

State Policing and Security Sector Governance in Nigeria

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Preamble

NIGERIA, like many other states, was created through British colonial conquest, which pooled several ethno-national entities with diverse cultures into one social formation. Thus, all territorial sovereign states came to be, mostly through conquest where one nation, for socio-economic reasons, annexes by force another's territory. This is sometimes referred to as the *warfare theory of state creation*.

The other explanation of state creation processes include: the *commerce theory* canvassed by Stein Rokkan (Flora, 1999), which averred that states developed in places which were a commercial city belt. *Feudal crisis theory*, which posits that social crises in the various kingdoms of the world led to the breakup of earlier formations and the warlords moved away to form another one. The Marxist perspective, where the bourgeoisie, in an attempt to retain economic power, constituted the executive committee of the bourgeois class to manage their common affairs.

The greatest means of state formation in Africa remained the colonial force, which masterminded the creation of Nigeria. As a result of these factors, there is hardly any state that is composed of one nation. A research conducted in 1971 showed that out of 132 countries in the world, at the time, only 12 (9.1 %) met the strict criterion of one state, one nation. A survey of 172 countries with population of at least 200,000 in 2001 indicated that 53 countries (30.8%) had a dominant ethnic group that comprised at

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least 90 percent of the population (Sodaro, Collinwood, Dickson, Klesner and Sisk, 2008:155).

Given the nature of the society's formation, disorder, conflict and tension became the natural outcome and characteristics of all civil society. It must be noted that the very nature of society, which consists of people from diverse backgrounds and cultures, religions, languages in constant interaction, make conflict, disorder and tension a categorical imperative in all societies. If a stable and healthy society is defined as one in which there is no expression of discontent with the government or with the existing institutions of governance on how they administer, who gets what, when and how? Then there is no stable society anywhere. The stability of the civil society beyond effective state and nation-building depends extensively on the efficacy of the policing system, to prevent crime, arrest and prosecute criminals. This is because, if not arrested, it would threaten the welfare of the society. The state then evolves a security architecture to contain these threats to the security of the society. This is the primary duty of all states.

Nigeria, in recent times, seems to have abdicated this fundamental primary role of policing the state and ensuring the safety of her citizens' lives and property. The rate of wanton killings in the last three years in Nigeria, seems to have gone beyond that caused by Boko Haram insurgents in the North East; hence the need to question the efficacy of the internal security architecture in the country.

Kazeem (2016), in a discourse on the deadliest conflict in Nigeria, presented a bar chart of conflict in the country. It indicated that among the Niger Delta, Boko Haram and the farmers/herdsmen conflicts, the farmers/herdsmen conflicts had claimed about 2,000 lives as at 2016 when the graph of deaths was plotted. The most recent of these carnage was the Plateau State massacre of 2018, where over two hundred villagers were killed in cold blood. On January 1, 2018, herdsmen killed over 100 people in Benue State, and later in the same state, two priests and 17 parishioners

were murdered. In the Mambilla Plateau in Taraba State, several people were killed by both sides in the deadly conflict involving the indigenous population and herdsmen. In Demburuk and surrounding villages of Plateau State, more than 1,000 people altogether were slaughtered by herdsmen between 2010 and 2018. Taraba State was yet another theatre of conflict where lives were lost. These recurring incidents touched General Theophilus Yakubu Danjuma (Retd.) so much that he raised the alarm about the military's complicity in the killings. Before the carnage in the former Middle Belt region, there was the Nimbu village killing in Enugu State and another in Ondo State. In the latter, the farm of the former Secretary to the Federal Government, Chief Olu Falae, was destroyed and he was kidnapped. In Kwara State, the farm of Rear Admiral Afolayan (Retd.) was destroyed by the marauding herdsmen. All these infractions did not attract any arrest, prosecution or conviction. It was against this background of a harvest of deaths that the Global Terrorism Index (GTI) stated):

