Superiority Struggles and Inter Agency Feud in Nigeria

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Abstract-Violent conflict is gradually becoming one of the defining characteristics of Nigeria, the nation considered by many as the most populous nation of the continent of Africa. No part of Nigeria is free from violence of one form or the other. The problem of violence in Nigeria has become more worrisome as the security operatives whose duty it is to maintain peace, detect and suppress crimes have themselves become engulfed in violent conflicts, thereby giving criminals opportunity to unleash terror on the citizenry with impunity. Although, other unethical practices are held accountable for the clashes, superiority struggles arising from their historical past has of late become prominent. The implication of this professional misshapen is grievous. The repeated violent clashes among these security professionals have consistently alienated them from the public. It has further caused loss of confidence and respect of the citizenry. The ultimate side effect is lack of civil co-operation that these forces need to succeed in crime control. This explains why the nation has not been able to effectively manage insurgency and other security challenges in recent times. If Nigeria’s peace is pivotal to African and global peace as stressed by some scholars, then there is urgent need for the problem of superiority struggles to be addressed.

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I. Introduction

One of the defining characteristic of most African societies and Nigeria in particular, at least in the past two to three decades is violence and destructive conflicts. Violent conflicts in Nigeria have assumed a dangerous dimension in recent times. The problem of violent conflicts in Nigeria is widespread to the extent that, no geo-political zone is insulated from the social virus of violence (Albert, 2012). For instance, while the south-western zone has National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) to contend with, the south-south has been under the ‘claws’ of youth gangs and youth restiveness, the south-eastern zone has been troubled by kidnappers, the middle belt states of Benue and Taraba have not rested from Tiv/Jukun and Fulani clashes. On the Plateau have been the problem indigene/settler clashes, while the Islamic sect “Boko Haram” has caged the north-eastern zone in gory and endless nightmare. Furthermore, all the zones have evolved ethnic militias that seek to dictate power, security and social interactions in their various areas.

For instance, the south-west produced O’dua People’s Congress (OPC), the south-south produced Igbesu Boys, the south-east produced Bakasi Boys, while the northern equivalent is Arewa People’s Congress (APC). One thing that is common to these sub-cultural groups is lawlessness and violence. Violent crimes have sent many Nigerians to their early graves, permanently maimed several others, generated several widows and orphans, as well as heightening doubts and suspicion among the diverst ethic nationalities and religious groups that have cohabited for decades. Nigerians today find it difficult to believe that Islam and Christianity (the two foreign but popular religions in Nigeria) are religions of peace. This is because, violent crises arising from religious front have claimed uncountable lives and responsible for destruction of several public and private properties in the recent past (Abimboye, 2009). The gloomy state of most parts of Nigeria is captured in the words of the Christian Association of Nigeria’s secretary quoted by Abimboye (2009) thus:

“…He said there is no longer mutual trust between Muslims and Christians in the north, and people are forced to live together in mutual suspicion, with security being imposed by combat ready policemen. This, according to him is not peace……

There is no doubt that the problem of violence has overwhelmed Nigerians of the 21st century.

However, what is more devastating is inter-agency wrangling that has often left on its trail destruction to public and private properties, loss of lives and disruption of commercial activities in the affected parts of the nation. The enormity of the implications of inter-agency clashes is better appreciated when we recall the purpose of their creation. For instance, Alemika and Chukwuma (1997) have argued that the police are paid to police, secure and ensure compliance with the existing laws and conformity with the precept of social order. In the same vein, Oke, Oloruntimihin and Akinola (1996) posit that the police exist to prevent and or reduce crimes in society. They are further saddled with the right to protect the citizenry from harm and violations. Hence, they are seen as indispensable formal agency of social control (Reid, 1997). The role of the army on the hand is very similar to what is expected of the police. They are saddled with the task of protecting and defending the nation against external aggression (Nigerian Army, 2006). They are further expected to work in collaboration with civil police to provide internal
security to the nation (Arabamen, 2004; Adebayo, 2004). The similarity in origin, status, roles, remuneration and condition of service was what made Adekanye (1993) to see the Nigerian Army and Police as peers. This also inspired Omoigui (2006) to advocate for jointness in training and security operations. If the above is the popular perception of the roles of the army and the police in Nigeria, it brings to mind the proverbial African ‘oracle that ought to be consulted to unfold causes of misdemeanor in the society is itself accused of criminal behaviour’. By the same token, if the forces are thus involved in persistent violent clashes that often cause destruction to lives and property then, where will the society seek the solutions to such crimes when they are committed by the civil society?

