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DR. MRS. T. N. ODEGAH

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EDITORIAL NOTE

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46. Crowder, M, *The Story of Nigeria*, London, Faber and Faber, 1978, p.24
47. Historically, Kwararafa was the capital of the Jukun before it was moved to Wukari in 1596 and Dan Anacha is the name of a species of yam very popular among the Tiv.

THE POLICE FORCE AS A FACILITATOR OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS: EVIDENCE FROM THE 2015 ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA

*Odeigah, Theresa Nfam, PhD, Oguchi, Chinwenba Benjamin
and Abah, Danladi*

Introduction

The Nigeria Police (NP) is the principal law enforcement agency in Nigeria with a staff strength of about 371,000. There are currently plans to increase the force to 650,000 by adding 280,000 new recruits to the existing 370,000. It is a very large organisation which consists of 36 commands grouped into 12 zones and 7 administrative organs. The force is currently headed by IGP Ibrahim Idris.

The police in Nigeria was established as a force (an organisation) in 1820 with officers from present Imo State and commissioner general, colonel KK as the first person to attain the highest rank. In 1879, a 1,200 member armed paramilitary Hausa constabulary was formed and by 1896, the Lagos police was established. There was also the formation of the Niger coast constabulary earlier in 1894 in Calabar under the newly proclaimed Niger coast protectorate. In the North the Royal Niger company set up the Royal Niger company constabulary in 1888. On amalgamation in early 1900s, part of the Royal Niger company constabulary became the Northern Nigeria Police while part of the Niger coast constabulary became the Southern Nigeria police. During the colonial era, most police were associated with local governments (native authorities). In the sixties (60s), under the First Republic, these forces were regionalised and nationalised. The NPF performed conventional police functions and was responsible for internal security generally, supporting

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the prison, immigration, and customs services; and for performing military duties within or outside Nigeria as directed. Reportedly, there were more than 1,300 police stations nationwide. Police officers were not usually armed but were issued weapons when required for specific missions or circumstances. They were often deployed throughout the country, but in 1989, Babangida administration announced that a larger number of officers would be posted to their native areas to facilitate police-community relations. The force is designated by section 194 of the 1979 constitution as the national police of Nigeria with exclusive jurisdiction throughout the country. There is also a constitutional provision for the establishment of separate NPF branches "forming part of the armed forces of the Federation or for the protection of harbors, waterways, railways and airfields". One such branch, the port security police, was reported by different sources to have a strength of between 1,500 and 12,000 men as at 1990.

Organisation

The NPF maintains a three-tier administrative departments, zonal and state commands.

Title	Departments	Responsibilities
Department of Finance and Administration	Finance and Administration	General Administration and Finance
Department of operations	Operations	Crime preventions, public order, public safety
Department of Logistics and Supply	Logistics and Supply	Works and Police Estate Management
Department of Criminal Investigation	Force Criminal Investigation Department (FORCID)	Investigation
Department of Training and Development	Training	Human Resources
Department of Research and Planning	Planning Research and Development	Statistics and Data
Department of Information Technology	Information and Communication Technology	Communication management

Organisaation/Structure of the Nigeria Police Force

The NPF is under the general operational and administrative control of an Inspector General (IGP) appointed by the president and responsible for the maintenance of law and order. He is

supported at headquarters in Lagos by the Deputy Inspector General (DIG) and in each state by police commissioners. The 1979 constitution provided for a Police Service Commission that was responsible for NPF Policy, organisation, administration, and finance (except for pensions). In February 1989, the Babangida regime abolished the Police Service Commission and established the Nigeria Police Council in its stead. The Council was placed under direct presidential control. The new council was chaired by the president. The chief of general, the minister of internal affairs, and the inspector general (police) were members. Following the reorganisation in September 1990, Alhaji Sumaiya Gwarzo, a former director of the State Security Service (SSS), was named to the new post of minister of state for police affairs. This reorganisation notwithstanding, a further reorganisation took place in late 1986. This left the NPF with a nationwide structure of seven area commands, thus, superseding the command structure corresponding to each of the states of Nigeria. Each command was under a commissioner of police and was further divided into police provinces and divisions under local officers. The NPF headquarters, which is also an area command supervised and coordinated the other area commands; later, these Area Commands were grouped under zonal commands as follows:

