

VIGILATISM, CRIME CONTROL AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL FACTORS IN AKINYELE AREA OF IBADAN

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Abstract: The inefficiency of the Nigerian police to protect the lives and properties of the people has led to community efforts to provide their own security. Scholars have highlighted corruption, brutality, authoritarian and repressive postures, high level of extortion, high cost of assessing police services, poverty, and non-personal interactions with police officers as some of the reasons Nigerians have lost faith in the police security efficacy. The people, in order to protect their lives and properties, have established and entrust their security to various vigilante groups in Nigeria, which is as a result of lack of quick response of Nigerian security personnel, particularly the Nigeria Police, when called upon to rescue a crime scene. Vigilantism has become the first point of contact for victims of crime and insecurity. It is in view of this, that this study was embarked to examine Vigilantism, Crime control and the Socio-Economic and Cultural factors In Akinyele area of Ibadan.

This study was strictly qualitative and was anchored on the Broken window theory and social control theory and was conducted in Akinyele area of Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria. Structured Key informant interview guide and structured in-depth interview guide was used to collect data from 18 respondents comprising of head of vigilante groups, chairmen of landlord associations in three selected communities, community members, community heads of selected communities in Akinyele area of Ibadan. The data was analyzed using content analysis and ethnographic summaries.

This study discovered that vigilante groups stepped in to fill security lapses created by the Nigerian police in respect to securing lives and properties of the community not only in Akinyele area of Ibadan but also in other parts of Nigerian society. Residence of Akinyele area of Ibadan and its environment have been occasionally terrorized by armed robbery cases and other crime related issues resulting to economic loose prior to the establishment and operations of vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan. The vigilante groups played a

significant role in the reduction of crime and insecurity in Akinyele area of Ibadan. Moreover, the major challenges of the vigilante groups include but not limited to lack of adequate logistics, like patrolling vehicles, communication gadgets, modern weapons and riffles, lack of salary and financial motivations, lack of adequate personnel amongst other challenges. There is a cordial relationship between the police and vigilante groups, in Akinyele area of Ibadan.

This study therefore, recommends that state and local governments should approve a salary scale for the Vigilante groups which will enable them collect monthly salaries, logistics such as patrol vehicles and communication gadgets should be made available to the Vigilantes. Also, legislators should consider the approval of the use of modern riffles for the vigilante groups, before handing guns over to them, there is need for adequate training and retraining on how to use these ammunitions. Any member of the group that will handle any of the ammunitions must undergo psychological and emotional test to ascertain his emotional stability before these ammunitions will be handled over to such person for operations.

Index Terms - Community, Crime, Insecurity, Nigerian Police, Vigilante group

1.0. Introduction

The police's incapacity to protect the lives and property of members of society has led to a communal movement to ensure their own security (Chukwuma, 2001). A variety of factors gave birth to the existence of vigilante security organizations as community security guards. Okoro (2007) identified corruption, brutality, oppressive and repressive postures, high levels of extortion, high assessment costs for police services, poverty, and non-personal relationships as some of the factors that caused people to lose faith in the police and, as a result, prefer informal policing structures. The people, in protecting their lives and homes, have implicitly submitted themselves under the siege of vigilante organizations in Nigeria, which is against the backdrop of the most times deniable quick response of the Nigerian security force when called to a crime scene. According to Alubo (2011) and Azogu (2013), vigilantism has emerged as one of the ways citizens respond to crime in the country. People turn to self-help organizations when the government fails to guarantee security for its population. According to Amnesty International (2002) and Akinyele (2008), "some state governments in Nigeria are also known to have tacitly or openly endorsed armed vigilante groups as part of their campaign against crime".

Vigilantism is not a recent phenomenon. Prior to 1900, various vigilante groups arose in the United States' border territories. In 1851 and 1856, concerned people in San Francisco formed vigilante committees to restore peace and order. (world book encyclopedia, u-v20:318, Encyclopedia Americana, vol.24:204). In South Africa, vigilante behavior is frequently rationalized as 'filling a policing gap' caused by police ineptitude, corruption, and collusion with criminals, which is a practical shortcoming in the criminal justice system. In Sierra Leone, vigilante operations have been attributed to police ineffectiveness in suppressing crime (Brownyn, 2001).

Vigilantism existed in Nigeria prior to colonialism. According to a report published in 2002 by Human Rights Watch and the Centre for Law Enforcement and Education, "vigilante and other self-defense groups currently operating in Nigeria have roots that reach deep into the country's history." During the colonial era, certain independent local groups, particularly in the Southeast, maintained their own standing army to defend their region from attack by neighboring communities. Although there was no correspondent modern-day structure at the time, there are some similarities between these groups founded by local communities for their own safety and the more recently formed self-defense groups." This is also true in the south-west of Nigeria, where vigilantism was utilized to control both social and criminal activity prior to colonial administration.

The proliferation of vigilante groups in contemporary Nigeria, is a response to crimes and criminality that have not only increased in degree, scope, and volume, but have also witnessed an unprecedented change in techniques, mode of operation and sophistication overtime and the apparent failure of the Nigeria police to rise to the occasion effectively. According to Igbo (2001:219), "the apparent failure of Nigeria police to control the increasing wave of crime has led to the unified public action against crime and criminals in some major cities of Nigeria".

This is true in Akinyele area of Ibadan where vigilante groups are currently being used as a means of crime control due to an increase in crime and the incapacity of formal crime control officers to bring it under control. In light of this, this study examined vigilantism, crime control, and socio-economic and cultural factors in the Akinyele area of Ibadan.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The Nigerian Police (NP) formerly The Nigeria Police Force is the principal law enforcement agency in Nigeria with a staff strength of about 371,800. There are currently plans to increase the force to 650,000, adding 280,000 new recruits to the existing 370,000. The NP is a very large organization consisting of 36 State commands grouped into 12 zones and 7 administrative organs. The agency is currently headed by IGP Ibrahim Kpotun Idris. Despite the statistics and operation of the police and also, the government's effort to control crime through the Nigerian Police and other law enforcement agents, crime has taken another dimension in Nigeria. The police who are the primary agent in the fight against crime have not been able to subdue the rising rate of crime in Nigeria. This is as a result of the fact that they are under-staffed, under-equipped, corrupt and lacked public cooperation. (Nwaeze, 2010). Okafor (2007) established that police corruption and their distant to the people they are supposed to protect have undermined the ability of the Nigeria police to guarantee security of lives and properties.

According to NPF (2008) police have consistently admitted that they have been handicapped because of a combination of factors among which are lack of resources, poor government support and poor conditions of service resulting in ill-motivated, ill-trained and ill-equipped workforce. However, these factors analyzed by the police have led to upsurge in criminal activities which has made lives and properties vulnerable to attacks. Many people are being dispossessed of their valuable properties and others were killed or maimed for life by armed bandits and other criminals. Many people hardly sleep in their houses at night for fear of criminal victimization.

According to Chukwuma (2002) crime has been spreading from one local government, state or region to another. Each day unfolds with its strange tales of one form of crime or the other. Despite the anxious bid to tackle this rising wave of crime in which the federal and state governments have increased support to Nigeria police service in areas of personnel, logistics and firearms, it seems that the more weapons and police personnel deployed to fight crime, the more criminal activities are committed.

Should these criminal acts grow and expand, protection of lives and properties of the people would become difficult, thus, the effort of the people to protect their lives and properties has given birth to Vigilantism. Eke, (2002) established that from time immemorial, ordinary men and women have made several attempt to ensure the safety of lives and properties of members of the community. The situation of insecurity, lawlessness with the inability of the Nigeria police to adequately deal with the situation effectively has given rise to the emergence of vigilante groups in its current form. In Southwestern cities of Nigeria, citizens have had to resort to community policing to safe guard life and properties in which vigilante groups compliment the effort of Nigerian police to ensure the safety of both their lives and properties.

Several studies showed a number of factors that have contributed to the emergence and growing spate of vigilante groups in parts of Nigeria. Okoro (2007) identified corruption, brutality, oppressive and repressive postures, high level of extortion, lack of easy access to police services when in distress, increasing rate of insecurity and criminality, poverty, non-personal relationships, as some of the factors that made the people lose faith in the Nigerian police to adequately police their community and their consequent preference for vigilantism. Therefore, this study aimed to look at the importance of Vigilante group existence in crime control in Akinyele community, how the efforts of the vigilante has helped in controlling crime and how the vigilante group can be used to maintain the protection of lives and properties of the people of Akinyele community. Invariably, the research study would beam an empirical search light on vigilantism, crime control, and socio-economic and cultural factors in the Akinyele area of Ibadan

1.2. Research Questions

It is from the problem statement that the following research questions would be guiding this study:

- i. What are the socio-economic and cultural factors responsible for the operation of vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan?
- ii. What are the roles played by vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan for effective crime control and community safety?
- iii. What are the challenges faced by vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan in ensuring security of lives and properties in the community?
- iv. What is the relationship between the police and vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan?

1.3. Research Objectives

The broad objective of this study is the sociocultural implication of vigilante group in crime control in Akinyele Area of Ibadan. The specific objectives are:

- i. To examine the socio-economic and cultural factors responsible for the operation of vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan.
- ii. To examine the roles of vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan for effective crime control and community safety.
- iii. To examine the challenges of vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan in ensuring security of life and properties in the community.
- iv. To examine the relationship between the police and vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan.

1.4. NEED OF THE STUDY

This study will add to the existing literature on vigilantism for effective crime control and community safety. The study will be a baseline study to institutional administrators, governments, policy think tanks, as well as all interested civic and non-governmental organization who seeks a reality-based research and analysis of the measures to consider in informal community policing. It will also build up on existing knowledge on vigilantism for future researchers as a point of reference for similar studies and the methodological uniqueness of this study would serve the research community locally and internationally.

This study will further explore the security vacuum that vigilante groups had occupied in Akinyele community as a complimentary role with the Nigeria police for effective crime control and community safety. Also, the conclusion and recommendation of this study will stimulate the interest of the government in providing adequate police services in both rural and urban communities or modify and assist vigilante groups to complement security efforts of the police. Furthermore, this study will be of great benefit to law enforcement agencies and other stake holders in their quest for police reform. In general, it will stimulate further research in vigilantism and policing.

1.5. Conceptual Clarification

In the context of this study, the following concepts have been defined as follows.

Crime control: This means all the steps and activities taken to prevent the spread and commission of crime.

Crime prevention: Often used interchangeably with crime control. It refers to all efforts made to ensure that crime does not occur or is reduced to the barest minimum.

Police: This refers to the branch of criminal justice system that fights against crime and maintain law and order.

Policing: Any effort aimed at detecting and preventing crime as well as protection of lives and property. It can be done formally by state agents or informally by private citizens.

Socio-cultural implication: This refers to the consequences which arose as a result of the society and culture of the people

Vigilante: This refers to groups formed and funded by members of a particular community to fight against crime and protect lives and property of individuals.

Vigilantism: Law enforcement undertaken without legal authority by a self-appointed group of people.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter dealt with the literature review of the topic under study and it was organized under the following sub-headings: Policing and Crime prevention, the concept of vigilantism, origin of Vigilantism, Vigilante groups and the public, relevant crime theories, theoretical frame work and research hypotheses.

2.1 History of vigilantism in Nigeria

In Nigeria, the term vigilante is used to refer to a range of different groups, each with different motives. The term has been applied to groups such as the Bakassi Boys, who were initially set up with the purpose of fighting crime without an explicit political agenda, as well as to others such as Odua people's Congress (OPC), the Yoruba ethnic militia active in south west of Nigeria. The OPC was initially created to advocate for autonomy for the Yoruba people. However, from 1999, the OPC changed its fundamental objective of seeking self-determination for the Yoruba people to crime fighting activities and the settlement of personal disputes. In some of the Northern States in Nigeria., there are other groups known as Hisba groups referred to as vigilantes, which are used to monitor and enforce the observance of sharia laws. Some of them have administered instant punishments to those caught violating sharia law. (the legitimization of torture 2002, Ethnic militia groups of Nigeria). In Akinyele area of Ibadan, the term vigilante denotes a group of people formed by the members of the community to control and prevent crime due to the inability of the formal criminal justice system to bring the increasing crime wave in the local government under control.

The origin of vigilantism is explained in various ways. Eke (2002) gave account for the origin of vigilante activities in his home town, Okpara in Delta State as lack of the presence of governmental agencies in the daily lives of its people. Okpara has a population of more than 20,000 people. It has no police station. To this end, the people had no option than to find a way of defending and protecting themselves from criminal victimization. In other words, police in Nigeria is understaffed and cannot cover the nook and cranny of Nigerian society.

Vigilantism in Nigeria has often been considered as a social or community reaction to crime whereas it is also a top down political response to policing issue. The first official vigilante organizations in Nigeria were created by military governors under Babangida regime. The demand for local police "closer to the people" has always been strong since the suppression of the regional police in 1966-1970 (Fourchard, 2007: 17). Because it is forbidden to create state police, civilian governors under the 4th Republic set up state vigilante organizations not very different from the previous ones (Agbola and Sobanjo, 2003; Sesay and al., 2003, 19).

The Bakassi Boys, the once popular and well known vigilante groups in eastern cities have been transformed in 2000 into Vigilante State Services by governors of Abia and Anambra States before being officially suppressed in 2002 (Meagher, 2007). In the South West, many governors have supported officially or unofficially vigilante activities of OPC (Akinyele, 2007). Undoubtedly, crime control organizations are part of an on-going struggle between the federal government and the newly elected governors since the return of a civilian regime in 1999. More generally, if vigilante organizations were sometimes fought by the state, they were more often tolerated and even promoted by military and civilian governors, mainly because it was a way to unload on the community the heavy price of protecting it. Instead of considering the rise of vigilantism in Nigeria, as the manifestation of state erosion, we consider that vigilante practices are part of the historical and on-going formation of the state (Hibou 1999).

Taking into consideration the historical roots of vigilantism in Nigeria may also help to reconsider the history of crime in a less normative ways as well as to study the legacy of non-state policing practices in contemporary forms of vigilantism. Indeed, most of the studies on vigilante organizations are dominated by conjectural and teleological approach. Crime is always perceived as increasing while community responses to insecurity should be analyzed in a larger historical period in which solutions to fight crime considerably fluctuated. In many cases, night guards were abandoned as soon as the feeling of security was coming back before being recreated when necessary.

In central Ibadan, night guards were set up in 1941, reinstalled in 1942, set up again in 1948, they were changed into vigilante groups in 1987, then abandoned later on before being resuscitated in 1998 after a massive armed robbery. Of course, movement of creation and abandon has nothing specifically "African". Mike Brogden (2004: 635) has indicated that Neighborhood Watch Schemes have in the majority of cases a very short life in Western countries. Actually, patrolling an area is boring, costly and dangerous, reasons why organizations can easily disappear. However, most of the studies on vigilante in Nigeria have focused almost exclusively on the organization itself rather than on the practices developed over time. Instead of considering the rise of vigilante under the 4th Republic as a recent phenomenon as it is sometimes mentioned, it is worth considering it as the last wave of a movement which has started much earlier. One way of doing it is to look at the recycling of former organizations under a new name, a classical but undocumented process in Nigeria.

