

SECURITY AND STATE POLICING: Insights from Lagos State.

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INTRODUCTION

The police constitute vital part of peaceful co-existence of various groups in modern societies. Like many African countries, policing a multiethnic and multicultural society like Nigeria-especially Lagos- is a daunting challenge, and was similarly so to many governments in postcolonial African states. Ethnic diversity, which ordinarily, ought to have helped to unite the diverse ethnic nationalities and increase interest in national development, is today, a significant source of unending conflicts among the different ethnic nationalities in the continent. Although, Nigeria, is not the only African country that is confronted with the problem of organized crime, experts on Africa's security system have argued that there is need for African countries to reconfigure the police structures they inherited from the colonial masters.

Colonialism came into Africa in the nineteenth century and imposed alien colonial structures and institutions on African societies without giving adequate consideration to the size, geography and diversity of these societies. Colonial police brought formal policing system and displaced the informal policing infrastructure in many of these societies. The result is that the modern police-with its centralized structure- African societies is more of an instrument of the state, and not an instrument for the maintenance of public order. The Nigerian State has since independence, depended on Federal Police to combat crime, maintain law and order and ensure that criminals are prosecuted by the state- a system which has recorded more failure than success.

This paper is designed to examine the role of intelligence-led policing in the prevention and control of organized crime in Lagos State, Nigeria. The paper contends that intelligence-led policing is a form of smart policing model that can help Nigeria effectively combat the major crimes in the country. The paper states further that there is need for the Federal Government of Nigeria to introduce "state police", in order to complement and strengthen the intelligence-policing model that the Nigeria Police Force currently uses.

THE PROBLEM OF ORGANIZED CRIME IN LAGOS STATE, NIGERIA

Organized crime exists everywhere in the world. It exists in the developed capitalist nations such as the United States, Britain, Germany, France, Russia and also exists in less developed societies. Mutume (2019) noted that organized crimes target weak African states, and consequently thwart development programmes.

The global world is more complicated today than ever before and this complication arises from the way our world is rapidly changing and responding to the forces of globalization. New technologies have changed the way people do things and also provided criminals thousands of ways to carry out their nefarious activities. Within the twinkle of an eye, some bandits can kill hundreds of people and set houses ablaze using improvised explosive devices. Whether in the developed or developing societies, the contemporary world is gripped with the fear of crimes.

Unlike the developed world where advanced technologies are available and effective in combating crimes, in most developing societies, particularly in Sub-Saharan African countries, policing modern crimes has been a major challenge to government. It is either the police lacks the capacity to deploy intelligence-led policing to crimes that currently trouble society or police operations are stunted by politics or logistics deficit.

Lagos State is one of the Nigerian states, that has been rattled by different types of organized crime in the last ten years. While the North-eastern part of the country is groaning under Boko Haram insurgency, the city of Lagos and its environments have been faced with the challenge of deadly street cultism known as Badoo cultism.

Badoo cultism was the deadly cult group that emerged in the Ikorodu Area of the state around 2016 and lasted till 2017. The cult was deadly because it often involved the killing of a whole family in a mysterious way using charms. Members of the cult group were believed to have sworn to an oath of secrecy to kill their victims for money rituals. Unlike other forms of cultism-such as cult clashes between the Eiyee and Aiye groups- that threaten the security of the state, Badoo cultism created much fear in the minds of Lagosians. The group operated in different remote areas in Ikorodu. Unlike Eiyee and Aiye that target rival cult groups, the Badoo group targets an entire family, exterminate all family members-including children- present on the day of attack. They are fond of removing body parts of victims especially fetus.

Kidnapping is another form of organized crime that confronts the residents of Lagos State. Initially, when it started, it took the combined force of the Police and the DSS to confront the criminals. Considering the inability of the police and the DSS to combat the crime pipeline vandalism and kidnapping among others, the Federal Government of Nigeria deployed the military to Ishawo area of the state to dislodge the kidnappers and some pipeline vandals. Pipeline vandalism has a long history in Lagos State. Recently in Abule-Egba area of the state, activities of pipeline vandals caused inferno which led to loss of properties. Apart from Badoo cultism, which the state traces to the emergence of community cultism in Nigeria, the crimes of kidnapping and pipeline vandalism have largely been traced to militancy in the Niger Delta.

