



Gender Relations And Discrimination in Nigeria Police Force

**Etannibi E. O. Alemika
Austin O. Agugua**



Centre For Law Enforcement Education

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AND DISCRIMINATION**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of TablesIV
AcknowledgementV
PrefaceVII
Chapter:	
1. Gender and Social Exclusion in Nigeria	.....1
2. Methods of Data Collection and Analysis	.....20
3. Women in Nigeria Police Force	.....26
4. Gender, Police Roles and Policing	.....48
5. Summary and Recommendations	.....69
Appendix:	
Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women	.....77

LIST OF TABLES

1. Gender-Related Socio-Economic Statistics of Women in Nigeria	.....11
2. Distribution of Police and Public Respondents in selected States	.....22
3. Social Background of Police Respondents	.....22
4. Social Background of Public Respondents	.....23
5. Gender Composition of Nigeria Police Force, May 1993	.....34
6. Requirements for Enlistment as Constable	.....39
7. Comparative Social Backgrounds of Male and Female Police Respondents	.....49
8. Enlistment Requirements and Competitiveness of Male and Female Candidates	.....50
9. Perceived Incidence of Discrimination by Male and Female Officers	.....51
10. Attitudes to Discriminatory Rules and Practices by Male and Female Officers	.....55
11. Adequacy of Maternity Leave Provision in the Nigeria Police Force	.....57
12. Inter-Gender Working Relations in the Nigeria Police Force	.....59
13. Role Performance and Competence	.....61
14. Satisfaction with Promotion Prospects in the Nigeria Police Force	.....63
15. Encounter with and Rating of Police in the Public	.....65
16. Public Assessment of Attitudes of Male and Female Police Officers	.....67
17. Recommended Measures for Eliminating Discrimination Against Women68

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PREFACE

The poor representation and status of women in the Nigeria Police Force derive from layers of discrimination and exclusion suffered by female members of the Nigerian society. Therefore, status of women within the Nigeria Police Force should be investigated, analyzed and explained by applying insights provided by concepts of gender and patriarchy. To understand the status of policewomen, the under representation of and participation of women, and discriminatory rules and practices against women in the Nigeria Police, they must be situated or contextualized within the framework of gender relations in the country and contemporary global environment.

This study investigates several concern sand issues that are captured by the following objectives:

1. Representation of women in the Nigeria Police Force.
2. Rules and regulations in the Police Act and Police Regulations, with respect to the recruitment, training and posting of women in the Nigeria Police Force, with a view to determining the statutory basis or otherwise, of discrimination against women in the force.
3. Perceptions of policemen, policewomen and members of the public on police role, police work and discrimination in the Nigeria Police Force.
4. Proposing progressive changes in the Nigeria Police Force in order to enhance gender equality and equity.

The report is divided into five chapters. The first chapter discusses the concepts of sex, gender and patriarchy. These concepts provide analytical framework for the study. Discussions of the conditions and status of women in Nigeria, development of Nigeria Police

Force; the status of NPF in the 1999 Constitution, and police role are presented in the chapter.

Chapter two describes the methods of data collection and analysis used in the study. The third chapter reviews several legal instruments, including sections of the Convention on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the anti-discrimination provisions in the Nigerian constitution, as well as the police regulations. Several provisions of the Nigeria Police Force regulations violate the provisions of CEDAW and the 1999 Constitution. However, the derogation clause in the anti-discrimination (S.42) provision of the constitution prevents legal redress. Discrimination against women in NPF occurs at different levels - recruitment, training, duties and posting, marriage, and dressing.

Chapter four contains the analysis of the data obtained through surveys of policemen, policewomen and members of the public in different parts of the country. The survey was complemented by unstructured interviews. Both techniques -survey and interviews - were used to elicit information on the respondents' perspectives on discrimination in NPF, police role, and representation of women in the NPF, competence and attitudes of Nigeria policemen and policewomen. The data presented and analyzed in the chapter revealed that policemen and policewomen were aware of discrimination, especially gender and ethnic discrimination, in the Nigeria Police Force. Women were reported to suffer discrimination in areas of posting or duties and marriage. Police officers of both sexes and the public indicated that joint team of policewomen and policemen will be effective in tackling issues relating to women and children, and anti-robbery operations. However, the respondents indicated that policewomen are better than men in handling problems relating to children and women. This indicates a reproduction of patriarchal ideology, which assigns home-making and family care-taking roles to women. The respondents also indicated that policemen would be more effective in handling anti-robbery operations. This is a product of the perception of policing as a masculine occupation. Chapter five contains the summary of the findings and recommendations for policy. Among others the study recommends that:

- The Police Act and Police Regulations should be reviewed to eliminate gender discrimination and thereby enhance gender equality and equity. In particular, regulations prohibiting married women from enlistment; prohibition of women from drilling
- Under arms; dismissal of unmarried pregnant women; strict regulation of when, how and who a policewoman should marry; and limited range of duties for policewomen should be expunged.
- Deliberate efforts, including affirmative action, should be introduced to attract and maintain a large number of women in the Nigeria Police Force.

- Police work should be made more attractive to both male and female officers. Police respondents in this study express disenchantment with promotion prospects in the force.
- Police should emphasize proactive policing strategies including beat (foot) patrol and community policing. Such strategies should de-emphasize the use of violence or force in confrontation with criminals but give more attention to surveillance, intelligence gathering and police-community partnerships. These strategies apart from promoting preventive policing, offer greater scope for participation of women in policing than reactive policing that is often characterized by a 'theater of violence'.
- Civil society should exert pressure on government to introduce measures to reform discriminatory laws and abolish discriminatory practices in the country. Further, civil society should, in partnership with the police authority, train police officer at different levels of career to concerns and issues of gender equality and equity, protection of human rights, observance of rule of law, police effectiveness, accountability and democratic governance.

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CHAPTER ONE

“GENDER AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN NIGERIA

This study analyses the status of policewomen in Nigeria Police Force with a view to identifying the level of representation and career prospects of women in the force. The organizational rules, regulation and culture that either enhance or inhibit the participation and performance of women within the Nigeria Police Force, on equal basis as their male counterparts, are also analysed. The findings of the study should provide framework for institutional reforms geared towards greater representation of women in the force and improved gender relations within the police force and the wider Nigerian society. In order to properly appreciate the status of policewomen in Nigeria, however, discourse must be situated within the broader gender relations in the country and globally.

Status of Women

Until recently, women were treated as second class citizens in most Countries. Consequently, they were under-represented in vital sectors and major decision making institutions. For example, women were not granted equal voting rights until the twentieth century in many countries, including the United States. Ironically, in many traditional monarchical systems, women emerged as queens but this was not the case in old liberal democracies. In traditional Nigeria, the heroic roles of Queens Amina (Zazzau/Zaria) Ida and Emotan (Edo/Benin), Inikpi (Idah/Kogi State) and Moremi (Ife) I have been documented. But since colonial rule, Nigerian women have been denied opportunities to play such roles.

On a global level, Britain, perhaps because of its institution of monarchy, produced Margaret Thatcher as her Prime Minister, in

1. See K Okonjo (1983) "Sex roles in Nigerian Politics" in C Opong (ed) *Female and Male I West Africa* (London: George Allen and Unwin) pp 211 – 222, and also Samuel Johnson (1976) *The History of Yorubas* (Lagos (C.S.S Bookshop)

the 1980s. Otherwise, no large democracy in Europe has given women the opportunity to lead her country. Again, perhaps ironically, it is the so-called developing countries of Asia, Latin America, and Middle East, (India, Philippines and Israel, etc that have produced women Heads of State, through election. It is therefore, valid to state that in general, women have been victims of discrimination historically and globally.

The recognition of historical and global discrimination against women prompted the United Nations Organization to declare 1975-1985 as "Decade for Women". This declaration was to raise global awareness on status of women and to mobilise the world community to eliminate discrimination against women so that women may attain equal economic, social, political and legal status with their male counterparts.

During the "Women Decade" (1975 - 1985), the United Nations Organization also produced the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Further, the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing, China, in September 1995 adopted a Platform for Action (PFA) for implementation by member countries. The platform document addressed several issues, including discriminatory practices that marginalise women from vital opportunities in society.

These efforts point to global recognition of and concern about discrimination against women and female disempowerment in general. However, the extent to which these efforts have been translated into practice in various countries can only be determined by a careful study of women conditions within the various institutions of society, in individual countries.

The present study is informed by this realisation. Realising the strong resistance to the integration of women within armed forces and police forces in most countries, this study focuses on conditions and status of policewomen in the Nigeria Police Force. More specifically, the study analyses:

- The representation of women in the Nigeria Police Force;
- Police Rules and Regulations' on enlistment, training, and posting/deployment in order to determine the extent to which they enhance or inhibit women representation and career advancement, in comparison with their male counterparts;
- The perceptions of male and female police officers as well as members of the public on police roles or police work and conditions of police officers in Nigeria, and;
- Propose framework for progressive changes in the Nigeria Police Force, to make the force more efficient and accountable, and to attain higher representation and participation of women in the force.

Gender and Roles

Women represent a small fraction of uniform police officers in many countries of the world. Why is this so? The answer to the question lies in the nature of gender relations in society. Women and men are different in some respects and similar in very many respects. However, historically it is the differences in few areas that have been used to construct distinct and immutable features of the 'woman' and the 'man'. The distinct and immutable features' are subsequently used as basis for determining who a woman is, who a man is, what a woman can and cannot do, what a woman should and should not become.

Differences between man and woman, male and female have been variously represented by concepts like sex, gender and masculinity femininity. The differences between men and women are biological and social. In fact, the latter feed on the former by reconstructing and translating biological differences. Traditionally, concept of sex was used to refer to the biological (reproduction) differences between male and female, which are explicitly manifested in child (reproduction) bearing. Thus, biologically, sexual intercourse, a union of man and woman, who respectively contribute sperm and eggs, leads to conception and ensuring reproduction functions and processes. In biological reproduction, men and women perform complementary roles.

Historically and in different societies, this complementary role of the sexes in biological reproduction is de-emphasised. Consequently, the body character and roles of women are variously constructed on the assumption of what her differences from men represent. Women are 'unclean' because of menstruation. Women are 'weak' because, on the average they are less muscular than men. Women are 'fragile and precious' because they produce or bear children. Inversely, these differences are used to determine what women should (may) or should (may) not do. Because women are 'weak' they are not suitable for 'physically demanding or stressful job' like soldering, policing, piloting, etc.

The tendency to conflate biological differences between men and women, and the social construction of role divisions on such differences, has led to the use of gender to refer to socially constructed differences and sex to mean biological differences between men and women. According to Stoller (1968) in Sex and Gender:

Gender is a term that has psychological and cultural rather than biological connotations; if the proper terms for sex are 'male' and 'female', the corresponding terms for gender are 'masculine' and 'feminine', these latter quite independent of (biological) sex. Gender is the amount of masculinity and femininity found in a person, and obviously while there are mixtures of both in many humans, the normal male has a preponderance of masculinity and the normal female a preponderance of femininity².

2. Quoted in Joan Busfield (1996) *Men, Women and Madness* London: Macmillan Press, pp 32-33

The definition of gender raises a number of issues. First, it is invalid to say that gender (understood as masculinity and femininity) is independent of biological sex. Gender (socially constructed differences between male and female and contingent assignment of roles, opportunities, etc) is a (perverse) translation of biological differences into divisions of roles and capacities. Second, gender is presented as a continuum from 'normal male' to 'normal female' at the ends. The problem, here, is that in a continuum, a normal distribution of population will have the vast majority in the middle, a mixed feminine and masculine category. This will have implications for the oppositional analysis that is anticipated in gender studies. If very many women as many men are in gender terms, similar in their social constitution of masculinity and femininity. How far can analysis of social realities proceed in terms of the experiences and conditions of women vis-a-vis men in societies?

Sex and gender are not independent; rather, the latter is a socio-political (mis)construction of the former in the division of roles and rewards by men in male dominated social structures. This point is illustrated by R. W. Connell (1987: 139 - 140)³ who defines gender in his book *Gender and Power* as the "practice organized in terms of or in relation to, the reproductive division of people into male and female" (p.140). He further noted that "social relations of gender are not determined by biological difference but deal with it" (139-140). The implication is that although biological differences do not determine "social relations of gender", such difference is constructed as the legitimization of gender inequalities in allocation of roles, powers and privileges.

A clearer relationship between sex and gender was offered by Plumwood, who defined gender as "the social meaning of sex as embedded in social practices".⁴ Further, she argued that:

Perhaps we can say. . . that gender is what the Society or culture makes of the reproductive aspects of the body where this includes both material treatment and practices and especially how sexual aspects of the body are given social meaning and significance as well as how they are conceived to be. Gender thus incorporates a theory or a story of how the body is, and how the persons . . .⁵

3. See R.W. Connell quoted/discussed in Joan Busfield (1996) *ibid* p 33

4. Quoted by Joan Busfield) 1996) *ibid* p. 33

5. *ibid* p. 33

The import of the contemporary usage of gender as a binary categorization of masculinity and femininity in contrast to sex is to unravel and highlight social (including political, economic and judicial) relations of male domination of female. Thus, Joan Busfield observes that:

The concept of gender typically though not universally connotes structural relations of inequality including inequalities of power. Men and women stand not only in a relation of difference but also in a structural relations characterised by both asymmetry and hierarchy. . . These asymmetries reflect the underlying structural inequalities in power between men and women that the gender also usually connotes. Male power and domination which are such a pervasive feature of social structures and social relations, account for much of the feminist concern about studies of both gender and of men and masculinity... However. If, women's oppression is to be contested we need to examine the ways in which and the social structures through which power operates - the ways in which women's work is demeaned and diminished. The ways in which a range of exclusionary practices operate and so forth - and this requires us to study male power as well as women's subordination 6 (emphasis added).

