

Police Accountability in the Caribbean: Where are the People?

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**BY CAROLYN GOMES, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, JAMAICANS FOR
JUSTICE**

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Introduction

At a recent workshop for Human Rights groups in the Caribbean, a discussion on Police accountability practices in the region produced the following statements “Police forces across the region are characterised by high levels of corruption and severe weaknesses, or complete lack of accountability mechanisms. The timidity and ineffectualness of reform efforts are failing to break corrupt linkages, entrench accountability or produce professionalism in police forces.”

This is a damning indictment coming as it does from activists working in six independent Caribbean islands (including one brave and honest politician who is actually in Government), and provides a succinct, if gloomy, characterization of our lived reality. My focus today will be on the English-speaking Caribbean countries (with a heavy emphasis on Jamaica, with which I am most familiar) which share largely similar histories, similar present day economic, political and social realities, a similar legal system and make up bulk of the membership of CARICOM.

Brief Overview

All the countries of the English-speaking Caribbean were British Colonies. Most are now independent, though a few (notably the Cayman Islands and Montserrat) remain British administered territories. All share a history of slavery, indentureship, colonialism, multi-ethnic, migrant and mobile populations, and economic struggle. Today almost all share the present day reality of economic underdevelopment (the notable exemptions being Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados), almost all are parliamentary (Westminster type) democracies which concentrate astonishing amounts of power in the hands of Prime Ministers (the exception being Guyana which concentrates power in the hands of an Executive President who is not directly elected) and all have police forces which share a core resemblance because of common colonial antecedents which have remained largely unreformed.

Policing in the Caribbean.

To a greater or lesser extent all the police forces in the Caribbean suffer from the ills of unreformed police structures. These include: failure to follow due process; use of brutality and torture; corruption; bias and discrimination; and the extreme of extra judicial executions.

One of the reasons the police forces across the region remain unreformed so many years into the 21st Century might be, as posited by CHRI, “poor policing in unreformed jurisdictions has been perpetuated and even fostered by the temptation of ruling regimes - elected or self-perpetuating - to retain a force wholly in its control and designed to suppress opponents and dissent with a heavy hand. Such police have proved especially valuable apparatus in retaining power at election time when rivalries and threat perceptions are heightened”¹

Table 1: Police Accountability Systems in the Caribbean

COUNTRY	POLICE SERVICE COMMISSION	INTERNAL POLICE INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION	OMBUDSMAN	CIVILIAN OVERSIGHT BODY
Antigua	Yes	No	No	No
Bahamas	Yes	Yes	No	No
Barbados	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Belize	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Grenada	Yes	No	No	No
Guyana	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Jamaica	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes/Yes+
St. Kitts/Nevis	Yes	No	No	No
St. Lucia	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
St. Vincent & Grenadines	Yes	No	No	No*
Trinidad & Tobago	Yes	Yes	No	Yes

Sources include: US State Department Country Reports on Human Rights Practices,

+ Jamaica has both a Police Public Complaints Authority (a civilian body) and a Police (Civilian Oversight) Authority.

* The Government operates an oversight committee to monitor police activity and hear public complaints about police misconduct. The committee reports to the minister of national security and to the minister of legal affairs and participates actively in investigations.

The constitutions of the Commonwealth Caribbean entrench considerable power in the hands of the Prime Minister including the power to appoint (after obligatory sign off by the Governor General/President as head of State) members of the Police Services Commission, the Judicial Services Commission, and Public Services Commissions.

Universally across the Caribbean, the Police Services Commissions' members owe their appointments to Prime Ministers/Executive Presidents. These bodies are then generally tasked with the appointment of the Police Commissioners and members of the higher ranks of their respective Police Services.

Universally also, Police Commissioners and the higher ranks of the various forces owe their appointments to Police Service Commissions who advise Governors General or Presidents who to appoint. In some countries (notably Trinidad and Tobago) Police Service Commissions are required to get the agreement of the Prime Minister for their choice of Police Commissioner. The Prime Minister also has sole discretion in the appointment of Ministers of Security who keep their jobs at his/her pleasure. Guyana's unique constitution concentrates power in the hands of an Executive President who is not directly elected but is selected on the basis of a party list.

In effect, Police Commissioners across the region are well aware that they owe their appointment, directly or indirectly, to the political directorate in the person of the Prime Minister/President.

