

Insecurity and Our Collective Failure: Reappraising Security Architecture for National Stability

Being Text of Lead Paper Presented at the 2nd International Conference on Science, Technology, Engineering and Humanities organised by the Academic Staff Union of Polytechnic, Yaba College of Technology, Lagos

Protocols

Icebreaking

The popular axiom is, ‘Security is everybody’s business’. Each time I come across this, I interrogate our essence as a country and not as a nation. Evidently, there is a sharp difference between a country and a nation although we pretend to be a nation. And of course, we are only a nation in sporting activities, especially during football matches. That is when it doesn’t matter if our first eleven national football team comes only from a local government in the South-south. That is when our sporting security is indissoluble because we have a collective commonwealth in that regard. The Governor of Kaduna State, Mallam Nasir El-Rufai, in a public lecture at the Northern Youth Summit in Kaduna on July 6, 2019, similarly remarked that Nigeria is two countries in one, backward North and developing South. That statement in itself is weighty given the statistical indicators identified by Governor El-Rufai (largest out-of-school children in the world, drug abuse, banditry, kidnapping and terrorism). Similarly, Prof. Anya, a distinguished Nigerian merit award winner, also alluded to the same sentiment when he averred that, “We can no longer say with certainty we have a nation”. As early as I can in this paper, I should assert that the challenge of insecurity is not exclusively Nigeria dominant. As a matter of fact, other countries, including those on A list that we refer to as developed countries, are also confronted with insecurity. Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, it is not my desire to rationalise the whys and why nots of insecurity in Nigeria, at least for now. It is, however, suffice to have a clearer idea from the beginning and also from global perspectives of insecurity using 2018 Global Security Index on safest countries in the world. The Global Peace Index in its report published by the Institute for Economics and Peace in which 163 countries are featured and ranked using

23 indicators (the indicators will be explained later), Iceland (1.072) was ranked the safest country in the world. This was followed by New Zealand (1.221). And Portugal (1.274) is ranked third. Of the 163 sampled countries, Nigeria is ranked 150th with 2.898 Peace Index while Afghanistan is ranked 163rd.

Stressing this, Aremu (2019) notes that, globally, there is an upsurge on insecurity, bothering on organised crime. This is a crime motivated by a group of people with the sole aim of unleashing violence on unsuspecting members of the public. Of the insecurity challenges ravaging many countries, terrorism is the most ranked and deadly. According to the report by the Institute for Economics and Peace in its Global Terrorism Index (2017), the most severe case of insecurity experienced globally was terrorism. And of the six highest impact countries, Nigeria, with a score of 9.009, is ranked number three after Iraq and Afghanistan. Although while terrorism and its twin ally, insurgency, are obviously the most challenging insecurity faced by many countries including Nigeria, others like kidnapping, farmer-herder clash are more of Nigeria's home relevant cases of insecurity. These have consistently placed the country on red alert zone globally; the consequences of which are impacted on the populace and other institutions, including educational sector.

From these reports, our country is a red country. And this may not be far from the truth. Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, the kind of national attention the spate of insecurity is receiving in the last couple of weeks is unprecedented. Unlike what obtained in the past when such clamours come from security scholars, opinion leaders and some well-meaning politicians, the additional voice by the traditional class further laid credence that we are indeed in a state of anomie as hypothesised by Emile Durkheim in 1893. Beyond what Emile Durkheim theorised, Nigeria is in a dire state of insecurity. The signs are not only ominous but the signals are also ticking very fast and it is worrisome. That what the country currently goes through has implications is to say the obvious that is starring all of us in the face. These implications would be discussed later in this paper. In the meantime, let us address some salient strategic security concerns as espionage in this paper. The mandate of which is sacrosanct, given the theme of this conference, Technological Applications and Management for Global Security. While I am aware

of the array of sub themes of the Conference, I am of the opinion that the salient thesis is Security and how we, as scholars, can contribute to a peaceful society, using our diverse callings.