The significant question is why women have been objects of domination and exclusion in most societies at all times? The common answer is that societies have largely been characterized by the institution and practice of patriarchy. Patriarchy denotes:

“The rule of the father, or more generally the rule of men... Whereas the concept of gender suggest not only differences but also asymmetries and inequalities in the relation between men and women, the concept of patriarchy is used to characterize the wider social structure in which men and women are located, Whether it be the family with the focus on the power of the father, or the wider society where it is the power of men more generally that is emphasised. The Concept consequently clearly moves beyond concepts like sex or gender. to the level of social structure and social institution.⁷

The disadvantage and oppression of women are explained in terms of patriarchy - male dominance and oppression that demean; diminish and exclude women. Thus, Sylvia Walby (1989) defined patriarchy as "a system of social structures, and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women".⁸

6. Joan Busfield (1996) *ibid.* 35

7. *ibid* p. 41

Social exclusion is a concept that has been used to study the conditions of the disadvantaged and marginalized groups in society. Its use is not limited to gender concerns. According to Hilary Silver (1995 60 - 61), social exclusion has been used to refer to disparate conditions, and "associated with a variety of terms like superfluity, irrelevance, marginality, foreignness, austerity, closure, disaffiliation, dispossession, deprivation and destitution..."⁹ This concept is distinguished from its opposite term social inclusion, which refers to "insertion, integration, citizenship, or solidarity"¹¹. Social exclusion implies several states and processes. When used to refer to a group's experiences, it may refer to a negative state or process involving resource allocations and power relations between gender, cultural and social identities¹². Social exclusion may also be seen as a characteristic of a social relationships in which individuals and groups are denied access to the goods, services, activities, and resources which are generally associated with citizenship",¹² or accorded other citizens. For gender concerns, the latter concept of social exclusion may be restated as gender-related social exclusion involving recurring patterns of social relations in which women are either denied access to, or experience unequal access to critical goods, services, activities and resources accorded their male counterparts. In this context, are Nigerian men and women, Nigerian policemen and policewomen accorded equal or equitable chances or opportunities of recruitment, training, and career advancement in the Nigeria Police Force? This is the central focus of this study.

⁸. Quoted in Juan Busfield (1996) *ibid* p. 41

⁹. Hilary Silver (1995) "Reconceptualising Social Disadvantage: Three Paradigms of Social Exclusion" in Rodégers, et al (eds) *Social Exclusion: Rhetoric Reality Responses* Geneva: International Institute of Labour studies

¹¹. *ibid*

¹². C. Gore and J. Figueredo (eds) 1997 *Social Exclusion: A Debate* (Geneva: International Institute of Labour Studies)

Several feminists believe that the concept of patriarchy provides analytical framework that enable us to investigate several concerns and experience of women in society including such areas as household production, violence, cultural practices, employment, sexuality, state institutions policies and practices. For example, Rhonda Copelon (1994) in discussing domestic violence attributed its incidence to patriarchy:

Indeed, domestic violence is systematic and structural, a mechanism of patriarchal control of women that is built on male superiority and female inferiority, sex- stereotyped roles and expectations, and economic, social and political dominance of men and dependency of women. While the legal and cultural embodiments of patriarchal thinking vary among different cultures, there is an astounding convergence in regard to the basic tenets of patriarchy (p.120) ¹³

The patriarchal framework is a useful analytical tool, if employed as a dialectical frame of reference and when temptation to accord patriarchy a universal experience is avoided. This study, being a descriptive analytical investigation of status of policewomen in Nigeria Police Force, draws from gender, social exclusion and patriarchy literature as its analytical and explanatory framework. These concepts and framework do not provide exhaustive explanation of social realities, which are also significantly affected by other social identities - age, caste, ethnicity, religion and social classes.

Women in Nigeria

Nigeria is the most populous African nation, with a population of 88,514,501 during 1991 census. Of this population, 49.7% (43,969,970) were females. The nation, with nearly four hundred

13. Rhonda Copelon (1994) "Intimate Terror: Understanding Domestic Violence as Torture" in Rebecca J. Cook (ed) Human Rights of Women: National and International Perspectives (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press) pp. 116 - 152

Ethnic-nationalities¹⁴ has a landmass of 923,768 square kilometers. Politically the country operates a federal system of government consisting of federal, state and local levels of government. The country is, therefore, structured, administratively into 36 states and federal capital territory and 774 local government areas.

Women in Nigeria are disadvantaged in many spheres of social, economic and political life of the country. Indeed, it may be appropriate to apply the concept of gender based social exclusion, as outlined above, to the conditions and experiences of women in the nation. They have been either historically, denied access to, or granted unequal access to, economic opportunities, power, status and privilege in society. Colonialism accentuated the problem.

In several traditional Nigeria societies, women play prominent roles and were accorded recognition within the economic;¹⁵ religious;¹⁶ and political¹⁷ spheres. But the advent of Islam, Christianity and colonialism did not advance the interests of women. On the contrary, they introduced new religious, economic and political systems in which the dominance of men and subordination of women were enthroned, or enhanced. Nigerian women have made significant progress in their struggle for empowerment and equity since the end of formal colonial rule in 1960. Indeed, the struggle for the advancement of women's rights started during colonial rule, particularly from the 1920's when

14. O. Otite (1990) *Ethnic Pluralism and Ethnicity and in Nigeria* (Ibadan: C. I. Shaneson)

15. F.I.A Omu and P. K. Makinwa (ed) 1988 *Integrated Rural Development in Nigeria and Women's Role* (Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd) and also F. Ogunsheye "Yoruba Women" *Presence Africaine* 1960. No. 4

16. See Uma Eleazu, (1988) *Nigeria: The First 25 Years* (Lagos: Infodata Limited): and also A. O. I. Gabriel "Women in The Traditional Religious of the Niger Delta: A survey of the IZON, in the Eastern and Central Delta "Paper Presentation at the 37th Annual Congress of the Historical Society of Nigeria, held in Calabar: 18th – 20th May 1992.

17. See E. O. Abiola (1978) *A Textbook of West African History, A. D. to the Present Day* (Lagos: Omotayo standard Press): Rev. Samuel Johnson (1976) *The History of Yoruba's* (Lagos C. S. S. Bookshop)

Women-organized protests against colonial policies started¹⁸. Nonetheless, women in Nigeria still experience social, economic and political exclusion and deprivations.

1.	Life Expectancy Female – 53.8 years;	(1991) Male – 52.6 years
2.	Literacy rates - Male – 58%;	adults (1999) Female 41-%
3.	Primary School Completion Rate	Male – 63.5%; Female 64.6%
4.	Higher Education Enrolment (1999)	Female – 33.6%; Male – 64.4%
5.	GDP (U.S. Dollars) 1999 National Male Female	\$795.0 \$1,118.0 \$477.0
6.	Female Representation in Public Service Employment Professional/Technical - Administrative/Manageria 1 - Clerical - Others -	30% 17% 30% 17%
7.	Female Representation in selected professions University teaching staff - Medical Doctors -	about 16% about 18%
8.	Female Representation in Governance Federal Executive Council (49 Ministers) - Senate (109 Senators) - House of Representatives (360 Members) - State Governors (36) - State Deputy Governors (36) - State House Assemblies (995 Members) -	12.2% (6) 2.8 (3) 3.3 (12) 0.0 (0) 1.0 (2.8) 1.2 (12)

¹⁸ T. N Tamuno (1970) *The Police in Modern Nigeria* (Ibadan: Ibadan University press).

Speakers, State House Assemblies (36)	-	2.8 (1)
Local Government Chairman (774)	-	1.2 (9)
Local Government Councilors (8,800)	-	1.6 (143)

Source: Several sources, including Nigeria: Common Country Assessment (Draft) 2001.

Nigerian women record significantly lower rates of (a) labour force participation; (b) enrolment at secondary and higher levels of education, and (c) representation in professions, political offices and appointments. Out of the 995 elected state assembly members, only twelve (12) were women; in the federal assembly, three of the 109 senator were women and in the House of Representatives, 12 of the 360 members were women. Women constitute only 27.0% of candidates in the country's tertiary institutions in 1996 and 33.6% in 1999. Further, women constituted 17.5% (3,258) of the medical doctors in 1993 as well as 15.6% of teaching staff in Nigerian universities during 1992/1993 session. Women are also generally poorer than men. A survey conducted in 1996/97 by the Federal office of Statistics reported incomes of 5,572 Naira and 4,215 Naira for male and female headed households respectively.¹⁹ Selected statistics related to status of women in Nigeria are presented in table 1.

Nigerian government continues to introduce measures to advance the status of women. Such measures included the establishment of National Commission for Women Development, later upgraded into a Ministry of Women Affairs and Youth Development. They also include the introduction of Better Life Programme, Family Support Programme and the Family Economic Advancement Programme. The impact of these programmes is yet to be objectively and rigorously evaluated.

¹⁹ For these estimates and more see Federal Office of Statistics publications - *The Statistical Profile of Nigerian Women* (1995, 1997); *Socio-Economic Profile of Nigeria* (1996); *Annual Abstract of Statistics* (1998). See also S. C. Ogbuagu (2000) *Gender and the Democratic Process in Nigeria: Issue of Conecta EMPARC Annual Lecture Series. No 6* (Lagos Empowerment and Action Research Centre)

Nigeria Police Force

Nigeria evolved through the colonial subjugation of hundred of nationalities and societies in the territory between 1861 and 1914²⁰. By 1900, the British Colonial Government has amalgamated these societies into two political blocks: Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria and the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. The two blocks were amalgamated in 1914 a single political entity. The subjugation of each of the constituent nationalities witnessed the establishment of a police force or constabulary for their respective territories. This practice of local and multiplicity of local police forces continued throughout colonial rule. However, from 1900, there were also regional police forces.

In 1930, a national police force called the Nigeria Police Force was established. Nigeria became an independent country on 1st October 1960. The independence Constitution (1960) and Republican Constitution (1963) provided for local police forces and the Nigeria Police Force. The military seized power on 15th January 1966, and dissolved the local police forces, as a result of the negative roles attributed to the forces during the First Republic (1960-1966). A detailed history of the evolution Of police forces and their roles have been covered in the literature.²¹

20 Materials in this section is a revised version of sections of chapter 1 of E.E.O Alemika and I.Chukwuma (2000) Police - Community Violence in Nigeria (Lagos: CLEEN) and as well as parts of E.E.O. Alemika (2000) "Constitutional Development and Police Forces in Nigeria" Unpublished paper.

21 See T.N. Tamuno (1970) Police in Modern Nigeria, (Ibadan: University of Ibadan Press); E. O Alemika (1993b) "Colonialism State and Policing in Nigeria" Crime, Law and Social Change (20): 187-219; F. Odekunle (1979) "The Nigeria Police Force: A preliminary Assessment Of functional performance" International Journal of Sociology of Law: (7): 61-83; O. Kayode (1976) "Public Expectations and Police Role Concepts in Nigeria" Police Chief (May): 58-59 See also the following contributions in the encyclopedic book, T. N. Tamuno: I L Bashir, E.E.O; Alemika" and A. O. Akano (eds) Policing Nigeria (Lagos: Malthouse Press) (1993): (a) E. E. O. Alemika criminology, criminal justice and the philosophy of Policing" (pp. 30- 78); (b) O. F. Onoge, social conflicts and crime in colonial Nigeria" (pp,151-186); (c) K. Rotimi "Local Police in Western Nigeria; End of an era,." (pp. 187-237); (d) P. T Ahire "Nature Authority Police in Northern Nigeria: End of an Era"(pp. 238-261); (e) S. G. Ehindero "The Organization and command structure of the Nigeria

Nigeria currently has a centralized or national police force – Nigeria Police Force. established in 1930. This was sequel to the dissolution of local police forces in 1966²². The 1979 and 1999 Constitutions explicitly prohibited the establishment of any force other than the Nigeria Police Force.

Organization of the Nigeria Police Force.

The Nigeria Police Force is organized into 37 Commands and the Force Headquarters. Each of the thirty-six States and the Federal; Capital Territory is served by a Command of the Force. The Force: Headquarters is the office of the Inspector General of Police. The task of the force is carried out through six departments:

- a. Administration and Finance
- b. Operations
- c. Works and Logistics
- d. General Investigation and Intelligence
- e. Training
- f. Research and Planning

Each of the Departments is under the leadership of an Assistant Inspector General of Police. The 37 State Police Commands are further organized into twelve Zonal Commands. The zonal commands are under the command of Assistant Inspectors-General, while Commissioners of Police are in charge of State Commands. The entire Force is under the command of the Inspector General of Police. He is assisted by a Deputy Inspector General and six Assistant Inspectors-General of Police in charge of A, B, C, D, E, E departments at the Force Headquarters²³.

Police Force” (pp 272-301) see as well C Okonkwo (1966) The police and public in Nigeria (London: Sweet and Maxwell)

²² *The Gowon military government dissolved the local police forces. Having accepted the recommendation by the working party on police and prisons constituted by Aguyi-Ironsi military in 1966*

²³ *The Force was recognized in 1986 along Directorate line but reorganized again in 1997 along department lines discussed above.*

Function and Powers of Police in Nigeria

The functions of the Nigeria Police Force were stated in section 4 of Police Act (CAP 329 of the Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 1990) and Decree No. 23 of 1979:

The Police shall be employed for the prevention and detection of crime, apprehension of offenders, the preservation of law and order, the protection of life and property, the due enforcement of all laws and regulations with which they are directly charged, and perform such military duties within or without Nigeria as may be required of them by, or under the Authority of this or any other Act.

The police in the country have statutory powers to investigate crimes, apprehend offenders, interrogate suspects, prosecute suspects, grant bail to suspects pending completion of investigation or prior to court arraignment, to serve summons, to regulate or disperse unlawful procession and assemblies. They are also Empowered to search and seize properties suspected to be stolen or associated with crime, and "to take and record for purposes of identification, the measurements, photographs and fingerprint impressions of all persons..." in custody.

The Nigeria Police Force and the 1999 Constitution

Section 214 (1) of the 1999 Constitution provides:

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

The 1999 Constitution re-established the Police Council, which was in the 1963 constitution but excluded from the 1979 Constitution. The Third Schedule of the 1999 Constitution created the Nigeria Police Council and the Police Service Commission.

The Police Council consists of:

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

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

- (a) the organization and administration of the Nigeria Police Force and all other matters relating thereto (not being matters relating to the use and operational control of the Force or the appointment, disciplinary control and dismissal of members of the force);
- (b) the general supervision of the Nigeria Police Force; and
- (c) advising the President on the appointment of the Inspector General of Police.