Although, the Lagos State Government has largely tamed the three crimes, it has become clearer that organized crimes have succeeded in creating a fertile environment for other organized crimes-such as street cultism and gun violence- to thrive in the state.

LITERATURE REVIEW

POLICING IN NIGERIA: THE HISTORICAL CONTEXTS

Policing is as old as many African societies but the history of modern policing on the continent dates back to the late nineteenth century when the colonial masters introduced colonial police. In Nigeria, the first modern police started with the Hausa Constabulary and later the British introduced the Lagos Police in 1896. Subsequently, the colonial police was created in different protectorates of British Nigeria to facilitate colonial administration and ultimately subdue the indigenous populations to colonial laws. After the amalgamation of the Northern Protectorate with the Southern Protectorate in 1914, the colonial government created what is now known today as the Nigeria Police Force in the 1930s. For many African countries, the colonial police was an imposed and centralized system of administration alien to their culture and diversity. It was a system that survived on arbitrariness and capriciousness of colonial administration.

At independence, when majority of African countries gained their independence from the European colonialists, many African leaders opted for a centralized system of government- "statism"- that would allow government intervene in governance. Eventually, the state came to dominate the economies of post-independence African societies. The result of this was that the state also developed an over-centralized police force, which primary interest was not to prevent crime but to ensure regime security. During the era of the military, the Nigeria Police went through consistent problem of underdevelopment. The force became militarized, impoverished and underdeveloped. The consequence of this was that police officers developed negative attitudes to crime prevention and governance. It replaced police functions with military functions thereby under-developing the Nigerian Police Force and other security agencies (Ake, 2000).

It is therefore not surprising to find a police force in contemporary Nigeria that lacks commitment to professionalism and modern methods of policing, and is deficient in modern ways of combating crimes.

WHAT IS INTELLIGENCE-LED POLICING?

Intelligence-led policing is a policing model, which expects police actions and operations to be informed and guided by intelligence. Intelligence is a set of information collected, collated and processed into actionable forms, which helps the police to detect crimes, trace the roots of crimes and establish the modus operandi of criminals in society. In 2005, the United States Bureau of Justice Assistance stated that:

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Intelligence-led policing is a collaborative enterprise based on improved intelligence operations and community-oriented policing and problem solving, which the field has considered beneficial for many years. To implement intelligence-led policing, police organizations need to re-evaluate their current policies and protocols. Intelligence must be incorporated into the planning process to reflect community problems and issues. Informal sharing must become a policy, not an informal practice. Most important, intelligence must be contingent on quality analysis of data. The development of analytical techniques, training, and technical assistance needs to be supported (US Bureau of Justice Assistance, 2005).

Intelligence-led policing, believes that police work is a science, and as a science, every stage in the crime prevention process must be guided by scientific facts. Availability and use of verified intelligence are therefore very important to effective policing in modern society. Intelligence-led policing believes the police must be forthright in getting information that will guide in tracking criminals. Working with the communities, in unraveling this hidden information, is therefore an integral aspect of police jobs. It should however be noted that, 'intelligence' is not the same thing as 'information'. While information is a mere idea of a crime sold to the police, intelligence is a piece of information that has been subjected to analysis and produced for the purpose of carrying out a police operation (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 2005). Intelligence is therefore not what is collected but what is produced after the collected data has been analysed and processed.

THE ORIGIN OF INTELLIGENCE-LED POLICING

Intelligence-led policing is a recent phenomenon in many developing countries including Nigeria. It is a policing model which originated in the United Kingdom in the 1990s and later spread to the United States of America following the September 11 terrorist attack on the World Trade Center (Carter and Carter, 2009).