Mr. Chairman Sir, ladies and gentlemen, I think we should be asking ourselves some salient questions that should further provoke the thoughts in the two-day conference. While I have many questions agitating my mind, unfortunately, time and space would not permit me to reel out everything. Nevertheless, I will give out a few of these. Most times, I come across this rhetorical question on the social media: Who curse this country? And my immediate response has always been: Are we truly cursed? What happened to our age-long communal security system? How did we get here? And who is responsible for what we are going through? Is the situation peculiar to us alone? What happens to our security architecture? And finally, what do we do?

Each time I profile the third republic that started in 1999, this administration and the immediate past one are the most distracted. And the major distraction is insecurity. This calls for some scientific unearthing of our collective security failures.

Unearthing Our Collective Security Failures

Security scholars and commentators on national issues have, for the first time, agreed that we have a problem in our hand in this country. Even foreign nationals are also not unmindful of the security challenges facing us. Each time I go for international conferences, one is either embarrassed at the port of entries, or made to answer some security questions bothering on intelligence which one does not readily have a response for.

Earlier in the paper, I posted a question bothering on our age-long communal security systems. I know and I am sure that about 90% of this audience is familiar with our traditional security system in which everybody was his brother's keeper. I am also sure that many of us then in the villages and some cities would go to bed with the two eyes closed, deep in snoring and sometimes without having to our main doors. And if you had the experiences of real village life, you would agree with me that many people would walk kilometers to and from farms and nearby villages without a single thought of being kidnapped. Then, one only heard of what the Yoruba call, *gbomo gbomo* and not *gba gba gba gba* (adult-knapping) as we are currently witnessing these days. Ladies and gentlemen, the collapse of our collective security as a country started with

the collapse of our communal life. And that was due to too much westernisation of what we do. And unfortunately, too, we allow the Western world to condemn our traditions and cultures without even asking questions. In effect, one of our collective failures that now negatively impact on our security system is traceable to the collapse of values in many homes in Nigeria. Most homes are no longer what they used to be in the old time. While we allow too much westernisation and Information Communication and Technology, the same are now utilised to hunt us in the society. Or how do we explain Cybercrimes being perpetuated by Yahoo boys? The compromise here is the failure of the home front. And no thanks to the hasty desire for wealth and poverty in the society. This is also akin to the collapse of the age long communal bonds. Then, I recall, as many of you also know, that security was the business of the entire community. Then, there were unconventional measures through which community's members secure themselves. These are not only thinning out but we are also being indoctrinated that such measures are satanic.

Our society is also contributing to the security threats as being unleashed on all of us. We celebrate unfounded successes and wealth and we bestow honours that are not deserved on questionable characters in the society. Emile Durkheim foresaw this in 1893 in his celebrated state of anomie in which he declared break down of law and order.

Mr. Chairman Sir, those of us stake-holding educational sector are also guilty. Our guilt ranges from the dishonesty we bring to bear on the sector to many other academic vices. More often, we compromise standards by churning out to the society graduates who are not found worthy in character and learning. In many instances, such graduates lack every modicum of Emotional Intelligence. Lack of Emotional Intelligence which is also referred to as Relational Intelligence in literature is one of the reasons why there are increasing loss of human feelings in the society. The humanity in us is fast waning and we tend to be churning out what Fela Anikulapo Kuti referred to as animals in human skin. Emotional Intelligence is the ability to be at peace with oneself and significant others. Basically, using Salovey and Mayer's (1990) ability-based model, EI is divided into four categories as follows;

- Recognise an individual's emotions and those of others,
- Generate and use emotions in problem-solving,
- Understand emotions and how emotions may change; and
- Manage an individual's emotions and those of significant others.

Ladies and gentlemen, many of us still remember that popular poetic song in one of D.O. Fagunwa's literature:

1. Kinni n o fole se laye ti mo wa

Kinni n o fole se laye ti mo wa.

Laye ti mo wa, kaka ki n jale,

Kaka k n jale, ma kuku deru.