The 1999 Constitution, like the previous constitutions of the Federation also provided for the establishment of the Police Service Commission with following members:

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

The Constitution stipulated that the Commission should have the power to:

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

Police Roles

There are divergent views on the nature and significance of different police roles. Consensus functionalist theorist portrays state laws as products and expression of consensus among the disparate classes and social groups in society over the norms governing their social, political and economic institutions. On that view, the police as law enforcers are neutral government employees who are impartial in dealing with everyone, irrespective of class, status, gender and age. Therefore, the police are responsible for the enforcement of laws that promote the common interests of the different classes and groups in society. Social conflict theorists argue that society is divided into groups and classes with common interest in some areas and conflicting interests in many fundamental areas, including the organization, mobilization and distribution of economic and socio-political resources. It has, therefore, been argued "that the Police were not created to serve "society" or the "people" but to serve some parts of society and some people at the expense of others" ²⁴.

The variation in attitudes towards the police reflects the differential services rendered by the police to segments of society. Police roles vary across societies with different political and economic organizations. It has been argued that in the capitalist societies: the main function of the police has been to protect the property and well-being of those who benefit most from an economy based on the extraction of private profit. The police were created primarily in response to rioting and disorder directed against oppressive working and living conditions²⁵.

According to Bowden, the roles of police include the repression of the poor and powerless in order to protect the interests of the rulers. The police roles, therefore, include standing as a "buffer between elites and masses" and to perform "the essential holding operation against the mal-contented until military force could be applied in a

²⁴. *Institute for the study of labour and Economics crises (1982) the iron first and the velvet glove: an analysis of the US Police (San Francisco, CA: crime and social justice associates) p. 12*

²⁵. *Ibid*

punitive and salutary manner"²⁶. Brodgen put this view more, forcefully, stating that "police forces are structured, organizational and ideologically to act against the marginal strata"²⁷

The social conflict theorists concentrate on the repressive aspects of police work in a society characterised by class conflict underlined by unequal and inequitable economic and power relations among groups in society. Their views explain why the poor and powerless are victims of police violence more than the elites. But police role is not limited to repression. No government governs by repression alone, precisely because this renders governance unstable, expensive and unacceptable. Consequently rulers also enforce compliance, law and order by means of persuasion, indoctrination and incorporation of diverse interests into public crime control and law enforcement policies. The more realistic view is to see police forces as repressive and service organizations. Police repress and at the same time serve the public. The priority attached to repressive and service function varies across societies and even regimes within society. As has been argued:

.. .police work embodies ironies. Police are instrument of oppression and exploitation in totalitarian and unjust social: systems. Yet they are essential to the preservation of justice and democracy... The police are guardians of social order. As an institution the police force, helps to preserve, fortify and reproduce the prevailing social order, and are hardly Catalyst for its change. Thus when a social order is oppressive, exploitative and unjust, the police preserve it by suppressing and defusing demands for democracy and elimination of oppression and injustices. Similarly, in a democratic, just and equitable society, police have greater chances of serving

26 T. Bowden (1978) Beyond the limits of law (Hammond worth: penguin books LTD) p. 19

27. M. Brodgen (1982) The Police: autonomy and consent (London: Academic Press) P. 203

as vanguard for social democracy, human rights and socio- economic justice.²⁸ the most valid way to explain police behaviour, including police violence, is in terms of the social, political and economic order that the police are required to secure, preserve and fortify. Consequently, police roles and performance must be seen as the product of interaction among political, economic, legal, institutional and personality factors. Any analysis of gender relations within police force should take account of the class structure and political relations, in society and how they influence police organization, police culture and institutional regulations (including recruitment and career development of women).

The analytical concepts - sex, gender, patriarchy and social exclusion - as well as the statistics on the status of Nigerian women presented in the proceeding section provide background for the discussion, interpretation, analysis and understanding of the status, representation, conditions and experiences of women within the Nigeria Police Force.

28. E. E. O. Alemika (1993) *Criminology Justice and Philosophy of Policing* in T. N. Tamuno; I. L Bashair; E.E.O Alemika, and A.O. Akano (eds) *Policing Nigeria* (Lagos: Malthouse press p.59

CHAPTER TWO

METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Introduction

This study analyses gender relations and discrimination in the Nigeria Police Force. It conceived gender relations in this context, to include the rules governing enlistment, gender composition, training and career development/progression opportunities for men and women within the Nigeria, Police Force. In order to obtain necessary information for the analyses, a variety of methods and materials described below were used. The fieldwork of the study took place from May to August 2000.

Population and Sample

The population of the study conceptually consists of the members of the Nigeria Police Force. But police policies are made by authorities within and outside the force, including officials of the Ministry of Police Affairs, members of the Police Council and Police Service Commission; Members of the Senate and House of Representatives Committees concerned with police matters. The public also contributes to police policy making through advocacy and criticism of the force. To include all these, however, will be extremely difficult and clearly not feasible within the framework of this study. It will require considerable amount of time and financial resources to execute, given the difficulties encountered in collecting information from public offices and officials in the country. Consequently, the population has been limited to the members of Nigeria Police Force. In addition, a sample of the general public was also selected.

Sampling and Samples

The sampling procedure and sample for this study were purposively determined. This is because the focus of the study is to obtain through

survey. perceptions of male and female officers on a range of issues concerning police role, gender-relations and service experiences within the Nigeria Police Force. With strength of more than 30,000 officers located across towns and villages in the country it will again require enormous resources to adopt a random sampling process. As a result, three steps were adopted. First at a least, two states in each of the six geo-political zones' of the country were selected. Second, police stations and training institutions were selected within these states. Third, police personnel were stratified in terms of gender and rank. These processes involve purposive selection method.

The survey component of the study, therefore, involves the administration of questionnaires and interviews in thirty-six (36) police stations and training institutions across the country. The exercise yielded responses from 119 male officers (107 questionnaire and 12 interviews) and 151 female officers (104 questionnaires and 47 interviews). The respondents range from constables to Assistant Inspectors - General of Police.

The survey of public perceptions of police involved the distribution of 600 questionnaires to members of the public drawn from various backgrounds within the same environments from which samples of police offices were also selected. From these, 420 questionnaires were returned. Seventy-seven interviews were also conducted.

The responses to the questionnaires were processed through computer using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Basically frequencies and percentages were obtained through this process and they were used for descriptive analysis in the study. The distribution of police and public respondents in selected states as well as social backgrounds of respondents from the police and public are presented below in tables 2. 3 and 4.

Table 2: Distribution of Police and Public Respondents in Selected States

States	Police Respondents		Public Respondents	
	%	N	%	N
ABUJA	7.5	16	7.9	33
ABIA	9.3	20	8.6	36
BAUCHI	10.7	23	9.3	39
BENUE	12.1	26	9.8	41
EDO	10.7	23	8.6	36
ENUGU	8.9	19	8.6	36
PLATEAU	6.5	14	7.6	32
KANO	11.7	25	8.6	36
LAGOS	7.9	17	16.0	67
OYO	10.3	22	8.6	36
RIVERS	4.2	9	6.7	28
TOTAL	100.0	214	100.0	420

Table 3: Social Background of Police Respondents

Social Backgrounds	%	N
1. SEX		
Male	50.7	107
Female	49.3	104
2. AGE		
15 – 24 (Years)	6.8	14
25 – 34	61.5	126
35 – 49	24.9	51
50 and Older	6.8	14

Social Backgrounds	%	N
3. MARITAL STATUS		
Single	20.3	42
Married	75.8	157
Divorced	2.4	5
Widowed	1.4	3
4. EDUCATION		
Primary and Lower	8.1	17
Secondary	47.4	100
Post secondary (OND, NCE, and equivalents)	16.1	34
HND/B.Sc./B.A	28.4	60
5. RANK		
Constable,	18.4	38
Corporal and Sergeant	43.2	89
Inspector to Deputy Superintendent	30.1	62
Superintendent and Higher	8.3	10

Table 4: Social Background of Public Respondents

Social	%	N
1. SEX		
Male	45.7	189
Female	54.3	225
2. AGE		
15 – 24 (Years)	15.0	62
25 – 34	53.3	220
35 – 49	26.4	109
50 and Older	5.3	22
3. MARITAL STATUS		
Single	47.2	194
Married	48.4	199
Divorced /Separated	2.9	12
Widowed	1.5	6

Social	%	N
4. Education		
Primary and Lower	6.3	25
Secondary	62.2	247
Tertiary	31.5	125
5. OCCUPATION		
Public Service	26.7	110
Teaching	7.5	31
Private Sector	27.2	112
Self – employed	14.3	59
Unemployed	3.6	15
Transporter / Petty trading	8.3	34
Student	12.4	51

The distribution of the respondents in tables 2-4 reflect a relatively representative samples of groups within and outside police with opinions and information relevant to the study. The questionnaires administered to the respondents contained open and close-ended questions designed to elicit information on recruitment, training, promotion, discipline, discrimination and working experience in Nigeria Police Force. Similarly the interviews conducted (with partly structured questions) among selected police respondents were aimed at obtaining information on police working rules and working environment.

Data for this study were also obtained from secondary sources official publications, books, journals, magazines and newspapers~ as well as relevant laws and regulations on Nigeria Police Force. the analysis of these materials are presented in chapter three, while the analyses of data obtained through social surveys are presented in chapter four. The primary and secondary data were collected for descriptive analysis of gender relations expressed in laws, regulations, rules, working conditions, opinions, and interactions among male and female police officers in the Nigeria Police Force. However, the methodology cannot bear the burden of strong theoretical and statistical inferences. Therefore, caution must be exercised so as not to over-stretch the conclusions of this study. Nonetheless, this study provides substantial information and insights that have not been provided or analysed elsewhere.

CHAPTER THREE

WOMEN IN NIGERIA POLICE FORCE

Introduction

Gender relations are reflections of relations of power and consequently distribution of resources and opportunities between men and women in society or its constituent institutions. This study analyses the extent to which women are accorded opportunities (recruitment, training, deployment, promotion and career development or advancement) within the Nigeria Police Force, relative to their male counterparts. As a result, in this chapter we analyze the laws, regulations, rules and practices governing recruitment, training, deployment and promotion, in the force, in order to unravel whether or not they discriminate against women.

Anti-Discrimination Laws

The past four decades have witnessed increasing concern about under-representation and low participation of women in critical policy-decision making bodies. This concern has engendered international and national laws aimed at protecting women from discrimination, although many of such anti-discrimination laws were couched in general terms, to cover minority groups, women are intended to be the major beneficiaries. The equal opportunity employment provision in the United States of America, the constitutional provision against discrimination in the Nigerian Constitution, and the United Nations' Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDA W) are instances of anti- discrimination laws.

The Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDA W) was adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization through resolution 34/180 of 18 December

1979; and came into force on 3 September 1981. According to the "Convention, "discrimination against women violates the principles of equality of rights and respect for human dignity" ²⁹.

*It also states that discrimination against women... is an obstacle to the participation of women, on equal terms with men, in the political, social, economic and cultural life of their countries, hampers the growth of the prosperity of society and the family and makes more difficult the full development of the potentialities of women in the service of their countries or humanity*³⁰.

Consequently, "State Parties condemn discrimination against women in all forms"³¹. Further, State Parties "agree to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination against women."³² In pursuit of this declaration, they agreed:

- (a) To embody the principle of the equality of men and women in their national constitutions or other appropriate legislation if not yet incorporated therein and to ensure, through law and other appropriate means, the practical realization of this principle;
- (b) To adopt appropriate legislative and other measures, including sanctions where appropriate, prohibiting all discrimination against women;
- (c) To establish legal protection of the rights of women on an equal basis with men and to ensure through competent national tribunals and other public institutions the effective protection of women against any act of discrimination;
- (d) To refrain from engaging in any act or practice of

²⁹ Preamble to CEDAW

³⁰ *ibid*

³¹ *ibid* Article 2

³² *ibid*

discrimination against women and to ensure that public authorities and institutions shall act in conformity with this obligation~

- (e) To take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women by any person, organization or enterprise
- (f) To take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women;
- (g) To repeal all national penal provisions which constitute discrimination against women³³.

The Convention defines "discrimination against women" as "any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field"³⁴. The convention, further oblige state parties:

To modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women³⁵

In Nigeria, there are no constitutional grounds for discrimination against women. Indeed, the 1979 and 1999 Constitutions contain explicit anti-discrimination provision. Section 42(i) of the 1999

33. *ibid*

34. *ibid* Article J

35. *ibid* Article 5(a)

Constitution,³⁶ provides that:

A citizen of Nigeria of a particular community, ethnic group, place of origin, sex, religion or political opinion shall not be treated solely on the basis that he is such a person –

- a. be subjected either expressly by, or in the practical application of, any law in force in Nigeria or any executive or administrative action of the government, to disabilities or restrictions to which citizens of Nigeria of other communities, ethnic groups, places of origin, sex, religions or political opinions are not made subjects; or
- b. be accorded whether expressly by, or in the practical application of, any law in force in Nigeria or any such executive or administrative action, any privilege or advantage that is not accorded to citizens of Nigeria of other communities, ethnic groups, places of origin, sex, religions or political opinions. (emphasis added)

But it has to be noted that derogation from this provision, that is deviation from the provision, permitted by the Constitution has significant impact on the subject matter of this study. Section 42(3) provides that:

Nothing in subsection (1) of this section shall invalidate any law by reason only that the law imposes restrictions with respect to the appointment of any person to any office under the state or as a member of the armed forces of the Federation or a member of the Nigeria Police Force or to any office in the service of a body corporate established by any law in force in Nigeria (emphasis added).

The significance of this derogation provision, is that whatever

³⁶ *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999*

restrictions may be placed on women in the Nigeria Police Force, contrary to the anti-discrimination clause in section 42(1) of the constitution. may hold.