Zone	Headquarters	Commands
1	Kano	Kano, Katsina and Jigawa
2	Lagos	Lagos and Ogun
3	Yola	Adamawa and Gombe

In mid-1889, the Armed forces Ruling Council accepted a report by Rear Admiral Murtala Nyako which led to the announcement of another reorganisation in the NPF. Following this development, the force created a quick intervention force in each state, separate from the mobile police units, specifically to monitor political events and to quell unrests during the transition to civil rule. Each state unit of between 160 and 400 police officers

was commanded by an assistant superintendent and equipped with vehicles, communication gears, weapons, and crowd control equipment which included cane shields, batons and tear gas.

A Federal Investigation and Intelligence Bureau (FIIB) was to be set up as the successor to the Directorate of Intelligence and Investigation; three directorates were established operations, administration, and logistic, each headed by a deputy inspector general. The Directorate of Operations was subdivided into four units under a Deputy Director-Operations, training, communications, and the Mobile Police. The Directorate of Administration comprised of an administrative unit headed by an assistant inspector general (AIG) and of budget and personnel units under commissioners while the Directorate of Logistics had four units namely, procurement, workshop/transport, supply, and work/maintenance under AIGs. The zonal arrangements were retained. However, AIGs were authorised to transfer officers up to the rank of chief superintendent, to set up provost units, deploy mobile units, and promote officers between the ranks of sergent and inspector. Later, the three Directorates were renamed Departments.

Criminal Investigation Department

"D Department". The Criminal Investigation Department (CID) is the highest criminal investigation arm of the Nigeria Police (NPF). Headed by a Deputy Inspector General (DIG), its primary functions include investigation and prosecution of serious and complex criminal cases within and outside the country. It also coordinates crime investigations throughout the NPF. The Department (CID) is divided into sections with most of them headed by commissioners of police (CPs). The sections include:

- i. Administration
- ii. Anti-Fraud Section
- iii. The Central Criminal Registry (CCR)
- iv. Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS)
- v. X-Squad
- vi. General Investigation

- vii. Special Fraud Unit (SFU)
- viii. Legal Section
- ix. Forensic Science Laboratory
- x. Interpol Liaison
- xi. Homicide
- xii. Anti-Human Trafficking Unit
- xiii. Force Intelligence Bureau (FIB)
- xiv. DCI Kaduna Annex
- xv. Counter Terrorism Unit (CTU)

Police Mobile Force

The Police Mobile Force was established as a strike or Anti-riot unit under the control of the Inspector-General of Police to counter incidents of civil disturbance. It is designated to take over operations of major crisis where conventional police units cannot cope. There are presently 12 MOPOL commands, MOPOLs 1 through 12, controlling 52 police Mobile squadrons which are spread amongst the 36 state commands and Federal Capital Territory (FCT).

Supervision and Control of the Nigeria Police

Three major Governmental Agencies oversee the control and supervision of the Nigeria police; The Police Service Commission and the Ministry of Police Affairs.

A. The Police Service Commission (PSC)

The PSC is the Civilian oversight body on the police. It is responsible for appointment, promotion, and discipline of all police officers except the Inspector General of Police. It will collaborate, cooperate and work with all the stakeholders namely, the police council with the president as chairman, all the governors of the Federating states of Nigeria, the Minister of Interior, the chairman, Police Service Commission and the Inspector-General of police as members to turn the police around and enable it to meet the challenges of the 21st century. Thus:

- The Nigeria Police Council (NPC)
- The Police Service Commission (PSC)

Inspector Generals of the Nigeria Police

Name	Duration in office
IGP Louis Edet	1964-1966
IGP Kam Salem	1966-1975
IGP Muhammadu Diko Yusuf	1975-1979
IGP Adamu Suleiman	1979-1981
IGP Sunday Adewusi	1981-1983
IGP Etim Inyang	1985-1986
IGP Muhammadu Gambo-Jimeta	1986-1990
IGP Aliyu Atta	1990-1990
IGP Ibrahim Coomassie	1993-1999
IGP Musiliu Smith	1999-2002
IGP Mustafa Adebayo Balogun	2002-2005
IGP Sunday Ehindero	2005-2007
IGP Mike Mbama Okiro	2007-2009
IGP Ogbonna Okechukwu Onovo	2009-2010
IGP Hafiz Ringim	2010-Jan. 2012
IGP Mohammed Dikko Abubakar	2012-2014
IGP Suleiman Abba	2014-2015
IGP Solomon Arase	2015-2016
IGP Ibrahim Kpotun Idris	Inspector General of Police

