Enhancing Accountability
Systems in the Nigeria
Police Force

Conference Proceedings
The mission of CLEEN Foundation is to promote public safety, security and accessible justice through empirical research, legislative advocacy, demonstration programmes and publications, in partnership with government and civil society.
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Acknowledgement

The CLEEN Foundation is grateful to its many partners who, in their several capacities, lent their support to this publication and the preceding maiden edition of the Policing Executive Forum. We particularly acknowledge and thank the MacArthur Foundation for their generous support towards both the Forum and this publication.

We are deeply grateful to the leadership of the Nigeria Police Force, the Police Service Commission and the Ministry of Police Affairs for collaborating with us in organizing the Forum. We appreciate your partnership, commitment and contribution towards improving police reform in Nigeria. We also thank Mr Mike Zuokumor, the Commissioner of Police, Niger State, who represented the Inspector General of Police at the Forum, for his hospitality and readiness to facilitate the smooth running of the Forum in Minna, Niger State.

We thank the various resource persons who presented papers and guided discussions at the Forum for the intellectual depth and practical knowledge they brought to the issues addressed at the Forum. The papers they presented are reproduced in this publication with their listed against them. We also acknowledge the many individuals, civil society actors, law enforcement officers and government officials that participated at the Policing Executive Forum for their contributions to the very enriching discourse and interaction.

Our gratitude also goes to Kemi Okenyodo, Deputy Executive Director, CLEEN Foundation, Abuja, for her tireless efforts and attention to detail in organizing the Forum and following up on this publication. We also acknowledge the dependable support of the staff of CLEEN Foundation’s Lagos and Abuja offices, particularly Ms Blessing Abiri, Ms Linda Asuquo and Ms Chigozirim Odinkalu for their concerted efforts towards the success of this project. We also thank our Executive Director, Mr Innocent Chukwuma, whose dedication, vision and patience inspired and ensured the excellent implementation and effective coordination of this project.
Preface

The Nigeria Police Force, as an institution, wields enormous powers in the discharge of its constitutional and statutory mandate of maintaining public order, enforcing the law, ensuring internal security and controlling crime. This mandate makes it a strategic and significant institution but the attendant power is also likely to be abused if left unfettered and unaccounted for. Various reports on the performance of the Nigeria Police have however been very indicting, and have implicated the police in several acts of misconduct, abuse, and violation of the rights of criminal suspects and other citizens that have come in contact it. To address these challenges and foster better accountability by the Police, the Nigerian government had set up a number of statutory oversight agencies to monitor and regulate police conduct. But while there have been some indicators of success, these oversight bodies have generally been found to operate far from optimally. Chief amongst their challenges is lack of interagency cooperation and coordination in responding to priority issues affecting police and policing in the country.

In response to this situation, the CLEEN Foundation designed the Policing Executive Forum (PEF) project as a biannual forum for bringing together the leadership of the Nigeria Police Force, its oversight agencies and stakeholders on policing in the country to brainstorm and agree on a set of implementable strategies for responding to identified priority issues. The maiden edition of the Policing Executive Forum held in Minna, Niger State, in May 2010. The theme of the maiden edition was ‘Enhancing Accountability Systems in the Nigeria Police Force’. This publication compiles the proceedings of that forum and includes the keynote speeches, the papers presented, the discussions built around them, the decisions reached, the communiqué issued and the general report of the forum. This publication is divided into three broad parts. Part one contains the opening remarks and welcome speech by Kemi Okenyodo, Deputy Executive Director, CLEEN Foundation and Adamu Waziri, the honorable Minister for Police Affairs. These speeches provide a broad overview of the theme of the forum and set the tone and background for further discussions.
Part Two of this publication reproduces the four papers presented at the Forum. Prof Etannibi Alemika, in the first paper, provided insight on ‘Enhancing Police Accountability Systems in Nigeria: The Missing Links’ and concluded that the missing links in police accountability mechanisms in Nigeria pertain to deficiencies in inter-agency collaboration and coordination. In the second paper, Mrs Abimbola Ojomo, a retired Deputy Inspector General of the Nigeria Police offered ‘Historical Reflections on Internal Control Systems in the Nigeria Police Force’ and concluded that ‘internal control system of the Nigeria Police if applied effectively can assist in analyzing and changing the regulatory and management systems in capacity building and performance to redeem the integrity and enjoy the confidence of Nigerians.’ The third paper was presented by Mr. Emmanuel Okpachu, of the Centre for Management Development, Abuja, who discussed ‘The Role of Management and Supervision Systems in Enhancing Police Accountability’. Dr Otive Igbuzor, a member of the Police Service Commission, presented the fourth and last paper under the title ‘Oversight Agencies and Effectiveness of Police Accountability System in Nigeria: A Critical Reflection’. He argued that though there are several institutions to ensure police accountability in Nigeria, these institutions are weak, ineffective and unco-ordinated and he proposed strategies to strengthen and synergize these institutions for more effective oversight of the Police.

Chinedu Yves Nwagu
Manager, Accountability and Justice
CLEEN Foundation
Part One

Opening Remarks
Welcome Remarks

By Kemi Okenyodo
Deputy Executive Director, CLEEN Foundation

Distinguished ladies and gentlemen, all protocols observed! May I on behalf of CLEEN Foundation and the MacArthur Foundation join the Inspector General of Police, the Chairman Police Service Commission and the Honourable Minister, Ministry of Police Affairs in warmly welcoming you all to the first edition of the Police Executive Forum.

Against the background of citizens’ dissatisfaction with the effectiveness of internal complaints and disciplinary mechanisms of the Nigeria Police, CLEEN Foundation in collaboration with the Police Performance Monitoring Unit of the Ministry of Police Affairs organized a national workshop on strengthening police internal complaints system in June 2006. The national workshop was attended by cross section of the stakeholders including senior police officers from across the country, Police Service Commission, academics, the media and civil society organizations.

One of the issues that came out of the workshop was the lack of coordinated response by key actors in the country in response to standardizing discipline in the Nigeria Police. This led to the conceptualization of the Police Bi-Annual Conference (Police Executive Forum) which is aimed to respond to the lack of coordinated response by key actors in Police Reform in Nigeria to priority issues in police and policing in the country.

The first edition of the conference is looking at issues relating to enhancing accountability systems in the Nigeria Police. Accountability issues are broadly related to discipline, internal controls systems and performance management. This forum is also aimed at bringing the key stakeholders – Nigeria Police, the Police Service Commission, the Ministry of Police Affairs and civil society organizations to commence discussions on areas that have been identified as
priority areas that need to be addressed in order for the police reform agenda to be realized.

We are hoping that the presentations that would take place would drive qualitative interactive discussions – and each stakeholder would be able to identify areas that they need to work upon in the next couple of months so as to ensure that the agreed outcomes of the project is met.

Once again, we welcome you all and look forward to working with all stakeholders in taking forward the recommendations that would arise from the Forum. We remain grateful to MacArthur Foundation for its continuing support to Police Reform Work in Nigeria. Thank you.
Opening Remarks

By Adamu Waziri
Honourable Minister, Ministry Of Police Affairs

May I on behalf of the Ministry of Police Affairs, warmly welcome you all to this Policing Executive Forum (PEF) being organized by CLEEN Foundation in collaboration with the Ministry of Police Affairs, Police Service Commission and the Nigeria Police Force (Force Headquarters).

The Policing Executive Forum is a very welcomed initiative and could not have come at a better time than now when there is a clamour for the Reform of the Nigeria Police Force by government, well meaning Nigerians, civil society groups and development partners. The PEF is also in line with the three point agenda of the Inspector General of Police Mr. Ogbonna Onovo particularly the implementation of the Government White Paper on the Police Reform in Nigeria. The forum is a step in the right direction to the realization of this noble goal with the objective to enhance coordination and cooperation among the key actors/players in Police Reform in Nigeria in responding to priority issues in police and policing in the country and periodically brings together leadership of the Ministry of Police Affairs, Police Service Commission and the Nigeria Police Force to synergize efforts in improving citizens safety and security in the country.

The Ministry is fully committed to collaborating and lending support to stakeholders including civil society groups and Non-governmental organizations who are geared towards improving the lot of the Nigeria Police Force so that the institution meets the requisite international standards of policing and measures up to their counterparts in other parts of the world.
I will not end these remarks without commending the efforts of the CLEEN Foundation who have done a lot to help to improve the Nigeria Police Force. We encourage the Foundation to continue in its good work, the Ministry is ever ready to partner with initiatives that will improve police service delivery and boast the image of the Nigeria Police Force.

Once again, you are all welcome, I wish you happy deliberations.

Thank you all.
Part Two

Paper Presentations
Enhancing Police Accountability Systems in Nigeria: The Missing Links

By Prof. Etannibi E.O. Alemika

Introduction
The police are very critical societal agents for the attainment, preservation and promotion of security in society. Security is a necessary condition for development. Therefore, the police play important role in the sustenance of an enabling environment for development. In order to maintain order and enforce the law, the police are endowed by the Constitution and laws with enormous powers of surveillance, arrest, investigation, search, seizure, interrogation, detention, bail and prosecution. While those powers are aimed at enhancing security and development in society, if they are not properly regulated, they may become a very grave threat to democracy, development, human well-being and human rights. Unregulated police powers exercised with impunity will erode the sanctity of human life, human dignity, human freedoms and rights. Further, the human, financial and other resources allocated to the police are quite significant and their utilisation needs to be monitored to ensure that they are effectively and efficiently utilised for common good.

Police accountability mechanisms are established to ensure that police powers and resources are used responsively and responsibly for common good. Generally, the police forces are accountable for three principal issues: performance, conduct and use of resources. They are also responsible to various external governmental and non-governmental audiences, especially parliamentary committees, police service commissions and councils, ministerial departments, financial audit agencies, commissions of inquiry, human rights commissions and organisations, civil society organisations such as the mass media, community associations, researchers and research institutes. Beside

the external accountability mechanisms, there are internal mechanisms for holding police officials accountable for their performance, conduct or actions and resources allocated to them.

The multiplicity of types, levels and mechanisms of accountability are generally considered as distractions and encumbrances by police authorities. Indeed, accountability mechanisms can become dysfunctional and counterproductive if they are not effective, transparent and properly coordinated. However, accountability mechanisms are necessary given the enormous powers and resources at the disposal of the police and the significance of police functions for the development and security of citizens and society.

In this presentation, we discuss the goals, nature, types, levels and mechanisms of accountability. We examine the police accountability mechanism in Nigeria and identify the missing links within and between them. The presentation is concluded with recommendations for enhancing the transparency, coordination, effectiveness and efficiency of police accountability mechanisms in the nation.

Goals, nature, types, levels and mechanisms of accountability

What are the goals of police accountability and oversight?

Some of the salient reasons for police accountability and oversight are as follow:

1. Police have enormous powers that have very profound impact on the rights and liberties of citizens. It is necessary to establish mechanism to monitor the exercise of the powers in order to ensure that they are not used for repression – violation of the rights and liberties of citizens.

2. The police are subject to political, economic and social pressures from different groups including the rulers, to use their powers in ways that are inconsistent with democratic norms and governance. Without effective accountability and oversight mechanism, the police are likely to succumb to partisan interferences to the detriment of democratic governance and economic development.
3. The police draw substantial resources from the state for the purpose of carrying out their mandates. The use of the resources must be accounted for. Otherwise, there will be pervasive corruption and resource misallocation that will engender overall functional inefficiency.

4. The police are established to carry out specific functions in order to promote and guarantee safety, security, peace, human rights and necessary conditions for economic development and equity in a nation-state. There must be an effective mechanism to determine the effectiveness and efficiency of the police in their functional performance.

Accountability and oversight are not for condemnation and criticism but for institutionalized mechanisms for enforcing answerability to democratic authorities with regard to performance, cost and conduct by the police. The outcome of accountability and oversight may be commendation or institutional capacity building and strengthening for better performance, or condemnation leading to restructuring for greater organizational performance and legitimacy. The outcome of accountability measures largely depend on what police do or fail to do, how they behave and relate to the citizens, and how they deploy resources entrusted to them. In effect, the police, by their conduct, resource management and performance have power to determine the outcomes of accountability and oversight processes. Hopefully, this insight will engender police cooperation with accountability and oversight agencies and thereby earn legitimacy for their roles, conduct and performance from the citizens.