Fulani militants were the fourth deadliest terrorist group in 2014, using machine guns and attacks on villages to assault and intimidate farmers. After killing around 80 people in total from 2010 to 2013, they killed 1,229 in 2014. Most deaths occurred in the Middle Belt, particularly in the states of Benue, Kaduna, Nasarawa, Plateau and Taraba, which recorded 847 deaths...In addition to terrorist attacks, Fulani militants were involved in non-state armed contacts with groups from Eggon, Jukun and Tiv farming communities. These conflicts resulted in 712 deaths (Global Terrorism Index, 2005, cited in Tar, 2017: 363).

The Problem

Nigeria is a problematic federation with a three-tier structure – federal, state and local government. There are 68 items contained on the Exclusive Legislative List of her 1999 Federal Constitution, including policing the entire country. The Concurrent List has 30 items only, which are to be jointly executed by the states and the federal government, while the Residual List consists of issues to be managed by both the states and the local governments. It is

instructive to note that while the states and local governments are tasked with ensuring the security of lives and property in their domains, they do not have, nor control the Police, the institutional mechanism required to perform this function. Anytime the need arises as in quelling these incessant clashes and blood-letting, they have to request the State Police Commissioners, who in turn would have to notify the Inspector-General of Police (IGP), on whose authorisation the Police in the affected state would then act. This is not a structure of command that would ensure effective policing and crime control in the states. The time lag between the federal and state governments in addressing crimes such as terrorism, separatist agitation, ethnic militia insurgency, kidnapping for ransom, armed robbery, herdsmen/farmers' clashes, and indigene-settlers crimes, respectively poses a major challenge to the smooth running of the system.

The current security architecture of the country since 2015 has also created a cultural perception problem, especially with the pronounced cultural and religious differences in the country. Currently in Nigeria, the security command structure is dominated by people from the same ethnic background, as against the federal character constitutional provision in the issue of appointments. This creates a definitive perception problem. Consequently, what may constitute a grievous crime in one state which requires immediate police action, may not be seen as such by the operators of the system. Hence, the disapproval of the actions planned by the governors of some states could occur. A case in point is the Benue State killings which the IGP merely dismissed as a conflict between farmers and herdsmen for which he later apologised. This perception, perhaps, accounted for his refusal to relocate to Benue State to co-ordinate the police response to the crises in spite of the President's order for him to do so.

Another dimension of the problematic is that the 1999 Constitution (as amended), in section 214 (1) provides *inter alia*, that, "Subject to the provisions of this section, no other police force shall be established for the federation or any part thereof. Sequel to this, Nigeria Police structure is one having the Inspectors-

General in Abuja, with state Police Commissioners at the State Command Headquarters, then Zonal Police Directorates, followed by Divisional Police Officers at the local government headquarters, then station officers. The station officers, who are located outside the local government headquarters, may be no more than ten (10) policemen with no sophisticated arms, communication gadgets or operational vehicle. Being a hierarchical organisation, approval to act in the event of a serious crime situation must receive the approval of the IGP.

The incidents in Benue, Plateau, Taraba, Adamawa and Enugu states, which were referred to earlier, took place in rural settings far away from the urban centres where the police have less strength. It is also important to note that most of the killings took place at night, involving the use of sophisticated weaponry.

The perception problem earlier referred to which complicates the maintenance of security across the country can be illustrated by three separate events:

- (i) The former Zamfara State Governor, Abdulaziz Yari, once threatened to resign as the chief security officer of the state, because the security model of Nigeria was frustrating his ability to respond swiftly to security challenges in his state. The then Minister of interior, Lt. Gen. Danbazzau (retd.) taunted him by attributing the frustration of the governor to his incapacity and bad governance. This ought not to be, besides as they both belong to the same political party.
- (ii) One of the reasons given by the herdsmen for the frequent clashes with farmers in Benue State which resulted in wanton bloodletting is their opposition to the "Open Grazing Prohibition and Ranches Establishment Law" promulgated by the Benue State Government. However, the then Minister of Defence, Brigadier General Mansur Dan Ali (retd.), made a statement to the effect that the law should be suspended as a condition for truce in Benue State.
- (iii) Another problem was "Operation Stroke" which was set up by the Defence Headquarters to deal with insecurity threats in

