

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background to the Study

In any country of the world, the security agency is considered to be the most significant agency. This is so because all state irrespective of their status among the comity of nation must protect its people and its territory. The police is an inevitable security institution in today's democracy. It is not possible to see a country without a police force. The police are so important because they maintain order, legality and the development of society¹. The police play a significant role in democracy, and must take account of the facilitative and inhibitive roles of the police in society.

The foundational role of the police is to guard and secure compliance with enacted laws and conformity with the precepts of social order. Policing is important in all societies to ensure the preservation of order, safety and social relations. In modern societies, diversities and contradictions arising from population heterogeneity, urbanization, industrialization and conflicting ideologies on the appropriate socio-political and economic form of organization make the police even more necessary¹.

In other words, police is a constituted body of persons empowered by the state with the sole responsibility to enforce law, ensure the safety, health and possession of citizens and to prevent crime and civil disorder^{2,3}. Meanwhile, they are often defined as being separate from the military and other organizations involved in defense of the state against foreign aggressors. Historical facts showed that the origin the "police force" is a recent development, but "policing" is not, because the latter was a necessary societal collective measure to protect

themselves individually or collectively or to control the wrongdoing tendency of some members; thus has been in existence for ages⁴.

It is a common saying that the police are your friend. But in a country like Nigeria, the opposite is the case. It is evident that ordinary citizen thinks the policeman is anything negative, and not a friend³. The Police all over the world are state authorities vested with the responsibility on law enforcement and maintenance of order in the society. In carrying out their responsibilities, the police may be authorized to use 'reasonable force' when the need arises.

The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the Police Act, international conventions, professional ethics and other statutes regulate and as well constrain the use of force by the police in discharging their statutory functions. Despite these regulations, a division of the Nigerian Police Force in many states in Nigeria resort to using extreme force beyond limits as permitted by law in discharging their duties and in the process grossly disregard of the rule of law and resorted to killings extra-judicially, torture and subject civilians or citizens to all sorts of inhumane and ill-treatment; unfortunately, the same citizens that they have earlier sworn to protect⁵.

Perceived Police brutality, use of torture as interrogative technique and other wanton abuses of human rights remain some of the major flaws of the Nigeria Police Force which has attracted public and condemnation to the Force^{6,7}. Torture, described as one of the most extreme forms of violence, resulting to both psychological and physical consequences is sometimes considered as an indispensable interrogation mechanism for gathering strategic intelligence.

Within the context of this research, unlawful or extrajudicial killings, as it implies refers to killings outside the dictates of the law and the recent upsurge in the menace, torture, degrading

and inhumane treatment of citizens in the society by the officers of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) reveals a need for the appraisal of the criminal justice system so as to prevent judicial usurpation and a unnecessary and unlawful use of firearms by the Nigerian Police is not a question of a few isolated cases, but of a widespread phenomenon. Many unlawful killings and torture happen during the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) operations. In other cases, the police shoot and kill drivers who fail to pay them bribes at checkpoints. Some are killed in the street because, as the police later claim, they are “armed robbers”; others are killed after arrest, allegedly for attempting to escape. Many lack of reverence for constituted authority which could result in the complete breakdown of law and order⁸.

For example, a student Chukwuemeka Matthew Onovo, left his father’s house in Enugu on the morning of July 4, 2008 and never returned. His father went to the police to report his sudden disappearance. He later discovered his son had been shot dead after a shootout ensued near their home. The police claimed he was an armed robber but eye witnesses said he was unarmed when he was killed.⁹

Another pathetic story is that of Chibuike Anams, a 23-year-old student, who was killed in company of two friends at a guest house in Elingbu, Rivers State, on July 24, 2009.

The Police had raided the guest house, he attempted to escape and was shot dead on the spot. His friends were arrested but were later released. Anams’ family reported him missing at the police headquarters in Port Harcourt after he failed to come home They discovered he had died almost a week after they had visited several police stations. Why the police shot Anams was a mystery to his parents. He did not commit any crime. It will not be out of place to say

relationships between the Nigeria police and citizens are largely characterized by suspicion, prejudice, mutual disrespect, conflict and violence. The list is much for the researcher to explain here.¹⁰

More so, on Human Rights violations by SARS, John Jemilusi experienced those violations firsthand. On July 19, 2019, Ogunjemilusi was driving with a relative from Nigeria's most populous city, Lagos to his brother's wedding in Neighboring Ogun States SARS officers stopped them on their way, and ordered the 23 years old to step out of the car. He was further asked what he does for a living.

"I am a nurse," Ogunjemiluyi says as he explained to the officers and showed them his identity card. Next, they asked him to show what was bulking from the right pocket of his trousers. When he pulled out his wallet, the officers ordered him to hand it over to them. He refused, while he was arguing the legality of their orders, one of the armed officers cocked his gun aimed at Ogunjemiluyi leg, and pulled the trigger; but he missed. Thanks to Ogunjemiluyi aunty, who miraculously and forcefully pulled him backed by his shirt, the echoing bullet landed on the ground. Ogunjemiluyi is among the thousands of youths and young people who have taken part of the ongoing protests that began after several video clips showing SARS officers driving off in a car.

Ogunjemiluyi made some below which is very important to note in this research work of police brutality and End SARS movement in Nigeria.

"I participated because as a victim of police Brutality, talking about it and seeing it boils my blood," Ogunjemiluyi says¹¹. The government announced structural changes to SARS but the alleged human rights violations and exploitation continued. In October 2020, reports of

unprovoked shootings of a boy in the streets of Delta state by SARS operatives were shared on social media. Although the Nigerian police denied the shooting in this particular case, it was not enough to quell public anger as more videos of police shootings were shared across social media platforms celebrities and activist railed for support on Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook and in a matter of days, protesters lined the streets of Lagos and Abuja demanding to end to SARS pressured by the publicity that the protests had generated the Nigerian government swiftly announced the disbandment of SARS. This move however, was not enough to appease the protesters in the light of similar pronouncements made previously by the government.

An overwhelming majority of those participating in the protest are young Nigerians. Notably, Nigeria has a rich history of youth protest. Nigeria's independence movement even started as youth protest. The bottled anger of many of the country's youth over unfair profiling and harassment by SARS in particular has found an outlet in this protest¹².

In 2020, 25 year old Obianuju Iloanya felt compelled to join them. The NGO worker wanted to speak out for her older brother Chijioke Iloanya who was 20years old when police officers arrested him in November 2012. He was handed over to Awkuzu SARS and has not been seen or heard from since. She says with frustration. "What is this? What is the worth of human life in Nigeria? What do you have to do not to be killed? She marched alongside the #ENDSARS campaigners in Abuja¹³.

Also, violations of the right to life have come in various forms such as extrajudicial killings, shooting of protesters, and other random, unprovoked killings. The open society justice initiative (OSJI) found in a 2010 report that the extrajudicial executions are a routine feature of policing in Nigeria. Human rights watch estimates that over 10,000 people were killed by the

Nigerian police in the eight years spanning 2000 through 2007. The head of the Enugu state division of SARS allegedly told a researcher of the network on police reform in Nigeria that he ordered the extrajudicial executions of only persons whom he knew to be guilty. These killings do not always happen secretly, it is on a hidden place away in the police cells and dungeons. In August 2019, videos surfaced showing men of the Nigerian police force executing arrested suspects in the streets of Lagos. The suspects were alleged to belong to a criminal ring that disguised themselves as phone buyers to lure and rob unsuspecting victims. In reaction the Nigerian police announced the arrest of the officers involved.

More so, SARS personnel have also been known to routinely torture suspects for “confessions”. The Open Society Justice Initiative reports states that the practice is so common that many police stations have a person on staff who oversees the torture of detainees and a room set aside for the practice. Amnesty international has also documented cases of torture, most of which emanate from detainees in SARS custody. In Feb 12 2020, BBC Africa published a damning documentary on the use of torture techniques by Nigerian security forces. The video focused on the wide and uniform use of a technique known as Tabay. The technique involves binding detainees in a crude and painful fashion. The arms are forced back and tied at the elbows, cutting circulation to the hands and immobilizing the victims. The feet are then tied back, arching the spine and contacting the body in triangle. In the documentary, a man identified as a Nigerian police officer gives a harrowing account of the use of Tabay by SARS, they call it “Hawan Keke” (Bicycle Ride). Hands tied up from behind which allows blood to stop circulating. Pursuant to the objective of bringing to a fore the depth of the unlawful killings by the officers of the Nigerian Police, most especially the unit known as the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) in Southwestern states of Nigeria. In the same vein, several

instances on extra-judicial killing activities of officers of the SARS need to be examined in the region. The Nigerian citizens are rough handled, mishandled and brutalized in various ways through; beating, shooting indiscriminately, maiming and killing of citizens, unnecessary restrains such as handcuffs and leg chains, unnecessary use of firearms against suspects and innocent members of the public, torture of suspects in order to forcefully excerpt confession and extortion of gratification¹⁴.

However, a large portion of these cases are concealed by the Nigerian Police officers in their stations, evidence is destroyed and proof of any such acts is also hidden from the public. This is actually pursuant to the fact that the victims' family members would be denied justice when they seek a redress in court of law. Unfortunately, there have been numerous criminal charges brought and public protests against the Officers of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) of the Nigerian Police in recent times. To this extent, it is the brutality of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) that ignited the ENDSARS protest that started in October, 2020 which is a cry against the modus operandi of this division of the police force.

A high number of innocent civilians have been unlawfully killed and eliminated by drunk and trigger-freaked SARS police officers in Lagos, Ogun, Oyo and Osun States respectively. The said SARS officers would storm any location; it could be checkpoints on inter-state roads, beer parlous, cinemas, club houses and host of others to enforce unlawful arrests in the name of looking for "yahoo-yahoo boys" or internet fraudsters and criminals in the states.

Unnecessary and unlawful use of firearms by the Nigerian Police is not a question of a few isolated cases, but of a widespread phenomenon. Many unlawful killings happen during police operations. In other cases, the police shoot and kill drivers who fail to pay them bribes at

checkpoints. Some are killed in the street because, as the police later claim, they are “armed robbers”; others are killed after arrest, allegedly for attempting to escape. Many disappear in police custody – and are likely to have been extra-judicially executed¹⁵. As a result of these incivilities, incompetence, indiscriminate shootings, and unprofessionalism on the part of officers of Nigerian Police Unit known as the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), lots of families have been thrown into eternal sorrow by unlawfully killings of their family lovely and innocent members¹⁵.

In several occasions, innocent citizens are arrested and paraded unlawfully in front of media to gain more recognition or promotion in service. These incident has led to several public protests and criticisms both in the streets and on social media in Nigeria in recent times. The study is going to examine the trends of violence and unlawful killing of civilians in the country by officers of Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) Unit of the Nigeria Police, the factors triggering the brutality; and also interrogates the issues and lessons from the ENDSARS protest in the country. For this reason, the study is significant because it will enlighten the public about their rights¹⁶.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Nigeria’s poor socio – economic performance, human rights abuses, widespread poverty, insecurity, corruption, and lack of trusting the political system have led to disenchantment among the electorate. Especially the youth who make up 51% of the population. This matters in a fast – growing population of over 200million with more than 60% of people under 25(NPC2006). The human cost of bad governance is evident in the low level of basic infrastructure, weak healthcare and educational system, high unemployment and the number of school children, amongst others. The wakeup call by the young Nigerians against police

brutality, the EndSARS protest, exposed the gross human rights abuses suffered by many Nigerians at the hands of the institution created to protect them. Nigerians are now demanding that the government tackles the root causes of poverty, insecurity, human rights abuses and socio – economic instability through the levels of good governance.

The sources of security challenges in the community can't be blamed on one part alone; In 2008, the NPF (Nigeria Police Force) in their annual report noted that, the police is handicapped basically on some factors which are, lack of resources, poor government support, poor condition of service, lack of appropriate and adequate training and ill – equipped workforce.

1.3 Aim and objectives of the study

The aim of the study is to:

- i. Ascertain if there are causes of police brutality in Nigerian.
- ii. Identify the major causes of ENDSARS protest in Nigeria.
- iii. What are the human rights violation by the Nigerian Police Force?
- iv. What are the issues associated with Police Brutality in Nigeria?

1.4 Research Questions

- i. What are the causes of Police brutality in Nigeria?
- ii. What are the major causes of ENDSARS protest in Nigeria
- iii. To what extent has the Nigerian Police Force violated the human right of Nigerians.
- iv. What have been the salient issues in Police Brutality and ENDSARS protest in Nigeria?

1.5 Significance of the Study

The significance of this study is to investigate and examine police brutality and ENDSARS protest in Nigeria. The study also aims to examine the salient issues on why the demonstrations of the youths came out for the protest and the main reasons for their agitations with the escalations of police brutality in the country. Also, lessons from the protest as to police brutality which has arisen in Nigeria, as to advocates and researchers have documented extensive evidence of human rights abuses by SARS Officers and other NPF (Nigeria Police Force) personnel.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The scope of this research study shall be confined to Police Brutality and ENDSARS Movement in Nigeria. The study will specifically investigate and examine the salient issues and lesson from police brutality and ENDSARS protest in Nigeria. Specifically, the study will focus on the historical antecedent of police brutality from 2015 to 2021.

To this extent, the overall scope of the study is to holistically investigate police brutality, what ignited the ENDSARS, how the government responded and the lesson learnt.

1.7 Limitation of the Study

This researcher encountered some constraints in several ways in the course of writing this research. There were difficulties in accessing relevant data, some important documents, and articles to the field of study for proper studying were not easy to access. Where they are available, they could not be borrowed or taken away to study. Most of these documents were thus, used at the premises and searched for online.

However, the above limitations did not in any way affect the integrity and completion of this study, and the resources available were sufficient in arriving at the conclusion.

1.8 Operational Definition of Terms

End SARS: End SARS is a decentralized social movement, and series of mass protests against police brutality in Nigeria. The slogan calls for the disbanding of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), a notorious unit of the Nigerian police with a long record of abuses. The protest which takes its name from the slogan started in 2017 as Twitter campaign using the hashtag #EndSARS to demand the disbanding of the unit by the Nigerian government. After experiencing a revelation of the abuses of the unit, mass demonstrations occurred throughout the major cities of Nigeria, accompanied by vociferous outrage on social media platforms. About 28 million tweets bearing the hashtag have been accumulated on Twitter alone.

Police: Police the civil force of a state, responsible for the prevention and detection of crime and the maintenance of public order. The police are a constituted body of persons empowered by a state, with the aim to enforce the law, to ensure the safety, health and possessions of citizens, and to prevent crime and civil disorder.

National Security: National security is defined as the protection or the safety of a country's secret and its citizens, emphasizing the overall security of a nation and a nation-state. A nation has security when it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interests to avoid war, and is able, if challenged to maintain them by war.

Protest: Protest is a demonstration, remonstrance, or remonstrance). It is a public expression of objection, disapproval or dissent towards an idea or action, typically a politically a political one. Protest can take many different forms, from individual statement to mass demonstrations. Protesters may organize a protest as a way of publicly making their opinions heard in an attempt to enact desired changes themselves where protests are part of a systematic and

peaceful non-violent campaign to achieve a particular objective, and involve the use of pressure as well as persuasion, they go beyond mere protest and may later be described as cases of civil resistance or non-violent resistance.

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Endnotes

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Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1 Conceptual Review

2.1.1 Security

There is no doubt that security is one of the most important concepts in social sciences, since it is related to the safety of states and their citizens and their very survival. However, defining security is not an easy matter, since the term has had many different meanings to different people in different places and different times over the course of human history. The obvious consequence is that there are many different ways to think about security. Actually, there has been a never-ending debate on its nature and dimension, since there is not a broad consensus on its meaning. Is it a goal to be pursued at all costs, no matter what? Is it a condition or a perception? Or is it a consequence of measures taken to protect people, values, ideas, territory, and resources and so on? Is it a means or an end? What is security?

In order to present a definition of any given idea of security, in this case – it is necessary to first understand its nature and the main aspects the concept is supposed to convey. Etymologically speaking, the word “security” is said to have found its root from the Latin word “*Securus*” which mean freedom from anxiety¹. In the 16th century, a similar word “secure” crept in to English language which make the word known very well². Security has to do with the process connected with assuaging any kind of threat to people and their precious values. This is why Barry Buzan asserts that, security is about freedom from threat and ability of states to maintain independent identity and their functional integrity against forces of change, which they see as hostile while its bottom line is survival³. Another scholar equally submits that, security is most commonly

associated with the alleviation of threats to cherish values, especially those threats which threaten the survival of a particular reference object. In line with the above, it is believed that:

Security has to do with freedom from danger or threats to a nation's ability to protect and develop itself, promote its cherished values and legitimate interest and enhance the well-being of its people. Thus internal security could be seen as the freedom from or the absence of those tendencies, which could undermine internal cohesion, and the corporate existence of a country and its ability to maintain its vital institutions for the promotion of its core values and socio-political and economic objectives, as well as meet the legitimate aspirations of the people⁴.

Security has been defined as the condition or feeling of safety from harm or danger, the defense, protection and preservation of core values and the absence of threats to those values⁵. Security is the prime responsibility of the state. The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria specifically states that, "The security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government"⁶. It could therefore be inferred that security, be it classical, state-centric and traditionalist or non-traditionalist, is all about protection of assets including living and non-living resources against loss or damage.

Security need was the basis of the social contract between the people and the state, in which people willingly surrendered their rights to an organ called government who oversees the survival of all. In this light, security embodies the mechanism put in place to avoid, prevent, reduce, or resolve violent conflicts, and threats that originate from other states, non-state actors, or structural socio-political and economic conditions⁷.

Meanwhile, there are two major Schools of Thought to the concept of security – Traditional and Non – Traditional. Traditional School of Thought favours the maintenance of the Cold War conception of security. This school of thought defines security in this sense to mean safety from danger and from external attack or infiltration⁸. Traditional security paradigm is a realist construct of security in which the referent object is the state⁹. It equates security with peace and prevention of conflict through military means, that is, deterrence policies, non-offensive defense and the like. This is why security is seen from the lens of threat, use, and control of military force¹⁰. It explores the situations that make use of force more likely, the ways the use of force affects individuals, states, societies and the specific policies that states employ in order to prevent or engage in war. This school of thought is strongly tied to the military and that is why Barry Buzan regards security as underdeveloped and needed to be rehabilitated. The Cold War period gave the high level domination to the conventional security doctrine to the extent that security rest on the belief that only a military system can efficiently deter attack and threat of force¹¹. This assertion commemorate with Booth position when he asserts that:

One of the themes of the new thinking is the idea that security policy should have political accommodation as a primary and persistent aim. The negative effect of identifying security almost exclusively with military was evident throughout the cold war. This approach can be described as strategic reductionism which is conceiving security in a technical and mechanistic military way as manifested in an obsession with military balance and the use of state-of-the-art technology¹¹.

The second school of thought on the conceptualization of security is the non-traditional school. This school attempts to widen and deepen the definition of security. It argues that other issues like environment, political, economic and social threats endangers the lives and properties of

individual rather than the concentration on the survival of the state. It does implies that a predominantly military definition does not appreciate the fact that the greatest threat to state survival may not be military but environmental, health, political, social and economic.

However, security in this sense is human emancipation oriented. It means that people/citizens must be liberated from those challenges, difficulties and constraints that may prevent them from carrying out what freely they would choose to do which includes epidemics, poverty, oppression, poor education, crises and so on. Today, politics, ecological issues, economic and demographic issues which are non-military tend to pose serious threats to people's security. From the foregoing, security is generally agreed to be about feeling of being safe from harm, fear, anxiety, oppression, danger, poverty, defense, protection and preservation of core values and threat to those values.