In the South West, the main current militia group which turned into a vigilante group in 1999-2000 is the OPC. We have today numerous researches on this militia, but the current literature has not been able to dissociate what is really new from what is older in the self-defense practices of the organization. At first glance, differences between the OPC and former vigilante groups appear very clearly. The organization is apparently larger and more structured than any former vigilante groups. More empirical research is however needed to understand the relationships between the different scales of the organization. First, since 1999, there is an on-going struggle between two factions (Adewanmi, 2005) and which faction controls which city or part of the city remains unclear. Secondly and to a certain extent, the OPC only takes over former crime control practices at neighborhood level. In some cases, OPC members have been invited by "traditional authorities" to take over security organization at city level as was the case in Oworo in 2002, and Osogbo in 2003 (Akinyele, 2007: 154). In Lagos, Ibadan and Oshogbo, OPC members mainly patrol in low- and medium-income housing areas where police protection is lacking, whereas in richer areas the organisation is almost absent (Akinyele, 2007, Fourchard, 2006 b). Interestingly, security provision at grassroots level is almost identical in neighborhoods patrolled by OPC members as those that do not rely on the OPC as the number of guards patrolling the ward is the same (from 2 to 4); guards patrol the area between 11 pm and 5 am, they have an equivalent salary as non OPC members (i.e. 5 000 to 8 000 Naira), with their salary generally being paid from a fee shared among the inhabitants of the neighborhood. Hence, it seems that OPC militia groups took over in certain cases former self-defense organizations.

According to Yfeany Onyeonoru (2003: 380) "insecurity in Onistsha in the late 1970s led to "Operation Boys Oye-e" in which traders went on a rampage, fishing out and burning alive suspected criminals. In related circumstances, in the 1980s and 1990s, members of the Onitsha Market Amalgamated Traders Association (OMATA), arrested, tried and executed suspected criminals".

In the North and especially in Kano, vigilante groups became official in the mid-1980s and according to Rasheed Olaniyi (2005: 55) they were offshoots of Yantauri (hunters). Some elements of continuity since the colonial period could eventually be traced. OPC members like former night guards and vigilante did familiarize community members with extra-legal practices and using charms for crime control operations throughout the 20thcentury

In Akinyele area of ibadan like other places where vigilante activities are taking place, the rise of vigilantism in its current form can be traced back to the explosion of violent crime that rose in the area in late 1990's. Armed robbery and other forms of violent crime reached unprecedented levels. People were gripped by fear of insecurity and could hardly sleep during the night. The Nigeria police force did not help matters and people were afraid to report any case of crime to the police for fear of reprisal attack. Consequently, vigilante groups were formed to match force with force. This indeed alleviated the problems created by the activities of these hoodlums in the areas and people were able to sleep with their eyes closed.

In summary, vigilantism in its current form in the present Nigeria emerged as a response to violent crimes that erupted and continued to rise in many parts of the country and the obvious inability of police to control or prevent them.

2.2. The roles of vigilante groups in crime fighting.

The sudden exit of the military from power and the run-down police force that they bequeathed to the civilian regime made it impossible to cope with crime upsurge in the country. To fill the gap, people formed vigilante groups (CLEEN, 2002). These vigilante groups go by different names across the country. The primary reason for setting them up was to protect the people from incessant raids by armed robbers in their neighborhoods. This was captured by CLEEN when it put it thus;

Local communities across Nigeria, as in many other countries in Africa and elsewhere, have created their own informal or sometimes formal structures to try to ensure the security of the population. These groups have usually been composed of individuals from the local community. They have derived their credibility, and unofficial authority, from the community in which they serve. One of the main purposes of these initiatives has been to complement the police in identifying and handing over criminal suspects to the appropriate judicial authorities. They have also sometimes tried to settle other conflicts between individuals in the community. Local leaders have on occasion abused their power and used these groups for other purposes. (CLEEN, 2002, P.3).

The vigilantes rose to the challenge of combating the spiraling crime waves across many cities in the country especially in the early years of democratic transition. Initially there was a reduction in crime. Commercial activities picked up in the commercial cities of Aba, Onitsha, Lagos, etc. and people could move around freely once again. The acclaimed success of the Bakassi Boys in reducing crime in Aba, resulted to the clamor for and the introduction of this group to Onitsha (Anambra), and Owerri (Imo) (CLEEN, 2002). Their feats in catching and fishing out criminals were legendary across the south-east. They won the admiration and goodwill of the people. However, with time these vigilante groups in most cases deviated from the original purpose for which they were formed to engaging in other activities such settling civil matters, recovering debts, ejecting tenants for landlords and in some cases meddling in husband and wife matters, and serving as ready hands to unleash violence during elections. (CLEEN, 2002).

2.3. Operation of Vigilante group in Nigeria.

These vigilantes made some successes in combating crimes in the country. Their operation restored some sense of safety for the people. In some commercial cities where armed robbers almost paralyzed activities, witnessed a returned to business as the armed robbers were either killed or chased away. Their successes within those brief

period won them peoples" goodwill, admiration and support. The politicians were quick to cash in on the successes, public acclaim and respect that these vigilantes have gained for their own political survival. (CLEEN, 2002). They openly supported them. They initiated legislations to give them legal backings, and placed their members on salaries. The leadership and control of these vigilantes were taken away from the people. It became the prerogative the politicians to determine who leads them. The contestations for political space in the ensuing elections since the 1998/99 transition have witnessed the deployment of violence by the various parties. From internal parties" primaries elections to the general elections, violence is becoming a common feature. It now seems that whosoever that is capable of deploying violence wins election (CLEEN, 2002). Politicians have taken over the control of these vigilantes for their political gains. Just like the vigilante groups in the cities became the appendage of the governors in those states, the community vigilantes came under the influence of the local government chairmen. These local government chairmen control them through the payment of their monthly stipends and provision of logistics for their operations such as vehicles; in some cases, they secretly armed them. An excerpt from CLEEN document puts it thus:

A combination of political, economic and social factors in Nigeria-including high unemployment, poor relations between the police and local communities, widespread corruption, and absence of confidence and trust in the state and its institutions has meant that it has been easy to recruit people to these vigilante groups, and for these groups to flourish. The situation has been aggravated by influential political figures, including several state governors, who have sought to rely on armies of thugs who are on standby to intervene when events do not go in their favor. In general, state governments have tolerated if not encouraged these vigilante groups, and have been unwilling to take decisive action to dismantle them or call their backers to account. (CLEEN, 2002, P.3)

2.4. Vigilantism engagement with the state and society

In 2006, OPC leader Adams estimated that the OPC had about three million members, reflecting its solid support among the over 30 million Yoruba speakers in Nigeria. One of the reasons for the OPC's success was that it relied on the creation of clear administrative structures and procedures, which facilitated continuing and close cooperation between OPC members at different levels, and which included control by traditional spiritual advisers. In many localities, the OPC gained a foothold through individuals who had joined the OPC elsewhere, or who were approached by existing OPC members. Again, pointing to the fluid boundaries of Yoruba nationalism, and despite the involvement of the OPC in a number of inter-ethnic conflicts, the Lagos OPC especially also attracted non-Yoruba member. (Akinyele, 'Ethnic Militancy, p. 631)

Lasun Eweina (2005) believed that indicating the widespread understanding that political and social bonds were both spiritual and mundane, the OPC's administration also included traditional spiritual advisers, who controlled

and legitimised the group's internal and external relations. Within the OPC, initiation techniques drawn from nineteenth-century war faring traditions and secret associations ensured solidarity and mutual support among members. Also, they tested and refined charms, medicines, protective clothing and spiritual techniques, which would be distributed to members. Members who abused this power were believed to risk injury or death. The spiritual means employed by the OPC also legitimized its activities in the eyes of many non-members. Understood by many as counteracting the social phenomena associated with Nigeria's contemporary political and economic decline, such as egotism and corruption, the traditional practices revalidated by the OPC were believed to reflect the higher moral standard of the past (Faseun 2004). Thus the OPC's use of traditional practice was not only directed at the politically corrupt state, it also indicated the OPC's wider concern with morality and the social order (Fatima Adamu 2008).

In many localities, the OPC settled local disputes, with cases ranging from marital disagreements over boundaries to the collection of debts, and established vigilante groups which patrolled the streets at night to arrest and punish thieves and armed robbers. The adoption of vigilantism as part of the OPC's policies reflected both the increasing availability of small arms and the decline of Nigeria's public sector. Under both Babangida and Abacha, the military had created special police and security forces under their personal command, which attacked communities involved in protest or suspected of harboring members of the political opposition (Reno, 'Politics of Insurgency', pp. 840, 849). As the ongoing criminalization of the Nigerian state shocked and embarrassed many Nigerians, rumors that army leaders and politicians used sections of the centrally controlled police and army to support and protect criminals gained credibility. (James Currey, 1999)

By the mid-1990s, growing numbers of Yoruba speakers believed that the military used crime to undermine Yoruba society and politics. In response, the OPC insisted that the control of security, crime and policing should be devolved from the central level. (Maier, This House, p. 230). As long as the central government remained in control of security provision, OPC members understood their own suffering from crime and corruption as politically motivated. Thus, they did not perceive their vigilantism as the private provision of a public good beyond the capacity of the state, but as an important contribution to the Nigerian struggle. If the central government used public violence for sectional or private purposes, the boundaries between the private and public uses of OPC violence needed to be blurred as well to counter state oppression.

In many localities OPC vigilantes did not just provide security where the state had failed, they were also mobilised in conflicts with state institutions and groups believed to be favoured by the state. In particular, OPC vigilantes curbed police tolerance of and even involvement in crime by capturing and punishing police officers and other local leaders close to criminal elements. (Reno, 'Politics of Violent Opposition', p. 137) Unlike the police, the OPC rarely granted bail to suspects, and some OPC groups held prisoners for long periods of time and even subjected them to secret trials. These and similar OPC practices contravened Nigerian law and international human rights. However, OPC activities were supported by large sections of the population who felt that many

criminals were protected from punishment by politicians and military administrators. Whether the OPC vigilantes fought criminals or police officers, they believed they directly or indirectly engaged with the agents of a state that unfairly excluded and victimized them. (Adams, 2005)

2.5. The Vigilante groups and Nigerian police

Police forces are a government organization that has the responsibility of maintaining law and order, and to protect the general public from harm. The police exist to serve the people and it is therefore important that police activities should be people-oriented and reflect public interest. Their activities should meet the expectations of the people whom they serve (Soyombo, 2005). According to Hills (2014) the police's cooperation with the informal stakeholders is an emergent policy as a result of the multi-layered nature of the police profession. Fourthard (2008) contended that the activities of Odua People's Congress (OPC), like those of the night guards in the colonial era and other sister vigilante organizations in the country are familiar to the members of the public. This is more or less consequent upon the fact that extra-legal and other practices considered uncivilized such as the use of charms were part and parcel of crime control cultures among the indigenous population in the twentieth century. At times, Neighborhood Watches could catch criminals and then handed them over to the Native Authority for appropriate action but, Conversely, Fourchard (2008) argued that more often than not, crime suspects are believably subjected to inhuman treatment that could impact negatively the rest of their lives. These inhuman treatments could be in the form of abysmal torture, subjecting suspects to drinking of poisons, nailing of suspects on the head, beaten or killing, burning without recourse to judicial process. These kinds of activities have accustomed the local community members to a range of regimes that focus on eliminating those considered as undesirable elements. These undesirable elements could be people of other ethnic groupings, law breakers, and political opponents, and/or those who have not been obeying a range of curfew practices. Consequently, culture of impunity develops and tolerated at the expense of rule of law, while extra-judicial killings are perpetrated by security agents under the guise of protecting the community's best interest (Fourchard, 2008).]

Despite of any real or perceived inadequacies of these informal policing structures in Nigeria, Zumve (2012) was of the view that informal policing structures are now being represented by a range of agencies such as Bakassi boys of the Igbo in the South East of Nigeria, the Hisba of the Hausa/Fulani in the North, and the Odu'a people's congress (OPC) of the Yoruba in the South West of the country among many others. Hills (2014:9), while reviewing the pattern of partnership policing as it affects Kano of north-central Nigeria, suggested that the presence of socio-cultural and religious institutions have influenced the provision of policing services in the area. According to Hills (2014:9), the activities of alternative security providers have been encouraged by '...the apparent failure of the notoriously brutal, corrupt and ineffective Nigeria Police Force to provide adequate security and justice'. However, Hills view seemed to contradict Onyeozili's (2005) perspective in this regard. According to Onyeozili (2005), colonialism had distorted elements of traditional institutions and values that were perceived to have previously sustained order maintenance in the pre-colonial African societies.

However, the emergence of the alternative community security institutions has tended to question the relationship between the police/other law enforcement agents and members of the public in terms of crime prevention and control in Nigeria. The problem concerning the activities of vigilante groups in Nigeria is their acceptability to the police, in view of the fact that vigilante mode of operation has posed a threat to the state police in terms of sharing of the monopoly of violence. It is also important to note that apart from undermining police legitimacy in Nigeria, vigilante's activities could also resort to extra-judicial killings whereby furthering the already sour taste of the trust-gap in the police/community relationship (Fourchard, 2008). Adekanye (2012) further observed that at this level of the nation's development, there have been rising ethnic, religious and communal tensions. The recent killing by suspected Fulani herdsmen in some part of Nigeria has to some extent undermined the ability of the Nigeria Police Force to protect security for lives and properties. Adekanye (2012) added that the matter was becoming worse as the security agencies such as the Nigeria police have problems in coping with violent attitudes of the numerous ethnic militias in the country.

However, in safeguarding communities against adverse effect of crime and atrocities on lives and properties, militias groups have taken various forms of identity such as the O'dua Peoples' Congress (OPC) in the South-West, the Bakassi Boys in the South-East, the Egbesu Boys and the Meinbutsu in the South-South and the Arewa Peoples' Congress (APC) in the North. Despite what many of them stand for Adekanye(2012) have laid much emphasis on the violent disposition of these ethnic militias, Rotimi and Ikuteyijo (2012) have also argued in relatively strong terms that they were notable security outfits entrenched in Yoruba ancestral tradition that tend to engage in magical methods of defense. According to the view of Rotimi and Ikuteyijo (2012), the use of charm and other occult powers of the vigilante institutions grant a range of acknowledged comparative advantages in security and crime prevention and control issues. This view reflects the enormous security challenge facing the country that ultimately called for the introduction of the policy of community policing. In the face of perceived or real failure of the police establishments to provide services that will guarantee crime prevention and control, the various informal and semi-informal policing structures have continued to operate in parallel with the official police organization in Nigeria.