Seven of the eleven countries assessed had specialized internal police complaints divisions tasked with taking and investigating complaints against police.

In terms of civilian oversight, only Belize and Jamaica have ombudsmen in place to defend the rights of the citizens' while only five of the eleven countries studied had any kind of civilian oversight mechanism for the police force. Jamaica is in the unique position of having three different kinds of civilian oversight.

Individual Country's Police Forces and Accountability Systems.

Antigua

The police force has 712 officers, 138 of whom are part of the country's fire brigade. There is no standing internal investigation body within the force. The Prime Minister, who has responsibility for the Force, can call for an independent investigation into an incident as needed.

The US State department country report on Antigua 2006 states, "there were occasional reports of police brutality, corruption, excessive force, discrimination against homosexuals". Human Rights activists complain particularly that police act at the direction of the political directorate and turn a blind eye to corruption of that directorate and within the ranks of the force. They also complain of the practice of police ignoring due process in the arrest and detention of suspects; "Friday arrests" they say are a particular problem.

Suggestions for reform include: no political appointment or involvement in the appointment of the Police Service Commission; an independent Anti Corruption Unit, whose members have tenure, to be headed by a special Prosecutor, with non-police investigators; and a Civil Complaint Review Board to investigate complaints against police officers which could impose civil penalties reviewable by the Courts and forward criminal conduct to the Director of Public Prosecutions for prosecution.

Bahamas

The Royal Bahamas Police Force (RBPF) maintains internal security under the direction of the Minister of National Security. There is an internal Police Complaints and Corruption Branch which investigates allegations of police brutality and determines if enough evidence of abuse or misconduct exists to warrant disciplinary action or criminal prosecution. This branch of the RBPF reports to a Deputy Commissioner and there is no independent civilian oversight. In the year 2006, according to the US State Department Country Report, there were 283 complaints against police of which 99 were resolved, 59 were before a tribunal and 125 were still under investigation. The 99 resolved cases involved 16 "resolved informally" and 83 "dismissed or withdrawn as unsubstantiated".

The types of complaints against police included excessive use of force (particularly against criminal suspects, a problem acknowledged by the RBPF itself), wrongful arrests, assault and unethical conduct. Though 3 officers were dismissed and criminal charges were brought against 15 others, arising from these complaints, human rights activists in

the Bahamas complain that this internal police mechanism lacks the independence and impartiality to credibly investigate allegations of abuse and suffers from public mistrust which discourages full reporting of complaints.

Barbados

In Barbados, as in the rest of the Caribbean, the Police Service Commission (PSC) is appointed by the Governor General on the advice of the Prime Minister. The PSC in turn appoints the Police Commissioner. The Royal Barbados Police Force (RBPF) has 1,394 members, including 110 special constables and reports to the Minister of Home Affairs. Most of the police are unarmed but special RBPF foot patrols in high crime areas carry firearms.

The oversight mechanisms include an internal police division, the Office of Professional Responsibility headed by a Superintendent, and a civilian oversight body, the Police Complaints Authority (PCA) established in 2004. The members of the PCA are appointed by the Governor General and under the direction of the Attorney General and investigate killings or injuries by the police and any other cases referred to them by the Police Commissioner.

Barbados appears to have fewer problems of police abuse of power than many of their other Caribbean neighbours. The US State Department Country Report for 2006 states that “[t]he majority of complaints against the police alleged unprofessional conduct and beating or assault” including complaints that police beat suspects to obtain confessions (confessions which are often recanted during trial), although three persons were killed by police during the year under review. The Bajan population seems satisfied with the operations of their police force for it is reported that the PCA has received no complaints in the time of its existence.

Belize

There are just over 1000 members of the Belize police force organized in the hierarchical structure so typical of the forces of the Caribbean. The US State Department, Belize Country Report 2006 says a “lack of government resources, including low pay for officers as well as corruption, remained problems”. This in a year where there were no accusations of unlawful killing by the police but many reports of use of excessive force.

The accountability mechanisms include the police’s Office of Internal Affairs (OIA) and the Office of the Ombudsman (one of only two countries to have an Ombudsman). Both offices investigate allegations of police abuses. The OIA handled a total of 235 complaints, including 62 for alleged brutality by the police resulting in the arrests, dismissals, or disciplining of 51 officers. Similarly, the OIA received 29 complaints of police corruption. Authorities disciplined and dismissed 19 police officers and arrested and charged five with criminal offenses. The five remaining complaints were withdrawn by the complainants. Although the total number of complaints increased by 78 percent between 2005 and 2006, complaints of police abuse decreased by 84 percent. However, several cases of alleged abuse featured in the press were never reported to the ombudsman or to OIA for investigation. According to the US State Department Report,

the “ombudsman's office received 101 general complaints of police abuse and resolved 96 cases. The ombudsman determined that police use of force was appropriate in the majority of cases investigated, even if the level of force used was sometimes excessive.”