Apart from the side effects of violence, is the absence of security to the citizens at the time of these clashes and the rating of the giant of Africa (Nigeria) as unsecure and unsafe nation to do business with. This popular perception has scared both domestic and international investors from the resource studded nation (Oduma, 2011). Instead of the public security operatives whose primary duties are to protect lives and property of the law abiding citizens and secure territorial borders to develop professional synergy as expected of them (Alemika, 2003; Omoigui, 2006), they have been at each other’s throat, thereby exposing the nation and her citizens to perpetual threats, nightmare and insecurity. What then is the cause of inter-agency feud in Nigeria? How can inter-agency clashes be controlled? How should these agencies be made to respect each other in the performance of their duties? This are some questions that this work seek to address.

II. The Problem

Security operatives are creation of the state to checkmate personal and group excesses of members of the society. This is because it is only in the atmosphere of peace and tranquility that social life can be ordered and development of the society achieved (Nwolise, 2005). However, the provision of security is an herculean task, as it requires the synergy of members of the society with security operatives for this social virtue to be enjoyed. More critical to the provision and enjoyment of security in society is the cooperation of security agencies who are saddled with security provision in different domains, since security is ubiquitous (Omoigui, 2006; Oduma, 2011b). If security agencies are involved in violent conflicts in the full glare of the civil populace as noticed in Nigeria of late, it spell doom for national security. This mean inter-agency synergy would have failed, while public confidence leading to civil-police co-operation becomes difficult. Today, the civil society in Nigeria is economical with vital information needed by the police to control crimes in Nigeria. In fact, it has been stressed that most Nigerians lack confidence in the police and other law enforcement agencies and thus prefer private security outfits or vigilante groups to public security operatives (Ajayi and Aderinto, 2008).

Furthermore, Nigeria is perceived by many as the most populous nation of the continent of Africa and the giant of Africa (Hutchful, 1999; Kolapo, 2006). If this assertion is anything to go by, it therefore means that several African countries are looking unto Nigeria as role model. It will not be out of place therefore, to state that the insecurity of Nigeria as a result of inter-agency feud will have a spiral effect on the rest of African countries.

Similarly, the prolonged case of Boko Haram insurgent that seem to have defied all security prescriptions may not be unconnected to the lack of synergy between security operatives and also between civil population and security agencies. The security operatives because of lack of synergy have not been able to form formidable resistance to the onslaught of insurgents. In the same vein, due to frequent frictions between security agencies, they hardly enjoy the confidence of the civilian population and by extension, lack the necessary co-operation and support from them. It is therefore in the interest of Nigeria, Africa and the global community that this social problem is quickly put under check.

