

**UNEQUAL EQUALS: THE CHALLENGE OF PATRIARCHY AND GENDER
INEQUALITY IN THE NIGERIA POLICE FORCE, 1955 – 2020**

Bright Joseph Njoku

Department of History and Strategic Studies, University of Lagos, Nigeria

njokubrightjoe@gmail.com

Abstract

Patriarchal culture and its attendant social inequalities are well entrenched in Nigerian society. Essentialised by cultural and social-driven norms, it sustains a male-dominated power structure where women, largely disempowered, are relegated to the societal background. With the entry of women into paid employment and especially, their enlistment into occupations traditionally dominated by men, patriarchal social order also crept into workplaces. Though discourse on gender relations in Nigeria has become a key topic in contemporary scholarship, works on gender discrimination in workplaces, particularly in the police are few and far between. Building on primary and secondary sources, this paper explores the nature, extent, and consequences of the ubiquitous patriarchal culture in the Nigeria Police Force. The paper argues that patriarchal-driven inequality and gender discrimination against women is well-established in the Nigeria Police Force (NPF). Findings reveal that, concretized by the Police Act, gender inequality within the force is engendered by recruitment policy, posting, promotion, and administrative structure that are unfavourably skewed against women. These discriminatory practices are taking place despite the provisions of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, and international conventions on elimination of gender discrimination endorsed by Nigeria. The research adopts the hegemonic masculinity theory as a theoretical model. It concludes that pervasive gender imbalance in the system is both dehumanising and demoralising to women serving in the Force. It recommends that increased enlistment into, and progression of women to advanced police ranks through the eradication of all gender-based obstacles will help the police fulfil its core mandate of enforcing law and security provision.

Keywords: Gender Discrimination, Gender Inequality, Gender Imbalance, Nigeria Police Force, Patriarchy, Policewomen

Introduction

Demographically, women constitute half of humanity. Yet millennia of human evolution are often presented with little room for women's roles. Instead, social construction and presentation of the lives of men as the overall content of human history have been built (Perez, 2020). So, widely practiced patriarchal culture has produced a world modelled around male existence. Thus, patriarchal imposed norms and gender discrimination have been

recognised globally as having had enormous limitations on women's rights and advancement. In many countries, especially in the Global South, gender discrimination against women has remained a constant phenomenon despite decades of continuing campaigns to promote mainstreaming in gender relations. In Nigeria, discrimination against women has assumed a painful and persistent feature that resonates around economic, cultural, social, religious and political inequalities that define the Nigerian social structure. The reality of this context is mirrored by the domination and oppression women face in all spheres of life. In this connection, under the authority of male dominance, women have become socially configured and confined to matrimony, childbearing and sundry family duties.

Essentially, three important examples - in traditional and constitutional levels – typify the infamously notorious state of gender discrimination against women that has become an unpalatable norm in Nigeria. First, in several Nigerian sub-cultures, female adultery is believed to attract severe punishment and consequences from the ‘gods.’ This includes the possible death of one’s children or husband or could bring more severe calamitous doom upon an entire family. But men neither face such cultural restrictions on adultery nor have any consequences prescribed despite ample evidence of widespread male infidelity (Para-Mallam, 2010). Relatedly, the Nigerian Constitution forbade the conferment of citizenship on foreign-born husbands married to Nigerian women but grants automatic citizenship to foreign-born wives of Nigerian men (Adetayo, 2022). Besides, across several social settings, with slight variation from culture to culture, women are generally marginalized or completely denied rights of inheritance in deceased persons’ estate. This exclusion is often premised on the fact that their membership in the family is temporal since they will move out when they get married (Salaam, 2003; Kennedy & Eremie, 2016; Nmadu, 2000; Makama, 2013). These social distinctions, restrictive practices, norms and statutory limitations engender male domination and female subordination that have now migrated into the workplace where women are treated, largely, as inconsequential appendages.

Though more women are now entering into traditional male-dominated workforce across the world, this has not translated to an increased number of women managers in spite of their being qualified professionally and competent (Pillai, Prasad & Thomas, 2011; Akpinar-Sposito, 2013). In like manner, there has been a progressive increase in the enlistment of women into the Nigeria Police since the first set of women officers were recruited in 1955. Despite this major improvement, many challenges remained. Policewomen, unlike their male counterparts, have endured widespread workplace discrimination legally reinforced by the obnoxious Police Act. Scholars have therefore drawn attention to gender-based oppressive practices within the force that manifest across several levels. Consequently, despite sterling performance and academic qualification, policewomen are in distinct minority at the more advanced ranks. As such, no policewoman has ever risen to the position of Inspector General of Police.

To demonstrate this ubiquitous reality, this article unpacks the range of gender discriminatory practices in the Nigeria Police Force using a combination of extant literature and interviews elicited from serving and retired policewomen. The article is organized as follows. First, an introduction highlights the fundamental issues underpinning the deeply patriarchal culture in Nigeria and how its social normalisation has crept into workplaces such as the Nigeria Police. With a focus on how women broke stereotypical limitations, the article then discusses the unique contribution of Nigerian women to national development across several eras. Moreso, to anchor the paper on a theoretical footing, I outline the key principles of Hegemonic Stability Theory and highlighted the contextual conditions inherent in male-centric societies such as Nigeria. After the analysis of the establishment of the police force and the eventual enlistment of women, I then presented the discussion on discrimination

against women in the Nigeria police. These are discussed in the light of the Police Act at the root of limitations and constraints policewomen face in their careers.

Literature Review and Theoretical Underpinning

Like in most African social settings, gender-based discrimination, impacted by historical, religious, economic, and social influences, is still a dominant philosophy in some Nigerian societies Ward, (1999); Mensah, (2021) where women's roles are underlined by extensive cultural-ordered domesticity. This suggests that women are at the receiving end of the synthesised traditional and colonial modelled gender-based disparities where patriarchal domination is a defacto reality. This process can be shaped by the interplay of contemporary institutional norms, as well as the overlapping influence of culture and tradition.

Theories on gender relations are numerous and they have presented some of the most enduring models of patriarchal oppression and gender discrimination, especially in developing countries. Theoretically, this paper builds on **the Hegemonic Masculinity Theory**. This theoretical model offers us an excellent vantage-point for the understanding of issues underlying not only the longstanding gendered domination of women in Nigeria's political, cultural and socioeconomic milieu but also the workplace subordination of women that has become the norm in the Nigeria Police Force.