Benue, Nasarawa, Taraba and Zamfara states. In Pursuit of this mission, it embarked on a "cordon and search operation" at a suspected herdsmen militia camp at Barakin Kota village in Keana Local Government Area of Nasarawa State. The soldiers were attacked and two of them were killed and five injured, including the commanding officer. In his response to the incident, the chairman of Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN), Nasarawa State Branch, accused the military of killing six Fulani herdsmen and hundreds of cattle in its operation on June 28, 2018. According to the military, it was not in a hurry to link the association with the militia. The question is: why is it difficult to link the group which defended the militia to the act?

Yet another dimension to the problem of insecurity highlights how vulnerable Nigerians could be. According to Governor Nasir El-Rufai of Kaduna State, the government tracked aggrieved herdsmen to their bases and paid them to stop the killings of Southern Kaduna indigenes and the destruction of their communities. According to reports, the 2011 post-election crisis had trapped some Fulani herders from Chad, Mali and Senegal in Nigeria. On their return trips, they ran into the 2011 post-election violence in Southern Kaduna, as a result of which they lost some of their men and cattle. So, they organised themselves and came back for a reprisal at tack. The violence in Southern Kaduna, according to the Governor, was actually perpetrated by herders who migrated from outside Nigeria. (El-Rufai, 2017). This can only be an alibi.

The development raises the issue of illegal entry into Nigeria, an indictment on the border guards (immigration), as well as the massacre of citizens of one country by another, an international crime which was condoned and tolerated by the Kaduna State Government. The implication is that foreigners could enter the country and massacre Nigerians with impunity. In 2017, the Police paraded 17 suspects alleged to have committed "culpable homicide" and caused a breach of the peace in Southern Kaduna. The Police said they were Fulani and natives of Kaduna State.

Assorted firearms were recovered from the suspects (Ogbonna, 2017). The problem, as it is, vitiates Nigerian federalism.

These allegations are contradictory. The suspects paraded by the Police were identified as Fulani, not foreigners, which tended to indicate that the earlier claim that the killers were foreign Fulani cattle traders was false. The totality of these is that the internal security challenges have external implications. All these call for effective policing of the society which the present structure cannot provide.

The other side to the argument against State Police, that is, in favour of the present central policing system is that during the First Republic, politicians often used it against perceived and imagined political "enemies", or opponents. The second plausible one is that if the states, at the moment, cannot effectively pay salaries and wages of public servants and fund basic infrastructure, they certainly would not be able to fund a police system which is non-revenue-generating.

Others opponents of state policing argue that Nigeria's democracy is not mature enough for it. They contend that state police would not solve the country's security problem but worsen it, and that being a multi-ethnic country, it would be difficult to operate a state police. They cited instances in the past where the police had been used for the selfish interest of those in government. However, according to the former Speaker, House of Representatives, Hon. Yakubu Dogara, considering Nigeria as a nation with peculiar characteristics, state police is the best option to bring to an end the security challenges in the country (Edeh, 2018). According to him, the creation of state and community police would provide an optimal solution to the incessant loss of lives in states in Nigeria. Thus, decentralising police formation in Nigeria would enhance restructuring of the Nigerian state and reinforce federalism. It is a means to the redistribution of power within the federation, vitiating sectional domination and addressing internal security. In this regard, it is a model for internal security management.

