

ENHANCING ACCOUNTABILITY IN SURVEILLANCE PRACTICES:

A CALL FOR JUDICIAL AND PUBLIC OVERSIGHT IN NIGERIA

JANUARY 2024



Luminate

Policy Brief

**Enhancing Accountability in Surveillance Practices: A Call for Judicial
and Public Oversight in Nigeria**

By

Odeh Friday Odeh

(Country Director, Accountability Lab Nigeria)

And

Kasim Sodangi

(Director and Co-founder, Advocacy for Policy and Innovation)

January 2024

This policy brief highlights the importance of prioritizing citizens' privacy and rights while pursuing national security objectives through surveillance practices. It calls for robust judicial and public oversight mechanisms to ensure transparency and accountability in using surveillance technologies.

TABLE OF CONTENT

Executive Summary	3
Introduction	4
The Rationale for Surveillance in Nigeria	6
The Investment in Surveillance Infrastructure in Nigeria	8
The Intricate Interplay Between Global Powers and the Nation's Surveillance Technological Trajectory	10
The Rationale for Enhanced Accountability in Nigeria's Surveillance Landscape	11
Regulatory Overview	14
Recommendations	17
Technical Implementation Steps for Enhanced Surveillance and Accountability Framework	21
Conclusion	24
Endnotes	25

Executive Summary

In recent years, Nigeria has witnessed a significant surge in government agencies' adoption and deployment of surveillance technologies, posing potential threats to individual privacy, civil liberties, and human rights. This has necessitated a call to action across stakeholders clamouring for the rights and freedom of Nigerians. Consequently, a case has been made for the Digital Rights and Freedom Bill, 2018, which is still under consideration in the Nigerian legislative landscape and presents a unique opportunity to shape the future of surveillance practices in the country. As complementary recommendations to the provisions in the bill and an implementation-driven document, this policy brief aims to advocate for enhanced accountability through judicial and public oversight to ensure that surveillance practices align with constitutional rights and principles.

This policy brief addresses the need to establish robust accountability mechanisms to regulate and oversee surveillance practices in Nigeria. ***The absence of clear guidelines and oversight mechanisms has created a "Wild West" scenario in surveillance supply, where the potential for misuse by government entities is high.*** This brief advocates for a comprehensive framework incorporating judicial and public oversight to ensure responsible and ethical surveillance practices. It concludes by proposing a framework for Enhanced Surveillance and Accountability (ESA) which seeks to respond to the dynamic landscape of surveillance technologies, aiming to establish a robust system in Nigeria. The framework prioritizes protecting individual rights while ensuring comprehensive oversight of surveillance practices.

Introduction

The nature of surveillance in Nigeria is multifaceted, reflecting a complex interplay of technological advancements, security imperatives, and the evolving socio-political landscape. In urban centers and public spaces, Closed-Circuit Television (CCTV) systems stand as ubiquitous sentinels, ostensibly deployed for crime prevention but often raising concerns about the extent of public monitoring. The government's utilization of biometric technologies, such as facial recognition and fingerprinting for identity verification, underscores a shift towards increasingly sophisticated surveillance methods. Moreover, monitoring communications, including the interception of phone calls and online messages, adds another layer to the intricate web of surveillance practices. Social media monitoring has emerged as a dynamic tool, enabling authorities to gauge public sentiment, identify potential threats, and scrutinize individuals engaging in activities deemed unlawful. In border and immigration contexts, surveillance methods are deployed to regulate the movement of people and goods, reflecting a national security imperative. However, balancing the legitimate need for security with protecting individual privacy and civil liberties is challenging. As Nigeria grapples with these complexities, surveillance is critical to its evolving technological landscape. It necessitates a thoughtful and comprehensive regulatory framework to safeguard national security and citizens' rights.