Kinni n o fole se laye ti mo wa.

2. E ni ba jale a dele ejo.

E ni ba jale a dele ejo.

Adajo a wa fewon si lese

Fewon si lese bi olugbe.

3. Aye e ma fole s'omo ti mo bi.

Aye e ma fole s'omo ti mo bi.

Omo ti mo bi ewon ko sun won.

Ewon ko sun won f'omoluwabi.

Aye e ma fole s'omo ti mo bi.

4. Oluwa ma fole segbe ti mo ni.

Oluwa ma fole s'egbe ti mo ni.

Egbe ti mo ni kaka ki n jale

Kaka ko jale bob a ku o to.

Aye e fole s'egbe ti mo ni.

5. B'eni to jale ba lola laye

B'eni to jale ba lola laye

Bo lola laye kole rorun wo

Ko le rorun wo bolojo bade

B'eni to jale ba lola laye.

The significant import of the lyrical lessons in that poetic rendition which basically underscores the importance of *Omoluabi* (which connotes being good) has been lost in our educational system and society. Unfortunately, this and other factors cumulate to compromise our security architectures.

In this discourse, it is also pertinent to interrogate Information Communication and Technology otherwise referred to as the Social Media. Aremu (2019) asserts that the current revolution globally is that of technology. Nigeria is a fast improving technological world where the spate of automation is in the speed of light. Information technology (IT) is the use of computers to store, retrieve, transmit, and manipulate data, or information, often in the context of a business or other enterprises. IT is considered to be a subset of information and communications technology (ICT). An information technology system (IT system) is generally an information system, a communications system or, more specifically speaking, a computer system – including all hardware, software and peripheral equipment – operated by a limited group of users. We are now in the information age in which the use of social media should positively impact on the society. Unfortunately, this is not the case given the fact that social media are now negative tools in the hands of many youths and some are used as weapons of destruction.

Mr. Chairman, more fundamentally in unearthing our collective security failures is the lethargy of the government at the Centre to early warning signals. More often, government and its

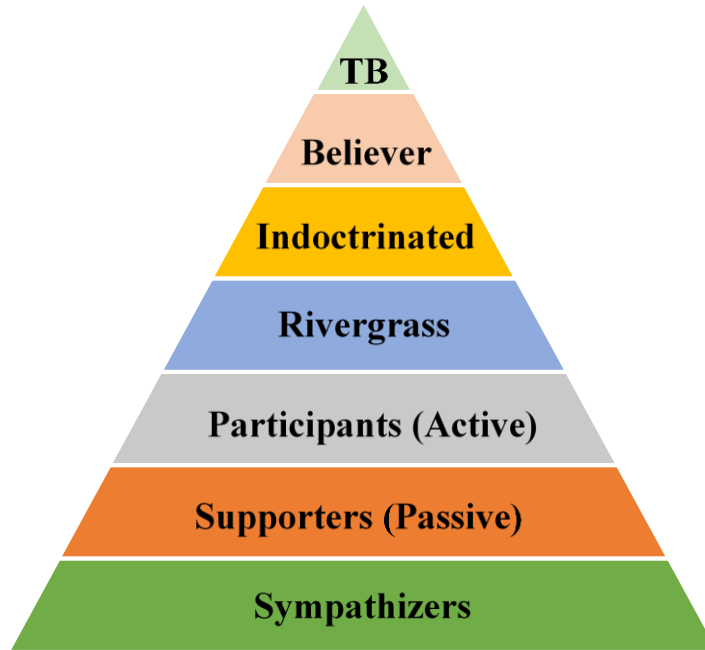
security agencies do show apathy to insecurity signals until they get out of hand. In security, Early Warning and Response Systems (EWRS) are crucial in that they engender proactive measures. Early warning is defined as “a process that: (a) alerts decision makers to the potential outbreak, escalation and resurgence of violent conflict; and (b), promotes an understanding among decision makers of the nature and impacts of violent conflict”. It involves the regular collection and analysis of data on conflicts, by systematically monitoring and reporting conflict indicators. There is enough evidence in Nigeria which point to the fact that the Federal Government had waited for so long and allowed insecurity to fester before responding. A very good example is Boko Haram-motivated terrorism that has remained untamed in spite of the Federal Government’s claim of technical defeat of the terrorists in the North Eastern part of the country. Prior to 2009 when Boko Haram terrorism became large scale, there were enough signals indicating the potentialities of the insecurity. Having failed in this regard, the Federal Government of Nigeria seems to have realised the import of this by proactively responding to a similar festering insecurity being promoted by the Islamic Movement in Nigeria popularly known as the Shiites.