III. Inter-Agency Feud in Nigeria

Inter agency clash was first reported in Nigeria in 1977 in Port Harcourt between personnel of Nigeria Police and Nigerian Army (Oduma, 2011). This problem has not only become repeated in several parts of Nigeria, but has over the years involved virtually all the security agencies and para-military organizations in Nigeria (MILPOPPROF, 2007). For instance, there were reported cases of violent clashes involving personnel of Nigeria Police and Nigerian Navy, between the Nigeria Police and Nigerian Air force, between Nigeria Police and National Security and Civil Defence Corps, and between Nigeria Police and Nigerian Custom Service, etc. However, army-police clashes have been the most prominent of them all, considering the frequency of occurrence, the level of casualties, losses and confusion that accompanied it. For instance, Oduma (2011) presented the chronicles of army-police clashes in Nigeria and their implications as shown in the table below:
### Table 1: Army/Police Clashes in Nigeria and the Extent of Destruction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>No: of Death</th>
<th>No: of Wounded</th>
<th>Extent of Destruction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>09/11/77</td>
<td>Port Harcourt</td>
<td>Several Policemen were killed</td>
<td>Several others were wounded</td>
<td>Civilians deserted their homes, tensions, threat to security and withdrawal of police from duty posts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>06/09/92</td>
<td>Yaba</td>
<td>1 Army Colonel</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Tension, threat to security, withdrawal of police from checkpoints, lawlessness among security agencies and miscreants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>06/07/04</td>
<td>Ikeja</td>
<td>1 Soldier</td>
<td>25 Policemen</td>
<td>Traffic flow hindered and economic and commercial activities disturbed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>04/10/05</td>
<td>Ojuelegba</td>
<td>2 Policemen &amp; 3 Civilians</td>
<td>6 Soldiers, 2 Policemen and several Civilians</td>
<td>Area ‘C’ Police station, Police Barracks and vehicles burnt, 40 detainees unlawfully released while traffic flow was hindered.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>16/01/06</td>
<td>Bauchi</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>2 Policemen</td>
<td>Bayan-Gari Police Officer’s Mess burnt and several days of tension and uncertainty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>24/09/06</td>
<td>FESTAC Town</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>3 Soldiers and 1 Policeman</td>
<td>Satellite Police station destroyed and confusion among civil populace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>30/03/07</td>
<td>Benin</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>10 Policemen</td>
<td>Ring-Road Police station destroyed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>29/05/09</td>
<td>Orile</td>
<td>1 Soldier</td>
<td>Several Police men</td>
<td>Confusion, fear and panic among civilian population.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>11/02/10</td>
<td>Benin</td>
<td>2 Soldiers &amp; 3 Mobile Policemen</td>
<td>10 persons wounded</td>
<td>Tension, serious threat to security and fear among civilians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>11/04/13</td>
<td>Ibadan</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Several Soldiers and Policemen injured</td>
<td>Confusion and apprehension among civilian, disruption of commercial activities.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Odoma (2011).

Security operatives, rather than exploring avenues of collaboration in security provision, capacity building and sharing intelligence as is the case with developed nations of the world (Omoigui, 2006), have over the years been engulfed in unhealthy rivalries. Such rivalry has been noticed between the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) and Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC) over security duties in several parts of the nation as well as between the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) and Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC) over the management of vehicle registration and licensing (Oluwole, 2012). Rather than complementing each other, the existence of one is viewed as a threat to the other. The overall effect of inter-agency feud is the inability of the security sector of Nigerian society to proffer workable solution to the lingering terrorism and several security challenges facing the nation in recent times. Security operatives are often accused of seeking organizational glory rather than the synergy that will enhance the much desired but often elusive national security.

### IV. Literature Review

#### a) The Origin of Inter Agency Conflicts in Nigeria

The foundation of army/police clashes was laid as far back as the mid 1970s. Prior to this period as remarked by Adekanye (1993), the Nigeria Police which was the nearest occupational group to the army in terms of origin, status, pay and conditions of service, enjoyed comparatively better status and pay. But after the 1966 coup and the corresponding civil war between 1967 and 1970 within which time the Nigerian military assumed the leadership position of the nation, the army had through their privileged vantage position conferred by their occupation effected a ‘status coup’, which marked the reverse of the pre-1966 state of affairs in police-army status comparison. The salary differentials between the military and the police force became widened in favour of the military in 1981 and became pronounced under the Babangida military presidency of 1985 to 1993. These public security forces were in the cause of this development dragged into a form of ‘cold war’ as the...
sudden status twist did not go down well with other occupational groups in the country. Adekanye (1993:13) further asserts that:

Thus it was that the Nigerian Soldiers were able to elevate themselves above not just their peers in Nigeria Police but other groups hitherto at the apex of the occupational prestige hierarchy.

The above, no doubt have inspired series of social unrests and agitations among other occupational groups in the country that characterized the entire period of military rule and specifically, the reign of Ibrahim Babangida (Onyeonoru, 1996).