In the ever-evolving landscape of information and communication technologies, surveillance practices have woven themselves into the fabric of daily life in Nigeria domestically and through interactions with foreign entities. This pervasive presence carries profound implications for the bedrock principles of individual liberties, including the rights to privacy, freedom of expression, and assembly.

As Nigeria grapples with the transformative power of surveillance, the absence of a clear and comprehensive legal framework, coupled with the lack of robust oversight mechanisms, creates a fertile ground where unbridled surveillance may sprout, potentially leading to the erosion of democratic principles and the abuse of governmental power. The rapid advancement of surveillance technologies has outpaced the formulation of ethical and legal guidelines, leaving Nigerian citizens vulnerable to the unchecked use of these tools. This policy brief addresses this pressing issue, recognizing the urgent need for a coherent and responsible approach to surveillance governance. By navigating the delicate balance between security imperatives and the protection of individual rights, ***Nigeria can establish a model framework that safeguards national interests and upholds the democratic values enshrined in its constitution.***



The Rationale for Surveillance in Nigeria

The justification for surveillance in Nigeria stems from a combination of security imperatives, law enforcement needs, and efforts to ensure public safety. Several factors contribute to the rationale for surveillance practices in Nigeria:

I. National Security: Nigeria faces various security challenges, including terrorism, insurgency, and organized crime. Surveillance is deemed essential to monitor and mitigate potential threats to national security, providing authorities with the means to identify and respond to activities that pose risks to the safety and stability of the nation.

II. Crime Prevention and Law Enforcement: Surveillance technologies are integral to crime prevention and law enforcement efforts. CCTV cameras in public spaces, for instance, deter criminal activities and assist in identifying and apprehending individuals involved in illegal acts. Holistic surveillance of financial transactions is indispensable for thwarting money laundering, fraud, and cybercrime threats. By vigilantly monitoring activities in the financial sector, the government of Nigeria aims to fortify the integrity of the country's economic system, addressing both traditional financial offences and the evolving challenges posed by digital landscapes.

III. Border and Immigration Control: Given Nigeria's diverse borders and the potential for illegal activities, surveillance is crucial for effective border control. Monitoring and regulating the movement of people and goods help prevent illegal immigration, human trafficking, and the smuggling of contraband.

IV. Counterterrorism Efforts: The threat of terrorism necessitates robust surveillance capabilities to track and thwart the activities of

extremist groups. This includes monitoring communications and employing advanced technologies to identify and neutralize potential threats.

V. Public Safety and Emergency Response: Surveillance technologies contribute to public safety by enabling quicker emergency response. Monitoring systems can be vital in disaster management, helping authorities assess situations, deploy resources efficiently, and coordinate rescue efforts.

VI. Smart City Initiatives: As Nigeria embraces smart city initiatives, surveillance technologies play a role in improving urban planning, traffic management, and public services. Smart surveillance can contribute to the efficiency and sustainability of urban areas.

While the above reflects the nuanced considerations that underpin the justification for surveillance practices in Nigeria, emphasizing the need for a thoughtful and balanced approach to address security challenges while safeguarding the rights of its citizens is paramount.

Investment in Surveillance Infrastructure in Nigeria

Nigeria has become a significant investor in surveillance infrastructure, showcasing a substantial commitment to integrating advanced monitoring technologies within its national landscape. According to a comprehensive study conducted by the Institute of Development Studies and the African Digital Rights Network, Nigeria stands out as Africa's largest customer of surveillance technology contracts, having spent hundreds of millions of dollars annually and a staggering US\$2.7 billion between 2013 and 2022. This considerable investment, equivalent to \$12 per Nigerian citizen, reflects a multifaceted engagement with digital surveillance, encompassing technologies such as internet and mobile interception, social media monitoring, biometric ID data, and 'safe city' monitoring of citizens in public spaces.