2.1.2 Causes of Internal Security Crisis in Nigeria

The precarious security situation in Nigerian has shown very clearly that Nigerians are more threatened from within than from without or any external aggressors. In an attempt to explain the causes of security crisis in Nigeria, a separation will be attempted here in order to address it from its root to give room for functional and effective understanding. Many scholars have identified religious, political, intolerance, mismanagement of resources, subversion, sabotage, espionage, armed robbery, muting and coup d'état and so on as the main cause of internal security crisis in Nigeria¹². Even though they are, However, there are deeper structural problems arising from the inherent contradictions that are engendering conflicts and crisis that are manifesting in forms of political and religious, intolerance, corruption and resource mismanagement. These structural problems are:

- Issues of good government and accountability: This is still a mirage and lacking among our leaders, be it at the local government, state government and federal level. The issue is also lacking in the private sector of the economy¹³.
- Poor nature and scope of economic development: This centers on what has been happening to poverty what has been happening to unemployment and what has been happening to inequality? The increase in unemployment and poverty is one of the fundamental causes of security in Nigeria¹⁴.
- The effects of rapid population growth on the economic development of Nigeria. This has been identified as a major cog in the wheel of economic development in Nigeria and reasons for internal security threat since 1960¹⁵.
- Electoral fraud as impediment to Nigeria's search for internal security. Nigeria has a long history of electoral rigging and fraud that have been frustrating the wishes of the people to choose those who exercise political power. Precisely because of this history, elections in the country have often been associated with political tension and indeed violence and crises¹⁶.
- Growing rate of poverty and the hunger among Nigerians: Poverty is a situation or condition of hopelessness and a condition of being poor and wretched. In other words, poverty as a situation in which people live below a predetermined standard value in terms of income and conditions of living, hence the rating and description of individual and nations as being poor. About 50% of Nigerians live below poverty line and about 70% live in rural areas with no infrastructure, food, shelter and so on¹⁷. The effect of poverty and lack of food makes the poor to indulge in violence and anti-social activities which threatens the security of the state.

- High rate illiteracy among Nigerians: The rate of illiteracy is very high in the country, figures from various education departments showed that education in some part of Nigeria has sustained a progressive decline over the years. The implication is that social, political and economic mobilization policies of the government do not trickle down to the majority of the youths and other agents of peace¹⁸.
- The consequence of corruption and unethical practice in Nigeria. Corruption is essentially the product of man's greed for earthly grandeur, power and authority. It exists when an individual illegally or illicitly puts personal interest above those to the people and the ideals she or he is pledged to serve. Generally, the consequences of corruption and unethical practice in Nigeria are multi-dimensional and multi-faceted. The implications are overwhelming and have far reaching negative implications for internal security required for the nations co-existence and development. These consequences include: poor leadership, underdevelopment, unemployment, concentration of wealth on the hands of a few, political instability, internal insecurity and discouragement of foreign investors and so on¹⁹.
- Synergy between national security and democratic rule. The linkage between national security and democratic rule is that of mutual transmissibility of impacts and repercussions. Therefore, with prolonged years of military rule, it is expedient to note that, only a democratic framework can provide succor to Nigerians at this critical security juncture, and create scope necessary for the transformation for the state from the authoritarian form experienced under the military rule to a people centered one. This will open up channels hitherto blocked for dialogue, negotiation and peaceful settlement of conflicts²⁰.

Therefore, probably the nexus between national security crisis and democratic rule is like addressing the fundamental question that, national security is whose security? If democracy is centered on the people and the people is said to mean the poor, disadvantaged, or the many, it therefore implies that for national security to be achieved to avoid crises, it must be people-oriented.

2.1.3 Insecurity

Insecurity is the state of being subject to danger or injury. The anxiety that is experienced when one feels vulnerable and insecure. It is a state of not being secure, lack of confidence'. To enable us understand this term, we now turn to the meaning of the word 'insecure' which the Advance English Dictionary defines as 'not confident about yourself or your relationships with other people; not safe or protected²¹'. This definition further expounds the meaning of the term to include not just the general meaning but it touches the individual person "not being confident about oneself".

Insecurity is being in a fear of the unknown; A feeling of trepidation and unsafe. Also, it is a state of being unable to protect lives and property. In other words, the person is vulnerable to damage, injury or loss from both internal and external causes. However, because of the very many ways in which insecurity affects human life and existence, the concept of insecurity has usually been ascribed different interpretations in association with the various ways which it affects individuals.

Some of the common descriptors of insecurity include: want of safety; danger; hazard; uncertainty; want of confidence; doubtful; inadequately guarded or protected; lacking stability; troubled; lack of protection; and unsafe, to mention a few. All of these have been used by

different people to define the concept of insecurity. These different descriptors, however, run into a common reference to a state of vulnerability to harm and loss of life, property or livelihood. Insecurity is thus “the state of fear or anxiety stemming from a concrete or alleged lack of protection.” It refers to lack or inadequate freedom from danger. This definition reflects physical insecurity which is the most visible form of insecurity, and it feeds into many other forms of insecurity such as economic security and social security²².

Two views are of essence to this research. Firstly, insecurity as the state of being open or subject to danger or threat of danger, where danger is the condition of being susceptible to harm or injury, and secondly, insecurity as the state of being exposed to risk or anxiety, where anxiety is a vague unpleasant emotion that is experienced in anticipation of some misfortune. A major point about insecurity implied in these definitions is that, those affected by insecurity are not only uncertain or unaware of what would happen but they are also not able to stop it or protect themselves when it happens. It is in this view that we would describe insecurity in this research ‘not knowing, a lack of control, and inability to take defensive action against forces that portend harm or danger to an individual or group, or what make them vulnerable’. ‘Vulnerability’ is the situation that we do not know and we cannot face or anticipate. It is also something we may know would happen but we are not able to face it.

In the context of this research, insecurity is defined as a breach of peace and security, whether historical, religious, ethno-regional, civil, social, economic, and political that contributes to recurring conflicts, and leads to wanton destruction of lives and property.

2.1.3.1 Sources of Insecurity in Nigeria

To tackle insecurity, a key starting point should be to understand the causes of insecurity as well as to investigate their sources of social disorder and instability. It is necessary to distinguish between different causes as each may require different remedy. Besides, it is to provide a holistic view to the suggestion or recommendations of solutions. More often, however, policymakers are disinclined to isolate and clarify particular causes. They prefer blanket references, with the consideration that the causes of insecurity are interwoven and contributory to one another.

Like in many other societies, the sources of insecurity in Nigeria have been traced to a number of factors and explained by different people. These factors have been classified or grouped into external and internal factors. Beyond the external-internal dichotomy, sources of insecurity have also been classified as either remote or proximate and immediate sources/causal factors. In Nigeria, the challenge is not so much about insecurity of external sources, but rather that of internal sources. Hence, our focus in this research is on the internal sources. Some internal factors have been enhanced and strengthened by the presence of external forces, but, there is no doubt that, if the internal situations did not present themselves, the external forces would be unable to infiltrate. We present the internal causes of insecurity in Nigeria using the dichotomy of remote and immediate factors.

2.1.3.2 Causes of Insecurity in Nigeria

1. Lack of Institutional Capacity Resulting in Government Failure

This result from what one of the prominent scholar on this topic described as the “corrosion or breakdown of institutional infrastructures”. The foundations of institutional framework in Nigeria are very shaky and have provoked a deterioration of state governance and democratic accountability, thus, paralyzing the existing set of constraints including the formal and legitimate

rules nested in the hierarchy of social order. Evidently, it was observed that, the state of insecurity in Nigeria is greatly a function of government failure, or can be linked to government failure²³. This is manifested by the incapacity of government to deliver public services and to provide for basic needs of the masses.

The lack of basic necessities by the people in Nigeria has created a pool of frustrated people who are ignited easily by any event to be violent. The bone of contention here, is that, Nigeria has the resources to provide for the needs of its people, but corruption in public offices at all levels has made it impossible for office holders to focus on the provision of basic needs for the people. The situation here is what some scholars described the Nigerian situation as a ‘Paradox of Plenty’²⁴. A situation where the country earns a great deal of revenue through oil sales, but fails to use these earnings to meet the needs of its people and to develop infrastructure as well as the economy. When these situations exist, crime rate is bound to rise and the security of lives and properties cannot be guaranteed.

2. Pervasive Material Inequalities and Unfairness

Greater awareness of disparities in life chances is a major root cause of insecurity in Nigeria. This is a rooted general perception of inequality and unfairness which has resulted in grievance by a large number of people. This perception stems from the perception of marginalization by a section of the people, government development policies and political offices and this has become a primary source of disaffection and resentment. A large number of the Nigeria population is frustrated and have lost hope, especially the youths, and have now emerged to express their disillusion about the pervasive state of inequality²⁵.

3. Ethno-Religious Conflicts

These have arisen from distrust among various ethnic groups and among the major religions in the country. Ethno-religious conflict as a major source of insecurity in Nigeria. Within this context, ethno-religious conflict is defined as a situation in which the relationship between members of one ethnic or religious group and another of such group in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society is characterized by lack of cordiality, mutual suspicion and fear, and a tendency towards violent confrontation²⁶. Frequent and persistent ethnic conflicts and religious clashes between the two dominant religions (Islam and Christianity), present the country with a major security challenge. In all parts of Nigeria, there exist ethno-religious conflicts and these have emerged as a result of new and particularistic forms of political consciousness and identity often structured around ethno-religious identities. The claim over scarce resources, power, land, chieftaincy, local government, councils, control of markets and sharia among other trivial issues have resulted in large scale killings and violence amongst groups in Nigeria²⁷.

4. Conflict of Perceptions between the Public and Government

Over the years, there has been a standing mismatch between public and government perceptions. A situation which often result in the reactions of the public to the excesses of the military regimes which governed Nigeria and has continued after the end of military regimes and created a sensitivity by those in government at public intrusion in matters of state. Frequently, on any given incident, public and government reactions diverge. In such situations, the media has never helped matters. Media practices have always focused on the dramatic and the spectacular view of the given situations. Such reports have always been capitalized on in sophisticated ways by various groups, some of which are violent to incite public clamour for a change and immediate reaction through strategically provocative violence. The point here is that, the approach of media report over the years has contributed to exacerbate insecurity or perception of insecurity in

Nigeria. Former President Goodluck Jonathan alluded to this situation when he made reference to the popular axiom that the pen is mightier than the sword. In his statement, “the sword is used to kill and destroy but what we use the pen to do is also very critical. When you have a society with these unending political conflicts, it is there on the media whether print, electronic or social media and this brings a lot of insecurity to the system”²⁸.

5. Weak Security System

This results from inadequate equipment for the security arm of government, both in weaponry and training. This is in addition to poor attitudinal and behavioural disposition of security personnel. In many cases, security personnel assigned to deal with given security situations lack the expertise and equipment to handle the situations in a way to prevent them from occurring. And even when these exist, some personnel get influenced by ethnic, religious or communal sentiment and are easily swallowed by their personal interest to serve their people, rather than the nation. Thus, instead of being national watchdogs and defending national interest and values, and protecting people from harm by criminals, they soon become saboteurs of government effort, by supporting and fuelling insecurity through either leaking vital security information or aiding and abetting criminals to acquire weapons or to escape the long arm of the law.

6. Loss of Socio-Cultural and Communal Value System

The traditional value system of the Nigerian society like most African societies is characterized by such endearing features as collectivism, loyalty to authority and community, truthfulness, honesty, hard work, tolerance, love for others, Mutual harmony and coexistence, and identification of individual with one another²⁹. Other distinctive features of Nigerian traditional society are abhorrence for theft and high value for life. Stealing was considered extremely disgraceful and lives were also highly valued. All of these values which made society secured

and safe have all gradually been thrown away and lost. New values have taken over their place over the years, with the so called 'modernity and civilization'. All our endearing values and morals have been traded off for western values.

7. Porous Borders

One major immediate factor which has enhanced insecurity in Nigeria is the porous frontiers of the country, where individual movements are largely untracked. The porosity of Nigeria's borders has serious security implications for the country. Given the porous borders as well as the weak and security system, weapons come easily into Nigeria from other countries. Small Arms and Light Weapons proliferation and the availability of these weapons have enabled militant groups and criminal groups to have easy access to arms³⁰. Nigeria is estimated to host over 70 percent of about 8 million illegal weapons in West Africa³¹. Also, the porosity of the Nigerian borders has made it possible for unwarranted influx of migrants from neighbouring countries such as Republic of Niger, Chad and Republic of Benin³². These migrants which are mostly young men are some of the perpetrators of crime in the country.

8. Rural /Urban Drift

The migration of jobless youths from rural areas to urban centers is also one of the causes of insecurity in Nigeria. Nigeria is one of the countries in the world with very high rural/urban drift³³. Most urban areas in Nigeria have grown beyond their environmental carrying capacities and existing infrastructure and this has resulted to increased poor quality of the living conditions in urban areas in Nigeria. Out of frustration, these youths are drawn into crime.

9. Social Irresponsibility of Companies

Corporate social irresponsibility is a set of actions that increases externalized costs and/or promotes distributional conflicts. Companies engage in corporate social responsibility in order to offset corporate social irresponsibility. The rise of terror groups in some parts of the country is directly related to the neglect of social responsibility by companies to the community where they are operating. This was the case of the Niger Delta crisis.

10. Unemployment/Poverty

As a result of the high level of unemployment and poverty among Nigerians, especially the youths, they are adversely attracted to violent crime³⁴. The failure of successive administrations in Nigeria to address challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequitable distribution of wealth is a major problem of insecurity in Nigeria.

11. Terrorism

At the most proximate and least disputable level, terrorism is the most fundamental source of insecurity in Nigeria today, and its primary bases and sources of support have generally been located in religious fanaticism and intolerance particularly in Islam dominated states of Nigeria. Terrorism which is a global phenomenon where no one is safe is conceived as “the premeditated use or threat or use of violence by an individual or group to cause fear, destruction or death, especially against unarmed targets, property or infrastructure in a state, intended to compel those in authority to respond to the demands and expectations of the individual or group behind such violent acts”³⁵. Terrorism in Nigeria is an Islamic insurgency with a political undertone by a faceless group based in the Northern region of the country, which called itself Boko Haram, which takes into account the legitimate political, social and economic grievances of the Northern population. Nigeria has lost up to 1000 lives in the North since 2009 to the insurgency of this infamous Islamic sect, Boko Haram.

Many theories have explained the terrorism challenge in Nigeria both in terms of personal motives of the terrorists, the underlying causes of terrorism, and the values of the communities that host the terrorism and sustain it. The theories commonly linked terrorism in Nigeria to religious, socio-political, economic and cultural parameters. Impliedly, while terrorism may originate in Islamic fanaticism, it is now driven as much by other factors such as inequalities within the country and lack among Nigerians, in terms of livelihood (economic) resources, education or access to education and good values.

The current challenge of terrorism to physical security is threatening the Nigeria society on all fronts. Like acid on the Emperor's plate, terrorism in the country discloses fine patterns of vulnerability in a complex design. Once clear, the boundaries between reasoned affirmation of certain regional values and debilitating cultural/religious relativism, between democratic openness and intelligence community, have become less certain than before, and political management of the situation accordingly more problematic. Furthermore, the Boko Haram enemy is sufficiently diffuse that superior fire power of government cannot be fully effective, and to approach triumph too closely may be to forment resistance by the communities where the battle would be fought.

All of the factors above are succinctly summarized in the views expressed by foreign observers about the causes of insecurity in Nigeria. The sources of insecurity in Nigeria are in four factors which are political conflicts; unbalanced development that involves horizontal inequalities; religious/ethnic distrust; and leadership failure³⁶. While Eunice Reddick associated the situation with low level of economic development as a result of poor governance and high level corruption. In her words, corruption is "the walls that stand in the way of progress, the red tape that stops an idea from becoming a business, the patronage that distributes wealth based on tribe and sect"³⁷.

2.1.4 National Security

Nations of the world prioritize the safety of its territorial integrity, resources and its entire citizenry. This informs the belief that national security is the preservation of independence and sovereignty of a nation state. In reality, every country has a large number of interests to protect. These interest put together constitute the national interest which originates from values, good governance and protection of social and economic well-being of the entire citizenry.

There is no single universally accepted definition of national security. The varieties of definitions provide an overview of the many usage of the concept. The concept still remains ambiguous, having originated from simpler definitions which initially emphasized the freedom from military threat and political coercion to later increase in sophisticated and include other forms of non-military security as suited the circumstance of the time³⁸.

However, a typical dictionary definition, in this case from the MacMillan Dictionary, defines the term national security as, the protection or the safety of a country's secret and its citizens, emphasizing the overall security of a nation and a nation-state³⁹. It is on this basis that a scholar submitted that, "a nation has security when it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interests to avoid war, and is able, if challenged to maintain them by war"⁴⁰.

Another scholar examined the concept of national security from that of external coercion as freedom from external or foreign dictation. Thus, a secured nation-state is one that is able to protect and develop itself so that it can develop its core values, meet the needs of its people and provide them with the right atmosphere for self-improvement⁴¹. National security in the words of former Nigerian president is the aggregation of the security interest of the individuals, political entities, human associations and ethnic groups that make up the nation. He posits that such

mental well-being and freedom to pursue the attainment of legitimate objectives without hindrance, as affirmed as in section 14(b) of 1999 constitution⁴².

Meanwhile, the national Security of Nigeria is part of some constitutional provisions of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (As Amended). Chapter II Section 14, Sub-section 1, 2a and b, under the “Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy of the 1999 constitution (as amended) states:

The Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be a state based on the principles of democracy and social justice (2) It is hereby, accordingly, declared that a sovereignty belongs to the people of Nigeria from whom government through this constitution derives all its powers and authority; (b) the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of the government⁴³.

The constitution recognizes that government exists primarily for the security of lives and property of citizens of a democratic state like Nigeria. Therefore, the provision of national security is the basis upon which the government of Nigeria derives its legitimacy from the people via the constitution.

Nevertheless, the Nigeria Police Force (NPF), under section 215, sub-section 3, of Part III in Chapter VI of the same constitution, confers on the “President or such other Minister of the Government of the Federation as he may authorize in that behalf, may give to the Inspector General of Police, such lawful directives with respect to the maintenance and security of public safety and public order as he may consider necessary, and the Inspector-General of Police shall comply with those directives or cause them to be complied with”⁴⁴.

The directives to comply with or ensure national security, is one that must be obeyed. Furthermore, the Armed Forces of the Federation (Army, Navy and Air Force), according to the constitution (Section 217, sub-section 2 a-c) shall be equipped and maintained to be adequate and effective for the purposes of:

- a. Defending Nigeria from external aggression
- b. Maintaining its territorial integrity and securing its borders from violation on land, sea or air;
- c. Suppressing insurrection and acting in aid of civil authorities to restore order when called upon to do so by the President, but subject to such conditions as maybe prescribed by an Act of the National Assembly.

This means the powers to curtail threats to national security are vested with the Nigerian Police and the Armed Forces of the Federation. In a democracy like Nigeria, national security threats could come from terrorism, crime, insurgency, militancy, rebellion, insurrection and other concepts as economic, energy, environmental, food, cyber and political crimes. Sovereign states (not only Nigeria), protect their national security that forms part of their domestic and foreign policy.

First, diplomatic, political, and economic measures are used in its enforcement. When this fails, military might is deployed to enforce and protect national security concerns. That was why the definition by

1. The Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be a state based on the principles of democracy and social justice

It is hereby, accordingly, declared that (a) sovereignty belongs to the people of Nigeria from whom government through this constitution derives all its powers and authority; (b) the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of the government.

National security is seen as the protection and preservation of the minimum core values of any nation's political independence and territorial integrity⁴⁵. National security is also seen as comprising the protection of the national interest, including national values, political and economic ways of life against internal threat and challenges⁴⁵. In line with the above view, Mandel defines national security as the pursuit of psychological and physical safety which is largely the responsibility of the national governments, to prevent direct threats primarily from abroad endangering the survival of these regimes, their citizenry or their ways of life⁴⁶.

2.1.5 Corruption

Corruption is efforts to secure wealth or power through illegal means for private gain at public expense; or a misuse of public power for private benefit. Corruption as a phenomenon, is a global problem, and exists in varying degrees in different countries⁴⁷. Corruption is not only found in democratic and dictatorial politics, but also in feudal, capitalist and socialist economies. Christian, Muslim, Hindu, and Buddhist cultures are equally bedeviled by corruption⁴⁸. In Nigeria, it is one of the many unresolved problems that have critically hobbled and skewed development. It remains a long-term major political and economic challenge for Nigeria⁴⁸. It is a canker worm that has eaten deep in the fabric of the nation. It ranges from petty corruption to political/bureaucratic corruption or systemic corruption.

Corruption as a term is uncertain and indeed devoid of any strait jacket definition. It depends on who is defining and from what perspective. What is corruption? Etymologically speaking,

corruption is said to have originated from two Latin words namely, *Corrumpere* and *Corruptio* which means an act of bribe, destroy or decay. It is an act of being guilty of dishonesty involving bribery⁴⁹. Some people see ‘corruption’ as a conscious and well planned act by a person or group of persons to appropriate by unlawful means the wealth of another person or group of persons. Then to others, it is the act of turning power and authority to ready cash⁵⁰.