The terrorist attack, which devastated the United States was said to have raised new questions about America's capacity for policing terrorism using intelligence to protect the nation's territorial borders. In response to this thinking, the United States Government in collaboration with US Department of Justice held series of summits on intelligence-led policing. The summits, which were designed to look critically at the possibility of using intelligence-led policing, were reported to have global debates on policing in the 21st century (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 2005).

TYPES OF INTELLIGENCE-LED POLICING

Intelligence-led policing can take different forms since police operations too are shaped by the forms and patterns of crimes in society. What is unique about an ILP is that, it must be data driven and targeted at uprooting a particular crime in society.

Tactical Intelligence

Tactical intelligence is the type of intelligence that contributes to the direct success of a specific police investigation. It deals with the immediate action that is to be taken in arresting an offender or keeping evidence that will lead to the unraveling of other criminal groups in the society.

Strategic Intelligence

Strategic intelligence takes a look at big-picture issues in the execution of a police operation. It deals with the planning of the operation, manpower allocation and resources to be deployed for the successful execution of a police operation. Strategic intelligence evolves over time, adopts long-term and large-scope solutions to a perceived or established problem in society. A good example of this is de-radicalization of extremist groups currently seen by African governments as a way of countering terrorism on the continent.

Operational Intelligence

Operational intelligence is an intelligence operation that supports long-term investigations into multiple, similar targets. It is aimed at identifying, targeting, detecting and intervening in criminal activity using available intelligence about the crime or the criminals. Operational intelligence requires, every officer, in a police operation to be acquainted with the intelligence.

Evidential Intelligence

Evidential intelligence is a form of intelligence in which certain pieces of evidence indicate where other evidence can be found. The Bureau of Justice Assistance (2005) noted that evidential intelligence can help prove a criminal violation or provide leads for further investigations of other crimes.

STAGES IN THE INTELLIGENCE PROCESS

The intelligence process is not the same thing as the intelligence-led policing. While the former unfolds the stages of how collected information turns into intelligence, intelligence-led policing captures the overall intelligence strategies that police will adopt and deploy in using intelligence in crime prevention programmes. The National Criminal Intelligence Sharing Plan (NCISP) of the United States Department of Justice (2003) has categorized the intelligence process into six.

Planning and Direction

Planning how data will be collected is key to the intelligence process. Every police authority must decide on, what type of data they want and what they intend to do with them. The planning stage is usually a stage that sets a direction for the overall intelligence to be produced and utilized.

Collection

Collection of data is very important in the entire intelligence analysis and production. At this stage, police authorities collect necessary information from people whom they perceive or know as victims of crimes. It is therefore imperative for police authorities to authenticate sources of such information and sort them in their order of importance.

The data collection stage is the most labour-intensive aspect of the intelligence process. It usually requires large number of people from different backgrounds, whose information will ultimately help the police to detect, investigate and track offenders of the law. Due to the overriding influence of modern technologies, data can be collected from multiple sources by the police.

Processing/Collation

It is not enough to collect data. Data collected from individuals, organizations, corporate entities and victims of crime must be sifted. Processing or collation of data is therefore the process of sifting through available data in order to eliminate useless, irrelevant and incorrect data. This organization makes it easier to establish relationships among entities and uncover information connecting individuals who are linked in one way or the other to the commission of a crime.

Analysis

Analysis is the conversion of information collected from the field to intelligence. It simply means the process of deriving meanings and sense out of the data generated from entities. Analysis of data is not usually a simple exercise because different data are usually involved, and available to be analysed to tease out actionable information.

Dissemination

Dissemination requires getting intelligence to those who need them in society. It requires that government disseminate intelligence to different security agencies, and ensure that such agencies make the best use of them in their operations. For instance, intelligence that bothers on external security may be best handled by the army because it is the entity that is specially established to protect and guarantee external security of a nation.

Re-evaluation

The reevaluation stage is the stage at which police authorities assess intelligence products to determine their effectiveness. President Muhammed Buhari's decision to order Joint Task Force operations in Zamfara State recently is as a result of reevaluation of intelligence operations in the state (Punch, July 30, 2018).