The Imperative of Internal Security

The imperative of policing the society was made known since classical times. In their various classical writings, Niccolo Machiavelli (1469 - 1527), Thomas Hobbes (1588 - 1679), and John Locke (1632 -1704) have emphasised authoritative reasons for moving away from the state of nature into the reaction of civil society. They all stressed the need to manage threats to peace in the civil society. It is inferred from their postulations that freedom from threats emanating from within the state should be handled by the people's police and external threats by the people's army. This was pronounced in the treatise of Machiavelli. Everywhere, the management of such threats rests squarely with the police, assisted by other civil society groups. Thus, they all see the need to enhance internal security where people of diverse cultures are brought together.

Policing is the activity of enforcing the terms of the social contract and criminal law; and it takes place in any society which can be said to have such law. But in most societies; the people doing the policing have also had other functions; typically, they have been the military, citizens taking their turn, or persons hired by the magistrates. The police, a separate force designed entirely to enforce criminal law, is a product of modern urban society (Mclean, and McMillan, 2003). Policing in modern times commenced with the establishment of the London Metropolitan Police by Robert Peel in 1829; and by 1960, all other nations in the world had adopted the development. Drawn from Peelian concept, a fundamental basis for local policing is that the Police by its nature, is to be accountable to local government (state and local authorities, where they exist); thus ensuring that the police would be responsive to local feelings and have good relations with the local community.

The British have local police forces which are heavily regulated and partly funded by the central government. A more common solution is to have more than one police force dealing with different crimes at different levels. In the United States, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) deals with crimes of

interstate nature or those beyond the capacity of local forces, this, to some extent, is to police the national space (Mclean and Mc Millan, 2003).

The above situation was, however, not the case in Nigeria when the Police Act of April 1943 came into existence (Isokun, 2006:18). This is further reinforced by the 1999 Constitution (as amended) in section 215 (3 & 4), which provides that "the Nigeria Police Force shall maintain and secure public safety and public order, ensure internal stability and prevent threats to national security." This invariably means that the Police is a social regulation agent, which aids the administration of justice. Extensive literature review has shown that the traditional institution upon which internal security for the health, safety, moral and general welfare of the population is built upon is the local and not the central police which is far remote from the community.

What is herein referred to as the "Theory of State Police" was fashioned in 1822, when Sir Robert Peel became the British Home Secretary. He pressed for and got enacted in the parliament what became known as Peels Metropolitan Police Act in 1829, after the failure of the British Government in the early 19th century to set up a police force for Metropolitan London. Peel's Act espoused the following principles:

- (a) Police officers are to be regarded as citizens in uniform with the implicit consent of the citizens to police them.
- (b) People did not think that it was the job of the national government to set up and control a police force. They thought it should be under local control.
- (c) The nine principles of policing are as follows:
 - (i) To prevent crime and disorder, as an alternative to their repression by military force and severity of legal punishment,
 - (ii) To recognise always that the power of the police to fulfil their functions and duties is dependent on public

- approval of their existence, actions and behaviour, and on their ability to secure and maintain public respect.
- (iii) To recognise always that to secure and maintain the respect and approval of the public means also the securing of the willing co-operation of the public in the task of ensuring observance of laws;
 - (iv) To recognise always that the extent to which the co-operation of the public can be secured diminishes proportionately the necessity of the use of physical force and compulsion for achieving police objectives;
 - (v) To seek and preserve public favour, not by pandering to public opinion, but by constantly demonstrating absolutely impartial service to law, by readily offering individual service and friendship to all members of the public without regard to their wealth or social standing, by ready exercise of courtesy and friendly good humour, and by ready offering of individual sacrifice in protecting and preserving life;
 - (vi) To use physical force only when the exercise of persuasion, advice and warning is found to be insufficient to obtain public co-operation to an extent necessary to secure observance of law or to restore order, and to use only the minimum degree of physical force which is necessary on any particular occasion for achieving a police objective;
 - (vii) To maintain at all times a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police, the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence;
 - (viii) To recognise always the need for strict adherence to police-executive functions, and to refrain from even seeming to usurp the powers of the judiciary, of

- avenging individuals or the state, and of authoritatively judging guilt and punishing the guilty;
- (ix) To recognise always that the test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, and not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with them (Peel, 2013).