The Collins English Dictionary for Advanced Learners define corruption as the dishonest and illegal behaviour by people in positions of authority or power⁵². Corruption occurs when an official transfers a benefit to an individual who may not be entitled to the benefit, in exchange for an illegal payment called the bribe. By taking the bribe, the official breaks a legally binding promise he or she gave to his principal or employer (usually the state government or a private company) to allocate the benefits to those entitled to it.

Given this, the elusiveness of the definition of corruption depending on the definer and perspective within the parameter of intellectual discourse on Nigerian State and beyond, was eloquently evoked by as thus:

Corruption involves the giving and taking of bribe, or illegal acquisition of wealth using the resources, of a public office, including the exercise of discretion. In this regard, it is those who have business to do with government who are compelled somehow to provide inducement to public officials to make them do what they had to do or grant undeserved favour. It is therefore defined as official taking advantage of their offices to acquire wealth or other personal benefit⁵¹.

The above quotation was corroborated by McMullan when he defines corruption in the following way:

A public official is corrupt if he accepts money or money's worth for doing something that he is under a duty to do anyway, that he is under a duty not to do or exercise a legitimate discretion for improper reasons⁵².

In his own explanation, another prominent scholar conceived corruption as:

Perversion of integrity or state of affair through bribery, favour or moral depravity. It involves the injection of additional but improper transaction aimed at changing the normal course of events and altering judgments and positions of trust. It consists in doers and receivers' use of informal, extra-legal or illegal act to facilitate matter⁵³.

In addition to the above, Nwabueze in his own contribution to the conceptual review of the definition adopted a sociological approach of corruption. He conceptualized corruption in the following way:

A form of social deviance in some cases, of criminal deviances, the result of failure or lack of will to respect the norms of social interactions. It is an extra-legal or normative approach to gaining access. It is a form of mal-adaptation involving the acceptance of society's cultural goals and the rejection of the socially approved means of attaining the goals. It is an indictment on the ineffectiveness of society's socialization function; a sign of some defects in the development of citizen's personality system. It indicates the existence of weakness in agencies of social control which should punish rather than reward the perpetrator of corruption⁵⁴.

Corruptions, according to him take several forms on one hand, if a public officer embezzles public funds kept in his trust that is corruption. In the same view, if he does unauthorized spending or exceeds approved limits for dubious ends, this is corruption. If he, in defiance of the rules, allocates government land to himself, his wife, his child or friends or otherwise

appropriates his position to his or other person's unfair advantage it is corruption. If he over values a contract so that he could earn a kick-back, this is corruption⁵⁵.

Corruption may be defined as the abuse of entrusted power for private gain. Transparency International uses this definition. It captures three elements of corruption:

1. Public and private sectors: Corruption occurs in both the public and private sectors. This includes media and civil society actors. Actors can be individuals, companies, or organizations such as a political parties.
2. Abuse of power: Corruption involves abusing power held in a state institution or a private organization.
3. Benefit: Both sides involved in the corrupt act benefit, either in terms of money or undue advantage⁵⁵.

Sometimes the 'advantage' gained may not be 'undue' or clear-cut, but is nonetheless an advantage. For example, in some corrupt societies people can only secure access to public health or education if they pay bribes. In such situations, those who can afford to pay have an advantage over those who cannot. The bribe-giver's 'benefit' is merely that which his or her rightful due is anyway. Bribe-takers receive an advantage for carrying out functions that are anyway their duty to perform.

Corruption is also defined as a complete, social, political and economic phenomena that affect all countries. It undermines democratic institutions, and slows economic development. It attacks the foundation of democratic institutions by distorting electoral processes, perverting the rule of law and creating bureaucratic quagmires whose only reason for existing is the soliciting of bribes. Economic development is stunted, because foreign direct investment is discouraged and small

businesses with the country often find it impossible to overcome the “start-up costs” required because of corruption⁵⁷.

Practically, if you are a typical Nigerian, you would define corruption as government officials looting our treasury. One could view it from the perspective that everything starts and ends in government offices. It will surprise you that almost everybody is campaigning against corruption in Nigeria. We are all waging a war against corruption. The main reason Nigeria is not making progress in terms of fighting corruption is that, those in government are just stealing public money. Corruption in Nigeria is not the exclusive preserve of politicians, civil servants, and captains of industry.

Among the “common people”, there is an instinctive honing of stealing skills. However having been tutored and mentored on petty stealing from probably the age of five, Nigerians naturally explode when they occupy positions of authority at any level either in private or public sector. They join the bandwagon of selfish leaders after suddenly finding themselves in the corridor of power. Rather than use their positions to repair its ills; they conform to the enrichment craze.

In other words corruption is defined as the involvement in illegal, dishonest, or wicked behaviour which is destructive of the moral fabric of society⁵⁵. To some people corruption “is the conscious and will plan act by a person or group of persons to appropriate by unlawful means the wealth of another person or group of persons”⁵¹.

A careful examination of the above definition and explanation demonstrates that corruption in Nigeria takes two terms namely political and economic. Political corruption is the use of legislative powers by government officials for illegitimate private gain⁵⁶. From the political point of view, the perpetrators are political office holders, bureaucrats, public servants, the press and

the general public. This has stigmatized the image of the government, weaken its credibility and reduced the effectiveness of the development programmes and policies; and also to a great extent, weaken the economy of the nation⁵⁶.

Political corruption is any act of a political class, civilian or military, or a highly placed public official aimed at changing the moral or lawful course of events especially when the perpetrators uses such a position of authority for the purpose of a personal or group interest⁵⁶. Economic corruption ravaging the Nigeria economy could be noticed in financial institutions such as banks, the insurance companies and the stock brokers⁵⁷.

2.1.5.1 Types of Corruption

In an elaborate analysis, corruption can be divided into seven distinct types; autogenic, defensive, extortive, investive, nepotistic, supportive and transactive.

- **Autogenic Corruption** is self-generating and typically involves only the perpetrator. A good example would be what happens in cases of insider trading. A person learns of some vital information that may influence stocks in a company and either quickly buys or gets rid of large amounts of stocks before the consequences arising from this information comes to pass.
- **Defensive Corruption** involves situations where a person needing a critical service is compelled to bribe in order to prevent unpleasant consequences being inflicted on his interests. For instance, a person who wants to travel abroad within a certain time frame needs a passport in order to undertake the journey but is made to pay bribes or forfeit the trip. This corruption is in self-defense.

- **Extortive Corruption** is the behavior of a person demanding personal compensation in exchange for services.
- **Investive Corruption** entails the offer of goods or services without a direct link to any particular favor at the present, but in anticipation of future situations when the favor may be required.
- **Nepotistic Corruption** refers to the preferential treatment of, or unjustified appointment of friends or relations to public office, in violation of the accepted guidelines. The supportive type usually does not involve money or immediate gains, but involves actions taken to protect or strengthen the existing corruption. For example, a corrupt regime or official may try to prevent the election or appointment of an honest person or government for fear that the individual or the regime might be probed by the successor.
- Finally, **Transactive Corruption** refers to situations where the two parties are mutual and willing participants in the corrupt practice to the advantage of both parties. For example, a corrupt business person may willingly bribe a corrupt government official in order to win a tender for a certain contract.

A similar categorization of the types of corruption was done by Okeme. To him, corruption is divided into seven types namely⁵⁷,

- **Bribery**: This has to do with giving and receiving money or material gifts in order to influence an officers or any person in authority so as to change certain decision or make an unmerited favour given to the bribe giver.

- **Extortion:** This is a situation in which a person is qualified to get something but the actor in charge whose duty is to give such a thing out insists on getting some money mostly in cash or in kind from the expectant party concerned before releasing it.
- **Graff:** This has to do with unethical means of profit making. For example kickbacks. This can be described in a situation where by a contract sum has been paid to the contractor concerned and the line officers or people who were involved in facilitating the success are been given some money in return.
- **Over Invoking:** This relates to purchase of an item through an inflated price so that the difference between the actual price and the inflated price is shared between the parties involved.
- **Blocking:** This is peculiar to educational institutions especially tertiary institutions. It means paying cash or kind to a person who supervises an examination, or marks examination scripts or records the result for favour. The favour could be to allow the student concerned to cheat in the examination hall or to give unmerited marks or to raise the student's scorers.

2.1.6 Federal Government of Nigeria

While there are some dispute over the definition of federal systems of government and which of the countries should be considered as federations, the essential feature of this type of government is the combination of a central government with regional ones ruling directly over shared territory and citizens. Sovereignty is shared with each level of government having a degree of independence within defined areas usually enshrined in a written constitution. The first truly federal system of government was established by the United States, which has greatly influenced

subsequent federations. The number of federal governments has greatly increased in the latter half of the twentieth century such that there are currently over twenty of such countries which contain over forty percent of the world's population⁵⁸.

Federal systems of government represent a unique form to reconcile the need for unity and centralized rule for defense or economic purposes while enabling the accommodation of a degree of diversity. Most federations are characterized by a level of interdependence between the central and regional governments that has been depicted as co-operative federalism⁵⁹. There is considerable difference in the operations of federal systems and relations between the various levels of government. Maintaining a federal system in the face of the dangers of both centralization and fragmentation involves a culture of tolerance and commitment to an institutional framework. Yet the durability of many federal governments has shown that it cannot be dismissed as an unstable, transient form of government.

A federal government is a system that divides up power between a strong national government and smaller local governments. It is also a system of dividing up power between a central government, local and state governments that are connected to one another by the national government⁶⁰. Some areas of public life are under the control of the national government, and some areas are under control of the state and local governments.

Indeed, federal systems usually have a constitution that specifies what areas of public life the national government will take control over and what areas of public life the state governments will take control over. In Nigeria the constitution, the 'exclusive lists' are powers within the federal system of government that each constituent political unit such as a state or province is

absolutely or conditionally prohibited from exercising. While the concurrent list are powers within the state capacity⁶¹.

Defining what constitutes a federal system of government or federal government of Nigeria is not an easy task but most people know or recognize it when it is in practice. Indeed, one author was eschewed attempting to define the term on the grounds that was not futile. Others have preferred to see a continuum running from alliances and associated states through to fully centralized governments with federal systems lying at some point in between.

Narrow exclusionist definitions run the risk of putting forward an ideal type which is so rigid that there are no examples which qualify for the label. Dramatic increases in the size and scope of governments in the twentieth century and the evolution of long established federal systems has also led to suggestions that modern federal systems bear little resemblance to their forebears.

The word federal is derived from the Latin *foedus*, meaning treaty, league, agreement, alliance, compact or covenant. It was first used by bible-centered theologians of Britain and New England in the seventeenth century to refer to a system of covenants between God and human beings. It came to be applied to alliances or leagues (both of a temporary and more enduring nature) between tribes, city states, and other political entities⁶². These alliances were usually military ones formed in the face of a common enemy, but could also be based on shared religious views or trading interests.

Some definitions of federal systems stress the role of a written constitution which safeguards the existence and authority of both regional and central levels of government. The power sharing between different levels of government which characterizes federal systems, with a combination

of self-rule and shared rule, is generally enshrined in a written constitution although both its interpretation and adherence can be matters of contention⁶³.

In summary, a workable definition of a federal system of government should first highlight the existence of a general level of government of the federation, as well as a set of regional governments of the member units in which neither level is subordinate to the other, nor has the power to abolish the other. Both government rule over the same territory and people (each with its own legislative, executive and taxing powers) and each is empowered to deal directly with its citizens who directly elect each level of government. Each also has the authority (usually enshrined in a written constitution) to make some decisions independently of the other.

2.1.6.1 Characteristics of Federal System of Government

1. **Two or More Levels of Government:** In a federal government, there are two or more levels of government at the central, state and local levels. This is why the three tiers of government in Nigeria are Federal, State and Local government.
2. **Constitutional Status:** Federalism provides constitutional guarantees for the existence and authority of each tier of government. The jurisdiction of the respective levels or tiers of government are specified in the constitution.
3. **Independent Judiciary:** Independent judiciary is the essence of federal government. Here courts have the power to interpret the constitution and the powers of the different levels of government. The highest court acts as an umpire if a dispute arises between different levels of government in the exercise of their respective powers.
4. **Financial Autonomy:** In order to ensure financial autonomy federalism provides specified sources of revenue for each level of government. Every level is free in its

own way to impose taxes and raise funds otherwise known as Internal Generated Revenue through remunerative enterprises.

5. **Distribution of Powers:** In federalism, different tiers of government govern the same citizens, but each tier has its own jurisdiction in specific matters of legislation, taxation and administration.

In this way a 'federal government' has dual objectives, that is, to safeguard and to promote unity of the country by way of mutual trust and agreement to live together.

2.1.7 The Judiciary in Nigeria

The highest judiciary arm of government in Nigeria is the Supreme Court of Nigeria which was created after independence and also practices Baron de Montesquieu's theory of the separation of powers based on the United States system and also practices checks and balances. The judicial branch consists of the Supreme Court of Nigeria, the Court of Appeals, the High Courts, and other trial courts such as the Magistrates', Customary, Sharia and other specialized courts⁷³.

The National Judicial Council serves as an independent executive body, insulating the judiciary from the executive arm of government. The Supreme Court is presided over by the Chief Justice of Nigeria and thirteen associate justices, who are appointed by the President of Nigeria on the recommendation of the National Judicial Council. These justices are subject to confirmation by the Senate.

Functions of the Judiciary in Nigeria

1. **To Give Justice to the people:** The first and foremost function of the judiciary is to give justice to the people, whenever they may approach it. It awards punishment to those who after trial are found guilty of violating the laws of the state or the rights of the people. The aggrieved citizens can go to the courts for seeking redress and compensation. They can do so either when they fear any harm to their rights or after they have suffered any loss. The judiciary fixes the quantity and quality of punishment to be given to the criminals. It decides all cases involving grant of compensations to the citizens.
2. **Interpretation and Application of Laws:** One of the major functions of the judiciary is to interpret and apply laws to specific cases. In the course of deciding the disputes that come before it, the judges interpret and apply laws. Every law needs a proper interpretation for getting applied to every specific case. This function is performed by the judges. The law means what the judges interpret it to mean.
3. **Role in Law Making:** The judiciary also plays a role in law-making. The decisions given by the courts really determine the meaning, nature and scope of the laws passed by the legislature. The interpretation of laws by the judiciary amounts to law-making as it is these interpretations which really define the laws. Moreover, 'the judgments delivered by the higher courts, which are the Courts of Records, are binding upon lower courts. The latter can decide the cases before them on the basis of the decisions made by the higher courts. Judicial decisions constitute a source of law.
4. **Protection of Rights:** The judiciary has the supreme responsibility to safeguard the rights of the people. A citizen has the right to seek the protection of the judiciary in case his rights are violated or threatened to be violated by the government or by private

organizations or fellow citizens. In all such cases, it becomes the responsibility of the judiciary to protect his rights of the people.

5. **Guardian of the Constitution:** The judiciary acts as the guardian of the Constitution. The Constitution is the supreme law of the land and it is the responsibility of the judiciary to interpret and protect it. For this purpose the judiciary can conduct judicial review over any law for determining as to whether or not it is in accordance with the letter and spirit of the constitution. In case any law is found ultra vires (unconstitutional), it is rejected by the judiciary and it becomes invalid for future. This power of the court is called the power of judicial review⁷⁴.

2.1.7.1 Meaning and Nature of the Police

The primordial duty of the police is prevention of crime. However, since the dynamic nature of human existence would not allow a crime-free society, criminal investigation and prosecution had become constant consequential duties for which police personnel are conferred with enormous powers and discretions. The Greek 'politeira' means the act of governing and regulating security needs and order of the City-State in the interest of the public^{75,76}.

The Black's Law Dictionary defines 'police' as the governmental department charged with preservation of public order, the promotion of public safety, and the prevention of crime⁷⁷. The same word, was defined by Webster's Universal Dictionary, as government department responsible for keeping order, detecting crime, law enforcement, and so on; members of such department or any similar organization⁷⁸. The word 'Police' also referred to as 'the police' in plural form is defined by Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary as officials of the organization, whose job is to make people obey the law and to prevent and solve crime⁷⁹.

Although, the Black's Law Dictionary assigned the word in its restrictive form, to mean an institution. However both the Webster's Universal Dictionary and the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary's construction is more extensive as the word "police" may be used to refer to police personnel⁸⁰. The extent to which the effectiveness of the Nigeria Police in the performance of the duty of making people obey the law, appears questionable considering the perception of the average Nigerian who would not only see the police themselves as law breakers but as much terror as armed robber portends⁸¹. In Nigeria, the phrase 'the police', when used in its restrictive sense refers only to members of the Nigeria Police Force (NPF). In its broad sense however, the phrase accommodates both the members of the Police established by the Police Act and the officers of any law enforcement agency established by Law or Act⁸². The phrase 'police officer' means any member of the Nigeria Police established by the Police Act and where the context so admits, it includes any officer of any law enforcement agency established by an Act of the National Assembly. It is on this note that these words/phrases are used in this discourse.

The police is construed as the socio-political and quasi-legal institution, an institution or a state agency charged primarily with the enforcement of criminal law and the maintenance of order⁸³. In a more provoking analysis, a scholar substantially disagrees with the above restrictive construction as he widens the scope of the definition to accommodate both private and public organizations involved in enforcing enacted laws. He therefore conceives police in its derivative connotation to mean a civil organization of citizen within a city, whose primary role is to provide security for the city and the people residing in it⁸⁴. In his words:

The term police is an institution or organization (private or public), whose agents are involved in enforcing enacted laws and at the same time ensuring internal protection of life and properties⁸⁴.

This conception is clearly supported by statutory provisions in Nigeria which emphasize that the role performed by the police are not holistically left alone to the public organization, employed, trained and paid for such purpose⁸⁵. The police themselves acknowledge the fact that unless members of the public assist them in policing the country, no meaningful success would be attained. Hence, the continual call for public/private participation in policing by the police authority; more so that it is now understood that information, which is the raw material for police effectiveness, is domiciled in the public. Only little would one wonder then that in recent times, there has been a paradigm shift from conservative policing to community policing, which currently, has become the main focus of the Nigeria Police. The extent, to which successes have been achieved in this feat however, is a function of the public acceptability predicated upon the state of people's confidence in the service delivery template of the Nigeria Police. That the police is a service oriented institution whose worth or value is assessed by the community they serve and not by personal aggrandizement of what quality of service, they think they render, has always been recognized by the police themselves, who now make community service the priority of their existence. For the avoidance of doubt, the police creed exemplified in the mission statement of the Nigeria Police provides that:

It is the mission of the Nigeria Police Force to provide a service oriented Police Force in partnership with the public, trained, equipped and positioned to respond to the needs of the society within the confine and recognition of the rule of law⁸⁷.

The realization of the public supremacy and their inevitability in police success project, have also been recognized by the police themselves who, with passionate yearning reflect among their core values, the respect for the people. An integral part of the Nigeria Police core value reads thus:

We can best serve the needs of our country by empowering our officers to fulfill their responsibilities with Knowledge, authority and discretion; we believe in treating all persons with respect and dignity. And we demonstrate compassion for victims of crime and treat violator of the law with fairness and dignity. By demonstrating respect in this manner, respect for the Nigeria Police Force will continue to expand⁸⁷.

There exists from the combination of the police mission juxtaposed against the core value, an intendment of a master-servant relationship between the police and the public. The master, now recognized, is the public while the servant is the police. Asserting this worthwhile theory, a scholar propounds that:

A fundamental ingredient of the concept of modern policing is an understanding that the police are servants of the public and not their masters. This perhaps informs the agitation of some minds for a change in the name of the police to Nigeria Police Service, that the word 'Force' suggests mastery as opposed to service⁸⁸.

Although the police nomenclature is a constitutional issue, however name alone, it must be understood, does not fulfill the expectancy of the quality of service, the public desire from the police. Accordingly as it may be argued, even with the word 'force' attached to its name, one is confident that the consuming public would not bath an eyelid if they got value for their investment in the police⁸⁸. The author further assert that, naturally every master expects a measure of quality in the service delivered to him by his servant.

