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A Research Report on Policing and Plethora offences in the Federal Capital Territory Abuja Nigeria

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Summary

Abuja, the planned Nigeria capital city witnessed surge in population over the years which include offenders and criminals. Even with the increased presence of policing agents, the city remained under policed. This study has categorically revealed. Consequently, myriad of offences in form of armed robbery, kidnapping, theft, house breaking, road trafficking infractions and murder have become prevalent with the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja.

Again, policing agents such as the Nigeria police, the customs, immigration, civil defence corps and the vigilante groups are working under appalling working situations, with obsolete equipment, low morale courtesy of poor and far inadequate remuneration. The recent End SARS protest listed poor pay of the police among their demands, stressing that poor pay package for the police was one of the reasons that made members of the institution to engage in financial exploitation of the citizens.

Also, inadequate numbers of policing agents which lead to under- policing has hampered and turn ineffective the synergy between policing agents within the city. In addition, many suggestions on the best policing strategies were put forward by the research subjects. Principal among which is the involvement of citizens in the policing affairs of their localities. This according to them would assist in solving the problem of under policing in the capital and its associated rise in offences and crime.

Keywords: Policing, Plethora offences, Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, Nigeria

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1.1 Introduction

Peaceful and orderly society is a function of adequate and proper policing. Given the nature of man as a being that leads a selfish and brutish life, requires adequate policing to make everyone toe the lines of the law. Where such is absent, offences in forms of deviance or crime would abound. This is irrespective development or planning levels of such a society. Human society needs to be adequately policed. When it is under-policed, myriad of offences are produced.

The issue of policing by law enforcement agencies (the police, customs, immigration, vehicle inspection officer, etc) was a topic of much research, in Nigeria. Little is known however, on the issue of adequate policing activities in a given city or society. The result of which begets incidences of offences in the given society or city. It is against this background, that the present empirical research sought to fill this vacuum in knowledge by delving into a new area in criminology which examines the extent to which adequate policing abets the growth of plethora of offences in the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja.

Policing refers to a set of institutions and processes with specific social functions that have to do with securing compliance with existing laws and conformity with precepts of social order. The bulk of sociological or criminological writings on the subject of policing has focused on the police (that body of largely uniformed representatives of the state, exercising powers to use force that are generally unavailable to others) (Matlala, 2018). According to Banton, (2007) a cardinal principle of the understanding of police organization and activity is that the police are only one among many agencies of social control. This pre-supposes that in broad terms, the police are not the only agency involved in policing. Other agencies (like Vehicle Inspection Officer, (VIO), Customs, Immigration, and other private security agencies) are equally involved in policing and law enforcement as regard to their statutory goals and objectives (Usoh, 2005).

Policing is as old as humankind. However, in Nigeria uniformed and organized police departments as we have them today were rare, if not absent, before colonialism. Various nationalities in pre –

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colonial Nigeria societies had their various social control mechanisms. For instance, the lineage system, age grade sets, elders, women societies, ancestral cults, spirit cults, divination and ordeals played crucial roles in policing members of the society through their various roles and activities during that period. This was at a stage where Nigerian society was at a rudimentary level and production was mainly for consumption and subsistence. During that period, the emphasis of policing was on mediation, arbitration and reconciliation of members of the society rather than punitive, reformation and rehabilitation (Aniche, 2018). It was in this regard that policing was undertaken by members within the same cultural group or those who share the same cultural background.

In the colonial era, policing was spearheaded by the establishment of the Police which has its origin traceable to the end of the slave trade and beginning of commercial activities by the imperial government of Britain in the second half of the nineteen century (Ahire, 1991; Tamuno, 1970, Inyang and Abraham, 2013). One of the reasons for establishing the police by the colonial government was the protection of European interests in commerce.

In the colonial times the interest of the colonialist was in curtailing the (ensuring) hostility and violence between the police and citizens by organizing the former as instrument of riot, opposition and suppression. They were not established as agents for promoting rule of law, human rights and community safety and individual security or for delivering social services (Alemika, 2000). Alemika (2000:33) succinctly captures the legacy of colonial policing thus:

Historical evidence demonstrates that the colonial police forces were organized and oriented to behave as occupation forces – ruthless, brutal, corrupt, dishonest and prone to brutalizing the colonized.... The preoccupation of colonial and post-colonial Nigeria police were not the promotion and enforcement of just laws, rule of law, natural justice and equity and security of the vast majority of Nigerians... the greatest part of the police energies and resources were committed to, and dissipated on the suppression of struggles and protests against oppression and exploitation..

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After independence, the expectations were high that the indigenous government would overhaul the colonial structure and set up a people oriented police force that would respect the culture and values of the various nationalities and treat them with dignity. These expectations were however dashed as the post-colonial government merely inherited the 'form' and 'content' of the colonial administration with more emphasis on law and order approach of its predecessor. From the foregoing, it can be seen that policing in Nigeria is militaristic in nature and characterized by the use of violence at the slightest opportunity to achieve the desired goal.

In recent times, Nigerian police force embraced the philosophy of community policing on the principle that in a democratic society, the police are interested by their fellow citizens to protect and serve the public's fundamental rights to liberty, equality and justice under the law (Okeshola and Mudiare, 2013).

However, policing as we have in modern days in Nigeria is not restricted to the activities of the Nigerian Police Force but include the activities of several other agencies, such as the Customs, Civil Defence Corp, VIOs, NGOs among others

In line with the above background, the study was carried out in Federal Capital territory to provide answers to the following research questions:

1.2 Statement of the Research Problems

Abuja, the Federal Capital of Nigeria is a planned city that is relatively affluent. It was built in 1980s and became the Nation's Capital in 1991. Being a planned city which was not in existence during the colonial era in Nigeria, it supposed to be devoid of offences i.e. a deviance and crime free city as most of these activities ought to have been envisaged and taken into account by city planners, particularly the provision of adequate policing agents. However, instability in the rest part of the country and the relative wealth in Abuja make myriad offences in the forms of deviance and criminal activities to spill to the Capital. The presence of policing agents, both state owned and private seems inadequate, considering the upsurge of population. The city of Abuja once considered an island of safety amidst the surge of incidence elsewhere, now appears increasingly vulnerable, said one observer. In fact, in 2019 the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) listed Abuja

among the two leading cities that recorded the highest rate of crime in Nigeria. Trailing only behind Lagos city.