Hegemonic Masculinity Theory and Gender Inequality in Nigeria

In the early 1980s, the works of Kessler et al. (1982); Connell (1982); Connell (1983), set in motion the process that led to the emergence of Hegemonic Masculinity as a theoretical model. Connell, Raewyn (1944 -) is credited with being its originator. These earliest efforts were further articulated and concretised by Carrigan, Connell, and Lee (1985) in the article, *Towards a New Sociology of Masculinity*. In subsequent studies, Connell, (1983; 1987; 1995; 2000) and Connell & Messerschmidt (2005), Connell further refined Hegemonic Masculinity making it a major anchor in gender discourse and studies across several academic fields.

HMT expresses the social system that perpetuation gender inequality, the domination of men over women. One of the clearest conceptualisation of the theory explains it as a collection:

...of values, established by men in power that functions to include and exclude, and to organize society in gender unequal ways. It combines several features: a hierarchy of masculinities, differential access among men to power...and the interplay between men's identity, men's ideals, interactions, power, and patriarchy (Jewkes & Morrell 2012: 40)

Fundamentally, HMT happens in a gender system with socially sustained practice of male dominance. This social construction provides justification for the attendant inequalities it breeds. It highlights the patriarchal thought that "males are...superior to everything...especially females, and endowed with the right to dominate and rule over the weak and to maintain that domination through various forms of psychological terrorism and violence" (Hooks, 2004: 18). This practice and mindset, Connell argues, is responsible for "institutionalise men's dominance over women" (Connell, 1987: 184). As evidenced by unequal expectations, resentment, discrimination, uneven pay for equivalent work, glass-ceiling at workplaces, as well as exploitation and violations, male dominance rob women of self-worth. These levels of domination by men are preserved in significant levels: state-owned institutions, the government, private corporations, critical national security

organisations, traditional institutions, religious bodies and social structures that illuminate masculine values (Martin 1990). Corroborating this viewpoint, Soman, (2009) avers that male dominance of choice positions in public and private spheres has confined women to lower-level roles such as typists, cleaners, receptionists and lunchroom keepers. Osibanjo et al, (2013) attribute the dominance of top managerial levels in private and public organisation in Nigeria by men to the pessimistic and cynical perception of women's managerial competencies and a tradition of inherent ability "prejudiced in favour of men." It thus follows that the more dominated women are in public and private spheres, the more male-centric space, power, prestige, and privileges that accrue to the institution of patriarchy. To sustain this social system and power structure, the confinement of women to peripheral roles becomes a priority for men occupying higher echelons of organisational power.

Other literature such as the works of Cockburn, Carrigan, Lichterman amongst others emphasises the socially sustained nature of male dominance over women. Clearly, this entails the magnification of the dominance and oppression of women by a social structure set and dominated by men. Para-Mallam aptly contends that hegemonic masculinity thrives on the threshold of unyielding patriarchal ordering that split gender roles between male and female on the basis of male toughness and women's weakness (Para-Mallam, 2010). Ogunyemi (1996) and Alemika (2001) rightly situate hegemonic masculinity at the root of gender-based violence faced by women in Nigeria. This domineering attitude born out of social distinctions that recognise male superiority, engenders inequality (Jaiyeola & Aladegbola, 2020). Connell recognises the exclusion and oppression of women enabled by institutions or patriarchal cultural practices as fundamental to hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2005). McIntosh links the root of gender discrimination that shapes hegemonic masculinity in Africa to the tradition of the Victorian middle-class introduced to the continent through colonialism (McIntosh, 2013). This was complemented by existing traditional patriarchal models indigenous to Africa.

Basically, hegemonic masculinity manifests in diverse ways. Beyond subjecting women to the peripheral and constrained social, economic and political limits, it elevates the notion that women are not to be reckoned with in big decision making (Donaldson, 1993). This restricted social system ensures that women do not progress up the social ladder despite their inherent ability (Para-Mallam, 2010). Carrigan, Connell, Lee, and Donaldson, (1993) aptly construct how hegemonic masculinity enables a vast generality of men to derive benefit (directly or indirectly) from masculine dominance. Their natural reaction is therefore to encourage a social system that does not only sustain male dominance but also perpetuates inequality. Moha (2016) agrees that social relation between male and female is characterised by inequality with women at the receiving end.

Likewise, notwithstanding recent progress in diversity in several organisations in different parts of the world, Lyness and Thompson (2000) reveal that to climb the managerial ladder, women often have to put in extra effort than their male counterparts. Even at that, many men still resent their female bosses for the sake of their gender. This viewpoint reflects the phenomenon of gender insensitivity (Akpinar-Sposito, 2013).

Beyond outright discrimination which is indeed unarguable, Adeboye argues that many factors are indeed responsible for the low representation of women in certain career paths and at the top of many professions. One possibility, she contends, is the outcome of years of low enrolment of women in higher education and the social conscientization of women that their place is in the kitchen and 'the other room.' This has led to few women qualifying for and getting into demanding career paths, with even fewer making it to advanced positions (O. Adeboye, personal communication, Jan. 12, 2022).¹ This is

¹ Adeboye is a professor of History and the current Dean Faculty of Arts at the University of Lagos.

corroborated by the submission of Adeyemi and Akpotu, (2004) who contend that only one girl is enrolled in the university for every five Nigerian boys.

Against the foregoing analysis, it becomes clearer that hegemonic masculinity intersects with the entire spectrum of discrimination in workplaces in Nigeria, particularly in occupations traditionally dominated by men. Hence the sustained institutional resentment to women's enlistment, posting, marriage and career progression, evident in the Nigeria Police Force is a basic trait of hegemonic masculinity in Nigeria. This patriarchal oppression is underlined by the flawed notion of sex roles and masculine superiority. Decades of conformity to the dictates of the men-centric police system in Nigeria have pushed policewomen further down the subordinate position. It is worth noting that in the Nigeria police, discrimination against women severely impacts their motivation, commitment, and passion, as well as their career growth and progression.

An integral part of discrimination against policewomen is their exclusion from duties considered to be too strenuous for women such as arm drilling, patrol and quelling riots. This agrees with the argument of the proponents of hegemonic masculinity that while masculinity is associated with strength, women are presented as weak creatures that need to be covered by men.

As a result of the renewed interest in gender studies, the theorisation of gender inequality and its interconnected issues have continued to generate and integrate new perspectives. Hence, in spite of its applicability in the past decades, HMT has also been criticised by some scholars. For instance, Hearn (1996, 2004), Collier (1998), Petersen (1998, 2003) amongst other critics argue that hegemonic masculinity has a vague meaning and conflicting reality. Similarly, Martin (1998); Whitehead (1998, 58; 2002, 93) criticizes hegemonic masculinity for receiving conflicting application and being unclear over who "a hegemonically masculine man" is. Still, Holier (2003) argues that hegemonic masculinity stands on the fulcrum of women's "experience." Nonetheless, HMT has helped in explaining men's power and dominance over women Jewkes, (2015) and here provides the conceptual foundation for our understanding of gender discrimination in the Nigeria Police Force.