**Nature and types of accountability mechanism**

Schedler defines accountability as “the continuing concern for checks and oversight, for surveillance and institutional constraint on the exercise of power.” The critical elements of accountability, according to Schedler are “answerability, the obligation of public officials to inform about and to explain what they are doing; and enforcement, the capacity of accounting agencies to impose sanctions on powerholders who have violated their public duties.” (italic mine) 

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Strictly speaking, police accountability mechanisms are institutions and processes outside the police departments which are introduced to ensure that the activities of the police are monitored and evaluated with regards to **effectiveness** (level of performance in the discharge of their mandates); **efficiency** (optimal return to resources expended in the discharge of their functions), and **integrity** (observance of laws and rules, respect for human rights, and avoidance of corrupt practices and abusive behaviours such as brutality, excessive use of force and extra-judicial killing, and law enforcement decisions based on prejudices against groups of individuals). Police complaints institutions, whether within or outside the police force, aim mainly at ensuring police integrity. Mechanisms within the police force designed to receive, investigate and determine complaints against officers should be conceived as internal disciplinary measures. They are meant to enhance police integrity which is an essential requirement for public confidence and to enforce discipline within the force which is also necessary for effectiveness and efficiency. Effective internal police disciplinary regime enhances accountability to external authorities and audiences.

**Levels of accountability mechanism**

Three broad levels of police accountability can be identified:

1. **Internal or departmental control.** This refers to the rules and processes within police departments that are used to ensure compliance with rules; to investigate complaints, determine culpability of officers and to enforce dispositions;

2. **State or governmental control:** This refers to institutions, rules and processes through which the government hold the police accountable for a range of issues – policies, actions, resources, performance and conducts.

3. **Social control or oversight by civil society.** Groups within society constantly monitor the actions, performance, conducts and resource utilisation by the police. The media and human rights organisations are very active in this respect, and this partly accounts for the mutual suspicion between these groups and the police. Properly speaking, this level may be
referred to as watchdog institutions or likened to linemen who draw attention the attention of match referees to violations by players.

*External and internal accountability mechanisms*

External accountability mechanisms are those organisations and processes established for the purposes of ensuring that the police are efficient, prudent, disciplined and responsive in the discharge of their duties and exercise of their powers. Generally, external civilian accountability mechanisms have several advantages, including:

1. greater accessibility;
2. widely publicised and transparent procedure for the intake and investigation of complaints;
3. minimal chances of intimidation of complainants by the police;
4. legitimates the police, because the process portrays the police department as unobtrusive of investigation, and engender the attribution of misconducts to “rotten apples” rather than “rotten police agency”

But the external complaints review system is confronted by many obstacles and challenges associated with limited functions and powers; expertise in investigation, cost of operation and lack of cooperation from police officers and authorities. More specifically the obstacles and challenges include the following:

(a) Most external complaint review boards lack independent power to impose and enforce penalty, they merely recommend penalty to police commanders;

(b) Many of the boards lack control over investigation and their function is often limited to reviewing findings of internal departments which may have been compromised in favour of officers;

(c) Boards with investigative powers will have to recruit and train officers for the task and this engenders high operating costs;

(d) Members of the boards do not have intimate knowledge of police work and may either have unrealistic expectation of what police should
do or undue empathy with the police resulting in unfair decisions against the police or complainants respectively;
(e) Lack of cooperation from police commanders who argue that the activities and powers of an external review board undermine their authority and the confidence of their subordinate.
(f) Police officers often withhold their cooperation with external review boards because they fear that the boards may be used by citizens as a platform for vendetta or revenge for arrest and prosecution
(g) Police officials and authorities also distrust the boards and whenever possible frustrate their work as a reaction against non-police citizens who do not understand the peculiarities of police work, especially the ubiquity of danger, sitting in judgment over their conduct and actions.

Internal police mechanisms
There are two broad types of internal police disciplinary mechanisms. These are:
(1) Internal administrative disciplinary mechanism: This is an administrative mechanism within the police. It focuses on intake, investigation and review of complaints against the police by members of the public or by a police officer against another;
(2) Internal investigation mechanism for external review and enforcement.

Internal mechanisms if properly organised and administered can be effective and efficient routine means for maintaining discipline and integrity because they are administered by superiors who understand the nature and context of misconduct attributed to police officers. However, poor administration and culture of mutual protection tend to undermine the efficacy of internal mechanisms. As a result, citizens do not usually trust internal administrative review procedures maintained by the police. They think that:
   a. police commandants do not diligently investigate complaints;
   b. solidarity between officers, and rank and file inhibits effective investigation;
c. administrative review mechanisms within the police are opaque and lack transparency;
d. the standard of proof used by the police authority is subjective and favours police officers accused of wrongdoing;
e. complainants are intimidated by police officers, and
f. complainants are not adequately informed about how their complaints are being processed, and of the final decisions.

External police accountability institutions and mechanisms in Nigeria
Nigeria has multiple institutions for holding the police accountable. However, the institutions are weak, ineffective and uncoordinated. We now turn to consider these institutions and procedures, highlighting their strength and weaknesses. There are external and internal mechanisms of police accountability and discipline in Nigeria.

The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria established two principal organs for the control of the Nigeria Police Force. In essence, the police are directly accountable to the organs. These are the Nigeria Police Council (NPC) and the Police Service Council (PSC).

The Nigeria Police Council
The Third Schedule of the 1999 Constitution created the Nigeria Police Council and the Police Service Commission. The Police Council consists of:

(a) the President who shall be the Chairman;
(b) the Governor of each State of the Federation;
(c) the Chairman of the Police Service Commission; and
(d) the Inspector-General of Police.

The Constitution defined the functions of the Police Council to include:

a. the organisation and administration of the Nigeria Police Force and all other matters relating thereto (not being

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matters relating to the use and operational control of the Force or the appointment, disciplinary control and dismissal of members of the force); 
b. the general supervision of the Nigeria Police Force; and  
c. advising the President on the appointment of the Inspector General of Police.

Section 216(2) requires the President to consult the Nigeria Police Council before making appointment to the office of the Inspector-General of Police and before removing him or her. The state governors constitute an overwhelming majority of the membership of the highest organ of control of the Nigeria Police Force.

The Council as the highest organ of the state responsible for the policy on organization and administration of police in the country can be an important organ of police accountability. It can for example act proactively by closely monitoring the reports on police by the public, mass media and other civil society organizations and in that light undertake annual evaluation of the Force with a view to dealing with structural and organizational factors that engender police abuse of power. But, there appears to be no political will to establish strong mechanisms for accountability at this level. Some of the responsibilities of the Council have been delegated to the Minister of Police Affairs. The Ministry’s responsibilities include disbursing and managing fund for the payment of salary and pension for the police and for executing capital projects like building and renovating barracks, purchasing vehicles, etc. The Ministry can potentially serve as an institution for holding police accountable for allocated public fund.

**Police Service Commission**

The Nigerian constitution established the Police Service Commission with wide powers. Under the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the membership of the Commission consists of:

(a) Chairman; and
(b) such number of other persons, not less than seven but not
more than nine, as may be prescribed by an Act of the National
Assembly.

The Constitution stipulated that the Commission shall have the power to-

(a) appoint persons to offices (other than the office of the
Inspector-General of Police) in the Nigeria Police Force; and
(b) dismiss and exercise disciplinary control over persons holding
any office referred to in sub-paragraph (a) of this paragraph

The Police Service Commission (Establishment) Act, No. 15 of 2001, in
Section 6 charged the Commission with the responsibility of:
1. appointing and promoting all officials of the NPF (other than the
Inspector-General of Police, IGP);
2. dismissing and exercising disciplinary control over the same persons;
3. formulating policies and guidelines for the appointment, promotion,
discipline and dismissal of officers of the NPF;
4. identifying factors inhibiting and undermining discipline in the NPF;
5. formulating and implementing policies aimed at efficiency and
discipline within the NPF;
6. performing such other functions as, in the opinion of the Commission
are required to ensure optimal efficiency in the NPF; and
7. Carrying out such other functions as the President may from time to
time direct.

The membership of the Commission includes representatives of the human
rights community, organized private sector, women and the media as well as a
retired justice of superior court of record.

Fundamental Human Rights Provisions
The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria that came into effect on
May 29, 1999 contained in chapter four a ‘Bill of Rights’. Many of the
provisions have bearing on the mechanism and processes of police
accountability. The Constitution guaranteed the rights to life and dignity,
prohibited torture and unusual punishment; guaranteed rights of accused person to be presumed innocent until adjudged guilty by a competent court, to due process, and to private property, etc. It also guaranteed freedom of movement, religion and association, etc. These provisions, as indicated above, represent pro-active mechanisms for accountability. They set limit on the action of public authorities in their exercise of coercive powers and also provide parameters for complaints against abuse of power by the police. The potential benefits of these provisions have not been realized because of widespread poverty that prevents aggrieved persons from taking civil action against the police and there is yet no complaints review board that is effective and accessible.

Judicial Mechanism
Police officers who abuse their powers are liable to civil and/or criminal proceedings, depending on the nature of the abuse. Sections 341 and 374 of the Police Regulations clearly specified the liability of individual police for abuse of power. In the case of criminal liability, either the Nigeria Police Force or the Attorney-General of a state or of the Federation will have to invoke the process. They will do this only in a case they consider serious and in which the power exercised by an officer is considered unjustified. Again as in the constitutional provisions, the prospect of an aggrieved citizens taking recourse to civil action is limited because of grinding poverty among the majority of the citizens.

National human Rights Commission
The National Human Rights Commission is empowered to monitor human rights violation by organisations in the country. Since its inception in mid 1990s, the Commission, in its annual reports, has continually drawn attention to high incidence of human rights violation by law enforcement agencies in the country. It has also drawn attention to the unsatisfactory conditions of the police and prisons cells. However, the Commission has only advisory role. It cannot prosecute those people and organisations discovered by it as human rights violators.
Civil Society: Police Watchdog Organisations

In addition to the formal state mechanisms, there are several organisations that monitor and publish reports on the activities of the police in Nigeria. They include human rights organisations like CLEEN foundation, Civil Liberties Organisation (CLO), Constitutional Rights Project (CRP), Access to Justice, Human Rights Monitor and League of Human Rights as well as professional and trade organisations, especially the Nigerian Bar Association.

Internal mechanisms of police discipline and accountability

The Police Act and Police Regulations provided for internal disciplinary measures and mechanisms in the Nigeria Police Force.

Code of Police Conduct

The nature of rules of policing established by police forces, adherence to these rules, rewards or punishment for compliance or non-compliance have serious influence on police integrity, performance and image. Section 339 of Police Act and Police Regulations (CAP 359 of the Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 1990) provides that:

The standards of conduct required of a police officer are that he shall-
(a) offer prompt obedience to lawful orders;
(b) be determined and incorruptible in the exercise of his police duties;
(c) have a strict regard to the correctness of his general behaviour;
(d) take a proper pride in his appearance both in uniform and out of uniform.

Further to this, section 340 of the Act also prescribes the attributes of a police officer, as follows:

A police officer is required to have a thorough understanding and knowledge of the laws, and of police orders and instructions, and to develop the attributes of-
(a) efficiency and thoroughness through meticulous attention to details in the performance of his duties;
(b) courtesy, forbearance and helpfulness in his dealings with members of the public;
(c) tact, patience and tolerance, and the control of his temper in trying situations;
(d) integrity, in refusing to allow religious, racial, political, or personal feelings or other considerations to influence him in the executions of his duties;
(e) impartiality, in the avoidance of feelings of vindictiveness, or the showing of vindictiveness towards offenders;
(f) strict truthfulness in his handling of investigations, and in the giving of evidence.

Section 341 provides that “In the individual exercise of his powers as a police officer, every police officer shall be personally liable for any misuse of his powers, or for any act done in excess of his authority” (emphasis added). The First Schedule of the Police Regulations listed several offences which are referred to as offences against discipline and which are subject to internal disciplinary processes and sanctions. From these provisions, it is clear that police misbehaviours in Nigeria are not entirely due to lack of rules but are rather due to inadequate compliance and enforcement.

Administrative Mechanisms

The Police Regulations make elaborate provisions for the handling of misconduct on the part of the police against the citizens and among themselves. Also, in order to ensure that citizens are provided with access to the police authorities to ventilate their grievances, the Nigeria Police Force has at various times established different public complaints mechanisms. They include the PMB A22; advertised telephone hotline numbers, and the establishment of the Public Complaints Bureau within the Police Public Relations Office at the State Command headquarters. The police authorities promise confidentiality in the use of these media of complaints. These media were also expected to increase the willingness of citizens to report police misconducts. However, in a country in which there is a deep mistrust between the police and the citizens, these internal administrative review mechanisms were not effectively utilized and administered. The police routinely use the internal mechanism to address problems that are identified by the public. However, the outcomes of the disciplinary procedures resulting in dismissals of hundreds of officers for
corruption and other forms of abuse of power are not made available to the public, thereby inadvertently creating the impression of a police force that is complacent towards public complaints against abusive exercise of power.

**The Missing Links**

The literature has identified a number of factors that may enhance or impair the effectiveness of mechanisms for police accountability. The missing links in Nigeria revolve around the identified factors.