The influx of surveillance technologies is shaping Nigeria's domestic security apparatus and highlighting the nation's strategic importance in the global surveillance landscape. The study underscores Nigeria's role as a primary recipient of surveillance technologies from major global players, including the US, China, EU, UK, and Israel. This heightened investment raises essential questions about the implications for privacy, civil liberties, and the potential misuse of such technologies. As Nigeria navigates the complexities of digital surveillance, it becomes crucial for policymakers to strike a delicate balance between harnessing the benefits of technological advancements and addressing the challenges to ensure responsible and rights-conscious deployment of surveillance infrastructure.

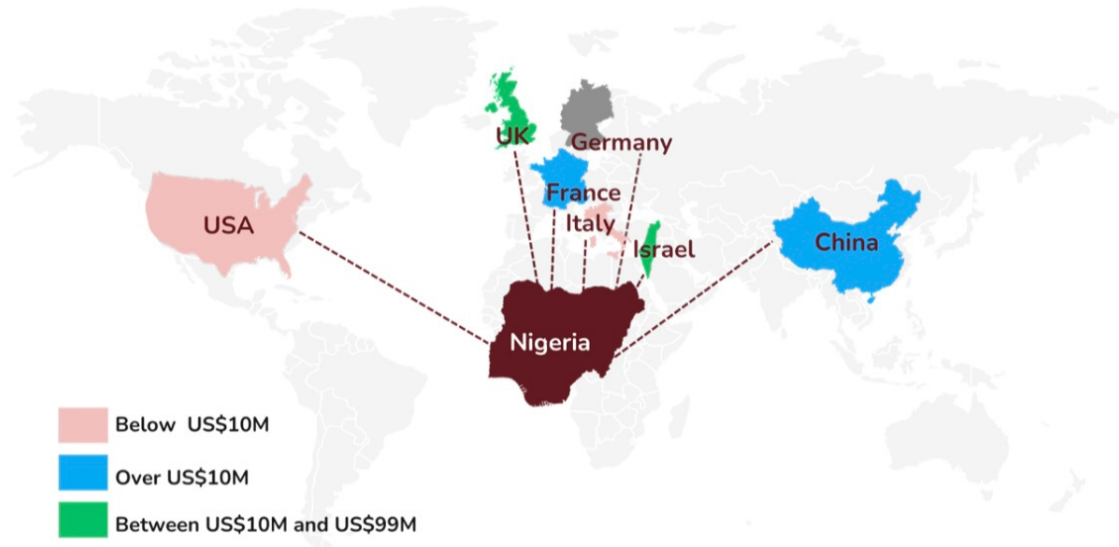


Figure 1: Supply of Surveillance Technology in Nigeria

Source: [Institute of Development Services](#)

The Intricate Interplay Between Global Powers and the Nation's Surveillance Technological Trajectory

In Nigeria's dynamic technological landscape, the interplay between global powers and the nation's technological trajectory is intricate and multifaceted. The report on the Supply of Surveillance Technologies to Africa highlights China's pivotal role in Nigeria's digital evolution. Through substantial loans and direct technology exports, China has significantly contributed to transformative projects, such as the Integrated National Security Communications Enhancement Network (ALPHA) and the National ICT Infrastructure Backbone. Chinese tech giants like Huawei actively shape Nigeria's technological landscape, mainly through initiatives like developing smart cities with multimillion-dollar investments. This showcases China's influence in bolstering Nigeria's technological infrastructure and emphasizes Nigeria's strategic importance in the global surveillance arena.

Furthermore, the European Union (EU), mirroring China's approach, shapes Nigeria's technological trajectory through soft loans and coordinated efforts by member states like France, Germany, and Italy. For example, the EU plans to support Nigeria's digital transformation by investing over €800 million in grants and loans. This includes digital infrastructure investments under the EU's Global Gateway Initiative. The convergence of advanced capabilities from China and the European Union underscores Nigeria's role as a significant recipient of global technological advancements. This intricate interplay between major global powers and Nigeria signifies the nation's position as a focal point in the global surveillance landscape. As Nigeria integrates and navigates these surveillance technologies, there is a delicate balance to strike between reaping the benefits of technological advancements and mitigating potential challenges, thereby shaping the

nation's future policies in the evolving realm of digital surveillance.