What quality of service does the Nigeria police afford their master, the public and what sort of service would the public expect? Is the service delivery below expectation, average or above average? The answers to the above questions would reveal the perception of the public about the

real estate of police project. What the public say about her police tells a lot about her perception of the agency and ultimately her inclination to collaborate and partner with the police in solving common problems. In other words, police is believed to be responsible for the woes bedeviling its institution, which said problems, grossly conditioned the perception of the public and in turn inhibits police performance. Thus, in what way do the public perceive the Nigeria Police?

Nigerians perceive the police as frosty as the idea of policing imposed on the country by the colonial masters to foster an antagonism between the policed and the police⁸⁹. To make matters worse, the corruption perception of the Nigeria police by the Nigerian people over the years procured a disdain perception of being the most corrupt government institution both locally and internationally. Corruption is a major disparaging factor which impacts negatively on police reputation and capable of extenuating ill-motive against police actions. Members of the public believe that, actions taken by the police are usually grounded by pecuniary consideration. The crescendo of media report on police corruption on road check with the resultant extrajudicial killings for money, (otherwise christened “accidental discharge”) by police officers on our roads, assumed such notoriety that despite its crime preventive impacts, the Police authority in Nigeria had to discontinue the use of police checkpoints partially on Nigerian roads⁹⁰.

Since the ban of police checkpoint, some individuals have expressed the view that there has been a marked decrease in the rate of violent-related offences on public highway⁹⁰. This propels a hasty generalization in the allegation that there exists a criminal/informant relationship between armed robbers and the police. The imputation has always constantly been a thick precursor against police image in Nigeria. Although crime rate in Nigeria reduced substantially since 2012 when police checkpoints were first abolished by Mohammed Abubarkar’s regime. There are however some other factors which sustained the decrease.

The adoption of visibility policing as preferred alternative to police checkpoints, is an enduring factor coupled with the leadership model of the successive Inspectors-General of Police, starting from IGP who scrapped the age-long systemic pecuniary gratification practices endemic in the police which appears to be a virile factor in corruption. His administration was therefore able to hold the officer accountable for their actions and omissions. Other factors include the adoption of e-payment with liberal cash transfer; increased police presence which rarely interferes with motorists on the roads coupled with officers' resolved astute preparedness or absolute readiness to combat crime head-on. These send stern warning signals to potential criminals that business would no longer continue as it usual.

Considering police involvement in heinous crimes and other nefarious activities in the past, one may not need to blame members of the public propounding insinuating theory on police/robbers conspiratorial pact. The condemnable circumstances of each of the above cases merely compelled the Police to seriously evoke penal intervention against the erring police officers. This became necessary in view of disparaging comments from members of the public, and the negative impact which its publications had on police image.

Keeping faith in the assurances of the general will of the people, the Constitution provides extensively that "sovereignty belongs to the people of Nigeria from whom the government through this Constitution derives all its powers and authority". The powers of the government to maintain law and order in Nigeria are what the police wield. The powers are delegated to assist the Nigeria Police to carry out its onerous duties as contained in section 4 of the Police Act⁹ and other enabling legislations in that behalf.

2.1.7.2 Historical Trends of Nigeria Police System

Historically, policing in Nigeria can be traced to three epochs, that is, the pre-colonial, colonial, and postcolonial eras. In the pre-colonial era, crime prevention was the duty of indigenous institutions responsible for crime control. The absence of codified laws and social structure provided the necessary basis for the regulation of behaviour which was largely enforced by various institutions responsible for crime prevention in different parts of the country, for example, secret societies, messengers and palace guards⁹¹.

In the colonial epoch, policing was operated based on the provisions of the British law. This model marked a paradigm shift from the traditional pattern of policing where lots of emphasis was placed on traditions, customs and unwritten laws. It is observed that during this era, the police served and protected the commercial interest of the colonial masters at the detriment of the masses which they were commissioned to protect. This pattern of policing was described as that in which 'strangers policed strangers'⁹¹. The police were pitched against the people they were meant to protect and there were series of clashes between both parties.

The post-colonial era of policing which incorporates the present Nigeria Police Force reflects a cultural transfer with reference to style of policing from the colonial law enforcement officers. Scholars have observed that, the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) also serves the interests of their financiers and nothing better can be expected from them since it is obvious that 'he who pays the piper dictates the tune'^{91,92}. Apparently, this methodology has produced the same policing problems that characterized the colonial police era. For over three decades, since the operationalization of the Nigeria Police Force and its related agencies, insecurity has remained a major problem that Nigeria is facing. The police authorities have developed policy issues over

the years with the intention of reforming the police force for better performance, but the implementation of such policies thereof have always been the problem.

This laxity together with apparent inefficiency of the formal police force to tackle emerging security challenges in the country has led to invitations from different quarters for change in the current police methods of operations, with options including dissolution of police powers from the central government to accommodate regional and state levels; community policing; and incorporation of informal police institutions into mainstream policing for effective police system in the country. Despite these demands, there are fears attached to each option. For advocates of state or regional police, there are fears and skepticism from critics opposing it that the sad experience of the local police in the 1960s, in which policing became an instrument of oppression in the hands of the ruling class could repeat itself⁹³.

Therefore decentralizing the police powers to regional or state level will mean giving some state governors who are major agitators for its establishment an undue advantage to harass and victimize the public⁹⁴. This situation raises doubt on whether the federal police force is not already serving the same purpose in the hands of politicians. Alternatively, many have argued that community policing which demands effective police-public partnership in crime prevention is the best form of policing. This advocacy surprisingly also emerge from the police personnel themselves.

From a research carried out between March 2001 and December 2003 by the Centre for Law Enforcement Education in Nigeria (CLEEN Foundation) in partnership with the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) in fourteen states selected from the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria. It was discovered that if community policing strategy is adopted, it could assist to eradicate most of the

challenges attributed to the traditional reactive police culture⁹⁵. Despite this discovery, the low publicity given to this project and the laxity exhibited towards its full implementation together with other factors such as incessant transfer of criminal Investigation Police Officers (IPO's) who have unfinished cases on their tables, poses a threat to its success⁹⁵.

Nigeria has witnessed the proliferation of private security companies and the surge in informal policing, that is, vigilantism (ethnic and religious) during the past few years. This uprising is attributed to the worrisome state of insecurity in the country in recent times and the inability of the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) and other related government security agencies to curtail the situation. There are over 2,000 registered Private Security Companies (PSC) operating in the country presently, but unfortunately much of their services are rendered to people who can pay for them, particularly the multinationals, banks and few government institutions, while the poor masses are left on their own to carter for their security⁹⁶.

This mode of operation aligns with what is obtainable with the government-owned security agencies where the rich, especially top government officials are given security preference over the poor. The result of this negligence is the formation of various vigilante groups by the poor community to safeguard their safety. Prominent among these community established security groups in Nigeria are the O'odua People's Congress (OPC) in the south-west, the Bakassi Boys in the southeast, religious/Islamic vigilantes called Hisbah in Sharia practicing northern states and many others across the country.

The OPC in the past, professed to work towards the unity, progress, protection, and autonomy of all descendants of Oduduwa, but from 1999 they changed their fundamental objective from seeking self-determination for the Yoruba people to crime-fighting activities and the settlement

of personal disputes⁹⁷. This change of focus may have been inspired by the popularity of other self-established vigilante groups such as the Bakassi Boys in the southeast. However in recent times, the OPC has gone beyond vigilante activities and has been involved in scores of armed attacks and mass murders against other ethnic groups living in southwest Nigeria, particularly in Lagos. This situation is blamed on the lack of supervision over their activities by the government approved security agencies.

Unlike the OPC, the Bakassi Boys were not established to protect the Ibos, the dominant ethnic group in the southeast of Nigeria. Their emergence in 1999 was a direct consequence of the prevalence of armed robbery in major markets in southeast Nigeria by people who were nicknamed “Mafia.” Their successful elimination of the “Mafia” conferred on them a mythical status and their fame soon spread to most major cities in the southeast where they were invited to rid markets vicinities suspected of criminals⁹⁸.

Despite the seemingly success, the pattern of administering justice by the Bakassi Boys was an issue of major concern to various human right groups who quickly called for the abolishment of the group. It was clear that the Bakassi Boys in their attempt to salvage the system from the hands of hoodlums, arrested suspected criminals arbitrarily, with little or no evidence, torture and summarily executed most of them in public⁹⁸. Similarly, like the OPC, the activities of Bakassi Boys lacked supervision by government security agencies and this was responsible for their jungle justice approach.

The Hisbah Islamic vigilante group is predominant in Muslim States of Northern Nigeria that have adopted the Sharia legal system. The States include: Zamfara, Sokoto, Kebbi, Kano, Jigawa, Katsina and Kaduna in the northwest; Yobe, Borno, Bauchi and Gombe in the northeast; as well

as Niger State in the north central region. In most cases, the Hisbah groups like the OPC and Bakassi Boys arbitrarily arrest suspects of the Sharia legal code and dispense their version of justice without recourse to the traditional law enforcement agencies⁹⁸.

This situation has constantly put the formal security institutions particularly the NPF against these community established vigilante groups. Several clashes between these institutions have been reported, thereby endangering the lives of people they were commissioned to protect. This situation has intensified interest by concerned citizens and various organizations particularly the human rights group for the regulation or outright abolition of vigilante activities in Nigeria. It is believed that a single security unit either formal or informal cannot ensure the overall security needs of more than 200 million Nigerians including foreigners living and doing business in the country. Every security outfit have their deficiencies; hence, there is need for partnership between the two sectors for effective security system in the country.

2.1.7.3 Police and other Law Enforcement Agencies

It is not only with the media that the police need to maintain a cordial relationship; they need to ensure effective interagency collaborations, too. In Nigeria, there are a number of security outfits which perform different but related duties. It is the duty of the National Intelligence Agency to concentrate on external intelligence and track issues of national security from outside the shores of Nigeria; the State Security Service, on the other hand, monitors issues of national security within the shores of the country. The Army protects the territorial integrity of the nation and also joins other agencies in maintaining internal peace in the form of Joint Task Forces, while the Customs controls the flow of contraband products as well as the importation of illegal arms and ammunition across the nation's borders and prevents other maritime crimes.

The Nigeria Immigration Service ensures that irregular immigrants do not enter the country. The prisons see to it that detained suspects do not escape and convicted felons, especially those with a dangerous influence on the society, serve their terms, while attempts are also made to reform them to conform to societal norms if they return to the society. The Federal Road Safety Commission maintains sanity on the roads and checks unmarked vehicles which may have been stolen, and the Civil Defense Corps operatives provide protection, crisis prevention, and security to public infrastructure, especially economic saboteurs like oil bunkers.

With all these outlined duties, the need for an effective interagency collaboration and coordination cannot be overemphasized⁹⁹. Given the pervasive presence of the police in the society, their duties often entail that they work with other agencies (both state-based and nongovernmental organizations). In the past, the perception of the police by the public has transcended to some of these agencies. This among other factors explains most of the interagency skirmishes in which the police have always been at the center. Incidentally, other law enforcement agencies, such as the Department of Customs and Excise, the Prison, Fire, Immigration, State Security Service, the National Agency for Drug Law Enforcement Agency, and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, all evolved from the Nigeria Police. Over the years, the media have been inundated with news of interagency crises, some of which include the Police-Army fracas at Ojuelegba, Lagos in 2004, the Police-Army fracas at Festac Town, Lagos in 2012, and the Police-Civil Defense fracas which occurred in Lagos State, and the Police-Army clash at Mokola, Ibadan (Southwest Nigeria).

In all these crises, not only were lives and properties destroyed, hoodlums also took advantage of the breakdown of law and order presented by the crisis to wreak havoc. The police authorities

therefore have a lot of work to do either as participants or as watchdogs as the buck still stops at the table of the police.

2.1.8 History and Meaning of Black Lives Matters

Black Lives Matters is an international social movement, formed in the United States in 2013, dedicated to fighting racism and Anti-Black violence, especially in the form of police brutality. The name Black Lives Matter signals condemnation of the unjust killings of Black people are far more likely to be killed by the police in the United States than the white people, and the demand that society value the lives and humanity of black people as much as it values the lives and humanity of the white people.

Black Lives Matters activists have held large and influential protests in cities across the United States as well as internationally. A decentralized grassroots movement, Black Lives Movement is led by activists in local chapters who organize their own campaigns and programs.

Black Lives Matters was cofounded in 2013 as an online movement using the Hashtag #Black Lives Matter on social media by three Black community organizers – Patrisse Khan – cullons, Allcia Garza, and Opal Tometi. They formed Black Lives Matters after George Zimmerman, a man of German and Peruvian descent, was acquitted on charges stemming from his fatal shooting of Trayvon Martin, an unarmed Black teenager in Sanford, Florida in February 2012. Zimmerman, a neighbourhood watch volunteer, had seen martin walking in his neighbourhood and called the police because he thought martin looked “suspicious”. Although Zimmerman was told not to do anything he followed martin got into an argument with him and shot and killed him. When the law enforcement arrived, Zimmerman claimed that he had been assaulted by martin and fired in self – defense. Zimmerman remained free for weeks, but as the shootings gained

national attention, demonstrations demanding his prosecution were held in cities across the United States. He was finally charged with second degree murder and arrested in 2012. At his trial more than a year later, Zimmerman claimed that he had acted in self – defense, citing a controversial florida law known as “Your Ground”. His acquittal in July 2013 was with a perceive as a miscarriage of justice and it led to Nationwide protests. The Black Lives Matters movement expanded in 2014 after the police killings of two unarmed Black men, Eric Garner and Micheal Brown. Garner died in staten Isaland, New York after a white police officer held him in a prolonged illegal choke hold, which was captured in a video taken by a bystander. Brown, a teenager, was shot and killed by a white police officer in ferguson, Missouri. These deaths as well as the refusual of prosecutors to bring charges against the officers led to large protests in the name of Black Lives Matters, which captured national and international and international attention. The Black Lives Matters movement thereafter continued to to play a prominent role in demonstrations against police brutality and racism. Notably, Black Lives Matters activists protested the deaths at the hands of police or while in police custody of several other black people, induling Sandra Bland, Philando Castile, Freddie Gray, Laquan Mc Donald, TamirRice, walter Scott, and Alton Sterling.

In May 2020 George Floyd, an unarmed black American was pronounced dead after Derek Chawin, a Minneapolis police officer, knelt on Floyd’s neck more than nine minutes, despite Floyd repeated protests that could not breathe. Wide circulation of a bystander’s video of Floyd’s last minutes triggered massive demonstrations in cities throughout the United States and across the globe. The tragedy also brought to national attention the earlier deaths of two other African Americans, Ahmaud Arbery and Breonna Talylor. In february 2020, Arbery was jogging in Glynn country, Georgia, when two white men believing he might have committed series of

breakings, began following him in a truck. The men, who had guns, confronted Arbery, and struggle which resulted in the fatal shooting of Arbery. The following month in Louisville, Kentucky, Taylor, an emergency medical technician, was killed during a botched police raid at her apartment. Although Arbery and Taylor had initially received little media coverage in the wake of Floyd's death they also became the subject of nationwide demonstrations. These events swayed American public opinion in favour of the Black Lives Matter Movement while drawing wide attention to the problem of entrenched racism in American society. There were calls for greater police accountability, and in 2021 Chauvin was found guilty of murder. It was a rare case of police violence resulting in a conviction. In the United States, steps have been taken to tackle police violence and changed the way laws were applied. Following the death of Mr Floyd, the term "defund the police" made headlines.

2.1.9 History and Impact of Special Anti-Robbery Squad

The Special Anti-Robbery Squad, SARS, is a dreaded anti-crime unit of the Nigeria Police Force founded in 1992 by Simeon Danladi Midenda, a retired Commissioner of Police who added the word "Special" to the already existing Anti-Robbery Squad which turned out to be Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS). That was how the name SARS came into the Nigeria Police vocabulary¹⁰⁰. He further stated that Simeon Danladi Midenda was the Nigerian Contingent Commander to United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1998.

The Special Anti-Robbery Squad SARS is one of the 14 units under the Nigeria Police Criminal Investigation and Intelligence Department which was created to arrest, investigate and prosecute people involved in violent crimes such as armed robberies, murders, kidnappings, hired assassinations and other forms of extreme criminality¹⁰¹. Anti-Robbery as a modus operandi of

the Nigeria Police Force for combating armed robbery has been as old as the Police Force itself. As a unit also, anti-robbery had always existed in all Criminal Investigation Departments at Force Headquarters, Zonal and State Command levels.

Historically, one major incident that prompted the creation of SARS was when Col. Rindam, a military officer from Plateau State met his death at the hands of police operatives at a check point in Lagos. Upon discovery of that, the army took to the streets in Lagos in search of policemen. As a result, policemen abandoned the streets in Lagos and withdrew to barracks. Robbers then had a field day in Lagos, operating with impunity. It took two weeks of talks before the military and police authorities succeeded in convincing the army chaps to return to barracks and for the police to come back to the roads. By that time, it was too late. Armed robbers were in control in Lagos and the like of Shina Rambo could not be challenged by any force¹⁰¹.

2.1.10 Impact of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad in Nigeria

The impact of SARS can be categorized into two fundamental parts - Positive impact and Negative impact. Under the positive impact, evidently, SARS, has over the years, performed excellently well as it has assisted in arresting some notorious criminals in different parts of the country. It is instructive to note that the same SARS many people are calling for it to be scrapped was instrumental to the arrest of most of the notorious criminals in many parts of the country. For instance, sometimes last year, two suspected notorious armed robbers terrorizing and robbing residents of Ire Akari street, Ejigbo and Isolo areas of Lagos, snatching and vandalizing vehicles in the area for long, were arrested by operatives of the Federal Special Anti-Robbery Squad

(FSARS) in Adeniji Adele Road, Lagos Island. This, no doubt, brought a sigh of relief to residence of the area¹⁰².

Similarly, in 2015, due to the unabated activities of cultists and other violent crimes, including kidnapers and armed robbers in Edo State, the former Inspector General of Police (IGP) Idris, dispatched a special crack squad comprising SARS officers to the state to tackle the situation. The situation was, few days after, brought under control. As record may have it, SARS has been able to arrest more than three thousand suspected kidnapers across the country and in fact, the recent successes recorded in reducing the high rate of crime and criminality, especially kidnapping and other deadly vices in most parts of the country, is largely the handiwork of SARS operatives¹⁰².

Another major success was the arrest of the notorious kidnapers that terrorized the country for more than six years, popularly known as Henry Chibueze a.k.a Vampire and Onwumadike Chukwudumeme a.k.a Evans, was achieved following the ingenuity and gallantry displayed by the SARS unit of the Force¹⁰². Few months ago, the Abuja-Kaduna Highway became a danger zone as kidnapers and armed robbers almost took over the road. Many prominent Nigerians had been kidnapped and robbed on that axis. The story has become different today because of the immense contribution of SARS operatives who were drafted to that highway. Again, it is relevant to know that not all the alleged wrong doings attributed to the SARS personnel are actually committed by them. Many bad elements have been arrested in recent times for impersonating or claiming to be SARS personnel¹⁰².

On the Negative impact of SARS, just as there is no perfect human institution or person, one cannot deny the fact that SARS also has some bad elements who have acted over time beyond

their line of responsibility. SARS as we have it today has created space for external influence through the power of money. People with the financial muscle now use their money to control SARS by telling them who to arrest, slap, harass and so on, thereby, shifting them away from the original reason why the Unit was created. In Nigeria, you cannot move around freely with a starched shirt, flashy nice wrist-watch, a portable nice phone (like iPhone) and car without being harassed and extorted for dressing fine. Today in Nigeria, living well by changing cloths and cars is a big crime before the SARS personnel. They already have this perception that when you live fine that means you are a yahoo boy (fraudster), forgetting the fact that there are greater number of Nigerians who are really doing well in their different businesses. If you are lucky when caught up by them (SARS), you shall be asked to pay reasonable amount of money to their account but if you are not, you may be shot, jailed, robbed or framed up.

Fighting fraudsters in Nigeria and indeed in the world is a very important thing to do but is never the duty of SARS. Other agencies like Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC), Independent Corrupt Practices Commission and other related offences (ICPC) could take up that function if supported by law. These fraudsters stay mostly in states with 4G networks like Lagos, Delta, Edo, Imo and so on. But, before fighting them, there must be glaring opportunities and alternative sources of livelihood in Nigeria if not, the problem will continue to be there.