Puritt and Carnevale (1982) quoted in Irwin and Kenneth (1995) argues that conflicts between groups, nations and individuals occur when the aspirations and goals of the parties are incompatible or where the parties have divergent interests regarding a particular issue. Due to the diametrically opposing interests of the groups, a resolution to conflict is always problematic because, the resolution that satisfies one party to the conflict may not necessarily satisfy the other.

Coser (1998) maintains that conflict between groups or individuals stem from the withdrawal of legitimacy. People are sufficiently aroused for conflict when channels for expressing grievances do not exist and when their desire for membership into higher ranks are thwarted, at this point, withdrawal of legitimacy occurs. With the withdrawal of legitimacy, conflict becomes the ultimate end product.

To understand the nuances of intergroup conflict, social parameters alone do not provide complete explanation. The interplay of the social forces such as competition among groups for resources, religious beliefs etc and the cognitive or perceptual factors such as stereotyping groups, misperception of out-groups etc, will no doubt provide better understanding, because the way a group of people think about the social world (specifically about an opposing group) profoundly affects how they feel and behave in response to the other group (Irwin and Kenneth, 1995).

Taking a historical look at conflict on the continent of Africa, Olutayo (1997) remarks that long before the experimentation of military rule on the continent of Africa, the seed of military dictatorship had been planted by the French and British colonizers whose use of force left the post colonial African nations on the pedestal of force and discord. Colonial collaborators and imperialists who at the background provided support for military adventurers often exacerbated post-colonial conflict in many African countries. The erstwhile colonial masters supported military regimes in Africa with the socialization they bequeathed their former colonies.

Metcalf and Metcalf (1993) further argue that individuals and groups are likely to work for peace only when the interest at stake is mutually advantageous or beneficial, but when their interests are diametrically opposed and incompatible, they are likely to be involved in destructive conflict not mindful of their past cordial relationship.

Systemic failure is considered as one of the potent causes of conflict especially within and between the army and the police forces in Nigeria. Sankara (2005:4) submits thus:

Men and women of the Nigeria Police, many of whom have to pay their way to join the Police, train under one of the most inhuman conditions imaginable, as attested to by the state of the Police colleges and after training, buy their own uniform, boots, writing materials, torchlight and all other working tools. Beside these, they have to go on for upward of four or six months before they can earn first monthly salary, which amount to nothing at the end of the day.

Corroborating the views of Sankara is Bashir (1993) who remarked that the welfare of the forces especially members of the Nigeria Police force were neglected for a very long time. The neglect by their leaders and governments created a sense of alienation among them. Bashir, (1993:584) succinctly argued that:

It is universally accepted that the strongest motivation in any place of work is proper care or the welfare of the workers. To fail to take good care of worker’s well-being is to create a sense of alienation in them. This undoubtedly will have adverse effect on their performance. The Nigeria Police Force has until recently suffered from government and social neglect. This has drastically destroyed the morale of officers. Their personal emoluments until recently was one of the lowest in the country while their working environment was one of the most unkept, not to talk of their residences. Generally they were marginalized in the scheme of things…….

In the same vein, the personnel of the Nigerian Army had suffered for a long time from neglect especially by their leaders who at sundry times were accused of misappropriating funds that was meant for their troops. This has led to grumbles and unrests among the lower echelon of the army (Dongjur, 2002; This Day, 2008).

However, conflict is not always entirely evil as it engenders cohesion, consensus and solidarity among individuals and groups (Kukah, 1994; Ritzer, 1996; Vold, 1996; Coser, 1998, Nwolise, 2005). Furthermore, the nature of conflict between groups will to a great extent depend upon their past experiences. If the groups involved in conflict enjoyed cordial relationship in the past, they might likely tread the path of compromise and avoid the extreme. But if their past is bedeviled with animosity, suspicion and hatred, conflict between them is likely to be volatile and destructive (Irwin and Kenneth, 1995).
One factor that has aggravated the violent inter-service rivalry especially between the police and the army personnel in Nigeria is envy occasioned by the illegal opportunities available to the police to extort money and or receive bribe from the citizenry in the course of their duties. The army (especially the lower echelon), who are poorly paid do not enjoy such opportunities. This experience breed envy as the army sees this as an opportunity for the police to overcome poverty and neglect which they equally suffer. Due to this reason, any slight provocation or error from the police sparks destructive conflict between the forces (Omoigui, 2006; Odoma, 2011). The matter is heightened with the entrenchment of democracy which empowers the police as the only domestic security operative to handle and prosecute civil offences even if soldiers and senior army officers are involved. According to Omoigui (2006:15), “this has gone hand in hand with the perception of soldiers that the police no longer know its place and that the police which they used to deride, now feel superior”. This has no doubt deepened inter-service animosity in the Nigerian security sector.