The Rationale for Enhanced Accountability in Nigeria's Surveillance Landscape

The pervasive use of surveillance technologies in Nigeria has had a detrimental impact on human rights, with instances of unjust surveillance leading to harassment, arrests, and torture of individuals in violation of international human rights laws. The comprehensive study by the Institute of Development Studies and the African Digital Rights Network reveals that the Nigerian government, a leading customer of major surveillance technologies, has employed these tools to monitor peaceful activists, opposition politicians, and journalists. Such targeted surveillance stifles freedom of expression and creates a chilling effect within civil society, fostering an environment of fear and self-censorship.

Case studies from Nigeria illustrate the severe human costs associated with digital surveillance technologies. For instance, a pharmacist, Solomon Akuma faced arrest and three months of detention without trial for posting a social media critique of President Buhari. The misuse of surveillance tools in this case resulted in arbitrary detention and raised concerns about the erosion of free speech. Human rights activist Omoyele Sowore experienced the deactivation of his biometric identification by the Nigerian government, rendering him unable to travel, drive, or vote. Another argument is that Nigeria's surge in security technology adoption, fueled by corruption, has given rise to widespread surveillance capitalism. This extends beyond monitoring political opponents, including the profitable importation of hacking tools. Politicians exploit cybersecurity contracts, awarded without due process, to divert public funds and suppress opposition-friendly online media.

Despite evidence of corruption, the veil of "security" and "secrecy" shields wrongdoers from accountability. National statutes protecting privacy are often overridden in favour of "national security," as top officials endorsed, enabling data protection breaches and arbitrary surveillance. These instances underscore the real-world consequences of unchecked surveillance, where individuals face tangible threats to their rights and liberties. The findings emphasize the urgent need for robust legal frameworks to safeguard citizens' human rights and to curb the unregulated export and use of surveillance products in Nigeria.

In pursuing national security objectives through surveillance practices, it is imperative to prioritize protecting citizens' privacy and rights concurrently.

The following factors underscore the compelling need for enhanced accountability within Nigeria's surveillance landscape:

I. Technological Advancements: Rapid technological progress has endowed surveillance capabilities with unprecedented sophistication. The evolving landscape, marked by innovations such as advanced data analytics and high-tech monitoring systems, demands establishing a robust legal framework. This framework is essential to curtail the potential for abuse, ensuring that citizens are shielded from unwarranted intrusions. ***As technology advances, the legal infrastructure must evolve in tandem to safeguard against misuse and protect the fundamental rights of individuals.***

II. Digital Privacy Concerns: The ubiquitous presence of online platforms in contemporary society amplifies concerns regarding the potential intrusion into individuals' private lives. Citizens engaging in digital activities must harbour confidence that their online interactions are bound by legal constraints and subject to vigilant oversight. In light of the transformative impact of digital communication channels, there

is an urgent need for a legal apparatus that acknowledges and actively safeguards citizens' digital privacy, fostering a climate of trust and security.

III. Protection of Fundamental Rights: The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria guarantees fundamental rights, including the inviolable right to privacy and freedom of expression. Any surveillance practices must align unequivocally with these constitutional principles. The enhanced accountability sought is not only a legal imperative but a moral obligation to preserve the foundational tenets of a democratic society. By adhering to these principles, surveillance activities can be conducted within the boundaries of fundamental rights, ensuring a delicate balance between national security and individual liberties.