Finances

The NPF operating budget between 1984 and 1988 remained in the ₦360 million to ₦380 million range, and in 1988 increased to ₦521. More notable were large capital expenditure infusions of ₦206 million in 1986 and ₦260.3 million in 1988, representing 3.5 and 2.5 percent of total Federal capital expenditures in those years. These increases were used to acquire new communications equipment, transport and weapons to combat the rising crying

wave such as 100 British Leyland DAF comet trucks delivered in 1990. These purchases notwithstanding, an NPF study in late 1990 concluded that the force's budget must double to meet its needs.

Training

Training for personnel of the force is directed from the headquarters by a deputy inspector general designated as commander. Recruits are trained at police colleges in Oji River, Maiduguri, Kaduna, and Ikeja, which also offers training to other security personnel like immigration officers. Also, the police college at Ikeja trains cadet assistant superintendents (ASPs) and inspectors; there are also in-service training schools, including the Police Mobile Force Training school at Guzno, south west of Abuja, the Police Detective College in Enugu, the Police Dog Service Training Centre, and the Mounted Training Centre. There is also the Nigeria Police Academy (NPA) in Kano which is modeled after the Nigerian Defence Academy (NDA).

The Electoral Voting System in Nigeria

The electoral process is the process through which candidates are elected to fill political posts. The process starts with the efforts of political parties in preparing for elections, campaigning for votes, etc. In Nigeria, an Electoral Commission is usually appointed to organise and conduct all elections in the country. For instance, Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) conducted 1979-83 Second Republic elections. National Electoral Commission (NEC) conducted the 1993 aborted Third Republic elections - while the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) conducted the 1999 Fourth Republic elections.

Preparations for Elections

Political parties usually make a lot of preparations before the actual voting takes place. Each party, for example, has to select its own candidate for each constituency. Thus, where there are ten (10) political parties, there are likely to be as many as ten (10)

candidates in each constituency. A candidate is a person to be voted for in an election. If the election is to the houses of parliament, successful candidates will be parliamentarians.

Registration of Political Parties

As is the practice, all eligible persons (voters) are called upon to register themselves prior to any general election. Only registered persons are allowed to vote. It is the duty of the Electoral Commission to carry out the registration exercise.

Campaign for Votes

Apart from the presentation of a candidate in each constituency, each party has to campaign directly for votes. This involves presenting the party's manifesto or programme to the electorate. A party programme contains what the party intends to do if elected into power. The electorate (the body of voters) will be the final judge as to which party has the best programme and intentions. The official period for campaigns vary from one country to another.

Secret Ballot

This is a system whereby voting is done secretly. Most democratic countries now operate the secret ballot. A ballot is a paper through which the electorate votes. Under the secret ballot, the voter goes alone into the ballot booth and drops his paper into the box of the candidate or party of his choice. The secret ballot protects the voter from possible persecution and intimidation on the basis of votes cast unless he/she discloses such.

Actual Voting and Results

The actual voting exercise is done within a well-stated day and period. For example, the voting hours might be from 7:00am to 5:00pm of a fixed date. Each eligible voter has to cast his/her vote within the stated hours. At the end of the voting exercise, the ballot boxes are taken to a collation center where they are counted. The Returning officer announces the results immediately.

Elections in Nigeria

Elections in Nigeria are forms of choosing representatives to the Nigerian Federal government and the various states in Nigeria. The country elects on Federal level, a head of state (the president) and a legislature (the National Assembly). The president is elected by the people. The National Assembly has two chambers. The house of representatives has 360 members elected for a four-year term in single-seat constituencies. The Senate has 109 members, elected for a four-year term. Each of the 36 states are divided into 3 senatorial districts, each of which is represented by a senator; the Federal Capital Territory is represented by only one senator.