I feel it is incumbent at this point of the paper to give a brief discussion of what motivates people into terrorism/insurgency. We can’t interrogate this without discussing group behaviour. Aremu (2014) submits that the philosophy guiding the ideology of terrorist group is, ‘We’. The ‘we’ syndrome is the bond of the group and it is tied to some ideological beliefs that propel the group. Lihou (2008) affirms that in the development of the group, the following developmental stages ensue:

- The Individual is accepted as he/she is.
- The individual goes through the processes of assimilation.
- The individual is indoctrinated through camaraderie, mythology, norms, doctrines, teachings, values and beliefs of the group.
- The individual is then immersed into what is called Personal Immersion Pyramid (PIP).

The PIP Model takes the individual through different stages by climbing the ladder of leadership progression. The PIP Model has seven different stages as shown below:

The Pyramidal Model of Terrorism/Insurgency



At this point in this paper, it is incumbent to ask, what happens to our security architectures? In the last few months, concerned Nigerians are, more than ever before, asking questions bothering on our security architectures. In some quarters, some Nigerians are even calling for the replacements of the service chiefs. Methinks that while this is not out of place, the Federal Government should be more proactive and business-like in its resolve to address the insecurity logjam in the country. No doubt, this is threatening our stability.

National Stability: Can we have one in a Pluralistic Country?

There is no doubt that ours is a country with daunting security challenges. The insecurity in Nigeria is massive, multifarious and in diverse shades. In the second republic during late Alhaji Sheu Shagari's administration, what the country witnessed then that can be tagged as insecurity. This was the period Mohammed Marwa unleashed what was referred then as Maitatsine (the one

who dams it) riot. It was strategically curtailed. However, in the insecurity landscape, especially from the administration of Alhaji Musa Yar'adua through Dr. Goodluck Jonathan and till present, the country has witnessed insurgency in the oil rich Southern part of the country, terrorism occasioned by Boko Haram in the North East, farmer/herders' mayhems in the North Central, banditry motivated by mining in the North West, kidnapping almost in all parts of the country, Islamic Movement of Nigeria otherwise known as Shittes' insecurity, and ruga controversy. Another case of insecurity that scholars and stakeholders are not paying attention to is school insecurity. Aremu (2019) notes that in Nigeria, most especially in vulnerable parts like the North East and South West, concerns for the safety of school children are on the increase.

This wave of insecurity has brought untold hardships on the school system (especially primary and secondary education) in Nigeria and has also reduced access to school. Aremu (2019) again submits that the educational sector has suffered from cases of insecurity occasioned by activities of the Boko Haram terrorist group as well as kidnapping. Given some timelines on school insecurity, he reels out that the most spectacular ones were the abductions of 276 Government Secondary School girls from Chibok and 110 school girls from Dapchi by Boko Haram group in 2014 and 2018 respectively. While 112 of the Chibok girls remain with the sect, only one girl, Leah Sharibu, was not released of the kidnapped Dapchi girls, mainly on account of her professed faith.