The judgment of The Court of Appeal, Enugu in the case of *Mojekwu Vs Mojekwu*, points to judicial attitude towards discrimination against women in Nigeria. This was a case involving a customary practice whereby women are denied inheritance rights to their deceased father's property/estate. According to Niki Tobi (JCA), in the lead judgement read by him:

Nigeria is an egalitarian society where the civilized sociology (Sic) does not discriminate against women. However, there are customs allover that discriminate against the womenfolk, which regard them as inferior to menfolk. That should not be so as all human beings, male and female are born into a free world and are expected to participate freely without any inhibitions on grounds of sex. Thus any form of societal discrimination on grounds of sex, apart from being unconstitutional is antithesis to a society built on the tenets of democracy. The "Oli-Ekpe" custom, which permits the son of the brother of a deceased person to inherit his property to the exclusion of the female child, is discriminatory and therefore inconsistent with the doctrine of equity. It is therefore repugnant to natural justice, equity and good conscience³⁷.

This judgement from a federal superior court strengthens the rights of women. But as was recognized, customary practices (and laws) in the country embody widespread discrimination against women. Unfortunately, the vast majority of victims are unable to litigate due to ignorance, financial constraints or cultural/religious pressures.

³⁷. 1997, NWLR part 512 at pp. 304-305

As a result, constitutional provisions and legal remedies are of little help to the poor women. There is no government assistance towards civil litigation in respects of human rights violations.

The foregoing anti-discrimination provisions in the Nigerian Constitution, and the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women provide background to the analysis of gender relations and discrimination in the Nigeria Police Force. Any analysis of gender relations (in-equalities and discrimination) however, must go beyond legal provisions and prohibitions, especially that anti-discrimination laws may not effectively undermine the institution of patriarchy that subordinate women to men. Polan observed that:

Over the past century the legal system has rejected some of its [patriarchy] most sexist notions and expressions without ceasing to reinforce male power and female subordination... Throughout history, ideas about women, the family and the relationship between women and the outside world have been used to rationalize inequality and the inferior status of women. Patriarchal ideology has been successful to the extent that it has convinced [women] that our social, political, and economic subordination and our psychological feelings of inferiority are the results of natural forces rather than exploitative social relations.³⁸

Polan further drew attention to the limitation of law and legal strategy in eliminating or 'fighting' discrimination against women. She argued that:

. . . we cannot underestimate the practical limitations

38. PolanD. (1982) "Towards A Theory of Law and Patriarchy" in D. Kairys (ed.) *The Politics of Law* (New York, Pantheon Books) p. 297

we face with any law-oriented strategy. The experience of going to court on a regular basis underscores the pervasive maleness of the legal system: it is a system infused with sexist values. Regardless of the language of a statute, it is individual judges who decide cases.

The judiciary remains overwhelmingly male. Judges have grown up in a patriarchal culture; their attitudes are inevitably shaped by their life experiences and by their position as the beneficiaries of male supremacy. . . . Furthermore, even if sexism was formally eliminated from the legal system and even if half the lawmakers and legal decision-makers were women, the legal system would not become a non-sexist institution. The whole structure of law - its hierarchical organization, its combative, adversarial format, and its undeviating bias in favor of rationality over all other values - defines it as a fundamentally patriarchal institution.³⁹

Polan recognises that the law can be used in the struggle to eliminate discrimination against women, but she argued, that it should not be relied on as the primary or sole weapon. The logic is that the elimination of discrimination against women requires multiple strategies that tackle the roots of the problem within the political, economic, socio-political and ideological structures of society. Since the focus of this study is to investigate the extent of gender discrimination and stereotype in the Nigeria Police Force, we now turn to address issues that are germane to the analysis, discussion and explanation of this concern.

³⁹ *ibid* p, 301

Gender Composition of the Nigeria Police Force

A central feature of patriarchal ideology is that men and women are biologically different, (which is true) and therefore naturally designed for different social, political, economic and cultural roles (which is not always true, or not validly demonstrated, on the basis of biological difference proposition).. These twin assumptions gave rise to socially constructed division of labour, including the notion that the "place of women is in the home". The assumptions influence the ways boys and girls are reared; functions and roles considered appropriate to the sexes.

The division of labour, justified on the postulated biological differences between male and female are ranked. Those assigned to men attract greater material, political and honorific rewards. So ingrained are the assumptions of biological differences and corresponding roles that even radical theorists, who consider women's and men's role to be complementary, nonetheless, confined women expertise to the home. According to Engels (1972), Karl Marx's companion, sexual division of labour is natural and complementary. Thus, he suggested that in primitive communal formation: -

The division of Labour is purely primitive, between the sexes only. The man fights in the war goes hunting and fishing procures the raw materials for food and tools necessary for doing so. The woman looks after the house and the preparation of food and clothing. Cooks weaves. sews. There are each master in their own sphere: The man in the forest, the woman in the house. Each is owner of the instruments which he or she makes and uses: The man of the weapons, the hunting and fishing instruments, the woman of the household gear 40 (emphasis added).

40. Engels, F (1972) *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (London: Lawrence and Wishart), P.218

A right wing politician could have made this statement. But the issue is, if the pervasive sentiment is 'that "war belongs to men"', what women would be doing in the police? The level of female representation in the Nigeria Police Force may be attributed to the attitude that 'women's place is in the home' and that 'women ought not to be either 'practitioner or manager of violence and its instruments. '

In May 1993, the strength of Nigeria Police Force was recorded as 144, 634. Due to the political crises engendered by the annulment of June 12, 1993 presidential election, and the despotic rule of General Sani Abacha, the size and structure of the police did not change much until the year 2000, when mass recruitment into the force was ordered by Obasanjo administration. Therefore, the 1993 figures below are adequate for our analysis. In any case, the instruction for mass recruitment issued by Obasanjo regime did not include procedure to ensure that women are enlisted into the Nigeria Police Force. Recent statistics on gender distribution of the force, estimated' at between 130,000 and 140,000 by late 2000, could not be obtained⁴¹.

Rank	Men	Women
Inspector General of Police	1	0
Deputy Inspector General ⁴²	5	0
Assistant Inspector General	17	2

⁴¹. Information management and discrimination is not taken seriously by the force. Researchers often face frustration in collecting information from Nigerian Public Service organizations especially those in the security sectors, and which classify almost all information as "secret and confidential"

⁴². This position has been rationalized or restructured, and only a position for one Deputy Inspector-General now exist.

Rank	Men	Women
Commissioner of Police	67	9
Deputy Commissioner of Police	88	3
Assistant Commissioner of Police	222	13
Chief Superintendent of Police	561	46
Superintendent of Police	956	68
Deputy Superintendent of Police	1,350	91
Assistant Superintendent of Police	3,420	305
Inspector & Ranks ⁴³	16,014	838
Sergeant Major/Sergeant	31,491	103
Corporal	40,859	1,326
Constable	42,859	3,096
Total	137,734	6,900

The first thing to be observed in table 5, is the long chain of command contingent on very many ranks. Second, the ratio of women to men is uneven across the ranks. Third, the two broad divisions of officers are junior and officer ranks. The junior ranks are from constable to Inspectorate ranks while officer ranks are from assistant superintendent to the Inspector General. From table 5, women constituted 4.77 percent of the police in the country in May 1993. Women also constituted about 8.03% of senior officers, and 4.09% of junior police officers. Clearly these figures represent gross under- representation of women in the Nigeria Police Force. However, comparative figures with other countries show that under representation of women in police is a global phenomenon, as the following statistics demonstrate. In the United Kingdom, the un-representativeness of the police in terms of "gender composition (especially at senior levels)" has been a source of official concern. According to Reiner:

43. These include principle inspector: senior inspector: and inspector:

The gender imbalance [in United Kingdom Police Forces] remains marked despite a considerable change since the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975, that led to the abolition of separate policewomen's divisions and brought about formal integration. (Just over 10% of all police officers are women, but there are only thirty nine who hold the rank of superintendent throughout England and Wales, and one above the rank of assistant chief constable). Research on the effect of the Act makes it clear that integration has been formal rather than real. Conceptions of the physical unsuitability of women for physically tougher aspects of police work, as well as their unreliability for long-term careers due to domestic pressures, combine to affect their deployment and career opportunities.⁴⁴

Recently, however, Reiner reported in another work that a "woman chief constable has been appointed (Pauline Clare in Lancashire), and several others have achieved assistant chief constable rank" However, Reiner observed that:

It is also clear from a growing volume of evidence that women are discriminated against as police officers in terms of career prospects as well harassment on the job.⁴⁵

Women under-representation has also been observed in several other countries, including the United States, Britain, India, Israel and Netherlands.⁴⁶

44, Reiner,; R, (1992) .. Police Research in the United Kingdom; A critical Review" in M, Tonry and N, Morris (eds,) Modern Policing (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), pp. 463-464

46, Shane. PG (1980) Police and People: comparison of five countries (St, Louis: The C. V. Mosby Company)

In order to understand the source of female under-representation in the Nigeria Police Force, it will be necessary to examine the process of recruitment as well as training and career advancement for women"

Recruitment into the Nigeria Police Force

There was no visible presence of women in the Nigeria Police Force before the 1940s. In 1944, Tamuno reports, 47 women politicians requested for the employment of women between 40 and 45 years as police constables. It was not clear why the women politicians favoured women in this age category at the time. However, they argued that such women constables would be in better position to prevent prostitution and handle "female criminals". The Police Act came into effect on 1st April 1943. In the light of the provisions concerning conditions for recruitment, duties and deployment of policemen in the act, the demands of the women politicians may have been tailored to satisfy the requirements, and thus constrained by a law tailored to meet the patriarchal ideology in society. As Tamuno reports, the then Commissioner of the Police, opposed the demand, and in a memorandum to the Chief Secretary of the colony argued that women were unfit to deal with disorderly persons and conduct. He also argued that female police officers will be unacceptable in Northern Nigeria because of the cultural and religious status of women in the Region.⁴⁸ In effect suitability and acceptability were used by the police commissioner as objection to the recruitment of women into the police in the 1940s.

Dr Nnamdi Azikwe as an elected member of the Lagos Legislative Council in 1951 also raised the issue of employment of women into

47. Tamuno, TN. (1970) *The Police in Modern Nigeria* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press), The materials in this section dealing with early attempts, to recruit policewomen rely on Tamuno (1970: 135-139), same source also literally reproduced by R. Iyama'bo (1993) "Women in Police Service" in Tamuno, T N ~(eds.) *Policing! Nigeria* (Lagos: Malthouse Press)

48. Tamuno, TN. (1970) *ibid.* pp. 135-137

the Nigerian Police Force, with a view to dealing with the growing number of female offenders.⁴⁹ Efforts of the women politicians and Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe did not yield immediate result. However, in March 1953, the issue was tabled in a resolution before the House of Representatives by A.O. Ogedengbe (Owo constituency) and seconded by Anthony Enahoro (Ishan constituency) and M. Ahmadu, (Sardauna of Sokoto)⁵⁰. This motion finally spurred the government to announce its intention to establish "Women's Police Branch" in the Nigeria Police Force. Policewomen would be employed on 'investigating duties with the Railway Police and at the Headquarters in matter concerning offences involving females and children' .⁵¹ By December 1962, Tamuno reported, that there were 170 policewomen in the Federation.⁵² most of them came from Eastern and Western Nigeria, while only three policemen (a sub-inspector and two constables) were from Northern Nigeria.⁵³ The numerical strength of policemen has recorded significant increase during the past three decades (table 5). In spite of the increase, women remain a fraction of the total police strength in the country.

The same educational qualifications are required of male and female candidates seeking enlistment into the Nigeria Police Force. There are three points of enlistment into the force. These are: (1) Constable; (2) Cadet Inspector and (3) Cadet Assistant Superintendent. The first two are junior and upper junior entry levels respectively while the third is the lowest superior (senior) officer rank or cadre. Candidates seeking enlistment into the force as constable are expected to possess a school certificate with five credits, while those aspiring to be enlisted as cadet inspectors are expected to possess a post secondary diploma (such as National Certificate of Education, Ordinary National Diploma and equivalents) Enlistment as cadet assistant superintendent requires a bachelor's degree or equivalent.

49. *Ibid* p. 137

50. *ibid*

51. *ibid*. p.137

52. *ibid*. p. 1 38

53. *ibid*. p. 1 38

At these levels, there are no gender related discriminatory provisions. However, in the light of lower literacy level and lower enrolment at higher levels of education by women coupled with prejudices inhibit high rate of female recruitment.

Besides formal education, there are other requirements for recruitment. These are summarized in table 6, below.

Table 6: Requirements for Enlistment as a Constable. ⁵⁴

Requirements	Male	Femake
1. Age	17-25years	Not less than 1.67metres
2. Height	Not less than 1.67metres	Not less than 1.67metres
3. Physical fitness	Certified by a Government medical as mentally and physical fit for police service	Certified by a government medical officer as <u>not being pregnant</u> and as being physically and mentally fit.
4. Character	Same as for female	Must be of good character and must not have been found guilty of criminal offence (other than any offence which the Inspector- General accepts as being of a minor nature).
5. Chest measurement	Not less than 86 centimetres when fully expanded and having expansion of not less than 5 centimetres.	No specification for females
6. Financial status	Must be free from pecuniary embarrassment	Same as for male
7. Marital Status	No requirement of police regulations	Must not be married

⁵⁴. Provisions are set out in sectiobns 72 and 118 of Police Regulations for males and females respectively.

The requirement for height is usually slightly lowered for female Candidates. However, the discriminatory provisions regarding age and marital status can be observed. As regards age, the implication is that there is an implicit assumption that the maturity of 17 years old male is equivalent to a 19 year- old female.

There are also extensive physical requirements for recruitment into the Nigeria Police Force. Section 73 of the Police Regulation provides that:

A candidate for enlistment suffering from anyone of the abnormalities or deformities listed below shall not be accepted for enlistment

- (a) impediment in speech;
- (b) gross malformation of teeth or jaw preventing proper mastication of food;
- (c) knock knees;
- (d) bow legs
- (e) bent knees; i.e.; knees which cannot be Straightened when standing at attention;
- (f) flat feet;
- (g) beat arms; i.e. arms which cannot be Straightened at elbow;
- (h) deformed hands, or hands which cannot perform the full functions of the hand;
- (i) defective eyesight or squint eyes;
- (j) amputation of any member;

These conditions apply to both male and female candidates, and may on the surface, seem to contain no discriminatory requirements. But in reality, the image of physically suitable candidates conveyed is that of a masculine individual.