A forum of the Military, Police and Paramilitary Public Relations Forum [MILPOPPROF] submits that, the incessant violent clashes between the various security agencies and army /police in particular in the Lagos metropolis are largely due to the dearth in information available to the personnel of these forces about their sister forces. This has led to widespread ignorance especially among the junior officers in such matters as the complementary roles of other forces to the actualization of own roles, areas of mutual co-operation and exclusivity as well as their perception of the ranks and organizational structure of other forces. This condition has more often than not, led to many unnecessary and avoidable violent clashes in recent times in Lagos (MILPOPPROF, 2007). The ignorance about other forces is however attributed to the lack of professional forum for regular interaction especially among the lower echelon and more importantly, the low educational qualification required for entry into the various security forces.

Furthermore, Marizu (2007) identifies myriads of factors responsible for the fracas among the public security forces. Such reasons include among others, defending a regime’s interest, economic poverty and ignorance among the lower ranking officers. In his words:

The skirmishes between the lower ranks especially among the Armed Forces and the Police are largely due to ignorance and perhaps a case of defending regime interest. Another factor could be economic poverty because the officers have maintained solid discipline...It has been identified that indiscipline, ignorance and poor training among others are the bane of the clashes. (Marizu, 2007:2)

Similarly, it has also been stressed that, of all the causes of the army, police and paramilitary forces clash in Lagos, illegal business ‘stand tall’. For instance, Taiwo (2007:4) suggests that:

The friction among members of these government agencies that necessitated the birth of this Association are mostly perpetrated by the lower ranks, especially among the Armed Forces and Police, or Customs and Police and sometimes between Customs and Soldiers who may want to engage themselves in a manner inimical to Customs’ laws and regulations especially as it affects smuggling. I know that the engagement of these personnel in this act is largely due to ignorance and economic poverty. The junior officers who display acts of gross indiscipline require reorientation. They must eschew intolerance and always embrace our traditional espirit-de-corps and camaraderie in the discharge of their essential functions.

The forces have been accused of various degrees of professional excesses on their host communities. This has been the defining characteristics of the agencies since their colonial days and has therefore, not only been responsible for conflicts with other security agencies, but have equally alienated them from the people they are meant to protect (Alemika and Chukwuma, 1997; Olutayo, 1997).

Omoigui (2006) presents some reasons for the destructive rivalries between the army and the police in Nigeria. They include extortion, complex protections, the desire to avenge dishonor suffered at the hands of the police etc. Omoigui (2006:4) further stresses that:

The most common scenarios for these clashes include traffic police demanding vehicle particulars and driving licenses from military personnel or seeking to search their private vehicles; complex “protection” deals between servicemen in uniform who ride for free in public transport vehicles and then proceed to protect their hosts from bribe seeking policemen; or the desire of the military personnel to retrieve friends and colleagues who have been arrested by the police for one reason or the other. Sometimes it is a desire to “avenge” perceived dishonour suffered at the hands of the police. Another potential for crisis is when the police engage in hot pursuit of suspects who for one reason or another then take refuge inside military barracks. One particular scenario that is not fully appreciated by the public revolve around the fact that in order to make ends meet many junior soldiers own and operate motorcycles (a.k.a “Okada”) with which they engage in the business of public transportation after normal working hours. This provides a lot of opportunities for conflict with traffic policemen.
Furthermore, the overlapping historical origin of the army and the police has been linked to their rivalries in recent times. This overlapping historical origin and the dramatic status transformation (especially) in favour of the army is argued to have engendered the struggle for seniority and superiority among the forces, which in essence has been the source of the “cold war” between the forces, from which destructive clashes result (Adekanye, 1993; Omoigui, 2006).

