

The Roles and Challenges of Policewomen in the Zambia Police 1966–1995

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Abstract

This study examines the roles and challenges of women in male dominated institutions focusing on the case of Zambia Police from 1966 to 1995. Primary and secondary sources were consulted. Primary sources used included oral interviews, consulting colonial and post-colonial government reports and conference papers. The secondary sources include books, dissertations and journals. The study argues that Zambia Police Service formerly known as Northern Rhodesia Police was formed in 1932 and at inception it only comprised men with no intentions of considering the inclusion of female Police officers. In 1947, the Force started employing clerks and African civilians that included twelve women. The female clerks and wives of the senior police officers helped the Force to search, guard and escort female and juvenile offenders to their convenience rooms. The study further reveals that it was very important for the Force to consider the recruitment and training of female police officers and equip them with police skills as a pilot project. European women were first engaged and trained as police officers in 1955 and the African first females during 1958. The roles of these policewomen were mainly confined to clerical and administrative work. In 1966, two years after independence, the Force started recruitment and training of policewomen on a permanent basis. Policewomen found it difficult to adapt to the work culture of men towards them because they were discriminated against in many ways. The policewomen were faced with a number of challenges and barriers that hindered their advancement in the police. The study concluded that from 1966 to 1995, policewomen contributed to maintenance of law and order in the country. Despite the challenges they faced they were able to gain recognition, acceptance and promotion to higher ranks.

Keywords: Dominated Institution, Stereotyping, Challenges, Work Culture, Discrimination and Harassment

Introduction and Historical Background

The expansion of contemporary professional policing in the nineteenth century in the world was an extremely important social innovation, but one that did not include women. The inclusion of women into traditional and male dominated institutions was opposed, resisted and undermined by policy and law makers in the world. The entry and expansion of women in professional policing was generally aggressively opposed by police administrators and government officials. The presumed

masculine domination nature of police work and inherent traits was reinforced by authoritative stereotypes. Policing was seen as requiring symbolic authority and physical force that only male officers could exert.¹

Female police officers were first included and appointed in a pinch of locations in the early decades of the twentieth century in Europe and United States of America. Further expansion occurred during the First World War, largely due to labour shortages. Recruitment and appointments continued on a piece-meal basis as the century progressed, and often comparatively late. In Eire, for example, the first women² police were appointed in 1959, four decades later than the United Kingdom. In 1883, Britain started employing women as visitors to visit female convicts and then in 1889, fourteen women were engaged as police matrons who took over from the wives of police officers. Their work was to handle and search female and child offenders while in police custody and during court³ sessions. In 1921, Britain started recruiting and training women as police officers.

In 1910 United States of America, started employing women as police officers after various campaigns and demands from the public particularly the women. Martin and Jurik when assessing the status of women police in America argue that the inclusion of women in policing was resisted and undermined. They argue that it was fought⁴ more forcefully on lawful grounds and women campaigns through the movements. Germany started recruiting and training women as police officers in 1903. A social-work-oriented policing was established for women and this was fundamentally different from traditional police operations.⁵ Additionally, in Australia, women first entered professional policing in 1915 and by 1921 all the regions had women working as police officers. However, the first policewomen in Australia⁶ faced resistance from both men in the Police Force and the public in general.

In African states, the police has been a male dominated institution and the recruitment of women was not a welcome move. In Nigeria, the police was a males-only sphere. Women were not allowed to join the Police Force and measures were put in place to prevent the recruitment of women in the Force.⁷ In South Africa, the inclusion of women in the Police Force was first done in 1972. In that year, a training school was established in Pretoria and the government started recruiting and training women as police officers. However, their roles were confined to social work

1 J. Brown and F. Heidensohn, *Gender and Policing: Comparative Perspectives* (Hound mills: Macmillan 2000), p.50.

2 C. Clancy, "50 Years later: women in policing. Communiqué. December," *An Garda Sio'cha'na Journal*, 32, (2009), pp.22-28.

3 C. Emsley, "*The English Police: A Political and Social History*," (London: Longman, 1996), pp.127-157.

4 S. Martin and N. Jurik, *Doing Justice, Doing Gender: Women in Legal and Criminal Justice Occupation* (California: SAGE, 2007), PP. 72-81.

5 E.S. Fairchild, Women Police in Weimar: Professionalism Politics and Innovation in Police Organisations, *Law and Society Review*, Vol.21. No 3 (1987), p.378.