Training, Deployment and Duties of Policemen

The increase in the number of policewomen in the Nigeria Police Force has not necessarily translated into major shifts in the deployment of female police officers. This constraint is traceable to the provisions of the law on the duties and deployment of Policewomen. Section 121 of the Police Regulations provides that:

Women police officers shall as a general rule be employed on duties which are concerned with women and children, and shall be particularly employed in the following duties -

- (a) investigation of sexual offences against women' and children;
- (b) recording of statements from female witnesses and female accused persons and from children;
- (c) attendance when women or children are being interviewed by male police officers;
- (d) the searching, escorting and guarding of women prisoners in police stations, and the escorting of 'women prisoners to or from police stations;
- (e) school crossing duties
- (f) crowd control, where women and children are present in any numbers.

Further, section 122 of the Regulations also provided that:

Women police officers recruited to the General Duties Branch of the Force may, in order to relieve male police officers from these duties, be employed in any of the following office duties, namely-

- (a) Clerical duties;
- (b) Telephone duties
- (c) Office orderly duties.

The duties assigned to women police officers by law indicate a patriarchal attitude, which is, not to subject male to the authority of women. Thus, women police officers are to deal with women and children. The provisions on duties and deployment clearly discriminate against women. Further, women are treated differently from men in terms of content of practical training in police training schools. Specifically, women police officers are not trained in the handling of firearms. Section 123 of the Police Regulations states that "A woman police officer shall not be called upon to drill under arms or to take part in any baton or riot exercise. In essence, women! are excluded from 'core police duties' and consequently denied the 'honour, status and career advancement associated with deployment to those duties.

Conditions of Service and Subordination of Women

The Police Regulations contain provisions that enforce the 'domestication of women' in accordance with patriarchal ideology and associated family value. The Regulations, for example provide how, when and who a policewoman should marry. It provides that:

A woman police officer who is desirous of marrying must first apply in writing to the commissioner of police for the State Police command in which she is serving, requesting permission to marry and giving the name, address, and occupation of the person she intends to marry. Permission will be granted for the marriage if the intended husband is of good character and the woman police officer has served in the force' for a period of not less than three years⁵⁵,

This regulation has several implications. First, a woman police officer has no control over when to marry and may be subjected to a long period of courtship, depending on her length of service. Second, the suitor must pass a test of good character, after being subjected to

55. Police Regulations Section 124

"surveillance", a quality which is not defined in the law, and thereby depend on the subjective evaluation of the commissioner of police. Third, the woman police officer may be denied the opportunity of marrying a man of her choice. In essence, the police authority assumes the role of parents to the policewomen, treating them as if they were minors who must procure parental consent as a precondition to marriage. But significantly, male police officers are not subject to marital restrictions at recruitment stage and during service. The explanation offered by the police authority is that the regulation is necessary in order to prevent or protect policewomen from marrying a man with criminal records or inclinations. Such a man, it is argued, will use her wife's police authority to advance his criminality. But what of the prospect of a policeman marrying a woman who has criminal inclination? No problem! The man is expected to be able to put his wife under subjection in all circumstances. This line of reasoning and the gender relations and discrimination it engenders clearly derive from a patriarchal view of women, her nature, character and capability.

Women's dressing and appearance while in uniform are also regulated by the Police Regulations. Section 128 of the Regulation provides that:

A woman police officer whilst in uniform shall not -

- (a) wear face powder or lipstick, or wear nail varnish except those of a neutral colour; or
- (b) wear any article of jewelry other than a wedding ring, or an engagement ring or a wristwatch, or
- (c) dress her hair in such fashion that it falls over the uniform collar; the hair if long is to be pinned or plaited over the top of the head, or if worn in short plaits, the plaits are to be tacked under the uniform cap.

Police and security forces are known for their rules imposing 'moderation and uniformity' of dressing, Men for example are by traditions of police and armed forces in Nigeria, prevented from growing a beard. However, compared with the restriction on women, a measure of paternalism and control can be detected

Women in Nigeria Police Force: Emerging Trend

Analyses of selected regulations on recruitment, training, deployment and duties in the Nigeria Police Force, presented in this chapter reveals areas of discrimination against women as well as under representation of women in the Force. Nonetheless, the numerical strength of women police officers during the past forty years, since 1962, has considerably increased. The strength of women police officers, which was recorded as 170 in December 1962 rose to 6,900 in May 1993. In its 70 years of existence, only a woman had risen to the post of a Deputy Inspector-General of Police.⁵⁶ However five women rose to the position of Assistant Inspector General of Police.⁵⁷

It is particularly significant that Abimbola Ojomo currently heads the Federal Criminal Investigation Department of the Nigeria Police Force; she thereby became the first female occupant of an important operational department at the Police Force Headquarters. Dr. Rose Abang Wushishi, the first policewomen to earn a doctorate degree in the force, served as the secretary to the force, and was later in charge of the Training Department of the Force. Mrs. Ugowe and Mrs. Iyamabo, prior to their retirement, were in charge of the Administration Department of the Force. At present Mrs. Florence Adebajo heads the apex police training institution - Police Staff College in Jos. These developments led R.I. Iyamabo to observe, with respect to the deployment of policemen that:

56. This being C. B. Legowe, (now retired)

57. These are R. Iyanabo, Dr. Rose Abang Wushishi and F Waziri (all three now retired) as well as A. J. Ojomo and F. Adebajo (still in service - January 2001)

There has been a remarkable departure from the conventional attachment to children and women - related duties to experiences involving women in diverse areas of police job. Women officers now investigate and prosecute cases involving men. They have also made incursions into surveillance and charge room duties. Some are DPOs [Divisional Police Officers] while others are holding the post of Divisional Crime Officers (DCO). They conduct raids of criminals in hotels, markets and residential areas.⁵⁸

The rising profile of women should not be glibly discounted as tokenism. It is a product of (a) policewomen's struggle to demonstrate their capacity in policing, and (b) changes within the force, as well as developments in wider society. To appreciate the development as an important shift, comparative information on situation in 'older democracies' is helpful. In Britain, between 1946 and 1975 women police officers were consigned to a separate women division' although in practice the women were dispersed throughout the system. However, they are now engaged in most duties as men, except that they are shielded from public disorder and riot control.⁵⁹ Women recruited into India Police Service (National) and State Police Forces were generally assigned to reception work and were not "even used as juvenile workers in the few forces in which such units exist". Besides, most policewomen in the State Police Forces in India were in the lower ranks.⁶⁰

58 R. I. Iyamabo (1993) "Women in Police Service, in T.N. Tamuno; I. L. Bashir; E.E.O. Alemika and A. O. Akamo (eds) *Policing Nigeria: Past and Present: (Lagos: Malthouse Press)* pp. 469-484

59 P. G. Shane (1980) *Police and People: A comparison of five countries. (St. Louis: The C. V. Mosby Company)* pp 64-65

60. *ibid.* pp. 99-89

By 1979, "about 17% of all police and 8% of uniformed police" in Israel were women. "The common duty assigned to women officers is traffic control; however, women also are involved in other aspects of police work. They are often assigned to those jobs in which women are supposed to be good such as juvenile and family work and clerical work." They (women police officers) are regarded as "protected partners".⁶¹ Although there is no formal restriction against the employment of women in the Netherlands police forces, but in practice, municipal police forces are reluctant to enlist women. However, police forces in larger municipalities engage women.⁶² Until recently, in the United States, women enlisted in the police "were assigned primarily to the juvenile units and worked primarily as paraprofessional social workers".⁶³ The changes in the United States represented by increasing gender integration and equality in the police have been advanced by anti-discrimination laws and court rulings.

The wider, comparative data on gender relations and discrimination within police forces enable us to appreciate the global as well as national manifestations of the problem of under-representation of women in policing. However, the departure in the Nigerian situation is that the changes in the status of women police, which have taken place over the years, have neither been grounded in law or police regulations. The positions women occupy in the Nigeria Police Force depend essentially on the individual goodwill of successive Inspectors General of Police and their disposition to women. This means that the appointment of a patriarchy-minded police chief in Nigeria, could lead to reversal of fortunes for policewomen, in the absence of a law or regulation granting them equal opportunities within the Force.

Analyses of experiences and perceptions of policemen and policewomen as well as members of the public will clarify some aspects of gender relations and discriminations within the Nigeria Police Force. In the next chapter, we analyze the perceptions of Policewomen and policemen on rules, regulations and practices within the Force. The perceptions of the public on some issues and concerns on police are also presented in the following next chapter.

61. *ibid.* p. 108

62. *ibid.* p. 130

63. *ibid.* p 161

CHAPTER FOUR

GENDER POLICE ROLE AND POLICING

Introduction

The under representation of women in police as well as gender- based discriminatory practices within police forces have been attributed to the nature of policing and physiological nature of women. Women are assumed to be unsuited for police work, which is characterized as paramilitary duties. Police are believed to spend their time and resources fighting dangerous men. Consequently, policewomen are unsuitable for the task involving confrontation with aggressive and violent men. But comparative researches have shown that less than half of police-work involve 'crime fighting' and encounter with violent criminals is infrequent. In this chapter, we analyze the information obtained from male and female police officers on police role, gender discrimination, and attitudes toward discriminatory rules and practices within the Nigeria Police Force. In the latter part of the chapter, data on public encounter with and assessment of policemen and policewomen are presented.

The social backgrounds of police respondents' in the study were presented in table 3. There were 107 male police respondents and 104 female police respondents. From table 7, the following characteristics are highlighted. The female officers were relatively younger and concentrated in 25-34 years category, are more likely to be single, had lower educational qualifications and were more in the lower ranks, relative to their male counterparts⁶⁴. The relatively high proportion of single female officers may be attributed to both the ages of the officers and to the restrictive and discriminatory police regulations on marriage.

64 These features may not be accurate representation of the entire force because the sampling was purposive with an element of quota sampling too. Nonetheless, field observations suggest that they represent a reasonable picture.

Table 7: Comparative social background of male and female police respondents

Social Backgrounds	%	Male	Female	
		N	%	N
1. AGE				
15-24	5.8	6	8.2	8
25-34	51.0	53	71.4	70
35-49	36.5	38	13.3	13
50 and older	6.7	8	7.1	7
2. MARITAL STATUS				
Single	15.1	16	26.3	26
Married	82.1	87	68.7	68
Divorced/Widowed	2.8	5.0	5.0	5
3. EDUCATION				
Primary	10.4	11	5.9	6
Secondary	37.7	40	57.8	59
Post secondary (OND, NCE etc	21.7	23	10.8	11
B.Sc. / HND etc	30.2	32	25.5	26
4. RANK				
Constable	17.3	18	19.2	19
Corporal/Sergeant	39.4	41	47.5	47
Inspector –Supt.	36.5	38	23.2	23
Supt. and higher	6.7	7	10.2	10
5. LENGTH OF SERVICE				
5 years and less	16.6	17	18.2	18
6-10	24.3	25	35.4	35
11-20	40.8	42	33.3	33
Over twenty years	18.4	19	13.1	13

Enlistment requirements: male and female competitiveness

The information in table 1 shows that Nigerian women are disadvantaged in relation to vital opportunities and positions in society. This has led to suggestions that women should be given concession, by lowering the requirements for admission to higher educational institutions and for employment. The educational

requirements for enlistment into the police are the same for male and female candidates. The police officers were asked about what factors or considerations influenced their enlistment. About equal percentage of male and female officers identified academic qualifications (table 8). Judging from their responses, educational qualifications are the most important requirements for enlistment into the Nigeria Police Force. Similarly about the same percentage of policewomen and policemen identified physical strength as an important requirement. This requirement is next in importance, after educational qualifications. Policewomen did not think their sex play significant role in their enlistment or as a requirement, while the policemen also did not perceive ethnicity as an important requirement. More than one half (53.9%) of the policemen, and a significantly higher percentage (84.5%) of policewomen think that women are as competitive as men or can compete favourably with men in terms of requirements for enlistment into the force (table 8). The implication of the consensus between policewomen and policemen on the ranking of requirements for enlistment and policewomen's perception of women's competitiveness is that concession for female candidates are unnecessary. This, however, does not preclude quota, that is allocation of a percentage of new recruits to women as a means of increasing their presence.

Table 8: Enlistment Requirements and Competitiveness of Male and Female Candidates

Requirements and competitiveness	Male		Female	
	%	N	%	N
1. Perceived requirements for enlistment				
Academic qualification	41.5	39	41.6	32
Intelligence	9.6	9	7.8	6
Physical strength	27.7	26	26.0	20
Ethnic origin and or sex	4.3	4	1.3	1
Influence.	4.3	4	-	-
Others	12.8	12	13.0	10
2. Are women competitive regarding requirements?				
Yes	53.9	55	84.5	82
No.	46.1	47	15.5	15

Note: Male police officers' questionnaire included ethnic origin but excluded sex, while female officers, questionnaire included sex but excluded ethnic origin. Also, the female officers' questionnaire did not include influence.

Perceptions of Discrimination in the Nigeria Police Force

Discrimination can take place at different levels in the force: recruitment, training, remuneration, posting and promotion. Both male and female officers reported incidence of discrimination in the Nigeria Police Force. However, more women (57.6%) than men (44.6%) reported that there was discrimination in the force. About half of policewomen and 38.6% of policemen reported that gender discrimination exists in the Nigeria Police Force (table 9). Yet, when asked if they had ever been victims of any form of discrimination, more men (46.7%) than women (41.9%) reported suffering discrimination. More men reported incidence of ethnic, discrimination in the force.

Table 9: Perceived incidence of discrimination by male and female officers

	Male		Female	
	%	N	%	N
1. Any form of discrimination in the NPF				
Yes	44.6	45	57.6	57
No	55.4	56	42.4	42
2. Types of discrimination				
Gender discrimination	38.6	22	50.8	31
Ethnic	28.1	16	18.0	11
Educational	1.8	1	4.9	3
Others	31.6	18	26.2	16
3. Ever been a victim of discrimination in the NPF				
Yes	46.7	43	41.9	39
No	53.3	49	58.1	54
4. Areas of discrimination against women in the NPF				
Promotion	13.2	12	16.3	14
Marriage	15.4	14	15.1	13
Posting	31.9	29	36.0	31
Others	2.8	3	8.1	7
None	36.3	33	24.4	21

**Only 53.3% of the male respondents answered this question, while 58.7% of the women responded to the question.*

The most important area of discrimination against women in the force is posting. There are several ways in which discriminatory posting practices can manifest. Women may not be posted to areas of duties that are challenging and rewarding. Terms of posting may also fail to recognize gender specific needs of women. In this latter case, equality of terms of posting may actually be harmful against the background of social and cultural constraints faced by women.