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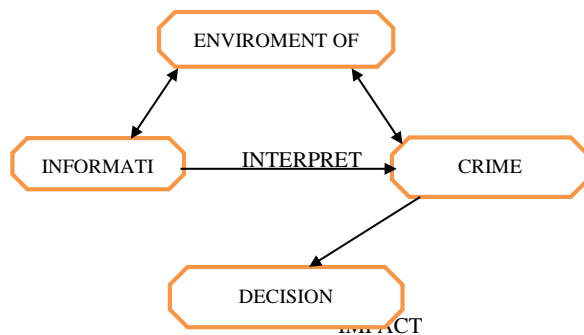
SIGNIFICANCE OF INTELLIGENCE-LED POLICING

1. Strategic Targeting
2. Data-driven Policing
3. Connects Police Authorities to Crime Scenes
4. Helps Prevent Crimes Using Intelligence
5. Makes Police Strategies Tactical
6. Reduces the Risks in Reactionary Policing
7. Keeps the Police abreast of Information about Crime and Society

THEORETICAL MODEL

Intelligence-led policing (ILP) is a policing model anchored on the assessment and management of risk. Intelligence officers are used as guide to operations rather than operations guiding intelligence. Even though ILP borrowed from earlier models such as community policing, problem-oriented policing and partnership policing, its emergence is a rejection of reactive policing. This was the reason for the public to call for policing driven by information and surveillance to combat crime. At the moment, ILP has been expanded to include reassurance and neighbourhood policing (Ericson and Haggerty, 1997). What gave a greater impetus to ILP was the 9/11/2001 terrorist attacks. The main assumption of this theory as practiced in Nigeria is captured in figure 1 below.

Figure 1: Strategies for ILP in Lagos Nigeria



The three I's calls for a close cooperation between the commissioner of police and handlers of intelligence to fashion out a strategy that will impact on the environment of crime. This is because the centralization of decision making at the federal level causes bottlenecks that gets intelligence mired in the maze of bureaucracy which delays implementation and results in breach of security. First, information is gathered by intelligence officers with the help of community members. The gathered information is then analyzed and interpreted to become intelligence. The intelligence is then passed to the decision maker who is the commissioner of police. His decision to anchor operations on intelligence impacts on the environment of crime and vice versa. The process of deconstructionism using the ILP as a model was applied in Ikorodu local government area, in Lagos state during the period of the Badoo cultists, and this has shown that collaboration between the police and community through ILP yields positive results as evidenced by the eventual arrests of the arrow head and members of the cult. When operations are anchored on intelligence policing, they become proactive instead of reactive and this is known to lower the rate of crime. The overarching issue is how this model could cascade to all aspects of policing in Lagos state especially because of the rivalry between the police and other enforcement agencies in the state.

METHOD

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The research design deployed to generate data for this paper was qualitative. The data were generated using the in-depth interview (IDI) and key informant interview (KII) methods. The instruments deployed were the IDI and KII guidelines which comprised the necessary questions designed to elicit responses on ILP issues from the respondents.

STUDY LOCATION

Lagos state, the smallest in area of the 36 states in Nigeria was created in 1967. The state is composed of 20 local government areas (LGAs) and 57 local council development areas (LCDAs). It is the economic hub of Nigeria and Nigeria's largest urban area with a population of about 25 million people (Lagos State Abstract of Statistics, 2017). The state is bounded by Ogun on the north and east and shares boundary with the Republic of Benin in the west. The Atlantic Ocean lies behind its southern borders and 22 per cent of its 3,577 km² are lagoons and creeks. If Lagos state were a country it will be the 5th largest economy in Africa as its total revenue in 2017 was N334 billion. This has been the major attraction as Nigerians from the 36 states come to Lagos to seek better livelihood. And as the population increases crime rate equally increases.

STUDY POPULATION

The data for the paper were generated from in-depth interviews (IDIs) and key informant interviews (KIIs). The in-depth interviews (IDI) were conducted among members of the intelligence unit of the Nigerian police force, department of state security, community leaders and officers of the police-community-relations-committee and neighbourhood associations. The key informant interviews (KIIs) were conducted among top officers of the intelligence unit. The reason for selecting these groups of people for the qualitative data was that they will be able to share their experiences and their views will further enlighten the members of the public on ILP.