Contribution of Women to National Development

Whether in the public or private sphere, women's contributions have been incredibly important to the development of Nigeria in several crucial areas. In spite of the longstanding regime of social exclusion and workplace discrimination, Nigerian women across several eras, have eked their names in gold, and formed an integral part of the elite club of Nigeria's history makers. Whether in politics, education, medicine, law, agriculture, engineering, trade, science and technology, the military, activism and other fields traditionally seen as male-dominated, women across several generations have broken the stereotypical ceiling of being only good enough for the 'kitchen' and "the other room" to become trailblazers.

In recent times, Dora Akunyili, Folake Solanke (SAN), Ngozi Okonji-Iweala, Prof. Grace Alele-Williams, Virginia Etiaba, Flora Nwapa, Elizabeth Abimbola Awoliyi, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, Laila Dogoyaro, Chioma Ajunwa, among several others have anchored incredibly important roles in diverse fields of endeavour, excelled and earned local and global recognitions. President Buhari recently acknowledged this role when he praised "the immeasurable contributions of the Nigerian woman to national development and advancement of democracy, over the...years," (Olawoyin, 2018). In the much-distanced past, women had a remarkable impact on several aspects of their societies. One famous example often illustrated by scholars is the legendary Queen Amina of Zazzau. Her incredible military prowess to a large extent accounted for the expansion of Zazzau at the turn of the sixteenth

and seventeenth centuries (Okonjo, 1983; Jones, 2000: 84; Alemika & Agugua, 2001; Commire & Klezmer, 2002).

Other legendary women such as; Oyikan Morenike, Omo-Oba Adenrele Ademola, Margaret Ekpo, Princess Moremi Ajasoro, Mama Ekundayo, Hajia Gambo Sawaba, Ladi Kwali, Emotan of Benin, Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti amongst others demonstrated unusual strength and wisdom in influencing the economic, religion and socio-political developments in their eras (Osibanjo, Iyiola, Adeniji, 2013; McIntosh, 2013). With regard to social and political activism, Nigerian women were not outdone by their male counterparts. Notable women such as Madam Udo Udoma, Margaret Ekpo, Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti and Kofo Ademola earned outstanding reputations for leading various civil movements and dissents that not only challenged exploitative and inhuman colonial policies but engineered part of the political struggles that eventually gave birth to independence.

In socio-economic terms, women undertook activities that, almost placed them in the same length as men, and made varied contributions to their homes and the society at large. These women did not only discharge their domestic duties, but also took an active part in farming, trading, craftworks (such as bead-making, mat weaving, soap making, beer brewing, and vegetable oil processing) and full-time wage labour. For example, women in Yorubaland engaged in harvesting, transportation, processing and selling of farm produce as well as processed raw foodstuffs in local and distanced markets (Johnson, 1960). Talented women, aided by slaves, were involved in active long-distance trading that could stretch as far as the Atlantic coast. Items of trade comprised crafts, manufactured goods, palm oil and others (McIntosh, 2013). These roles empowered the women to play additional roles in political (created or controlled kingdoms), religious (undertook various rites for the benefit of families and communities) and social spheres (Sudarkasa, 1973; McIntosh, 2013).

However, the existing cultural, religious and economic pattern was disrupted by the coming of colonialism in the nineteenth century. This disruption also upended women's place in society. Put differently, colonialism subjected the role of women to several changes resulting in their loss of authority and power. The introduction of indirect rule and the economic order that prioritised cash cropping made the male chiefs the exclusive link between Europeans and the people. Men interfaced with the colonialists in governance, the collection of taxation, and the distribution of cash crops (rubber, cocoa, groundnuts, and palm oil) (Bowen, 1969; Sudarkasa, 1973; Shokpeka & Nwaokocha, 2009; Falola & Adebayo, 2000). This pushed women into the shadows, forcing them to work in the informal sector. In addition, land commercialization, which replaced the traditional land-tenure systems, also placed women at a grave disadvantage (Adekanye, 1987). Scholars believe that these events in history masterminded the descent of Nigerian women into the abyss of male dominance, abuse and patriarchal oppression much more than they ever faced under the pre-colonial system (McIntosh, 2009).

It is pertinent to note that in spite of the remarkable contributions to society in the contemporary era, imbalance in gender relations and the categorisation of women as 'weak and inferior' has not abated. Women are constantly on the receiving end of societal abuse.

Background to the Establishment of the Nigeria Police Force and the Eventual Enlistment of Women

Modern policing in Nigeria emerged on the strength of its development elsewhere in the world. Indeed, an analysis of the emergence of human society has shown that the security of lives and properties has been of paramount importance to all societies, whether ancient, medieval or modern. In traditional and medieval societies, security needs were met traditionally through communally organised arrangements characterised by collective

responsibility. Communities developed a broad range of safety procedures, involving all male adults, which either prevented crimes or brought offenders to book. Policing in that era unfolded under the concept of policing by all and for all.

In the traditional Nigerian societies, the prevention and detection of crime was based on varied indigenous methods in which the maintenance of law and order was seen as everybody's business. Literature has established that traditional institutions and structured social organisation upheld law and order (Ikime, 1980; Tamuno, 1993; Okonkwo, et al, 2019). In general, indigenous institutions such as age groups, traditional cult organizations, and palace guards took charge of crime control.

In the northern part of Nigeria where social cohesion brought households and communities in close contact, the maintenance of law and order was entrusted in the hands of every male adult, but spearheaded by hunters. There was a complete absence of women in security arrangements due to the religious and cultural position of womenfolk in the north. Under the emirate system, the provision of security was composed of different levels by coordinated units involving family, ward, village and district heads working in synergy with Dogarai (Emirs personal Body Guards). The situation in Eastern Nigeria was similar in outlook but much organised and centralised. The leopard society (also known as *Ekpe*), though initially charged with religious duties, the changing social and economic dynamics brought about by the capitalist wealth of trans-Atlantic trade saw it become involved in the maintenance of law and order in the pre-colonial era. It was consequently adopted by the Efik of Calabar, Igbo and Ibibio and as far as the Cameroonian province of Bulundu and Mbo which had extensive trade links with Calabar (Talbot, 1969; Anwana, 2009; Ayami, 2019). Moreover, the provision of security formed a central theme in traditional Yorubaland. Scholars have traced its success to the socio-political structure of that era where all members of the society were key stakeholders. Whilst members of the society provided intelligent reports, dedicated chiefs acted upon such reports in an arrangement that is based on mutual social responsibility (Daniels, 2015). It is obvious that the provision of security in traditional Nigerian societies, though varied from one culture to the other, was centralised. Another prominent feature was the none involvement of women.