Section 121 of the Police Regulations stipulates that "as a general rule" women are to "be employed on duties which are connected with women and children". The section listed such duties:

- (a) Investigation of sexual offences against women and children;
- (b) Recording of statements from female witnesses and female accused persons and from children;
- (c) Attendance when women or children are being interviewed by male police officers;
- (d) the searching and escorting and guarding of women prisoners in police stations, and the escorting of women prisoners to or from police stations;
- (e) School crossing duties
- (f) crowd control, where women and children are present in any numbers.

Section 122, stipulates that policewomen "recruited to the general duties branch of the force may in order to relieve male officers from those duties" (emphasis added) be employed in clerical, telephone and office orderly duties. In essence, duties of policewomen are predetermined no matter the interest, capability and competence of individual female police officer.

Policemen are employed in the force in a different sphere of activities. Thus policemen are employed to fight crime- 'real police work', and policewomen to assist and control women and children. This accord with what has been termed as "separate - sphere" ideology. According to Taub and Schneider:

"Separate -sphere" ideology clearly delineated the activities open to women. Women's role within the home was glorified and women's limited participation in paid labour outside the home was most often in work that could be considered an extension of their work within the home⁶⁵.

Some policewomen feel professionally unfulfilled because they were excluded from duties they could competently handle. Another dimension of discrimination in relation to posting is transfer and this is a serious issue in a large country like Nigeria. Section 125 of the Police Regulation states that:

A married woman police officer shall not be granted any special privileges by reason of the fact that she is married, and shall be subject to posting and transfer as if she were unmarried.

If married and unmarried officers are to be treated equally, what is the need to impose regulations on when, how, who a female officer should marry. In Nigeria, the cultural pattern and demand is for a wife to 'follow' her husband on transfer and not the reverse. The provision is capable of creating family instability among policewomen.

Another area of discrimination against women that both policewomen and policemen acknowledge is marriage (table 9). The Regulations contain several restrictions and disincentives to

65. Taub, and Schneider (1980) "Perspectives on Women's subordination and the role of law" in D. Kairys' (ed.) *The Politics of Law* (New York; Pantheon Books), P. 125

become pregnant. Section 124 of the Police Regulations states that:

A woman police officer who is desirous of marrying must first apply in writing to the Commissioner of Police for the state command in which she is serving requesting permission to marry and giving the name, address and occupation of the person she intends to marry. Permission will be granted if the husband is of good character and the woman police officer has served the force for a period of not less than three years (emphasis added).

There are no similar requirements for policemen who want to enlist in the force, or wish to marry after enlistment. Thus while women are subjected to 'non -marriage' as a precondition for enlistment to the police, men are not so encumbered. This is a discriminatory rule.

Section 127 of the regulation, also provided that:

An unmarried woman police officer that becomes pregnant shall be discharged from the force, and shall not be re-enlisted except with the approval of the Inspector General.

Women in Nigeria Police Force suffer gender discrimination. The areas of discrimination are posting, marriage and promotion. As regards promotion, policewomen suffer partly because of discriminatory posting. Policemen, more than policewomen, are more likely to be posted to duties where they can earn regular promotion.

Attitudes of Police Officers to Discriminatory Rules

Discrimination against policewomen is often justified on the ground that the "core police work" should not and are not done by female police officers. If officials internalize this view, then the victims may not see any need for changes in the discriminatory rules. The

interviews conducted among policewomen show that some of them resent aspects of the discriminatory rules governing marriage, and posting to certain duties and use of firearms. However, these were not in the majority.

Policemen and women were asked what they believe is the reason or justification for the rule preventing the enlistment of married women. Surprisingly, 52.9% of policemen and 49.4% of policewomen suggested that marriage would impair the competence of female police officers (table 10). Further, about 24% of male officers and 25.9% female police officers, feel that married women will be engrossed in domestic work. On the whole about 75% of the officers of both sexes suggested that marriage is a liability to policing. It is clear in this respect that the view of a woman as a 'family caretaker' is internalized, even by policewomen, a condition that may be attributed to the wider patriarchal culture. It is, therefore, not surprising that when asked whether the regulation prohibiting the enlistment of married women should be repealed, 49.5% of policemen and 57.0% of policewomen did not support its repeal (table 10).

Table10: Attitudes to discriminatory rules and practices by male and female officers

Discriminatory Rules and Practices:	Male		Female	
	%	N	%	N
1 Reasons for precluding married women from joining the NPF				
- Marriage will affect their competence	52.9	46	49.4	42
- Will be engrossed with domestic work	24.1	21	25.9	22
-Marriage has no negative impact on performance	14.9	13	21.2	18
- Others.	8.0	7	3.5	3
2. Should the law forbidding enlistment of married women be repealed				
Yes	50.5	46	43.0	37
No	49.5	45	57.0	49

	Male		Female	
	%	N	%	N
3. Do you agree with rules and procedures for policewomen seeking to marry?				
- The law is alright	79.8	75	71.6	68
- The law is unacceptable	17.0	16	23.2	22
-Has no opinion	3.2	3	5.3	5
4. Do you agree with rules forbidding policewomen from bearing arms				
Yes	41.2	40	30.5	29
No	58.8	57	69.5	66
5. Reasons for discriminatory rules and practices against women in the NPF				
- Incompetence of women	17.2	15	14.3	11
-Women are the weaker sex	55.2	48	74.0	57
-Less intelligent than men	6.9	6	1.3	1
-Not succumbing to sexual advances				

A high majority of policewomen (71.6%) and policemen (79.5%) felt that the rules relating to permission for female officers seeking to marry is all right. These high percentages (table 10) indicate that policewomen and policemen do not see the regulations as unjustified. Their attitude towards restrictions on policemen '8 use of firearms is different. Majority of policemen (58.8%) and policewomen (69.5%) disagreed with the provision. Some of the female respondents, interviewed however, felt that women should not handle guns, because it is an instrument for killing. Women, they argue cannot 'stand the sight' of blood. Many female officers interviewed also suggested that women couldn't withstand conditions requiring either proactive or reactive use of gun. A female superintendent of police in Benin argued that " women's emotions are always very high and they are weak...I wouldn't like women to carry arms". But several respondents to the unstructured interviews suggested that gender discrimination in terms of duties and use of firearms were

unwarranted because women are as capable as men in these areas if given the opportunities to perform various police duties. Yet, when asked why there is gender based discriminatory rules in Nigerian Police, nearly three quarters (74.0%) and more than one half (55.2.0/0) of policewomen and policemen respectively responded that it is because women are the 'weaker sex' (table 10).

Maternity leave provisions can affect the career progression of female employees. The provisions applicable in the Nigeria Police Force are the same as these in the federal public service. This was especially stated in Section 126 of Police Regulations. The section provided that " A married woman police officer who is pregnant may be granted maternity leave in accordance with the provisions of general orders" (a federal government instrument that regulated the conditions of service public officials). However, an "unmarried woman police officer who is pregnant shall be discharged from the force". In essence unmarried pregnant officer does not enjoy any maternity leave but rather loss of her employment/enlistment.

Were policewomen satisfied with the existing maternity leave provisions in the force? More than 88% of policemen and 79.3% of policewomen reported that the provisions were satisfactory or fairly satisfactory (table 11). Maternity leave provisions can affect the representation of women in the force, as well as the turnover rates of policewomen. As Martin reported, policewomen's high turnover rates may be "related to (1) difficulties in meshing policing with family life, and (2) inadequate light duty/pregnancy leave Policies"⁶⁶.

Table 11: Adequacy of maternity leave provisions in the NPF

Adequacy	Male		Female	
	%	N	%	N
Satisfactory	64.9	63	47.4	46
Fairly satisfactory	23.7	23	29.9	29
Unsatisfactory	6.2	6	16.5	6
Very unsatisfactory	5.2	5	6.2	6

66. Susan E. Martin (1990) *On The Move: The Status of Women in Policing* (Washington: Police Foundation) p. 48

Inter -Gender Working Relations in Nigeria Police Force

The literature on women in policing highlights the resistance of policemen towards measures designed to increase the representation of policewomen. Several researches have also reported that policewomen complained of intimidation and harassment by their male counterparts⁶¹. According to Martin:

Male resistance to women's entry into male-dominated occupations may be manifested through overt discrimination in recruitment and selection, task assignments, promotions, performance appraisals, and pay as well as through the informal culture and interaction rituals that remind women that they are unwelcome intruders. Men may show overt hostility through denial of access to necessary information, Sabotage and even physical attack⁶⁸.

In the light of the perception of policing as a masculine occupation, how well do the policemen and policewomen in the Nigeria Police Force relate to each other? The respondents were asked about their reactions to working under a superior officer of opposite sex. In a patriarchal society, male officers are expected to be uncomfortable with the prospects of working under a superior female police officer. Table 12 presents the responses of the male and female officers. As expected in a patriarchal society, policemen were less comfortable than policewomen in working under a superior police officer of opposite sex. Notwithstanding, more than three fifths of policemen (64.6%) responded that they would be comfortable with working under a superior officer of the opposite sex. Slightly higher percentage (71.6%) of women also responded that they would be comfortable working with superior male officers (table 12).

67 *ibid.* p.3 and 4-5

68. *ibid.* p.4

inter-gender relations in the police are very critical because they are structured by organizational rules as well as culturally - determined patterns of relationship between the sexes. Such relations strike at the heart of patriarchal ideology and police culture. According to Martin:

The presence of women threatens the definition of police work as men's work. Many men object to the assignment of women to patrol because they are physically smaller and weaker. Others assert that women are unreliable in a physical confrontation and inhibit men's willingness to take action. In one of the few remaining occupations in which strength and physical ability are required for the work (if only occasionally), the assignment of women to patrol implies either that the men's unique asset-physical superiority is irrelevant, or that the man working with a woman will be at a disadvantage he will not face in a confrontation if he had a male partner.⁶⁹

Some policewomen interviewed complained that their male counterparts often despise them even when they hold equivalent or superior ranks. The prefix 'woman' to qualify rank (woman-sergeant, women-inspector, and woman commissioner) by officers of the Nigerian police represents an overt despise of the status of policewomen. Thus a female officer with a rank of Commissioner is addressed as "woman Commissioner" as if the rank is substandard (see table 13). Some respondents also complained of sexual harassment, admitting, however, that it is not widespread.

Table 12: Inter- Gender Working Relations in the NPF
Reactions to opposite sex in the NPF

	Male		Female	
	%	N	%	N
Reactions to working under a boss of opposite sex				
- Very Comfortable	36.5	355	1.6	49
- Fairly Comfortable	28.1	27	20.0	19
- Uncomfortable	11.5	11	5.3	5
- Very Uncomfortable	6.3	6	3.2	3

59

⁶⁹. *ibid* p.8

Role Performance and Competence

The differential and discriminatory posting that existed in most police forces was justified on the grounds that police work is dangerous and requires strength and endurance. Women were assumed to lack these qualities for effective crime fighting. As a result, they were relegated to clerical duties and problems involving women and children. The agitation for the integration of women into patrol duties challenges the assumption and practice. A retired female Assistant Inspector General of Police argued that many women are tougher than men. She concluded that in the Nigerian Police Force, the authority refused "to train us on arms, even as senior officers. They say that you have an orderly. In times of trouble, how do you see a man with arms protecting you? He will protect himself first."⁷⁰ But as regards discrimination against women in the area of posting, a serving female Assistant Inspector General of Police argued that the practice is on the decline., According to her, duties are assigned on individual merit. She reported that:

Personally I will not say I've been restricted. I have enjoyed postings at the stations from the Inspectorate rank. I've worked in almost all sections of the force- general duties, investigations, crime prevention, and crime control. As an officer, I have worked in Administration, in training, operations in virtually every department of the Force. I've worked as a Divisional Police Officer (DPO), as Area Commander, as Commissioner of Police in Charge of Ports Authority Command. I've worked in almost every section of the Police Force⁷¹

Women in the Nigeria Police Force feel that they compete favourably with their male counterparts. However, when it comes to crime fighting duties, majority of the policewomen felt that men are better

70. Dr: Rose Abang Wushishi in fieldwork interview.

71. Mrs. F. Adebajo (A1G), fieldwork interview

at such jobs. Policemen and policewomen were asked whether they would like to undertake anti-crime patrols at night. While nearly 59% of policemen indicated interest, less than 20% of policewomen did so (table 13).

Table 13: Role Performance and Competence

Roles and Competence	Male		Female	
	%	N	%	N
1. Like to engage in anti-crime patrols at night				
Yes	58.6	58	19.6	18
No	41.4	41	80.4	74
2. Are male or female officers more competent to engage in anti-robbery operations				
Male officers	69.0	69	48.4	44
Female officers	1.0	1	3.3	3
Both male and female officers (jointly)	30.0	30	48.4	44
3. Ever assaulted a suspect				
Yes	31.6	30	15.4	14
No	68.4	55	84.6	77
4. Ever been assaulted by a suspect				
Yes	52.6	50	32.3	30
No	47.4	45	67.7	63
5. Any superiority of same rank between male and female police officers				
Yes	21.6	21	26.1	24
No	74.4	76	73.9	68

The policemen and policewomen were also asked whom among the female and male officers are more competent in anti-robbery operations. Sixty-nine (69) percent of the male officers and 48.4% of the female officers responded that male officers are more competent in that area. Significantly, however, a high percentage of both sexes indicated joint male and female patrol as effective measure in anti robbery operations. The response indicates positive attitudes towards the integration of policewomen into patrol operations (table I 3).