These two incidents attracted national and international attention and condemnation. Similarly, there was a reported kidnapping of six pupils from the Igbonla Model College, Epe, Lagos State. Prior to the three episodes of insecurity as related to schools in Chibok, Dapchi and Epe, recorded timeline of Boko Haram has revealed killing of secondary and tertiary students in the North Eastern part of the country. Aremu (2014) reported as follows: 16 secondary school students killed in Maiduguri on June 18, 2013, 46 secondary school students killed on July 06, 2013; and 90 students of College of Agriculture, Yobe State, killed on September 29, 2013. These and other reported acts of insecurity informed Aremu's (2014) submission that the frequent occurrence and reoccurrence of acts of violence orchestrated by the faceless and terrorist Boko Haram group is a pointer to the need for urgent attention for peace and order. Five years after, the spate of insecurity has not abated, especially in the North East. Unfortunately,

some states in the North Central have also joined the ‘league’, given the farmer-herder clashes. The proportionate impact of these on the education sector of the country cannot be overemphasised. And unfortunately, there has not been sufficient academic attention in that regard. It is instructive to note that the question of school security for learners, teaching and non-teaching staff, and also for parents and significant others would reinforce the primary philosophy of teaching and learning. Ostensibly, violence is antithetical to teaching and learning in any form.

The question is, in spite of these damning cases of insecurity, can we have a sustainable development given our diverse and pluralistic leanings? The more the country and its security agencies especially the armed forces seem to be curtailing insecurity, the more the newer ones are emerging. At times, one wonders if the insecurity situations in Nigeria are not redefining crime and criminality in the literature.

Our insecurity is multifaceted and not limited to the following: Boko Haram-motivated terrorism, IPOB-motivated insurgency, Miyetti Allah-motivated farmer/herders’ crises and alleged kidnapping, mining-motivated banditry, politics of ruga, out-of-school children insecurity (almajiris), and others. Arguably, when there is a spate of general insecurity of life and properties, there are other forms of insecurity like economic insecurity, political insecurity, social insecurity; and cyber insecurity.

Mr. Chairman, having gone thus far in this interrogation of lead paper presentation in this conference, it is imperative to discuss insecurity policing. How do I mean? I have explicated clinically our security challenges and where we are as a country. Each time I am called to lend my voice on the spate of insecurity in our country, I canvass for the need to proactively situate our police system for the challenges. Being an internal issue, the Nigeria Police Force is the primary security agency constitutionally established to deal with the issue. Unfortunately, the police are incapacitated and seemingly losing the zeal to curtail internal security challenges. In view of this, I also interrogate the Nigeria Police Force and efficacy of its operations.

Multilevel Policing and Agenda Setting

One of the best decisions or expression of interests to have come from the defunct eight Senate is the express desire of its leadership to amend the constitution to accommodate State and Community Policing in Nigeria. For over two decades, there has been several calls by stakeholders especially security experts and public opinionates on the need to review the national policing architecture, given its archaic policing strategies that are at variance with international best practices and current insecurity realities.

Nigeria has, for long, deliberately got so many things wrong from independence. One of such crucial things is the floundering nature of unitary police bequeathed to the country which has hindered the nation's federalism. Prior to April 1931, there were two police forces in pre-independence Nigeria (Hausa Constabulary and Lagos Police). This was what the country practiced till a period in the first republic when the idea of native police was muted. This was also short-lived due to interferences of the political class. In recent times, the clamour for the creation of state police has not only come to the burner, but it has also enjoyed the attention of the presidency and the Senate of the Federal Republic, among other stakeholders.

Beyond this clamour, and as promoted by the political class, the need for the desirability or otherwise of the state police should be guided basically on some fundamental principles guiding modern policing as promoted by Robert Peel, the founder of modern policing. Among other principles, Robert Peel's assertion on modern police enthuses the need to bring policing practice to the door steps of the citizens. This policing mission overrides any other missions as may be advanced in the security of lives and property. Arguably, the mission of Robert Peel is to ensure security for all, in a seamless manner; the presence of which the police would facilitate societal affairs without necessarily through the use of force. I align myself with this position because in civilised climes, this is practically obtained through neighbourhood policing which the creation of state police would engender.