Alemika and Chukwuma's (2004) acclaimed that what had been regarded as informal policing structures are in agreement with the political and socio-cultural practices of their respective communities. The policing groups, according to this contention, are founded on traditional practices of age-grade, divination and masquerade cults. Alemika and Chukwuma (2004) further stated that such groups are identified as informal only in relation to the contemporary state police system but not as reflected however in the consciousness and lived experiences of the people. Similarly, Fourchard (2008) continued to emphasize that 'vigilante' was a term at the instance of the Nigeria police in the mid-1980s to substitute with 'hunter guard' or 'night guard', a similar structure hitherto in existence as system during the colonial period. It had the legal and authorized backing of the then government of Western Nigeria thereby paving way for its operation as a non-state form of policing in Nigeria. Rotimi and

Ikuteyijo (2012) also observed that the Bakassi Boys, the Egbesu Boys and other sister organizations were at various points in time directly or indirectly engaged by their respective state governments in Nigeria. This was to assist the State government(s) in the maintenance of security of lives and property in their respective domains.

Corroborating with the assertion of Rotimi and Ikuteyijo (2012) on how community members have viewed the activities of informal policing institutions in Nigeria is the further evidence credited to Okereafoezeke (2003). In the view of Okereafoezeke (2003), Bakassi Boys are reputed to be functional and efficient in the area of crime prevention and control for the reason that the group has the ability to identify a criminal no matter what effort at concealing identity. According to this view, members of the group move from one community to the other fishing out criminals, arresting and punishing them. This perspective, though has recognized the unfortunate extrajudicial stance of their methodologies, appreciate their ability to significantly reduce the rate of crimes in the area (Okreafoezeke, 2003). Even in the Northern part of Nigeria where Islamic mode of governance and policing held sway in the pre-colonial and colonial periods, the current realities of governance in the area have shown the preeminence of the implementation of Islamic (Sharia) modes of policing. In the light of this, Olaniyi (2011) further argued that the extension of these Islamic principles is the establishment of the Hisba Guard of the contemporary Sharia implementation in Kano state of Nigeria. Ahmad (1983:7 as cited in Olaniyi, 2011) stated that Hisba was established to cater for the security, moral, economic and public life of the people in line with tenets of Islam and as clearly stipulated in the Sharia. According to Olaniyi (2011), Hisba institution is perceived as capable of guiding against corrupt, fraud, and dishonest tendencies of the people and tackle the problems of community security and policing of a moral order in accordance with the provision of Sharia (Islamic legal code).

Apart from Nigeria, Loveday (1999), made it known that within the United Kingdom, there are noticeable varieties of police systems and institutions (such as the Procurator Fiscal supervising police investigation activities in Scotland) independently in operation despite overwhelming influence of the government at the center. Making reference to the findings of Mawby (1999) and Loveday (1999), it is worth-stating that despite that UK provides one of the best police services in the world, consequent upon a range of community distrust on the State Police a community-based system of policing has remained the preferred choice, key and significant features among the Jersey community in the British Isles. According to Mawby (1999), the Jersey community has a population of about eighty thousand people and this numerical strength has placed the Jersey as the largest of the entire Channel Islands in Britain. In the context of the 1974 Police Force (Jersey) Law which created legal framework for the police system currently in use, the community-based Honorary Police volunteers with the population of two hundred and eighty-three (283) out-numbered the paid police with the numerical strength of two hundred and forty-two personnel as at the year 1996. Structure wise, these volunteers operate directly under the control of the Anthony General. This arrangement has paved way for robust relationship between the community and the police in terms of accountability and governance in this part of the British Islands (Mawby, 1999). Also, in this context, Loveday (1999) further stated that sequel to the Northern Ireland review, while the

general arrangements concerning the police are removed from the mainland in the Channel Island, those constables elected locally in the Jersey and Guernsey work alongside with the professionally paid police forces. It is a thing of special interest that the State of Jersey police in particular are expected to function alongside with the locally elected constables (Loveday, 1999).

Despite of the relevance of the informal policing organizations in Nigeria, it is worth highlighting that their existence has in one way or the other posed danger to the operational conduct of conventional police institutions. The observations of Rotimi and Ikuteyijo (2012) have illustrated well the point that the un-official policing organizations have experienced frequent clashes with the state-police organizations. The consequences of this are not only significant most especially to the crude means those informal policing institutions adopt in crime detection, but also for the jungle justice usually meted out to the victims without respecting the principles of human rights of all citizens regardless of the nature of their offense. Nevertheless, the impact of corruption on policing within the context of Nigeria is worth being examined

Dambazau (2007) argued that brutal attitudes of the police in Nigeria have not been helpful in terms of attempt to create enabling platform for cordial relationship between the police and members of public in Nigeria. The operational activities of the police in Nigeria have been characterized by the treatment of alleged suspects with disdain and assault. According to Dambazau (2007), examples of such kind of behaviour by police officers are the attempt to forcefully extort confessions from the alleged crime suspects. This could be in a disguised attempt of the police to prevent crimes and/or an expression of disgust towards a particular criminal suspect. Further to these is that it is a way of settling scores with some perceived enemies while some could be in the cause of committing a corrupt act (Dambazau, 2007:282-3).

In this regard, Alemika and Chukwuma (2003:13) have also argued that the operational activities of the personnel of Nigeria police have been characterized by cases of extra-judicial killings of crime suspects in police cells during unlawful detection and mostly without recourse to the rule of law and fundamental principles of the constitution. Closely connected to the colonial factor is the interventions of the military in the politics of Nigeria between 1966 and 1979(thirteen years) and 1983-1999(sixteen years). The military intervention in the political sphere has negatively affected the essence of the police institutions in Nigeria. More so that the police organization was neglected under successive military regimes which perceived the organization as a counter force that deserved to be weakened (Alemika and Chukwuma, 2003). The government neglect of police was achieved through the suspension of democratic institutions such as the National Assembly, the Police Council, the Police Service Commission as well as the recruitment and training of officers of the Nigeria Police Force for a very long period. Those who were left in the service were either dismissed or sent on compulsory retirement (Osayande, 2012)

2.6. Corruption of Police giving rise to vigilante relevance

There is mounting evidence that in Nigeria, police corruption is a cause for concern across jurisdictions in terms of policing and crime control. In this context, Alemika, and Chukwuma, (2003:14) have argued that police

corruptions elicit serious concern for three significant reasons. Firstly, the police are expected to be moral as well as law enforcement agents. If the police who are employed to prevent and detect corruption and bring culprits to judgement are themselves corrupt, the society's crusade against corruption is guaranteed to fail. Secondly, the police exercise powers that have implications for the life, property, safety and freedom of the citizens. Where the exercise of such powers is contaminated by corrupt motives, the citizens feel exceedingly vulnerable, insecure, and powerless. Thirdly, police corruption is usually tantamount to extortion, a form of robbery or demand with the use of force. These dimensions of police corruption explain why the public is threatened by such practices. Under such circumstance, a range of suggestions have been offered by various stakeholders about the impact of corruption on policing and the corresponding implications on the police/community relationship patterns in Nigeria.

For instance, Osayande (2012) noted that corruption which has gained access to the operational dynamics of Nigeria Police Force is found to be on a higher level in recent times. Osayande (2012) has reiterated that corrupt practices in the Nigeria Police Force have gone beyond the domain of individual officers. Osayande (2012) stated that officers are fond of involving in acts of negligence and collusion to collect monies and gratifications in order to facilitate the offenders or suspects' escape from custody. According to Osayande (2012), closure of case files, escorts of contra-banned and stolen goods, stealing of property from the crime suspects, victims of accident and taking bribes or gratifications in order to decline arrest of suspects are some the unfortunate indulgences of police officers in Nigeria. Osayande also noted that some of police officers are used to receiving bribes in order to arrest some innocent citizens who may be a real or perceived enemy of the bribe giver, supplying armed robbers with the police uniforms and arms for a fee. As noted by Cole (1999), there are inadequate or lack of political and democratic mechanisms in place to review police operations in their respective stations. This also includes lack of mechanism to facilitate the public in calling the police to account for decisions. By the way, of concern to the public is to have full knowledge of how the police choose to enforce the law as well as overseeing of operation of the complaints associated with various aspects of police work (Cole, 1999).

According to Osayande (2012), issues relating to leaking vital security information about the complainants to criminals for the purpose of receiving gratifications in return and stealing from the scene of crime or accident are common. Further to these is the culture of extorting money from crime suspects before bail is granted which ordinarily should have been free, among many others and that is the more reason corruption in Nigeria has in no small measure affected the system of policing (Osayande, 2012:14). Cases of lack of proper consultation and coordination, agencies rivalries, police resistance, public mistrust and hostility and the emergence of another 'middle men and small elite' between the police and the public could crop up if not carefully managed. Some police officers use the opportunity presented by community policing project to dump their responsibilities. At times, police request villagers to patrol highways after major robbery operations and the ruling parties can manipulate the system to file against political opponents (Lee and Haider, 2012:3). Although the personnel and

logistics related policies and practices have direct bearing on the US's need to actualize and address security concerns of its citizens, this can be drawn upon to determine the nature of attention being paid to the sector in order to ensure implementation of community policing policy in Nigeria.

Similarly, the findings of the Civil Society Panel on Police Reform in Nigeria report (2012) suggests that though the current police Inspector General has been alive to the need to curb corruption by dismantling road blocks as well as award of punishments to erring police officers, corruption is still found as the 'number one impediment to the effective performance of police functions in Nigeria and a cancer that has spread to every facet of the Nigeria Police Force. (Civil Society Panel on Police Report in Nigeria report, 2012:12). The same report suggested that corruption has spread in the whole country but this doesn't serve as an excuse to justify corruption in the Nigeria police institution. According to Onyeozili (2005:42), the personnel of Nigerian police exhibit the habit of extorting money from motorists at various road blocks and junctions on highways in the country. This road blocks are usually erected under instructions of the police superior officers who effect the posting. Apart from this corrupt practice of the police officers in Nigeria, police personnel are also busy receiving monetary gratification in order to influence justice in favor of the concerned public that paid the highest bidder. Onyeozili (2005) argued that such attitudes had negatively affected the public image and integrity as well of the Nigeria police in terms of perceiving it as a corrupt law enforcement agency. However, opinions of police officers according to Onyeozili (2005) suggested that corruption though has become an infection which they find it difficult to dissociate, Nigeria citizenry also are affected and that corruption has never been an exclusive reserve of the police institutions in Nigeria. The suggested consequence according to Onyeozili (2005) is in tandem with the position of Dirikx and Bulck (2014). In an attempt to theorize on conditions surrounding people's perceptions and their willingness to report crime to the police, Dirikx and Bulck (2014) stated that if the people have the belief that police practice fairness in terms of decisions and treatment, they are likely to perceive the police as a legitimate authority that deserve the people's willingness to cooperate. This position is an indication that people might have tendencies to withdraw their sense of cooperation in terms of willingness to give information to the police should their personal encounter with the police suggest otherwise.

2.7. The Oodua People's Congress [OPC] Vigilante group in southwest

Much has been said in literature concerning the etiology of OPC that in this paper, attention is essentially focused on the structure - admission/recruitment and training of members, mode of operation - deployment, investigation and punishment and reward system. The Oodua People's Congress [OPC], named after the mythological ancestor of the Yoruba is one of the largest ethnic militias in Nigeria today [Guichaoua, 2006]. It is very influential in the states demographically dominated by the Yoruba in the southwest. The OPC's official objectives are set out in its constitution thus:

To gather all the descendants of Oodua all over the earth especially in Africa, the Caribbean, South America and North America for a most profound, all embracing and absolutely unflinching UNITY; to identify with a view of re-living the glory of our past for the purpose of posterity; to educate and mobilize the descendants of Oduduwa for the purpose of the above; to integrate the aspirations and values of all the descendants of Oduduwa into a collective platform of an Oduduwaentity; to monitor the various interests of descendants of Oduduwa by whatever name called, anywhere on the face of the earth and struggle for the protection of these interests; to ensure maximum self-determination of the people of Oodua; to further the progress of Oodua civilization by protecting and promoting our values, mores and the intergenerational transmission of same; to locate a bearing for an Oodua world view and establish its place in the world and to mobilize the people of Oodua for the National cause [OPC constitution and Bill of Rights]

There are still conflicting accounts of the date and the formation of the OPC by the two factions into which the group was broken. The organization according to Fasheun, was formed by a group of seven, including himself; the other six were popular market leaders at Mushin area of Lagos. They were Mrs. Adebowale [Iya-Ijebu], Alhaji Ibrahim [Baba Oja], and Mrs. Taiwo, each of them brought one other person along for the inaugural meeting on August 29, 1994. Apart from Fasheun and Taiwo a semi-literate retired military officer, the recruited members were all illiterate [Sesay et al, 2003]. Gani Adams explained: there were nine founding members of OPC comprising Tony Ugurugbe [an Ijaw man], Gani Adams, Dr. Fredrick Fasheun, Olumide Adeniji, Kunle Adesokan, Idowu Adebowale, Ibrahim Abobolanwo, Ibrahim Atanda and Silus Atanda. Explaining further, he said Ugurugbe a non-Yoruba was spurred by the annulment of the June 12 election and felt that there was a need to establish a militant group that would fight to redeem and enhance the status of Yoruba race in the face of unending brazen oppression and subjugation.

OPC claims to have several million members worldwide, men and in a smaller proportion, women; Christian, Muslim and traditionalist.

The main bulk of these supporters are obviously concentrated in the heart of Yorubaland, mainly consisting of the six states of the former southwestern region [Lagos, Ekiti, Ogun, Osun, Oyo, and Ondo]. In addition to the states of Edo, Kwara and Kogi other supporters live in the Yoruba part of the Republic of Bénin or belong to the Diaspora in North America, the Caribbean and Europe. It is, however, difficult to verify whether these are card-carrying members who regularly attend meetings, or simply sympathizers occasionally contributing to the activities of the group.

Also unverifiable are the relative size of each faction and the proportion of 'eso's' [or 'guardians', the alleged paramilitary wing of the (OPC) n the group. What is certain, however, that is the OPC can be labeled a mass movement that is known by everyone in Nigeria [Guichaoua, 2006; Adams, 2002]. As a self-determination

movement, OPC canvass for the organization of a Sovereign National Conference designed to redraw the structure of the Nigerian Federation.

Human Rights Watch [2003] asserts that OPC has a strict hierarchical structure, chain of command, and efficient systems of communication. The organization has structures and executive committees at both the national and state levels with the Annual National Conference as its Supreme decision-making body and the National Executive Council [NEC] as its governing body. At the local level, every member is required to belong to a branch and the branches are grouped into zones, which are further grouped into sub-regions. There are different wings, including eso's wing, women's wing, and also sections responsible for different activities. In each zone in particular there is a matron called IyaOodua who stands as a spiritual leader to be consulted on any issue for divination and direction/instruction. The 'eso's,' as a unit [who go to fight], also called 'ushers' in Gani Adams faction, is involved in vigilante activities and discipline, during meetings or any public events. There is another subset known as the monitoring group that usually clear the way ahead for members while going for rallies [HRW, 2003]. There is strict adherence to disciplinary procedure outlined in OPC's constitution: members who carry out any one of a range of specified offences may face reprimand, payment of compensation and/or performance of useful task, suspension and expulsion. The offence listed range from acts that undermine the effectiveness and reputation of the organization, to corruption, sexual abuse, fighting and a display of religious or any other forms of discrimination.