Influx of people chased by rural poverty elsewhere in the country into the Federal Capital Territory and armed conflict in many parts of the country have continually swelling the population of the city's unemployed youth with many susceptible to deviance and criminal life.

Against these backgrounds, with rising offences in forms of deviance and criminal activities courtesy of surge in population despite presence of myriad policing agents in the city of Abuja, the study sets to interrogate the adequacy of policing agencies within the FCT

1.3 Research Questions

1. What are the duties of the policing agents in policing activities?

- 2. To what extent does policing activities, prevent and reduce offences?
- 3. Why does number of policing agent inhibits prevention and reduction of offences in Abuja?

1.3 Research Objectives

Tied to the foregoing research questions, the general objectives of this research include:

- 1. To be able to identify and describe the duties of policing agents in policing activities.
- 2. To understand the extent at which policing activities, prevent and reduce offences.

3. To explore the reasons for adequate policing agents in prevention and reduction of offences in Abuja

Literature Review/ Theoretical perspective

The age of man on earth is equal to the age of crime and law breaking across human society. The fact remain that men where ever they are, do set rules for them to ensure orderly and peaceful living. Where authorities in the leadership corridor within human societies do set the standards for other fellows to follow, the implementations of such rules are done through their representatives who are saddled with the responsibility of enforcing the law. These are the law enforcement agents of the society. The process of enforcing the law or making sure everyone toe the lines are often refers as to as policing in some quarters. This is not so in criminological parlance. The concept of

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law enforcement consists of just that: enforcing laws. In its purest form, law enforcement requires an unwavering adherence to rules and procedures. It involves a focus on the letter of the law rather than the spirit of the law. Citations are issued, arrests are made, and force is employed with little regard for the reason or meaning behind a particular law or policy (Roufa, 2019). The problem of law enforcement as the sole response to crime, however, is that it is singular in its approach, responding to effects without consideration for causes on the one hand.

On the other hand, the term policing have come to mean an approach to fighting crime through community service and problem solving. It requires a holistic approach to dealing with crime, taking into account the problems that plague a community and working with the people within that community to solve them. Policing requires cooperation from residents, business owners, and leaders who participate in the process of reducing crime and improving quality of life as argued by (Roufa, 2019). Whereas law enforcement implies compulsory compliance, policing suggests voluntary adherence. Where law enforcement uses the rule of law and the threat of punishment to enforce obedience, policing is intended to deal with behaviors through community relationships and addressing root causes. Law enforcement is just one aspect of policing, a tool in the tool bag of policing. It could be called just a spanner out of many other tools in the big policing bag that are meant to prevent and control deviant offences in general, and criminal activity in particular.

Having clarified the duo concepts of law enforcement and policing, there are is the need to look at the history of policing briefly. The origins of policing in continental Africa and across the world can be traced backed to the Middle Ages, however any meaningful examination into the origins and history of policing is shackled by the almost universal emphasis on 1829 and the establishment of the London Metropolitan Police. But, speaking for a number of scholars, police historian Philip Rawlings suggests that "the history of the police that is emerging" is much more complex than that, demonstrating that the history of policing "is one of diversity, both before and after 1829, and of slow evolutionary change" (Rawlings 2002).

Rudimentary police systems existed in all countries in the world even before the modern era, Africa being no exception. Here, the tribal agents, with or without official status or badges, performed rudimentary police functions, such as apprehending criminals and placing them in detention. No

criminal records were kept and justice was summary. It was in this manner that policing began in Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and Gambia (Kurian, 2006).

A perusal of police systems around the world demonstrates remarkable diversity of police organizations. Some are religious in nature, or at least inspired by religion, such as Saudi Arabia's religious police, the *mutawwiun*, and the Ottoman Empire's police system. Others are based on legal traditions or are heavily influenced by ideology and political theory, such as the former Soviet KGB and the secret police networks in Cuba, North Korea, and China (Kurian, 2006).

The post-colonial Nigeria Police Force is a carryover from the colonial epoch. This is evident in the style of law enforcement used by the post colonial police in the daily discharge of their duties. The post-colonial policing epoch in Nigeria has since witnessed a myriad of reforms one of which is the concept of community policing which was popularized by the former Inspector General of Police, Tafa Balogun and launched on April 27, 2004, by former President Olusegun Obasanjo (Ikuteyijo and Rotimi, 2012). However, most of the reforms have been described as representing the interests of the government of the day rather than serving the interests of the public they are meant to protect. That was why Abati, (2008) argued that"...one lesson that we have learnt is that when government talks about police reform or when every new Inspector General waves the banner of reform, they do so merely as an attention-grabbing gesture and as an opportunity to spend more money and award contracts". It must be noted that, the problem of police-community relations is not one that will be addressed by political declarations but through sincere efforts of all stakeholders in the business of securing a safe environment for all (Ikuteyijo and Rotimi, 2012). In line with the above, the basic question is what has been the relationship between the police and the community they are supposed to serve?

Relationships between the Nigeria Police and citizens are largely characterized by suspicion, prejudice, mutual disrespect, conflict and violence (Alemika and Chukwuma, 2000). Under this type of scenario painted above, the art of policing would become difficult as policing in every society requires not only mutual cooperation between the police and the policed, there must also be a synergy between all law enforcement agents. A policing method which emphasized the cooperation of community and the enforcement agents which Fagan, (2017) referred to as 'new policing' has its import in dramatic reduction of crime in society. When the relationship of

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Nigerians with the police is not rosy, what of other law enforcement agents that may not be all that close to the people considering the nature of their job, when we compare agencies like the customs, Immigrations, VIOs and civil defence with the police? Poor interagency collaboration do not hampers policing within cities as Siro, (2016) argues of Kano, Nigeria, he discovered that poor interagency collaboration has direct relationship with high rate of crime and deviance activities, since his calculated p-value 0.003 was less than .01 set before hand for the study. It was also noted that poor synergy strangulates efforts made to involve community and by extension community policing, when calculated p-value 0.001 was less than .05 level of significance. When there are no cooperation between enforcements agents, duties of a particular agency are usurped by the other which eventually sets confusion within the cities as inhabitants wonder which agency does what.

"As a whole, it is indicative that, as other agencies tamper with the police work, people lose hope and sound confusing on who does the work of whom. Invariably, failure of community policing strategy is always bound to occur" in the midst of this confusion (Siro, 2016 p. 10).