For a long time, the national police as presently practiced in Nigeria fractured in many ways, primarily security and also renders same ineffective given visibility limitations and culture of incompetence, among other things. The federal police, as presently constituted, is also limited in

many ways and not in tandem with the present security challenges and realities of the country. One of the failures of the federal police in Nigeria is its inability to contend with the gale of terrorism, insurgency and kidnapping in the country. This has resulted in the infiltration of other security agencies into what ordinarily should be the primary responsibility of the police. And if for any reason other agencies would be invited, they should merely complement the effort of the police who are primarily in charge of the protection of lives and properties in the country. The Nigerian military, for example, has, in the last eight years, been routinely involved in police functions in some states of the federation. In countries where security architecture is properly articulated and segmented, especially in police agency, such security anomaly would not be experienced.

For a long time, Nigeria ought to have embraced the civility which goes with the creation of state police in countries that practiced federalism. It is of a misnomer of great magnitude and primary security compromise for the country to have jettisoned territorial or subnational policing from independence till date. The major consequence of this dastardly act is, among other things, undermining the quality of living due to lack of security coordination which the practice of state policing would have brought about. The country's recent experiences on security compromises as occasioned by herders and fulani's mayhems in many parts of the country. As a matter of emphasis, the present primary security as provided by the current police structure is woeful and unrealistic, given the international standard of one police officer to four hundred citizens. The contention here, and as always canvassed, is that the present police structure and population are greatly ineffective.

The test for police inefficiency as presently obtained is the continuous perpetration of crimes and disorderliness in many parts of the country. The establishment of state police would not only stem the increasing tide of insecurity; it would also bring policing to the neighbourhood. Examples of countries with state police abound in the United States of America, United Kingdom, India, Pakistan, Belgium, France, Algeria, and South Africa. The expediency of the establishment of state police is also hinged on the fact that our country is grossly under policed, given about 190 million people in a country of less than 400,000 police personnel. This number translates to ratio 1 police man to about 494 Nigerians. And when we approximate this to the

nearest hundred, it is ratio 1:500. In the real sense of it, it is even more than this figure, given the fact that one-third of the Nigerian police personnel are providing security, and or carrying the briefcases or bags of top Nigerians, including their legitimate spouses or concubines. This grossly falls short of the United Nation's recommendation of ratio 1 police 400 citizens.

In every country that practices state policing, the philosophy of community policing comes in handy. And the truth is that community/neighbourhood policing is seamless with state policing and not with unitary policing as practiced in Nigeria. Whatever is said to be community policing in Nigeria is merely theoretical and another way of foisting policing philosophy on the nation when the police architecture doesn't support it. Police personnel, where the philosophy of state policing is entrenched, are not the sole guardians of laws and orders. Members of the public naturally and freely support policing work and make same easy for the police personnel.

As found in different submissions, some stakeholders have always argued that the country cannot practise subnational policing. Their arguments have always been premised on lack of funds, given the poor handling of workers' welfare in many states and its hijack by the politicians for deliberate selfish political oppression and perpetuation. While these positions are valid and of course, seriously in order, they cannot invalidate the appropriateness, propriety and efficacy of establishing state police given the reality of the present insecurity in the country. Many countries (especially those in Asia) practising subnational policing system have faced similar challenges which are normal and developmental; and overcome same or better put, still coping with same. What should rather be of interest and concern to stakeholders and those saddled with the polity is the primary security which the establishment of state police would bring about. More fundamentally, state policing would promote community policing as earlier indicated. Where community policing is practised, it becomes a sine qua non of state policing, given the unhealthy gap between the police and the policed. It goes without saying therefore, that arguments against the establishment of state police would not naturally hold, given the security realities on ground in Nigeria. More importantly, if the current restructuring debate in the country would affirm the true spirit of federalism, the creation of state police should also suffice. Whether the country is ripe for it or not should not be the question. Rather, our concerns should, among others, be: how do we make it operational at the state level; and perhaps, at other levels like local governments

and institutions in the spirit of multi-level policing? Of a truth, there will be emerging structural and operational challenges which are themselves expected and normal. These, rather than weaken the entire policing system, should strengthen it. No development is absolute without fundamental challenges. Given the above imperativeness of multilevel policing in Nigeria, we should be setting agenda for its operations. A conference like this could also be a good avenue to make the advocacy.