2.8. OPC Organizational structure

The OPC has a hierarchy and an organizational structure, according to the HRW report on the OPC, which states:

The OPC has a strict hierarchical structure, chain of command, and efficient systems of communication. It has structures and executive committees at national and state levels, with the Annual National Conference as its supreme decision-making body, and the National Executive Council as its governing body. At the local level, every member is required to belong to a branch and the branches are grouped into zones, which are in turn grouped into sub-regions. There are different wings, including a women's wing, and sections responsible for different activities.

Information gleaned from literature asserts also that being a Yoruba is all any one need to qualify for membership and a process of initiation is prepared for a new member. Under Fasheun's faction the initiation according to Sesay et al [2003] is devoid of rituals. It involves making an oath in Yoruba as spelt out in the OPC Constitution and Bill of Rights. The would-be member pays the membership fees and obtains an identity card by filling a membership form sold for NI50.00. The situation is not the same in the more militant faction led by Gani Adams; new members go through a ritual of initiation which Adams depicted as 'protocol'. This initiation takes place

with the participation of a congregation of initiated members. It involves swearing to an oath of secrecy and allegiance through any of the major Yoruba deities. During the initiation a bowl of water is placed on the ground. The one in charge of the rite of initiation puts a piece of iron, stone, and palm frond in the bowl. Initiates are made to swear depending on individual preference by Sango [the Yoruba god of thunder], Ogun [the god of iron], or Yemoja [the water goddess]. The initiate then places his or her hand on the symbol of the god and swears that he/she will never betray the organization, and or abuse whatever it stands for.

The new member then confirms allegiance to the organization by chanting O'oduani mi t'okanto'kan, O'oduanimi t'okant'ara meaning, 'I am O'odua wholeheartedly, I am O'odua soul and body.' Initiation is usually into the eso rank; the esos constitute what the group calls the 'Resistant Wing'. The idea of the eso is an appropriation of one of the key features of the age of warlords in the nineteenth-century Yorubaland. An eso in this era was the epitome of courage, perseverance and victory (Adebanwi, 2005).

During initiation, members are made to swear to an oath that enjoins them to work for the progress of Yoruba land at all times and to keep the secrets of the congress. Though members are issued identity cards, they can also identify one another through sign language and the representations of certain wild animals or insects inscribed on their upper arm.

The OPC adopted the effigy of Oduduwa, the mythological progenitor of the Yoruba race, as its symbol ([Adebanwi, 2005; Akinyele, 2001). The effigy to Akinyele is printed on the tee-shirt commonly worn by OPC members. New members are subsequently armed with charms believed to prevent bullet, cutlass or knife wounds, handkerchief soaked in concoction deemed to prevent gun wounds, a small gourd with black powdery substance, native rings which have also been soaked [Oruka ere], and incisions [gbere] are made on the bodies of new members to prevent harm befalling them. Members also consult oracles regularly to divine the immediate future and seek for protection by offering the prescribed sacrifices to the gods [Adebanwi, 2005]. The motto of the Congress is 'Tiwani', which means it is ours, while the slogan is Oodua Ni mi tokantokan, Oduani mi tokantara, meaning I am Oodua deep down my soul, I am Oodua soul and body (Akinyele, 2001; Sesay et al ed. 2003; Adebanwi, 200).

OPC claims to have between three and five million members. The bulk of the membership of the organization are drawn mainly from the community of artisans, unskilled workers, street gangs, the educationally – disadvantaged, and some practicing and ex-area boys who live in high density and largely notorious areas of Lagos like Mushin, Ajegunle, Bariga, and Agege [Adebanwi, 2005]. While Fasheun seemingly considered that volatile OPC youths should remain under the control of educated leaders, Gani Adams' perspective on what makes a good OPC member is much closer to the 'loose molecules'

We don't like to bother ourselves with people from a capitalist background or rich people because they can only behave like sympathizer to the struggle and they can be difficult to be devoted member. The rest

people are the frustrated people on the street who are deprived one way or the other. They have the will and the courage to fight. For instance, take the student union movement, children of rich people do not bother to join such movement to fight for their rights, it is only student from deprived homes who are often at the forefront of the battle (Interview with Gani Adams, 23/05/2005 cited in Guichaoua, 2006).

This new attitude in OPC's enlistment of members [although certainly not fully executed practically, as zonal coordinators have great autonomy in the enlistment procedure at the plebs level] is more likely to have prompted the progressive but partial criminalization of OPC. One of the informants from Gani Adams faction explained thus:

When we started, we called ourselves youth activists but when the then military started dealing with us, that they killed about 300 at Mushin [a popular neighborhood of Lagos], then we went back to recruit all sorts of people, area boys [street boys] and any kind of person that was interested, this to me led to the loss of focus of the organization leading to the derailing for the initial plans of it.

The oath taken by new OPC members during initiation in their belief makes them bullet proof and compels them not to commit any criminal offence. They believe also that through progressive learning of the use of juju, neither cutlasses nor acid can hurt them. It is their belief also that higher-profile OPC members have the ability temporarily to petrify their enemies simply by looking at them and that a thrown egg can transform itself into a bomb. Aside from increasing self-confidence among members, these procedures ensure cohesiveness within the group, as violating the oath may have very grave consequences for the wrongdoer. In addition, these claims exacerbate fear in OPC's potential enemies and give the OPC credibility within the population they serve.

The magical clout is often complemented by more conventional armaments: OPC members [though not all] carry guns, locally made, smuggled or snatched from the police. [Akinyele, 2001; Human Rights Watch, 2003]. The founder of OPC said members of the organization were only given identity cards after training, and that they were trained in self-defense.

Some members according to Human Rights Watch stated that they were trained or educated about the history and culture of the Yoruba. Still others said they were taught how to relate to the police, in order to avoid confrontation. Gani Adams, according to HRW [2003] averred: "our members are trained in conscience and determination, not the use of weapons" However, it would appear that most of the members had not received any specific training because of the way they were recruited into the group, being Yoruba was virtually all one needed to be a member. In all, there was no specific or concrete blueprint of training for members of OPC but it is usually not out of place to see them flaunt dangerous weapons including guns menacingly while on patrol. The question then is who trained them to use guns and where did they receive the training and who gave them the guns?

The OPC essentially like any other vigilante group before and now, cashed in on the public disillusion with the police and concerns about persistent insecurity and the rising crime rate. They believe they have magical powers and charms to overpower criminals and protect members against conventional weapons; OPC established its reputation a fearless and bold force, more daring and, in the eyes of some, more effective than the police. The Esos took charge of security and vigilante activities, when they caught suspects; they often handed out instant justice, killing them summarily on the spot (Guichaoua, 2006; HRW, 2003). To Adams, only about two or three percent of the members are engaged in vigilante activities; claiming that the service is voluntary but that some give token money in appreciation of the selfless and prompt performance. HRW [2003] reports that, the involvement of OPC in vigilante activities has been particularly financially rewarding to the organization. A community leader in

Ajegunle in Lagos once told HRW that: OPC Eso's collect twenty or fifty naira from bus drivers at every bus stop before they were allowed to go. Ten or twenty percent of this goes to the Lagos State Local Government, then the rest is appropriated by OPC. All local governments employ members of OPC in Lagos State. The OPC leaders are very close to the local governments. Each house has to pay about five hundred naira a month, some more, some less. This money is supposed to be for security and their salaries. The tax is paid to the OPC directly

The OPC has provided security arrangement at local and official gatherings including high profile events. It has been hired by people for different functions, called in to settle scores between private individuals and has intervened in disputes between landlords and tenants. The threat "I will call OPC to deal with you" has become a common catchphrase in situations of argument between people. It is no doubt that OPC members have been responsible for killings in this context, and their intervention in disputes has sometimes evoked wider clashes between communities.

2.9. Theoretical framework

This study is anchored on Broken window theory and social control theory. The proponent of broken window theory is Philip Zimbardo (1969). The theory focuses on the control and prevention of crime from within the community as against from outside the community. It explains how effective and efficient informal policing structures are in controlling crimes compared to the formal policing structure that is made up of 'strangers'. The theory holds that only the community members can safeguard themselves from crimes. This is because they live in the community and can work and watch at all times. They also know who those potential criminals are and how best they can be contained. The core principle of informal policing structures is the constant maintenance of law and order in the various communities by members of that community. This is in line with the core notion of broken window theory, which asserts that the constant presence of police structures makes a community less conducive for crime and criminals. Increased police presence and enforcements of informal rules of conduct and

laws can make a community seem less chaotic and safer, thereby, increasing the presence and involvement of residents in their community and lowering crime rates (Palmiotto,2000). The BWT can be incorporated into the concept of informal policing in the sense that collective efforts by both the police and community dwellers can help alleviate the rate of crime in the community as the police see residents as partners in development and vice versa. The broken window theory asserts that if there is a crack anywhere in the community and no one is available or observant enough to take care of it, overtime it becomes a deep ditch that would pose a serious security risk to members of the society. The BWT assumes that most neighborhood crimes are more often than not perpetrated by offenders who reside near the victims; this makes crime primarily a local problem which can best be solved locally.

The proponent of social control theory is Travis Hirschi. Travis Hirschi (1969) took the tattered remnants of social control theory and reformulated them into a theory which he tested using survey research techniques. He dispensed with the ideas of inner and outer containment and the labeling process. Instead, he theorized that delinquency results when an individual fails to become bound to the social order, or when the bond which a person forms becomes attenuated, freeing the individual to engage in law breaking behavior.

The four elements of the bond which Hirschi believed are related to socialization are attachment, commitment, involvement and belief. Hirschi stated that the attachment of an individual to others is the "essence of internalization of norms". He pointed out that the extent to which the internalization of norms occurs has usually been inferred indirectly from observations about the amount of delinquent behavior in which the individual engages. Whereas Reiss (1951) and Nye (1958:5-7) used essentially a tautological explanation by inferring the lack of internalized norms from the delinquent behavior which they sought to explain. Hirschi proposed that the relationship between delinquency and attachment should be measured directly by studying the extent to which attachments to significant others have been developed (Hirschi, 1969).

The next element of the bond which Hirschi discussed is commitment. Commitment was described as the investment which a person makes in conventional behavior which would be lost if he or she were to decide to break the law (Hirschi, 1969:20). Commitment is measured by positive attitudes towards work, education and adult life. Education is the means through which access is gained to positive adult roles. On the other hand, Hirschi described lack of commitment as an alternative situation in which youths refrain from working on their education through which they can achieve high status adult work roles. If adolescents are heavily involved with some of the superficial hedonistic aspects of adult life such as having a car, dating, smoking or drinking, they will be less committed to education with its associated rewards.

Involvement, the next element of the bond, was related to incapacitation of the individual by engaging him or her in prosocial behavior so that he or she is unavailable to participate in law breaking behavior (Hirschi, 1969:21). Involvement, then is the behavioral side of commitment

The final element of the bond is belief. Hirschi's formulation of social control theory "assumes the existence of a common values system with the society or group whose norms are being violated" (Hirschi 1969:23). The position taken by him on the existence of a set of core social values stood in contrast to that of the proponents of cultural deviance theory who argue that there are many value systems in society. Hirschi, in effect, maintained that delinquents recognize that their deviant behavior is wrong. From a cultural deviance perspective, delinquents would not acknowledge that their behavior was wrong, for they would simply be acting consistently with their deviant value system. Delinquency would therefore simply be a label placed on the youth by an agency which is empowered to impose its rules.

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter focused on the research methodology adopted for this study. Specifically, the chapter describes how the researcher got useful information on the research problem, the geographical area where the study was conducted. The study analyzed the research design, the population and sample size. Also, the chapter presents the instrument used to collect relevant data, methods that was implemented to maintain validity and reliability of the instrument.

3.1 Research Design

Research involves deciding whether or not the research will, for the most part, be qualitative or quantitative, or the combination of both (Anderson and Taylor, 2002). The study therefore used qualitative research method in describing the Socio-cultural implication of vigilante group in crime control in Akinyele area of Ibadan. Importantly, the study adopted the exploratory research design.

As the term suggests, exploratory research design deals with exploring into the phenomenon. Exploratory research design focuses on collecting either secondary or primary data using an unstructured formal or informal procedure to interpret them. Exploratory research designs incorporate the least amount of scientific method and rigor because of aims and structure. Some examples of exploratory research designs include in-depth interviews, focus groups, and projective techniques. As such, the focus of this explorative research design was to understand the sociocultural implication of vigilante group in crime control in Akinyele area of Ibadan

3.2 Study Area

Akinyele is a Local Government Area in Oyo State, Nigeria. It is one of the eleven local governments that make up Ibadan metropolis. The head quarter of Akinyele local government is located at Moniya. Akinyele local government area was created in 1976 and it shares boundaries with Afijio Local Government to the north, Lagelu Local Government Area to the east, Ido Local Government Area to the west and Ibadan North Local Government Area to the south. It occupies a land area of 464.892 square kilometers with a population density of 516 persons

per square kilometer. Using 3.2% growth rate from 2006 census figures, the 2010 estimated population for the Local Government is 23,974. Akinyele Local Government Area was named after the late Olubadan, Issac Babalola Akinyele. Akinyele Local Government is subdivided into 12 wards. The local government is governed by an elected chairman and 12 councillors, one elected from each ward

3.3 Study Population

The study population was comprised of adults in Akinyele area of Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria. Respondents cut across different age brackets, culture, family background, education, religious and education. The respondents include the Landlord associations, community leaders and Vigilante groups in the selected communities. The inclusion criteria comprise of respondents that are residence of Akinyele community and while others who don't fall into this criterion that are found in the area at the time of the filed study will be excluded.

3.4. Sample Size

The study adopted a sample size of 18 participants which comprises of 3 different community heads (local Oba's), 3 landlord chairmen, 3 different vigilante heads, and 9 community members from the 3 communities chosen for this study. 3 communities were chosen for this study. Key informant interview and in-depth interview instrument of data collection was adopted for the research. Participants who meets these criteria was identified and included in the study until the data got saturated.

The participants will have to meet the following criteria to be included in the sample. They should:

- Be at least of the minimum age of 18 years.
- Be community leader and also members of Akinyele community
- Be a member of the Vigilante group saddled with the responsibility of controlling crime in Akinyele community.
- Be of either sex or any race/ethnicity
- Be mentally sound in order to consent to participation
- Be willing to participate

Anyone who did meet some of the inclusion criteria stated above was automatically excluded from the study.