Lack of regular interaction between the forces especially among officers of the lower ranks is argued to be responsible for the clashes. Ekong (2007:10) submits that:

“We are very happy to see the Forum making this move. Personally, I have participated in the Presidential Retreat; we called a spade a spade – no interaction. Hence we recommended that there should be regular interaction among members of the security operatives. It is very painful reading about needless clashes involving uniform personnel.”

Furthermore, the early superior status enjoyed by the police, which they lost to the army through military rule may have been linked in part to their persistent clashes. From their origin, the police was not only senior to the army, but they also enjoyed superior status and remuneration until the first military incursion into civil politics (Adekanye, 1993) which saw them losing their erstwhile superior status to the army. Adekanye (1993:7) argues further that:

“Army member of the NCO grade received less pay than their counterparts in the Police...Thus it was that Nigerian soldiers were able to elevate themselves above not just their peers in the Nigeria Police but other groups hitherto at the apex of the occupational prestige hierarchy.”

This occupational twist in favour of the army was underscored by the uniqueness of the military job coupled with its high risks, such as the risk of possible death (Adekanye, 1993; Olutayo, 1997). But the police did not only lose their status; they were also exposed to some forms of repressive measures by which the army targeted at weakening the police force. Such repressionary measures included operational jealousy and suspicion, denial and hijacking of security equipment procured to enhance the performance of the police (Omoigui, 2006). This situation, which commenced from former President Shagari’s regime, lasted throughout the military era in Nigeria and has further fuelled a ‘cold war’ between the security agencies.

Group conflict often have their causes rooted in the perception of one group about the other. The cognitive orientation directs the definition a group gives to social life and it in fact, directs their action and interaction with such group. The cognitive culture manifests when a group stereotypes the other, that is, a false notion that a group develops about the out-group.
The above literature provides two striking revelations. Firstly, the destructive army/police clashes occurred as a result of flimsy reasons such as minor quarrels, brawling at the pub, indiscipline and the involvement of the forces in drug related offences. Equally striking is the fact that, once checked for those misdemeanors, the security officers get offended and then embark on murder, assault and destruction. Secondly, none of the cases reported in the literature involves security forces of the developed nations of the world; rather they involved army and policemen from the developing or less-developed countries of Africa and Asia.

V. The Implications Of Inter-Agency Feud

Continuous inter-agency feud has grave implications. There is no doubt that the greatest of such implications is insecurity of the Nigerian state and her people. As noted earlier, all the parts of Nigeria have experienced various kinds of security threats in the past decade or two. One thing that have remained constant across the nation is that, at the peak of all the security challenges, security operatives are often found helpless, not really knowing what to do (Ajayi and Aderinto, 2008; Odoma, 2011). With such development, miscreants and hooligans have always had free days to unleash terror on defenceless citizens with impunity.

Furthermore, constant wrangling among security operatives will no doubt continue to dampen the regard of the citizens for security agents. If all that these professionals do is to always get involved in selfish clashes and destroy selves and property with weapons bought with tax payer's money, or maim citizens, their reputations and civil co-operation will continue to dwindle as has been noticed over the years. Today, average Nigerians prefer private security guards to public security agencies (Ajayi and Aderinto, 2008). The issue here is that, if the police cannot protect the citizens, they are left with the option of protecting themselves. The danger inherent in the people protecting themselves with all forms of private security guards is the possible generation of confusion as it is already noticed in many parts of the country, where several ethnic militias have evolved. These militias have taken laws into their hands in all the parts they exist and have further worsen the security situation in the country. So, rather than controlling crimes rate in the country, the freedom of creating ethnic militia sub-cultural groups, have enhanced the generation of more criminals (Reid, 1996).