Grenada

The Royal Grenadian Police has 830 officers who, together with 200 rural constables are responsible for policing Grenada. The Police Commissioner reports to a Minister of National Security, and is responsible for the investigation and disciplining (up to and including dismissal) of officers up to the rank of sergeant in cases of brutality or misconduct. Police officers with the rank of inspector or above can only be dismissed by the Police Services Commission. There are occasional allegations that police beat detainees but no allegations of extra-judicial executions or major corruption. There are no civilian oversight bodies.

Guyana

The Guyana Police Force(GPF), which is headed by the Commissioner of Police and overseen by the Minister of Home Affairs, maintains internal security. A Police Services Commission, named by the President, is responsible for recommending to the President who should be appointed as Commissioner and Deputy Commissioners of Police but the final appointment is the President's. The PSC has control over appointments and discipline of members of the force above the rank of inspector and the Police Commissioner over other ranks.

The GPF has an internal Office of Professional Responsibility which investigates allegations of abuse and misconduct but provides little in the way of information on complaints or outcomes to the public. There is a civilian Police Complaints Authority, whose performance the Guyana Human Rights Association says is improving, which receives reports, investigates complaints and recommends action to the Police Commissioner which, by law, he is obliged to comply with. They, however, rely for their investigative capability on the GPF, a situation which could be seen as neither impartial nor independent.

In the year 2006 the US State Department Country Report on Guyana reported that the “PCA received 257 written complaints during the year, of which seven involved police killings. The remaining 250 complaints were mostly for police neglecting their duties or misbehaving in public places, unlawful arrest, wrongful seizure of firearms or motor vehicles, corrupt transactions, and unnecessary use of force. Investigation into the complaints led to three recommendations of criminal charges and 31 recommendations of disciplinary action against police officers. At year's end 97 reports remained outstanding, and the other 160 complaints had been investigated and dealt with by the police force or rejected by the PCA.”ⁱⁱ

Poor training, poor equipment, and acute budgetary constraints severely limit the effectiveness of the GPF. Public confidence in, and cooperation with, the police has been low for years and remains so. According to Amnesty International, in their 2006 report

on the state of the world's human rights, there are killings by a death squad involving serving and former members of the police force.

There have been many studies of what needs to be done to improve the force but reform efforts by the government have been described as “lackadaisical and uninspiring”. As recently as August 14, 2006 the Stabroek News, in its editorial said, “The government never seemed keen on any reform that would so professionalise the police force that the government would lose its ability to influence its affairs a la the Floyd McDonald era when the operation of death squads so tarnished the names of many.” That editorial concluded by saying that “The oft-repeated lamentation by President Jagdeo that so many billions have been poured into the Joint Services without the desired results being achieved is not good enough. He ought to know if good money is thrown into a bad plan and there is inadequate scaffolding to support a new framework it will be frittered away.”

Jamaica

The Jamaica Constabulary Force has a compliment of approximately 8, 500 officers and they work together with the Island Special Constabulary Force which in turn has a compliment of 1,200. They also draw on the resources of the Jamaica Defence Force if the Minister of National Security approves the deployment.

The Police Services Commission, appointed by the Governor General on the advice of the Prime Minister is responsible for nominating the Police Commissioner for appointment by the Governor General. The PSC approves promotions and dismissal for members of the force above the rank of inspector and the Police Commissioner has this responsibility for the lower ranks. In practice, “only the Governor General has the power to remove the head of the police and other high ranking officials. Any such decision would also involve input from the Police Services Commission. As well, those suspensions could finally appear in the Privy Council. In practice, therefore, high ranking officials are safe from disciplinary actions.”ⁱⁱⁱ

The JCF has a Professional Standards Branch, headed by an assistant commissioner, which has six divisions (Internal Affairs - Anti Corruption, Performance Auditing and Monitoring Bureau, Internal Affairs - Complaints, Internal Affairs - Bureau of Special Investigations, Legal Affairs Department and Corporate planning, research and development division). Aside from a well publicized effort to catch cops on the take from citizens which has had some success, the PSB appears to be having little effect on the more deep seated problems in the JCF.