3.5. Sampling Technique

A non-probability purposive sampling technique was used for the study. Purposive design provides cases rich in information for in-depth study. This study covets this sampling method to gain important insights on the strategies put in place by the joint effort of members of the Vigilante group and community leaders on one hand and

Akinyele community landlords on the other hand. The size of the sample was controlled by saturation of information. The design was also chosen because the researcher wants to develop a rich or dense description of experiences regarding vigilantism, rather than using sampling techniques that support general data.

3.6. Data and Sources of Data

The research instruments used in this study is In-depth and Key informant interview. Structured interview guide was used to gather detailed information from interviewee on the socio-cultural implication of vigilante group in crime control in Akinyele area of Ibadan. All interviews sessions were conducted in the day time with the aid of tape recorder and note taking. The KII with the vigilante group took place at their office of operation. The IDI with the community leaders and landlord chairmen took place at their palace and their respective houses. The interview guide was used to gather information on the socio-economic and cultural factors responsible for the operation of vigilante groups in Akinyele community of Ibadan, the roles of vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan for effective crime control and community safety, the challenges of vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan in ensuring security of life and property in the community and the relationship between the police and vigilante groups in Akinyele L.G.A.

3.7. Reliability and Validity of the Research Instrument

The central goal of research instruments is to generate information for the purpose of the study. In other word, research instruments are designed to collect information with maximum reliability and validity. In designing the instruments, content validity was adopted to authenticate that the items in the instruments actually measured exactly what they were designed to measure. Furthermore, the interview guide was given to the researcher's supervisor to re-examine and ascertain its suitability for the variables and the objectives they will be used to measure. His observations and corrections were taken into considerations and the amendments was made where necessary before the researcher was able to use it for the in-depth and key informant interview guide.

3.8. Methods of Data Analysis

Data analysis is a mechanism for reducing and organizing data to produce findings that require interpretation by the researcher (Burns & Grove 2003). The qualitative data obtained through the IDIs and KIIs was analyzed using content analysis and descriptive methods (ethnography summaries). The data was transcribed by the researcher in addition to the notes that was collated from the field research. The comments from the interviewees was quoted verbatim to bring out the important points that relate to the subject matter of the study.

3.9. Ethical Consideration

Ethical principles, according to Babbie (1998), comprise the consideration for voluntary participation, anonymity and confidentiality. In compliance with these and other ethical standards on research work involving human

subjects, the researcher made every attempt to uphold the principles which aim at protecting the dignity and privacy of every individual who in the course of the research work was requested to provide valuable information for the study.

3.9.1. Contribution to Knowledge

This study added up to the existing literature on vigilantism for effective crime control and community safety. The study serves as a baseline study to institutional administrators, governments, policy think tanks, as well as all interested civic and non-governmental organization who seeks a reality-based research and analysis of the measures to consider in informal community policing. Future researchers can use this study as a point of reference for similar studies.

This study explored the security vacuum that vigilante groups has occupied in Akinyele community as a complimentary role with the Nigeria police for effective crime control and community safety and the challenges faced by the Vigilantes. Also, the conclusion and recommendation of this study will stimulate the interest of the government in providing adequate police services in both rural and urban communities or modify and assist vigilante groups to complement security efforts of the police. Furthermore, this study is of great benefit to law enforcement agencies and other stake holders in their quest for police reform. In general, the study will stimulate further research on vigilantism and policing

3.9.2. Suggestion for further studies

This study thereby suggests that further studies be conducted on the reason's vigilante group should or should not be approved by the federal government to use modern weapons in their bid to prevent and control crimes in the society. That is, elaborate studies should be conducted on whether or not the Government should give the vigilantes weapons to protect the lives and properties of the people.

PRESENTATION OF DATA, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with data presentation and analysis alongside the discussions of findings according to the objectives of the study which were acquired through qualitative method from the field. The analysis was carried out in line with inductive approach, responses were used to narrate respondents view in the topic under investigation. While a number of these issues are consistent with those already identified in the literature, the viewpoints of these respondents nevertheless provide further compelling evidence on the social impacts of vigilante group in crime control in Akinyele Area of Ibadan. This chapter have 6 different sections. Section A,

dealt with the Socio-demographic profile of respondents, Section B, examined the socio-economic and cultural factors responsible for the operation of vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan, Section C was concerned with the roles of vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan for effective crime control and community safety, Section D focused on the challenges of vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan in ensuring security of life and property in the community while Section E looked into the relationship between the police and vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan.

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

Most of the respondents fell within ages 18-50 years, an age range where people are active, working and having lots of social contact and interaction. Three (3) out of the Eighteen (18) were Oba's (Baale) of three different communities. Three (3) Landlord chairmen of the three selected communities (amongst them is one civil servant, and two business men). Three (3) different vigilante heads. Nine (9) community members from three selected communities, (3 from each community). The gender of the respondents showed all the respondents interviewed were male, the preponderance of male respondents is as the result of the inclusion criteria of the researcher, first, Oba's; in our African culture, and Yoruba in particular which practice patriarchy, community leaders are usually male dominated. Landlord chairmen are also male dominated and also Vigilante members are males because of the nature of the job, they operate at night and carried out other duties with regards to securing the community which is most times risky, herculean and tasking and makes it difficult for a female gender to involve in such a job. The religion of the respondents shows that majority ten (10) were Christians while eight (8) were Muslims. The ethnic group of the respondents shows that all the respondents are Yoruba's, this is because the study was conducted in Akinyele area of Ibadan which is a Yoruba dominated local government and State. The age distribution of the respondents also showed that seven (7) out of the 18 respondents were above 50 years old and above, eight (8) of the respondents are between 30 years and 49 years old while only 3 of the respondents were between 25 years old and 29 years old.

The distribution of the respondents according to their educational qualification shows that 4 of the respondents had modern 3, 4 had Senior Secondary Certificate Examination qualification, 5 of the respondents had Ordinary National Diploma, 3 of the respondents had Higher National Diploma, while 3 had Bachelors (comprising of 1 bachelor of Engineering, and 2 Bachelors of Science).

Section B: Socio-economic and cultural factors responsible for the operation of vigilante groups in Akinyele community of Ibadan

This section was concerned with the socio-economic and cultural factors responsible for the operation of Vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan.

Security experts, Criminologists, Sociologists and Scholars in the area of security have opined that security of lives and property is the sole responsibility of the state and its agents and this assertion have not only given rise to community policing but also gave rise to the formation of Vigilante groups. On the other hand, people have opined that vigilante came to fore in security of life and properties not only because of the ineffectiveness of the Nigerian Police in securing life and properties but also the lack of confidence of the populace in the Nigerian police. It has become a popular maxim that "police are your friend", however, in reality, most people in Nigeria don't have confidence in the Nigerian force in securing their life and properties. This is because the Nigerian police has been accused of not only been corrupt but also conniving with the armed robbers and other hoodlums in perpetrating criminal activities, brutalizing innocent citizens, arresting of innocent citizens. The vigilante has stepped in to fill all these lapses created by the Nigeria police with respect to securing life and properties. One of the respondents interviewed had this to say on the socio-economic and cultural factors responsible for the operation of vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan:

> Vigilante stands for the security of the community. They work very hard to secure lives and properties of community members and that is why we need them in the community. They work very hard especially at night. Most times, they come around our street at night during their patrols. Since the beginning of their operation, crime have reduced drastically in this area and the problem of disturbance by unemployed youths in the area has reduced to a large extent.

Male/Baale of Oluana/Yoruba/Christian/10years in Akingbile, Oluana community/IDI/September 2018

Similarly related to the above assertion, one of the respondents who is the Landlord chairman of Tose community, Moniya, narrates their motivation in the community for recruiting vigilante members despite the presence of the Nigerian police and other security agencies. Here was his assertion:

> What motivated us to recruit the Vigilantes is the high rate of crime in the community some years ago. Cases of armed robbery at night and some security reasons. In a very big way, Vigilante so far have been of help in this community, they have worked very hard to ensure the security of lives and properties. Had it been the Nigerian police do their work effectively, we might not be needing the vigilantes. There is slow response from the police whenever we call them in emergency issues and sometimes, they might not be reachable at all. Male/Landlord chairman.

/Yoruba/Islam/6years in Moniya, Tose community/IDI/September 2018

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The next narration by head of the vigilante of a particular community collaborates with the above assertions made by the landlord's chairman and Baale. Taking charge of the security lapses in the community and sense of responsibility had been the key factor responsible for most of the members of vigilantes joining the vigilante groups. Here are the direct words of one of the respondents:

What prompted me to join the vigilante group is the passion for the security of lives and properties, I didn't join because of money because we are not been paid anyways. What motivated me to join the group is to ensure that my community is free of crime, because stealing was getting too rampant and we know that it will be people in the community that is carrying out all these crimes. So I decided to join to contribute my quota in securing my community of robbery and stealing of all kinds which was becoming the order of the day.

Male/Vigilante commander/Akinyele/ Yoruba/ Christian/20 years in Akingbile/KII/October 2018

One of the interviews with one of the community members was also sampled in this section to have a complete representation of the respondents, here is the direct words of one of the community members which is closely related to the above assertions made by the respondents:

Culturally in this our place, we don't tolerate thieves, they are sanctioned and dealt with, so when stealing and other crimes was becoming too much in our community, the landlords associations and community leaders had a meeting on how to solve the problem because it was getting out of hand and the Nigerian police was not helping matters, they are not prompt in responding to emergency cases when called upon, and the way they handle the cases most of the times is not satisfactory to most members of the communities, especially the victims of such criminals acts, so that was why vigilante group was formed and there is a big improvement as regards to crime and insecurity in our community.

Male/community member/Yoruba/Christian/9years in Abatakan, Sasa community/IDI/September 2018

From the different but closely related assertions made by the respondents, it is obvious that socio-economic and cultural factors responsible for the operation of Vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan is basically economic loose due to stealing, armed robbery amongst other criminal activities been perpetrated in the local government. The above narrations show the Nigerian police not leaving up to its expectation of securing lives and properties, curbing crime and disorders, maintaining peace and tranquility within the communities amongst other roles of the Nigerian police force. The above findings is in tandem with the findings of Chukwuma (2001), when he asserted that the inability of the police to protect the lives and properties of members of the society has given rise to community effort at ensuring their own security (Chukwuma, 2001). A number of factors warrant the existence of vigilante security groups as community security guards. Similarly, Okoro (2007) identified corruption, brutality, oppressive and repressive postures, high level of extortion, high cost of assessment to police services, poverty, non-personal relationships, as some of the factors that made the people lose faith in the police and their consequent preference for informal policing structures. The public in protecting their lives and properties have indirectly submitted themselves under the siege of vigilante groups in Nigeria which is against the backdrop of the most times deniable swift response of Nigeria security service men especially the Nigeria Police when called to rescue a crime scene.

Moreover, the assertions of Alubo (2011) and Azogu (2013), further buttresses the above findings, when they opined that vigilantism has become one of the ways the citizens respond to crime fighting in the country. The failure of the government to provide security for her citizens drives people to this self-help effort. Amnesty International (2002) and Akinyele (2008) claimed that "some state governments in Nigeria are also known to have tacitly or openly endorsed armed vigilante groups as part of their campaign against crime". The proliferation of vigilante groups in contemporary Nigeria particularly in Akinyele area of Ibadan is a response to crimes and criminality that have not only increased in degree, scope and volume but also have witnessed an unprecedented change in techniques, mode of operation and sophistication between 1998 and 1999 (wake of fourth republic) and the apparent failure of the Nigeria police to rise up to the occasion. Igbo (2001:219) has stated that "the apparent failure of Nigeria police to control the increasing wave of crime has led to unilateral public action against crime and criminals in some major cities of Nigeria". This is true in Akinyele area of Ibadan, where, presently, vigilante groups are used as a means of crime control due to increasing crime wave and the inability of the formal agents of crime control to bring them under control. In view of this, this study examined the sociocultural implication of vigilante group in crime control in Akinyele area of Ibadan.

Section C: Roles of vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan for effective crime control and community safety

This section dealt with the roles of Vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan for effective crime control and community safety. Respondents' opinion and responses are presented in narrations below. The roles of vigilante groups in the security of any community cannot be overemphasized. This is primarily because the Nigeria police

cannot alone on their own curb crime and security effectively on their own. The vigilante groups' members are members of their respective communities and they know members of their different communities by name and their various houses and knows which member of the community have the tendencies of committing one crime or the other. This is because they live with them, interact with them, and engage in one transaction or the other with them. The vigilante members know the members of the community better than the Nigeria police.

Most especially, the vigilante members are very familiar with the terrain, nook and crannies of any particular community than the Nigerian police members and these have made them to curb crimes and menace in any particular community more effectively than the Nigerian police force. Although some people will argue that the Vigilante groups only complement the Nigerian police in curbing crimes and criminalities, other on the contrary have argued that it is the Vigilante groups that are doing the main job of curbing crime and criminals. This is because of the claim that crime and menace reduce every time vigilante group steps into any particular community. On the role of the Vigilante groups, one of the respondents had this to say:

The vigilante in this community and in Akinyele generally, they are really doing a good job. This is because crime has reduced to a very great extent, but it just remained for crime to be totally eradicated. The vigilante in this Akinyele are working very hard and effectively. For instance, in the night, the vigilante surrounds the community, some are stationed in the various checking points in the community while some hide in the community areas. Their operations have helped the community members sleep well at night.

Male/Baale of Sasa/Yoruba/Islam/18years in Sasa, community/IDI/September 2018

The next narration by another respondent, further buttresses the above assertion by the previous respondents and further authenticates the assertion claims. Here are the direct words of the respondent:

The presence of Vigilante has helped in reducing crime in this community. Before we recruited the vigilante many years back, we always have various issues of armed robbery attack at night leading to loss of properties and wounding or even killing their victims. But since the vigilantes have been recruited, crimes like armed robbery has reduced and we are praying for it to continue to reduce. They parade the community at night. They usually blow whistle at night basically starting from 12am. They station themselves at some various junctions in the community. They also ring the bell to

announce their presence in the community and warn everybody to stay at their various homes in the night.

Male/Community member /Yoruba/Christian /11years in Akingbile,
Oluana community /IDI/September 2018

Their role has helped in reducing crime rate in the community. All their efforts have helped to reduce crime in the community. Armed robbery had reduced and other crimes have been curtailed very effectively and they have also helped in the area of crime control. The fear of vigilante is beginning of wisdom is in this community because when you are caught, they will give you thorough beating before handing you over to the Nigerian police.

Male/Community member/Yoruba /Christian /13years in Moniya, Tose community/IDI/October 2018

The next narration which represents another respondent's opinion shows that the role of Vigilante group is just complementary to the roles of the Nigerian police force and this particular assertion opposes some of the earlier narrations where respondents asserts that it is role of Vigilante groups that curtails crimes and insecurity in the community. Here are the direct words of the respondents:

I will first of all commend the Vigilante group in this community, they are trying their best, and their best is very effective in helping the Nigeria police to curtail crime and insecurity in this community. You know when the vigilante group arrest any member of the community for criminal activities, they will hand him over to the Nigerian police force who will prosecute the criminal or charge him to court. The Nigeria police force cannot stop crime and insecurity in this community alone and not even the vigilante alone can do it because they cannot prosecute suspects, they only hand over suspects or criminals to the Nigerian police force, who are backed by law to prosecute the criminals.