1. **Independence and integrity:** The oversight agency or mechanism must be independent; its decision-making process must be transparent, fair, and just.

2. **Political support:** Government must support the mechanism of police accountability, including (a) refraining from interfering with the process, and (b) provision of necessary resources.

3. **Confidence and cooperation of the police:** The effectiveness and efficiency of external mechanism of police accountability may be compromised by lack of cooperation by police management. It is essential to cultivate the confidence and cooperation of the police. This may be realised if there is political support for the agency and arrangement for joint investigation of cases of police misconduct by investigators from the police and oversight agency.

4. **Confidence and cooperation of civil society:** Whether internal or external, oversight mechanisms require the cooperation of the citizens and civil organizations to succeed. Cynicism by citizens and members of the public can erode confidence in the mechanism of police accountability. The confidence of members and leadership of the mass media, the Bar, labour unions and professional associations, corporate organizations etc. is required for public support;

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(5) Organizational structure and knowledge: Oversight agencies must develop structure and knowledge appropriate to its mandate.

(6) Resources – human, material and financial: Without adequate resources, mechanism of police accountability will not succeed and may in the long-run engender impunity among officers as well as cynicism and lawlessness (e.g. lynching of police believed to be involved in gross misconduct) by members of the public, and
(a) Adequate powers, including determining and enforcing disciplinary measures against erring police officers;
(b) Pool of highly qualified persons that are capable of formulating, implementing, monitoring and evaluating accountability processes and decisions;
(c) Coordination of efforts by accountability mechanisms: National Assembly, Police Council, Police Service Commission, Ministry of Police Affairs, Civil society organisations (especially relevant research institutes, NGOs, the Bar Association, etc.).

The missing links in police accountability mechanisms in the country pertain to deficiencies in inter-agency collaboration and coordination, resources, capability for conceiving, implementing and evaluating policies, programmes and decisions, and synergy between internal and external mechanisms. An external oversight agency should have the powers, capacity and competence “to investigate and root out waste, fraud, corruption, and brutality by preparing reports that make wide-ranging recommendations for structural change”.

Perez suggests that the goals of external governmental mechanisms are four: “enforcing the laws that proscribe police misconduct, promoting public confidence in the government, deterring police misconduct, and encouraging systemic reform”. These require capability, resources, political will, clear rule of relationship between the PSC and the NPF in areas of recruitment, training,

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promotion and deployment, and collaboration and coordination which are considerably lacking within and across the police accountability mechanisms.

The internal mechanisms within the police require reform that will lead to the development of effective processes, clearer and widely published code of conduct and guidelines for handling misconduct complaints, proper and adequate documentation of issues and persons involved in misconduct complaints, transparency and fairness of procedures and decisions, and coordination of complaints and decisions using information technology. These foregoing inadequacies across the external and internal mechanisms constitute the missing links in police accountability system in the country and which we have been invited to address during this retreat. We are capable of proffering relevant and effective proposals for a well resourced, effective and coordinated mechanism that will guarantee democratic policing in Nigeria.
Historical Reflections on Internal Control Systems in the Nigeria Police Force

By
DIG Olori Abimbola Ojomo (Rtd)

Introduction
For proper management, discipline and accountability of any organization or institution, there needs to be in place, structures and systems of control for personnel, funds and general administration. The Nigeria Police like any other institution is not exempted from this. Police officers are often the most visible face of government and are given special powers and weapons to enforce the law, investigate crimes, arrest criminal suspects and maintain social order. The failure to do this effectively and legally will undermine many citizens respect both for the rule of law and the government. In Nigeria, one of the primary challenges facing police is that of effective internal control system or simply called police accountability. This is not to say that there is an absence of internal control system. Certainly there are internal disciplinary and performance management systems with positive developments over the past few years. However, it is apparent that there are still a significant numbers of excesses among the Nigeria Police Force.

Public reactions to the Nigeria Police Force on the question of efficiency are mixed and there seems to be a general consensus that Nigerian police officers seem to perform so well, they are so efficient and so exemplary when they take part in international assignments, and there have been many international commendations of the Nigeria Police Force to confirm this, but when the same police men are required to serve the Nigerian people, they behave more like an army of occupation, which terrorizes the people, acts outside the province of the law. It is only natural that these raises prompt questions of efficiency.

Internal control mechanisms of the police would seem to have broken down at the feet of the politicization of the police by both the military before now,
and currently by politicians, for different reasons but with the same devastating
effect of making the police ineffectual. The Nigeria Police Council is used by
whoever is president to serve his purpose. The Police Service Commission is
under-funded and over the years it has developed a reputation for being
somewhat epileptic and even where it seeks to assert itself, its intervention is
immediately politicized. Police men have no regard either for their oath of
office or constitutional provisions. Indeed the Nigerian police officer, who
collects bribe in the discharge of his duties, turns his gun on innocent Nigerians
and fails woefully in discharging his functions under the Constitution and the
Police Act, has become a bigger threat to the Nigerian society.

The Police wield enormous powers in the performance of its duties. If this
power is not subjected to mechanism of accountability, the rights and freedom
of citizens can be adversely affected. There is always the challenge of “guarding
the guardian” or “policing the police.” As a result, different countries have
put in place several mechanisms to hold the police accountable. These include
among other things constitutional guarantee of fundamental rights which serves
as a limitation on the exercise of police power; statutory provisions on
procedures for policing and law enforcement; civilian oversight body; judicial
system and special investigation commissions.

In Nigeria, the police has been severely criticized for extra-judicial killing,
rape, corruption, brutality, torture and hostility towards members of the public.
But there are several institutions in the police sector in Nigeria meant to ensure
police accountability. These include the National Assembly, the Nigeria Police
Council and Ministry of Interior, the Police Service Commission and Nigeria
Police Force.

The excesses of the Nigerian Police Force have been fairly well-documented,
(see for example, “Rest in Pieces:” Police Torture and Deaths in Custody in
Nigeria, by Human Rights Watch, 2005, Re-making the Nigerian Police: A
Kaleidoscopic Investigation by Taiwo Kupolati, Police-Community Violence
in Nigeria by Etannibi Alemika and Innocent Chukwuma, Human Rights
Practices in the Nigerian Police by C. Nwankwo et al.) In these studies and
others, including media reports, the Nigerian Police Force has been accused
and found guilty of brutality, torture, extra-judicial killings, gross indiscipline, human rights abuses, corruption, assault, and rape, abuse of uniform, deception, cruelty, sadism, lawlessness, and extreme inefficiency.

Bribery and corruption is the order of the day among Nigeria Police as put by so many National Dailies and researches. For example, CLEEN Foundation (2006) in a survey on policing came with findings that, more than one third of respondents were stopped by the police in the previous 12 months. Half of them bribed the police in order to “get out of the problem”. People in Abia, Bayelsa, Ekiti, Imo, Jigawa, Lagos, Nasarawa, Ogun, Oyo and Rivers States were most likely to be stopped by the police. Three out of four respondents assumed they had to pay a bribe in order for the police to help them. Three out of 10 respondents do not consider the police to be helpful. Respondents were particularly unhappy about police services in Ekiti (73 percent), Bayelsa (almost 70 percent), Rivers (63 percent), Oyo (46 percent), Edo (43 percent), Lagos (42 percent), and Abia (40 percent). In these states, many respondents thought that the police were not controlling crime. On a national level, more than half of the respondents thought the NPF were doing a good job in crime control. (CLEEN Foundation, 2006)

**Internal control system in the Nigerian Police Force**

The police are the primary institution charged with the fundamental responsibility to provide safety and security in any society. A safe and secure environment is a prerequisite for peace and stability for the growth and development of the society. Having been charged with such enormous task, it is expected that the police institution needs to be fully prepared with functional internal and external control structures that will ensure the required discipline and accountability that is needed in discharging the task. According to Goldstein (1977), Police exist to guarantee order, safety and security. In securing these, police exercise enormous power. Etannibi puts it that:

> The police, by the very nature of their function, are an anomaly in a free society. They are invested with a great deal of authority under a system of government in which authority is reluctantly
granted, and when granted, sharply curtailed. The specific form of their authority – to arrest, to search, to detain, and to use force – is awesome in the degree to which it can be disruptive of freedom, invasive of privacy, and sudden and direct in its impact upon individual. And this awesome authority, of necessity, is delegated to individuals at the lowest level of the bureaucracy, to be exercised, in most instances without prior review and control. If the powers of the police are not controlled and subjected to mechanisms of accountability, the rights and freedom of citizens can be jeopardized.

The Nigerian Police Force, right from inception till date, have set up mechanisms, which will be discussed in detail in the course of the paper, to ensure conformity with the laid down rules and procedures within the force. These mechanisms have over the years been supported with external oversight and control by agencies and bodies set up by successive governments to ensure police accountability. The question we should begin to ask ourselves is how effective have the control mechanisms been to achieve the desired result of a properly managed, disciplined and accountable Nigeria Police Force that is geared towards providing safety and security?

**Historical Establishment of the Nigerian Police Force**

What is today known as the Nigeria Police Force came into being in 1861 when the British Consul with the permission from his principal in London established a consular guard comprising 30 men. The force then grew out of numerous constabulary forces in the late 19th century to the present day modern force. It was created primarily not to protect the common interests by any stretch of imagination but to protect and safeguard those trading interests of the colonial masters - missionary enterprise and salve trade. Nigeria was colonized piecemeal and therefore required force to quench the native attaché. The police was created to be unfriendly, stern and brutal so as to be to deal with people fearlessly and repressively. Unfortunately, like all aspects of the
Nigeria society, the police on independence continued the colonial tradition of being mean, stern and unfriendly with the generality of the people they were to deal with and protect. The situation was further compounded with the emergence of military governance – the military disposals of force continued to manifest in the police. This led to gross violations of human rights as the police were used as instruments of oppression against the civil populace. This alienated the police from the people creating great hostility and distrust for the police.

With the advent of democratic dispensation till date the situation has barely improved. Force by the police still continues to be the weapon of rule; impunity within the policing system with little or no efforts to addressing the problem and holding the erring police officers accountable and continued political influence on the police. For the Nigeria Police to begin to direct its steps to perform its functions and provide safety and security to the civil populace as against a few political bigwigs, the force must look inward and re-orientate itself to understand its role and make adequate changes that bring about discipline and ensure accountability to the people they are supposed to serve.

**Functions of the Nigerian Police Force**

Accordingly, the Police Act, Cap 359 laws of the federation part II under section 4 stipulates police duties/functions as:-

a. The prevention and the detection of crime  

b. The apprehension of offenders;  

c. The preservation of law and order;  

d. The protection of life and property and  

e. The enforcement of all laws and regulations with which they are directly charged.  

f. The performance of such military duties within and outside Nigeria as may be required of them by, or under the authority of this or any other Act.

By virtue of these provisions, the police are accorded wide powers by law. Some of these powers include:

a. To take measure to prevent crime
b. To investigate crime

c. To interrogate and prosecute suspects

d. To conduct searches on properties and persons in order to prevent crime, detect or investigate crime, detect and apprehend offender.

e. To regulate processions and assemblies.

With these enormous powers the need for effective control systems cannot be overemphasized to monitor police activities and check excesses that may occur in the course of the exercise of these powers.

**Control Mechanisms for the Nigeria Police Force**

Every organization including the Nigeria Police needs internal control mechanism with which it operates to achieve optimal results. The control systems vary in types and levels. Due to the powers that the Nigeria Police wield, various control systems exist internally and externally to ensure discipline and accountability. These mechanisms for internal control are to provide effective police accountability administratively and operationally. These include core values, processes, regulations, procedural manuals, code of conduct, training manuals, disciplinary mechanism.

**External oversight for Nigerian Police Force:**

Police Council with the President as Chairman, all the Governors of the Federating States of Nigeria, Minister of Interior/Police Affairs, Chairman Police Service Commission and IG

**Police Service Commission**

This was not effective until recently, having been under military rule for 30 years. This remains the only civilian oversight body set up by the constitution for the police. The commission is responsible to the President on issues of appointment of the IGP and Senior Police Offices, promotion and the exercise of disciplinary control over all members of the Nigerian Police Force.

**Ministry of Police Affairs**

Budgetary allocation and financial control for the Police falls within the purview of the ministry. The ministry is expected to play a supervisory role to ensure
that resources are properly channeled for the administration of programs and operations of the force.

**Police Internal Control System**

**The Constitution:** This is the legal framework establishing the Nigeria Police Force for the purpose of providing the needed security. By virtue of the 1999 Constitution, section 214 (1) stipulates “there shall be a police force in Nigeria, which shall be known as the Nigerian Police Force, and subject to the provisions of this section no other police force shall be established for the federation or any part thereof”. The Nigerian Police Force as an institution is expected to act and operate within the confines for the law as provided by the Constitution.