Nigeria has a multi-party system. However, the people's Democratic Party (PDP) has controlled the presidency since elections resumed in 1999 until 2015 when the All Progressive Congress candidate, Muhammadu Buhari won the presidential election. It needs be mentioned, at this point, that since the return of democracy, the nation has witnessed three(3) general elections: the 2007 general elections held on the 14th and 21st of April of that year (won by the PDP), the 2011 elections on the 9th of April 2011 (also won by PDP) and the 2015 general elections which took place on 28th March (Presidential, Senatorial and House of Representatives), and the 11th of April (Governorship and state House of Assembly). This was an election which saw the defeat of an incumbent president. These elections, it must be noted, were conducted under certain rules and regulations. The enforcement and implementation of these laws (rules and regulations) falls within the realm of the security outfit with the Nigeria Police Force occupying the center stage.

The Nigeria Police Force (NPF) is saddled with the constitutional responsibility of ensuring the success and credibility of elected government in Nigeria. To a very large extent, the success or failure of any election is dependent on the conduct and performance of police officers on election duty. It is therefore, essential that police officers on election duty display the highest level of integrity, neutrality, professionalism and sense of duty to reassure the voters that their safety and security

are guaranteed. The conduct of a police officer as reflected above can equally contribute to the credibility of the electoral process. The absence of adequate security of politically impartial and peaceful polling environment will surely affect the quality of service rendered by electoral officers to voters. The police in a democratic society can never be called upon to perform any role more important or honorable than this. Thus, like other security agents, the police provides security at the polling stations and collation centers. This is to ensure that polling, counting of ballots, collations, and declaration of results are conducted without any disturbance and in adherence to relevant electoral laws. The police may arrest, on the instruction of the presiding officer or other INEC officials, any person(s) causing any disturbance or preventing the smooth conduct of proceedings at the polling stations and collation centers. Presiding officers are also to be accompanied to deliver the election results, ballot boxes and other election materials safely, and as appropriate. When the above roles are performed by the police, security of the ballot papers and ballot boxes and indeed, credibility of the elections are guaranteed. Unfortunately, every organisation has some bad eggs. Such unscrupulous elements are also found among the rank and file of the force. The result is that elections in Nigeria are usually flawed and characterised by gross ballot stuffing, ballot box snatching, violence, and other forms of malpractices, usually perpetrated by politicians and their thugs, sometimes with the connivance of the police. The implication is that, the very institution charged with the responsibility of providing security for a free and fair conduct of elections has turned a culprit of indecent behaviors during elections. This is a major challenge of the electoral process. This notwithstanding however, the NPF is known over the years, to have rendered services which have facilitated the elections in Nigeria. The 2015 general elections is a case in point.

NPF as a Facilitator of the 2015 General Elections (The Role of the Police Force)

To a large extent, the Nigeria Police performed its constitutional

role during the 2015 general elections. It took adequate steps to ensure the conduct of a free and fair election. As a prelude to the elections, the Commissioner of Police in charge of the Federal Capital Territory had this to say:

we embarked on training of officers on election duties, teaching them their roles and responsibilities at the election. We also went ahead to commission the Joint Operation Center which I think is the first in the country for the elections and we have the best crop of officers from the various security agencies as members. We have from the DSS, the Military, Civil Defense, Road Safety and others. (Inalegwu, 2015; Police Commissioner, FCT)

He went further to explain that the role of the Military was to be at the strategic places in case situation demands. The Joint Operation Center was to monitor the various voting centers. Such deployment was based mainly on threats analysis.

Checkmating Violence

As a way of also ensuring that violence is checkmated and stopped from occurring in the FCT, the commissioner met with all the forum of Imams, all the Jumat Imams, and all other Imams in the FCT. There were frank discussions and the police invited them as partners to preach peace. It was quite interesting as the participants promised to expose and inform the police of any threats within their domain.

Tackling Crime

On crime-related issues, the commissioner gave his command a pass mark since criminals were being arrested and prosecution almost on daily basis. He cited the case of a man who snatched a car only to be arrested by police in Zaria and handed over to the FCT police. Thus, two such thieves were arrested. The receiver and seller of the car were also arrested. At the time he spoke, three cars were recovered within the FCT, eleven from Zamfara and Sokoto and officers of the command were already in place to bring them back to the FCT.