Agenda Setting for Multilevel and Community Policing

As the country thinkers with this ought-to-have-been security outfit (Multilevel Policing), there is a strong need to set agenda for the political players and other stakeholders for the country to get it right. It should be well stressed that the ingenuity of state police in the context of multilevel policing would not be without some challenges. Even countries like India and Pakistan do have some serious challenges. With that mindset, appropriate and research-motivated agenda should be quickly put in place. First in this regard is the review of the current National Police Service Commission, a replica of which the thirty-six states and seven hundred and seventy-four constitutionally recognised local governments should have. Both the National Police Commission, State Police Service and Local Government Police Councils should be the policy organs of the agency.

The councils should be concerned with both the policies and welfare of the personnel. It would therefore, be wise, for the national assembly to align with the presidency and state houses of assembly to establish Police Trust Fund. Through this consolidated fund, states and local governments would be in a better position to take care of the welfare of the police and thereby allay one of the apprehensions to the creation of state police. This becomes expedient in that the new state police structures have to be well funded. The present allocation to the state which is often less than what the state could cope with should not be allowed to rub off the frenzy of establishment of state police in which community or neighbourhood policing should be the main thesis. Similarly, amendments to sections 215 and 216 of the 1999 constitution should clearly define and in clear terms too, the question of ‘Whose Functions?’ in terms of crimes and offending behaviours which should be the exclusive and residual duties of the national police and state police respectively. This is not to say there would not be areas of common policing conflict.

One good thing about the proposition of state police is the idea that it would engender community policing. Almost often, state police creation should ordinarily have rooted in the principles of community policing. The more reason why, in spite of the provision of community policing in the current national police, it does not work because personnel are not part of the community and also, the community/police synergy is operationally lacking. The reasons why there are more security concerns in some parts of the country, especially in hotspot states where operations of the current national police are ineffective are mainly because the personnel are too far from the community and are also, not proactive. Affirming this mindset, Robert Peel, the founder of modern policing, contended that police should always recognise that to secure and maintain the respect and approval of the public, it goes with securing its cooperation and willingness without the deployment of force unless where absolutely necessary. In effect, personnel of state police with community security mindset should maintain, at all times, a relationship with the public without compromising its security. In this, state police personnel will be expected, given their understanding of the localities, to work in twos, understand the culture, psychology and the working geography.

The country and its handlers should not come under the illusion that the creation of state police should stand on ground zero. No police agency does. The reason being that the first principle of security is securing one's 'space'; and it is also, all about cognate experiences. It should be made to take shape from the existing national police with emphasis on reorientation of personnel who may decide to opt for state police.

One of the deep-rooted reticent the public holds against the current policing dispensation is the force's brutality, occasioned by many of its personnel. One of the explained theories to that effect is that the agency carries the word, Force. The proposed state police should therefore, not be made to carry the sobriquet of force if truly it will promote community policing. No police agency in countries practicing state police carries the word, Force. Ours should not be an exception. Police personnel in the real sense, should be emotionally intelligent even under serious policing duties. This would similarly go with the question of identity, in terms of uniform for each state police should. Taking a cue from police organisations in other countries who have landmarked in state police, there are no striking differences in the uniform adorned by the

national and state police. Our proposition should not be different. Whether national or state police, personnel's uniforms should be same with a caveat. The current crest and flag of the federal police should be sustained, while each state police agencies should have separate crest supper imposed on their preferred colours. This is the practice globally.