**Police Act and Regulations**

This is the enabling law regulating the day to day operational activities of the police. The Nigeria Police Force has been operating with the Police Act enacted in 1943. The Act clearly does not accommodate the many practical changes that have been made over the years and the current trend of modern day policing which emphasizes the practice of democratic policing within the framework of human rights and accountability standards.

**Police Code of Conduct**

The nature of rules of policing established by police forces, adherence to these rules, rewards or punishment for compliance or non-compliance have serious influence on police integrity, performance and image. There are rules in the Police Act and Police Regulation which if enforced should positively have impact on police-community relations. Section 339 of Police Act (CAP 359 of the Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 1990) provides that:

The standards of conduct required of a police officer are that he shall:
(a) Offer prompt obedience to lawful orders;
(b) Be determined and incorruptible in the exercise of his police duties;
(c) Have a strict regard to the correctness of his general behaviour;
(d) Take a proper pride in his appearance both in uniform and out of uniform.
Further to this, section 340 of the Act also prescribes the attributes of a police officer, as follows:

A police officer is required to have a thorough understanding and knowledge of the laws, and of police orders and instructions, and to develop the attributes of-
(a) Efficiency and thoroughness through meticulous attention to details in the performance of his duties;
(b) Courtesy, forbearance and helpfulness in his dealings with members of the public;
(c) Tact, patience and tolerance, and the control of his temper in trying situations;
(d) Integrity, in refusing to allow religious, racial, political, or personal feelings or other considerations to influence him in the executions of his duties;
(e) Impartiality, in the avoidance of feelings of vindictiveness, or the showing of vindictiveness towards offenders;
(f) Strict truthfulness in his handling of investigations, and in the giving of evidence.

Section 341 provides that “In the individual exercise of his powers as a police officer, every police officer shall be personally liable for any misuse of his powers, or for any act done in excess of his authority.”

**Force orders**
These are policies, police administrative and operational procedure and records as made by the Inspector General of Police to regulate activities of police personnel within the force. These laws are accompanied with appropriate sanctions for any violation. While the use of force and firearms may sometimes be permissible when making an arrest or preventing a person from escaping, the UN Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials make clear that firearms cannot be used unless certain additional requirements are met, including as a preliminary matter that there exists a grave or imminent threat of death or serious injury. Principle 9 of the UN Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms states:
Law enforcement officials shall not use firearms against persons except in self-defence or defence of others against the imminent threat of death or serious injury, to prevent the perpetration of a particularly serious crime involving grave threat to life, to arrest a person presenting such a danger and resisting their authority, or to prevent his or her escape, and only when less extreme means are insufficient to achieve these objectives. In any event, intentional lethal use of firearms may only be made when strictly unavoidable in order to protect life.

Nigeria’s Constitution and the Nigeria Police Force Order 237 (Rules for guidance in use of firearms by the police), however, provide for much wider grounds for the use of lethal force than is permissible under international law and standards. These sections are being abused by some police officers to commit, justify and cover up extrajudicial executions. Section 33 of Nigeria’s Constitution, which guarantees the right to life, also permits an overly broad exception for deprivations of life. Under this section, when force is used “to affect a lawful arrest or to prevent the escape of a person lawfully detained”, any consequent killing does not constitute a deprivation of life. Sections 3(d) and 3(e) of Police Force Order 237 permit police officers to shoot suspects and detainees who attempt to escape or avoid arrest. Under section 3(e) of Police Force Order 237, the police are allowed to use firearms to “arrest a person who takes to flight in order to avoid arrest, provided the offence is such that the accused may be punished with death or imprisonment for 7 years or more”. Escaping custody or resisting arrest is punishable with seven years imprisonment under Nigerian legislation. As such, the Constitution and Police Force Order 237 allows police officers to shoot with impunity anyone who flees.

The only limitations on the use of force in Police Force Order 237 are that “firearms must only be used as a last resort” and “if there is no other means of affecting [the suspect’s] arrest and the circumstances are such that his subsequent arrest is unlikely”. If a police officer shoots at an unarmed man, “it would be most difficult to justify the use of firearms.” These provisions are impermissibly broad and do not require the existence of an imminent or grave threat of death or serious injury and have a more lenient standard of
necessity than what is required by international standards. The seriousness of
the crime, or the sentence that the crime may carry, are not permissible
considerations to justify the use of firearms. Under international law and
standards, firearms may only be used by law enforcement officials to defend
themselves or others against the imminent threat of death or serious injury; to
prevent a crime involving a grave threat to life; to prevent the escape of a
person presenting such a danger; “and only when less extreme means are
insufficient to achieve these objectives.”

Section 6 of Police Force Order 237 instructs police officers that in situation
of “riot”, “any ring-leaders in the forefront of the mob should be singled out
and fired on”. Intentional use of lethal force against particular individuals in a
public order situation, based on suspicion of their role in organizing or co-
coordinating public disorder, violates the right to life as guaranteed by Nigeria’s
Constitution, the ICCPR, and the African Charter on Human and Peoples’
Rights.

The IGP and Deputy IGPs told Amnesty International that when using firearms,
police officers always aim below the knee, although in Police Force Order
237, this provision is only included when shooting at rioters. In any case, the
use of firearms should be regarded as potentially lethal in all circumstances,
and firing at a suspect, regardless of where an officer aims, is likely to result in
death. As such, firing at a suspect is permitted only where there is a legitimate
reason and where necessary. Firearms should only be used when the use of
lethal force is justified under international law and standards. The UN Special
Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions expressed his
concerns about Police Force Order 237 in his report in January 2006 that
“These rules practically provide the police carte blanche to shoot and kill at
will.” He therefore recommended that Police Force Order 237 “be amended
immediately to bring it into conformity with the Basic Principles on the Use
of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials.”

Police Force Order 237 has resulted in numerous unlawful killings and
facilitated extrajudicial executions, while police officers go largely unpunished,
using it as a justification as well as cover-up for the use of lethal force. As
some of the cases included in this report show, police officers place weapons on their victims claiming they were attacked by an “armed robber”, and they cover up extrajudicial executions by reporting that the suspect was shot while attempting to escape or in a shoot-out with armed robbers. Such cover-ups are rarely investigated and thus the perpetrators are rarely brought to justice. This impunity is one of the reasons extrajudicial executions continue.

**Force Administrative Instruction (FAI):** This is for disciplinary procedures, financial directives etc

**FCID Directive**
These are directives issued to regulate police activities on crime investigation and management. The Police Regulations make elaborate provisions for the handling of misconduct on the part of the police against the citizens and among themselves. Also, in order to ensure that citizens are provided with access to the police authorities to ventilate their grievances, the Nigeria Police Force has at various times established different public complaints mechanisms. They include the PMB A22; advertised telephone hotline numbers, and the establishment of the Public Complaints Bureau within the Police Public Relations Office at the State Command headquarters. The police authorities promise confidentiality in the use of these media of complaints. These media were also expected to increase the willingness of citizens to report police misconducts.

However, in a country in which there is a deep mistrust between the police and the citizens, these internal administrative review mechanisms were frequently not effectively utilized and administered. They were also plagued by the problems of such systems enumerated above. But in addition, lack of resources to sustain the mechanisms contributed to their ineffectiveness. The Inspector-General of Police has ordered the resuscitation of the Public Complaint Bureau. However, it remains to be seen the level of financial, human and other resources that the police will commit to the operations of the department, in order to make it an effective mechanism that will cultivate and sustain the confidence of the citizens. The police routinely use the internal mechanism to address problems that are identified by the public. However, the outcomes of the
disciplinary procedures resulting in dismissals of hundreds of officers for corruption and other forms of abuse of power are not made available to the public, thereby inadvertently creating the impression of a police force that is complacent towards public complaints against abusive exercise of power.

**Administrative guidelines on selection and recruitment**
The guidelines set out the procedures for recruitment for Rank and File officers and selection for Senior Officers.

**Strategies for improving the internal control system of Nigeria Police**
In essence, internal control system of the Nigeria Police if applied effectively can assist in analyzing and changing the regulatory and management systems in capacity building and performance to redeem the integrity and enjoy the confidence of Nigerians. The following strategies are proffered to improve the internal control system of NPF:

1. Political and Police leadership should be more dynamic and have the will to apply the internal control systems to enable desired public safety and security.

2. Discipline is a core control mechanism. Police leadership should, therefore, recognize discipline and disciplinary mechanisms of the system. This could be used in a fair and consistent manner to enhance police effectiveness and improve public relations in the country.

3. Mechanisms of training the police officials should be more enhanced.

4. There should be a mandatory record keeping and tracking system to provide some protection against police efforts to dismiss or cover up complaints.

5. There should be strengthening of the institution for oversight in terms of human resources, capacity building and funding.
6. There is need for evaluation and reexamination of procedures to measure progress.

7. Structural organization has a key role in the functional effectiveness of Nigeria Police and should not be maneuvered as in the past since the establishment.

8. The Police to be accorded dignity of labour.

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Etannibi. Police Accountability in Nigeria: Framework and Limitations


Section 3(d) gives the police the power to use firearms to “arrest a person who being in lawful custody escapes and takes the flight in order to avoid re-arrest; provided that the offence, with which he is charged or has been convicted of, is a felony or misdemeanor”.

Police Force Order 237, Sections 7 and 9.

Police Force Order 237, Section 4.

UN Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials, Principles 9 and 16.

Amnesty International interview with IGP Mike Okiro, 30 June 2009.

Annual reports of the NPF, between 2003 and 2008

The Role of Management and Supervision Systems in Enhancing Police Accountability

By
Emmanuel Okpachu

Preamble
The overriding objective of this paper is to provide a framework and guideline for discussing foundations that are necessary for building effective supervision in Nigerian Police. It aims at maintaining and enhancing accountability as required in modern policing. To do this a number of management principles and techniques including principles of supervision, communication skills, decision-making and managing people and tasks in workplace are purposely knitted together and brought forward in piecemeal for panel discussion within the context of Nigerian Police.

Section one of the paper focuses on defining the term supervision, the nature of the supervisor, principles of supervision, the necessary skills for effective supervision and the challenges in Nigerian Police.

Section two addresses the subject of effective communication. Supervisory and managerial roles are about getting things done through others. In this sense, communication, the process of conveying meanings from sender to receiver and from receiver to sender is at the heart of supervisory job particularly when accountability is required. In addition, upward, downward, lateral and informal communications that are necessary in policing are illustrated in the contingency model of communication.

The third section deals with problem-solving and decision-making as inherent in supervisory role. Both rational and non-rational approaches to decision-making are highlighted. The fourth section introduces the concept of managing task or people or people and task in workplace. All these management and supervisory principles and techniques are knitted together for panel discussion.
2. SECTION ONE
2.0 The Supervisory Roles

The makeup of supervisory roles in organizations differs in scope, content, and implementation. To this end, it there implies that there are many forms of supervisory system. However, it can be generally seen as a system for accomplishment of desired goals by means of the efforts of superior officers and the use of resources in such a way that those involved are motivated in performing the needed work and accounting for actions, inactions and use of resources.

In some organizations, supervision is directed toward the work of men and women at the lower bottom levels (operatives). Other organizations use supervision as the first layer of management consisting of planning, organizing, motivating, and controlling both human and material resources usually on a direct face to face basis. In this modern time, quality driven organizations integrate supervision into every layer of work and decision-making. In this context every person in the organization has a supervisor he/she reports to.

In whatever form the supervisory role takes, it is a link between the top management or middle management and the operatives. It is a mechanism for control and accountability. The supervisor that is bridging between the management and operatives must try to satisfy the accountability and expectation needs of the various stakeholders. This is not an easy task. It is a difficult role to perform particularly in a security agency such as police.

The management expects the supervisor to:

- have technical knowledge of the job/work;
- meet deadlines;
- operate within prescribed budget limit;
- apply initiatives within a possible minimum risks/casualty and maximum benefits;
- motivate the operatives;
- take on responsibility for failure and pass achievement on to the management;
- account for details;
• apply lessons-learnt and pass the lessons -learnt to management.

2.2 The Supervisory's Authority and Accountability
To understand the supervisory role and its connection with management, demand of authority for accountability must be considered. In this context, authority can be viewed as the right to make decisions and enforce them. Current concepts of supervision in exercising authority, do not consider it as a prerogative of the supervisor to order people around or to behave as a dictator or keep relevant information to itself and away from management. Rather, the supervisor is to influence the actions of the people being supervised by directing, helping, correcting and stimulating them within the limit of his authority. This provides room for initiative, applying lesson –learnt, taking responsibility and accounting for one’s actions, inactions and use of resources. Significant aspect of authority as applied to supervisory role includes the following:
• making decision as needed and implementing them;
• recognize that the authority exercised should be accounted for;
• considering facts with initiatives and judgment in all use of authority
• encourage group members to feel belonging and offer suggestions and ideas- to participate in the makeup of the authority;

2.3 Supervisory Skills
Supervisory role at all levels needs technical, human, and conceptual skills in variable proportions. The technical skills refer to job-specific knowledge and abilities. When operatives are in difficulty, they come to the supervisor for help. The lower the supervisory level, the more technical skills needed.

