii. There is need for the police to improve its public relationship, they should see Nigerians as their fellow human beings who deserve to be treated with a high level of courtesy and decorum.



- ix. Nigerians should help the police to discharge their duties optimally. They could do things through giving vital information to them on the activities of undesirable elements in the society.

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