There are three tiers of civilian oversight in Jamaica that “should control the JCF: a) the Office of the Public Defender, which, is in practice, of lesser importance; b) the Police Public Complaints Authority [PPCA]; and c) the Police (Civilian Oversight) Authority.”^{iv} However, according to a study done by the Latin American School of Social Sciences “[e]xternal control of the JCF is mostly ineffective”^v and civil society groups are not officially engaged in monitoring or evaluating the performance of the security sector.

Jamaicans For Justice has documented the many weaknesses of the civilian oversight mechanisms of the JCF over the years. These include lack of capacity, lack of will and lack of ability and authority to take action on any recommendation they make arising out of their investigations. The newest addition to the mix, the Police (Civilian Oversight) Authority, is only now opening an office, employing staff and developing working arrangements and mechanisms, so their effectiveness remains to be seen. However, the legislation which brings them into existence gives them no control over hiring and firing in the police force and no power to do anything other than recommend a course of action to the Police Commissioner, the Director of Public Prosecutions or the Police Services Commission, recommendations which none of the above are obliged to follow.

The JCF operates in an extremely violent environment which stems from an unholy mixture of politics, gangs, drugs and guns and a socio economic situation which sees unemployment levels in the 15- 24 age group at 34%. Historically the JCF was “charged with the maintenance of public order and the suppression of uprisings throughout Jamaica’s colonial past”^{vi} and unfortunately “the policing institutions are probably more imprinted by their history than any other government agency.”^{vii} The police seem to regard the population with a mixture of paternalism and contempt and this has resulted in an extremely “troubled relationship between the police and the public”^{viii} According to the report published by FLASCO, “The result is that [the JCF’s] work mixes a low response to crime with severe violations of citizen’s rights, including extra-judicial killings. The institution is also plagued by high levels of corruption.”^{ix}

St. Kitts/Nevis

The police force in St. Kitts/Nevis has 400 officers and includes a paramilitary Special Services Unit. The police patrol jointly with the Military. The police report to the Ministry for National Security, Justice, and Labor.

There is no internal affairs division and senior police officers investigate complaints against members of the police force and refer criminal offenses to the Director of Public Prosecutions. There is no civilian oversight of the Police, and there don’t appear to be any systematic abuses of human rights by the police force though there were two killings by police in 2005 (the inquests into these killings had still not concluded at the end of 2006) and one in 2006.

St. Lucia

The Royal Saint Lucia Police numbers over 900 officers, including a Special Services Unit with some paramilitary training and a coast guard unit. The police force reports to the Ministry of Home Affairs and Internal Security. As elsewhere, a Police Services Commission is responsible for nominating the Police Commissioner, who is appointed by the Governor General.

The RSLP has an internal complaints unit which receives and investigates complaints made by the public against police officers. Civilian oversight is provided by the Police Complaints Committee which reviews the cases investigated by the internal complaints

unit and makes recommendations for internal disciplinary action to the Police Commissioner.

There have been many efforts at reform of the police force over the years driven by rising rates of serious crimes including murder, and complaints of corruption in the police force and of physical abuse by police, as well as extra judicial killings. These reform efforts have included studies and reports by Caribbean jurists and international police officers. Most recently, in October 2006, the government contracted 10 police officers from the United Kingdom to enhance intelligence capacity, develop research and development capability, and improve management systems and processes.

The US State Department St. Lucia country report 2006 says “[d]uring the year citizens filed 200 complaints against the police, 96 of which were for assault, 28 for threats or harassment, 18 for abuse of authority, 20 for negligence, and eight for damaging property”. Also in 2006 the security forces killed three people and the Criminal Investigations Department failed to conclude the investigations into the four police killings that occurred in 2005.

St. Vincent and the Grenadines

The Royal Saint Vincent and the Grenadines Police includes a coast guard, a small Special Services Unit with some paramilitary training, and the fire service. The 850 police officers can be rotated among the other parts of the force. The police report to the Minister of National Security, a portfolio held by the Prime Minister, who also nominates the members of the Police Services Commission which is appointed by the Governor General. The PSC in turn nominates the Police Commissioner for appointment by the Governor General.