Human relations skills refer to abilities to deal with people. These are connected to how supervisor motivate, lead and discipline people. The higher the supervisory level in management, the more of human relation required.

Conceptual skills are those abilities needed for planning and evaluating goals, strategies, and activities, resources for both short and long term. The higher the level of supervisory, the higher conceptual abilities required.
3. Supervisory Communication Skills

The importance of communication in organization’s effectiveness has long been established. Chester Barnard [1938] asserts that structure, extensiveness, and scope of organization are determined by communication system. Connolly [1977] also suggests that effectiveness of organization depends to a large extent on appropriateness of communication network.

Farace, Monge and Russel [1997] maintain that supervisory roles linking hierarchical levels in organizations have been recognized as basic unit for instruction, reporting, and performance appraisal. Inherent in the supervisory function is the communication between the supervisor and the operative on the one hand and the supervisor and the management on the other hand.

Having established the importance of communication to supervisory function, it is necessary to explore how it can enhance supervisory effectiveness in Nigeria Police. Although, the traditional approach to communication is tied to fixed models of communication, which often explain the linkage between
the sender, the medium and the receiver. In this discussion we take a look at contingency model that attempt to explain the relationship between uncertainty, information demand and use of initiatives.

3.1 Contingency Model of Communication
In the contingency model of communication, three distinct communication patterns namely plan, feedback and initiatives interplay. Ability of a supervisor to decide and use the most appropriate and combinations that would yield maximum result and minimize conflict holds key to success in the contingency model of communication.

The model postulates that, if the demand for information is low and the uncertainty surrounding the situation is low, the supervisor can rely on plan. In this scenario, plan provides effective means for upward, downward and lateral communication.

On the other hand, if the uncertainty is low and the demand for information is high, the supervisor has to use feedback mechanism. Greater use of feedback mechanism in this scenario satisfies the urgent and regular demand for information for the purpose of accountability.

However, if the demand for information is low, and uncertainty is high a combination of initiatives and plan is most useful. Conversely, if the uncertainty is low and demand for information is high a combination of plan and feedback will match the situation. Ability of a supervisor to vary three communication techniques, plan, feedback, and initiative to changing scenarios of uncertainty and demand for accountability make a whole lot of difference in supervisory role.
4. Problem-Solving and Decision-Making
Supervisory role entails problem solving and decision making. The quality of an organization can be enhanced if supervisor at all levels anticipate problems and plan for future decisions. Making effective decision is an art requiring patience, planning, logic, intuitiveness and appreciation of human dynamics. To this end, supervisors need to understand the process of analyzing problems and how decisions are made. Basically, there are two approaches to problem-solving and decision-making: rational and non-rational.
4.1 Rational Approach to Problem-Solving And Decision-Making

- Spot the Symptoms
- Identify the Problem
- Develop Decisional Evaluation Criteria
- Develop alternative Course of Actions
- Determine Alternative Solutions
- Select the Course of Actions
- Implement this Decision
- Follow up to assess result

4.2 Non Rational/Subjective Approach

When supervisors engage in decision making, they spend their part of their time assigning probabilities to outcomes of the various alternatives. Quite often these probabilities are used in deciding which alternative to accept. In reality this critical probabilities assignment is often based more on gut feeling or intuition than analysis of likelihood of success.

5. Supervising And Managing People And Tasks

Supervisors and managers at all levels deal with many people including subordinates, superior, and other supervisors on daily basis. The frame of mind to which supervisor or manager shows concern for people while performing his job do have far reaching effects on the performance of the organization. Blake and Mounton [1985] use two-dimensional grid to show disposition of various supervision system in relation to concern for work and worker’s feelings.

5.1 Supervisory Grid-Styles of Supervision

The Blake and Mounton Supervisory Grid [1985] use two axes:

1. “Concern for people” is plotted on the vertical axis.
2. “Concern for Task” is plotted along the horizontal axis.
3. Both axes have ranges of 0-9

5.3 Authoritarian Supervisory style [9 on Task, 1 on People]
Supervisors who get this rating are very much task oriented and are hard on their workers/operatives {autocratic}. There is little or no allowance for cooperation and collaboration. Heavily tasked oriented supervisor display these following characteristics:

- They are very strong on schedules;
- They expect people to do what they are told without debate or question;
- When things go wrong they focus on whom to blame;
- They are intolerant of what they see as dissent

5.4 Team/Effective Supervisor [9 on Task, 9 on people]
Supervisors that operate on 9 point on task and 9 point on concern for people foster a team environment in which all members can reach their highest potential. They encourage the team to reach team goals as effectively as possible, while also working tirelessly to strengthen the bonds among the various members.

5.4 Country Club People [1 on task 9 on People]
The supervisors that operate 1 point on task and 9 point on people, uses reward predominantly to motivate people to do their work. Conversely, they are almost incapable of employing the legitimate authority, coercion, and punitive measures. Their inability is as a result of fear that using such powers could jeopardize relationships the other team members.

5.5 Impoverished [1 on task, 1 on people]
Supervisors who use “delegate and disappear” are neither committed to task nor people. They essentially allow their members to do whatever they wish and prefer to detach themselves from the process.
6. Summary
In this paper management principles and techniques including principles of supervision, communication skills, decision making and understanding of human behavior at work are brought forward in piecemeal for panel discussion on the role of management and supervision system in enhancing accountability within the context of Nigerian Police.

The supervisory roles expected by management include the following:
- technical knowledge/skills of the job/work;
- meeting deadlines;
- operating within prescribed budget;
• applying initiatives within a possible minimum risks/casualty and maximum benefits;
• motivating the operatives;

Although, the traditional approach to communication is tied to fixed models of communication, which often explain the linkage between the sender, the medium and the receiver. In this discussion we take a look at contingency model that attempt to explain the relationship between uncertainty, information demand and use of initiatives.

Making effective decision is an art requiring patience, planning, logic, intuitiveness and appreciation of human dynamics. To this end, supervisor need to under the process of analyzing problems and how decisions are made. Basically, there are two approaches to problem-solving and decision-making rational and non-rational/subjective.

Finally, the frame of mind to which supervisors or managers show concerns for people while performing their job do have far reaching effects on the performance of the organization. Blake and Mounton [1985] use two-dimensional grid to show disposition of various supervision system in relation to concern for work and worker’s feelings. All these management and supervisory principles and techniques are knitted together for panel discussion within the context of Nigeria Police.

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1. Introduction

It is well recognised all over the world that peace and security of life and property are the primary conditions for progress and development of any society.³ In line with this, the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria provides that the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government.⁴ All over the world, the principal agency charged with the responsibility of internal peace and security of nations is the police. As a result, a lot of powers are given to the Police to enable it perform its duties. The 1999 Nigerian Constitution provides for the establishment of the Nigerian Police Force under section 214. It provides that there shall be a Police Force, and subject to the provisions of the constitution, no other police force shall be established for the country. Section 214 clearly states that:

1) There shall be a Police Force for Nigeria, which shall be known as the Nigeria Police Force, and subject to the provisions of this section, no other police force shall be established for the Federation or any part thereof.

2) Subject to the provisions of this constitution-
   a. the Nigeria Police Force shall be organised and administered in accordance with such provisions as may be prescribed by an Act of the National Assembly;
   b. the members of the Nigeria Police Force shall have such powers and duties as may be conferred upon them by law.
In line with the provisions of the Constitution, the powers and duties were conferred on the Police by the enactment of the Police Act (Cap 359) Laws of the Federation of Nigeria which empowers the Police among other things with the duties of:

i. Prevention and detection of crime;

ii. The preservation of law and order;

iii. Apprehension and prosecution of offenders

iv. Enforcement of all laws

v. Performance of military duties within or outside Nigeria as may be required by them or under the authority of the act or any other act and

vi. Protection of life and property.

There is no doubt that these are enormous powers and the exercise of these powers will have impact on the quality of life and rights of citizens. The colonial origin of the Nigeria Police Force complicated matters. Scholars have documented the impact of colonialism on the psychology and the use of power by the Nigeria Police. According to Prof Chidi Anselm Odinkalu,

It is important to appreciate the social and institutional psychology of the personal power and influence created by this context and its consequences for accountable and civil policing. Membership of the Colonial Police Force conferred indescribable power and privilege underpinned by a distinctive uniform. It created in the surrounding population a perception of closeness to the colonial regime, and of power among (and against) the local community. To the “natives” against whom the Police were trained, this was very much unaccountable power. It was easy for the Police personnel that wished to do so, to run a protection or influence peddling racket for a fee or for nothing if they wished. This explains the abuses for which different units of the colonial Police—from constabularies to the Native Authority Police were famous.
Meanwhile, it has been recognised that all over the world, there is the potential for abuse in the exercise of powers by the Police and other law enforcement agencies. Therefore, there is the need for the regulation of the work of the police by domestic and international law. Some of the international instruments for regulating the work of law enforcement agencies include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the international Covenant on civil and Political Rights and the Covenant Against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment and the United Nations Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials. One of the mechanisms that has evolved to regulate police powers is civilian oversight.

In this paper, we discuss the challenges of oversight and police accountability in Nigeria. But we will first clarify the key concepts of oversight and accountability.

2. Conceptual Clarifications

a. Oversight: The Longman dictionary defines oversight as “be in charge of something.” The concept of oversight denotes supervision, control or overseeing. The need for oversight arises to prevent the abuse of powers.

b. Accountability

The concept of accountability constitutes one of the foundations of democracy and rule of law. Accountability places a responsibility on organizations to acquire the necessary ability to perform; the obligation to provide information, explanations and/or justifications and the necessity to absorb the consequences of unaccountable actions including disciplinary measures. The UNDP has delineated some principles of accountability. We can distinguish between four forms of accountability: political accountability, administrative accountability, professional accountability and democratic accountability. Political accountability requires an organisation to act following the political and programmatic provisions adopted by the organization. In practice, these positions are usually encapsulated in the annual budgets. Political accountability involves vertical accountability where officials are supervised and controlled by higher offices in accordance with the
institutions’ hierarchy; and horizontal accountability which is the accountability of the executive to the legislature in the case of government. Similarly, administrative accountability involves vertical accountability where inferior administrative positions account to superior positions through a wide set of internal mechanisms of control and supervision including inspectorates, audits etc; and horizontal accountability where administrative positions are accountable to citizens and oversight bodies including ombudsman. In addition, administrative accountability involves a full subject of public officials and administrative units to a wide set of constitutional, legal and administrative rules and procedures that govern tightly their performance. Professional accountability refers to the existence of a set of norms and practices of a technical and professional nature that governs the behaviour and performance of members of a certain profession. Democratic accountability is a direct relation between government and civil society where civil society takes active role in ensuring accountability through popular participation, evaluation of government project and activities. In Nigeria, the Constitution places a responsibility on the media to hold government accountable.

3. Civilian Oversight Of Policing

Civilian oversight involves people from outside the police taking a role in calling the Police to account for their actions, policies and organization. Reviewing the literature on civilian oversight, Joel Miller points out that civilian oversight of the police are in three key areas: complaints, misconduct and broader police policy.

It is important to point out that civilian oversight of police has been supported or opposed by scholars and interested parties to policing. Those who support civilian oversight argue that the problems of complaints, misconduct and police policy are more effectively dealt with when there is civilian oversight. They are of the view that police authorities may not be very keen about investigating and punishing misconduct among their officers and are therefore likely to dismiss complaints without adequate investigation in the spirit of es spirit de corps. They contend that there is more thorough investigation and disciplinary measure put in place with civilian oversight. This is particularly so if the
Police internal systems are weak or compromised. Furthermore, supporters of civilian oversight point out that the process itself increases the confidence of the citizens in the Police. This is of great importance in a country where faith on public institutions including the Police is very low. Finally, supporters argue that civilian oversight is an avenue for policing to become responsive to citizens especially in terms of response to their complaints. Those who oppose civilian oversight, usually police officers, normally advance three sets of reasons. First, they argue that civilian oversight undermines the authority of the Police hierarchy and confidence of their subordinate. Second, they fear that citizens may use civilian oversight bodies as platform for vendetta, revenge for arrest and prosecution. Finally, they fear that non-police citizens who do not understand the peculiarities of police work, especially the ubiquity of danger, will sit in judgment over their conduct and actions.