SAMPLING

The technique adopted was purposive as only those considered to hold command positions as it pertains to ILP were contacted for interview. The snowball sampling which is a non-probability sampling technique was adopted. The officers interviewed helped recruit their colleagues to deepen the focus of the research. A total of 20 respondents were identified and interviewed. The respondents comprised 3 members of State Intelligence Bureau (SIB), 3 police officers, 2 members of the Department of State Security (DSS), and 3 members of Lagos State neighbourhood watch, 5 community leaders, 2 members of the police community relations committee and 2 members of neighbourhood associations.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

As mentioned earlier, a total of 20 respondents were interviewed using the key informant and in-depth interview methods. Those interviewed were 2 females and eighteen males.

When the respondents were asked to define ILP and how it could be deployed towards policing in Lagos state, the respondents answered that intelligence-led policing is anchored on information gathering and analysis to tease out actionable intelligence and this could be deployed towards proactive policing to reduce crime in Lagos state. One of the intelligence officers buttressed the assertion:

The Lagos state police command has a state intelligence bureau (SIB). But ILP cannot be fully deployed without a fusion centre and this involves collaboration with all the strata of society to gather robust intelligence. A fusion centre should collect over 1000 information daily for analysis. Ideally intelligence officers should be deployed to restaurants, bars, and malls, hotels, brothels, hotspots, banks and other vulnerable organizations to gather information; that will help to prevent crime (Intelligence Officer, Male, 33).

A fusion centre is an information collection centre with an array of specialists including intelligence officers, information technology specialists, statisticians, language specialists who work through the maze of information sent in daily to sift them to become usable intelligence. A fusion centre will usually have a commander as the officer in charge, whose function includes the deployment of intelligence officers and going through intelligence before sending to the commissioner of police. The job of the commander is imperative in the process because he/she decides which intelligence should be followed by an action, and decided who among available personnel

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is best at carrying out necessary actions. When respondents were asked to provide insight into how the knowledge of and understanding of ILP will help community policing in Lagos state, there were varied responses. The community members said that ILP cannot work without active collaboration between the community members and intelligence officers. They argued that policing seems herculean in the state because of the disconnect between the police and members of the public. They averred that failure to use members of the public as informants hampers policing because the police will never be able to muster the personnel to police all the nooks and crannies of Lagos state. A community leader corroborated the assertion:

Intelligence led policing is the new method of policing and when it is combined with community policing crime is drastically reduced. In this community, we used to experience a lot of robberies and kidnappings until we formed the police-community-relations-committee and started working with the police. We made our people to key into the police slogan of "if you see something say something" and through this information is given to police officers. I can tell you that we sleep with our two eyes closed now. Even though it is not yet a perfect situation but we work closely with the DPO and his men. And every member of this community is considered an informant (Community leader, Male 60).

The views of the officers were slightly different because they understand the full ramifications of ILP. An officer of the state informed that:

There is no intelligence analyst in the Nigerian Police Force. Usually SIB is headed by a police officer who has undergone intelligence training. Ideally an intelligence analyst is someone who has been exposed to the nitty-gritty of sifting through a maze of information to determine what should be considered intelligence. In addition, such an officer is supposed to be IT savvy because not every information received translates to intelligence (Male, DSS, 33).

Similarly, one of the state intelligence officers (M/36yrs/SIB) argued that ILP cannot operate in a vacuum. According to him:

ILP activities must be carried out through a process because gathered information is raw data which should be subjected to analysis to generate intelligence. Such data emanate from numerous sources such as the crime scene, eye witness accounts, media houses and dead drops (dropping information without being physically present) [SIB, Male, 33]

He argued that ILP cannot work well without the deployment of technology such as CCTV cameras and other devices which assist the officers to arrive at rational and bias free decisions. The beauty of such rational decisions is that it enables the commander to determine whether the situation requires the deployment of operation officers or just to take precautionary measures to forestall the occurrence of a crime. He informs that ILP has a faster approach to issues and result oriented. He gave examples of how it has resulted in alternative dispute resolution (ADR) instead of arraignment and possible conviction thus helping to decongest the prisons. A female officer averred that:

ILP works best in a third world country when it is combined with community policing. This is because of the dearth of technology and other necessary logistics to assist intelligence officers. For instance, we ought to deploy surveillance in hot spots but this may not be possible due to paucity of funds. In such situations we rely on good old informants to do our work. Most of the cases on cybercrimes were solved through reliable information from informants. Another interesting example is the Badoo cases in Ikorodu. At a time it seemed as if the cultists were invincible but the moment the commissioner of police decided to partner with the communities the criminals and their sponsors were unmasked (DSS, Female, 36).

Her belief is that since Nigeria is short of the UN ratio of one police officer to 400 citizens that a strong partnership with the communities will help reduce the rate of crime. Her views are in sync with those of the Inspector General of Police who said that Nigerian Police Force requires additional 155,000 personnel to provide security for the country (Vanguard Newspaper, 2017). This additional number will require the recruitment of 31,000 personnel annually for the next five years. Any wonder the police seem overwhelmed in the face of increasing criminality. The respondents were asked to give their views on the challenges facing the deployment of ILP and community policing in Lagos state. All the respondents were unanimous that there are numerous challenges that tend to hamper the successful deployment of ILP in policing Lagos state. While many of the community members mentioned paucity of funds to embark on enlightenment campaigns, lack of trust between

the police and the public and absence of minor trainings for effectiveness. The security personnel complained of paucity of funds, logistics and lack of training. Incidentally, a few of them complained of ethnicity, laziness and doctored reports.

The view of a community leader is presented below:

The biggest challenge against ILP and community policing is the distrust between the people and the police. People are afraid to give information to the police because of betrayal. Our people don't trust the police to protect the identity of informants. Another challenge is paucity of funds. One may have information to share without having the means to do so. If I had a car, I will cover this community better by visiting more people to enlist them into the PCRC and make them provide information to the police. Working with the police has its downside as criminals target those community members that collaborate with the police (Community leader, Male, 60).

Two officials of neighborhood associations lent credence to the views of the community leader. According to them, logistics pose major challenge as most of the neighbourhood safety associations have neither patrol vehicles nor scooters to patrol their various neighbourhoods. In addition, they said that not all residents appreciate the services they provide and therefore cooperation is not 100 per cent. They informed that the challenge of logistics faced by the police affects their efficiency as the police can only respond to distress calls if they are equipped with operational vehicles. One of the officials gave the following narrative:

Some few years back before the Lagos Neighborhood Safety Corps, we had a situation in our neighbourhood and decided to inform the police. Unfortunately, there was no operational vehicle for them to come assist us. But since the Lagos state government started to collaborate with the police things have changed. Even though the police are not stationed here but once we send out a distress call, the Rapid Response Unit responds within 5-10 minutes. This is because the state provides them with logistics including weekly supply of fuel to operational vehicles. In addition, police vehicles are stationed at critical junctions thus making response prompt (Official of neighborhood association, Male, 63).

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

ILP as a model has helped to reduce crime as evidenced by the breakthrough in the various homicides committed by Badoo cultists in Ikorodu, the numerous arrests of cybercriminals and pipeline vandals in Ikorodu and Arepo in Lagos state. However, ILP alone cannot suffice because of the aforementioned challenges. The authors therefore advocate a combination of ILP, community policing and orthodox policing to reduce crime in Lagos state Nigeria. In the light of the foregoing the following recommendations are made:

- The state should strengthen the initiative of the Neighbourhood safety corps by bringing in more communities.
- The police should work more with the PCRC to build the trust between the citizenry and the police.
- The Governor should incorporate the private sector into the present initiative of assisting the police with logistics. This will create the needed synergy to equip and strengthen the police to perform better.
- True federalism will ensure that governors become more responsive to the security architecture of their states by making judicious use of the security votes to maintain law and order.

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