Regulatory Overview

Examining the current legislative environment in Nigeria regarding digital rights and surveillance reveals a government actively engaging with the evolving challenges of the digital era. The reassessment of the Digital Rights and Freedom Bill, once rejected, now signals a forward-thinking approach, indicating a responsiveness to the rapidly changing digital landscape. The Digital Rights and Freedom Bill (2018) is a comprehensive legislative framework designed to safeguard the fundamental rights and freedoms of internet users in Nigeria. The bill encompasses a wide range of provisions to ensure digital rights, privacy, and freedom of expression in the evolving landscape of online interactions. It emphasizes the right to peaceful assembly and association online, protecting organizers and participants of online assemblies and advocating for economic openness to prevent monopolies. The bill explicitly states that the freedom of assembly and association, as guaranteed by the Nigerian constitution, applies to all internet activities, reinforcing net neutrality principles.

A significant focus of the bill is on the right to education online. It mandates the inclusion of compulsory internet literacy skills in school curricula, promotes affordable and accessible online learning, and emphasizes media and information literacy. Additionally, the bill addresses protecting privacy for students and learners, ensuring their rights are preserved in both traditional and online learning environments. It recognizes the potential of online learning to provide universal access to education and calls for measures to accommodate diverse learning styles, mobility needs, and schedules. Furthermore, the bill introduces regulations for processing personal data, defines key terms, and establishes the responsibilities of data controllers, custodians, and processors.

It outlines offences and penalties for various online activities, including hate speech, illegal communications surveillance, and unauthorized data processing. The bill grants jurisdiction to the Federal and State High Courts and allows victims to pursue civil actions for damages resulting from breaches of the legislation. Overall, the Digital Rights and Freedom Bill 2018 reflects a forward-looking approach to addressing the challenges and opportunities presented by the digital age while upholding the rights and privacy of individuals in Nigeria's online space.

Another regulation that impacts the digital rights of Nigerians is the Data Protection Bill, now the Nigeria Data Protection Act (2023). The critique of the Data Protection Bill for lacking civil society inclusion underscores the importance of diverse voices in shaping legislation. This critique aligns with the belief that effective laws should be informed by a broad spectrum of perspectives, ensuring that the resulting regulations genuinely reflect the interests and concerns of the Nigerian populace.

Furthermore, the scrutiny of the Cybercrimes Act of 2015, mainly Section 24, demonstrates a commitment to addressing potential legal pitfalls impeding digital rights. Acknowledging a pending ECOWAS court judgement and an ongoing review by the Federal Ministry of Justice reflects a dedication to rectifying legal shortcomings and upholding constitutional principles.

The focus on surveillance technologies and the call for increased accountability through judicial and public oversight resonates with the conviction that a delicate balance is essential to safeguarding national security and individual privacy rights. It emphasizes the need for a principled approach to surveillance practices that respects constitutional rights.

The analysis of the Code of Practice for Interactive Computer Service Platforms/Internet Intermediaries and a comparison of the European Union's Digital Services Act underscores the importance of benchmarking against international standards. It suggests a global awareness and a commitment to adopting best practices in digital governance.

In conclusion, the current legislative endeavours in Nigeria underscore an urgent and proactive response to the intricate challenges posed by digital rights and surveillance. The ongoing reviews and the deliberate inclusion of diverse perspectives reinforce the conviction that effective legislation must urgently adapt to the evolving digital landscape. This adaptability, inclusivity, and alignment with national and international best practices are paramount in navigating the complexities of the digital age.

Recommendations

- **Establishment of Judicial Oversight Bodies**

Surveillance practices have become integral to national security efforts. Still, the unchecked use of such technologies raises significant concerns about individual privacy and civil liberties. To address this, a crucial step is the establishment of specialized judicial oversight bodies dedicated to reviewing and authorizing surveillance requests. These bodies should consist of independent judges well-versed in constitutional law and human rights, ensuring a fair and impartial evaluation of applications. The composition of these oversight bodies is paramount. Independent judges, detached from political influence, can provide an unbiased assessment of surveillance applications. Their expertise in constitutional law and human rights is vital for scrutinizing the legality and proportionality of surveillance activities. This approach aligns with the principles of the rule of law, fostering accountability within the surveillance framework.