There is no internal unit dedicated to investigating complaints against the police. These are investigated by regular police officers who report their finding to the Commissioner. According to the US Country Report 2006 “citizens filed 27 complaints of assault, 12 complaints of disrespect, and six complaints of negligence, harassment, or threats by members of the police force. Most of the complaints of assault involved police making arrests”. Arising out of these complaints, disciplinary charges were filed against six officers who are awaiting a hearing of these charges. All the other complaints were still under investigation at the end of 2006.

The government operates an oversight committee to monitor police activity and hear public complaints about police misconduct, which reports to the Minister of National Security and to the Minister of Legal Affairs and actively participates in investigations. There is, however, no civilian oversight mechanism in St. Vincent.

There are complaints of police abuse of power by citizens, including the use of physical force during detention, illegal search and seizure, and failure to inform those arrested of their rights. The non-governmental organization, St. Vincent and the Grenadines Human Rights Association (SVGHRA) complains that the government does not investigate allegations of abuse adequately, nor does it punish policemen responsible for abuses.

Trinidad and Tobago

The Police Force of Trinidad and Tobago has approximately 7,000 members in nine countrywide divisions and seventeen specialized branches. The Police Services Commission is appointed by the President after consultation with the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition. This Commission in turn, appoints a Commissioner of Police and Deputy Commissioners to oversee the Police Force but must first consult the Prime Minister about the appointment. The constitution of Trinidad and Tobago states that “a person shall not be appointed to such an office if the Prime Minister signifies to the Police Service Commission his objection to the appointment of that person to such an office.” The Police Service Commission’s restrictions limit its ability to dismiss police officers.

Internal and external accountability for police action are intertwined in a peculiar fashion in Trinidad. External accountability is provided by the Police Complaints Authority (whose members are appointed by the President), established by statute in 1993. That same law establishes the Complaints Division of the Police Force (the members of which are appointed by the Police Commissioner) to receive all complaints and do the investigations of complaints on behalf of the Police Complaints Authority. The Complaints Authority can hold hearings and demand documents in relation to any complaint or its investigation but it can only recommend action to the Police Commissioner. The Commissioner is not obliged to follow the recommendations of the Complaints authority.

Despite numerous reports and recommendations for reform, and large amounts of money spent on consultants, overseas police officers, training and increased technological capability, the Police Force in Trinidad continues to have significant problems.

Police corruption continues to be a problem and on a number of occasions during 2006 police men were arrested and charged in connection with illegal drugs, firearms possession, kidnapping and other illegal activities. There are also credible reports of police officers beating and otherwise mistreating individuals under arrest or in their custody. In addition during 2006, 11 people died while in police custody or at the hands of law enforcement officers. There are long delays in completing investigations into incidents involving police and allegations of extrajudicial executions.

Discussion

The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association reported in a paper entitled *Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector* that:

“While there is no single blueprint for an effective system of civilian oversight of the security forces, a number of common themes have emerged....The mix of mechanisms, from within and outside parliament, is critical. Together they can inform debate on the security forces. From within parliament, the salient ingredients should include: a democratic chamber in which the legislature is able to bring the executive to account for its control of the security forces; well resourced bipartisan committees for defence,

police affairs, and intelligence, with broad powers of access and investigation; and auditing bodies such as public accounts committees which scrutinise the finance of the agencies. Outside parliament there should be credible, preferably independent, bodies to review the activities of the security forces. These will include: a public complaints body, with a clear mandate, powers of access and investigation and a good public image; a sufficiently resourced Human Rights Commission with a wide mandate to promote and protect human rights in the country or region [such as the Caribbean]; and/or Ombudsmen to investigate alleged human rights violations by state bodies.”^x

That paper goes on to state that,

“The people must be de-marginalised from the political process and from discourse on the security forces. This will stimulate national debate, increase understanding of security issues, and provide an extra tier of oversight at the most important, popular level. It will also rejuvenate regime legitimacy and the concept of democracy.”^{xi}

Many of the regimes of the Commonwealth Caribbean would seem to have at least some, if not all of those ingredients, including Parliamentary democracies, vigorous public debate and some mixture of civilian oversight (Jamaica has more than the recommended number of systems). And yet, almost universally we struggle with police reform and modernization issues, and seem unable to make meaningful strides in the direction of police accountability and less abusive policing.

Huge sums of money have been spent on police reform, both local funds and inputs from international partners and donor agencies. Table 2 illustrates the commitments of the ODA and DFID departments of the United Kingdom to police reform in the Commonwealth Caribbean.