The emergence of the state system, birthed in 1648 following the Westphalia Treaty changed the dynamic. The task of guaranteeing the safety of life and property became a paramount responsibility for states. The need to fulfil this core mandate masterminded the emergence of specialised policing system. It is important to note that while a broad range of civilisations, empires and kingdoms; ancient Rome, Egypt, ancient Greece, and England, all made notable contributions to the emergence of the police system, nonetheless, the inception of the modern police force is traceable to a reform which began in France. First, via a succession of edits proclaimed by King Francis I between 1536 and 1544, and finalised in 1666 under King Louis XIV (Caparini & Marenin, 2004). The reorganisation of the policing system resulted in the appointment of a magistrate, Nicolas de La Reynie in 1667, as the first lieutenant of police in France. In the passage of time, England, Austria, Italy, Germany and other European countries followed the French model. It's noteworthy that the complete exclusion of women was a major feature of the police system in its early days.

The establishment of colonialism and the desire of the metropole to protect all institutions and activities related to it necessitated the establishment of a coercive and protective force in Nigeria. Thus, policing gradually passed to the British from the local chiefs. During this period, the police institution was based on British laws. Scholars have linked the establishment of a colonial-controlled police system to the need to protect British commercial interests, eradicate the slave trade by stubborn local chiefs and the maintenance of law and order for the preservation of colonial authority (Ahire, 1991; Tamuno, et al, 1993; Nwolise, 2012; Madubuike-Ekwe, & Obayemi, 2019).

For these purposes, William McCoskry, who acted as the Governor of Lagos following its annexation in 1861 set up the Lagos Police Force also known as Hausa constabulary. As prevailing in many parts of the world, women were not considered good enough for recruitment into the Nigeria Police. However, the increased global advocacy for women's representation in diverse occupations also found expression in Nigeria. This intensified in the early 1900s. The argument of parliamentarians and women's rights groups held that women police officers would be better suited to handle female crimes including prostitution which were increasing by the day. This demand would later be granted when the first set of 20 female police officers (from Eastern and Western regions) graduated from the academy in 1956 (Ahire, 1991; Tamuno, et al, 1993; Okoronkwo, 2007). Over the years, more women have been employed in the Nigerian Police Force. Despite this, available records show that, unlike their male counterparts, policewomen rarely make the same career progression and face certain gender-based discrimination in the workplace.

Patriarchal norms and Gender Discrimination against Women in the Nigeria Police

From the beginning of modern society and across several cultures, patriarchal-ordered gender relations have designed distinct forms of social, political, economic and cultural roles for men and womenfolk. These irreversible roles reinforce a socially constructed division of labour that prescribed certain occupations – from those requiring physicality and enduring strength to high-income yielding and reputational-positive –as best suited for men (Martin, 1980; Alemika & Agugua, 2001). This assumption is a reflection of the argument that women are weak, have less physical strength and lack the untiring energy required in handling tasking duties such as policing (handling wild and aggressive criminals) Iyamabo, (1993).

Across the world, scholars have found the existence of a significant gap in gender relations across a variety of occupational settings, including law enforcement. At the global level, a large body of literature Martin, (1980); Chang, (1999); Boogaard, & Roggeband, (2010); Channar, Abbassi, & Ujan, (2011); Prenzler, & Sinclair, (2013); Luo, Schleifer, & Hill, (2013); Plickert, & Sterling, (2017); Kalev, & Deutsch, (2018) have highlighted workplace discrimination against women, particularly in the Police. In their study on gender inequality in the Dutch Police, Boogaard, & Roggeband, (2010) theorised structural and agency-enabled discrimination against policewomen in the Dutch police. In another study, Chang, (1999) found that discrimination against policewomen obstructs their work and progress. In a related study, Luo et al describe the income disparity inherent in police departments in several countries. This account indeed shows that inequality in police in many countries manifests in several forms. Martin's work on the condition of policewomen in the United States reveals the complex stereotypical and masculine-dominated work environment policewomen work in, even in developed democracies. She further observed that policewomen are confronted with:

...psychological pressure and often expends much energy attaining satisfactory relationships at work...she is under great pressure to perform and allowed less margin for error than her fellow male police officers. Because of these problems, many policewomen do not perform as well as male patrol officers (Martin, 1980: 84).

This is taking place despite ample evidence that women's enlistment in male-dominated occupations presents opportunities for fairness, gender inclusivity and helps reinforces effective public services (Lunneborg, 1989; United Nations, 2009). The situation in Nigeria does not only mirror the description above but presents a more complex case of workplace gender disparity. The Police institution in Nigeria is shaped by a

range of patriarchal practices which expressly discriminate, dehumanise and ensure patriarchal control of men over policewomen. Using available data, this section documents the glaring issues of discrimination against women in the Nigeria Police Force. It posits that through recruitment policy, posting, promotion, and administrative structure, which resonates with the obnoxious provisions of the Police Act, the Nigeria Police is hostile and institutionally discriminatory towards policewomen. Therefore, women's integration into the Police has been regrettably slow. Adeboye links the poor representation and position of women in the police to the expression of patriarchal ideology that pervades the Nigerian socio-political and economic milieu.

The work experience of ten policewomen (serving and retired and of various ranks) who I interviewed, illustrates the nature of imbalance that characterise gender relations in the Nigeria police: Precious, Abimbola, Adenike, Nkiruka, Eno, Ngozika, Sadiat, Ogechi, Ibinabo and Blessing.² To demonstrate the level of patriarchal dominance that pervades the police system, I recount in a few words the lived experiences of five of these policewomen.