In September 2016, Amnesty International (AI) followed in the trail of widespread complaints by citizens and published a report accusing the Squad of subjecting its detainees to horrific torture in form of hangings, beatings, humiliation, shootings, mock executions and extortions¹⁰³. In our humble submission, all these have really given SARS a bad name in Nigeria.

Nigerians and their Personal Experiences with SARS

Nigerians recount their ordeals with men of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), as the campaign for the dismantling of the security unit continues in 2020. The mainly online campaign with the hashtag #EndSARS followed widespread allegations of corruption and inhuman treatment of citizens by the special police squad. The victims said their experience with the police unit has been bad and called for termination of their activities¹⁰⁴. Mr. Elijah Balogun relates his experience in a tweet. “SARS stopped the Uber cab my friend and I were riding in April this year (2018). They told us to come down. Started asking for our phones and threatened to take my friend away because he has beard and looks like a G boy (fraudster). Lastly, they begged us to drop ‘something’. #EndSARS” he tweeted¹⁰⁴.

While relating his experience, a blogger who identified himself as Ladi, said he was threatened while attending a conference. “this fateful day just last week or thereabouts, I was to attend the Lagos Digital Summit. I took a taxi from the office to the venue and met them around Sheraton Link Road. They stopped the cab and asked me to come down. Asked me to identify myself which I did and asked for my ID card and Complimentary Card which were unavailable. They threatened to arrest me but my saving grace was because my mum was in the police before she passed on so as they were threatening me to settle them if I don’t have a ID, I was also threatening them with dismissal via a secret camera which was live and on me. After about

3hours, I was allowed to go but not without calling my Uncle who is a commodore in the Nigerian Navy’’... he tweeted¹⁰⁴.

Another victim, a student of the University of Ibadan, who identified himself as Sunday, said he was beaten by SARS officers for a crime he knew nothing about. ‘’Early in the morning while I was still sleeping, SARS officers broke into my house, I was beaten, molested and arrested because someone in my neighborhood allegedly committed a crime. I spent twelve days in their custody and released after paying a huge sum...he tweeted¹⁰⁴.

An alumnus of the University of Benin, Nkyjoye also narrated his encounter with SARS officers. I had same experience in 2011 when I was in UNIBEN. I went out with my friends. About 10pm on our way home, they stopped our car, asked my friend who was driving to unlock his phone and he refused. So they took us to the station and laid allegations that we were kidnapers. We slept in their station and the next day was an environmental. It was crazy’’ he tweeted¹⁰⁵.

Another victim twitted that SARS almost beat a guy in my street recently, it were women in my street that intervened, and when we asked what he did, they said he is too fresh to be a shoemaker and also he is wearing only singlet, in front of his workshop ooo...just imagine? Na that day i no say dem no get sense¹⁰⁵.

Again, Abdul Abdulkareem encountered officers of Nigeria’s Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) a month ago in Lagos. He and two friends were on their way home around Idi-Araba, Surulere when officers turned up in a minibus and arrested them. It was around 10pm, ‘‘I stopped at a store opposite my house my house with two friends to pick up bread for breakfast the next morning, he said. The officers appeared out from nowhere and drag us into their van without telling us what our offence was. The officers took them, along with twelve others, to Area D

police station in Mushin and threw them into a cell. On our way to the police station, the officers kept picking up random people and throwing them into the van. Anyone that asked questions got slapped according to Abdul. We all slept in the station which was a bad experience then in Abdul and his friends were released with the of N20,000. They laughed at us and said it was normal¹⁰⁶.

Overhaul of SARS in Nigeria

On August 14, 2018, the Acting President, Professor Yemi Osinbajo ordered the Inspector General of Police (IGP) Ibrahim Idris, to restructure the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) unit¹⁰⁷. He gave the order after receiving several complaints. Below is the major reason why he ordered that the unit should be overhauled. The persistent complaints and reports on the activities of SARS that border on allegations of human rights.

Hence forth, their new activities would be:

- To conduct their operations in strict adherence to the rule of law and with due regard to international humanitarian law.
- To ensure that their activities will be intelligence-driven.
- The unit will also be restricted to the prevention and detection of armed robbery and kidnapping, and apprehension of offenders linked to the stated offences¹⁰⁸.

The Protesters and their Demands

End SARS is a social movement, and series of mass protests against police brutality in Nigeria. The slogan calls for the dissolving of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), an ill-famed unit of the Nigerian Police with a long record of abuses on Nigerians most of whom are youths. The protests which takes its name from the slogan started in 2017 as a Twitter campaign using the hashtag #EndSARS to demand the disbanding of the unit by the Nigerian government^{109,110}. After experiencing a revitalization in October 2020 following more revelations of the abuses of the unit, mass demonstrations occurred throughout the major cities of Nigeria, accompanied by vociferous outrage on social media platforms. The protests is notable for its patronage by a demographic that is made of entirely young Nigerians¹¹¹. The movement has since expanded to include demands for good and accountable governance.

In response to the public outcry on police brutality, the Inspector-General of Nigeria Police banned the FSARS, Special Tactical Squad (STS), Intelligence Response Team (IRT), Anti-Cultism Squad and other tactical units from mounting of roadblocks, checkpoints, stop-and-search and other routine and patrols. Similar bans had been announced multiple times over the previous four years, causing citizens of Nigeria to question whether the bans would actually be upheld. There were further reports of SARS officers involved in killings across the country¹¹².

The protesters have refused to back down from their protest, insisting on some demands, and until they are met, they will continue with their protests. Below are some of the demands listed for the Nigerian government to actualize:

1. Justice for all deceased victims of police brutality and compensation for their families.
2. The immediate release of all arrested protesters in Nigeria.

3. Setting up an independent body within ten (10) days that would oversee the investigation & prosecution of all reports of police misconduct in Nigeria.
4. In line with the Police Act, the need for Psychological evaluation and retraining of all disbanded SARS officers before they are reassigned to other units.
5. And finally, adequately increase their wages.

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2.2 Theoretical Review

A theory is a supposition or a system of ideas intended to explain something, especially one based on general principles independent of the thing to be explained. In other words, a theory is a rational type of abstract thinking about a phenomenon, or the results of such thinking. The process of contemplative and rational thinking often is associated with such processes like observational study, research¹¹³.

A substantial amount of scholarly attention has been drawn to the topic of police brutality and human rights abuses over the last few decades^{114,115}. In spite of that, a large number of scholars have asserted that theory-based research has only recently emerged to specifically explain the brutality of police behaviour. The theoretical framework of analysis of this study is the four theories employed to explain the variables. The theories are the Relative-Deprivation theory, Social Conflict Theory, Social Contract theory.

2.2.1 Relative - Deprivation Theory

The Relative Deprivation theory is a theory used in social sciences to describe feelings or measures of economic, political, or social deprivation that are relative rather than absolute¹¹⁶. The theory is inextricably linked to the similar terms poverty and social exclusion or marginalization. The concept of relative deprivation has important consequences for both behavior and attitudes, including feelings of stress, political attitudes, and participation in collective action.

Ted Robert Gurr refers to Relative Deprivation as ‘the tension that develops from a discrepancy between the ‘ought’ and the ‘is’ of collective value satisfaction, and this disposes men to violence’¹¹⁷. According to the definition provided by Gurr, Relative Deprivation is the

discrepancies between what people want, their value expectations, and what they actually gain, their value accruing capabilities. Gurr states that: ‘the intensity of relative deprivation varies strongly in terms of the average degree of perceived discrepancy between value expectation and value capabilities’¹¹⁸. He contends that people are more likely to revolt when they lose hope of attaining their societal values, and the intensity of discontent/frustration ‘varies’ with the severity of depression and inflation’¹¹⁹. He further asserts that relative deprivation, ‘is the obvious basis for mobilizing oppositions’ against the state, that is, the higher the degree of frustration, the greater the political instability.

In short, the intensification of Relative Deprivation with regard to political participation, prosperity, collective/communal values and societal status can lead to a ‘decline in ideational coherence’ which consequently leads to a breakdown in the social order and to violence. One of the proponent of the theory asserts that ‘the state’s centrality in people’s lives, its relationship to ongoing conflicts in society, people’s expressive relationship to it, all depend on its cohesion’¹²⁰. Katzenstein, speaking of how people perceive themselves, states that: ‘the answer lies in the issue of identity, in variations in the degree of expansiveness and restrictiveness, with which people and organizations relate to one another’¹²¹.

The theory of relative deprivation also assumes that individuals or groups feel relatively deprived when there exists a discrepancy between their expectations and outcome. The individuals or groups are able to identify the discrepancy due to the existence of a reference point for comparison. In that, there are some persons who have what they requires, and they know getting what they want is realistic, but it can only be taken by force or violence. This is also reflected in Walter Runciman’s four preconditions of relative deprivation of object X by person A. These preconditions includes:

- a. Person A does not have X
- b. Person A knows of other persons who have X
- c. Person A wants to have X
- d. Person A believes obtaining X is realistic¹²².

Runciman distinguished between egoistic and fraternalistic relative deprivation. The former is caused by unfavorable social position when compared to other, better off members of a specific group (of which A is the member) and the latter, by unfavorable comparison to other, better off groups. Egoistic relative deprivation can be seen in the example of a worker who believes he should have been promoted faster and may lead that person to take actions intended to improve his position within the group; those actions are, however, unlikely to affect many people. Fraternalistic can be seen in the example of racial discrimination and are much more likely to result in the creation and growth of large social movement, like the American Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s¹²³.

Deprivation Theory is that people who are deprived of things deemed valuable in society, money, justice, status or privilege, join social movements with the hope of redressing their grievances. That is a beginning point for looking at why people join social movements.

2.2.2 Social Conflict Theory

The social conflict theory is a marxist-based social theory which argues that individuals and groups, that is, the social class within a society interact on the basis of conflict rather than consensus. Through various forms of conflict, groups tend to attain differing amounts of material and non-material resources, for example, the wealthy and the poor. More powerful groups will tend to use their power in order to retain power and exploit groups with less power¹²⁴.

These theorists hold that the state functions as an instrument of the dominant class, such as race, economic class and ethnic groups¹²⁵. Government institutions which include the police force are the product of political processes which reveal the interests of the powerful in society. As postulated by these theorists, the main function of the police is to preserve the status quo of inequality and assist the powerful to exploit the powerless in order to prevent their resistance to the exploitation that they suffer¹²⁶. Also, consequent on the analysis of formal complaints made by Lersch, he discovered that the economically marginalized and politically powerless were more likely to file complaints of police misconduct and to “experience more serious acts of misconduct” than those with greater power and more resources¹²⁷.

Supporting this school of thought, which originated from Marxist tradition, is documented evidence on the establishment of the Police Force in Nigeria by the colonialists, which was primarily to meet the need of the colonialists to crush civilian opposition¹²⁸. During the colonial period, both the local police force and the Nigeria Police Force were implicated in numerous acts of abuse and corruption¹²⁹. The engagement of the police with the populace was situated on the need to enforce colonial laws that attracted debilitating and hateful reactions from the people, including segregation, forced taxation and crushing of anti-colonial uprisings¹²⁸.

In the present democratic Nigeria, it is evident that classes and groups that have dominant economic power equally control political decision-making, including the enactment of criminal law by the legislature, its enforcement and interpretation by the police and judiciary respectively. Also, there are differentials in police treatment of high profile and low profile offenders. The respect of human rights is often extended to rich arrestees as against the poor that are often subjected to different forms of abuses, violations and brutality. Hence, there is a common belief that the law that governs the affluent is significantly different from the law of the poor¹³⁰. In

corroborating this postulation, Human Rights Watch stated that, the police as an institution is often regarded as an instrument of oppression by the ruling class and bureaucrats.

They are willing “tools” in the hands of the state rulers and bourgeoisie to secure them from any uprising from the oppressed¹³¹. This explains why the rights of the rich are more protected over and above that of the poor within the society. However, despite empirical evidence that indicate that police-citizens’ interaction is characterized by the power dynamics of racial, gender and class divisions, there are a few limitations of social conflict theory in effectively explaining the causality of police brutality and rights abuse. As a macro- sociological theory, it tends to assume that it is the external influence of the elite class which constructs and mandates police officers’ behaviours in their daily encounters with civilians¹³².

Though this hold true to explain the way the police have often being used as instruments of oppression by Nigerian elites to torment the masses by means of indiscriminate arrest, torture and infringement of their rights¹³³. However, exclusively limiting one’s understanding of the phenomenon of human rights abuses by police to this theoretical framework is undoubtedly oversimplifying the micro-level decision making processes of the parties involved. This therefore justifies the adoption of the symbolic interactionist perspective in examining police brutality and human rights abuses in Nigeria from a micro- sociological lens.

2.2.3 The Social Contract Theory

The Social Contract Theory is the preferred theory for the explanation of the variables of the research work. This is because it treats the state as a product of the mutual agreement of men and women created with a definite purpose, to serve certain social needs. Social contract theory,

nearly as old as philosophy itself, is the view that persons' moral or political obligations are dependent upon a contract or agreement among them to form the society in which they live¹³⁴.

However, social contract theory is rightly associated with modern moral and political theory and is given its first full exposition and defense by Thomas Hobbes. After Hobbes, John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau are the best known proponents of this enormously influential theory, which has been one of the most dominant theories within moral and political theory throughout the history of the modern West. In short, the theory treats the state as an artificial contrivance. It postulates deliberate efforts behind the formation of the state. This implies the possibility of two life-patterns; one before the origin of the state, the other after the creation of the state. The theory holds that, the state is not a natural institution, but an artificial instrument invented by men for their mutual benefit; it is intended to serve the interests of all individuals or all section of society. It regards the state as the product of the will of the society; hence, it is an expression of 'common will'¹³⁵.

The idea of the creation of the state through a contract is found in a rudimentary form in the West. Some traces of the theory are also found in ancient Roman law. But all these references should not be taken to mean to mean that the theory of the social contract has been prevalent from the ancient times. On the contrary, this theory was systematically formulated at a particular point of European history, in order to drop a curtain on the values of the feudal system and to introduce the new values of the capitalist¹³⁶.

2.2.3.1 Proponents of the Theory

Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau are regarded as the main proponents of the theory of the social contract theory. Of these, Hobbes and Locke are from England while

Rousseau belongs to France. This theory held the field in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Some later thinkers, such as Immanuel Kant, Herbert Spencer, John Rawls and Robert Nozick made use of this theory to elaborate their own system of thought¹³⁷.

The Social Contract theory of the origin of the state implies that, there was a time when men lived or would have lived without any recognized civil law, without the state. This stage or life-pattern of men is described as the state of nature. Then the state was created through the voluntary agreement of all individuals who constitute the state. Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau have drawn different pictures of the state of nature, terms of the contract and the character of sovereignty which came into existence as a consequence of the birth of the state. It is important to note here that, the whole theory of the contract is based on speculation. It seeks to trace the origin of the state through logic, not through historical or scientific evidence.

The state of nature denotes how men live or would have lived without the authority of civil law, state or political control. At this stage, there is no industry, no systematic production. Men live not only close to nature, they have to depend on the bounty nature for their survival. Their behavior is largely governed by their inner impulses, unrestrained by civil law, although a 'natural law' is supposed to have existed. Men have no recognized rights, although they enjoy some 'natural rights'. As all these conditions are determined by logic or particular lines of argument, not on the basis of any scientific evidence, they do not lead to any uniform conclusion. Different authors have, therefore, given different version of the state of nature, and so on. Thomas Hobbes, lived during the most crucial period of early modern England's history: the English Civil War, waged from 1642-1648. To describe this conflict in the most general of terms, it was a clash between the King and his supporters, the Monarchists, who preferred the traditional authority of a monarch, and the Parliamentarians, most notably led by Oliver Cromwell, who

demanded more power for the quasi-democratic institution of Parliament. Hobbes represents a compromise between these two factions. On the one hand he rejects the theory of the Divine Right of Kings, which is most eloquently expressed by Robert Filmer in his *Patriarchal or the Natural Power of Kings*, (although it would be left to John Locke to refute Filmer directly).

Filmer's view held that a king's authority was invested in him (or, presumably, her) by God, that such authority was absolute, and therefore that the basis of political obligation lay in our obligation to obey God absolutely. According to this view, then, political obligation is subsumed under religious obligation. On the other hand, Hobbes also rejects the early democratic view, taken up by the Parliamentarians, that power ought to be shared between Parliament and the King. In rejecting both these views¹³⁷. Hobbes occupies the ground of one who is both radical and conservative. He argues, radically for his times, that political authority and obligation are based on the individual self-interests of members of society who are understood to be equal to one another, with no single individual invested with any essential authority to rule over the rest, while at the same time maintaining the conservative position that the monarch, which he called the Sovereign, must be ceded absolute authority if society is to survive.

Thomas Hobbes' political theory is best understood if taken in two parts: his theory of human motivation, psychological egoism, and his theory of the social contract, founded on the hypothetical State of Nature. Hobbes has, first and foremost, a particular theory of human nature, which gives rise to a particular view of morality and politics, as developed in his philosophical masterpiece, *Leviathan*, published in 1651. The Scientific Revolution, with its important new discoveries that the universe could be both described and predicted in accordance with universal laws of nature, greatly influenced Hobbes. He sought to provide a theory of human nature that would parallel the discoveries being made in the sciences of the inanimate universe. His

psychological theory is therefore informed by mechanism, the general view that everything in the universe is produced by nothing other than matter in motion.

To him, this extends to human behavior. Human macro-behavior can be aptly described as the effect of certain kinds of micro-behavior, even though some of this latter behavior is invisible to us. So, such behaviors as walking, talking, and the like are themselves produced by other actions inside of us. And these other actions are themselves caused by the interaction of our bodies with other bodies, human or otherwise, which create in us certain chains of causes and effects, and which eventually give rise to the human behavior that we can plainly observe. We, including all of our actions and choices, are then, according to this view, as explainable in terms of universal laws of nature as are the motions of heavenly bodies. The gradual disintegration of memory, for example, can be explained by inertia. As we are presented with ever more sensory information, the residue of earlier impressions 'slows down' over time. In his view, we are essentially very complicated organic machines, responding to the stimuli of the world mechanistically and in accordance with universal laws of human nature¹³⁸.

In Hobbes' view, this mechanistic quality of human psychology implies the subjective nature of normative claims. 'Love' and 'hate', for instance, are just words we use to describe the things we are drawn to and repelled by, respectively. So, too, the terms 'good' and 'bad' have no meaning other than to describe our appetites and aversions. Moral terms do not, therefore, describe some objective state of affairs, but are rather reflections of individual tastes and preferences. In addition to Subjectivism, Hobbes also infers from his mechanistic theory of human nature that humans are necessarily and exclusively self-interested.

All men pursue only what they perceive to be in their own individually considered best interests - they respond mechanistically by being drawn to that which they desire and repelled by that to which they are averse. This is a universal claim: it is meant to cover all human actions under all circumstances – in society or out of it, with regard to strangers and friends alike, with regard to small ends and the most generalized of human desires, such as the desire for power and status. Everything we do is motivated solely by the desire to better our own situations, and satisfy as many of our own, individually considered desires as possible. We are infinitely appetitive and only genuinely concerned with our own selves.

Even the reason that adults care for small children can be explicated in terms of the adults own self-interest (he claims that in saving an infant by caring for it, we become the recipient of a strong sense of obligation in one who has been helped to survive rather than allowed to die). In addition to being exclusively self-interested, he also argues that human beings are reasonable. They have in them the rational capacity to pursue their desires as efficiently and maximally as possible. Their reason does not, given the subjective nature of value, evaluate their given ends, rather it merely acts as "Scouts, and Spies, to range abroad, and find the way to the things desired". Rationality is purely instrumental. It can add and subtract, and compare sums one to another, and thereby endows us with the capacity to formulate the best means to whatever ends we might happen to have.

From these premises of human nature, Hobbes goes on to construct a provocative and compelling argument for why we ought to be willing to submit ourselves to political authority. He does this by imagining persons in a situation prior to the establishment of society, the State of Nature. To Hobbes, the justification for political obligation is this: given that men are naturally self-interested, yet they are rational, they will choose to submit to the authority of a Sovereign in

order to be able to live in a civil society, which is conducive to their own interests. Hobbes argues for this by imagining men in their natural state, or in other words, the State of Nature. In the State of Nature, which is purely hypothetical according to Hobbes, men are naturally and exclusively self-interested, they are more or less equal to one another, (even the strongest man can be killed in his sleep), there are limited resources, and yet there is no power able to force men to cooperate.