Furthermore Abiodun, Oloyede, Omolayo and Pulemi (2019) after considering the vitality of inter agency collaborations and intelligence sharing among law enforcement agents in their study in Lagos, the authors were of the view that, poor synergy among security outfits do not only compound crime and law breaking activities in a given society or city as well as efforts to curb them, but stressed in a conclusion that:

it would be right to state that, if this kind of security intelligence sharing and synergy among the security operatives in Nigeria and their constitutional roles are well played out especially in mutual cooperation with one another; it is envisaged by the society that, violent conflict, terror and all forms of insecurity in Nigeria would definitely be nipped in the bud. p. 172

Expressing a similar view on the lack of interagency synergy and its great implication in thwarting crime control and management, Ikuteyijo and Rotimi,(2012), asserted that:

It has equally been noted that it will be very difficult for any police organization to succeed in its objective of maintenance of law and order without the cooperation of the people being policed. To solve this dilemma, therefore, there must be not only a cordial relationship between the police and the citizens, but also be a working partnership between them if the laudable goals are to be achieved p.10.

In addition, Laszlo (2017) examined the need for collaboration between all stakeholders in the provision of public safety and public order in Hungary and came to the conclusion with what he referred to as 'emergent complementary law enforcement in the 21st century' that:

In my point of view there is a new approach of law enforcement arising in the 21st century which requires the cooperation and harmonisation of activities in the field of law enforcement between the relevant actors. It is necessary to emphasize this aspect instead of placing the police activity in the centre exclusively. In Hungary, maintaining public security is only attainable through maintaining collaboration between different actors including: Police, Civil Volunteer Security Organisations, Local governmental law enforcement, private security sector. The aforementioned synergy should substitute the rivalry of those participants, p 137.

The position of Laszlo (2017) stated above chronicled the integral part of research in policing as for the city of Abuja. From the literatures reviewed above, it could be deduced that synergy among enforcement agents abates deviance and criminal activities in a given community hence the strong collaboration. The synergy is more efficient in situations where the number of policing agents are minimal, strong collaboration would close the gap occasioned by under policing. For a meaningful cooperation it is not sufficient to sign a contract between the partners, it also is necessary to put it in practice. Complementary law enforcement is a new approach nowadays, which is based on partnership and focuses on the cooperation between all relevant actors regarding pubic order and safety (Laszlo (2017, Fagan and Ash, 2017, and Abiodun, et. al, 2017). Here collaboration with citizens should not be left out as Ordu and Nnam, (2017) suggested for Nigeria. He emphasized

that it is therefore high time the Nigeria police and local residents began to imbibe the culture of rectitude, social justice, and total conscience-overhauling so as to reach an understanding and maintain mutual support necessary for proactive policing in the country. This is more important in societies like ours where the number of policing agent is far inadequate when compare to the people they are expected to police.

Theoretical perspective

In this research, attempt was made to explain up surge of offences with the FCT as result of under policing with the aid of routine activity theory of criminology. The central idea of the theory as spelt out by Felson and Cohen, (1980) was that crime and other offences were not often times product of poverty, socioeconomic status of individuals or individuals' adversities. What make offences and crime prevalent within human society or locality as the case of Abuja, has to do with social changes or modern transformations which open doors for offenders by making available suitable targets without appropriate presence of guardians. According to these theorists, new structural configurations in modern societies provide greater opportunities for offenders, because people, particularly women engage in activities away from home.

Technological devices like automated teller machines which increases bank transactions in form of deposits and withdrawals, also fasten shifts in human daily activities regarding circulation of property. In short, the growing number of available objects, the increased number of unguarded homes and the greater possibilities of direct contacts between persons or their property and offenders brought about an increase in suitable targets and decrease in capable guardians to prevent crimes and therefore an environment of greater opportunity for the motivated offender (Hollis-Peel, Reynald, ven Bavel, Elffers and Welsh, 2011).

Though routine activity theory has been reproached of lacking moral legitimacy by blaming the victim instead focusing on the etiology of crime, it also has its own utility of having maintained close relationship between crime analysis and prevention. It has been applied to situational crime

prevention and policing especially problem oriented policing (Miro, 2014). This is why we employed routine activity theory, to help explaining the issue of policing in Abuja.

Methodology

Starting from the initiation of the human civilization, all efforts have remained directed towards improving the quality of life. In the process, "Research," the search for knowledge, is ever increasing. Huge amount of Resources in different forms is being channeled for this purpose.... The voyage of discovery could be more meaningful if due attention is given to the art of scientific investigation, particularly in designing and meticulous implementation of a research program. Sahu K.P (2013)

There is no enquiry leading to the discovery of truth about human problem without established protocol of which adherence to makes issues clear and acceptable while failure of adherence is clouded and makes things doubtful. Research in social science disciplines like Criminology/Sociology which often focuses on social and sociological problems requires adherence to the research protocols not only to make human problems comprehensible, but also pave ways to solving them by those in authority and policy makers. It is against this backdrop that this study sets to explore the city of Abuja to find out how and why offence in forms of deviance and criminal activities become rampant even with the number of law enforcement agents.

As stated elsewhere above, the city of Abuja is a planned one that should be devoid of crime and other deviance activities which seems not so. The Federal Capital Territory is estimated to be populated by 3.564,100 million people as at 2016 (Numbeo, 2020). The geography of FCT, Abuja indicates that it is located within Log 9.07 65⁰ N and Lat 7.39 86⁰ E. Administratively, the FCT is sub divided into six area councils which consist of Abaji, Abuja Municipal, Bwari, Gwagwalada, Kuje and Kwali, The Territory is headed by a minister, though without a state status as obtained in other parts of Nigeria, it also has one senator representing it at the senate. Being the capital city of the country, Abuja houses virtually all headquarters of state owned security outfits and substantial number of private ones as well. For instance, FCT has only 20 police stations which

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include the police headquarters (Emeka, 2020). With only 20 police stations to secure 3.5 million people, it therefore means that each station was required to take care of 175,000 residents which is far greater than 10- 50, 000 people for a police station by United Nations(UN) standard (Macing,, 2020).

The study used two research methods- the qualitative and quantitative. The wisdom behind the choice of triangulation method was to make sure data generated for this research are of quality and devoid of doubt of any sort.