Vigilance in Crowded Environments

The Department of State Security Services on its part urged voters to be vigilant in crowded environments before, during and after the conduct of the elections. In a statement signed by its spokesman, Marilyn Ogar, the department called on the electorate to abide by all stipulated guidelines enplaced to ensure peaceful conduct. Promising to provide adequate security for voters, the DSS charged that all forms of trading should be discouraged at the scene of voting. Voters are advised to be weary of persons in loose or bulky midriff clothes, which are inappropriate for the weather; look out for unattended bags, luggage, dustbins, strange containers, and other suspicious items. Similarly, all vehicles, motorcycles, tricycles and bicycles must be parked far away from the polling stations.

State of Preparedness

Ondo State Police Commissioner Mr Isaac Eke, speaking with Southwest voice said, "We are fully prepared for the general election in Ondo state as far as the security aspect is concerned". According to him, the postponement of the elections provided the command an ample opportunity to improve on the level of preparedness earlier put in place – an opportunity for which he thanked God. The period of primaries and campaigns witnessed a good measure of preparedness upon which some improvement has been recorded. Prior to that, men and personnel of the command had been undergoing series of training with regards to the rules of engagement of their functions, duties, and roles during the 2015 general elections. Series of stakeholders meeting had been held severally in the state involving all strata of command, traditional rulers, artisans, market women, students, politicians and media to soften the ground.

In a related development, Army Chief of staff (Nigerian Army), Lt General KTJ Minimah declared "politicians or groups which instigate or provoke violence during the elections with a view to making the country insecure, should be ready to face

organized violence in return". He said that all security agencies, including the police and military were committed to ensuring that the elections were violence-free and that the lives and property of Nigerians were not threatened. In his words:

Regarding the question of security before, during and post elections, I want to say that the Armed Forces, the Police and other security organisations have made adequate arrangements for security during the general and Local elections in a few days and weeks coming.

In the state of Nasarawa (Northern Nigeria), there were issues of snatching of ballot boxes during the elections as confirmed by police. The State Commission of police Lawal Shehu told the News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) that the boxes were snatched at Ugwar ward of Toto Local Government Area of the State. He assured that: "We are doing our best to ensure violence-free elections; to also ensure the protection of lives and property, as such, we will not allow any person or groups to cause distraction". He called on voters to remain peaceful, law-abiding and respect constituted authorities in order to have free, fair and acceptable elections.

Rivers State in the South-south geopolitical zone of Nigeria witnessed a mild drama play-out before the Governorship Election Tribunal as the Nigeria Police Force, which earlier testified that the April 11 gubernatorial election in the state was marred by violence, reversed itself and said the election was peaceful and credibly conducted. Police went ahead to disown the testimonies of previous officers who were brought to testify before the tribunal by the All Progressive Congress (APC) and its governorship candidate in the state, Dr. Dakuku Peterside. The DW-13, CSP Chukwuma, in his own testimony, told the tribunal that as the DPO in charge of Ahoada East LGA, he played a major role during the elections. He narrated the story of how he held lectures with his men to tutor them on the roles during the polls. Again, he explained how he led his men to ensure the security of citizens of the area, escorted electoral

officers and materials to their peaceful destinations and facilitated orderly and peaceful conduct of party officials and voters. The Local Government under his surveillance had a total 154 polling units. Using two patrol vans, 110 and 195 police men for constituencies I and II which made up the Local Government area, he was able to discharge his responsibility during the polls. He maintained that the elections in the area went on hitch-free.

In the State of Bayelsa, Governor Seriekae Dickson was reported to have broken down in tears on being intimidated on the number of casualties during the elections. A Deputy Superintendent of Police, Mr. Asinim Butswat, confirmed that two suspects were arrested for forcefully removing the box at Otuokpoti, unit I, ward 2, Ogbia Local Government Area. The police went into investigation. A Deputy Inspector General of Police (DIG), accompanied by heads of other security agencies and one Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) Commissioner, visited some polling units. This was the case all over the country as the Nigeria police showed a lot of commitment and resilience to ensure the credibility of the 2015 polls. These notwithstanding there were also some accusations leveled against the force to the extent of connivance at fraudulent electoral practices with one party or the other at different locations and times during the polls. A few cases may be cited as examples.

Chief Alan Onyemaechi, a Special Adviser to the Governor of Imo State, lamented the use of the police and Army to intimidate people with impunity particularly during the polls. According to him, the votes for APC were stolen in broad day light by the ruling PDP with the aid of the police and the army. This was done in spite of the peace accord by all parties to make the election hitch-free.