6 J. Brown and F. Heidensohn, *Gender and Policing: Comparative Perspectives*. (Hound mills: Macmillan, 2000), pp.22-30.

7 NPF/UNWOMEN/UNFPA, *For the Nigeria Police A Gender Policy Force*. (Abuja: United Nations, 2010), p.65.

and were put on a different post structure.⁸ Likewise, in Zimbabwe policewomen were not recognised as potential and capable police officers. Therefore, they were denied promotion to higher ranks⁹ nor were they given challenging tasks such as street patrols and night duties.

The early history of the Zambia Police is bound up with that of the Northern Rhodesia Regiment and early administration of the then Northern Rhodesia Police. In 1891 the charter of the British South African Company was extended to give the company power to administer the areas lying north of the Zambezi. In the same year Sir Henry “Harry” Hamilton Johnston was appointed Imperial Commissioner, with headquarters in Nyasaland. In 1895 Nyasaland was separated from the area of the Charter Company’s activities in the Rhodesia. The mixed Forces (police and mobile unit) were withdrawn from Northern Rhodesia.¹⁰ Northern Rhodesia was then given separate powers to administer its own area including police and military duties. Therefore, in early colonial Zambia, according to Herbert Dowbiggin, the duties of the early Police Force were to combat the slave trade and create a conducive environment for commerce and missionary work. The Police also arrested and guarded African offenders in addition to providing security to the British South African Company tax collectors. The Police suppressed and prevented the outbreak of disorder among the natives. Therefore, only strong able bodied men were enlisted as police officers.¹¹ Mwansa and Mumba indicate that the Zambia Police Service, formerly Zambia Police Force, was a model of the British policing system both in its form and content as it developed under the British law because Northern Rhodesia was a British colony.¹²

Before 1911, Northern Rhodesia was divided into two areas know as North Eastern Rhodesia and North Western Rhodesia with separate administrations, each being charged with maintaining law and order in their respective areas. In 1911 North Western and North Eastern Rhodesia were amalgamated. The amalgamation was also known as the North-Eastern Rhodesia Constabulary to form the Northern Rhodesia Police. The Northern Rhodesia Police was formed in 1912 and its members were liable to perform civil or military duties.¹³ However, as time went on, the duties became more divided with certain sections performing military duties, whilst the other sections performed civil duties. Nevertheless, the section performing civil duties still came under the command of the army which seconded an officer to take charge of what became known as the “Town and District Police”.¹⁴

8 C.J. Morrison, “Towards Gender Equality in South African Policing,” unpublished paper, 2004, pp. 1 -6.

9 United Nations, “Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women in Zimbabwe,”^{24th} October 2011 available on line @<http://un.org/conferences/women>. (Retrieved on 24/03/2014)

10 H. Dowbiggin, “ *Confidential Report on the Northern Rhodesia Police*,” (Lusaka : Govt. Printers, 1937), p. 50.

11 Dowbiggin, “Confidential Report on the Northern Rhodesia Police,” p.50.

12 T.K. Mwansa and J. A. Mumba, “Zambia Police and the changing society,” *Zango, Journal of contemporary issues*, University of Zambia, (1993), p.44.

13 Mwansa and Mumba, “Zambia Police and the changing society , ” 21(11) (1997), pp. 48-60.

14 Dowbiggin, “Confidential Report on the Northern Rhodesia Police,” p.50.

When the First World War, 1914-18, broke out, many of the officers were engaged on active war service in the Military Unit. After the war, with the increased settlement along the railway line and later with the industrial development on the Copperbelt, the need for improved policing became essential. As a result, after the war the nature of the policing required specialised officers to perform police duties and provide essential training.¹⁵ It was after the First World War that the need to separate the Police Force from the Military Unit arose. Consequently, in 1932 Captain P.R. Wardropper, was seconded from the Military Unit and appointed as the first Commissioner of Police and the Police Force became a separate entity. In 1932 the latter became the Northern Rhodesian Regiment and moved its headquarters to Lusaka and with its own legal status.¹⁶ Up to the time the Northern Rhodesia Police Force was separated from the Military Unit and at its inception into an independent unit, it was only composed of male police officers. Hopkins argues that the civilian police began in 1932 when the police was separated from the military with only seven superior officers (high ranked), 73 inspectors and 447 other officers in other ranks up to a constable.¹⁷

Furthermore, Chiputa's study *The Theory and Practice of Imprisonment in Northern Rhodesia* explains how the colonial Police Force was detached from prisons. He states that as early as 1924 the prisons' Board, which had been inaugurated the previous year recommended full police responsibility over the Central prisons. The Board also urged the appointment of a chief inspector of prisons. These were preferred as an alternative to the setting up of a separate prisons department. As a result, the Attorney General surrendered the administration of the central prisons to the police in 1924. However, due to inadequate funds, militarist backgrounds and lack of proper administration,¹⁸ the arrangement failed and in 1947 the prison was detached from the police.