Creamer (2018) synthesized four philosophical foundations and arguments for the use of mixed methods that appear in the extant literature. The first, complementarity, suggests that the different paradigms or philosophical commitments that undergird qualitative and quantitative inquiry complement, rather than contradict, one another.

The second argument for mixed methods is compatibility. The distinction between qualitative and quantitative methods is indeed a false dichotomy: both involve constructing and interpreting meanings the third and fourth arguments for methods are combination and triangulation to enhance validity (Creamer, 2018).

Qualitative Method

s sessions for each area council. There are six area councils, so when 12 are multiplied by 6, it gives us 72 sessions in all.

Coming down to the in-depth interview, at least a session was conducted with DPOs in the selected police divisions because of lack of time and resource the idea of other security agents were dropped These selections were done on limited number because of dearth of time and financial resources.

Sampling size/ Quantitative

From the available statistics there were 20 police stations with the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), the Vehicle Inspection Office (VIO) has one each prominent office in each of the six area councils, the same thing applies to Immigrations and Civil Defence as far as the issue of offices is concerned. From the 20 police stations, we dealt with 19 because one is the police headquarters for the country, for the bureaucratic protocols, it would be exempted. One third of 19 will amount to 6.3, meaning that 6 police stations in all were taken. One police station each was selected for every of the six area councils in the FCT.

Using simple random sampling technique, the following police stations were selected: Abaji police station, Maitama police station, Bwari police station, Zuba police station, Kuje and Kwali police stations. For every police station, 20 questionnaires were administered, which indicates that for every five selected law enforcement agency and NGO, we administered 120 questionnaires for each area council. When 120 are multiplied by 6, the result would be 600. It therefore, follows that the total sample size was 600 for the entire FCT. The selection of all the research subjects for the study was through simple random procedure. The procedure took care of all the selected law enforcement agents and the NGOs who are the unit of analysis and would eventually become the research subjects.

Results/Findings of the Research

Social-Demographic Characteristics of the Rrespondents

A total of six hundred and fifty questionnaires were self-administered to Police officers, Immigration, Customs, Members of the Nigerian Civil Defense Corps, Nigerians Vigilante Groups and Vehicle Inspection Offices all within the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). The police were particularly from the Maitama, Abaji, Kuje, Kwali, Zuba and Bwari Police stations. Members of the Immigration, Customs were all sourced from their respective headquarters just as the Civil Defense Corps from its headquarters at Sauka. Upon completing the research protocols of seeking and gotten official permission from both the authorities and the research subjects on the confidentiality and anonymity of their responses, the researcher and his assistants supervised the respondents in completing the questionnaires in all the research sites. A total of four hundred and ten (410) were found suitable for analysis. This was an indication of an excellent response rate that represents ninety-six per cent (96%). The favourable response rate could be attributable to the level of education of the respondents, exposure to social research and the premium they attached to this particular one.

Sex	Frequency	Percentage
Male	261	63.9
Female	148	36.1
Total	410	100
Religion		
Islam	155	37.8
Christianity	255	62.2
Total	410	100
Marital Status		
Single	73	17.8
Married	326	97.3
Separated	8	2.0
Widowed	3	.7
Total	410	100
Quranic	4	1.0
Primary	1	.2
Junior Secondary	4	1.0
Senior Secondary	104	25.4

Table 4.1 Socio-Demographics of the Respondents

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Diploma/NCE	12	6		30.7
Degree/HND	12	4		30.7
Postgraduate	47	7		11.5
Total	41	0		100
Income Earning				
High	3	3		8.0
Moderate	24	9		60.7
Low	98			23.9
Very Low	30			100
Other				
Demographics	Min	Max	Mean	Standard Deviation
Age	19	60	35.55	8.53
Number of Children	ı 1	44	3.61	2.49

Source; Field Survey 2020

The above table indicate that great number of respondents were educated beyond secondary school as cumulatively, 61.4 percent had either NCE, HND or Degree certificates. It is also suffice to note that 97.3 percent were married, most of whom (60.7%) also acknowledged to be moderate income earners. The respondents are matured groups who range in age between 19 and 60 years with a average age of 36 years approximately. With regards to the number of children of the respondents, the minimum is 1 while the maximum is 44. Let's turn to the employment status of the respondents to get a clearer picture in table 4.2 and fig below.

Table 4:2 Employment	Status of the	Respondents
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	Frequency	Percentage	
The Nigeria Police	242	59.0	
The Nigerian Immigration	54	13.2	

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The Nigerian Custom	33	8.0
The Nigerian Civil Defense	29	7.1
The Nigerian Vigilant Group	27	6.6
Vehicle Infection Officers	25	6.1
Total	410	100

Source; Field Survey 2020

Nobody talk of policing in human society and forget the police as an institution. In fact, they constitute the integral part of policing agencies across the globe. That explains why the Nigeria Police forms the majority of the respondents for this research, accounting for 59.0 per cent of the respondents. This is not surprising, primarily because the Nigeria Police is charged with the responsibly of detecting and combating crime. The Nigerian Immigration had a total of 54 respondents or 13.2 per cent, followed the Nigerian Customs with 33 respondents or 8.0 per cent.



Empolyment of respondents

4.3 Duties of Policing Agents

This section presents a synopsis and overview of the self-report by the subjects on the subject matter of the study, "Policing and plethora of offences in the Federal Capital Territory.

Besides the respondents demographic features and characteristic the subsequent sections present data on: The Duties of Policing agents in Policing activities, that is to say the Performance of Policing agents with regards to the prevention and, reduction of offences in the Federal Capital Territory

On the duties of policing agents, respondents were asked to tell their own story as to the duties they perform even though section four (4) of the police Act, 2020 spelt out that a police shall ' prevent and detect crimes and protect rights and freedom of every person in Nigeria as provided in the Constitution...., maitain public safety, law and order, protects the lives and property of all persons in Nigeria...' Consequently, respondents were unanimous on spelling out their duties in forms of detection and prevention of crime. The first question sought to know whether they arrest criminals and place them on detention when involved in offences, table 4.4 presents responses

	""Do you arrest criminals and place them on detention?"		
	Frequency	Percentage	
Yes	376	91.7	
No	29	7.1	
Missing	5	.11	
Total	410	100.0	

Table 0.3Arrest criminals and place them on detention

Source; Field Survey 2020

According to Table 4.3 above, 376 (91.7%) acknowledged that they do arrest criminals and place them on detention, whereas only 29 (54.7%) of the total respondents said no that they do not arrest criminal/suspect and place them on detention. But beyond this, the big differences between the yes and no responses by the subjects indicted to us that most if not all the respondents are law enforcement agents who are allowed by the law to arrest and prosecute to court of law whoever they suspect of committing offences or related criminal activities.