Recently as often, the proposition of state and local government police creation has generated much concerns and apprehensions chief of which has to be the fear of political class hijacking it. These apprehensions are themselves not unfounded given the experiences over the years and currently, too. My response has always been that we have had occasions in which the leadership of the present federal police has been politically compromised. Rather, what the nation should push for is true professionalism rooted in an uncommon integrity. We cannot continue to compromise the security of the country because of the morbid fear of the political class. As enthused always in my different interventions, Nigeria, for long, ought to have keyed into the global best practice as a federal union by embracing the civility which goes with the creation of state police. The country's internal security has for long been compromised by the unitary police foisted on the country since independence. Now that the idea of subnational police is being muted and promote by the political class which abinitio compromised the idea, all hands must be on deck to get it right.

In the restructuring of policing architecture in Nigeria, three variables must be effectively coordinated to ensure a seamless policing in which the true spirit of community policing will thrive. These are: the body polity, the police personnel and the public, referred to as the 3ps. The polity must be conducive for the police personnel to do their work; and the public, should give the police the needed handshake for a concerted security. The policy of 3ps was sufficiently addressed in my inaugural lecture delivered on May 18, 2017 in the University of Ibadan.

Obviously, the entire Police workforce in Nigeria as presently constituted is grossly inadequate in terms of personnel, funding and operational tactics. The Nigeria Police Force is estimated to require #2.8 trillion for capital development within five years for effective reform. This translates to #560 billion/year. Out of this, only #10 billion was released to the Nigeria Police Force in 2016. Similarly, between 2012 and 2016, the Nigeria Police Force demanded #1.164 trillion out of which #64.999 was appropriated and #40.477 billion released and cash backed. Within the

same period, #328.34 billion was requested as overhead allocation of which #39.43 billion was appropriated and only #32.22 billion was released to the Force. Currently, there are 7,000 police formations and units in the country. In 2017, the sum of #411 million was appropriated for local travels and transportation nationwide. This translates to an average of #58, 714 annually to each of the 7000 locations or just #4,893 monthly per police formation. This has implications for Duty Tour Allowance.

Comparatively in the United Kingdom, 12.6 billion pounds (2.5% of the UK Gross Domestic Product) was expended on the police between 2007/2008. Similarly, in the United States of America, 2.2 % of the GDP was spent on the American Police while Spain, Germany and France spent 1.8 %, 1.6 % and 1.4 respectively of their GDPs (translating to billion dollars).

Conclusion

The bad thing is we are in a serious security challenge and tension is increasingly building everywhere. Most often, one is not even sure of secured places because in the current insecurity dispensations in our country, even hallowed places like churches, mosques, universities are no longer secured. In spite of these challenges, ‘‘The Name of the Lord is a Strong Tower: the righteous man runneth into it, and is safe (Proverbs 18:10’’. Ours is a praying country and this is very efficacious. But for His mercy that is always enduring, we would have been consumed. The good thing, however, is that we can overcome and mitigate our insecurity challenges to the barest minimum as no country is immune to insecurity. The difference is the degree.

Based on the foregoing, the country should begin to address critical policy issues that would culminate in the establishment of multilevel policing. For emphasis, internal security architecture is the prerogative of the police. That places heavy responsibility on the agency. For the agency to address the responsibility, it has to be decentralised as obtained in other countries. Multilevel policing architecture is therefore the answer. This should however, be complemented by other security agencies. Our current insecurity narrative must change and give way to a sustainable peaceable and egalitarian society. To achieve that, all hands must be on deck. And for all hands to be on deck, you and I, should make the difference.

Thank you and God bless.

References

Aremu, A.O. (2019). Lead city University Lecture

Aremu, A.O. (2019). School Safety

Aremu, A.O. (2014). Policing and Terrorism: Challenges and Issues in Intelligence. Ibadan: Stirling-Horden Publishers.

Lihou, N. (2008). Talking to Terrorists: A Psychological Approach. West Virginia 25425, NGIA, Inc.

The Nation, July 07, 2019.

Salovey, P., and Mayer, J. (1990). Emotional intelligence. *Imagination, cognition, and personality*, 9(3), 185-211.