In tandem with establishing judicial oversight bodies, defining strict criteria and legal thresholds to authorize surveillance activities is imperative. These criteria should be intricately tied to constitutional principles and international human rights standards. Clearly articulating these standards ensures transparency and provides a framework for evaluating the necessity and proportionality of surveillance measures. This approach safeguards citizens' rights and establishes a foundation for the responsible and accountable use of surveillance technologies. In conclusion, establishing judicial oversight bodies and defining stringent criteria form a foundational pillar for enhancing accountability in surveillance practices in Nigeria.

This addresses the potential misuse of surveillance technologies and upholds the principles of democracy, human rights, and the rule of law, fostering a society where security measures are balanced with individual freedoms.

- **Transparency and Public Accountability**

In addition to judicial oversight, transparency, and public accountability play pivotal roles in ensuring responsible surveillance practices. Advocating for the enactment of legislation and mandating transparency is imperative, requiring government agencies to publish comprehensive annual reports. These reports should detail surveillance operations' nature, scope, and outcomes while maintaining the delicate balance between transparency and national security. By disclosing such information, the government fosters a culture of openness, enabling citizens to hold authorities accountable for their surveillance activities.

Simultaneously, public awareness campaigns are essential to educate citizens about their rights in the digital age and the potential impacts of surveillance on individual privacy. Establishing initiatives that explain the legal frameworks surrounding surveillance practices and their implications empowers citizens to make informed decisions. This can be achieved through town hall meetings, workshops, and online platforms, encouraging active participation in the discourse on surveillance-related policies. A well-informed public is better equipped to engage with authorities and advocate for policies that strike an equitable balance between security concerns and personal liberties. The dual approach of legislative transparency mandates and public awareness campaigns is a powerful tool for enhancing accountability in surveillance practices in Nigeria. By fostering transparency and educating the public, these initiatives contribute to a democratic

framework where surveillance is effective and respects the rights and freedoms of the citizens it aims to protect.

- **Capacity Building for Oversight Bodies**

In bolstering the oversight of surveillance practices in Nigeria, establishing training programs for judicial and oversight bodies members is a foundational step. These programs should be meticulously designed to provide a deep understanding of surveillance technologies' intricate and evolving landscape. Focused training should cover the technical aspects of surveillance tools, their potential impact on individual privacy and human rights, and the legal frameworks governing their use. Additionally, the programs should address the ethical considerations associated with deploying advanced surveillance methods.

By investing in the capacity building of these oversight entities, Nigeria can ensure that its legal and judicial systems are well-equipped to navigate the complexities of rapidly advancing surveillance technologies. Informed decision-making becomes paramount in the face of these technological advancements, and a knowledgeable oversight body is better positioned to strike a balance between security imperatives and safeguarding individual rights. Ultimately, this proactive approach to capacity building contributes to creating a robust and adaptive oversight framework capable of addressing the challenges posed by emerging surveillance technologies.

- **Regular Audits and International Collaboration in Nigeria**

Establishing an independent body dedicated to conducting regular audits and reviews is paramount to bolster accountability in surveillance practices. This body should be empowered to ensure surveillance practices align with established guidelines and legal frameworks. This independent body can identify and rectify non-compliance issues through systematic evaluations, fostering a culture of accountability within the surveillance landscape. Moreover, the body should possess the authority to impose sanctions in cases where organizations or agencies deviate from the prescribed standards, thereby promoting adherence to the rule of law.

International collaboration is equally crucial to enhancing accountability. By engaging with human rights organizations and experts on a global scale, Nigeria can benefit from external perspectives that offer insights into adherence to international standards. Periodic evaluations by reputable international entities can serve as an objective accountability measure, ensuring Nigeria's surveillance practices align with the broader global human rights framework. This collaborative approach strengthens the credibility of Nigeria's surveillance system and demonstrates a commitment to upholding universal privacy and individual rights.