Repeated and uncontrolled violent clashes by the public security agencies put the security operatives in danger of the loss of their own lives and equipment. All the clashes between the police and the army in Nigeria for instance, have led to the death of operatives themselves, their properties and operational equipment (Odoma, 2011). In the same vein, Omoigui (2006) noted that, the cold war between security forces had on several occasions led to unnecessary death of troops during joint operations, all in the name of accidental discharges. This development is not good for national security.

VI. Recommendations

Widespread violent conflicts have tarnished the image and reputation of Nigeria among international community. It has equally threatened the corporate existence of the nation as nearly all the geo-political zones have their share of violent conflicts, yet, the public security agencies seem to have failed to provide adequate checks to the social menace. Although Nigeria and Nigerians have had their image dented by violent conflicts across the nation, the clashes between the formal and public security forces seem to make the situation hopeless. The question on the lips of most Nigerian in the past decades is “if the security operatives who are supposed to protect and safeguard the law abiding citizens from violence are themselves violent, from where do we expect peace and security”? The situation has caused a lot of disaffections, not only among the civil populace, but equally among the security agents themselves. If Nigerians must be secured as they have often desired, both the security operatives and the civil society must turn a new leave. It is only when this attitudinal change is effected that civil/police relationship as well as the synergy between the various security agencies will improve. This paper recommends particular attitudes and or behaviours that must change for sustainable security to be provided for the teeming Nigerian populace. They include:

- All the relevant agencies and stakeholders involved with the provision of security must endeavour to sponsor regular interactive forum among the forces. Ignorance relating to the roles, organizational and rank structures of other forces, areas of cooperation and exclusivity etc were identified by the study to have caused some of the clashes. These can be resolved by such interactive forum.
- Discipline is the hallmark of any security organization. The leadership of these forces must ensure that discipline is rightly enforced among the junior officers who for the nature of their roles are more visible than their commissioned officers. In a democratic polity such as ours, these security officers must learn to accord people of other profession the respect they deserve especially in their places of responsibilities. The forces must see the naked use of force always associated with the military regimes as belated and uncivilized mode of behaviour.
- Seniority or superiority struggles among the forces have no basis. The existence, roles and powers of these forces are products of the constitution of the
Federal Republic of Nigeria and other relevant Acts. The same constitution did not anywhere define seniority or superiority of the forces. The superiority or otherwise of the weapon used by these forces should not imply seniority/superiority of the users, but they should be seen in the light of the role they are meant to perform to the nation rather than defining the status of anyone carrying them. He that carries weapon should respect the person that does not, as no one carry any weapon outside official duties. Similarly, whatever the status of any security personnel, as soon as he/she meets another in his/her beat, such a personnel must be accorded due respect to the officer on the duty post. Furthermore, officers and civilians as well should be seen as superiors in their own right and must be accorded due respect and dignity while in their official working environment. In this way, superiority struggles will be checked not only among the security operatives, but also in all facets of our social lives, if democracy must be stabilized in Nigeria.

- A good and respected law enforcement officer should at any time be willing to submit himself/herself to the authority of other governmental agencies for routine checks where necessary. This does not only speak of how disciplined the officer is, but also shows how mature such an officer is.

- After trying several forms of government, if Nigeria has settled down with representative democracy as the best form of government for her citizens, then every segments of the Nigerian population must work for its success by respecting the tenets of democracy. Security agencies should be reoriented to dissociate themselves from the dark days of coercion and ignorance and strive to come to terms with modernity that will get Nigeria the needed recognition among international communities.

- The Police Acts of 1958 and 1990 present the constitutional responsibilities of the Nigeria Police to include among others the power/right to perform such military duties within and without Nigeria as may be required of them by or under authority of this or any other act (Asemota, 1993; Odita, 1993; Nigeria Police, 2006). In the same vein, the Nigerian Army is saddled in part with the task of collaborating with the civil police to provide internal security to the nation and perform any other functions as may be prescribed by an Act of the National Assembly (Arabamen, 2004; Adebayo, 2004; Nigerian Army, 2006). From the foregoing it is safe to state that the founders of these forces envisaged the possibility of collaborative security roles from the very beginning. Therefore, the police and the army must seek to down play any organizational differences and develop operational synergy that will enhance the actualization of the expected national security.

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