Given these conditions in the State of Nature, he concludes that the State of Nature would be unbearably brutal. In the State of Nature, every person is always in fear of losing his life to another. They have no capacity to ensure the long-term satisfaction of their needs or desires. No long-term or complex cooperation is possible because the State of Nature can be aptly described as a state of utter distrust. Given Hobbes' reasonable assumption that most people want first and foremost to avoid their own deaths, he concludes that the State of Nature is the worst possible situation in which men can find themselves. It is the state of perpetual and unavoidable war.

The situation is not, however, hopeless. Because men are reasonable, they can see their way out of such a state by recognizing the laws of nature, which show them the means by which to escape the State of Nature and create a civil society. The first and most important law of nature commands that each man be willing to pursue peace when others are willing to do the same, all the while retaining the right to continue to pursue war when others do not pursue peace. Being reasonable, and recognizing the rationality of this basic precept of reason, men can be expected to construct a Social Contract that will afford them a life other than that available to them in the state of nature. This contract is constituted by two distinguishable contracts. First, they must agree to establish society by collectively and reciprocally renouncing the rights they had against one another in the state of nature.

Second, they must imbue some one person or assembly of persons with the authority and power to enforce the initial contract. In other words, to ensure their escape from the state of nature, they must both agree to live together under common laws, and create an enforcement mechanism for the social contract and the laws that constitute it. Since the sovereign is invested with the authority and power to mete out punishments for breaches of the contract which are worse than not being able to act as one pleases, men have good, albeit self-interested, reason to adjust themselves to the artifice of morality in general, and justice in particular.

Society becomes possible because, whereas in the State of Nature there was no power able to "overawe them all", now there is an artificially and conventionally superior and more powerful person who can force men to cooperate. While living under the authority of a Sovereign can be harsh (Hobbes argues that because men's passions can be expected to overwhelm their reason, the Sovereign must have absolute authority in order for the contract to be successful) it is at least better than living in the State of Nature. And, no matter how much we may object to how poorly a Sovereign manages the affairs of the state and regulates our own lives, we are never justified in resisting his power because it is the only thing which stands between us and what we most want to avoid, the State of Nature.

This argument holds that, morality, politics, society, and everything that comes along with it, all of which Hobbes calls 'commodious living' are purely conventional. Prior to the establishment of the basic social contract, according to which men agree to live together and the contract to embody a Sovereign with absolute authority, nothing is immoral or unjust - anything goes. After these contracts are established, however, then society becomes possible, and people can be expected to keep their promises, cooperate with one another, and so on. The Social Contract is the most fundamental source of all that is good and that which we depend upon to live well. Our

choice is either to abide by the terms of the contract, or return to the State of Nature, which Hobbes argues no reasonable person could possibly prefer¹³⁹.

Given his rather severe view of human nature, Hobbes nonetheless manages to create an argument that makes civil society, along with all its advantages, possible. Within the context of the political events of his England, he also managed to argue for a continuation of the traditional form of authority that his society had long since enjoyed, while nonetheless placing it on what he saw as a far more acceptable foundation. From the above explanation, the necessity of an absolute authority, in the form of a sovereign, followed from the utter brutality of the State of Nature. The State of Nature was completely intolerable, and so rational men would be willing to submit themselves even to absolute authority in order to escape it. For John Locke, the State of Nature is a very different type of place, and so his argument concerning the social contract and the nature of men's relationship to authority are consequently quite different. While Locke uses Hobbes' methodological device of the State of Nature, as do virtually all social contract theorists, he uses it to a quite different end. Locke's arguments for the social contract and for the right of citizens to revolt against their king were enormously influential on the democratic revolutions that followed, especially on Thomas Jefferson, and the founders of the United States¹⁴⁰.

The first treatise is concerned almost exclusively with refuting the argument of Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha*, that political authority was derived from religious authority, also known by the description of the Divine Right of Kings, which was a very dominant theory in seventeenth-century England. The second treatise contains Locke's own constructive view of the aims and justification for civil government, and is titled "An Essay Concerning the True Original Extent and End of Civil Government". To him, the State of Nature, the natural condition of mankind, is

a state of perfect and complete liberty to conduct one's life as one best sees fit, free from the interference of others.

This does not mean, however, that it is a state of license: one is not free to do anything at all one pleases, or even anything that one judges to be in one's interest. The State of Nature, although a state wherein there is no civil authority or government to punish people for transgressions against laws, is not a state without morality. The State of Nature is pre-political, but it is not pre-moral. Persons are assumed to be equal to one another in such a state, and therefore equally capable of discovering and being bound by the Law of Nature.

The Law of Nature, which is on Locke's view the basis of all morality, and given to us by God, commands that we not harm others with regards to their "life, health, liberty, or possessions"¹⁴¹. Because we all belong equally to God, and because we cannot take away that which is rightfully His, we are prohibited from harming one another. So, the State of Nature is a state of liberty where persons are free to pursue their own interests and plans, free from interference and, because of the Law of Nature and the restrictions that it imposes upon persons, it is relatively peaceful.

The State of Nature therefore, is not the same as the state of war, as it is according to Hobbes. It can, however devolve into a state of war, in particular, a state of war over property disputes. Whereas the State of Nature is the state of liberty where persons recognize the Law of Nature and therefore do not harm one another, the state of war begins between two or more men once one man declares war on another, by stealing from him, or by trying to make him his slave. Since in the State of Nature there is no civil power to whom men can appeal, and since the Law of Nature allows them to defend their own lives, they may then kill those who would bring force

against them. Since the State of Nature lacks civil authority, once war begins it is likely to continue. And this is one of the strongest reasons that men have to abandon the State of Nature by contracting together to form civil government.

Property plays an essential role in Locke's argument for civil government and the contract that establishes it. According to Locke, private property is created when a person mixes his labor with the raw materials of nature. So, for example, when one tills a piece of land in nature, and makes it into a piece of farmland, which produces food, then one has a claim to own that piece of land and the food produced upon it. (This led Locke to conclude that America didn't really belong to the natives who lived there, because they were, on his view, failing to utilize the basic material of nature. In other words, they didn't farm it, so they had no legitimate claim to it, and others could therefore justifiably appropriate it.)

Given the implications of the Law of Nature, there are limits as to how much property one can own: one is not allowed to take more from nature than one can use, thereby leaving others without enough for themselves. Because nature is given to all of mankind by God for its common subsistence, one cannot take more than his own fair share. Property is the linchpin of Locke's argument for the social contract and civil government because it is the protection of their property, including their property in their own bodies, which men seek when they decide to abandon the State of Nature.

To him, the State of Nature is not a condition of individuals, as it is for Hobbes. Rather, it is populated by mothers and fathers with their children, or families - what he calls 'conjugal society'¹⁴². These societies are based on the voluntary agreements to care for children together, and they are moral but not political. Political society comes into being when individual men,

representing their families, come together in the State of Nature and agree to each give up the executive power to punish those who transgress the Law of Nature, and hand over that power to the public power of a government.

Having done this, they then become subject to the will of the majority. In other words, by making a compact to leave the State of Nature and form society, they make “one body politic under one government” and submit themselves to the will of that body¹⁴³. One joins such a body, either from its beginnings, or after it has already been established by others, only by explicit consent. Having created a political society and government through their consent, men then gain three things which they lacked in the State of Nature: laws, judges to adjudicate laws, and the executive power necessary to enforce these laws. Each man therefore gives over the power to protect himself and punish transgressors of the Law of Nature to the government that he has created through the compact.

Given that the end of men uniting into common-wealth "is the preservation of their wealth, and preserving their lives, liberty, and well-being in general, Locke can easily imagine the conditions under which the compact with government is destroyed, and men are justified in resisting the authority of a civil government, such as a King. When the executive power of a government devolves into tyranny, such as by dissolving the legislature and therefore denying the people the ability to make laws for their own preservation, then the resulting tyrant puts himself into a State of Nature, and specifically into a state of war with the people, and they then have the same right to self-defense as they had before making a compact to establish society in the first place.

In other words, the justification of the authority of the executive component of government is the protection of the people's property and well-being, so when such protection is no longer present,

or when the king becomes a tyrant and acts against the interests of the people, they have a right, if not an outright obligation, to resist his authority. The social compact can be dissolved and the process to create political society begun anew¹⁴⁴. Because Locke did not envision the State of Nature as grimly as did Hobbes, he can imagine conditions under which one would be better off rejecting a particular civil government and returning to the State of Nature, with the aim of constructing a better civil government in its place. It is therefore both the view of human nature, and the nature of morality itself, which account for the differences between Hobbes' and Locke's views of the social contract.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, lived and wrote during what was arguably the headiest period in the intellectual history of modern France - the Enlightenment. He was one of the bright lights of that intellectual movement, contributing articles to the *Encyclopedia* of Diderot, and participating in the salons in Paris, where the great intellectual questions of his day were pursued. Rousseau has two distinct social contract theories. The first is found in his essay, *Discourse on the Origin and Foundations of Inequality among Men*, commonly referred to as the Second Discourse, and is an account of the moral and political evolution of human beings over time, from a State of Nature to modern society. As such it contains his *naturalized* account of the social contract, which he sees as very problematic. The second is his *normative*, or idealized theory of the social contract, and is meant to provide the means by which to alleviate the problems that modern society has created for us, as laid out in the *Social Contract*¹⁴⁵.

He wrote his *Second Discourse* in response to an essay contest sponsored by the Academy of Dijon. In it, he describes the historical process by which man began in a State of Nature and over time 'progressed' into civil society. To him, the State of Nature was a peaceful and quixotic time. People lived solitary, uncomplicated lives. Their few needs were easily satisfied by nature.

Because of the abundance of nature and the small size of the population, competition was non-existent, and persons rarely even saw one another, much less had reason for conflict or fear. Moreover, these simple, morally pure persons were naturally endowed with the capacity for pity, and therefore were not inclined to bring harm to one another.

As time passed, however, humanity faced certain changes. As the overall population increased, the means by which people could satisfy their needs had to change. People slowly began to live together in small families, and then in small communities. Divisions of labor were introduced, both within and between families, and discoveries and inventions made life easier, giving rise to leisure time. Such leisure time inevitably led people to make comparisons between themselves and others, resulting in public values, leading to shame and envy, pride and contempt. Most importantly however, according to Rousseau, was the invention of private property, which constituted the pivotal moment in humanity's evolution out of a simple, pure state into one characterized by greed, competition, vanity, inequality, and vice? For Rousseau the invention of property constitutes humanity's 'fall from grace' out of the State of Nature.

Having introduced private property, initial conditions of inequality became more pronounced. Some have property and others are forced to work for them, and the development of social classes begins. Eventually, those who have property notice that it would be in their interests to create a government that would protect private property from those who do not have it but can see that they might be able to acquire it by force. So, government gets established, through a contract, which purports to guarantee equality and protection for all, even though its true purpose is to fossilize the very inequalities that private property has produced. In other words, the contract, which claims to be in the interests of everyone equally, is really in the interests of the few who have become stronger and richer as a result of the developments of private property.

This is the naturalized social contract, which Rousseau views as responsible for the conflict and competition from which modern society suffers.

The normative social contract, argued for by Rousseau in *The Social Contract* (1762), is meant to respond to this sorry state of affairs and to remedy the social and moral ills that have been produced by the development of society. The distinction between history and justification, between the factual situation of mankind and how it ought to live together, is of the utmost importance to Rousseau. While we ought not to ignore history, nor ignore the causes of the problems we face, we must resolve those problems through our capacity to choose how we ought to live. Might never make right, despite how often it pretends that it can.

The Social Contract begins with the most oft-quoted line from Rousseau: “Man was born free, and he is everywhere in chains”. Humans are essentially free, and were free in the State of Nature, but the progress of civilization has substituted subservience to others for that freedom, through dependence, economic and social inequalities, and the extent to which we judge ourselves through comparisons with others. Since a return to the State of Nature is neither feasible nor desirable, the purpose of politics is to restore freedom to us, thereby reconciling who we truly and essentially are with how we live together.

So, this is the fundamental philosophical problem that *The Social Contract* seeks to address: how can we be free and live together? Or, put another way, how can we live together without succumbing to the force and coercion of others? We can do so, Rousseau maintains, by submitting our individual, particular wills to the collective or general will, created through agreement with other free and equal persons. Like Hobbes and Locke before him, and in contrast to the ancient philosophers, all men are made by nature to be equals, therefore no one has a

natural right to govern others, and therefore the only justified authority is the authority that is generated out of agreements or covenants.

The most basic covenant, the social pact, is the agreement to come together and form a people, a collectivity, which by definition is more than and different from a mere aggregation of individual interests and wills. This act, where individual persons become a people is “the real foundation of society”. Through the collective renunciation of the individual rights and freedom that one has in the State of Nature, and the transfer of these rights to the collective body, a new ‘person’, as it were, is formed.

The sovereign is thus formed when free and equal persons come together and agree to create themselves anew as a single body, directed to the good of all considered together. So, just as individual wills are directed towards individual interests, the general will, once formed, is directed towards the common good, understood and agreed to collectively. Included in this version of the social contract is the idea of reciprocated duties: the sovereign is committed to the good of the individuals who constitute it, and each individual is likewise committed to the good of the whole. Given this, individuals cannot be given liberty to decide whether it is in their own interests to fulfill their duties to the sovereign, while at the same time being allowed to reap the benefits of citizenship. They must be made to conform themselves to the general will, they must be “forced to be free”.

To him, this implies an extremely strong and direct form of democracy. One cannot transfer one’s will to another, to do with as he or she sees fit, as one does in representative democracies. Rather, the general will depends on the coming together periodically of the entire democratic body, each and every citizen, to decide collectively, and with at least near unanimity, how to live

together, that is, what laws to enact. As it is constituted only by individual wills, these private, individual wills must assemble themselves regularly if the general will is to continue.

One implication of this is that the strong form of democracy which is consistent with the general will is also only possible in relatively small states. The people must be able to identify with one another, and at least know who each other are. They cannot live in a large area, too spread out to come together regularly, and they cannot live in such different geographic circumstances as to be unable to be united under common laws. Although the conditions for true democracy are stringent, they are also the only means by which we can, according to Rousseau, save ourselves, and regain the freedom to which we are naturally entitled.

His social contract theories together form a single, consistent view of our moral and political situation. We are endowed with freedom and equality by nature, but our nature has been corrupted by our contingent social history. We can overcome this corruption, however, by invoking our free will to reconstitute ourselves politically, along strongly democratic principles, which is good for us, both individually and collectively.

In 1972, the publication of John Rawls' extremely influential *A Theory of Justice* brought moral and political philosophy back from what had been a long hiatus of philosophical consideration. Rawls' theory relies on a Kantian understanding of persons and their capacities. For Rawls, as for Kant, persons have the capacity to reason from a universal point of view, which in turn means that they have the particular moral capacity of judging principles from an impartial standpoint. In *A Theory of Justice*, Rawls argues that the moral and political point of view is discovered via impartiality. (It is important to note that this view, delineated in *A Theory of*

Justice, has undergone substantial revisions by Rawls, and that he described his later view as "political liberalism"¹⁴⁵.

He invokes this point of view (the general view that Thomas Nagel describes as "the view from nowhere") by imagining persons in a hypothetical situation, the Original Position, which is characterized by the epistemological limitation of the Veil of Ignorance. Rawls' original position is his highly abstracted version of the State of Nature. It is the position from which we can discover the nature of justice and what it requires of us as individual persons and of the social institutions through which we will live together cooperatively.

In the original position, behind the veil of ignorance, one is denied any particular knowledge of one's circumstances, such as one's gender, race, particular talents or disabilities, one's age, social status, one's particular conception of what makes for a good life, or the particular state of the society in which one lives. Persons are also assumed to be rational and disinterested in one another's well-being. These are the conditions under which, Rawls argues, one can choose principles for a just society which are themselves chosen from initial conditions that are inherently fair¹⁴⁵.

Because no one has any of the particular knowledge he or she could use to develop principles that favor his or her own particular circumstances, in other words the knowledge that makes for and sustains prejudices, the principles chosen from such a perspective are necessarily fair. For example, if one does not know whether one is female or male in the society for which one must choose basic principles of justice, it makes no sense, from the point of view of self-interested rationality, to endorse a principle that favors one sex at the expense of another, since, once the veil of ignorance is lifted, one might find oneself on the losing end of such a principle. Hence

Rawls describes his theory as “justice as fairness.” Because the conditions under which the principles of justice are discovered are basically fair, justice proceeds out of fairness.

In such a position, behind such a veil, everyone is in the same situation, and everyone is presumed to be equally rational. Since everyone adopts the same method for choosing the basic principles for society, everyone will occupy the same standpoint: that of the disembodied, rational, universal human. Therefore all who consider justice from the point of view of the original position would agree upon the same principles of justice generated out of such a thought experiment. Any one person would reach the same conclusion as any other person concerning the most basic principles that must regulate a just society.

The principles that persons in the original position, behind the Veil of Ignorance, would choose to regulate a society at the most basic level (that is, prior even to a Constitution) are called by Rawls, aptly enough, the Two Principles of Justice. These two principles determine the distribution of both civil liberties and social and economic goods. The first principle states that each person in a society is to have as much basic liberty as possible, as long as everyone is granted the same liberties. That is, there is to be as much civil liberty as possible as long as these goods are distributed equally. (This would, for example, preclude a scenario under which there was a greater aggregate of civil liberties than under an alternative scenario, but under which such liberties were not distributed equally amongst citizens).

The second principle states that while social and economic inequalities can be just, they must be available to everyone equally (that is, no one is to be on principle denied access to greater economic advantage) and such inequalities must be to the advantage of everyone. This means that economic inequalities are only justified when the least advantaged member of society is

nonetheless better off than she would be under alternative arrangements. So, only if a rising tide truly does carry all boats upward, can economic inequalities be allowed for in a just society. The method of the original position supports this second principle, referred to as the Difference Principle, because when we are behind the veil of ignorance, and therefore do not know what our situation in society will be once the veil of ignorance is lifted, we will only accept principles that will be to our advantage even if we end up in the least advantaged position in society.

These two principles are related to each other by a specific order. The first principle, distributing civil liberties as widely as possible consistent with equality, is prior to the second principle, which distributes social and economic goods. In other words, we cannot decide to forgo some of our civil liberties in favor of greater economic advantage. Rather, we must satisfy the demands of the first principle, before we move on to the second. From Rawls' point of view, this serial ordering of the principles expresses a basic rational preference for certain kinds of goods, that is, those embodied in civil liberties, over other kinds of goods, that is, economic advantage¹⁴⁶.

Having argued that any rational person inhabiting the original position and placing him or herself behind the veil of ignorance can discover the two principles of justice, Rawls has constructed what is perhaps the most abstract version of a social contract theory. It is highly abstract because rather than demonstrating that we would or even have signed to a contract to establish society, it instead shows us what we must be willing to accept as rational persons in order to be constrained by justice and therefore capable of living in a well ordered society. The principles of justice are more fundamental than the social contract as it has traditionally been conceived.

Rather, the principles of justice constrain that contract, and set out the limits of how we can construct society in the first place. If we consider, for example, a constitution as the concrete

expression of the social contract, Rawls' two principles of justice delineate what such a constitution can and cannot require of us. Rawls' theory of justice constitutes, then, the Kantian limits upon the forms of political and social organization that are permissible within a just society¹⁴⁷.

2.2.4 Structural Conflict Theory

The structural theory attempts to explain conflict as a product of the tension that arises when groups compete for scarce resources. The central argument in this sociological theory is that conflict is built into the particular ways societies are structured or organized. It describes the condition of the society and how such condition or environment can create conflict. Structural conflict theory identifies such conditions as social exclusion, deprivation, class inequalities, injustice, political marginalization, gender imbalances, racial segregation, economic exploitation and the likes, all of which often lead to conflict¹⁴⁸.