Those who answered yes were asked to state how many times do you apprehend/arrests criminal?

	Table 0.4 Number of times arrest are made	
	Frequency	Percentage
Only once	148	36.1
Twice	48	11.7
Three times	24	5.9
Four Times	17	4.1
Five Times	27	6.6
Six times and Above	146	35.6
Total	410	100.0

Source; Field Survey 2020

In accordance with the data on Table4.4, a total of one hundred and forty eight respondents(148) or 36 per cent indicated that they have apprehended/arrested offenders per week at least once whiles 11.7 per cent of then said twice per week' Those who arrested and apprehended criminal three times were 5.9 per cent. It could be noted here that level of offences in the FCT is high as

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35.6 percent of respondents claimed to have made arrest of offenders six or more times weekly, just as 4.1 per cent and 6.6 per cent reported to have arrested offenders 17 and 27 times respectively. It is one thing to make arrest and quite another to keep records of such arrests in order to charge offenders to court. On this basis, policing agents who double as respondents were asked on whether they keep records arrest of offenders made. Table 4.5 below presents the responses.

Table 0.5 whether records of arrest are keptFrequencyPercentageYes38293.4No133.2Missing Values153.2Total410100.0

Source; Field Survey 2020

Table 4.5 above shows that a substantial number of the research subjects 382 representing 93.4 acknowledged keep records whenever they apprehend and arrest suspects. But only thirteen (13) representing 3.2 per cent said that they do not keep records of arrests of offenders.

In addition, respondents were asked the number of times they prosecute to court those they suspect of criminal activities Table 4.6 below shows the results and findings:

"

I	Frequenc	Percentage
Only once	174	42.4
Twice	41	10.0
Three times	13	3.2
Four Times	23	5.6
Five Times	24	5.9
Six times and Above	134	32.9
Missing Value	1	2
Total	410	100.0

Table 0.6 Number of times offenders are prosecuted

Source; Field Survey 2020

Table 4.6 above indicates that a total of one hundred and seventy four respondents(174) or 42.4 per cent confirmed that they do prosecute suspects arrested but do once on weekly basis. Forty one (41) 10.0 per cent of respondents said that they have twice prosecuted those they suspected to be criminal offenders. The data also shows that 23, 5.6 percent, 24, 5'9 percent prosecuted to courts those they suspect as criminals Four and Five Times respectively. However, A substantial number of the research subjects one hundred and forty six (146) 32.76 percent indicated that they have arrested and docked offenders more than six times per week.

In addition, respondents were asked how many times whether those docked were eventually convicted of the said offences they were docked. The question then was if offenders were prosecuted and convicted, for how many times were these convictions obtained? This is the question posed to respondents for which the following results were obtained as shown in table 4.7 below.

Table 0.7 Times of conviction	1
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	Frequency	Percentage
Only once	243	59.3
Twice	33	8.0
Three times	16	3.9
Four Times	11	2.7
Five Times	7	1.7
Six times and A	bove 100	32.9
Total	410	100.0

Source; Field Survey 2020

In accordance with the data on Table4.7, a total of two hundred and four three respondents (243), 59.3 percent were those who had obtained conviction once for their prosecuted offenders. The table also shows that those who said they twice convicted their offenders were 33 or 8.0 per cent.

Respondents were asked further to state whether those found guilty were punished by the courts. Table 4.8 presents the results.

			"Where)
	those for	ound guilty punished by the court?"		
	Frequency		Percentage	
Yes	386		94.1	
No	13		3.2	
Missing Values	11		2.6	
Total	410		100.0	

Table 0.8 Whether those found guilty punished by the court?

Source; Field Survey 2020

According to information in Table 4.8 above the research subjects (94.1per cent) of them affirmed that those who were found guilty were punished by the court of law. Only 3.1 per cent respondents denied that those were found guilty were not punished by the court. The respondents were asked to indicate the kinds/type of punishment mated to the criminals. Table 4.9 presents the findings.

Table 0.10 Which type of punishment?

	"Which type of Punis	hment?"
	Frequency	Percentage
Jailed	295	72.0
Fined	58	14.1
Others	52	12.7
Missing Values	5	12.0
Total	410	100.0

Source; Field Survey 2020

The finding above indicates that those convicted by the court of law were jailed as 72.0 percent attested to that. Only fifty eight (58) 14.1 paid fines for their offenses.

Bearing of Policing on offences in Abuja

One principal function of policing agents in any human society is to detect and prevent offences be it criminal or otherwise. On this basis, a question was posed to respondents to seek their opinion on whether this was part of their function in Abuja, the FCT. Six Likert scale options were used to measure their opinion. This range from responses categories (I)"strongly agree", (ii)"agree", (iii)"undecided", through (iv)"disagree", and finally (v) "strongly disagree". Table4 .11 below chronicled the sum of the respondents' view.

Table 0.111 oncing Agents prevent and detect criminal activities		
"Poli	cing Agents prevent and detect crimi	inal activities"
	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	323	78.8
Agree	82	20.0
Undecided	3	.7
Disagree	2	.5
Disagree	2	

Table 0.11Policing Agents prevent and detect criminal activities"

While cumulatively, the response indicates 98 per cent affirmation, just as 77.6 per cent of them stressed that they do not only detect offences, they go extra mile to apprehend offenders. The position was corroborated by findings of qualitative outfit which shows that virtually all police officers and other law enforcement officers perform these great functions, only that some of them expressed concerned that performance of their duties does not in all being translated to concrete reality. 'we are working day and night and in some quarters it appears as if nothing is being done' said a respondent in an interview in Abaji. He explained further:

you can see that we lack adequate personnel to cover the area of our jurisdiction. Those officers you see over there were kept on standby in line with operational requirement of our work, not that we had them enough. Some sets have gone on patrol in some identified hot spots as one major offence we experience here is kidnapping. This is because of the nature of the terrain here. There are so many bushes around which serve as criminal hideouts... On this basis more hands would have help us do more for which residents would see and appreciate.