In 1932 a Civil Police Force was established under the Northern Rhodesia Police Ordinance. The Force was male dominated with no intentions of considering the inclusion of female Police officers. The establishment comprised 7 superior male police officers, 73 male inspectors and 447 male in other ranks.¹⁹ The Force was faced with a number of challenges that prevented its officers from performing their duties diligently. There was need for some support staff such as clerks and tailors. Therefore, in 1947 the Force decided to employ 14 European clerks and 22 African civilians.²⁰ In 1948, eighteen European clerks, 17 female and one male

15 NAZ: Box 122 Shelf 18, F. A. Hopkins, *A History of Northern Rhodesia Police in the Great War 1914-1918* (1923), p. 1.

16 N.C. Rothman, "African Urban Development in the Colonial Period: A Study of Lusaka, 1905-1964," PhD. Thesis, North Western University (1972), 51.

17 NAZ: Box 122 Shelf 18, F. A. Hopkins, pp.1-5.

18 NAZ: Box 122 Shelf 18, F. A. Hopkins, pp. 1-5.

19 E.K. Chiputa, "The Theory and Practice of Imprisonment in Northern Rhodesia," M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia (1993), pp.1-53.

20 NAZ- BOX NO 124: 1966, D.C. Sadoki, *Report on the Rebirth of Zambia Police*, pp. 3-6.

where employed.²¹ In the same year, the Force employed twenty five African civilians, fifteen interpreters, ten tailors and boot printers. It was reported in the Northern Rhodesia Police Annual Report for 1948 that the services rendered by civilian employees, the female clerks and interpreters had profound effect on the efficiency of policemen release to active duties, otherwise, officers would be confined to clerical duties.²²

The Force was faced with another very critical challenge of female offenders and juveniles cases. They needed female hands to handle these cases successfully. With regard to searching of female offenders, the Force made it clear that when the person to be examined and searched was a woman, the search was to be done by another woman with firm regard for decency.²³ The wives to senior officers in charge of police stations, civilian women employed as clerks, interpreters, tailors, and boot printers guarded female suspects in police custody without pay. They visited the prison and escorted the female suspects to hospitals and rendered any assistance necessary, which included being in attendance when female prisoners took their meals and performed their ablutions. They were also present during the interrogation of female suspects and recording of statements.²⁴ The female civilian also helped children and the elderly to cross the roads and finding lost, hunted person and adolescent offenders. In some cases, they performed roles such as taking reports in the cases of sexual offences, searching offenders and helped with finger printing and surveillance duties in the hospitals where women prisoners were admitted.²⁵

It was not safe for the untrained women to perform police duties because some female offenders were hard core criminals who needed to be handled by tough and trained police officers. There was need for the Police Force to consider the training of female police officers to enhance the effectiveness and success of police operations.²⁶

The Force started recruiting and training female police officers on a temporary basis in 1955. The Force realised the need to recruit and train women as uniformed police officers and was compelled to start including one or two women in a squad of men. The employment of policewomen as members of the regular Force was approved in January 1955 and the number sanctioned was increased from seven to twenty-four in 1956 to provide for a complete and required establishment.²⁷ The *Northern Rhodesia Annual Report* for the year 1957 reported that European female

21 NAZ - GOV ZAM, P7/058, *Northern Rhodesia Annual Report of the year 1947*, (Lusaka: Government. Printers, 1948), p. 2.

22 NAZ GOV ZAM, P7/058 *Northern Rhodesia Police: Northern Rhodesia Police Annual Report*. (Lusaka: Government. Printers, 1949), p. 12.