Another dimension of police fraudulent connivance is reflected in the humiliation of journalists to stop them from monitoring the electoral process. There were quite a number of such incidents. Vanguard Newspapers, March 30, 2015, (p. 12), reported the case of Journalists assaulted and stopped from

performing their lawful duties at the Ughelli office of the Independent National Electoral Commission where results were being collated following the presidential and National polls on the previous Saturday. Lamenting his ordeal after spending close to one hour behind the counter, Vanguard's Perez Brisibe said that when he got to the INEC collation centre at 6:15am on that fateful day, an officer attached to the Counter Terrorism Unit, (CTU) barked at him, asking who he was, adding that after showing the officer his INEC media accreditation card, the officer said: 'Is that why you are working freely into the premises? In short, leave this place now'. According to Perez, while trying to explain to the officer the need to allow him access the collation center, two other officers accosted him from behind saying, "who gave you the guts to talk back to an officer?, obey the order and get out of this premises". This he said was followed by slaps and punches from other officers including a female CTU officer who freely used horse whip on him. In continuation, Perez was obeying orders and tried to talk to his colleagues on what had transpired as he was walking away. Two officers pounced on him again accusing him of making calls. Saying, "you are making calls abi? In short, we are locking you up". At that point, they dragged him across the main road like a common criminal to the police station, dumped him in a tear-gassed passage leading to the cell and forced him to sit on the bare floor after confiscating his phone and tearing his shirt to shreds. While on the floor, he noticed a senior police officer at the counter. That was when he raised his voice calling his attention and informing him that he was a journalist; after showing him his INEC accreditation tag and complaining that his men had assaulted and bundled him behind the counter for no clear reason, he ordered his immediate release. As if that was not enough, Mr Shedrack Onitsha, the publisher of Advocate Newspapers, who had gone to the station to inquire on the position of things with the detained journalist, was also assaulted on the orders of the Divisional Police Officer,

DMO, Mr Hassan Galadima. (Vanguard, Monday, 30th March, 2015, p. 12).

Summary/Conclusion

The 2015 general elections in Nigeria was adjudged free, fair and credible by most Nigerians and the International Community. This feat would not have been attained without the security outfits being on ground to fulfill their constitutional obligations. The Nigeria Police Force was at the center of such roles. There were at every nook and cranny and several personnel lost their lives. Several offences were defected and prosecuted. Many of such offences were also preempted, prevented and even circumvented. Such offences include: casting of votes twice or more, announcing false election results, stopping any other person (s) from voting and revealing information on a ballot paper to another person. Others include being in possession of some other person's voter cards, disorderly behavior at polling boots, canvassing for votes at polling units and shouting party slogans on the polling stations. There were also offences like loitering and walking about polling stations, use of sirens, destruction and snatching of ballot boxes, card readers, holding public meetings within election hours on Election Day. There were also threats to inflict injuries on persons and wearing of party badges or carrying party posters, etc. Many such offences were dictated and prosecuted by the police. This shows the police was on duty to perform its constitutional roles despite some cases and allegations of fraudulent connivance by some bad eggs in the force. It needs be underscored that just as the society is infested with bad eggs and hoodlums, so is the police as a segment of the society. This is not enough to cancel the good works of the force. The role of the force in the 2015 General Elections in Nigeria began from its show of readiness, preparedness, through training and deployment of personnel of all cadre. Hence, as posited by Popoola Babalola on April 2015, the committee on 2015 polls commended the police for showing professionalism. He commended particularly, the critical role played by the Abba-led police in ensuring the overall success of

the Abuja Peace Accord. Thus, the National Peace Committee on the 2015 general elections, led by its chairman and former Head of state, General Abdulsalami Abubakar, commended the Nigeria Police Force for its professionalism in its conduct at the just-concluded March 28 Presidential and National Assembly elections held nationwide. Before the elections, the IGP revealed plans to train between 350,000 and 370,000 police officers ahead of the polls. It is also revealed that, senior police officers (COPS), were deployed as indicated below to ensure the protection of lives and property, safety of INEC officials, materials, equipments, ballot boxes, and peaceful conduct of the polls.

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