Virtually, most of the officers with whom we had interview were all in agreement on the dearth of personnel. While most of police officer lamented on inadequate personnel and equipment, other sister organizations also cried out of shortage of manpower. The view of senior police officer with 22 years working experience summed up these lines of argument during an interview session at Kuje. According to him:

..the population of FCT is growing rapidly without corresponding increase in the number of policing agents. Where 10 people would work and your send 2 persons there, do you think they are to do the job and give you the result of 10. Except you want them to perform magic which is not possible. Basically, Abuja is under- policed, there is the need for more hands in the system as all over across the country, there is no place where we have enough manpower. If police is lacking in Abuja, the FCT, what do you expect in other states across the country?

Furthermore, the maintenance of laws and regulations which facilitates orderly society remained one cardinal function of the police force and other policing agents in Nigeria society. A question to that effect posed to the policing agent as our respondents produced the following result.

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	313	76.3
Agree	82	20
Undecided	6	1.5
Disagree	8	2.0
Strongly Disagreed	1	.2
Total	410	100.0
	-	

Table 0.12"Policing activities enforce law and regulation which they are directly charge"

"Policing activities enforce law regulation which they are directly charge"

Source; Field Survey 2020

The data on the above table is the opinion of the research respondents on the statement that policing agents enforced laws and regulation which they are directly charged with, one among several functions of the Nigeria Police by the law establishing them. Three hundred and twenty-eight (313) representing 76.3 percent strongly agreed with the statement. Six (6), 1.5 percent were neutral, whereas, 8 or 2.0 percent and only a respondent, .2 percent are either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement.

We the enforcement of laws and regulation, policing agent protect life and property of citizens by extension. Opinions of respondents were sought on the issue and table 4.13 presents their responses.

Table 0.13"Policing activities protect life and property" "Policing protect life and property"		
	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	328	80
Agree	77	18.8
Undecided	3	.7
Disagree	2	.5
Total	410	100.0

Source; Field Survey 2020

The data on the above table is the opinion of the research respondents on the statement that policing agents protect life and property, one among several functions of the Nigeria Police by the law establishing them. Three hundred and twenty-eight (328) representing 80 percent strongly agreed with the statement. Seventy-seven (77) or 18.8 per cent agreed, whereas, 3, .7 percent and 2, .5 percent are either undecided or disagreed with the statement.

Policing and Offences reality in FCT, Abuja

One would not have expected to see headlines such: 'Robbers attack Briscoeford, Motors, steal vehicles'DailyTrust, 13/5/2010, breach "machine operator charge with of trust" DailyTrust, 13/5/2010, 'FRSC motorists who disconnect speed limiter' to arrest DailyTrust,05/09/2019, "Chemist' loses bid to quash charge of killing woman during abortion"

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DailyTrust,6/3/2018 that portray varieties of offences within the FCT area. This is due to myriad of policing agents in and around Abuja. However, aside from inadequate policing agents within FCT which make the territory grossly under policed, some respondents implicated under funding, poor and obsolete equipment. Writing under the EndSARS and police brutality, the Guardian Newspapers in an editorial of 13/10/2020 stressed that neither equipment nor men is the problem of the Nigeria police, its entire structure need through overhauling. The paper stressed that:

...Unless a fundamental reform of the police force is undertaken, it may be the case of old wine in new bottle. The institution under its current structure has failed to live up to the expectations of a 21st Century society in the areas of crime prevention, detection and prosecution.

One of our respondent, senior police officer with 18 years of service to his credit emphasized on value reorientation that would champion strong political will from the part of those in the corridors of power. ' gather the best brains on earth and give them the most sophisticated weapon in the world, minus the strong backing of the government, concrete result would be difficult to achieve'. Even a common war parlance said that weapons don't win war but men do. Such men must be equipped with strong political will. Another respondent with 24 years working experience in Kwali summed up in this fashion:

You see it is strong political on the side of government that would stop banditry and kidnapping in Nigeria. It is the government that has all the resources at its disposer to fish out all the kidnappers from their hiding places in the bushes or forests. When that strong will is there, the citizens would be more than willing to share all what they know with the police. As a result of weak political will, people are skeptical of what to tell the police so that they too don't become target. People don't trust police because of weak political will they believe police themselves have to succumb to....Something the police believe, always goes against the desires of the populace in the society. It is against this background that respondents expressed the view that good working relationship between policing agents would go a long way in reducing level of offence in the society. Table 14 offers a clearer explanation.

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes		C C
	288	70.2
No	121	29.5
Missing	11	.2
Total	410	100.0

Table4.14 Working relationship between policing agents and crime reduction

Source; Field Survey 2020

The data on the table above presents the responses on the item that requested the respondents to indicted good work relationship between policing agents assist in reducing offences. Majority of the research subjects two hundred and eight-eight (288), representing 70.2 percent said yes the statement is true as far as they are concern. Only a minority One hundred and twenty-one (121), 29.5 percent of the respondents said no. The data indicated that yes poor relationship do exist among law enforcement agents, the police, immigration, customs and even the military, including the civil defense and other NGOs in seeing to it that crime is control and prevented or managed in the long run

Furthermore, it is on this premise that most of the respondents interviewed attested to the fact that a synergy within policing agents remained an utmost goal, if the problems of offences associated with under policing of the federal capital territory must be addressed. One respondent aptly said: An average white man is always concerned with his security and those around him or her. In a situation of under policing which translates to poor security, it would be difficult to woo prospective foreign investors the government is shouting on daily. No rational man would put his money in a place where it has no guarantee because of absence of security. This is my point...

Arguing along similar line, Metu, Kalu and Maduka, (2018) submitted that poorly motivated police force which work under appalling working situations with obsolete equipment, would find it difficult to control and contain rampaging crime and other offences in the country. A situation, they argued, chased away both domestic and foreign investors. In the absence of investors, unemployment sets in and poverty becomes prevalent in the land, which in turn begets crimes and offences of all colours.

Furthermore, Jelilov, Ozden and Briggs, (2018) in a study of impact of insecurity on investment in Nigeria between 2007 and 2017, reported that direct cash inflow in Nigeria waned from 6.04 billion dollars in 2007 to 3.81 billion dollars in 2017 due to Nigeria's Terrorism Index as issued by the World Bank.