Structural conflict theory is most commonly associated with Karl Marx. To him, conflict is a basic structural condition of society. In other words, conflict is an inherent part of human relations. It is a natural phenomenon which contributes to social evolution¹⁴⁹. Structuralists maintain that conflict occurs because of the exploitative and unjust nature of human societies or because of domination of one class by another. The main argument of Marx who is one of the proponents of this theory is that conflict occurs as a result of the exploitative and unjust nature of human societies divided along class with the privileged dominating the less privileged. To this extent, the warring issue between the federal government and the Islamic Movement of Nigeria is as a result of injustice and breach of human rights which have resulted in frustrations and recourse to violence and conflict. This is strictly an alternative to structural functionalism.

To the structural conflict theorists, the functionalists had no sooner gained leadership in social science and sociological theory, than it came under increasing attack. The attack was multifaceted as this show cases conflicts in society as a structural response to the poorly organized economic various and resources of the people in society. This research work aligned with the Dahrendorf. His major work, class and class conflict in industrial society in 1950 is most influential on this issue, although aspects of social systems could fit together rather neatly, there also could be considerable conflict and human tension among them¹⁵⁰. In Nigeria, there has been over concentration of power and apparatus for the distribution of the resources of the nation at the center. The federal government seems not to recognize the various interests of the federating component units.

The theory however, is deficient in its on-sidedness of looking at causes of conflict. It, for instance, does not see the bright sides of racial or ethnic diversity and the strength that a society may derive from pluralism. It only sees the flaws. The structural theory thus makes sense only when conflicts are viewed from the broadest possible perspective, and only if the observer opts to ignore alternate causes of the conflict.

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Chapter Three

Methodology

3.1 Research Design

This chapter is committed to discussing the researcher’s methods of data collection employed in accomplishing the objectives of this thesis. The study employed the descriptive research design which aims at describing phenomenon effectively and highlighting the feature of such phenomenon.

3.2 Population of the Study

The population of study that will be focused on in this research are the youths who played a significant role and participated in the EndSARs protest. More so, people brutalized by the police in the course of the protests, for instance the Okada Riders, Students, and Commercial Drivers. All these persons constitute the population of the study in this research work.

3.3 Sample and Sampling Technique

The study was conducted using purposive sampling survey technique with a view to obtaining information from predetermined samples within the range of the study. These were justifiably selected on the basis of first availability, relevance, date and chronological value. The purposive

sampling survey technique was adopted so that people that are directly involved in the protest or police brutalities are reached or identified¹. The sample size comprised persons from both formal and informal sectors who were involved in the protests, as well as students who were home as a result of ASSU strike that was on going at the time. Also, persons in the formal and informal sectors who were in the essential services sector who got brutalized in the course of discharging their duties.

3.4 Description of Research Instrument

The principal research instrument used in this research would be interview schedule. The interview schedule was drawn in such a way to elicit proper responses to the questions raised by the research.

3.5 Validity of Research Instruments

The research instrument, an interview schedule was presented to the department for corrections before it was administered.

3.6 Reliability of Research Instruments

A pilot test was conducted using the interview schedule in Oshodi area of Lagos.

3.7 Administration of Research Instrument and Method of Data Collection

The data for the research would be sourced from both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources such as interviews, and Secondary sources such as: articles, journals, chapters in books, and newspaper.

The study employed the use of an interview schedule to conduct in-depth interview. The interview schedule is structured such that questions aimed at eliciting responses from the respondents.

The researcher will focus on relying on his own judgment when choosing members of the population to participate in the course of this work. It requires therefore the researcher to cases that helps to answer the research questions to achieve research objectives. For example questions are to be asked by the victims or persons involved on how they were brutalized, what nationalized it, what and what happened. Through this we can achieve research objectives.

3.8 Method of Data Analysis

Data collected from primary sources that is the interview, would be collated and analysed using frequency count, percentages and weighted mean. Data collected

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Endnotes

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Chapter Four

Results and Discussion of Findings

4.1 What are the causes of Police Brutality in Nigeria?

Nigeria has been rocked by nationwide protests over Police Brutality following claims of violence, sexual assaults, and kidnapping by a special unit called Special Anti – Robbery Squad (SARS). Here, Global (G.L.O.W) partnership coordinator Joyce from Nigeria provides more details surrounding these protests, and highlights the important role youth played in creating change and paving the way for a better future for all. For example in her interview a 16year old secondary school pupil, died after she was struck by a police bullet in Iyana – owooro area of Lagos. The young girl was repeatedly killed by a police officer who shot to disperse a crowd that had gathered after the shooting of a commercial bus driver who refused to pay a bride. Over the years, there have been so many causes of Police Brutality and mindless murders of innocent citizens. Slogans like police are your friend have lost meaning on Nigerians due to the inhumane treatment they suffer at the hands of the supposed “Friends”. More so, the police force, who have been entrusted with protecting lives and properties, have abused their power. They often use force beyond the limits permissible by law, infringing on the rights on innocent civilians and causing a lot of harm and pain to people here. Several cases of victims who experienced sexual assaults, injuries and death, often the result of stray bullets, and possible mistaken identities. Over the years, there has been an insatiable feeling of distrust as cases like this keep occurring relationship between the Nigerian police and citizens are largely characterized by suspicion, prejudice, brutality and violence. She stated that police have used excessive force on unarmed protesters since demonstrations began, which has resulted in

the loss of life and disruption of calm within the affected states and the federal capital where Global G.L.O.W clubs are held. Glow clubs members have become too afraid to come out for meetings, parents are concerned because this situation has created more opportunity for hoodlums to take advantages and exploits hardworking citizens, invading shops, and plazas, looting goods and vandalizing public property.

Toyin Falola; Africa's most prolific historian in his impressive book, colonialism and violence in Nigeria, traces the origin of Police Brutality in its various sordid manifestations. Violence, he argues, "is connected with the large issues of power, resistance, terrorism, and nationalism. The colonial state established a police force as a means of solely enforcing it's will and not to protect its subjects, or the natives, as the case may be. Before the military coups and counter coups that litter Nigeria's checkered political history, colonial rule had planted the seeds of incessant violent and factionalism in the arbitrary territories that now make up modern Nigeria. Although the Special Anti – Robbery Squad (SARS), the bugbear that caused so much heartbreak, havoc and bloodshed was initially formed in 1992. The antecedents of Police Brutality dated much further back. The Nigerian Police Force grew out of this acrimonious context, in which violence, suppression, duplicity and impunity merged in the bid to maintain colonial power. It was never a force created to protect locals and foster harmonious community relations. Instead, it had been formed as occupation force for a narrow and specific reason, to maintain the power of the state even if the states is illegitimate. Unfortunately, this operational outlook has hardly changed and certainly did not at the dawn of independence. So rather than viewing citizens as deserving of protection, the Nigerian Police Force views then primarily as adversaries, and it became an outlook the infamous SARS took to an even more brutal level. Young men merely walking on the streets were stopped, frisked and dispossessed of their

phones to view the contents. SARS operatives invariably demanded bribes and those who failed to comply were beaten and humiliated in public. Women, even the elderly among them, were not exempt from the terror of SARS in the form of beatings and torture.

Finally, corruption and lack of reliable government contributes to the cause of Police Brutality in Nigeria. The high and the mighty abusing power is not strange to many Nigerians as it's new normal for decades now. The Nigerian Police are at the fore – front of abuse of power. The ordinary Nigerian is always at the receiving end of inhuman treatment from the same people who swore to protect our lives and properties. They are the same people who cause tremendous harm to fellow Nigerians with their guns and the authority given to them. Also, there is an atom of corruption in most police officers here, still the arm of the police called SARS which stood for “Special Anti – Robbery Squad” has worked tirelessly to outperform their peers and has effortlessly qualified as the worst there is; they left their jurisdiction, which is “violent crimes” to arrest, jail, and shaking down young men, just any young man who appears well – off. They are the judge, they will judge your case in that spot and fine you right there and then. SARS will openly tell you, I can kill you, and nothing will happen. They will have to search your house and phones and laptops without a warrant, if you try to stop them, they will hurt you real bad, even in public, without fear.

Why is “POLICE” doing all these to fellow Nigerians?

Its greed. All they need is money and not to fight crime. Men of the Nigerian police are possibly one of the lowest paid in the world. The Police, mainly SARS, diverted from going after violence crimes to internet fraudsters because that's where the money is. They quickly realize that its mostly young men who engage in this crime. Now, either due to lack of training

or pure stupidity, they couldn't separate the innocent from the guilty neither do they have the authority to do so. Still, they didn't care, and that's because we don't have a government. Same punishment for criminals is labelled on all youths, they ask to see what is inside your phone without warrant and when you refuse, they give you a dirty slap. If a person should die during the forced interrogation, they would dump your body at someplace, and your family would never find you or accused him/her of being an armed robber.

4.2 What are the Major Causes of ENDSARS Protest in Nigeria?

The Nigerian government, in desperate attempt to calm down the protesters, promised in 2017 that the authority of SARS units would be significantly reduced, but this promise remained unkept, with SARS units continuing their violent and unlawful practices towards young adults in Nigeria. At first glance, the controversy surrounding SARS appears to be an issue of police brutality that may suffer from in countries around the world, and it certainly is. Yet, the brutality of SARS is disproportionately aimed at young males who choose to wear certain types of clothes, drive certain types of cars, and use a particular brand of smartphone. So, the cruel practices of SARS appear to be combined with social profiling that is based on the personal choices of young adults. Using a laptops, owning the newest iPhone, driving a brand – new sports car or wearing ripped jeans are all reasons why a Nigerian young adult can be detained by SARS units. Often those who fit the description are quickly accused of being thieves, with SARS units assuming that young adults must have stolen the cars they drive and the smart phones they use. Despite the absurdity of SARS logic, practices like this have led to countless unlawful arrests of young people in Nigeria. Undoubtedly, the central theme of the issue is police brutality, but this brutality seems to be fueled by the major generational and ideological gap that exist in Nigeria society.

Daniel Chibuike was a 20 year – old aspiring musician when he was shot dead on October 5, 2020 by the Nigerian Police Force. Chibuike’s death was the last straw for the Nigerian youth, who had already taken to the streets in 2017 to demand the abolishment of SARS. Since its establishment in 1992, SARS has been played by a worrisome human right record. According to witnessed accounts documented by Amnesty International. SARS routinely tortured its detainees, with many detainees experiencing harsh beatings and serious death threats. Moreover, SARS has been found to have multiple officers who have been engaging detainees to pay hefty bribes before feeding them. Ironic for a division with the goal of preventing robbery. More importantly, individuals detained by SARS who suffer from the atrocities are often never charged in court, which means that people who are completely innocent are physically tortured and eventually left with psychological injuries. Regardless, whether a detainee is guilty or not should not be a factor in deciding who to torture as all forms of torture are illegal in Nigeria, whether someone is guilty or not should not be a factor in deciding who to torture as all forms of torture are illegal in Nigeria whether someone is guilty or not guilty of a crime. Despite their atrocities, a total of zero SARS officers have been prosecuted since 2007, which considering the extensive evidence of torture, is shocking. Clearly, SARS has enjoyed freedom in how they choose to treat detainees and received protection from the government and the courts even though their practices are against Nigerian law. Chibuike’s death sparked the Nigerian youth to once again take to the streets in October 2020. This time around, the protests spread to social media, with the #EndSARS hashtag on twitter becoming the center of expression of displeasure with SARS. Protests took place not only in Nigeria but also in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada. Protesters in Nigeria faced resistance from the government, the police force and the army. Nigerian soldiers were seen opening fire during

the protests, leaving more than a dozen protesters injured and one dead. Meanwhile Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari remained a silent. Buhari administration assured multiple times over the years that appropriate action would be taken against SARS, with no sufficient result ever achieved.

Another vital point of major causes of End SARS protest was Buhari's inertia toward. The protests might appear to be the desire to hold his police force together, there are other reasons why the cries of the Nigerian youth have not been heard. Back on April 18, 2018, Buhari referred to Nigerian youth as "lazy" during his address to the commonwealth business forum in the United Kingdom. Back then, Buhari's description led young people in Nigeria to criticize him on twitter with hashtag #lazy Nigeria Youths. At the age of 78, Buhari has an extensive military background, a successful coup through which he came to power in 1983, and a military led nationwide campaign called "War against Indiscipline under belt. Putting Buhari's description of Nigeria youth and his background together, it becomes clearer why the demands of young people in Nigeria to abolish SARS were not met. When leaders cannot or are not willing to understand the problems faced by a specific group of people in the country, protests movements like #EndSARS start to occur. Youths adults in Nigeria are frustrated with the disconnect between them and the government, since many of their leaders are "three or four times their age". Young Nigerians are also discouraged by rising unemployment and poverty. As it stands, young people in Nigeria have little to no say in how they and their country are governed. When their alienation by the government is combined with unlawful and inhumane policing practices, Nigerian youth struggle to feel welcome in their own country. Initiating movements like #EndSARS is often one of the only effective ways of making their voices heard.

4.3 To what extent has “Nigeria Police Force violated the Human Rights of Nigeria?”

Since the start of October, demonstrators in the thousands have thronged Nigerian cities, calling for an end to police brutality in the country and demanding justice for victims of police violence and extrajudicial killings. EndSARS started as a call for the disbandment of Nigeria’s Special Anti – Robbery Squad (SARS); a unit of the Nigerian police Force that has earned notoriety for its brutality and human rights violations. The government announced structural changes to SARS, but the alleged human rights violations and exploitation continued. In October 2015, reports of an unprovoked shootings of a boy in the streets of Oshodi, Lagos state by SARS operatives were shared on social media. Although the Nigerian police denied the shooting in particular case, it was not enough to quell public anger as more videos of police shootings were shared across social media platforms. In December 2017, the inspector General of police (IGP) announced that the SARS has been banned from conducting stop and search operations following several reports of harassment. This ban was publicly re – announced by the IGP in 2018 and 2020, reflecting the ineffectiveness of previous orders. Similarly in 2018, Nigeria’s acting president announced an overhaul of SARS, stating that the National Human Rights Commission would investigate cases of abuse. The police unit has come to be known for its high – handed tactics and gross violations of human rights. Transgression cut across a range of human rights including the right to life, right to freedom from torture, right to a fair trial, right to privacy, freedom of assembly, all of which are rights protected by the Nigerian constitution.

Right to life

Violations of the right to life have come in various forms such as extrajudicial killings, shooting of protesters, and other random, unprovoked killings. The Open Society Justice Initiative (OSJI). Found in Lagos, in an interview with the chairman Mr Fakunle Oriowo, stated that extrajudicial executions are a routine feature of policing in Nigeria. Human Rights watch estimates that over 10,000 people were killed by the Nigerian police in the 8 years spanning 2000 through 2007. These killings do not always happen secretly, hidden away in police cells and dungeons. In August 2019, videos surfaced showing men of the Nigerian police force executing arrested suspects in the streets of Lagos. The suspects were alleged to belong to a criminal ring that disguised themselves as phone buyers to lure and rob unsuspecting victims. The police arrested two of the suspects, only to have the summary execution recorded shortly after amateur clips of the police shootings in the victims in full glare of the public went viral. In reaction, the Nigerian police announced the arrest of the officer's involved.

Nevertheless, Dele Farotimi, a civil rights attorney in an interview with him in Lagos state, who has reliable knowledge on the minds that worked to ensure the #endSARS protest occurred, says

“What the young people were asking for was essentially citizenship, their rights to be respected and what the Nigerian state has done is not unlike what it has always done when confronted with the demand for citizenship by any part of the citizenry”.

The feelings of disenfranchisements suffered by the Nigerian youth can be traced back to the treatment the colonial authorities meted out of natives, depriving them of dignity and a sense of belonging in their land of their birth. Apparently, Nigerian youth still feel dispossessed with

more than 14million according to the Bureau of statistics of them currently unemployed and with very few, if an, prospects of securing jobs. And so it is inevitable that they would resort to protests to highlight their bleak lives and unfavourable circumstances. Of course, it would be typical of the state to respond via violence and repression.

Freedom from Torture

SARS personnel have also been known to routinely torture suspects for “confessions”. The OSJI chairman in an interview in Lagos states that the practice is so common that many police stations have a person on staff who oversees the torture of detainees and a room set aside for the practice; police personnel even have their own slang for various methods of torture, most of which emanate from detainees in SARS custody. The police use various forms of brutality, including sexual violence, against detainees report having been bound and suspended mid – air in painful positions, kicked and beaten with machetes, gun butts, boots, electrical wires, in police custody. A heavy block, usually wood or concrete, is often placed on the victims back to intensify the pain.

Right to Liberty

SARS, as well as other units of the Nigerian Police routinely lock up suspects, sometimes for years, without trail. The average length of pre – trial detention in Nigeria is three years and ten months. Such prolonged detentions are usually done through the use of a “holding charge where by the police bring a charge” against an accused before a lower court lacking jurisdiction to try the offence, pending the advice from the Director of public prosecutions. The Nigerian court has held this practice to be unconstitutional, though the practice persists.

Right to Privacy and Family Life

SARS personnel, ironically hired to tackle violent crimes, have recently assumed the mandate of fishing out so called “Yahoo Boys” (internet fraudsters). This they do by stooping mainly young men in the streets and demanding to go through their phones. Mere ownership of an iPhone is enough to make one suspects. Victims have reported being arrested for owing iPhone and laptops or for refusing to grant the police access to their phones.

Effective policing in Nigeria is almost impossible unless there are fundamental changes in the police force. Indeed, the constraints faced by the police are used as excuses for various misconducts and unprofessional behaviours by many officers of the force. Despite many attempts by the leadership of the police to enforce discipline and even sack a few bad eggs, improper conduct by the police undermines their ability to fight the pervasive insecurity across the country. The following are challenges that need to be addressed for effective policing and improving security in Nigeria.

4.4 What have been the Salient Issues in Police Brutality and EndSARS Protest in Nigeria?

Solitary, poor, nasty and brutish, is not one fit for free and decent people to live in. justice, as one of the greatest condition for humanity. The demands for fundamental police reforms by the protesting youth’s in pursuit of our aspiration in our national anthem “To build a nation where peace and justice shall reign.” A society where those who are paid from the public purse to protect the lives and property of the people becomes threats to the liberty, safety and dignity of the people; where human life is difficult to distinguish from Thomas Hobbes “State of Nature”. Such impunity and lawlessness are incompatible with the values and tenets of a democratic society is governed by the supremacy of the rule of law. The ability of the society to have

liberty and rights over wrong thus enabling the society to be elevated to a higher level of good, accountable, responsible and responsive governance.

Thus, the cry out for peace and justice, for the release of arrested protesters, justice and compensation for families of victims, independent body to oversee prosecution of officers, psychological evaluation of the disbanded SARS officers, increase in police salaries, better health and life insurance for the officers, extensive and holistic reformation of Nigerian policing policies, Ban of indiscriminate, unlawful and illegal searches of citizens especially phones, laptop and other gadget, giving out grants and loans to youths to assist their small and medium scale enterprise, setting up special panels to oversee nonchalant policing activities, the government should ensure best possible welfare for the police in the state to prevent extortion from citizens, re – orientation of the officers of Nigerian police force, creating empowerment projects for unemployed youths.

The challenges which the Nigerian police force faced which are salient issue are stated below via:

1. Institutional Challenges

The Police Service Commission (PSC), the civilian oversight body of the police, has no independent capacity to investigate or ‘police’ the police force. Complaints against Nigerian police officers made to the PSC end up being investigated by the police itself, who then report to the PSC. This lack of an independent complaints system is unsatisfactory. It is part of why internal discipline is weak and a corporate culture of excellence in service delivery does not exist in the force¹. For this reason, there is no framework for rating police commands or measuring their effectiveness.

2. Structural Challenges

This is another problem affecting policing in Nigeria. The way the police are organized is the reason community policing is ineffective. State Commissioners of Police take instructions from the Inspector General of Police (IGP), who receives instructions from the president, rather than from State Governors. The over-centralized structure of the police does not help it to connect with communities as it should. The current command structure of the police was created by the military governments prior to 1999 and has not changed despite over two decades of democratic governments².

3. Legal/Establishment Challenges

The legal framework of the Nigeria Police Force needs to be changed to provide security of tenure for the Inspector General of Police (IGPs). Section 215(3) of the 1999 Constitution (as amended) states that: “The President or such other Minister of the Government of the Federation as he may authorize in that behalf may give to the Inspector-General of Police such lawful directions with respect to the maintenance and securing of public safety and public order as he may consider necessary, and the Inspector-General of Police shall comply with those direction or cause them to be complied with”³. So, what can the IGP do if the President gives him an order that is unlawful? Absolutely nothing. In fact, the constitution in S215 (5) states: “The question whether any, and if so what, directions have been given under this section shall not be inquired into in any court.” This means the IGP cannot seek judicial review of an unlawful order by the President. The IGP has to obey all orders given by the President – whether lawful or not. These legal constraints make manipulation of the police by any President very easy. The President can easily remove any IGP that does not dance to his tune. That is why we have had about 13 IGPs in 15 years.