As noted above, civilian oversight involves calling the Police to account for their actions, policies and organizations. It has become a settled matter that civilian oversight is a necessity for effective policing. There are many ways this has been done in other countries. In many countries, the commissions have oversight of complaints against the police. In some instances, they engage in direct investigation e.g. Northern Ireland. In some countries, they only select some cases as in South Africa. In others, they only carry out a review and audit of the complaints as in California in US. In other countries, Police Service Commissions engage in proactive approach to police misconduct where they identify and resolve systemic problems within police organizations-policies, management, supervision and training. Finally, in some countries, the Commissions do oversight of broader police policy including approving annual plans and budget and setting police priorities as in England and Wales. There are different models to implement the oversight: an external agency can investigate the complaints; the police department can investigate the complaints while the Commission reviews or the police department investigates and disposes with appeal to the Commission. In Nigeria, there has been a debate on whether the Commission should engage in direct investigation or not. Essentially, the Commission reviews decisions of the Nigeria Police, receive complaints from the public and engages in proactive approach to police
misconduct. The instrumentality of civilian oversight of the Police in Nigeria is the Police Service Commission (PSC).

From reviews of various civilian oversight bodies in different parts of the world, scholars have delineated ten principles required to make them effective. The principles are:

i. Independence: the power to conduct hearings, subpoena witnesses and report findings and recommendations to the public.

ii. Investigatory powers: The authority to independently investigate incidents and issue findings on complaints.

iii. Mandatory Police cooperation: Complete access to police witnesses and documents through legal mandate or subpoena.

iv. Adequate funding: Should not be a lower budget priority than police internal affairs.

v. Hearings: Essential for solving credibility questions and enhancing public confidence in the process.

vi. Reflect Community diversity: Board and staff should be broadly representative of the community it serves.

vii. Police recommendation: Civilian oversight can spot problem policies and provide a forum for developing reforms.

viii. Statistical analysis: Public statistical reports can detail trends in allegations, and early warning systems can identify officers who are subjects of unusually numerous complaints.

ix. Separate offices: Should be housed away from police headquarters to maintain independence and credibility with public.

x. Disciplinary role: Board findings should be considered in determining appropriate disciplinary action.

Scholars have also identified the factors that can help or hinder the work and effectiveness of civilian oversight of Policing. These factors include:
i. Political Support: Ongoing political support is very necessary for effective functioning of civilian oversight. In Nigeria for instance, the work of the Police Service Commission was hampered by lack of political support and adherence to the rule of law.

ii. Police Co-operation: It has been documented that hostility by police departments and police officers to civilian oversight is probably one of the most significant factors that helps explain the failures and underperformance that have afflicted oversight agencies. It is very clear that effective oversight requires a reasonable working relationship between the oversight agency and Police departments because the work of handling complaints, handling human resource management and broader policy issues cannot be done by oversight agencies without police co-operation. In Nigeria, the work of the Police Service Commission between 2002 and 2006 was hampered by lack of co-operation and usurpation of the powers of the commission by the Inspector General of Police.

iii. Activist Support: The work of policing requires support from citizens. Human rights organisations can play important role in the development of civilian oversight. It is in recognition of this that a representative of human rights organisation is a member of the Police Service Commission in Nigeria. The Police Service Commission in Nigeria has received a lot of support from development partners and civil society organisations including CLEEN Foundation, Open Society Justice Initiative (OSJI), MacArthur Foundation and the UK’s DFID.

iv. Resources: Civilian oversight bodies need human and financial resources to carry out their mandate. Lack of resources can undermine the effectiveness of oversight bodies.

v. Management and Leadership: Effective management and leadership is necessary for effectiveness of oversight bodies. This is necessary to ensure that the body follows due process and handles complaints, disciplinary and other functions timeously.
vi. Public Attitudes: Public attitudes including the media can have impact on the work of oversight bodies. The public want to see that high profile cases are dealt with justly and that the body is independent.

4. Police Accountability In Nigeria

As noted above, the Police wield enormous powers in the performance of its duties. If this power is not subjected to mechanism of accountability, the rights and freedom of citizens can be adversely affected. There is always the challenge of “guarding the guardian” or “policing the police.” As a result, different countries have put in place several mechanisms to hold the police accountable. These include among other things constitutional guarantee of fundamental rights which serves as a limitation on the exercise of police power; statutory provisions on procedures for policing and law enforcement; civilian oversight body; judicial system and special investigation commissions.

In Nigeria, the police has been severely criticised for extra-judicial killing, rape, corruption, brutality, torture and hostility towards members of the public. But there are several institutions in the police sector in Nigeria meant to ensure police accountability. These include the National Assembly, the Nigeria Police Council and Ministry of Interior, the Police Service Commision and Nigeria Police Force. The National Assembly has the responsibility of making laws for the effective organisation and administration of police and policing including oversight functions. The Nigeria Police Council as provided for in the 1999 Constitution is responsible for the organisation and administration of the Nigeria Police Force, general supervision and advising the President on the appointment of the Inspector General of Police. Some of the responsibilities of the Police Council has been delegated to the Ministry of Interior including payment of salary and pension, provision of logistics and equipment to the Police etc. The Police Service Commission is responsible for appointing and promoting all officials of the Nigeria Police Force (other than the IGP), dismissing and exercising disciplinary control over these officials, formulating policies and guidelines for its work, identifying factors inhibiting and undermining discipline within the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) and formulating and implementing policies aimed at efficiency and discipline with the force among other functions. Finally, the Nigeria Police Force in its internal
mechanisms is expected to build in accountability mechanism. The provisions of Police Act, Police Regulations and code of Police Conduct is meant to enhance police accountability. Although all of these institutions exist to enhance oversight and police accountability in Nigeria, they are weak, ineffective and unco-ordinated. There is therefore the need for strategies for effective oversight and police accountability in Nigeria.

5. Critical Reflection: Need For Strategies For Effective Oversight And Police Accountability

Although there are agencies responsible for oversight and police accountability in Nigeria, these institutions have not been effective. Many of the agencies lack the resources to carry out their responsibilities. In addition, there seems to be confusion on the roles and responsibilities of the different agencies even though they are clearly stated in the laws establishing them. Furthermore, many of the agencies lack concrete strategies and plans to carry out the responsibilities assigned to them. In addition, there is poor co-ordination and synergy between the different roles and there are no evaluation framework to measure progress. Therefore, for effective oversight and police accountability in Nigeria, the following strategic actions are proposed:

a. Strengthening of the institutions for oversight in terms of human resources, capacity building and funding.

b. Clarification and understanding of roles of the various institutions and agencies: Although the laws and regulations setting up the various institutions have clearly defined the roles of responsibilities of the institutions, the political heads and staff of the various institutions lack a clear understanding of their mission and mandate. It is therefore necessary to create opportunities and avenues to clarify the roles and responsibilities of the institutions.

c. Formulation of strategies for each of the agencies: No institution can deliver on its mandate without a clear strategy of what it intends to do, how it will do it, when it will do it, what resources it requires and how it will mobilise the resources. It is imperative that institutions for Police accountability formulate clear strategies to enhance their effectiveness.
d. Translation of the strategies into costed workplans, programmes and projects: Effectiveness of institutions depends to a very large extent of how they are able to operationalise their strategies. Translation of strategies into costed plans, programmes and projects is a logical follow up to the development of strategy.

e. Creation of a Forum for all the agencies to share and learn: Effective oversight and Police accountability requires co-ordination, synergy and sharing of information by all agencies involved. Creation of a forum for all agencies to share and learn will help to achieve this.

f. Institution of a monitoring and evaluation framework with milestones to monitor progress. Monitoring and evaluation is a necessity for every institution to know whether the objectives for which the institution was set up is being met.

6. Roadmap By Police Service Commission
As noted above, the centrality of security in the development of the nation cannot be overemphasized. The poor state of the NPF in providing and guaranteeing security of Nigerians is well known. In the 50 years of Nigeria's post independent existence, the oversight body meant to ensure proper functioning of the NPF (the Police Service Commission) did not operate for 29 years of military rule.

The mandate of the Commission is very clear:

i. Appointing and promoting all officials of the NPF (other than the IGP)
ii. Dismissing and exercising disciplinary control over the same persons
iii. Formulating policies and guidelines for the appointment, promotion, discipline and dismissal of officers of the NPF,
iv. Identifying factors inhibiting and undermining discipline in the NPF,
v. Formulating and implementing policies aimed at efficiency and discipline within the NPF
vi. Performing such other functions as, in the opinion of the commission are required to ensure optimal efficiency in the NPF, and
vii. Carrying out such other functions as the President may from time to time direct.
The Commission has been repositioned to carry out its mandate and reform the police. In its inaugural meeting in May, the Commission set in motion the principles that will guide its operation. These principles include, among others:

a. Uphold the rule of law and follow due process, justice, equity in all its dealings and deliberations in line with the seven point agenda of the Yar’Adua administration.

b. Ensure that the conduct of Police operations respect the right of citizens.

c. Protect integrity and merit in the Nigeria Police Force by ensuring that appointments and promotions are based on seniority, merit, and equity, and that appointments, promotions and disciplinary processes are clearly defined, fair and transparent.

d. Work with and assist the Inspector General of Police to maintain discipline and high ethical standards within the Force.

In addition, the Commission has set up the following Standing Committees:
1. Strategy and Development Committee
2. Finance and General Purpose
3. Appointment and Promotion
4. Discipline
5. Public Complaints
6. Legal matters

The Commission has formulated a five year strategy to reform the police. The Commission is also implementing a three pronged strategy of repositioning the Commission, oversight of the police and response to public complaints:

1. Repositioning of the Commission, Secretariat and Staff: The Police Service Commission is responsible for the appointment, promotion and discipline in the Nigeria Police Force. The Commission is being repositioned in terms of its capacity, competence, capability, culture, creativity and control to deliver its mandate. In 2010, the Commission employed about eighty staff to increase its workforce. Specifically,
   i. The structure and staff of the Commission are being reorganised for effective performance
ii. The Commission has put in place a mechanism in place to clear the backlog of disciplinary cases and promotions within the Police Force. In 2008, a total of 127 disciplinary cases were treated with different levels of punishment, including letter of advice, reprimand, reduction in rank, compulsory retirement and dismissal. A total of 21 officers were retired compulsorily and 22 officers dismissed in 2008. Similarly, 6,406 Police Officers were promoted in 2008. The situation where junior officers supersede their seniors has been eliminated through a carefully worked out system of promotion. The Commission has also suspended special promotion because of its potential to be abused.

iii. The internal and external communication system of the commission is being reinvigorated

2. Oversight of the Nigeria Police Force: The Nigeria Police Force has not only failed to provide security to Nigeria but has constituted itself into a force that oppresses citizens. In addition, there are challenges with police internal management. The Police Service Commission as an oversight body has a responsibility in calling the Police to account for their actions, policies and organisation. Specifically,

i. The Commission has put in place a system to ensure a proper liaison between the commission and the Nigeria Police Force.

ii. A system of appointment and promotion has been put in place. Subsequently, every promotion in the Force will be preceded by prescribed courses and examinations.

iii. The Disciplinary Committee of the Police Service Commission has been reactivated and all cases of discipline are discharged justly, fairly and on time.

iv. The Commission is in constant communication with the Police to ensure proper functioning of internal control system and disciplinary system of the NPF. The Commission is engaging the police on the implementation of police regulations, Force orders, Force Administrative instructions etc.

3. Response to Public Complaints and Issues: One of the main challenges is the acts of injustices perpetuated by the Police on the Nigerian public
manifested in unlawful arrest, illegal detention, extortion and abuse of human rights. This has led to erosion of public trust and lack of cooperation for the Police. The Commission has put in place a mechanism to ensure Police accountability and ensure that members of the public are treated with respect, decorum and in accordance with the rule of law. In this respect the following has been put in place:

i. The Public Complaints branch is being reactivated to have functional e-mail system and hot lines. All cases of complaints will be dealt with expeditiously.

ii. Any Police Office found guilty of acts of injustice against members of the public will be disciplined according the prescribed rules and regulations and those of criminal nature will be prosecuted.

7. Conclusion and The Way Forward

Every nation of the world desires to develop and improve the standard of living of its citizens. This is impossible without a conducive atmosphere of peace and security of live and property. The Police is the principal agency charged with the responsibility internal peace and security of nations. This responsibility goes with enormous powers. Historically, the exercise of these powers by the Police has affected the freedom and rights of citizens. Consequently, mechanisms have been put in place all over the world to call police to account for their actions, policies and organisation.