The establishment of a dedicated auditing body and fostering collaboration with international human rights entities are critical components of a comprehensive strategy to enhance accountability in Nigeria's surveillance practices. Through these measures, Nigeria can strive for a surveillance landscape that ensures national security and respects its citizens' fundamental rights.

Technical Implementation Steps for the Enhanced Surveillance and Accountability (ESA) Framework:



Figure 2: A 9-step implementation Process for the Technical Implementation of an Enhanced Surveillance and Accountability (ESA) Framework

I. Establishment of Judicial Oversight Bodies:

- Identification of Judges: Identify and appoint independent judges with expertise in constitutional law and human rights to form specialized judicial bodies.
- Technology Integration: Implement secure communication channels and document management systems to facilitate the electronic submission and review of surveillance requests.

II. Transparency and Public Accountability:

- Legislative Integration: Collaborate with legislative bodies to enact laws mandating transparency in surveillance practices.

- Reporting Platform: Develop a secure online platform for government agencies to submit annual surveillance reports. Implement encryption and authentication measures to ensure data integrity.

III. Regular Audits and Accountability Reviews:

- Creation of an Independent Body: Establish the independent body responsible for conducting audits and reviews.
- Audit Software: Implement software solutions to review surveillance activities, ensuring systematic compliance with established guidelines.

IV. Capacity Building for Oversight Bodies:

- Online Training Modules: Develop and deploy online training modules on evolving surveillance technologies for members of judicial and oversight bodies.
- Collaboration Platforms: Establish virtual collaboration platforms for continuous knowledge sharing among oversight members.

V. Integrated Governance Dashboard:

- Centralized Monitoring: Develop a centralized governance dashboard to monitor and manage the overall implementation of the ESA framework.
- Real-time Reporting: Implement real-time reporting features to track the progress of surveillance requests audits, and cases.

VI. International Collaboration Module:

- Secure Communication Channels: Establish secure communication channels for collaboration with international human rights organizations and experts.
- Cross-Border Standards: Align the SEA framework with global standards to ensure compatibility with international evaluations.

VII. Public Awareness Platform:

- Educational Content: Develop multimedia content for public awareness campaigns, explaining digital rights and the impact of surveillance on privacy.
- Interactive Website: Create an interactive website as a hub for educational resources and a platform for public discourse.

VIII. Continuous Monitoring and Updates:

- Automated Alerts: Implement automated alert systems to notify relevant authorities of deviations from established guidelines.
- Regular Framework Reviews: Schedule periodic reviews to update the SEA framework in response to technological advancements and emerging challenges.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this policy brief calls for the need to balance the use of surveillance technology in Nigeria with the preservation of citizens' rights. Surveillance in Nigeria is multifaceted, necessitated by several factors ranging from technological advancements to security imperatives. While these are critical, the tendency for surveillance products and technologies to target dissenting voices may curtail citizens' fundamental freedoms, leading to fear and self-censorship. Government accountability in using surveillance technology is crucial to ensuring a balance between addressing security challenges that call for surveillance and maintaining citizens' rights. As such, this paper proposes a framework for Enhanced Surveillance and Accountability (ESA) to drive accountability by supporting judicial and public oversight to ensure responsible and ethical surveillance practices in Nigeria.