In line with above specifications, four general responsibilities of the police could be distilled from Peelian theoretical principles:

- (i) *Law Enforcement*: investigating crimes and apprehending offenders.
- (ii) *Preventing Crimes*: This is about being in the community for the people to be aware that there are police officers around; hence, to serve as a deterrent to other intending to commit crime.
- (iii) *Responding to Emergencies*: Police respond to all emergencies in the community to help out.
- (iv) *Support Services*: Police officers could run training for neighbourhood watch or community police, who feed the local police or state police with information.

State Police: Model for Internal Security

Drawing from the Peelian theory of internal security postulate, this chapter recommends his model of State Police and its associated "Community Police" for application in Nigeria. However, before this is applied in Nigeria, there should be an amendment to section 214 (1) of the 1999 Constitution (as amended), which provides inter alia:

Subject to the provisions of this section, no other police force shall be established for the federation or any part thereof...

The amendment is to provide for each state to have a police service, subject to the provisions of the constitution, as amended. The constitution should therefore provide for a State Police Commander (SPC) to be appointed by the Governor on the advice of the State Police Service Council. By so doing, police affairs would be expunged from the Exclusive Legislative List.

MODEL OF STATE POLICE**Governor**

Chief Security Officer of the State
Responsible for: security of lives, property,
and promotion of the well-being of the citizens.

**State Police Commander (SPC)**

Unique to each State, having state-wide jurisdiction
to enforce order, law, criminal and civil law in the state.

**District Police Officer**

Heads the police in all local government headquarters
and is responsible to the State Police Commander. He may have
ward/units officers.

**Municipal Police Commissioner**

Would be restricted to particular municipalities/towns (as defined)
in the state and would be charged with Police duties within the
municipality.

**Community Police Service**

Policing in the rural areas to feed the other levels of policing with
intelligence and resolve certain categories of conflicts in the rural areas.
It is to be constituted by people from the localities.

**Specialised Detachment of the Police**

All littoral states should have this unit to enforce the law in maritime
zones, serve as coast-guards' and secure the boundaries of each state.
Attacks elsewhere are mostly at night. This detachment would comprise
coast guards, mariners, border guards, special Police guards, etc.

- (i) *The Governor*: As the Chief Security Officer of the state, he would have the Police Service under his command with the advice of the State Police Council. The state House of Assembly would set the parameters of the State Police drawn from the general framework for the establishment of State Police. The governor on the advice of the State Police Service Commission, which would comprise people of integrity in the

state and representing the composition of the state, would recommend to the Governor a person of impeccable character for appointment as the State Police Commander (SPC). After the necessary legislative scrutiny, the Governor would then appoint the right person.

- (ii) *State Police Commander (SPC)*: He shall be the commander and head of the Police in the entire state and would be responsible to the Governor, in ensuring that there is effective policing of the entire state. The State Police Commander (SPC) is to be assisted by Deputy Police Commanders, reflecting the number of directorates to be set up. As much as possible, the ethnic sensibilities of the state should be assuaged in the appointment.
- (iii) *District Police Officers (DPOs)*: They would head the local government police divisions and be answerable to the State Police Commander. The internal security of the local government area would be their responsibility.
- (iv) *Municipal Police Officers (MPOs)*: After the local government headquarters would be large towns or municipalities, as may be defined by population or strategic location, to constitute the Municipal Police Department (MPD). These towns would have Municipal Police Officers in charge of them who may break the towns into wards or units for effective policing.
- (v) *Community Police Service (CPS)*: These would take the form of District or Local Area Police (LAP/DAP) whose members would have mostly spying and information-gathering roles, or watchmen roles, which would be offloaded to the MPOs for immediate action(s) or to the upper echelons of the police, depending on the severity of the crime committed or about to be committed. This does not obviate the other echelons of the Police from mounting guards in the localities.
- (vi) *Community Police Specialised Detachment*: In view of the nature of internal security challenges which occur mostly in rural settings, it is important to strengthen the capacity