23 Northern Rhodesia Police: *Annual Report for the year 1948* (Lusaka: Government. Printers, 1949), p. 4.

24 The Northern Rhodesia Police Hand Book (Lusaka: Government. Printers, 1954), p.45.

25 Kasonde, *Zambia Police Instruction* p.5.

26 N. Allum, "Policewomen in the United Kingdom," *Nkhwazi Northern Rhodesia Police Magazine*, Vol.6: 3 (1 December, 1958), p. 25.

27 Interview with former Compol. Nellia Shibuyunji, Kafue, 21st April, 2014.

officers were first engaged in 1955 and the African first female officers in 1958.²⁸ In 1957, the establishment for the Force was increased by fifteen superior police officers and ninety-two European subordinate officers, including twelve policewomen.²⁹ The employment of female police officers continued in piecemeal and the establishment was increased to thirty-two. The strength at the end of the year was twenty-six, an increase of nine over the figure at the beginning of the year.³⁰ The recruitment and training of African women as police officers was intrigued by the demand of African policemen to Africanise the Police Force and officers' ranks. In 1958, Miss Veronica Monica Changu became the first African woman constable.³¹ Therefore, Zambia Police³² started the official recruitment and training of women as police officers in 1966.³²

Literature Review

A review of available literature on the roles and challenges faced by women in male dominated institutions, particularly the Zambian Police, shows little information. Even then the few books, articles, journals, masters and doctoral dissertations available at the University of Zambia library, Zambia National and Police Archives have information that was useful to this study. Some works examine the role and challenges of policewomen in other countries such as United Kingdom, United States of America, Australia, Germany, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, and South Africa just to mention a few. This information was helpful to this study. Other works have information on male dominated institutions, but they do not recognise or acknowledge the contribution made by women in the maintaining of law and order.

Martin and Jurik argue that in the United States of America, the inclusion of women into conventionally male occupations has been opposed, resisted, and undermined wherever it has occurred. In many male dominated institutions, the inclusion of women has been more forcefully fought on lawful grounds. They observe that the 'women police movement' of the early-twentieth century was only successful in creating limited space for female officers by making their role an extension of social welfare work. Women police were often unsworn, appointed on lower pay rates, without any rank structure and without a pension scheme and they were dismissed if they married.³³ Their work suggests that the police service was purely composed of male police officers and women were only later recruited as social welfare workers without being assigned to any legislative duties of policing.

Works by Prenzler, Hunt, Brown and Heidensohn were very useful to this study in that they provided information on the entry and expansion of women police, and

28 Northern Rhodesia Police Annual Report for the year 1958 (Lusaka: Govt. Printers, 1959), p.3.

29 Northern Rhodesia Police Annual Report for the year 1956 (Lusaka: Govt. Printers, 1957), p.14.

30 Northern Rhodesia Police Annual Report for the year 1957, p.4.

31 Northern Rhodesia Police Annual Report for the year 1957, p.14.

32 Police Staff Writer, "Tracing Our Police Roots," *Nkhwazi Northern Rhodesia Police Magazine*, Vol.5:1 (1 April 1988) p. 25.

33 Shipolo, "Gender Dimension of Police Officers, p. 47..

how men monopolised police work. Prenzler states that in Australia, the entry and expansion of women police, was in general fiercely opposed by police managers and police union leaders. On the job, women were often undermined by colleagues' lack of support, by sexual harassment, and by discrimination in deployment and promotion.³⁴ Their work was essential to this study in that it helped the researcher to understand and compare the types of sexual harassment and discrimination in the deployment, work conditions and promotion of women police officers.

Hunt,³⁵ Brown and Heidensohn³⁶ explain that in Britain, the male monopoly on police work was supported by powerful stereotypes that focused on the nature of police work and intrinsic gendered traits. Policing was seen as requiring symbolic authority and physical force that only males could exercise. These views were propagated despite an inquiry in the 1970s and 1980s showing that women police were as capable as men to execute police work, and generally better at conflict resolution. This information is very beneficial to our study in that it provides historical information and reasons for the delay on the inclusion of women and recruitment in the police.

Marshall examines the barriers for women in law enforcement which reinforced Martin's contention. Like Martin, Marshall's study shows that the inclusion of women in policing was not a smooth one. Female officers faced a number of barriers that prevented their career advancement, appointments and promotions to higher ranks.³⁷ His study shows that despite some legislation and convention against the discrimination and for the emancipation of women, policewomen continued to face discrimination in police departments and sections. Policemen dominated these units with gender stereotypes and inferior attitudes towards policewomen making them uncomfortable to perform roles. This study built on these insights.³⁸

Another study by Bizeck Phiri, *Gender and Politics: The Zambia National Women's Lobby Group in the 2001 Tripartite Elections*, was very significant to this study because it provided information on how the Zambia National Women's Lobby Group supported women in the 2001 election. He argued that during this period democracy was not guaranteed for equal representation in government and its principles³⁹ were not applied to allow the equal participation of men and women in the elections.