Endnotes

1. Ojo, Timilehin. "The Use of Surveillance Cameras in the Nigerian Business Environment and Its Legal Implication." Research Gate, Nov. 2022, www.researchgate.net/publication/365634754_THE_USE_OF_SURVEILLANCE_CAMERAS_IN_THE_NIGERIAN_BUSINESS_ENVIRONMENT_AND_ITS_LEGAL_IMPLI_CATION.
2. Eshiet, Ime-Ime John, et al. "The Role of Technology and Engineering in Securing Nigeria's Border." Universal Academic Journal of Education, Science and Technology, vol. Vol 4, no. No 2, www.globalacademicstar.com/download/article/the-role-of-technology-and-engineering-in-securing-nigeria-s-border.pdf.
3. Obodoeze, Fidelis, et al. "The Escalating Nigeria National Security Challenge: Smart Objects and Internet-Of-Things to the Rescue." Researchgate.net, Aug. 2013, www.researchgate.net/publication/322487876_The_Escalating_Nigeria_National_Security_Challenge_Smart_Objects_and_Internet-Of-Things_to_the_rescue.
4. Roberts, Tony, et al. "Mapping the Supply of Surveillance Technologies to Africa: Case Studies from Nigeria, Ghana, Morocco, Malawi, and Zambia." Opendocs.ids.ac.uk, 25 Sept. 2023, opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/handle/20.500.12413/18120, <https://doi.org/10.19088/IDS.2023.027>. Accessed 6 Dec. 2023.
5. Ilori, Tomiwa. Status of Surveillance in Nigeria: Refocusing the Search Beams. Paradigm Initiative.
6. Roberts, Tony, et al. "Mapping the Supply of Surveillance Technologies to Africa: Case Studies from Nigeria, Ghana, Morocco, Malawi, and Zambia." Opendocs.ids.ac.uk, 25 Sept. 2023, opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/handle/20.500.12413/18120, <https://doi.org/10.19088/IDS.2023.027>. Accessed 6 Dec. 2023.
7. Global Gateway. "The EU-Nigeria Digital Economy Package (2021-2024)." Ec.europa.eu, Feb. 2022, ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/api/files/attachment/871307/GG_Nigeria%20factsheet.pdf.

8. "Nigeria Spending Billions of Dollars on Harmful Surveillance of Citizens." Institute of Development Studies, 27 Sept. 2023, www.ids.ac.uk/press-releases/nigeria-spending-billions-of-dollars-on-harmful-surveillance-of-citizens/.
9. Adebayo, Adeola. "UPDATED: Pharmacist Detained for Nine Months "for Threatening Buhari" – Father." *Premiumtimesng.com*, 12 Jan. 2021, www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/436368-updated-pharmacist-detained-for-nine-months-for-threatening-buhari-father.html?tztc=1. Accessed 30 Nov. 2023.
10. Olabimtan, Bolanle. "Sowore: FG Has Deactivated My NIN, Driver's Licence, PVC." *The Cable*, 13 Jan. 2022, www.thecable.ng/sowore-fg-has-deactivated-my-national-id-card-drivers-licence-pvc. Accessed 30 Nov. 2023.
11. Closing Civic Spaces in Nigeria: "The Security Playbook of Digital Authoritarianism in Nigeria." [Online] Available at: <https://closingspaces.org/the-security-playbook-of-digital-authoritarianism-in-nigeria/>
12. Ishaku, Winnie. "A Time to Look at Digital Rights and Freedom Bill Again." *HumAngle*, 12 Nov. 2020, humanglemedia.com/a-time-to-look-at-digital-rights-and-freedom-bill-again/. Accessed 25 Nov. 2023.
13. "Nigeria Data Protection Act: What Individuals, Businesses and Organizations Should Know." Banwo & Ighodalo, 22 June 2023, www.banwo-ighodalo.com/grey-matter/nigeria-data-protection-act-what-individuals-businesses-and-organizations-should-know.
14. Onadeko, Olanrewaju, and Abraham Afolayan. "A Critical Appraisal of the Cybercrimes Act, 2015 in Nigeria 1." International Society for the Reform of Criminal Law, www.isrcl.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Onadeko-Afolaya-A-critical-appraisal-of-the-cybercrimes-act-in-Nigeria.pdf.
15. Elebeke, Emmanuel . "We've Commenced Review of Cybercrimes Act 2015 – NSA." *Vanguard*, 12 July 2023, www.vanguardngr.com/2023/07/weve-commenced-review-of-cybercrimes-act-2015-nsa/. Accessed 20 Nov. 2023.