Male/Chairman landlord Association /Yoruba/ Christian /21years in Sasa, Abakatan community/IDI /September 2018

Another respondent had this to say on the role of the Vigilante group in curbing crimes and insecurity in the society. The response is in tandem with the previous assertions made earlier on. Here are the direct words of the respondents:

Vigilante have been very helpful in curbing armed robbery, stealing, and other violent crimes in this community. And they are very effective. We can now sleep with our two eyes closed and without any fear of armed robbery or attack at night because we know that the vigilante group are working at night when we are asleep to ensure that both we and property are safe. Moreover, we trust them very well because they are our sons and brothers that cannot betray us by conniving with criminals to rob or attack us. They equally enjoy our cooperation and support all the time. We love them and we try our best to encourage them.

Male/Community member/Yoruba/Christian/8years in Akingble, Oluana community/IDI/October 2018

The above narrations and assertions by the respondents show that the vigilante plays a very crucial and vital role in securing lives and properties in their various communities. Most of the respondents interviewed opined that armed robbery, stealing, burglary, theft, and other violent crimes have reduced drastically in their community because of the roles been played by the vigilante groups. However, some of the respondents interviewed opined that the reduction in armed robbery and other violent crimes in their community is because of the complementary roles been played by both the Nigeria police force and the vigilante groups. The above findings is in tandem with the assertions of CLEEN foundation (2002), when they asserted that vigilante groups go by different names across the country. The primary reason for setting up vigilante groups was to protect the people from incessant raids by armed robbers in their neighborhoods. This was captured by CLEEN when it put it thus;

Local communities across Nigeria, as in many other countries in Africa and elsewhere, have created their own informal or sometimes formal structures to try to ensure the security of the population. These groups have usually been composed of individuals from the local community. They have derived their credibility, and unofficial authority, from the community in which they serve. One of the main purposes of these initiatives has been to complement the police in identifying and handing over criminal suspects to the appropriate judicial authorities. They have also sometimes tried to settle

other conflicts between individuals in the community. Local leaders have on occasion abused their power and used these groups for other purposes.

(CLEEN, 2002, P.3).

Moreover, this further clarification by CLEEN (2002), helps to buttress the above findings, when they asserted that the vigilantes rose to the challenge of combating the spiraling crime waves across many cities in the country especially in the early years of democratic transition. Initially there was a reduction in crime. Commercial activities picked up in the commercial cities of Aba, Onitsha, Lagos, etc. and people could move around freely once again. The acclaimed success of the Bakassi Boys in reducing crime in Aba, resulted to the clamor for and the introduction of this group to Onitsha (Anambra), and Owerri (Imo) (CLEEN, 2002). Their feats in "catching" and "fishing-out" criminals were legendary across the south-east. They won the admiration and goodwill of the people. However, with time these vigilante groups in most cases deviated from the original purpose for which they were formed to engaging in other activities such settling civil matters, recovering debts, ejecting tenants for landlords and in some cases meddling in husband and wife matters, and serving as ready hands to unleash violence during elections (CLEEN, 2002). Be that as it may, from oral evident gathered from the interviews, the current vigilante groups operating in Akinyele local government are reformed and are operating according to rules and regulations guiding its operations. They don't meddle with civil cases, they don't take laws into their hands by prosecuting criminals by themselves, and they hand over suspects and criminals to the Nigerian police force for prosecution.

Section D: Challenges of vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan in ensuring security of life and property in the community

This section examined the challenges of Vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan in ensuring security of life and properties in the community. Respondents' assertions and responses are presented in narrations below. Just like any other organization, whether government or non-governmental, challenges are imminent. So, vigilante groups are not an exception to challenges. It is despondent to note that this challenge hinders their optimum performance as far as curbing crime and insecurity is concerned. This has made them not to perform in their full capacity. Despite the accolades been enjoyed by the vigilante groups especially in Akinyele area of Ibadan, more could have been done by the vigilante if some of their notable challenges were addressed.

The issue we normally have is the funding of the Vigilantes and the Cooperation of the community members to contribute financially to properly motivate the vigilantes. The vigilantes in this area has been fantastic but needs to be motivated financially.

Male/Landlord chairman. /Yoruba/Islam/6years in Moniya, Tose community/IDI/September 2018

Here is another narration by another respondents which throws more light to the above assertion by the previous respondent:

The vigilante is doing their best and they are doing very well but we have problem of money and inadequate funding. It is not easy to collect money from the community members, I mean the vigilante dues, this has been a big problem, we contribute monthly dues to pay salary to the vigilante group, we call it security levy. #500 per month for every compound and that is just to support the vigilante groups, but you see many people are not cooperating, especially compound were the landlords are not around, each time you go there to collect money, they say they don't have money or that the person who is supposed to pay is not around, you get all sorts of excuses and reasons and that is not encouraging at all because we need to encourage this vigilante groups so that we will continue to enjoy security because it is obvious to everyone in this community that we cannot rely on the police to secure our life and properties.

Male/Baale of Oluana/Yoruba/Christian/10years in Akingile, Oluana community/IDI/September 2018

Another respondent had this to say about the challenges of vigilantes in Akinyele area of Ibadan in ensuring security of life and property in the community. The assertion further buttresses the claim made above by the previous respondents. Here are his direct words:

The challenge to me is that my boys are not been effectively motivated for the good jobs they are doing. Although the Association of Landlords try their best to motivate them but they can still do more. The chairman of the landlord association told me that it is not easy to collect vigilante dues from the community's members because sometimes some people will not comply. Some people will tell you that they don't have the money at the moment, that they will pay when they get the money and we can't keep on waiting for them till they get the money. And some people that have money will claim that they don't have money due to lack of willingness to pay the money. And Some of my boys will tell me they want to travel to the city

to look for a better job, although money is not our motivation but someone who is working with his whole heart need not beg for money to eat or put up with his basic necessities.

Male/Vigilante Head. /Yoruba/Islam/6years in Moniya, Tose community/KII/September 2018

Another respondent had this to say about the challenges of Vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan which helps to buttress the above assertion. Here is the direct word of the respondent:

The vigilante groups have a lot of challenges but notable amongst them is lack of personnel. They need more people in the vigilante so that they can carry out their jobs effectively, because when they are many, they can be able to cover the entire community when patrolling, they can share themselves into several groups when they are many but now, they are very few and that is a big challenge to them. But they also need to be motivated for people to come and join them, if they are paid very well or motivated, it will encourage people to come and join them.

Male/Baale of Sasa /Yoruba/Christian/20years in Sasa community/IDI/September 2018

This assertion by another respondent further throw light to the challenges of the Vigilante group in Akinyele local government and further shows that the challenges of vigilante group is multi-faceted and complex. This assertion below also shows the dimensions of challenges facing the Vigilante group in Akinyele area of Ibadan.

We are doing very well despite our challenges, our main challenge is lack of equipment, they don't allow us to use guns, we only use cutlass and sticks. And at some cases we confront armed robberies who have guns like AK47 and other better guns. I wish the government can allow us to use guns to make our work easier and combat crimes and catch them. Apart from guns, we need communication gadgets, like walkie talkie so that we can use it to communicate amongst ourselves in the night or when we are on patrol. We also need vehicles for patrols and raiding, sometimes we use our personal motorcycles and we use our money to buy fuels to go and patrol in

the society for the safety of the communities, so at least we need vehicles for patrols, guns and walkie talkie.

Male/Head of Vigilante/Yoruba/Christian/14years in Sasa, Abakatan community/KII/October 2018

Another respondent had to this say about the challenges of vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan.

Inadequate funding is one of the major challenges facing the vigilante group. If the government can help to place these vigilantes on salary, they will work harder to secure lives and properties. Although the community pays them but it is very small, it is also very important for the government to motivate the boys so that they can work harder for crime control in our various communities.

Male/Community member/Yoruba/Christian/9years in Akingbile, Oluana community/IDI/September 2018

The above assertions by different category of the respondents shows the extent of challenges been faced by the vigilante groups in Nigeria. From their different assertions, it is obvious that their challenges have hindered their effective performance. Notable amongst their challenges is lack of adequate personnel. It is obvious that vigilante groups in Akinyele local government needs more personnel to enhance their performance in controlling crime and insecurity. Adequate members of vigilante group will help them to cover each community at night during surveillance, patrol and guards. This is because they need to be divided into different groups and teams to guard different entry and existing routes in each community, and also have to mount check points in strategic points in each community for effective crime control and security. This lack of adequate members of vigilante have made armed robbers and other criminals to take the opposite direction of the vigilante groups because of lack of members to mount checks and guards at different routes and points in a particular service.

Moreover, from the assertions of the respondents, it was uncovered that lack of adequate logistics, like patrolling vehicles hinders the effective performance of the vigilante groups. From the data gathered from the interview, the vigilante complained that they lacked vehicles for operations and patrols. They asserted that they use their own personal motor cycles for patrols and checks at the community both at night and in the day time. Even to the extent of fueling their motor cycles with their own personal money. Aside the lack of patrolling vehicles comes the issue of lack of communication gadgets, the vigilante groups in Akinyele local government lacks

communication gadgets for effective communication amongst themselves and other relevant stakeholders within and outside the community. For instance, it is pertinent to note here that the vigilante report and collaborate with the Nigerian police in crime control and prevention. So whenever any suspect is caught by the Vigilante group, it is handed over to the Nigerian police for prosecution and possibly charging the suspect to court with the advice from the Public prosecution department (if there is enough evidence to charge such case to court, in the lack of enough evidence such a suspect is supposed to be discharged or bailed, but due to corruption in the system, such a suspect may await trial which may never come for a very long time, and at some cases the police will extort money from the relatives of such a suspect), it is this lack of power or authorization to prosecute a case whether criminal or civil that makes the vigilante group to hand over their suspects to the Nigerian police force. Also, there is lack of communication gadgets. Most times, the vigilante members use their mobile phones with their own airtime to communicate amongst themselves and with the Nigeria police and the community leaders when the need arises.

From the above assertions, it was also uncovered that lack of motivation, in terms of financial or material for the vigilante group members is also a challenge. Communities are supposed to be collecting security dues, vigilante dues, etc as it has different names in different communities to recompense and remunerate the vigilante for their services (in securing lives and properties, crime control, maintaining law and order in the society amongst other duties) in the community but sometimes in some communities the stipend does not get to the vigilante groups at all or on time, this is not because the community members does not want to give but because some of the community members do not cooperate by paying their own dues as at when due. Some people according to one chairman of the landlord's association of a community opined that some give flimsy excuses that they don't have money, or that they will be pay later and other manner of excuses, this is not because they don't have the money but some people lack the willingness to pay. The vigilante group also lack salary from the government.

Moreover, one of the major challenges of the vigilante group is lack of modern weapon. It is noteworthy that the vigilante groups are not allowed to use guns like the Nigeria police. However, some of the vigilante group are seen using local barrel guns which are their personal guns and were not handed over to them by the government. Although, some scholars have argued for not giving the vigilante members guns due to the "technical-know-how" in handling the guns, "potential misuse of the guns" and other reasons have made the government not to legally permit the vigilante groups to use modern riffles for crime preventions. Be that as it may, lack of modern weapon is one of the challenges facing the vigilante groups not only in Akinyele area of Ibadan but in other parts of Nigeria. No matter the point of view one may look at it on the rationality to give vigilante groups in Nigeria the authorization to use modern weapon or riffles for crime control and security, it is important to examine the advantages and disadvantages of such actions not only on the vigilante themselves as it concerns curbing crimes and insecurity but also the effect on the populace on the long run.

Section E: Relationship between the Police and Vigilante groups in Akinyele L.G.A.

This section was focused on the relationship between the Nigerian police and vigilante groups in Akinyele local government area of Oyo state. Respondent's opinion on the relationship between the Nigerian police and Vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan. This section is concerned with the relationship between the police and Vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan. From the assertions from different category of respondents as will be see below, there is a cordial relationship between the police and vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan. This relationship contradicts some assertions by some scholars, that the Nigeria police antagonize the vigilante groups because the latter is seen as a rivalry and competitor. Scholars that have taken this position always argue that this envy and jealousy from the Nigeria police is as a result of public cooperation, trust and confidence the populace have on the vigilante group which the police do not enjoy and the police use any little opportunity or means to show their disgruntled feelings against the vigilante group which they see in some quarters as rivalry and competitors. Be that as it may, there exist a cordial relationship between the Nigeria police and the Vigilante group in Akinyele local government. This assertion by one of the respondents further buttress the above assertions. Here are his direct words:

The vigilante and police work together all the time in Akinyele local government area. Whenever we need help here, we contact the Nigeria Police of Akinyele division and they will come immediately to assist us in patrolling in the community and if it is a criminal that we have caught, we will hand it over to them for punishment and prosecution or even charging such criminal to a court of law. I can tell you that we work hand in hand with the police and we don't have any problem with them and they don't have any problem with us. If any crime takes place in the community or nearby, whenever, they come in, it is we the vigilante that they will contact first and ask what has happened, and they will sometimes ask us how we think this issue can be solved and we will rob minds together with them. Sometimes, they also ask us who and who we are suspecting in the community that can commit such crime and from our information, they will start investigation. So, we are in good terms with the police and we have been working together.

Male/Commander vigilante group/ YYoruba Christian/20years in Akingbile, Oluana community /KII/October 2018

Another response from another respondent further validates the assertion by the previous respondents. Here are the words of the respondents:

Before we make any arrest, or even visit a crime scene, we inform the police first, and even in most cases, the police join forces with us to meet at the crime scene. So, we work hand in hand with the police and other security agents such as the DSS, NSCDC and NDLEA. Apart from working with the Nigerian police, we also enjoy the cooperation of the community members, for instance some community chairmen, collected our phone numbers so that they can inform us when some certain people are suspected to have committed one crime or the other. In several cases, they will call us and we always do our best to ensure that such criminals are brought to book and we have succeeded in several of such cases. So, we do not only enjoy the cooperation of the Nigeria police and other security agencies like the Department of State Security (DSS) Nigeria Security and Civil Defense Corps (NSCDC) and the Nigeria Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) but we have also enjoyed the cooperation and collaboration of the community's members in Akinyele local government area.

Male/Head of Vigilante/Yoruba/Christian/14years in Sasa, Abakatan community/KII/October 2018

The assertion above showcases the extent of cooperation and relationship between the Nigeria police and vigilante and goes ahead to showcase other relationships been enjoyed by the vigilante group aside the cooperation with the Nigeria police force, like the cooperation and relationship with the community members which have yielded positive results in crime control and intelligence gathering. Another assertion by another respondent further validates the claim by respondent above. This was how the respondent put it:

In this community, I have seen the police and our vigilante members working together. Sometimes they even do joint patrol together and whenever there is a serious case or crime, our vigilantes will report to the Nigeria police and the police will come and join in investigating the crime or even arresting the suspects. We also give our vigilante information because we trust them very well. We work together with them, by giving

them the necessary and required information for crime control and prevention in our community.