4. Operational Challenges

Lack of adequate equipment and tools is a major challenge for the police. Up to 40 per cent of officers are on personal guard duties to protect so-called very important persons (VIPs) who are public and private sector personalities. Regardless of the insufficient police personnel in the country, anyone that can afford to pay for their services gets an officer⁴. This creates operational difficulties for the core policing functions given the scarcity of available officers.

5. Financial Challenges

The researcher is of the view that, the police has not receive much attention in terms of finance. The Nigerian police often receive support from donations and corporate goodwill. Basic infrastructure and equipment do not exist in many police locations⁵. For instance, fingerprint searching and matching is done manually on paper cards using hand-held magnifying glass. The paper is kept in old filing cabinets. Even in Lagos, there is no computerized fingerprint database. Most officers buy their own uniforms and allowances are paid very late, if at all.

6. Environmental Challenges

The weakness and poor public perception of the criminal justice system (which includes courts, prosecution agencies and so on has collateral impact on the police. Proliferation of security outfits in Nigeria has also diluted the role of the police so much that people often get confused as to who to report certain crimes to. These disparate security agencies compete instead of cooperate with the police. For example, all private security firms in Nigeria are licensed by the Nigeria Security and Civil Defense Corps (NSCDC) and not the police. The firms pay millions of naira annually in registration fees to NSCDC, which keeps the police out of the loop of those security firms' operations⁶.

7. Capacity Challenges

In addition to the personnel shortfall in the Nigeria Police Force (NPF), continuous training and validation of the existing workforce is not a widespread practice within the police. Even the recruitment system is so compromised and inefficient that you can finish a prison term for armed robbery in Kaduna today and join the police in Abuja tomorrow. There is no central database of convicts. In addition, the recruitment process is not designed to accept only those who are qualified. Heads of police training colleges have tales of “instruction from above.” This means that even when half of the applicants fail the recruitment course or examination, powerful individuals in government can order that they should be given a pass mark⁷.

8. Historical Challenges

The military historically emasculated the police by usurping the functions of the force under the various Nigerian military dictatorships. Underfunding of the police can also be linked to this era. Even under the democratic dispensation, the police have not oriented itself with the principle of “policing by consent” to achieve legitimacy with the public.

9. Leadership Challenges

Removing IGPs in quick successions leaves the police force without much stability. This also deprives it of strategic focus since IGPs are not in office long enough to make strategic plans and impact. The uncertainty of their tenures does not support long-term strategic planning.

10. Political Challenges

There is too much political interference in policing in Nigeria. This demotivates good officers as political patronage becomes a basis for promotion and benefits. This interference has also reduced the number of Specialist Duty Officers in the Nigeria Police Force. These are the

officers often requested to become security aides by Governors in violation of the police internal rules, which give such duties to General duties officers. Once those officers assume the duty of protecting politicians, they usually never come back to their specialist posts⁸.

The numerous problems of the Nigerian police are well known. But simply recruiting more officers will not solve the problems. Nigeria needs an ethical police that respects and protects civil rights. While this requires proper training, the police need to be adequately funded to achieve this and improve the living conditions of the members of the force. Reforming and transforming policing in Nigeria would require addressing the numerous challenges mentioned above. The security of the life and property of every Nigerian depends on it. The prosperity and economic wellbeing of the country depends on adequate security.

4.5 Issues of Policing in Nigeria

The discussion of law enforcement thus far has made it clear that not all matters of policing in Nigeria are settled. However, some of the issues that continue to be major topics of debate in law enforcement and have significant impact on the quality of life in neighborhoods and communities will be highlighted. One of such issue is discretion. Discretion is the exercise of individual judgment, instead of former rules in making decisions. In other words, the officer make a choice concerning what laws will be enforced and how that enforcement will take place. The issue of police discretion is very controversial^{9,10}.

Some believe that the discretion of police officers should be reduced. The movement to limit the discretion of police officers is the result of abuses of that discretion, such as physical abuse of citizens or unequal application of the law in making arrests. Other people argue that officers operate with great discretion and not attempt to limit it. Advocates of this view believe that

better education and training would help officers exercise their judgments more wisely. Even more pertinent is the fact that some of the more critical situations involve decisions about stopping, searching, and arresting criminal suspects. Many citizens have been inconvenienced and some have been abused because of a police officer's poor use of discretion in some areas in Nigeria.

In the same vein, no issue in policing has caused as much controversy in recent times as the use of force, unlawful arrest and the detention of citizens due to his or her look. . In Lagos, Ibadan, Kaduna, Kano, Enugu, Port-Harcourt and many other cities, excessive force charges against police officers have been made and documented and have resulted in the loss of public confidence in the police. Not only is the persistent use of excessive force by the police against citizens unethical, civilly wrong, and criminally illegal, but it also creates a situation where nobody wins. In fact, the scope and context of contacts between the police and citizen are largely restricted to law enforcement situations. These are situations which citizens consider restrictive and therefore resent. The ineffectiveness of Nigerian police, arising from inadequacy of human resources, facilities and funds, lowers the estimation of the police in the eyes of the public. These conditions alienate police from the public and engender police-citizen hostility and violence^{11,12}.

Furthermore, it has been observed that the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) is psychologically and structurally too distant from the people they are meant to protect; and do not share or get bound by the values, interests and sentiments of the people. This situation stemmed from the fact of colonial origins of the Federal Police, which adversely affected the quality of those recruited into the police, and the type of training and orientation (brutal and oppressive) they were given, all of which in turn adversely affected how (negative) they perceived and behaved towards

people. Their negative perception and treatment of Nigerians also made Nigerians not to trust or want to go near the police¹³.

For many years, police followed the professional model, which rested on three foundations: preventive patrol, quick response time, and follow up investigation. Sensing that the professional model did not always operate as efficiently as it could, Nigeria opted to the use of community policing has been practiced all over the world. This will help solving both minor and major problems in a neighbourhood and to reduce crime and fear of crime. In other words, police and citizens should work cooperatively to build a strong sense of community and should share responsibility in the neighbourhood to improve the overall quality of life within the community. However, due to the age-long suspicious and antagonistic relationship between the police and members of the public, it has been difficult for the members of the public to accept or trust the Community Policing Project¹³. Nonetheless, a community policing perspective differs in a number of ways from a traditional policing perspective. For example, in community policing, the police must share power with residents of a community, and critical decisions need to be made at the neighbourhood level, not at a downtown police headquarters. Such decentralization of authority means that credit for bringing about a safer and more secure community must be shared with the people of the community, a tall order for any group of professionals to accept.

In addition, allegations leveled against the police and its personnel, some of which have proven to be true, include arbitrariness in exercising its power, corruption, perversion of justice, and delays in the administration of justice. However, these allegations are product of a systemic and corrupt police force. Many highly placed public officers in Nigeria are known to pervert the course of justice by the virtue of their closeness to the seat of power. Often, the police get

sucked in, and this accounts for their complicity in several unresolved crimes across the country¹⁴. A reference point is unresolved assassinations of political figures, which the police has not fish-out the perpetrators. This and other similar actions, rightly fuel the suspicion of police duplicity and belief that they are nothing but a bunch of hired guns in the secret service of select criminal political godfathers¹⁴.

In the same vein, policing system have been politicized in Nigeria. In most Nigerian cities, party politics prevented the development of professional police departments. Local political leaders understood that controlling the police was a means of maintaining their own political power and of allowing criminal friends and political allies to violate the law with impunity. In fact, in some states, the police were clearly extensions of the state party machine, which attempted to dominate all activity in a community. This has been witnessed in Rivers State, where the Commissioner of Police has been accused of taking parts in the party affairs of the state.

In collaboration with local politicians, but often on their own, the Police were more than willing to ignore violations of the law if the law breakers gave them money, valuables or privileges. Similarly, human rights violations by the police have been a contested issue. One of the major responsibilities of government is to preserve and project the human rights of its citizens or foreign nationals. However, the Nigeria police has consistently come under severe public criticism for its poor human rights records. This was most pronounced in the years of military rule with its usual castration of the rule of law, which foisted a Utopian character on the people's demand for the protection of human rights¹⁵. Despite continuous attempts by successive police administrators to change the human rights image of the force, the notion

persists among members of the public that the Nigeria police has very scant regard for the civil rights of the average citizen.

Police corruption is another issue. Almost from the beginning of formal policing in Nigeria, corruption of law enforcement officers has been a fact of life. Throughout history, police officers have bought their positions and promotions, sold protection, and ignored violations of the law for money. Why is policing so susceptible to bribery and other form of corruption in Nigeria? Basically, this has to do with combination of two critical features of the police role in the society. On the one hand, the police have authority to enforce laws and to use power to make sure that those laws are obeyed. On the other hand, they also have the discretion not to enforce the law. The combination of those two features makes the police vulnerable to bribes and other forms of corruption.

In this context, allegations of police corruption erupt on daily basis. These come in various forms: extortion from motorists at illegally mounted road blocks, collection of monetary gratification (bribery) in order to alter justice in favours of the highest bidder. The dismissal of the former I.G. Tafa Balogun on January 17, 2005 on the corruption laden charges which has brought out many of his bloody deals to the open leaves much to be desired in terms of police image¹⁶.

4.6 Mechanisms for Evolving a Better Police

As one of the major imperatives for an enduring democracy in Nigeria, a better police is of utmost significance. To start with, federal government which has exclusive power over the Nigeria police need to act quickly to safe the organization from itself. There is still large chunk of corps that is barely literate. Entry qualification into the force should be at least holders of

school certificate. Those that were recruited long time ago should be advised within some years to update their knowledge and officers in the police is grossly inadequate for effective policing of the policy. While the United Nations recommends one policeman to 400 citizens, Nigeria is still far to the recommended ratio. This low strength level has occasioned a situation in which policemen are easily overpowered by criminals.

The current recruitment drive of the present administration should be encouraged. The federal government announced recently that 40,000 men would be recruited into the police force. Since the commencement of the exercise at state level, the period of training is indeed too short for those that will take policing as a life time career. Thus, training should be a continuous exercise at regular intervals, to enhance the performance of the corps and their officers. In the same vein, motivation is of utmost significance to productivity. Both officers and corps should be greatly motivated if the society will be better protected. This can be done in terms of special scale outside the civil service rating because of the hazard involved in the work of policing.

As part of motivation, all necessary communication gadgets and mobility should be provided to ease their jobs. Likewise in this info-tech age, the job of policing should be well computerized. The present police lacks strong data base. As an internal control measure, the detectives in the organization should be used to monitor the activities of those on the traffic patrols and station duties, so that those who may find it difficult to put off the toga of corruption can be shown the way out of the police. If such is done regularly and the names of corrupt ones dismissed are published quarterly it will go a long way to stem the tide of corruption in the Nigeria police¹⁷.

For a better organization to be evolved, both the society and the Nigeria police itself need re-orientation. The mass media may assist here. The entire citizenry should be well educated as regards their basic human rights. That to offer bribe for a bailable offence is wrong or to offer money to Policemen on the road even without soliciting for it is immoral. Above all, discipline is crucial to effective policing. If the officers are not self-disciplined, the corps becomes worse-off. It is only a well-disciplined police like the military that can serve as a catalyst to democratic sustenance

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Chapter Five

Conclusion

5.1 Summary of Findings

Nigeria is a country where serious cases of abuse of police authority and human rights infringements by security agents often stimulate intense public debate. Though there have been consistent denials by the leadership of the Nigerian Police on the use of torture-based interrogations to elicit information from arrestees, extant literature affirms that the police rely on different forms of torture as principal means of investigation.

The activities of the police as an institution are meant to be guided at the national and international level by conventions, standards and treaties (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966). In spite of state prohibitions against torture and custodial misconduct by the police, torture has been reported as being commonly used in police custodies across Nigeria, which is a major reason behind deaths in custody.

Chapter one of this research study centers on the background to the study. The chapter started by examining the importance of security agency in a state. It further explained that, The police is an inevitable security institution in today's democracy. It is not possible to see a country without a police force. The police are so important because they maintain order, legality and the development of society¹. The police play a significant role in democracy, and must take account of the facilitative and inhibitive roles of the police in society.

The foundational role of the police is to guard and secure compliance with enacted laws and conformity with the precepts of social order. Policing is important in all societies to ensure the preservation of order, safety and social relations. In modern societies, diversities and contradictions arising from population heterogeneity, urbanization, industrialization and conflicting ideologies on the appropriate socio-political and economic form of organization make the police even more necessary.

Chapter two of this research work focused more on the review of relevant literature and theoretical framework. The chapter begin by examining the concept of security, insecurity, corruption, national security and the federal government. Security has to do with the process connected with assuaging any kind of threat to people and their precious values. This is why Barry Buzan asserts that, security is about freedom from threat and ability of states to maintain independent identity and their functional integrity against forces of change, which they see as hostile while its bottom line is survival³. Another scholar equally submits that, security is most commonly associated with the alleviation of threats to cherish values, especially those threats which threaten the survival of a particular reference object.

Security need was the basis of the social contract between the people and the state, in which people willingly surrendered their rights to an organ called government who oversees the survival of all. In this light, security embodies the mechanism put in place to avoid, prevent, reduce, or resolve violent conflicts, and threats that originate from other states, non-state actors, or structural socio-political and economic conditions.

Insecurity is being in a fear of the unknown; A feeling of trepidation and unsafe. Also, it is a state of being unable to protect lives and property. In other words, the person is vulnerable to

damage, injury or loss from both internal and external causes. However, because of the very many ways in which insecurity affects human life and existence, the concept of insecurity has usually been ascribed different interpretations in association with the various ways which it affects individuals.

Some of the common descriptors of insecurity include: want of safety; danger; hazard; uncertainty; want of confidence; doubtful; inadequately guarded or protected; lacking stability; troubled; lack of protection; and unsafe, to mention a few. All of these have been used by different people to define the concept of insecurity. These different descriptors, however, run into a common reference to a state of vulnerability to harm and loss of life, property or livelihood. Insecurity is thus “the state of fear or anxiety stemming from a concrete or alleged lack of protection.” It refers to lack or inadequate freedom from danger. This definition reflects physical insecurity which is the most visible form of insecurity, and it feeds into many other forms of insecurity such as economic security and social security.

However, Relative-Deprivation theory, Social Conflict Theory, Social Contract theory were used to explain the variables in the research study. The Social Contract theory is an assumption and its proponents are Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau. They gave various explanation of the state which human being lived and also gave different version of how the social contract should be.

The Social Contract theory of the origin of the state implies that there was a time when men lived or would have lived without any recognized civil law, without the state. This stage or life-pattern of men is described as the ‘state of nature. Then the state was created through the voluntary agreement of all individuals who constitute the state. Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau

have drawn different pictures of the state of nature, terms of the contract and the character of sovereignty which came into existence as a consequence of the birth of the state. It is important to note here that the whole theory of the contract is based on speculation. It seeks to trace the origin of the state through logic, not through historical or scientific evidence. Locke refers to a historical fact to illustrate the point, but illustration is no evidence.

Chapter three of the study explained the methodology used in carrying out the research work. The chapter also explained the research designed, the sources of data, method of data collection and method of data analysis. The research used the descriptive method of data analysis

Chapter four of this research work is the main crux of the study. This chapter answered the research questions. The chapter highlighted that, institutional, structural, leadership and operational are the challenges of policing in Nigeria. It further state that, For a better organization to be evolved, both the society and the Nigeria police itself need re-orientation. The mass media may assist here. The entire citizenry should be well educated as regards their basic human rights. That to offer bribe for a bailable offence is wrong or to offer money to Policemen on the road even without soliciting for it is immoral. Above all, discipline is crucial to effective policing. If the officers are not self-disciplined, the corps becomes worse-off. It is only a well-disciplined police like the military that can serve as a catalyst to democratic sustenance.

5.2 Conclusion

The historical analysis of police system in Nigeria has unravelled the complexity and diverse challenges in addressing criminality in our country. From the constitutional provisions, the

bulk of police duties fall on conventional police force with its related agencies without regards to the rising an informal policing institutions despite the current security challenges the country is facing. The systematic brutality of the police affects virtually every Nigerian, though at different levels, as the impact weighs down more on the poor. The operations of the Nigeria Police Force and the dissolved Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) bear almost no resemblance of the requirements of the Nigerian law.

The activities of the Nigerian Police Force are at marked variance with protecting human life, safety, and security, as it rather endangers the people they ought to protect. It is evident that lack of capacity to conduct proper criminal investigation is responsible for the reliance of the Police on torture-induced confessions. As a result of the multitude of police stations in the country and the manner of development of the authority and responsibility of these police stations and divisions, there has been little supervision and control of this problem.

Urgent measures are therefore required to return policing in Nigeria to the path of lawfulness, respectability, and public confidence. At present, there is no accountability for crimes committed by the police. The NPF is controlled at the federal level and its officers are not answerable to the local populations. The best approach to solve this dilemma of unlawful arrest and detention is through intelligent legislation in respect of the laws governing detention for investigative purposes. Other suggestions include, proper training and retraining of police office, deployment of advanced forensic techniques for investigations, improvement in the capacity of the police in their investigative responsibilities, encouragement of professionalism within its rank and file as well as effective punishment of erring officers as deterrence to others.

5.3 Recommendations

From the study, the following recommendations were made:

- i. SARS should be stopped from torturing people and doing investigative jobs. They should equally be stopped from extorting, humiliating, beating, killing and framing people up just to be jailed.
- ii. Again, the Nigeria Police Force and Nigeria Police Service Commission need to re-orient these officers on human relations on monthly bases, it will help stop people from getting killed by them on daily bases for no just cause.
- iii. Finally, officers caught drinking or smoking on duty should be properly dealt with to serve as a deterrent to others.
- iv. A mechanism should be put in place by the responsible authorities to ensure that intelligence gathering is given due attention to be able to nip the crime that may degenerate into merger violence in the bud, sharing of information and synergy among the security agents should be encouraged in Nigeria.
- v. The government of Nigeria should endeavor to put in place a comprehensive bio-metric data of Nigerians, provide better welfare, instill positive and proper political culture in the minds of citizenry from infant to the grown up and also put in place measures that promote sincerity, probity, sense of honesty and responsibility on the part of leadership and followership at all levels.

- vi. Police authorities should put in place an institutional check mechanism to ensure that the personnel exercise their discretionary powers within the procedural and due process of the law. For the pursuit of substantial justice, police officers should be encouraged to exercise, as occasion warrants and in the interest of justice, discretion while performing their duties

5.4 Contribution to Knowledge

Security is an indispensable ingredient in the life of any nation that aspires to develop. This underscores why successive governments in Nigeria have evolved different strategies to restore security in the country. For over a decade now, Nigeria has been battling with the challenges of insecurity. Threat of insecurity in the country is a multi-dimensional phenomenon. The primary aim of this researcher is to investigate police brutality and the ENDSARS movement in Nigeria. The analysis of this study indicate that leadership, structural, institutional and the modus operandi of the members of the police force ignited injustice which brought the ENDSARS movement. Thus, this study has contributed to knowledge by looking at the issues and lessons from the movement.

5.5 Suggestion for Further Research

Insecurity is one of, if not the most glaring and much talked about thing in Nigeria today. Acts of insecurity occur on daily basis throughout the country. Right thinking and sane Nigerians are really concerned about this ugly trend. The primordial duty of the police is prevention of crime. In Nigeria, the relationship between the police and the public is a controversial one. Although there are numerous research on police brutality in Nigeria but only few has been done on how these brutality affect the youths and the citizens at large. Therefore, there is a

need for more studies to be done in this area. Future research can consider the implications of police brutality on Nigerian youths.

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- ADEBISI, O.D. *Music and Activism in Nigeria: A Case Study of# EndSARS Movement* (Doctoral dissertation, State University of New York), 2022.
- Donaldson, M.R. *Circulating Racial Trauma: How Black College-Age Students Experience and Cope with Police Brutality on Social Media* (Doctoral dissertation, Arizona State University), 2021.
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