The officers were also asked whether they had ever assaulted a suspect. Previous researches found that men of the police force frequently assaulted suspects.⁷² Nearly 32% of the policemen and 15.4% of the policewomen admitted ever assaulting a suspect. The difference may be explained by pattern of assignment / posting and level of contacts with suspects. Policemen also reported a higher level of assault against them by suspects (table 13). There is an emerging argument in the literature that increasing involvement of Police women in crime fighting will reduce police brutality and de-emphasize paramilitary policing. It is not yet clear that this will be the case as policewomen are exposed to violent criminals and dangers that characterize 'crime fighting'. Police work engenders hostile attitudes towards criminals and also influences perceptions of violence (including use of firearms) in effecting arrest of violent criminals, and the desirability of involving Policemen in the 'together' police duties. According to Martin:

... The nature of police work that combines danger and authority has resulted in an occupation closely associated with masculinity and officers who are very reluctant to integrate women into their ranks. The mechanisms used to

72. See E.E.O. Alemika and I. Chukwuma (2000) *Police Community Violence in Ni2eria* (Lagos: CLEEN) , and M. A. Ajomo and I. E. Okagbue) Eds (1991) *Human Rights and Administration of Criminal Justice* (Lagos: NIALS).

exclude women and resist their integration into policing are similar to those identified in other occupations. They include overt hostility and harassment; denial of training opportunities; discriminatory evaluations; differential assignments and task differentiation; paternalism; sexualization and sexual harassment; the consequences of tokenism including performance pressures; informal exclusion, and encapsulation in stereotypic roles. In addition, the nature of police work means that resistance not only undermines women's job commitment, morale and self-; confidence but also on occasion, becomes life threatening.⁷³

The integration of policewomen into crime control duties and patrol as well as the increase in the representation of women in the police force must address and redefine the nature of police work and the various practices associated with policing, to make them conducive for women participation and effectiveness.

Promotions in the Ni2eria Police Force

Nigerian policemen and policewomen are very dissatisfied with promotion prospects in the force (table 14). It has been recognized that Nigerian police are poorly paid. They work under grossly inadequate conditions of service. Promotions are irregular. Often, merit is sacrificed for federal representation (federal character). These combine to engender frustration as well as widespread Corruption, indiscipline, and aggression towards the public. Nigeria needs to enhance the salary, conditions of service and working environment, and promotion prospects within the Nigeria Police Force in order to create a force that is effective, civil, accountable and disciplined. –

Table 14: Satisfaction with Promotion Prospects in the NPF

Satisfied with promotion prospects?	Male		Female	
	%	N	%	N
Yes	27.7	26	32.3	31
No	72.3	68	67.7	65

73. Susan E. Martin (1990) *op cit* pp. 8-9

Public Encounter with Police: Assessment

Police are agents of society, employed to promote security and peace by enforcing the laws of society in accordance with the values of the political system of a nation. However, in most societies, police encounter with several groups is characterized by mutual suspicion and police brutality. In Nigeria, incivility, extortion and brutality.⁷⁴ often characterize relationships between the police and the public

In this study, a sample (420) of members of the public in several parts of the country was asked of their encounter with police. They were also asked about their views on areas of competence of policemen and policewomen. Less than one half (45.3%) of the respondents reported frequent encounter with the police in the course of their daily activities (table 15). But only 12.1% reported that they never encounter the police during their routine daily tasks. Public encounter with the police is therefore fairly common. Researches in the country show that such encounters are often involuntary and occur more frequently on highways and with patrol officers⁷⁵. Patrol duties are almost the preserve of male officers in the Nigerian Police. Nonetheless, slightly less than one half (48.2%) of the respondents have observed policewomen on duty. When asked whether they think that policewomen would have done better than policemen in the task they observed them performing, 42% believed policewomen would have done better but majority (58%) did not feel so. (Table 15)

Nineteen percent of the male respondents reported frequent encounter with policewomen in daily tasks, but 48.4% reported frequent contact with policemen. Female respondents reported a higher level of encounter with policewomen, although their encounter was far more frequent with policemen. 42.5% of the

74. Alemika, E. E. O. and Chukwuma (2000) *Police Community Violence in Nigeria* (Lagos: Centre for Law Enforcement Education).

75. *ibid*

female respondents had frequent contact with policemen and 24.8% reported frequent contacts with policewomen. Most male respondents (71.5%) and female respondents (71.1%) considered the representation of women in Nigeria Police to be grossly inadequate, and supported efforts to reduce the gap.

When women respondents were asked whether policemen would have done better than policewomen in the tasks they observed the latter, 33.2% thought male officers would have done better, compared to 52.5% of male respondents who felt that male officers would have done a better job. This pattern of response indicates that female members of the public have greater confidence in the ability of their female counterparts in the force than their male counterparts have in the competence of policewomen.

Table 15: Encounter with and Rating of Police by the Public

	%	N
1. Frequency of encounter with police in daily affairs		
Very often	16.2	67
Often	29.1	120
Rarely	42.1	174
Never	12.6	52
2. Ever witnessed police activities involving women		
Yes	48.2	197
No	51.8	212
3. Do you think male officers would have done better than policewomen in those activities?		
Yes	41.9	151
No	58.1	209
4. Is it better to have policemen or policewomen handle women/children cases?		
Male officers are better	1.8	7
Female officers are better	45.1	173
Both male and female officers (jointly)	53.1	204

	%	N
5. Are male police better suited to handling women and children cases		
Yes	15.5	62
No	72.0	288
Cannot decide	12.5	50
6. Are policemen or policewomen more competent to engage in anti-robbery operations?		
Policemen	57.0	231
Policewomen	1.5	6
Both (jointly)	41.5	168

Members of the public were asked to indicate whether policemen or policewomen are better suited to (1) handling cases involving women and children, and (2) anti-robbery operations. The respondents considered policewomen to be better prepared for handling children/Juvenile matters while policemen are better in anti-robbery operations (table 15). However, in both cases, a significant proportion of the respondents indicated preference for joint team of male and female officers (table 15). The latter response indicates a public preference for greater integration of policewomen into policing as well as greater representation of women in the Nigeria Police.

Public Assessment of the Attitudes of Male and Female Officers

The public rated the attitudes of female members of the police as more satisfactory than their male counterparts. Thus only 6.8% rated policemen as gentle and understanding compared to 52.0% who rated policewomen as gentle and understanding. Overall policemen were rated as harsh and brutal and a disappointment. Paradoxically only few respondents rated both male and female officers as highly commendable (table 16). This indicates a general level of dissatisfaction with the attitudes of Nigeria Police. However, the rating of the attitudes of public officials by the Nigerian public is generally poor given the incivility, insensitivity and incompetence

often exhibited by official in their duties. Furthermore, policing is a stressful task, When undertaken in a police force, like Nigeria Police Force-characterized by poor remuneration, inadequate training, poor equipment, and inadequate manpower and funds, officials turn their frustration into aggression against the citizens who they accuse of lacking understanding and respect for law and police authority.

Table 16: Public Assessment of Attitudes of Male and Female Police Officers

Nature of activities	%	N
1. From experience describe the character of male police officers		
Gentle and understanding	6.8	26
Harsh and brutal	44.4	171
Very disappointing	39.5	152
Highly commendable	9.4	36
2. From experience describe the attitude of female police officers		
Gentle and understanding	52.0	191
Harsh and brutal	14.4	53
Very disappointing	18.8	69
Highly commendable	14.7	54

Elimination of Gender Discrimination in the Nigeria Police Force

The respondents generally supported the integration of police women into policing. They also felt that women representation in the Nigeria Police Force should be increased. However, what are their recommendations for the elimination of discrimination against women in the force? Most (83.3%) of the respondents recommended educating members of the force. Only 6.5% of the respondents recommended taking the police management to court. The latter response indicates lack of faith in the legal option as an effective measure for the elimination of discrimination against women. This is understandable given the reluctance of Nigerians to litigate, because it is seen as declaring permanent enmity. It is also understandable given the widespread impression that justice is a commodity rarely produced by Nigerian courts.

What can be done to eradicate gender discrimination in the NPF ?	%	N
Educate members of the NPF	83.3	295
Take the police management to court	6.5	23
Others	10.2	36

The data presented in this chapter indicate that policemen, policewomen and members of the public are aware of discriminatory rules and practices in the Nigeria Police Force. Police and public respondents support the integration of women into 'core policing' as well as greater representation of women in the Nigeria Police. The police officers do not support the repeal of the rules that legitimize the observed discrimination. Members of the public also suggest 'education of police management' rather than 'legal option' as an effective measure for the elimination of discrimination in the Nigeria Police Force. In the next chapter these measures and recommendations will be discussed.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study analyzes gender relations and discrimination in the Nigeria Police Force. The analysis are situated within a conceptual framework that stresses the roles of patriarchy and social relations gender as bases for social exclusion of women from power, wealth, status, employment and other welfare resources in society.

Thus, patriarchy and gender were used as 'conceptual light' to explore the focal issues and concerns of the study-representation, enlistment or recruitment, training, duties, deployment and posting of women in the force.

The relationships between men and women in most societies are structural and characterized by subordination and domination of women by men. Although the asymmetric relationship between men and women is usually justified on grounds of biological (sex) differences, the fact is that women domination by men is the result of complex cultural, religious and social construction as well as translation of biological roles into relations of superiority and inferiority. Sex differences are used to construct contrasting images of men and women to justify gender division of labour and inequality.

The differences between sex roles and gender division of labour should be appreciated by disentangling or de constructing the association that the patriarchal ideology has promoted. According to Beiton et al.:

Sex refers to the most basic biological differences .
between men and women-differences in genitals and
reproductive capacities. Gender refers on the other hand
to the culturally specific patterns of behaviour, either
actual or normative, which may be attached to the sexes.

When speaking of sexual differences, we are distinguishing between males and females; when speaking of gender, between masculine and feminine. The context of the male/female distinction is genetically determined and largely universal, the content of the masculine/feminine distinction is culturally determined and highly variable.. .most societies do prescribe different activities and characteristics for males and females; these may come to be perceived as 'natural' by the people concerned. In this way the fairly limited range of biological differences between male and female are heightened or compounded by culturally prescribed gender differences ⁷⁶

Gender differences, therefore, is a product of socio-cultural interpretations of what biological differences between males and females entail. Roles, power, status, wealth, etc are allocated on the basis of culturally constructed assumptions about the nature, characteristics and capability of women and men. Historically, roles assigned to men are accorded higher values and rewards. Men and women are then not merely different but in a relation of subordination and domination.

The structure of subordination and domination is called patriarchy .. a hierarchy of social relations and institutions in which and through which men are able to dominate women ⁷⁷.

Patriarchy is not just a cultural phenomenon. It goes beyond that and has a material base, and 'cause'. Hartman defines patriarchy as "a set of hierarchical relations which has a material base and in which there are hierarchical relations between men and in solidarity among them which enables them to control women. Patriarchy is thus the system of male oppression of women"⁷⁸. Bilton, et al. in their extension of Hartman's definition, suggest that "although it is recognized that some men are in a position to exercise more decisive

76. Bilton, T Bonneett. K.; Jones. P; stanworth. M Sheard. K, and Webster A. (1987) *Introductory Sociology* (London: MacMillan Education Ltd.), PP 148-149,

77. *ibid.* 149

78. *quoted in ibid* p. 191

Power than others, the concept of patriarchy emphasizes the benefits accruing directly to all men from the domestic, labouring, reproductive and sexual subordination of women⁷⁹

Thus representation, recruitment, training, duties, posting and regulation of women in Nigeria may be structured to the benefits of men, even if men benefit unequally from the structure-institutional rules and practices that exclude, diminish or exclude women within the Nigeria Police Force. Patriarchy and gender do not replace class analysis or other analytical categories of identities (ethnicity, race, nationality, caste, religion, linguistic minority etc). On the contrary, when these and other identities exist and exist as basis of social exclusion/inclusion they are penetrated, reconstituted and mediated by patriarchy.

Summary of findings

The analysis of the Nigeria Police Force Regulations and data on personnel strength reveal that:

1. Women are grossly under-represented in the force. Women constitute only about 4% of the force and about 8% of the officer cadre.
2. The Police Regulations limit the pool of women from which female candidates may be recruited into the force, by disqualifying married women from enlistment;
3. The Regulations discriminated against women by specifying when, who and how serving female officers may marry. There are no comparable prescriptions for male officers.
4. The Regulations discriminate against female officers by prescribing limited training and restricted sphere of posting

79. *ibid.* p 191

for policewomen. Thus female police officers are reduced to "police of women and children" instead of police officers;

5. The Regulations over-regulated the dressing of female officers and thereby curtailed their individuality.

Data were obtained through social survey on perceptions of police role, discriminatory rules and practices, gender relations, differential competence and attitudes of policemen in comparison to policewomen. Samples were drawn from policemen (107) policewomen (104) and members of the public (420) from ten states and the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria covering the six geo- political zones of the country. Analyses of the data reveal that:

1. Police officers are aware of discrimination in the Nigeria Police Force.
2. Gender and ethnic discrimination are the two most common forms.
3. Male and female police officers identified education and physical strength as the most important requirements for enlistment in the force. Female and male respondents did not consider sex and ethnicity significant considerations for enlistment respectively.
4. Male and female officers agree that discrimination against women exist in the Nigeria Police, especially in the areas of posting and marriage.
5. Police officers and members of the public felt that policewomen are more suitable for handling of issues involving children and women, thereby reproducing prevailing patriarchal ideology and stereotype on gender divisions of role or work.
6. Police officers and members of the public felt that policemen are more suitable for anti robbery operations; reproducing prevailing perceptions of policing as a masculine occupation.

7. However, police officers and the public support joint male and female officer teams as effective measures for handling issues about children and women as well as for anti –robbery operations.
8. Significant proportion of the police officers does not support the regulation prohibiting women from the use of firearms.
9. Male and female officers and the public advocate higher representation of women in the police force.
10. Majority of policemen and policewomen reported that marriage have negative impact on the competence of female police officers, and therefore felt that the regulation prohibiting the enlistment of married women is alright and need not be repealed.
11. Members of the public in the sample recommended that the education of police authority is a far more effective strategy for eliminating discrimination against women than resorting to litigation.
12. Most police officers, irrespective of sex, were disenchanted with promotion prospects in the police force.
13. Members of the public reported that policewomen were more gentle and policemen in their relationships with citizens.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In the light of the findings above, the following recommendations are proposed as framework and strategies for increasing the representation of, and eliminating discrimination against, women in the Nigeria Police Force.