Precious, joined the police at the age of 21 after her secondary school education in Calabar, South-South Nigeria. She recounts how hiring officials prioritised masculinity. Stating that women who want to succeed in the police must brace up and 'act' like men. She describes the ratio of male to female intake during her recruitment as 80/20. Abimbola is a middle-aged policewoman from Ogun State who enlisted in the police over two decades ago. She recounts how gender role mentality within the force restricts her to clerical duties, working with juveniles and female suspects and other related duties she may be drafted to handle from time to time. Unlike Abimbola, her male contemporaries are able to gain regular promotion and advance ranks through visibility, which patrol and belonging to the anti-robbery squad for example accord them. Adenike is a single policewoman from one of the south-western states who joined the police as a result of limited job opportunities in the country. Amongst other acts of masculine dominance she is often faced with at work, she singles out sexual harassment and uncomfortable sexist compliments from male colleagues as the most annoying. She explained, that she is often complemented with 'see as your fine waist dey shake for uniform (look how your beautiful waist shakes in your uniform).' Sadiat hails from one of the north-western states in Nigeria and joined the police as an Assistant Superintendent of Police (ASP) after her youth service. She recounts the challenging task of getting the police authority to accept her choice of partner for marriage. Nkiruka retired from the police years back. She describes the difficult working relationship she had with most of her male colleagues who resented and sexually harassed her. These true-life experiences exemplify the intrinsic gender inequality and discrimination that characterizes law enforcement in Nigeria.

In the first instance, it is important to emphasize that the Police Act, a legal instrument that guides the operation of the police in Nigeria (particularly Sections 124, 127, 128), is at the root of gender discrimination against women that pervade the police. By way of example, the Police Act establishes discriminatory admission criteria for would-be policewomen in the recruitment process. Whilst Section 118(a) and (g) of the Act stipulates that a woman entrant into the Nigeria Police Force must be at least nineteen years old and not more than twenty-five years old, Section 72 (2) (a), conversely establishes a minimum entry age of seventeen years and a maximum age of twenty-five years for males (Nigeria Police Act, 1990: 23). The conclusion that can be drawn here is that male candidates have the

² Except otherwise stated, all names used are pseudo although they are real stories of serving and retired policewomen.

opportunity of enlisting early, two years ahead of female applicants despite the fact that biologically, women are known to develop early than men.

Men and women require the same educational qualification for enlistment Oluwafemi, (2019), but the prioritisation of physical strength and masculine toughness over other criteria during recruitment has meant that few women naturally get enlisted into Nigeria Police Force. On this point, Precious remarked that in spite of the general excellent performance of women during police recruitment examination, more men are hired for the sake of their physicality and toughness. This unfair practice, by implication, denies the police force and the nation the services of the most qualified candidates. This also accounts for the general low representation of women in the police. Though no up-to-date statistics on gender composition in the Nigeria Police exists, however a 2001 study by Alemika and Agugua tells a story of its complete domination by men. The study illustrates that women accounted for only 4% and 8% of the overall police population and officers in that order. In hierarchical terms, the study reveals that there were 5% and 12.9% senior female police officers and junior female police officers respectively (Alemika & Agugua, 2001).

Furthermore, the police duties legally assigned to policewomen signpost the expression of patriarchal ideology and masculine dominance which traditionally consigns women to domesticity roles. In line with the Police Act, and what Taub and Schneider describe as a “Separate –sphere” ideology that visibly set out duties open to women, gender role expectations in the police restrict Nigerian policewomen to specific duties. This ultimately limits their chance of being promoted as often as their male counterparts. According to the provisions of section 121 of the Police Act and ‘Police Schedule of Duties’:

Women police officers shall as a general rule, be employed on duties which are connected with women and children, and shall be particularly employed in...cases of sexual offences committed against women and children; recording of statements from female witnesses and female accused persons and from children; attendance when women or children are being interviewed by male police officers; the searching, escorting and guarding of women prisoners in police stations, and the escorting of women prisoners to or from police stations; School crossing duties; and Crowd control, where women and children are present in any numbers (Police Act and Regulations, 2007: 123; Police Schedule of Duties, 2000: 42).

Similarly, section 122 of the Police Act added that:

...women police officers recruited to the general employ duties branch of the force may in order to relieve male or women 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 (Police Act and Regulations, 2007: 123).

In addition, unlike their male counterparts, women are not trained in arms handling in Nigeria Police training schools. This is consistent with Section 123 of the Police Regulations, which stipulate that ‘A woman police officer shall not be called upon to drill underarms or to take part in any baton or riot exercise.’ As many sections of the Act, this runs contrary to modern realities and international best practices where policewomen take part in drillings and other weapon handling training to equip them for the difficult tasks of policing. In clear terms, therefore, policewomen in Nigeria are not considered capable of undertaking major police duties. An important question to ask therefore is how can policewomen compete with

their male counterparts if they are not allowed to drill, participate in any baton practice, bear arms, calm riots, and perform several other activities performed by officers, on which they are routinely promoted? As a result, male and female recruits who join the police force with the same qualifications and at the same time are unlikely to be assigned the same rank after a few years. This practice corroborates the true-life experience of Abimbola on gender roles in the Nigeria police. She said, “most of the male officers I enlisted with have all gone ahead of me in rank because they are deployed to duties that make them visible and relevant, which made promotion quite simple.” This also gives credence to the works of scholars such as Martin, (1980); Alemika & Agugua, (2001); Oluwafemi, (2019, who have documented the prevalence of gender roles that limit women’s progress in the police force.

Moreso, literature on women in policing have also highlighted other sections of the Police Act and practices that point to a deep patriarchal ideology in the Nigeria Police. For instance, the restriction on married women’s enlistment into the force and the requirement that ‘single’ women officers intending to get married must first seek the permission of the Commissioner of Police in their state of deployment before marrying a man of their choice, signifies outright gender abuse and discrimination (Alemika & Agugua, 2001). Permission for marriage will only be granted if the intended husband passes a test of character assessment. The women must have also served for at least three years in the police (Police Act and Regulations, 2007). This requirement, has, therefore, been argued to be most discriminatory considering that the Act did not stipulate similar requirements either for married men intending to enlist into the force or serving policemen (Alemika & Agugua, 2001). The reason that has been adduced for this provision is the need to prevent women police from marrying a man with a criminal background who can then leverage his wife’s position to promote his criminality. The question that arises therefore is what if a policeman marries a woman with criminal proclivity? The likely answer from patriarchates will be that the man can put a check on his wife’s activities ‘as the man of the house.’ This logic reinforces the patriarchal ideology that assumes men control over women.

The table below points out requirements for recruitment (outside formal education) in which the dissimilar provisions on the subject of age and marital status for men and women can be seen.

Table 1: Requirements for Enlistment as a Constable

S/N	Requirements	Male	Female
1	Age	17 – 25 years	19 – 25 years
2	Height	Not less than 1.67 meters	Not less than 1.65 meters
3	Physical fitness	Certified by a government medical officer as mentally and physically fit for police service	Certified by a government medical officer as not being pregnant and as being physically and mentally fit.
4	Character	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).	Same as for Male

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

Source: Compiled by the author from provisions set out in sections 72 and 118 of police regulation for male and female respectively.