One other factor that poses challenge to reduction of offences in forms of crime and banditry within and outside FCT is what most respondents in both quantitative and qualitative research acknowledged. Poor remuneration of the police and other policing agents in Nigeria, continues to be an issues that bothers both the police and the citizens, they are supposed to protect. For instance, commenting on the end SARS protest in Nigeria, the New York Times of 21st October, 2020 listed among others demands of the youths to include '… psychological evaluation for reassigned SARS officers…. They are also pushing for better pay for the police officers to reduce the financial exploitation of the citizens'.

It should be noted that when youths protested against police brutality in the form of End SARS in the southern part of Nigeria in particular, there are instances in Abuja where the people's concern was not police or their method of operations, what some residents of FCT had as their headache was the activities of vehicle inspectors who were bent on doing their job while some residents

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were making all efforts to cut corners. When policing agents decides to do their job diligently, sets them on collision course with some residents who prefer to lawless. A vehicle inspector officer (VIO) with 25 years working experience in an interview confirmed that there are plethora of offences in the federal capital. He stressed that:

...if you ask me which offence has the highest frequency in terms of occurrences. I will tell you road traffics. As you know human being would always find a way to circumvent the law as they will want to do what they like on the street even if what they are doing is at the detriment of the lives of others around. This is why we battle with motorists and pedestrians always...

The above was a testimony of a VIO in a interview on the challenges they face in the course of doing their job in the FCT. It should however, be noted that such challenges were also being confronted by other policing agents, be it customs, immigration and members of the civil defence corps. On the basis of this, respondents were asked on the best policing strategies to be employed to curb these offences and crimes. This brings us to the next section.

Policing Strategies

Having highlighted the causes of rising offences and crime in the FCT, respondents were also asked to proffered solutions through the suggestion of best policing strategies. Though, there were diversity of opinion on this, themes were chronicled on the tables below.

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	330	
		80.5
Agree	76	18.5
Undecided	3	.7
Strongly dissoured	1	2
Strongly ddisagreed	1	.2
Total	410	100.0

Table 0.15"Police-community relation reduce the Magnitude of criminal activities"

"It is often said that Police-community relation reduces the magnitude of crimnal activities"

Source; Field Survey 2020

A cordial police-community relation could be an issue that would assist in controlling and reducing of deviant offences in general and criminal activities in particular, especially in an urban setting. The above table presents respondents' views on police-community relation as effective mechanism to facilitating crime control and reduction. Three hundred and thirty respondents (330) or 80.5 per cent, Strongly agreed that police-community relation reduce the magnitude of criminal activities in the Federal Capital Territory. While 18.5 per cent agreed with the statement.

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	302	73.7
Agree	87	20.2
Undecided	12	2.9
Disagreed	10	2.4
Strongly ddisagreed	1	.2
Total	410	100.0

Table 0.16"hot spots Policing strategy inhibit the diffusion of crime to other areas"

"Do you think that hot spot policing strategy inhibit the diffusion of crime to other areas"

Source; Field Survey 2020

The hot spot policing strategy is an old strategy employed by police officers where they identified certain areas noted for constant criminal and other offences. The police or any policing agent then take tor patrolling strategy that helps in controlling and reducing deviant behavior in general and criminal activities in particular, especially in urban setting like Abuja. The data on the above table presents our respondents' views on hot spots policing strategy that inhibit the diffusion of crime to other areas. Majority of the respondents, among the Nigeria Police, Nigerian Immigration, and the Nigerian Customs including the Nigerian Civil Defense, NGOs and the VIOs were of the strong view that police community relation would help in reducing criminal activities. Three hundred and two respondents,(302) 73.7 percent Strongly agreed that hot spots policing strategy inhibits the diffusion of crime to other areas and will reduce the magnitude of criminal activities in the Federal Capital Territory. Eighty-seven (87) 20.2 percent agreed with the statement. Only ten(10), 2.4 percent and a respondent out of the four hundred and ten strongly disagreed on the statement concerning the on hot spots policing strategy that inhibit the diffusion of crime to other areas.

The next table present data from the respondents on he issue on the understanding of rules and regulations among policing agents is likely to reduce the incidences of criminal activities in the Federal Capital Territory

Table 0.23"Understanding of Rules and Regulations among policing agents is likely to reduce the incidences of Criminal Activists"

"Do you think the understanding of rules and regulations among policing agents is likely to reduce the incidences of criminal activities "

Frequency	Percentage
317	77.3
83	20.2
6	1.5
4	1.0
410	100.0
	317 83 6 4

Source; Field Survey 2020

The understanding of rules and regulation is another policing strategy or an issue of importance in controlling, reducing and management of deviant behavior in general and criminal activities in particular, especially in urban setting is of Paramount importance. The data on the above table presents our respondents views on the understanding of rules and regulation among policing agents. All most all the respondents, among the Nigeria Police, Nigerian Immigration, the Nigerian Customs including the Nigerian Civil Defense, NGOs and the VIOs are of the strong view that the understanding of rules and regulation among the policing agents will help in reducing and managing criminal activities. Three hundred and seventeen respondents,(317) 77.3 percent Strongly agreed that understanding rules and regulation among policing agents will reduce the magnitude of criminal activities in the Federal Capital Territory. Eighty-three(83) 20.2 percent agreed with the statement. Only six (6), 1.5 percent and a four (4) 1.0 percent respondent out of

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the four hundred and ten strongly disagreed on the statement concerning the on hot sports policing strategy that inhibit the diffusion of crime to other areas. The next table present data from the respondents on anonymous tip texting services by policing agents is likely to reduce criminal activities is likely to reduce the incidences of criminal activities in the Federal Capital Territory.