- The Police Act and Regulations should be reviewed with a view to eliminating the various discriminatory provisions on enlistment of married women, duties of policewomen; discharge of unmarried pregnant women; posting, training and use of firearms and dressing by policewomen.
- There should be statutory provisions or measures to accelerate the enlistment of women into the force. The provision may include the introduction of pre-enlistment Cadet Corp in Secondary and Tertiary Institutions to attract female students into the force.
- Statutory provisions aimed at enhancing police officers' access to redress in cases of discrimination and harassment should be introduced.
- The syllabus of the police training institutions should include variety of subjects including discussions of gender relations, human rights, democratic governance and accountability, and rule of law.
- Statutory provisions should be introduced to de-emphasize police work as a paramilitary force. Community policing should be explicitly provided for in the law, and use of force should be a last resort. Police organizations should therefore, be restructured to accommodate community policing, which will enhance higher participation of women in policing, and higher representation of women in the police force.
- Police should be better funded and re-oriented towards pro-active policing. Therefore effective surveillance, adequate investigation and communication tools to prevent crimes should be used rather than resort to reactive policing which is often accompanied by the use of force and violence in enforcing law and maintaining order. This re-orientation will also accommodate greater representation and participation of women in policing.

The working environment of the police should be drastically improved in order to attract and retain highly motivated personnel and thereby attain effective and efficient policing without jeopardizing human rights and accountability.

Police facilities should be designed to take account of, and meet the special needs of female officers.

Police officers should be trained to avoid the use of sexist language in their relationships with fellow officers and the public.

The curriculum of the primary and secondary schools should incorporate subjects that orientates and socialize citizens against religious and cultural 'basis of patriarchy and gender inequalities.

The implementation of these recommendations requires political will and vision. As Bottomore suggests:

Every solution of a problem and act of policy is a political decision. It expresses the resolve of social group to maintain or change a particular way of life, and to act in accordance with certain ideals. The Sociologist may supply information, elucidate the context of problems, point to causes or conditions, indicate the advantages and costs of alternative courses of action... but in the last resort, political decisions rest upon judgment, or political wisdom, and upon interests.⁸⁰

In the light of the inertia and insensitivity of successive Nigerian governments in the area of legal reform to enhance human rights, police effectiveness and accountability, it will be necessary for civil society organizations:

80. Bottomore, T: (1962) *Sociology* (London: Allen and unwin) P.319

1. To assert pressure, through advocacy, on government, to ensure that necessary legal and policy initiatives towards increasing the representation of women in the police force and the elimination of discriminatory rules and practices in the force are introduced and implemented.

2. To monitor and research conditions, including gender relations and discrimination, within the force with a view to bringing relevant issues and concerns to the fore for resolution and thereby contribute to the development of efficient and accountable police system in the country.

3. To work in partnership with government and the police to train police officers at various stages of their career in order to (a) create and sustain police effectiveness and accountability; (b) Create conducive environment for the promotion of gender equity, and (c) promote human rights and observance of due process by police authority and police officers.

APPENDICE

CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN

**Adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly
Resolution 34/180 of December, 1979.**

ENTRY INTO FORCE: September 3, 1981, in accordance with Article 27 (1)

PART 1 Article 1

For the purposes of the present convention, the term "Discrimination Against Women" shall mean any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human right and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field.

Article 2

State parties condemn discrimination against women in all its forms, agree to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination against women and to this end undertake:

- (a) To embody the principle of the equality of men and women in their national constitutions or other appropriate legislation if not yet incorporated therein and to ensure, through law and other appropriate means, the practical realisation of this principle,

Nigeria ratified this convention in 1985

- (b) To adopt appropriate legislative and other measures, including sanctions where appropriate, prohibiting all discrimination against women;
- (c) To establish legal protection of the rights of women on an equal basis with men and to ensure through competent national tribunals and other public institutions the effective protection of women against any act of discrimination.
- (d) To refrain from engaging in any act or practice of discrimination against women and to ensure that public authorities and institutions shall act in conformity with this obligation;
- (e) To take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women by any person, organization or enterprise;
- (f) To take all appropriate measures including legislation to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women;
- (g) To repeal all national penal provisions which constitute discrimination against women.

Article 3

State parties shall take in all fields, in particular in the political, social, economic and cultural fields, all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men.

Article 4

- I. Adoption by state parties of temporary special measures aimed at accelerating de facto equality between men and women shall not be considered discrimination as defined in

the present convention, but shall in no way entail as a consequence the maintenance of unequal or separate standards; these measures shall be discontinued when the objectives of equality of opportunity and treatment have been achieved.

2. Adoption by state parties of special measures, including those measures contained in the present convention, aimed at protecting maternity shall not be considered discriminatory.

Article 5

State parties shall take appropriate measures:

- (a) To modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women;
- (b) To ensure that family education includes a proper understanding of maternity as a social function and the recognition of the common responsibility of men and women in the upbringing and development of their children, it being understood that the interest of the children is the primordial consideration in all cases.

Article 6

State parties shall take all appropriate measures, including legislation to suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution of women.

PART II

Article 7

States parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right:

- (a) To vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies.
- (b) To participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government;
- (c) To participate in non-governmental organisations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country.

Article 8

State parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure to women on equal terms with men and without any discrimination, the opportunity to represent their governments at the international level and to participate in the work of international organisations.

Article 9

1. State parties shall grant women equal rights with men to acquire, change or retain their nationality. They shall ensure in particular that neither marriage to an alien nor change of nationality by the husband during marriage shall automatically change the nationality of the wife, render her stateless or force upon her the nationality of the husband.
2. State parties shall grant women equal rights with respect to the nationality of their children.

PART III

Article 10

State parties take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure to them equal rights with men in the field of education and in particular to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women:

- (a) The same conditions for career and vocational guidance, for access to studies and for the achievement of diplomas in educational establishments of all categories in rural as well as in urban areas; this equality shall be ensured in pre-school, general, technical, professional and high technical education, as well as in all types of vocational training;
- (b) Access to the same curricular, the same examinations, teaching staff with qualifications of the same standard and school premises and equipment of the same quality;
- (c) The elimination of any stereotyped concept of the roles of men and women at all levels and in all forms of education by encouraging co-education and other types of education which will help to achieve this aim and, in particular, by the revision of textbooks and school programmes and the adaptation of teaching methods;
- (d) The same opportunities to benefit from scholarships and other study grants;
- (e) The same opportunities for access to programmes of continuing education, including adult and functional literacy programmes, particularly those aimed at reducing, at the earliest possible time, any gap in education existing between men and women;
- (f) The reduction of female drop-out rates and the organization of programmes for girls and women who have left school prematurely;
- (g) The same opportunities to participate actively in sports and physical education; and
- (h) Access to specific educational information to help to ensure the health and well being of families, including information and advice of family planning.

Article 11

1. States parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of employment in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, the same rights in particular:
 - (a) The right to work as an inalienable right of all human beings;
 - (b) The right to the same employment opportunities, including the application of the same criteria for selection in matters of employment;
 - (c) The right to free choice of profession and employment, the right to promotion, job security and all benefits and conditions of service and the right to receive vocational training and recurrent training;
 - (d) The right to equal remuneration, including benefits, and to equal treatment in respect of work of equal value, as well as equality of treatment in the evaluation of the quality of work;
 - (e) The right to social security, particularly in cases of retirement, unemployment, sickness, invalidity and old age and other incapacity to work, as well as the right to paid leave;
 - (f) The right to protection of health and to safety in working conditions including the safe-guarding of the function of reproduction.

2. In order to prevent discrimination against women on the grounds of marriage or maternity and to ensure their effective

right to work, states parties shall take appropriate measures:

- (a) To prohibit, subject to the imposition of sanctions, dismissal on the grounds of pregnancy or maternity leave and discrimination in dismissals on the basis of marital status;
 - (b) To introduce maternity leave with pay or with comparable social benefits without loss of former employment, seniority or social allowances;
 - (c) To encourage the provision of the necessary supporting social services to enable parents to combine family obligations with work responsibilities and participation in public life, in particular through promoting the establishment and development of a network of child-care facilities; and
 - (d) To provide special protection to women during pregnancy in types of work proved to be harmful to them.
3. Protective legislation relating to matters covered in this article shall be reviewed periodically in the light of scientific and technological knowledge and shall be revised, repealed or extended as necessary.

Article 12

1. States parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of health care in order to ensure on a basis of equality of men and women, access to health care services, including those related to family planning.
2. Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph 1 of this article, states parties shall ensure to women appropriate services in connection with pregnancy, confinement and the post-natal period, granting free services where necessary as well as adequate nutrition during pregnancy and lactation.

Article 13

States parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, the same rights, in particular:

- (a) The right to family benefits;
- (b) The right to bank loans, mortgages and other forms of financial credit;
- (c) The right to participate in recreational activities, sports and all aspects of cultural life.

Article 14

1. State parties shall take into account the particular problems faced by rural women and the significant roles which women play in the economic survival of their families, including their work in the non-monetised sectors of the economy, and shall take all appropriate measures to ensure the application of the provisions of the present convention to women in rural areas.
2. State parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in rural areas in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, that they participate in and benefit from rural development and, in particular, shall ensure to such women the right:
 - (a) To participate in the elaboration and implementation of development planning at all levels;
 - (b) To have access to adequate health care facilities, including information, counseling and services in family planning;
 - (c) To benefit directly from social security programmes;
 - (d) To obtain all types of training and education, formal and non-formal, including that relating to functional literacy, as well as, inter alia, the benefit of all community and extension services, in order to increase their technical proficiency;
 - (e) To organise self-help groups and co-operatives in order to obtain equal access to economic opportunities through employment or self employment;
 - (f) To participate in all community activities;

- (g) To have access to agricultural credits and loans, marketing facilities, appropriate technology and equal treatment in land and agrarian reform as well as in land resettlement schemes; and
- (h) To enjoy adequate living conditions, particularly in relation to housing, sanitation, electricity and water supply, transport and communications.

PART IV
Article 15

1. State parties shall accord to women equality with men before the law.
2. State parties shall accord to women in civil matters, a legal capacity identical to that of men and the same opportunities to exercise that capacity. In particular, they shall give women equal rights to conclude contracts and to administer property and shall treat them equally in all stages of procedure in courts and tribunals.
3. State parties agree that all contracts and all other private instruments of any kind with a legal effect which is directed at restricting the legal capacity of women shall be deemed null and void.
4. State parties shall accord to men and women the same rights with regard to the law relating to the movement of persons and freedom to choose their residence and domicile.

Article 16

1. State parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in all matters relating to marriage and family relations and in particular shall ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women:
 - (a) The same right to enter into marriage;
 - (b) The same right freely to choose a spouse and to enter into marriage only with their free and full consent;
 - (c) The same rights and responsibilities during marriage and at its dissolution;

- (d) The same rights and responsibilities as parents, irrespective of their marital status, in matters relating to their children; in all cases the interest of the child should be paramount;
 - (e) The same rights to decide freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of their children and to have; access to the information, education and means to enable them to exercise these rights; ,
 - (f) The same rights and responsibilities with regard to guardianship, warship, trusteeship and adoption of children, or similar institutions where these concepts exist in national legislation; in all ases the interests of the children shall be paramount;
 - (g) The same personal rights as husband and wife, including the right to choose a family name, a profession and an occupation; and
 - (h) The same rights for both Spouses in respect of the ownership, acquisition, management, administration, enjoyment and disposition of property, whether free of charge or for a valuable consideration.
2. The betrothal and the marriage of a child shall have no legal effect and all necessary action, including legislation, shall be taken to specify a minimum age for marriage and to make the registration of marriages in an official registry compulsory.

About CLEEN

Centre for Law Enforcement Education (CLEEN) is a non-governmental organization that promotes respect for human rights and cooperation between civil society and law enforcement agencies in the lawful discharge of their duties in Nigeria. Our priorities are pursued through research and publications, human rights education, legislative advocacy and community empowerment programmes.

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Other publications by CLEEN

- Policing Elections: A Pocket Book for Law Enforcement Officials on the Prevention and Control of Electoral Violence in Nigeria;
- Journey to Civil Rule: A Report on the Presidential Primaries in Nigeria;
- Policing a Democracy: A Survey on the Role and Functions of the Nigeria Police Force in a Post Military Era;
- Police-Community Violence in Nigeria;
- Constable Joe: A Drama Series on Police-Community Relations in Nigeria
- Juvenile Justice Administration in Nigeria: Philosophy and Practice
- Law Enforcement Review (a quarterly magazine on law enforcement in Nigeria) published since January 1998.

GENDER RELATIONS AND DISCRIMINATION IN THE NIGERIA POLICE FORCE

The poor representation and status of women in the Nigeria Police Force have become a reference point in any discourse on police transformation in Nigeria. This study analyzes gender relations and discrimination in the Nigeria Police. The analysis is situated within a conceptual framework that stresses the roles of patriarchy and social relations of gender as bases for social exclusion of women from power, wealth, status, employment and other resources in society. Thus, patriarchy and gender were used as 'conceptual light' to explore the focal issues and concerns of the study - representation, enlistment or recruitment, training, duties, deployment and posting of women in the Nigeria Police Force.

Data were obtained through analyses of Police Regulations, personnel strength and social survey on perceptions of police role, discriminatory practices, gender relations, differential competence and attitudes of policemen in comparison to policewomen. Samples were drawn from policemen, policewomen and members of the public from the six geopolitical zones that make up Nigeria. Analyses of the data reveal among other things, three striking issues:

- § Police officers are aware of discrimination in the Nigeria Police Force.
- § Gender and ethnic discrimination are the two most common forms.
- § Women are grossly under-represented in the police, as they constitute only about 4% of the total population and about 8% of the officer cadre.

The study recommends that deliberate efforts, including affirmative action, should be introduced to attract and maintain a large number of women in the Nigeria Police Force. Police work should be made more attractive to female officers. The Police should emphasise proactive policing strategies including beat (foot) patrol and community policing. Such strategies should pay more attention to surveillance, intelligence gathering and police-community partnerships. These strategies, apart from promoting preventive policing, offer greater scope for participation of women in policing rather than the present emphasis on reactive policing, which is often characterised by a 'theatre of violence'



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