There is also the issue of discrimination in promotion and dressing. Discrimination in promotion has been attributed partly to discriminatory posting which restricts women to duties where they are hardly noticed nor rewarded. Abimbola, Ibinabo and Eno all alluded to the fact that discriminatory posting ensured they were excluded from sensitive duties and thus did not earn regular promotion in comparison to men. This has led to the suggestion that policewomen are generally 'professionally unfulfilled' given their exclusion from duties they could naturally perform well (Alemika & Agugua, 2001). In addition, there has been wide condemnation of police regulations on women's dressing. Though it is a common tradition for security agencies in Nigeria (including the police) to regulate dressing for men and women. For example, men are not permitted to grow a beard. But the extensive regulations for women which prohibits or regulate the use of face powder, nail polish, lipstick, jewelry, and hairstyle, has been seen as a measure of patriarchal control.

In line with the foregoing analysis, it subsists, therefore, that discriminatory promotion pattern in the police that is skewed against women has affected women's progression to top positions in the police. Not only is a woman yet to head the police more than 60 years after independence, but most vital roles are seen as the preserve of men. In the contemporary era, a review of the police top hierarchy presents an almost conspicuous absence of women. The table below illustrates this horrific dichotomous discrimination.

Table 2: Showing Gender Composition of Top Cadre of the Nigeria Police Force as at 2020

S/N	Posting	Rank	Male	Female	Total
1	Inspector General of Police	Inspector General of Police (IGP)	1	0	1
2	Force Management Team	Deputy Inspector General of Police (DIGP)	9	0	9
3	Zonal Commands	Assistant Inspector General of Police (AIGP)	17	0	17
4	Police Department/Formations	Assistant Inspector General of Police (AIGP)	20	0	20
5	CPs in other Police Dept/Formations	Commissioner of Police (CP)	38	7	45

5	State Commissioner of Police	Commissioner of Police (CP)	35	2	37
6	Force Animal Medical	Commissioner of Police (CP)	0	1	1
			120	10	130

Source: Compiled by the author from Nigeria Police Website: [https://www. Npf.gov.ng](https://www.Npf.gov.ng)

An analysis of table two reveals a complete dominance of the police top hierarchy by men. First, discrimination against women in recruitment, posting and promotion makes them unavailable at the top hierarchy from where appointments are usually made. Second, only at the level of Commissioner of Police are women considered. 7 out of 45 in CP in other Police Dept/Formations and 2 out of 37 in state commissioners of police (Anambra and Oyo states). Without a doubt, this statistic posits a general under-representation of women in the top hierarchy of the Nigeria Police Force which points to extensive discrimination.

Apart from the above, another contentious provision of the Act that has been criticised in literature as discriminatory and unjust has been the content of section 127 which prohibit unmarried policewomen from getting pregnant. It was on the basis of this provision that Olajide Omolola, a woman corporal was dismissed from the force in 2020. The fact is that men in the police are not so encumbered.

Many theoretical analyses of the pattern of patriarchy and gender discrimination in Nigeria have often emphasised the failure of local and international conventions to protect women. Thus, discrimination against women in the police force has continued despite legal instruments set forth in Section 42 of the 1999 constitution. Other legal provisions include; the Convention on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Beijing Declaration (1995), as well as in Article 18 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights (1986).

This is not to deny that there are many policewomen that have over the years risen to advanced ranks. But the numbers in comparison to men are ridiculously infinitesimal. In the 1980s, policewomen in Nigeria began to rise beyond the rank of CSP following the lifting of the embargo on the promotion of policewomen by President Shehu Shagari and IGP Sunday Adewusi (Okoronkwo, 2007). Between the end of the 1990s and the late 2000s, many policewomen had risen to the ranks of DIG and AIG. Prominent examples include Abimbola Ojomo, Florence Adebayo and C. B. Ugowe who all retired as DIGs. In addition, Okoronkwo Ivy, Dr. Rose Abang Wushishi, Mrs. Iyamabo and Faridah Waziri rose to the rank of AIG before their retirement. These women and several others at various times also headed important departments within the force – Operational, Training, Administration, Police Colleges, State Command, as well as secretary to the force and performed excellently (Iyamabo (1993; Alemika & Agugua, 2001; Okoronkwo, 2007). Similarly, two different peacekeeping missions were led to Kosovo by women – ASPs Bosede Dawodu and Dije Dan-Musa in the 1990s (Smith, 2001). Currently, many policewomen are CPs, DPOs, Divisional Crime Officers (DCO), etc. These are testaments of policewomen's dedication and struggle to break the stereotypical lenses.

As a measure of reform, the police authority also established a mobile unit of policewomen in September 2002. The 46th Squadron which is based in Abuja consists of about 2000 mobile policewomen who regularly take part in arm drilling, mob dispersion and riot and demonstration involving women and other internal security duties (Okoronkwo, 2007).

In spite of these feats, it is important to note that 'individual goodwill' rather than police tradition made the promotions and rise of those women possible. Hence, the atmosphere under which they took place was in actual fact created by different IGP's whose disposition towards policewomen reflects equity. Two ex-IGPs stand out in this regard. Sunday Adewusi in the 1980s masterminded the reversal of the embargo on the promotion of policewomen whose highest rank was previously pegged at CSP. Also, Sunday Ehindero who held sway as IGP in the mid-2000s, as illustrated by his writings, not only campaigned for the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women also took practical steps in appointing policewomen into higher and sensitive positions. It is on record that he appointed the first woman CP to head a state command and involved women in diverse police duties (Ehindero, 1998; Alemika & Agugua, 2001; Okoronkwo, 2007).

Taken as a whole, the analysis of the pattern of gender relations in the Nigeria police presented above has established the existence of a widespread practice of discrimination against women in the police force. As already noted, whereas, the enlistment of women into the force has increased since the first set of 20 women graduated from police training college in 1956, a range of discriminatory practices engendered by recruitment policy, posting, training, promotion, and have emerged to inhibit women progress in the Nigeria Police. Thus, women are in a distinct minority among police officers, especially at more advanced ranks. The higher the ranks, the fewer the number of women.

Conclusion

As I have established in this article, the Nigerian socio-economic and political milieu is characterised by male dominance. Whether on the home front or at the workplace, it makes little difference. It is a product of a cultural system that symbolises patriarchal authority and women, as disempowered, owned and dominated. Ritzer (1996) remarked that across several cultures, women are generally dominated, humiliated and oppressed by deep patriarchal tradition. This has serious implications for women's contribution to the economy. Polan called attention to the psychological engineering that has convinced women to accept male-orchestrated inferiority status as the making of natural forces rather than socially constructed exploitation (Polan, 1982). Essentially, traditional and colonial-constructed male-centric structures are believed to have synthesised patriarchal culture and instilled immutable women's domesticity. It is therefore apt to state that historical and global factors underpinned the wide-ranging patriarchal tradition that pervades Nigerian society.