Male/Chairman Landlord Asso. /Yoruba/Islam/ 6years in Moniya, Tose community/IDI/September 2018

Another respondent had this to say about the relationship with vigilante group and the Nigeria police which elaborates on the above assertions and further expatiates on the rationale why vigilante is enjoying the cooperation of the community members' aside the cooperation and relationship of the Nigerian police and other security agencies. Here are the direct words of the respondents:

The vigilante groups work together with the Police in Akinyele here and that has made them to perform optimally in terms of crime reduction and protection of lives and property in Akinyele local government area. We the community members cooperate with and give them information because they are sincere, and they don't take laws into their hands, whenever they catch any criminal, they will hand the person over to the person. Most especially, they don't maltreat or torture the criminals in an unnecessary manner to cause pain on the person and they have been operating with professional unlike what was obtained before or in some places where the vigilante groups are accused of torturing their victims on some cruel manner and some inhumane treatment. Vigilante groups in Akinyele local government does not engage in such and that is why we are supporting them and providing them with all the necessary information they need.

Male/Chairman Landlord Association/Yoruba/ Christianity/12years in Akingbile, Oluana community/IDI/September 2018

The above assertions are in tandem with the findings of Hills (2014), when he asserted that the police's cooperation with the informal stakeholders is an emergent policy as a result of the multi-layered nature of the police profession. Moreover, Fourchard's (2008) contention that the activities of Odua People's Congress (OPC), like those of the night guards in the colonial era and other sister vigilante organizations in the country are familiar to the members of the public, throws more light on the above assertions. At times, Neighborhood Watches could catch criminals and then hand them over to the Native Authority for appropriate action but, Conversely, Fourchard (2008) argued that more often than not, crime suspects are believably subjected to inhuman treatment that could impact negatively the rest of their lives. These inhuman treatments could be in the form of abysmal torture, subjecting suspects to drinking of poisons, nailing of suspects on the head, beaten or killing, burning without

recourse to judicial process. These kinds of activities have accustomed the local community members to a range of regimes that focus on eliminating those considered as undesirable elements. These undesirable elements could be people of other ethnic groupings, law breakers, and political opponents, and/or those who have not been obeying a range of curfew practices. Consequently, culture of impunity develops and tolerated at the expense of rule of law, while extra-judicial killings are perpetrated by security agents under the guise of protecting the community's best interest (Fourchard, 2008).

The findings of Zumve (2012) is also in collaboration with the above findings when he stated his view that informal policing structures are now being represented by a range of agencies such as Bakassi boys of the Igbo in the South East of Nigeria, the Hisba of the Hausa/Fulani in the North, and the Odu'a people's congress (OPC) of the Yoruba in the South West of the country among many others. Hills (2014:9), while reviewing the pattern of partnership policing as it affects Kano of north-central Nigeria, suggested that the presence of socio-cultural and religious institutions have influenced the provision of policing services in the area. According to Hills (2014:9), the activities of alternative security providers have been encouraged by '...the apparent failure of the notoriously brutal, corrupt and ineffective Nigeria Police Force to provide adequate security and justice'. However, Hills view seemed to contradict Onyeozili's (2005) perspective in this regard. According to Onyeozili (2005), colonialism had distorted elements of traditional institutions and values that were perceived to have previously sustained order maintenance in the pre-colonial African societies.

Moreover, Alemika and Chukwuma's (2004) acclaimed that what had been regarded as informal policing structures are in agreement with the political and socio-cultural practices of their respective communities. The policing groups, according to this contention, are founded on traditional practices of age-grade, divination and masquerade cults. Alemika and Chukwuma (2004) further stated that such groups are identified as informal only in relation to the contemporary state police system but not as reflected however in the consciousness and lived experiences of the people. Similarly, Fourchard (2008) continued to emphasize that 'vigilante' was a term at the instance of the Nigeria police in the mid-1980s to substitute with 'hunter guard' or 'night guard', a similar structure hitherto in existence as system during the colonial period. It had the legal and authorized backing of the then government of Western Nigeria thereby paving way for its operation as a non-state form of policing in Nigeria. Rotimi and Ikuteyijo (2012) also observed that the Bakassi Boys, the Egbesu Boys and other sister organizations were at various points in time directly or indirectly engaged by their respective state governments in Nigeria. This was to assist the State government(s) in the maintenance of security of lives and property in their respective domains.

Corroborating with the assertion of Rotimi and Ikuteyijo (2012) on how community members have viewed the activities of informal policing institutions in Nigeria is the further evidence credited to Okere afoezeke (2003). In the view of Okere afoezeke (2003), Bakassi Boys are reputed to be functional and efficient in the area of crime prevention and control for the reason that the group has the ability to identify a criminal no matter what effort at

concealing identity. According to this view, members of the group move from one community to the other fishing out criminals, arresting and punishing them. This perspective, though has recognized the unfortunate extrajudicial stance of their methodologies, appreciate their ability to significantly reduce the rate of crimes in the area (Okreafoezeke, 2003).

The above assertions on the cooperation and collaboration of the vigilante and police force negates the observations of Rotimi and Ikuteyijo (2012) when they pointed out that the unofficial policing organizations have experienced frequent clashes with the state-police organizations. The consequences of this are not only significant most especially to the crude means those informal policing institutions adopt in crime detection, but also for the jungle justice usually meted out to the victims without respecting the principles of human rights of all citizens regardless of the nature of their offense. Nevertheless, the impact of corruption on policing within the context of Nigeria is worth being examined. Unlike, the above illustration of Rotimi and Ikuteyijo (2012), the vigilante groups in Akinyele local government operate by the rules guiding their operations, they hand over suspects to the Nigeria police for prosecution, they don't punish suspects or criminals nor carry out any jungle justice, inhumane treatment, crude maltreatment, torture as painted by Rotimi and Ikuteyijo (2012).

This assertion and findings by Dambazau (2007) elaborate while the vigilante groups in Akinleye local government are enjoying public cooperation and relationship, Dambazau, argued that brutal attitudes of the police in Nigeria have not been helpful in terms of attempt to create enabling platform for cordial relationship between the police and members of public in Nigeria. The operational activities of the police in Nigeria have been characterized by the treatment of alleged suspects with disdain and assault. According to Dambazau (2007), examples of such kind of behaviour by police officers are the attempt to forcefully extort confessions from the alleged crime suspects. This could be in a disguised attempt of the police to prevent crimes and/or an expression of disgust towards a particular criminal suspect. Further to these is that it is a way of settling scores with some perceived enemies while some could be in the cause of committing a corrupt act (Dambazau, 2007:282-3).

Theoretical discussion of findings

This study is anchored on Broken window theory and social control theory. While broken window theory focuses on the control and prevention of crime from within the community as against from outside the community, it also explains how effective and efficient informal policing structures are in controlling crimes compared to the formal policing structure that is made up of strangers. The social control theory stressed that delinquency results when an individual fails to become bound to the social order, or when the bond which a person forms becomes attenuated, freeing the individual to engage in law breaking behavior.

According to Broken window theory (BWT), the constant presence of police structures makes a community less conducive for crime and criminals. The theory holds that only the community members can safeguard themselves from crimes. This is because they live in the community and can work and watch at all times. They also know

who those potential criminals are and how best they can be contained. This can be gleaned from the finding that most of the vigilante group members in Akinyele area of Ibadan are dwellers of the community which they are safeguarding which made them have close relationship with the dwellers of the community and react appropriately whenever there are any criminal activities. The vigilante groups came to fore in Akinyele area of Ibadan in terms of security of lives and properties not only because of ineffectiveness of the Nigeria Police force in securing lives and properties but also in the lack of confidence of the populace in the Nigerian police force. The implication here is that the vigilante has stepped in to fill all these lapses created by the Nigeria police with respect to securing lives and properties in the community.

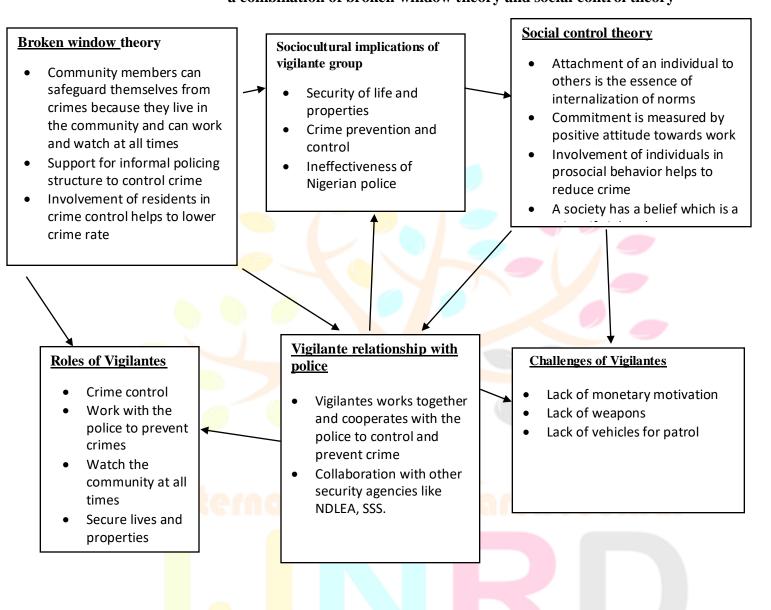
The finding also discovered that socio-economic factors responsible for the operation of Vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan is basically economic loose due to stealing, armed robbery amongst other criminal activities been perpetrated in the local government, whereas, the Social control theory explains that the attachment of an individual to others is the "essence of internalization of norms". The implication of this is that the perpetrators of crimes in the community have very less or weakened bonds with the people in the society which causes them to disregard the customs and laws of the society.

The Broken window theory (BWT) assumed that most neighborhood crimes are more often than not perpetrated by offenders who reside near the victims, this makes crime primarily a local problem which can best be solved locally. This was complimented by the finding that most of the vigilante group members in Akinyele area are members of their respective communities and they know members of their different communities by name and their various houses and knows which member of the community have the tendencies of committing one crime or the other. This is because they live with them, interact with them, and engage in one transaction or the other with them. The vigilante members know the members of the community better than the Nigerian police. The vigilante members are very familiar with the terrain, nook and crannies of Akinyele community than the Nigerian police and this have made them to curb crimes and menace in the community more effectively than the Nigerian police.

It was discovered in the course of the study that there is a cordial relationship between the police and vigilante groups in Akinyele local government. This is in line with the core notion of Broken window theory (BWT), which theorized that collective efforts by both the police and community dwellers can help alleviate the rate of crime in the community as the police see residents as partners in development and vice versa. Broken window theory (BWT) asserts that the constant presence of police structures makes a community less conducive for crime and criminals. Increased police presence and enforcements of informal rules of conduct and laws can make a community seem less chaotic and safer, thereby, increasing the presence and involvement of residents in their community and lowering crime rates (Palmiotto, 2000).

Conceptual Framework

Figure 2 showing the sociocultural implications of vigilante group in crime control showing a combination of broken window theory and social control theory



SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on presenting a brief summary of the study as well as conclusion, recommendations and suggestions for further studies. The summary of major findings according to the study objectives of the study is presented.

5.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The inability of the police to protect the lives and properties of members of the society has given rise to community effort at ensuring their own security. A number of factors warrant the existence of vigilante security groups as community security guards. Scholars have identified corruption, brutality, oppressive and repressive postures, high level of extortion, high cost of assessment to police services, poverty, non-personal relationships, as some of the factors that made the people lose faith in the police and their consequent preference for informal policing structures. The public in protecting their lives and properties have indirectly submitted themselves under the siege of vigilante groups in Nigeria which is against the backdrop of the most times deniable swift response of Nigeria security service men especially the Nigeria Police when called to rescue a crime scene. Vigilantism has become the first point of call of victims of crime and insecurity, it is in view of this, that this study was embarked to examine the sociocultural implication of vigilante group in crime control in Akinyele area of Ibadan.

Firstly, was to examine the socio-economic and cultural factors responsible for the operation of vigilante groups in Akinyele community of Ibadan, Secondly was to investigate the roles of vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan for effective crime control and community safety, Thirdly was to uncover the challenges of vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan in ensuring security of life and properties in the community and lastly, was to look into the relationship between the police and vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan.

Qualitative instruments were used for data collection. The instruments comprised of structured in-depth interview (IDI) guide and a key informant interview (KII) guide, which were used to gather responses from vigilante heads in three selected communities, chairmen of landlord associations, selected community members, and community heads of the three selected communities in Akinyele area of Ibadan. The data was analyzed using ethnographic summaries, content analysis of verbatim transcription of responses from the KIIs and IDIs with the respondents.

The summaries of findings are presented with respect to the objectives of the study. Firstly, the socio-demographic data of the respondents indicated that most of the respondents fell within ages 18-50 years, an age range where people are active, working and having lots of social contact and interaction. Three (3) out of the Eighteen (18) were Community heads (Baale) of three different communities. Three (3) Landlord chairmen of the three selected communities (amongst them is one civil servant, and two business men). Three (3) different vigilante heads. Nine (9) community members from three selected communities, (3 from each community). The gender of the respondents showed all the respondents interviewed were male, the preponderance of male respondents is as the result of the inclusion criteria of the researcher, first, Oba's or Baales; in our African culture, and Yoruba in particular which practice patriarchy, community leaders are usually male dominated. Landlord chairmen are also male dominated and also Vigilante members are males because of the nature of the job, they operate at night and carry out other duties with regards to securing the community which is most times risky, herculean and tasking and makes it difficult for a female gender to involve in such a job.

The religion of the respondents shows that majority ten (10) were Christians while eight (8) were Muslims. The ethnic group of the respondents shows that all the respondents are Yorubas, this is because the study was conducted in Akinyele local government area of Oyo State which is a Yoruba dominated local government and State. The age distribution of the respondents also showed that seven (7) out of the 18 respondents were above 50years old and above, eight (8) of the respondents are between 30years and 49years old while only 3 of the respondents were between 25 years old and 29 years old. The distribution of the respondents according to their educational qualification shows that 4 of the respondents had modern 3, 4 had Senior Secondary Certificate Examination qualification, 5 of the respondents had Ordinary National Diploma, 3 of the respondents had Higher National Diploma, while 3 had Bachelors (comprising of 1 bachelor of Engineering, and 2 Bachelors of Science). The first objective was to examine the socio-economic and cultural factors responsible for the operation of vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan. It was discovered in the course of the study that vigilante groups came to fore in terms of security of lives and properties not only because of ineffectiveness of the Nigeria Police force in securing lives and properties but also in the lack of confidence of the populace in the Nigerian police force. It has become a popular maxim that "police is your friend", however, in reality, most people in Nigeria don't have confidence in the Nigerian police in securing their life and properties. This is because the Nigerian police force has been accused of not only been corrupt but also conniving with the armed robbers and other hoodlums in perpetrating criminal activities, brutalizing innocent citizens, arresting of innocent citizens.