 Table 0.24"Understanding of Rules and Regulations among policing agents is likely to reduce the incidences of Criminal Activists"

"Do you think the understanding of rules and regulations among policing agents is likely to reduce the incidences of criminal activities "

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	317	77.3
Agree	83	20.2
Undecided	6	1.5
Disagreed	4	1.0
Total	410	100.0

Source; Field Survey 2020

The understanding of rules and regulation is another policing strategy or an issue of importance in controlling, reducing and management of deviant behavior in general and criminal activities in particular, especially in urban setting is of Paramount importance. The data on the above table presents our respondents views on the understanding of rules and regulation among policing agents. All most all the respondents, among the Nigeria Police, Nigerian Immigration, the Nigerian Customs including the Nigerian Civil Defense, NGOs and the VIOs are of the strong view that the understanding of rules and regulation among the policing agents will help in reducing and managing criminal activities. Three hundred and seventeen respondents,(317) 77.3 percent

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Strongly agreed that understanding rules and regulation among policing agents will reduce the magnitude of criminal activities in the Federal Capital Territory. Eighty-three(83) 20.2 percent agreed with the statement. Only six (6), 1.5 percent and a four (4) 1.0 percent respondent out of the four hundred and ten strongly disagreed on the statement concerning the on hot sports policing strategy that inhibit the diffusion of crime to other areas. The next table present data from the respondents on anonymous tip texting services by policing agents is likely to reduce criminal activities is likely to reduce the incidences of criminal activities in the Federal Capital Territory.

Table 0.25"Anonymous tip texting services by policing agents reduce the incidences of criminal activities"

"Anonymous tip texting services by policing agents reduce the incidences of criminal activities"

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	317	77.3
Agree	83	20.2
Undecided	6	1.5
Disagreed	4	1.0
Total	410	100.0

Source; Field Survey 2020

Anonymous tip texting services by policing agents reduce the incidences of criminal activities is another policing strategy or an issue of importance in controlling, reducing and management of deviant behavior in general and criminal activities in particular, especially in urban setting is of Paramount importance. The data on the above table presents our respondents views on Anonymous tip texting services by policing agents reduce the incidences of criminal activities.

All most all the respondents, among the Nigeria Police, Nigerian Immigration, the Nigerian Customs including the Nigerian Civil Defense, NGOs and the VIOs are of the strong view that the understanding of rules and regulation among the policing agents will help in reducing and managing criminal activities. Three hundred and seventeen respondents,(297) 72.4 percent Strongly agreed that understanding rules and regulation among policing agents will reduce the magnitude of criminal activities in the Federal Capital Territory. Ninety-three(93) 22.2 percent agreed with the statement. Only eight (8), 2.0 percent and eleven (11) 2.7 percent respondent out of the four hundred and ten strongly disagreed on the statement concerning the on hot sports policing strategy that inhibit the diffusion of crime to other areas.

In general, respondents were asked to list which of the policing strategies do they think was the best. Table 4.17 presents their responses.

Table 0.17 Best Strategy(ies) to curb Criminal Activities

·····		
		D
	Frequency	Percentage
Community Policing	209	51.0
Payment of salary on time	49	12.0
Training in Policing activities	26	6.3
Criminals most be punished	14	3.4
Arms and Ammunition s	15	3.7
Black spots and hot crime	15	3.7
ICT/CCTV Surveillance	42	10.2
Recruitment of more policing agent	19	4.6
Equality before the law	17	4.1
Total	410	100.0

"In your opinion list the best strategy to curb criminal activities"

Source; Field Survey 2020

From the Table above it become clear that the residents of FCT preferred to be involved in the issue of policing of their localities. That explains why majority (51 %) picked community policing as the best strategy for curbing criminals and other offences. In line with modern trend, respondents wanted to be directly involved in the issue of security. Since the FCT is grossly under policed, the residents represented by these respondents wanted to compliment the efforts of conventional police and other policing agents to safeguard their own area. Though they were passionate about the welfare of the conventional system, as 12 per cent wanted prompt payment of salaries to them, 6.3 per cent also suggested further training for policing agents on their activities.

Conclusion and Suggestions

Conclusively, the city of Abuja and its environs being grossly under-policed remained inappropriate for the capital city of the most populous country in Africa. A big oversight, it is on the part of security planners of this country to leave capital exposed to the danger of crime and criminals in an era in which the country is experiencing challenging security situation. Nations across the globe make sure at least their capitals are properly policed. These capitals do not only accommodate the seat of government and house high profile citizens of the country, capital cities also accommodates representatives of the global community in forms of diplomats and other international agencies like European Union (EU), United Nations (UN), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and a host of others. One major implication of under–policing of FCT is its potential to chase away foreign investors needed to assist in the development of some of our critical infrastructures.

What exactly is the way forward on this issue of policing and plethora offences in the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja? Both quantitative and qualitative respondents made their own suggestions on the ways they thought policing issues could solve in the area of coverage of research and the country in general. The of a Deputy Superintendent of Police (DSP) with 22 years in service seemed to have summed up these suggestions in this way. He said that:

Since I came here, I noticed constant friction between farmers and herdsmen. I then devised means of bringing the leadership of the two

parties together for constant dialogue on the issues at stake. The method has not only work perfectly, the group themselves through our mediated constant meetings set up a vigilante group that help in monitoring the activities of the both the farmers and herders. The conciliatory measure brought about by police had ushered in harmonious relationship between the two hitherto contending parties within the Kwali area. It was at that point that my conviction on the issue of community policing becomes very strong. I therefore recommend that the people of every locality be involved in the policing affairs of their own area. Policing should be the business of all but should not be left in the hands police or any security agent.

However, some people also suggested a though over hauling of the police as an institution. For instance, the Guardian in an editorial wrote that:

...the government needs to undertake holistic reforms of the institution, if it hopes to assure Nigerians of its commitment to the safety of their life and property. Periodic training of officers and men of the force cannot be over emphasized, to further reposition the institution to tackle the issues of security threats challenges in a civil society. No doubt, an efficient criminal administration system would boost investors' confidence.

The above suggestion seemed to be workable in a situation where two parties know are in conflict where they could be brought to the negotiation table. What would happen in situation where a stranger stops another on the street to rob or rape the person, dialogue may not be the appropriate thing to do. Here search light should be turn to causes of offenses or crime that has to do with hash economic reality which individuals experience these days which them into crime of violence (Usman and Karofi, 2020). It may be on this basis that some respondents suggested a thorough economic over haul and provision of social security service for the populace to enable then defray

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the gnawing socio-economic conditions. Others wanted government to provide youth employment so that this critical sector of the population would remain calm and law abiding.

Another suggestion was the employment of technology to beef up human surveillance on the street and other area of the capital. It was suggested that government should purchase and plant CCTV cameras and other crime and offences tracking devices to compliment the efforts of conventional police and other policing agents on crime/offences detection and control. If use effective the CCTV would also help in reducing the pangs of inadequate policing in and around Abuja.

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