Although there are those who support and oppose civilian oversight of policing, it has been recognised all over the world that civilian oversight is a necessity for effective policing. However, the way it operates differ from country to country. Meanwhile, scholars have delineated the principles required to make civilian oversight bodies to be effective. These include independence, investigatory powers, mandatory police co-operation, adequate funding, hearings, community diversity, police recommendation, statistical analysis, separate offices and disciplinary role. Similarly, the factors that can help the work and effectiveness of civilian oversight of policing include political support, police co-operation, activist support, resources, management and leadership and public attitudes.
In Nigeria, the police has been severely criticised for extra-judicial killing, rape, corruption, brutality, torture and hostility towards members of the public. However, there are several institutions in the police sector in Nigeria meant to ensure police accountability. These include the National Assembly, the Nigeria Police Council and Ministry of Interior, the Police Service Commission and Nigeria Police Force. But these institutions are weak, ineffective and uncoordinated. There is therefore the need to adopt strategies for effective oversight and police accountability. The strategies we propose include strengthening of the institutions for oversight in terms of human resources, capacity building and funding; clarification and understanding of roles of the various institutions and agencies; formulation of strategies for each of the agencies; translation of the strategies into costed workplans, programmes and projects; creation of a Forum for all the agencies to share and learn and institution of a monitoring and evaluation framework with milestones to monitor progress.

Interestingly, the Police Service Commission has developed a roadmap for effective oversight including a three pronged strategy of re-positioning the Commission; having effective oversight and responding to public complaints and issues. Meanwhile, it has been argued that civilian oversight bodies have worked well in societies where there are synergy of efforts between the oversight bodies and the police internal disciplinary systems. There is therefore the need for the creation of a forum for all agencies with responsibility for police oversight and accountability to share ideas, learn from each other and co-ordinate their actions. We are confident that if these measure are put in place, then the NPF will be repositioned to provide security of life and property and contribute to Nigeria’s development.

ENDNOTES


v. The UNDP has delineated eight principles of accountability including Budgetary processes; audited accounts; loans; contract management; financial regulations; disclosure to parliament; auditor General/Ombudsman and central bank functions. (www.undp.org.org.fj/gold/eight_principles.htm)


vii. Miller, ibid


x. Miller, J.

xi. Ibid


Appendix
COMMUNIQUE

Communiqué Issued At The End Of The Policing Executive Forum On Enhancing Accountability Systems In The Nigeria Police Force held At Hydro Hotels, Minna, From Friday, 7th to Sunday 9th May, 2010

The maiden Policing Executive Forum was held in Minna from 7th to 9th May 2010. The forum which is a biannual conference on policing, which focused on Enhancing Accountability Systems in the Nigeria Police Force, deliberated on issues relating to internal and external oversight of the police. The conference was organised by CLEEN Foundation, an NGO that focuses on justice sector reform, in collaboration with the Police Service Commission, the Ministry of Police Affairs and the Nigeria Police Force with the support of MacArthur Foundation. The forum was attended by senior officers of the three organisations, including the Commissioner of Police in Niger State, who represented the Inspector General of Police. Four papers were presented and they led to very insightful discussions.

The forum made the following observations:
1. That there is a lack of interagency cooperation among oversight agencies;
2. That the police internal accountability mechanism needs to be reformed and strengthened;
3. That the poor public image of the police can be reversed with enhanced performance, professionalism and accountability;
4. That the accountability agencies do not have adequate understanding of each other's functions and powers;
5. That there is inadequate elaboration of the strategies, rules and guidelines for implementing accountability;
6. That the Orders and Instructions that guide police operations and discipline are outdated and require review;

7. That there is stagnation as a result of insufficient establishment leading to poor career progression;

8. That there is lack of awareness of a clearly defined career path for police officers especially as it affects specialists;

9. That the process and decision pertaining to police discipline and promotion are frequently delayed.

Recommendations
At the end of the deliberations, the Executive Forum made the following recommendations:

1. That there is need for greater synergy and interaction between the oversight agencies and the police with a view to enhancing better integration and performance. Following from this is the need to create a standing committee of the three organisations and quarterly meetings of the heads of the agencies;

2. That there is need to review the police internal control mechanisms by reviewing and updating relevant orders and instructions and widely disseminate them among officers;

3. That there is need to create a simple, reliable and secure database on police recruitment, promotion and discipline;

4. That there is need to build capacity of external oversight agencies such as the Ministry of Police Affairs and the Police Service Commission to enable them understand the police and effectively carry out their oversight functions. A course to acquaint staff of the oversight agencies on policing functions should be designed to give them technical knowledge about the workings of the police. This
recommendation has a challenge with the fact that staff of Ministry of Police Affairs are pool officers, constantly subjected to transfers;

5. That each oversight agency should develop clear guidelines for the roles it performs and also guidelines for monitoring and reporting of delegated powers.

The Forum commended the Federal Government's commencement of the implementation of the Police Reform programme.

Signed:

Prof Etannibi Alemika
Vice Chairman,
CLEEN Foundation

CP Mike Zuokumor
For: Inspector General of Police

Dr Otive Igbuzor
For: Chairman,
Police Service Commission

Mr Olakunle Shogbola
For: Hon. Minister of Police Affairs
Introduction

The maiden Policing Executive Forum was held in Minna from the 7th to 9th day of May 2010. The biannual conference on policing, which focused on Enhancing Accountability Systems in the Nigeria Police Force, deliberated on issues relating to internal and external oversight of the police.

The conference was organised by CLEEN Foundation in collaboration with the Police Service Commission (PSC), the Ministry of Police Affairs (MOPA) and the Nigeria Police Force (NPF). The MacArthur Foundation supported the organisation of the forum which was attended by the hierarchy of the three organisations, including the Commissioner of Police in Niger State, Mr Mike Zuokumor, who represented the Inspector General of Police.

Papers were presented by: Etannibi Alemika, a professor of criminology at the University of Jos and Vice Chairman of the Board of CLEEN Foundation; Mrs Abimbola Ojomo, a retired Deputy Inspector General of Police; Mr Emmanuel Okpachu of the Abuja-based Centre for Management Development; and Dr. Otive Igbuzor, an Honourable Commissioner of the Police Service Commission. There were two keynote speeches, one by the Inspector General of Nigeria Police Force, and the other by the Chairman of the Police Service Commission.

Background

The conference was conceptualised as a forum to begin to address a general dissatisfaction with the effectiveness of internal complaints and disciplinary mechanisms of the Nigeria Police. It was a follow up to an earlier workshop on strengthening the internal complaints systems of the police, which CLEEN
Foundation organised in 2006 in conjunction with the Police Performance Monitoring Unit of the Ministry of Police Affairs.

The 2006 workshop had identified a lack of coordination in the standardisation of discipline in the Nigeria Police. The main overarching objective of the Police Biannual Conference (Police Executive Forum) therefore is to provide an avenue for key actors in police reforms to deliberate on police and policing issues.

**Objectives**

The specific objectives of this maiden edition of conference are:

1. To focus on harmonising the mechanisms for internal and external accountability;
2. To create a synergistic relationship among the agencies responsible for police accountability, viz: the Police Service Commission (PSC), the Ministry of Police Affairs (MOPA) and the Nigeria Police Force (NPF);
3. To promote understanding of the specific roles of each oversight agency in the proper functioning of the police; and
4. To create an avenue for constant interagency discourse in the future in order that issues relating to accountability, equipment, promotion, etc can be dealt with more speedily, efficiently, and professionally.

**Presentations and Discussions**

*Day 1: Friday, May 7*

The first day of the conference marked the arrival of participants from outside of Niger State and check in to the Hydro Hotels, Minna. A colourful welcome dinner followed, with the Police Band entertaining the guests. Turnout was fair, considering the national mourning period declared in view of the sudden
Day 2: Saturday, May 8

Opening Session

The meeting opened with introduction of the guests at 9:50am. A minute of silence was observed for the repose of the soul of President Umaru Musa Yar’Adua. Thereafter, Mrs Ayo Obe delivered an address of welcome in which she gave the background for organising the Biannual Conference. She said an earlier workshop that CLEEN Foundation organised in 2006 had identified lack of coordination in the standardisation of disciplinary issues in the Nigeria Police Force and that this first edition would examine police accountability. “Broadly speaking,” she opined, “accountability issues are related to discipline, internal control systems and performance management.”

The opening remarks by the chairman of the occasion, the Minister of Police Affairs, Alhaji Adamu Waziri, who sent apologies for his absence, was delivered by Mr Olakunle Shogbola, Director of Police Inspectorate Department in the Ministry of Police Affairs. The Minister described the Forum as a very welcome initiative which was in line with the 3-Point Agenda of the IGP with the objective of enhancing response to priority issues in policing in the country. He expressed hope that this Forum would regularly bring the MOPA, PSC, NPF and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) together to improve safety and security through synergy. The Minister thanked CLEEN for continually working to improve the lot of the police.

The Minister’s speech was followed by the IGP’s speech, which the Commissioner of Police, Niger State, Mr Mike Zuokumor, delivered. He prayed that the conference would achieve its desired goal. He disclosed that this Forum would complement his blueprint for policing in Nigeria, which he unveiled as soon as he took office on the 24th of July 2009. The Three-Point Agenda in this blueprint, he said, included: implementation of the Federal Government’s White Paper on Police Reforms; renewed commitment to combating violent crimes and other forms of criminality; and enhancing police image and improving personnel welfare.
The Director of Promotions in the PSC, Mr Ben Iwambe, delivered the PSC Chairman’s keynote speech. He conveyed the PSC Chairman’s apologies for not making it to the conference, but introduced members of the strong delegation from the PSC. He said the Commission would support initiatives that would improve the image of the police, since the Commission is the employer of the police. He averred that the Police Force is not just an employment opportunity, but is expected to be a disciplined formation in order to guarantee the security of the nation. He thanked CLEEN Foundation for this opportunity, saying the history of police productivity and image in Nigeria could not be complete without recognition of the work CLEEN had done and is doing. He wished the participants a fruitful deliberation.

After this, the Chairman of the occasion declared the conference open at 10:25. A group photo was taken before a tea break.

**First Plenary Session**

The session began at 11:10am, due to a long power outage. The representative of the Minister of Police Affairs, Mr Olakunle Shogbola, chaired the session, which began with a presentation by Prof E. Alemika, Vice Chair of the CLEEN Foundation Board.

Prof Alemika discussed his paper, entitled “Enhancing Police Accountability Systems in Nigeria: The Missing Links”. He prefaced his presentation by saying accountability should not be construed to imply condemnation but individual and collective mechanism to allow for evaluation in order to use resources more appropriately and efficiently. He offered four reasons why accountability is needed in the police: the enormous powers vested in the police need to be accounted for in a freely democratic society; the Force should be protected/shielded from manipulation by powerful individuals; to assess the utilisation of substantial resources being drawn from the nation’s treasury; and internal/external performance evaluation. He said accountability applies to all institutions for them to know they conform to certain norms. He pointed at the various levels of accountability: internal and external, including the Police Service Commission, NGOs, the media, the Judiciary, and other levels within the police.
The paper presenter argued that the police, especially in Nigeria, tend to protect their own; they cannot be relied upon to check their own excesses, thus creating a need for external accountability. Prof Alemika defined the first challenge in police accountability as the lack of interagency cooperation, the need to develop a mindset of collaboration instead of competition. He said the various agencies should see themselves as accountable to society and therefore need to cooperate. He advised that a mechanism should be created for coordination of the various agencies such as the National Assembly, PSC, MOPA and the Police itself. He expressed hope that the Forum would find a way to ensure coordination of these various groups.

The second presentation on “Historical Reflections on Internal Control Systems in the Nigeria Police Force” was made by former DIG, Mrs Abimbola Ojomo, who revealed that this Forum was the first time accountability in the police was being focused on. She said there had been undue emphasis over the years on reforms which had failed largely because of lack of accountability. She agreed with Alemika that the power of the police was so enormous that it needs to be checked. She was of the view that there were various manuals, orders and mechanisms within the police but they were not being enforced. Mrs Ojomo gave examples of mechanisms for recruitment which she said were defective in a democratic setting. She argued that the defective internal control mechanisms were so because of undue closeness to the politicians, as well as the problems of ‘godfatherism’. She advocated a re-evaluation of the essence of the NPF, which from the outset was intended to protect the colonialists by suppressing the people. The former DIG condemned the setting up of police barracks and schools, since it cuts the police off from information from the populace, which she emphasised as the heart of the policing function. She condemned the dehumanising methods of training police personnel in the training schools that make them also prone to violating the rights of people they are supposed to protect.

Mrs Ojomo contended that many police personnel use the Force only as source of livelihood, without commitment to protect the citizens. She said every policeman would one day retire and live civilian life, and that it behoves of them to use the opportunities they have while in service to build the kind of
police they would desire. To make the internal control systems of the police work, the former head of the Force’s Management Services Department advocated proper data management. She thanked the PSC, CLEEN Foundation and others that made this Forum possible. She also advised the police officers present to be grateful to whoever sent them to the Forum as it was a landmark event that would mark a change in policing in Nigeria, since it would ensure that police personnel establish and know their career paths. This, she said, would reduce corruption in the force.