Martin has argued that the entry of women into traditionally male occupations thrust patriarchal informed discriminatory and dehumanizing practices into the workplaces causing women's entry and progression to be restricted. A prominent example often presented in literature is women in policing. Martin further identified recruitment, promotions, posting, wage disparity and sexual harassment as some of the manifestations of discrimination against women in the police (Martins, 1980). Women are, therefore, numerically disadvantaged in the police, especially in leadership roles. The situation in Nigeria Police, in which gender discrimination is endemic and viewed by many as a normal pattern of police operation, provides an interesting case study. Despite the rising enlistment of women, a great number of policewomen in Nigeria are discriminated against in one way or the other. The purpose of this study was to gain insight into police women's experiences of gender-based discrimination in the police force. The study has therefore offered sufficient insight into the patriarchal culture in the police. This anecdote is not overstated. In many instances, women are not permitted to perform core police duties. The absence of legal instruments within the force that promotes gender equality and inclusivity is a major factor that sustains and concretised male authority. Studies of this nature are vital as they bring to the knowledge of

policymakers and the public the status of women in the Nigeria Police. Thus, this study is a good starting point upon which future research might be built.

Against this backdrop, any genuine attempt to address the gender imbalance in Nigeria police must be a multi-pronged approach. First, it must include measures to eliminate economic, ideological, political and cultural factors that promote gender discrimination in Nigeria. This is imperative given that since the Nigeria police is a product of the society, gender discrimination in the police is an extension of socially constructed gender inequality that characterise the Nigerian society. The logic is that it is impossible to reconfigure gender relations in the police outside of the Nigeria system. Thus, the elimination of layers of gender-based inequalities across several social structures will undoubtedly engineer a new paradigm in gender relations in the police force. Secondly, there is the need to amend laws at the root of discrimination against women within the police (Polan, 1982). Thus, the Police Act must be vigorously reviewed to reflect modern-day realities and global best practices. In this light, male and female police personnel should be accorded equal opportunities in terms of recruiting, training, posting, promotion, arms handling and marriage. Civil society organizations and rights groups should also embark on advocacy specifically targeted at conscientizing women, including those serving in the police, to the extent that they are equal to their male counterparts. The notion of male superiority should be deconstructed by driving a gender equality narrative. Similarly, policemen, particularly at the top level should already be tired of women's subjugation and thus should drive the campaign for equality from within. This is vital to the attainment of the police's core objective of crime detection and prevention. For it is only a happy, valued and motivated policewoman that can effectively contribute to this task.

References

- Adeboye, Olufunke, personal communication with the author, January 12 2022.
- Adekanye, T. (1987) African Women in Agriculture: Problems and Policies for Development. *Présence Africaine, Nouvelle Série*, no. 141: 7-14, available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24351557>.
- Adetayo, O. (2022) Nigerian women protest parliament rejection of pro-equality bills. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/3/2/nigerian-women-protest-parliament-rejection-of-pro-equality-bills>
- Ahire, P. T. (1991) *Imperial Policing: The Emergence and Role of the Police in Colonial Nigeria*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Alemika, E. O. and Agugua, O. (2001) *Gender Relations and Discrimination in Nigeria Police Force*. Lagos: Centre for Law Enforcement Education.
- Anwana, A.O. (2009) *Ekpe Emporium in South Eastern Nigeria, 1600-1900*, Calabar: African Pentecost Communication.
- Ayami, I. O. (2019) Traditional Societies and Pre-Colonial Security System: Interrogating the Ekpe Society in Southeastern Nigeria. *International Journal of History and Philosophical Research* Vol.7, No.3. 1-12.

- Boogaard, B. & Roggeband, C. (2010) Paradoxes of Intersectionality: Theorizing Inequality in the Dutch Police Force through Structure and Agency.
<http://org.sagepub.com/content/17/1/53.refs.html>
- Bowen, T. J. (1969) Central Africa: Adventures and Missionary Labors in Several Countries in the Interior of Africa, from 1849 to 1856. New York: Negro Universities Press.
- Chang, w., (1999) The voice of policewomen-Gender obstruction in policewoman work. *Gender Equality Educ. Q.*, 6: 42-44.
- Channar, Z. A., Abbassi, Z. & Ujan, I. A. (2011) Gender discrimination in workforce and its impact on the employees. *Pakistan Journal of Commerce and Social Sciences* (PJCSS), Vol. 5, Iss. 1, pp. 177-191
- Commire, A. Klezmer, D. (1999-2002) Women in World History: A Biographical Encyclopedia. Waterford, CT: Yorkin Publications.
- Daniels, F. A. (2015) Pre-Colonial Security System in Akungba-Akoko, South-West Nigeria. *International Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies* Volume 2 Issue 2.179 – 191.
- Donaldson, M. (1993) ‘What is Hegemonic Masculinity?’ *Theory and Society*, Special Issue: Masculinities, Vol. 22, No. 5, 643-657.
- Eades, J. S. (1980) *The Yoruba Today*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ehindero S. G. (1998) The Nigeria Police and Human Rights. Jos: Ehindero Press.
- Falola, T. & Adebayo, A. (2000) Culture, Politics & Money Among the Yoruba. New Brunswick, N.J: Transaction Publishers.
- Ifemeje, S. & Ikpeze O. (2012) Global Trend Towards Gender Equality: Nigeria’s Experience in Focus. *Kuwait Chapter of Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review* Vol. 2, No.3; 51 – 63.
- Ikime, O. (1980), (ed.) *Groundwork of Nigerian history*. Ibadan: Historical Society of Nigeria.
- Iyamabo, R. I. (1993) Women in Police Service. In Tamuno, T.N. et al. (eds.) *Policing Nigeria: Past and Present*. Lagos: Malthouse Press.
- Jaiyeola, E. F. & Aladegbola, A. I. 2020 “Patriarchy and Colonization: The “Brooder House” for Gender Inequality in Nigeria.” *Journal of Research on Women and Gender* Volume 10, 3-22.
- Jewkes R. R. Morrell. (2012) Sexuality and the limits of agency among South African teenage women: theorising femininities and their connections to HIV risk practices. *Soc Sci Med.*; 74(11): 1-19.
- Jewkes, R. et al, (2015) Hegemonic masculinity: combining theory and practice in gender interventions,’ *Cult Health Sex.* 17(sup2): 96–111.
- Johnson, S. (1960). A History of the Yoruba: From the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate. Lagos: C.M.S. Bookshops.