of the community police beyond spying and reporting to the Municipal or Local Government Police Officer. The response time could create more damage, hence the need to have a special detachment of the community police which would serve as "border guards" and operate mostly at night while intelligence officers operate during the day. This is so because those who create the internal security problems do so mostly at night. The specialty of the community police detachment should be night operations at the state borders.

Processes: Subject to section 216 of the 1999 Constitution (as amended), all instructions from the IGP to the State Police Commander (SPC) must be cleared with the State Governor before the State Police Commander (SPC) would carry it out. Where the Governor is not within reach, his deputy or any other authorised person, assigned to act by the law of the State House of Assembly which established the State Police, would direct accordingly.

The Modus Operandi

It is instructive to state that, drawn from the Peelian concept of policing are what we consider in this work as the "modus operandi" of state police. These are: the Police, by its origin, should be as civil as possible and should not be organised centrally in a multinational, multicultural, multilingual and multi-religious state like Nigeria.

The police should be made to know that their existence depends very much on public approval. Thus, they should engender public co-operation in the discharge of their duties. The state police must be well trained in the best police training institutions and made to come to the understanding that in the pursuit of its duties, the use of "force" must be the last resort when persuasion, warning and advice must have all failed. It should come to the realisation that the absence of crime and disorder is an indicator of its effectiveness rather than visibility in the society.

Relationship between Federal and State Police

The relationship between state police and federal police would be strictly that of co-operation, as in based on an invitation to assist the state police whenever necessary. The federal police would only be involved when it concerns crime of an interstate or national nature.

In the case of specialised offers for training abroad by international organisations and foreign governments such as the FBI, Scotland Yard, corresponding units from the state would have the right to select the trainees, who would thereafter serve as "train-the-trainers" to attend and "step-down" the knowledge obtained. With regard to training on prevention, detection and trial of economic crimes, such training would adhere to the provisions of section 7(1)(b) of the EFCC Act which empowers the commission to cause investigation to be conducted into the property of any person whose lifestyle and the extent and value of the property, appear to the commission as not justified by his source of income. The states should have Anti-Fraud Units (SAFU) which would be trained to perform these functions along with the Federal EFCC.

The Challenges

The major challenge to the concept of state and community police has been the fear of what obtained in the First Republic (1960 - 1966). In defending the present position advocating for state policing, however, it is instructive to point to the fact that Nigeria's political systems then and now are very different. In the First Republic, the structure was regional with three major ethnic groups (Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba) and a multiplicity of minority groups. The majority ethnic groups used the regional police to intimidate and coerce political opponents among the minority groups, in the Northern, Western and Eastern regions respectively.

The current dispensation is different entirely, as each state is expected to constitute its police. Balancing the minority/majority equation within the states would be taken care of by the law

establishing the state police system. The political hangover of the use of state police in the previous regime as an instrument of witch-hunt would be minimised in the structure and processes of operation of the state and community police.

The second main test of the creation and operation of the state and community police is funding. The fear here is that currently, states which have not been able to pay salaries and wages of civil servants for months, may not be able to pay the salaries and also adequately equip policemen required in large number for the operation. One way out of this would be to reduce the staff strength in the civil service and post redundant workers after retraining them to fit into the state police.

As part of the funding strategy, corporate organisations in each state would be required to support mandatory contribution towards the sustenance of the state and community police. A special tax would also need to be imposed by the state government towards the funding of the police. The police in all the states should have a first-line charge in the consolidated revenue account of the state.