Table 2. DFID/ODA Expenditure and commitments 1991/2 – 1997/98 (£'000) for policing projects

Country	Actual Expenditure	Total Commitments	Future commitments
Anguilla	475	580	105
Belize	555	565	10
Grenada	308	350	42
Jamaica	1,674	6,435	4,761
St Kitts-Nevis	1,023	1,137	114
St. Lucia	69	270	201
St. Vincent & Gr.	801	887	86
Other Caribbean	252	255	3

Source: Evaluation Of ODA/DFID Support To The Police In Developing Countries: A Synthesis Study Volume II^{xii}

The amounts promised, and provided, are large and yet eight years later where are the gains? Perhaps the problem lies in the difficulty of assessing priorities for reform and then measuring the gains from programmes. Or perhaps the difficulty lies in **deciding** effective priorities for reform and then implementing these priorities with accountability.

The report that evaluated DFID's support to police in developing countries makes the point that on the "police cannot control crime on their own, but are heavily dependent on support from the public in doing so. More successful crime control will follow from obtaining public support" and that "law and order are not necessarily in conflict."^{xiii}. And yet, policing reform efforts tend to be led, or carried out, by regimes, both policing and political, accustomed to top down, hierarchical structures and behaviours, and concentrations of power in single hands rather than dispersed through many layers and levels, and lying ultimately in the people.

In Jamaica's case our work has shown us that this top down leadership style, with low levels of accountability, infects even the design of accountability mechanisms. So the new Police (Civilian Oversight) Authority Act was drafted and passed without any consultation with any of the civilians or NGO groups that had been working for years on issues of Police Accountability. The Authority has a membership appointed by the Governor General without any reference to anyone. It is only obliged to report on its work to Parliament annually and it is given no power to ensure that it can be accountable to the people or even the Government, beyond its annual report. As always 'the devil lies in the details'.

There must be adequate "scaffolding to support a new framework". A quick glance at table 1 makes it clear that it is not the number of mechanisms that is important (Jamaica with the most accountability mechanisms has by far the most problems with police abuses) but the very design of these mechanisms and the accountability or lack thereof, built into the structures.

And so in closing I would like to suggest that the best place to look for ways to improve police accountability in the Caribbean would be at the level of the design of the universal and ubiquitous creature, the Police Services Commissions. They are designed with the implicit understanding that power belongs to the State and is to be exercised by a select few, and they are accountable only to the same select few who exercise state power. This understanding of democratic power structures is no longer relevant (if it ever was) and is a barrier to the development of accountability generally, and police accountability in particular.

We need to redesign our constitutional arrangements to make Police Services Commissions appointed by and answerable to the people, not the political leadership. They, in turn, need to devolve some power to Police Commissioners so that they can also be accountable and answerable to the people (both the men under their command and the citizens generally), not simply the political leadership. The power exercised by the people in a democratic society cannot be limited to a vote on Election Day.

Accountable government structures built on paradigms of devolved, decentralized power are more likely to be able to put in place the reforms necessary to secure for the people of the Caribbean accountable, democratic Police Services, rather than hierarchical, unreformed and abusive Police Forces.

ⁱ 'Police Accountability; Too Important to Neglect, Too Urgent to Delay', CHRI's 2005 Report, Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, New Delhi, India 2005. pg. 2.

ⁱⁱ United States Department of State, Human Rights Country Reports 2006 – Guyana. Accessed May 19, 2007 at <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2006/78894.htm>

ⁱⁱⁱ Latin American and the Caribbean Security Sector Report 2006: Country Case Studies – Jamaica Accessed May 2007 at www.flacso.cl/flacso/biblos.php?code=2134

^{iv} Ibid

^v Ibid

^{vi} Ibid

^{vii} Ibid

^{viii} Ibid

^{ix} Ibid

^x CPA Paper Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector Assessed on May 18, 2007 www.cpahq.org/.../CPA_Electronic_Publications/Parliamentary%20Oversight%20of%20the%20Security%20Sector.pdf

^{xi} Ibid

^{xii} Evaluation Of ODA/DFID Support To The Police In Developing Countries: A Synthesis Study Volume II Accessed May 18, 2007 at www.swan.ac.uk/cds/pdffiles/Volume%20II%20-%20Annexes%20CDE1-3.pdf

^{xiii} Ibid