- Jones, D. E. (2000) *Women Warriors: A History*. Brassey: Potomac Books.
- Kalev, A. & Deutsch, G. (2018) Gender Inequality and Workplace Organizations: Understanding Reproduction and Change. In B. J. Risman et al. (eds.), *Handbook of the Sociology of Gender*. Cham: Springer International Publishing AG.
- Kennedy, M.G., & Eremie, M.D. (2016) Gender Bias: Roadblocks to Equal Distribution of Inheritance in Okrika Clan Rivers State, Nigeria: Implication for Family Counseling. *International Journal of Innovative Legal & Political Studies*, 4(4):30-36.
- Kola Adeyemi and Nelson Akpotu, (2004) Gender Analysis of Student Enrolment in Nigerian Universities. *Higher Education*, Vol. 48, No. 3, pp. 361-378.
- Luo, X. I., Schleifer, C. & Hill, C. M. (2013) Police Income and Occupational Gender Inequality. *Police Quarterly*, 0(0) 1–30.
- Madubuike-Ekwe, N. J. & Obayemi, O. K. (2019) Assessment of the Role of the Nigerian Police Force in the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights in Nigeria. *Annual Survey of International & Comparative Law* Volume 23 Issue 1 Article 3. 19-43.
- Majorie McIntosh, (2009) *Yoruba Women, Work, and Social Change*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Makama, G.A. (2013) Patriarchy and Gender Inequality in Nigeria: The Way Forward. *European Scientific Journal*, 9 (17), 115-144.
- Marina Caparini and Otwin Marenin, eds. (2004) *Transforming the Police in Eastern and Central Europe*. Lit Verlag/Transaction: Münster, Germany/Transaction Publishers, Somerset, NJ.
- Martin, S. (1980) *Breaking and Entering: Policewomen on Patrol*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- McIntosh, M. K. (2013) The Context, Causes, and Cultural Valuation of Yoruba and Baganda Women's Participation in the Public Economy. Working Papers Number 22, Program of African Studies Northwestern University.
- Moha, Ennaji, 2016 Women, Gender, and Politics in Morocco. *Social Sciences*, MDPI, vol. 5(4), pages 1-8,
- Niara Sudarkasa, (1973) *Where Women Work: A Study of Yoruba Women in the Marketplace and in the Home*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Nmadu, T. (2000) On our Feet: Women in grassroots' development," *Journal of Women in Academics*, 1 (1), 165-171.
- Nwolise, O. B. C. "Oracle on the State Police Discourse in Nigeria: A Citizen's Perspective". Paper presented at the October 2012 Edition of NISER Research Seminar Series, at NISER, Ibadan, October, 9.
- Okonjo, K. (1983) Sex roles in Nigerian Politics. In Oppong, C. eds. *Female and Male in West Africa*. London: George Allen and Unwin.

- Okonkwo, C. I. et al, (2019) Traditional Rulers and Community Security In Nigeria: Challenges and Prospects. *International Journal of Innovative Social Sciences & Humanities Research* 7(2):145-159.
- Olateru-Olagbegi, B. & Akiyode Afolabi, B. "Actual Women Situation in Nigeria," www.wildaf-ao.org/spip.php accessed 2 April, 2022.
- Olawoyin, O. (2018, May) Again, Buhari acknowledges Nigerian women's role in nation building. *Premier Times*, Available at <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/more-news/270178-again-buhari-acknowledges-nigerian-womens-role-in-nation-building.html>
- Oluwafemi, O. M. (2019) Gender Inequality in Nigeria Police Force. *International Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science (IJRISS)* |Vol. III, Issue VIII. 431 -437.
- Oluwaniyi, O. Evolution of State and Society in Pre-colonial Nigeria 1500-1800 (unpublished manuscript), <https://run.edu.ng/directory/oermedia/3696103805403.pdf> (last visited February. 15, 2022).
- Osibanjo, A. O., Iyiola, O. O., & Adeniji, A. A. (2013) Glass-ceiling and female career advancement: A study of the Nigeria police. *Anvesha*, 6(1), 49-59.
- Para-Mallam, O.J. (2010) "No Woman Wrapper in a Husband House": The Cultural Production of Hegemonic Masculinity in Nigerian Society. Available at https://www.academia.edu/5903115/No_Woman_Wrapper_in_a_Husbands_House_The_Cultural_Production_of_Hegemonic_Masculinity_in_Nigeria
- Perez, C. C. (2020) *Invisible Women: Exposing Data Bias Against Women in a World Designed for Men*. London: Vintage.
- Plickert, G. & Sterling, J. (2017) Gender Still Matters: Effects of Workplace Discrimination on Employment Schedules of Young Professionals. *Laws*, 6, (28), 1-22.
- Polan, D. (1982) Towards A Theory of Law and Patriarchy. In Kairys, D. (Ed.) *The Politics of Law*. New York, Pantheon Books.
- Police Act and Regulations, (2007) Abuja: LawLord Publishers.
- Police Schedule of Duties, (2000). Lagos: Hope and Faith Press Ltd.
- Prenzler, T. & Sinclair, G. (2013) The status of women police officers: An international review. *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice*. 41 (2), 115 -131.
- Salaam, T. (2003). A Brief Analysis on the Situation of Women in Nigeria Today, DSM. Available at <http://www.socialistnigeria.org/women/1-3-03.html>
- Scent, G. A.T et al. (2020) "The Impacts of Patriarchy on Women Police Officers in Nigeria: The Need to Abolish Gender Discrimination," *International Journal of Gender and Women's Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 39-54.
- Shokpeka, S. & Odigwe Nwaokocha, (2009) British Colonial Economic Policy in Nigeria, the Example of Benin Province 1914-1954. *Journal of Human Ecology*, 28, no. (1) 57-66.

Talbot, *The People of Southern Nigeria*, London: OUP, 1969.

Tamuno, N. Takeda, (1970) *The Police in Modern Nigeria, 1861-1965: Origins, Development, and Role*. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.

Tamuno, T.N. et al. (1993) (Eds.) *Policing Nigeria: Past, Present, and Future*. Lagos: Malthouse Press.

Taub, and Schneider, (1980) Perspectives on Women's subordination and the role of law. In D. Kairy (ed.) *The Politics of Law*. New York; Pantheon Books.

United Nations General Assembly on the Elimination of violence against Women, Proceedings of the 85th Plenary Meeting, December 20, 1993.