Finally, the federal government should make a specific contribution to all states for the maintenance of the state and community police service. This is because, by its creation, the states would have taken the bulk of the burden off the federal police onto the state police. The logic here is that the federal police would have to be reduced and many of its men reposted or transferred to the various state police commands. This would reduce the fiscal requirement of the federal police.

Police and Crime

Crime is an unlawful act punishable by the state and it occurs everywhere, federal or national territories, state or local government areas. It is therefore wise to attempt to segregate the categories of crimes to be assigned to the state or federal police. However, suffice to say tentatively that the following crimes can be hurled by state police:

- (i) Statutory crimes, e.g. which involve the violation of the law on sale of alcohol to underage children and that of driving under the influence of alcohol;
- (ii) Inchoate crime, e.g. solicitation, conspiracy and attempted criminal act;
- (iii) Property crime which does not necessarily involve causation of harm;
- (iv) Personal crime e.g. assault, battery, kidnapping, homicide, rape, etc.
- (v) Felony, e.g. murder, arson, robbery, drug trafficking etc.

Whatever the nature of the crime, proper training of the men of the state police would provide the capacity to deal with it.

Training

All the policemen should be properly trained in order to help them overcome natural inclinations, biases, or reservations they encounter while performing their duty. Such training, however, must be hand in hand with formal educational training. Training of the state police personnel should be conducted in the best police training institutions available. This is to correct the despotic tendencies which several years of military rule had imprinted in their minds.

The essence of training for the police was illustrated by a study conducted by Jason Rydberg and William Terrill (2010), the findings of which indicated a significant correlation between the disposition of an officer with formal education and the decision to use force versus a less-educated counterpart. The study showed that 56 percent of encounters involving officers with college or 4-year degree resorted to the use of force; while 68 percent of encounters involving officers with no college experience resorted to the use of force. Therefore, it can be concluded that the more trained an officer of the police is, the more civil he would be in dealing with the public, and the less force is likely to be applied in his encounter with the community. Educated officers make more arrests than their uneducated counterparts.

Training of state police personnel should be as important as creating the state police establishment itself. This is because they would be charged with law enforcement and the protection of citizens and execution of federal laws in their various states. Lastly, the training of the state police would largely be on information and communication technology (ICT). This would make policing effective.

Funding

Since the practice of state policing would reduce the burden of policing on the federal government, the latter should be made to pay a specified sum from its budget to the state for security management. This would reduce the number of men required by the federal police. The security vote being paid to state governors would have to be stopped and channelled to the state police fund. All tiers of government would have to set aside a specific sum to be legislatively agreed for the funding of the state police, besides an equal amount to be made available by the federal government. All fines from traffic offences would go to the state police account besides special value-added tax for funding the state police, especially on luxury goods.

Conclusion

The challenges of internal security in Nigeria would be adequately addressed with a state and community police system designed and structured in the manner canvassed herein. State police would serve the role currently being played by such group as the civilian JTF in the war against Boko Haram. This is because the current structure of policing in Nigeria is obsolete and cannot meet the needs of the contemporary political system. One can therefore allay the fears of those who think that it would be used as an instrument of political victimisation, as done in the First Republic, by emphasising that the fear is misplaced because then, it was the majority ethnic groups against the minorities. The situation now is pluralistic; each state with its own police without a majority ethnic group victimising another. Creation of state

police would restructure the polity and partly place Nigeria's federalism on the right course.

The law establishing the state, vis-à-vis the federal police, would reduce the burden of policing at the national level. Consequently, the federal government would have to pay a specified amount to the states, charged from the consolidated revenue fund, because some burden would have been taken off the federal police and placed on the states. This amount would be the same for all the states, irrespective of the size of their police formations. Security votes earlier paid to governors would be transferred to the state police. The states would then complement this with other sources of internally generated revenue to fund the police system. The courts are to be made more efficient in dealing with matters which would emanate from the various tiers of policing. This is to ensure justice for the perpetrators of crime, ensure justice for the victims and the society at large.

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