The vigilante has stepped in to fill all these lapses created by the Nigeria police with respect to securing lives and properties. The study also discovered that socio-economic factors responsible for the operation of Vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan is basically economic loose due to stealing, armed robbery amongst other criminal activities been perpetrated in the local government. The study further discovered the Nigerian police not leaving up to its expectation of securing lives and properties, curbing crime and disorders, maintaining peace and tranquility within the communities amongst other roles of the Nigerian police.

The second objective was to investigate the roles of vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan for effective crime control and community safety. The study showed that roles of vigilante groups in the security of any community cannot be overemphasized. This is primarily because the Nigeria police cannot alone on their own curb crime and security effectively. Most vigilante group members are members of their respective communities and they know members of their different communities by name and their various houses and knows which member of the community have the tendencies of committing one crime or the other. This is because they live with them, interact with them, and engage in one transaction or the other with them. The vigilante members know the members of the community better than the Nigeria police.

Most especially, the vigilante members are very familiar with the terrain, nook and crannies of any particular community than the Nigerian police members and these have made them to curb crimes and menace in any particular community more effectively than the Nigerian police. Although some people will argue that the

Vigilante groups only complement the Nigerian police in curbing crimes and criminalities, other on the contrary have argued that it is the Vigilante groups that are doing the main job of curbing crime and criminals. This is because of the claim that crime and menace reduce every time vigilante group steps into any particular community. Different assertions of the respondents showed that crime and insecurity have reduced drastically due to the presence of the vigilante group in various communities in Akinyele area of Ibadan.

The third objective of this study is to uncover the challenges of vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan in ensuring security of life and properties in the community. It was discovered in the course of the study that just like any other organization, whether government or non-governmental, challenges are imminent. So, vigilante groups are not an exception to challenges. It is despondent to note that this challenge hinders their optimum performance as far as curbing crime and insecurity is concerned. This has made them to perform below average. Despite the accolades been enjoyed by the vigilante groups especially in Akinyele local government area of Oyo state, more could have been done by the vigilante if some of their notable challenges were addressed.

The study went ahead to showcase the extent of challenges been faced by the vigilante groups in Nigeria. From their different assertions, it is obvious that their challenges have hindered their effective performance. Notable amongst their challenges is lack of adequate personnel. It is obvious that vigilante groups in Akinyele local government needs more personnel to enhance their performance in controlling crime and insecurity. Adequate members of vigilante group will help them to cover each community at night during surveillance, patrol and guards. This is because they need to be divided into different groups and teams to guard different entry and existing routes in each community, and also have to mount check points in strategic points in each community for effective crime control and security. This lack of adequate members of vigilante have sometimes made armed robbers and other criminals to take the opposite directions of the vigilante groups because of lack of members to mount checks and guards at different routes and points in a particular service.

Moreover, from the assertions of the respondents, it was uncovered that lack of adequate logistics, like patrolling vehicles hinders the effective performance of the vigilante groups. From the data gathered from the interview, the vigilante complained that they lacked vehicles for operations, patrols and crime control. They asserted that they use their own personal motor cycles for patrols and checks at the community both at night and in the day time, and that they even fuel their motor cycles with their own personal money. Asides the lack of patrolling vehicles comes the issue of lack of communication gadgets. The vigilante's groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan lacks communication gadgets for effective communication amongst themselves and other relevant stakeholders within and outside the community. For instance, it is pertinent to note here that the vigilante report and collaborate with the Nigerian police in crime control and prevention. So whenever any suspect is caught by the Vigilante group, it is handed over to the Nigerian police for prosecution and possibly charging the suspect to court with the advice from the Public prosecution department (if there is enough evidence to charge such case to

court, in the lack of enough evidence such a suspect is supposed to discharged or bailed, but due to corruption in the system, such a suspect may await trial which may never come for a very long time, and at some cases the police will be extort money from the relatives of such a suspect), it is this lack of power or authorization to prosecute a case whether criminal or civil that makes the vigilante group to hand over their suspects to the Nigerian police force. Due to lack of communication gadgets, most times, the vigilante members use their mobile phones with their own airtime to communicate amongst themselves and with the Nigeria police force and the community leaders when the need arises. From the respondent's assertions, it was also uncovered that lack of motivation, in terms of financial or material for the vigilante group members is another challenge faced by the Vigilantes.

Communities usually collects security dues, vigilante dues, etc. as it has different names in different communities to recompense and remunerate the vigilante for their services (in terms of securing lives and properties, crime control, maintaining law and order in the society amongst other duties) in the community but sometimes in some communities the stipend does not get to the vigilante groups at all or on time, this is not because the community members does not want to give but because some of the community members do not cooperate by paying their own dues as at when due. Some people according to a chairman of the landlord association of a community opined that some give flimsy excuses that they don't have money, or that they will be pay later and other manner of excuses, this is not because they don't have the money but some people lack the willingness to pay. This vigilante group also lack salary from the government.

In addition, one of the major challenges of the vigilante group is lack of modern weapon. It is noteworthy that the vigilante groups are not allowed or were not handed over guns like the Nigeria police. However, some of the vigilante group are seen using local barrel guns which are their personal guns and was not handed over to them by the government. Although, some scholars have argued for not giving the vigilante members guns due to the "technical-know-how" in handling the guns, "potential misuse of the guns" and other reasons have made the government not to legally permit the vigilante groups to use modern riffles for crime preventions. Be that as it may, lack of modern weapon is one of the challenges facing the vigilante groups not only in Akinyele area of Ibadan, but also in other parts of Nigeria. No matter the point of view one may look at it on the rationality to give vigilante groups in Nigeria the authorization to use modern weapon or riffles for crime control and security, it is important to examine the advantages and disadvantages of such actions not only on the vigilante themselves as it concerns curbing crimes and insecurity but also the effect on the populace on the long run.

The fourth and final objective of this study was to examine the relationship between the Nigerian police and vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan. It was discovered in the course of the study that there is a cordial relationship between the police and vigilante groups in Akinyele local government. This relationship contradicts some assertions by some scholars, that the Nigeria police antagonize the vigilante groups because the latter is seen as a rivalry and competitor. Scholars that have taken this position always argue that this envy and jealousy

from the Nigeria police is as a result of public cooperation, trust and confidence the populace have in the vigilante group which the police does not have and that the police use any little opportunity or means to show their disgruntled feelings against the vigilante group which they see in some quarters as rivalry and competitors. Be that as it may, there exist a cordial relationship between the Nigeria police and the vigilante group in Akinyele area of Ibadan. It was further ascertained that the vigilante group aside the cooperation with the Nigeria police force, also enjoy cooperation and good relationship with the community members which have yielded positive results in crime control and intelligence gathering.

5.2 CONCLUSION The study

examined the sociocultural implication of vigilante group in crime control in Akinyele area of Ibadan. The Vigilante groups stepped in to fill security lapses created by the Nigeria police with respect to securing lives and properties not only in Akinyele area of Ibadan but also in other parts of Nigerian society. Residence of Akinyele area of Ibadan and its environment were besieged by armed robbery cases and other crime related issues resulting to economic loose prior to the operations of vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan.

The vigilante groups have played a significant role in the reduction of crime and insecurity in Akinyele area of Ibadan. The presence of vigilante groups in different communities in Akinyele local government has made crime and insecurity to reduce drastically. Although, the vigilante groups complemented the efforts of the Nigeria police force and other security agencies like the NSCDC, NDLEA, in crime control and detection, the community members attributes greater percentage of the achievements to the vigilante groups than the police and other security agents. Moreover, the major challenges of the vigilante groups include but not limited to lack of adequate logistics, like patrolling vehicles, communication gadgets, modern weapons and riffles, lack of salary and financial motivations, lack of adequate personnel amongst other challenges. There exists a cordial relationship between the police and vigilante groups in Akinyele local government. Aside, the mutual relationship with the Nigerian police force, the vigilante groups also enjoys a cordial relationship with the community members which have yielded positive results in crime control and intelligence gathering in the area.

5.3 RECOMMENDATION

The study therefore proposes the following recommendations which are geared towards improving the operations of vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan and their operations in Nigeria generally.

1. State and local governments should approve a salary scale for the vigilante groups and let them collect monthly salaries. Since the Vigilantes are working tirelessly for the security of life and properties of the people in their domain, their efforts should be rewarded by financial motivation and also allowances which will motivate them to do more and work more effectively.

- 2. The legislator should consider the approval of the use of modern riffles for the vigilante groups. Before handing guns over to them, there is need for adequate training and retraining, on how to use these guns. Any member of the group that will handle a gun must undergo psychological and emotional test to ascertain his emotional stability before gun is handed over to such a person. This will enable them battle armed robbers with sophisticated weapons when need arises
- 3. There should be provision of operational vehicles and vans for this group to enable them carry out their roles effectively. Any effective patrol needs a patrolling vehicle for easy access of the communities both at night and in the day time.
- 4. Communication gadgets like walkie talkie and cell phones should be provided for this vigilante groups to enable them communicate effectively within themselves and with other relevant agents of crime control and prevention
- 5. More able-bodied men should be recruited into the vigilante groups, currently the group are lacking adequate manpower to combat crime and insecurity in their different communities. Recruitment strategies and better salary scale should be put in place to absorb more men into the vigilante services to ensure efficient and effective crime control practices.

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6. The existing relationship between the police and the vigilantes should be more strengthened. The vigilantes and the police should work more together to curb criminal acts in the society. And the populace should keep up the good work of cooperating with not only the vigilante groups in information and intelligence gathering but also cooperate with other security agents like the police SSS, NDLEA and other security agencies.

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IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN INSTITUTE OF PEACE AND STRATEGIC STUDIES DEPARTMENT OF PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES

THE SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPLICATION OF VIGILANTE GROUP IN CRIME CONTROL IN AKINYELE AREA OF IBADAN.

IDI GUIDE for COMMUNITY LEADERS AND LANDLORD/CHAIRMEN

Dear Respondents,

My name is Babatunde Taiwo; I am a post-graduate student of the Institute of peace and strategic studies, University of Ibadan with matriculation number 204234 currently undergoing a social research on the topic "THE SOCIOCULTURAL IMPLICATION OF VIGILANTE GROUP IN CRIME CONTROL IN AKINYELE AREA OF IBADAN". I solicit your responses to questions in this interview series. All the information you supply shall be treated with utmost confidentiality and used strictly for research purposes. Your name is not required and for the modalities of this study, I shall need your consent before I will proceed with the interview.

Shall I continue with this interview?.....

Section A: Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

- **1.** What is your sex?
- 2. What is your age?
- **3.** What is your level of education?

- **4.** What is your occupation?
- **5.** What is your tribe?
- **6.** What is your religion?
- 7. How long have you become a community leader in the community?

Section B: Examine the socio economic and cultural factors responsible for the operation of vigilante groups in Akinyele community of Ibadan

1. What motivated the choice of vigilante groups in this community?

Probe:

- i. Briefly describe your experience with vigilante groups and how effective in Akinyele?
- ii. Briefly describe your experience as a member of this community on the Nigerian police in securing lives and property?
- iii. What are the socio-economic costs of hiring vigilante groups as against the implication of relying on the police?
- 2. What are the justified implications of the use of vigilante for crime control in Akinyele?

Section C: Examine the roles of vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan for effective crime control and community safety

- 3. Describe the efforts of vigilante groups in crime reduction and community safety in Akinyele?
- **4.** Briefly explain the effects of these efforts by the vigilante groups in Akinyele?
- 5. What are the structures or mechanism the vigilante groups use in controlling crime in Akinyele?

Probe:

- i. How would you rate the efforts of the vigilante groups to reduce crime in Akinyele?
- ii. Which of the vigilante efforts have reduced crime in Akinyele?
- iii. How has the daily routine or activities of Akinyele vigilante groups maintain safety of life and properties?
- iv. How effective are the structures or mechanism used by vigilante group in curtailing crime in Akinyele?
- **6.** Does Akinyele vigilante groups collaborate with the police to ensure safety of lives and properties?

Probe:

- i. How often does your community collaborate with the police in Akinyele?
- ii. Has these yield any results to ensure community safety against crime?

SECTION D: Examine the challenges of vigilante groups in Akinyele area of Ibadan in ensuring security of life and property in the community

7. What are the problems faced with by vigilante groups in curtailing crime in Akinyele?

Probe:

- i. In what way have these problems undermine the security of life and property in Akinyele?
- ii. What are the effects of these problems on the efforts of vigilante groups in Akinyele?
- **8.** What are the community-based challenges facing vigilante groups in Akinyele?
- 9. What are the individual challenges of vigilante group members in Akinyele?

SECTION E: To examine the relationship between the police and vigilante groups in Akinyele L.G.A.?

Is there any relationship between the police and the vigilante in Akinyele?

Probe:

- i. Is there any relationship between the police and the vigilante in Akinyele?
- ii. Does the vigilante group and the police work together?
- **10.** Have you made arrest of any crime suspect(s) in Akinyele?

Probe:

- i. If yes, did you surrender the crime suspect(s) to the Nigeria policies force for prosecution?
- 11. Are vigilante groups in Akinyele more effective and efficient than the service delivery of the Nigeria police force?

Probe:

- i. If yes, what are the instances?
- **12.** Suggest how effective and efficient vigilante group can be, in safeguarding lives and properties in Akinyele

Thank you!

KEY-INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN INSTITUTE OF PEACE AND STRATEGIC STUDIES DEPARTMENT OF PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES

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KII GUIDE for VIGILANTE GROUP

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Shall I continue with this interview?.....

Section A: Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

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- 2. What is your age?
- **3.** What is your highest level of education?
- 4. What is your occupation?
- **5.** What is your ethnicity?
- **6.** What is your religion?
- 7. How long have you worked for vigilante in this area?

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Questions

- 1. Briefly describe what prompted you into vigilante group? Monetary motivation or the need to have a crime free environment?
- 2. Describe the hierarchical formation of your vigilante group?
- **3.** What are the structures and mechanism used by your group to curb crime in most community in Akinyele area?
- **4.** What are the efforts of your vigilante groups in crime reduction and community safety in Akinyele?
- **5.** Describe the daily routine/activities of your group in controlling crime, protecting lives and property of community members in Akinyele area?
- **6.** What were the instances where your vigilante group needed a collaborative effort of the police to adequately safe-guard of lives and properties? Vice versa

- 7. What are the challenges faced by your vigilante group in curbing crime in Akinyele communities?
- What are the intra-group challenges of your vigilante group that have hindered effective crime control?
- 9. Does your vigilante group make arrest of any crime suspect(s) recently in Akinyele? What were the nature of the crime committed?
- 10. Can you suggest what is necessary to make vigilante groups effective and efficient in safeguarding lives and properties in Akinyele and in Oyo state.