Discussion

A former Commissioner in the PSC, Engr Rufai, opened the comments. He narrated the challenge of confronting enormously powerful Inspectors General of Police when the Commission was set up, since the PSC’s mandate apparently reduced the IGPs’ powers. He therefore held the view that the police was not ready for change. “I have discovered that the police is the enemy of itself,” Engr Rufai said. He contended that unless the leadership of the police realised this, all the change being anticipated would fail. He said unless the heads of the three institutions (PSC, the Police and MOPA) are present, the changes would not be implemented.

Another participant, CP Zuokumor, revealed that the PSC had already restored the morale of some of the men in the force by stemming the tide of favouritism in promotions. He said some complaints sent to PSC were often trivial, and that the conditions of service, including remuneration, were still poor, leading to poor morale. He advised the improvement in remuneration and training. He debunked the argument against police barracks, arguing that barracks accommodation helped in securing policemen and improving the morale of the police personnel in decisively fighting crime.

In response, Mrs Ojomo said the barracks debate should not be looked at in isolation. She said the issue can be addressed with a few policemen (say 20 percent) confined to the barracks, possibly for strike units, while other personnel should be assisted to live among civilians. She maintained that the policy should still be reviewed.
Mrs Ayo Obe, a former member of the first PSC Board, responded to the CP Niger who had accused that Board of non-performance. She said it was necessary for the oversight body to have its capacity to investigate, in order to put the police’s investigative team under check in issues relating to police discipline. On budgeting process in the police, she advised the inclusion of opinions and perspectives of men on the ground within the police formations instead of just the top echelon of the establishment.

Force PRO, ACP Ojukwu said the engagement between the PSC and MOPA should be knowledge-driven. He said the institutions do not understand the workings and functions of the NPF and that the ‘esprit de corp’ touted by the other speakers did not really exist in practice as erring policemen serve punishments without support from their colleagues. He also drew attention to social pressures that make policemen corrupt even if they are unwilling to.

Tijani Mohammed, the legal adviser of the PSC, commended Prof Alemika’s proposal of collaboration between the institutions along with ACP Ojukwu’s request that the PSC should understand the police and their challenging work environments. He revealed how the PSC attempted to tour and was condemned in a newspaper advertorial. He advocated the creation of a Forum for such interaction for the oversight agencies to understand one other.

DCP Dorothy Gimba of the Niger State Police Command described the retired DIG’s paper as sobering and “reminding us to go back to the basics”. She said a general apathy among the average police across the country was palpable, as they are expected to do a lot within environments that are not conducive to such efficiency. She also said the existing structure in which every police personnel has no field of specialisation but performs every role should be redressed, so that police officers have defined career paths. She gave an instance where she had trained staff in her former unit, the Anti Human Trafficking Unit, only for them to be transferred. She also said police image is not favourable, in comparison to what the challenges and sacrifices in the line of duty were.
Prof Alemika intervened to focus the discussion, saying the objective of the Forum would be identification of obstacles to internal accountability and means of harmonising them with external accountability. He said subsequent episodes of the conference would focus on some of the specifics discussed together by the three agencies.

Another participant from the NPF agreed that the police have men of high intelligence but the issues of ethnicity and nepotism bedevilling professionalism and internal controls were not addressed in each of the brilliant papers presented. Mrs Ojomo replied that this was addressed in passing when she discussed deployment and posting of officers, but that ethnicity and nepotism were not major issues if all the internal control mechanisms are addressed. Prof Alemika agreed with her that those issues can be addressed by having rules and mustering the political will to address the rules.

The former member of the PSC, Engr Rufai, added that sometimes there are political interferences in some of the disciplinary and promotional recommendations that the Commission had made in the past. He shared some instances of this.

However, a member of the PSC, Mr Ben Iwambe, intervened, saying that some of the comments made are not in consonance with some of the contemporary realities in the PSC. This includes recruitment of police officers, which he disclosed had now been delegated to the IGP, with which the PSC works. He said the PSC now often investigates procedures that lead to certain measures prescribed to police personnel under investigation/punishment. The PSC also investigates reasons for refusal to promote certain officers, he added. However, he disclosed that there is improvement in cooperation from the police in respect of release of information but that there was still room for improvement. He, nonetheless, lamented the fact that since the Commission has no power over the IG, there is a limit to how it can compel the IG to release certain information.

A Commissioner in the PSC, Dr Otive Igbuzor, clarified that the challenges to civilian oversight were not limited to Nigeria and that it takes time, and he
added that the attitude is changing among those in authority in Nigeria. He argues that contrary to some views that the leadership of the PSC by a former police officer was injurious to the Commission, he thinks it has helped in improving its influence and effectiveness. On the negative image of the police in the light of their selfless service, Dr Igbuzor agreed that it is a function of the police actions in the eyes of the people and the responsiveness of the police when the public calls on them. He agreed that systems for promotion must be put in place in order to boost morale in the police, and that was what the commission had tried to do in the last two years. He disclosed that some of the senior officers started resorting to special promotions, which the PSC then placed an embargo on and advised that gallantry be rewarded in many other ways, including awards of medals, national honours, etc.

Lunch break followed at 1:40pm.

**Second Plenary Session**
The second plenary session commenced at 2.30pm with a paper, “The Role of Management and Supervision Systems in Enhancing Police Accountability,” by Mr. Okpachu of the Centre for Management Development (CMD). The paper applied the management principles of supervision, communication, decision-making, and management of people and tasks in the workplace to argue for a creation of internal control mechanisms in the Nigeria Police Force.

The last paper presentation was by Dr. Otive Igbuzor, a commissioner with the Police Service Commission. Titled “Oversight Agencies and Effectiveness of Police Accountability System in Nigeria: A Critical Reflection”, his paper underscored the essence of peace and security, the powers vested in the police and the need for oversight, as well as sharing the roadmap of the PSC. He defined four forms of accountability: political (regarding declarations and commitments), administrative (in respect of procedures), professional and democratic (popular participation).

The paper reviewed the various models of civilian oversight across the world and outlined ten common principles of effective oversight. He observed that most of the oversight bodies are weak and uncoordinated, having inadequate
resources without concrete plans and strategies. The paper shared some of the PSC’s new directions including: employment of dedicated staff of the Commission; improvement of the Commission’s liaison with the police and the public; and clearing the backlog of disciplinary and promotion cases.

The session’s chair, Mrs Ayo Obe led the ensuing open discussions. A participant from the MOPA argued that the police are the most important agency in the country and expressed the need for collaboration to ensure appropriate oversight. He, however, expressed fears that staff of the MOPA are civil servants and might not be as free to express their opinions on the matters being discussed. Mrs Obe allayed his fears, saying that the MOPA staff should understand that the forum was an executive one. She also implored the MOPA staff should help clarify their oversight roles to other participants in the Forum, in order to foster the synergy.

Another speaker explained that the Ministry of Police Affairs had since had a lot of transformation. He said the new MOPA has a full-fledged department called Police Inspectorate Division, as well as the Police Performance Monitoring Department, which does all that the PSC does, excluding discipline, and that the MOPA now publicly defends its budget at the NASS, unlike the earlier structure. He revealed that the MOPA receives as much as between 20 and 40 petitions a week, but that it does not treat any that deals with discipline or promotion as they forward those to the PSC.

Dr Igbuzor observed that the stated roles of the MOPA in respect of inspection and performance monitoring were evidences of lack of synergy. Prof Etannibi Alemika clarified how the Police Inspectorate Department was mooted and created. He said it was to increase standards by noting required facilities that were lacking, but not to duplicate functions of the PSC. Another participant proposed that the PSC oversight functions ought to operate in the background without making much noise about them.

Mrs Adenuga of the MOPA, said from the letters of complaints received at the Ministry, there is a wealth of public confidence in the Ministry and advocated that the Ministry should be better funded in order to satisfy this
confidence. She said they are in a better image to give the police a better image in the eyes of the public, so they should be given the opportunity such as through awards to commend police officers.

The Force PRO argued that police image is a function of its performance, which is in turn dependent on the resources and equipment made available to it. He concluded that the problem would not be that of image but of equipment and boosting of morale. The chairperson of the session, however, intervened, saying this Forum was not intended to be a ‘blame game’, but one intended to take responsibilities and also charting the ways forward.

Dr Igbuzor, CP Niger (Zuokumor) and the Director from the MOPA (Mr Iwambe) were mandated to write reports to their principals who would then convene the high-level meeting. The Forum closed by 5:30pm.

Day 3: Sunday, May 9
The day’s proceedings commenced at 9.40am with a prayer, followed by discussion and adoption of the draft communiqué. The Niger State Commissioner of Police, Mr Mike Zuokumor, chaired the session. During the debates on the draft communiqué, the issue of promotion, stagnation of police personnel and professionalism in the police was observed as possible subject of future conference. In addition, it was agreed that there should be a debate on possible civilianisation of some professional duties within the police, to address the misgivings in respect of career progression and promotion as contained in the summary of recommendations of the Presidential Committee on Police Reforms 2006 (Another Routine or Fundamental Change?, p.69).

Discussion of next subjects to be focus of succeeding Biannual Conference on Policing: Dr Otive Igbuzor outlined six key areas of concern to the PSC and suggested that one of them, Police Management and Organisation, should be considered. This was adopted, with the following subthemes added: Supervision and Monitoring; Attitude and Reorientation; Police Reform and Reorganisation; and Collaboration and Coordination.
Closing

Representatives of the Ministry of Police Affairs, the Police Service Commission, and the Nigeria Police Force made closing remarks. They all described the conference as very valuable. The Commissioner in the PSC, Dr Igbuzor, commended CLEEN for engaging the supply side of governance, which very few Nigerian CSOs do. Prof Etannibi Alemika of CLEEN Foundation expressed the organisation’s appreciation for their attendance. He conveyed the Executive Director, Mr Innocent Chukwuma’s apologies for not being personally present at the Forum because he was monitoring the elections in the United Kingdom. He specially thanked the CP and the Niger State Police Command for hosting the conference, and the partners for enduring support.

The meeting came to a close with a prayer at 11:40am.
CLEEN FOUNDATION’S PUBLICATIONS

JOURNEY TO CIVIL RULE

POLICING A DEMOCRACY
A Survey Report on the Role and Functions of the Nigeria Police in a Post-Military Era Published in 1999

LAW ENFORCEMENT REVIEW
Quarterly Magazine Published since the first quarter of 1998

CONSTABLE JOE
A Drama Series On Police Community Relations In Nigeria Published in 1999

POLICE-COMMUNITY VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA Published in 2000

JUVENILE JUSTICE ADMINISTRATION IN NIGERIA
Philosophy And Practice Published in 2001

GENDER RELATIONS AND DISCRIMINATION IN NIGERIA POLICE FORCE Published in 2001

FORWARD MARCH
A Radio Drama Series on Civil Military Relations In Nigeria Published in 2001

HOPE BETRAYED
A Report on Impunity and State-Sponsored Violence in Nigeria Published in 2002

CIVILIAN OVERSIGHT AND ACCOUNTABILITY OF POLICE IN NIGERIA Published in 2003

POLICE AND POLICING IN NIGERIA
Final Report on the Conduct of the Police In the 2003 Elections Published in 2003

CIVIL SOCIETY AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN THE NIGER DELTA
Monograph Series, No. 2 Published in 2006

CRIMINAL VITIMIZATION SAFETY AND POLICING IN NIGERIA: 2005
Monograph Series, No. 3 Published in 2006

CRIMINAL VITIMIZATION SAFETY AND POLICING IN NIGERIA: 2006
Monograph Series, No. 4 Published in 2007

BEYOND DECLARATIONS
Law Enforcement Officials and ECOWAS Protocols on Free Movement of Persons and Goods in West Africa Published in 2007

POLICE AND POLICING IN WEST AFRICA
Proceedings of a Regional Conference Published in 2008

IN THE EYES OF THE BEHOLDER
A Post-Election Survey Report Published in 2009

CRY FOR JUSTICE
Proceedings of a Public Tribunal on Police Accountability in Nigeria Published in 2009

GOOD PRACTICE GUIDE
Establishing a School-Based Crime Prevention Programme Published in 2009

ANOTHER ROUTINE OR FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE?
Police Reform in Nigeria 1999 till date Published in 2009

POLICING WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN NIGERIA
Training Manual Published in 2009

CITIZENSHIP AND IDENTITY POLITICS IN NIGERIA:
Conference Proceedings Monograph Series, No. 5 Published in 2009

CRIMINAL VITIMIZATION SAFETY IN LAGOS STATE
Monograph Series, No. 6 Published in 2010

CORRUPTION AND GOVERNANCE CHALLENGES IN NIGERIA:
Conference Proceedings Monograph Series, No. 7 Published in 2010

POLICING ELECTION IN NIGERIA
Assessment of the Role of Nigeria Police in Election in Nigeria Published in 2010