His study reveals that the Zambia National Women's Lobby mandate to lobby for women participation in the post-colonial political process was attributed to the concept of power, which was the most influential aspect in the election. Women's manifesto

34 S. Martin and N., Jurik, *Doing Justice, Doing Gender: Women in Legal and Criminal Justice Occupations*. (California: SAGE, 2007), pp.72-81.

35 T. Prenzler, J. Fleming and A. L. King, "Gender equity in Australian and New Zealand policing: A five year review," *International Journal of Police Science and Management* 12, (2010), pp. 584-595.

36 Hunt, *The logic of sexism among police*, 3-30.

37 Brown, and Heidensohn, *Gender and Policing*, pp. 22-30.

38 G. Marshall, "Barriers for Women in Law Enforcement," MA. Dissertation Athabassa University, 2013, p. 5.

39 Marshall, "Barriers for Women in Law Enforcement," MA. Dissertation Athabassa University, 2013, pp. 2- 14.

pursued to fight against the imbalances in the distribution of power and representation between men and women.⁴⁰ His study gave us an insight on the challenges that women faced in male dominated governance as they try to fight against the imbalanced representation of men and women in decision making positions.

Chiputa's study, *The Theory and Practice of Imprisonment in Northern Rhodesia* is important because it brings out the historical background of what became the Zambia Police after independence. He further explains how the colonial Police Force was detached from prisons. He states that as early as 1924 the Prisons Board, which had been inaugurated the previous year, recommended full police responsibility over the central prisons. It also urged the appointment of a Chief Inspector of Prisons. These were preferred as an alternative to the setting up of a separate Prisons Department. As a result, the Attorney General surrendered the administration of the central prisons to the police in 1924. However, due to inadequate funds, militarist backgrounds and lack of proper administration the arrangement failed and in 1947 a separate prison administration was established.⁴¹ Although the study does not highlight the roles and challenges of policewomen, it gives us an insight on the history of the Zambia Police.

Mwansa's study examined gender and agriculture development in Zambia. Her study was vital to this study because it gave insights on the gender disparities in the distribution of resources in agriculture in Zambia. Mwansa argues that the policies that were introduced by the British South African Company restricted the beneficiary of agricultural training skills and knowledge to male farmers. Consequently, this led to male dominance in the agriculture sector and female farmers were stereotyped and not regarded as farmers even when it was evident that they were the active players in farming activities.⁴² She further contends that in the period 1961 to 1965, development plan was executed and its main focus was on the male farmers. The plan provided male farmers with farming skills and the women were given instructions in home craft, housekeeping and village hygiene. These instructions stereotyped women as inferior to men yet they were capable of farming and acquiring agriculture skills. Female farmers were discriminated against and excluded from benefiting African Agricultural Schemes.⁴³ The study further demonstrates how the government addressed these gender imbalances in agriculture. This study builds on these insights.

Shaba's study titled 'The Socio-Economic Impact of the Mushala Rebellion in North Western Province' was informative to the study. Although Shaba placed very little interest on the roles that the policewomen played in the search for Mushala and his rebels, her study demonstrates how the three security wings worked tirelessly

40 B. J. Phiri, "Gender and Politics: The Zambia's Lobby Group in the 2001 Tripartite Elections," In Giacomina Macola, Jan –Bart Gewald and Marja Hinfelaar, (eds.), *One Zambia Many Histories: Towards the History of Post-Colonial Zambia* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 259-262.

41 Phiri, "Gender and Politics: The Zambia's Lobby Group in the 2001 Tripartite Elections," pp. 259 -262.

42 Chiputa, 'The Theory and Practice of Imprisonment in Northern Rhodesia,' pp.51-55.

43 D. Mwansa, "Gender and Agriculture Development in Zambia," PhD. Dissertation, University of Zambia, (2017), pp. 111- 117.

towards the arrest and killing of Mushala and his conspirators.⁴⁴ She argued that the rebellion led to the displacement of families as a result of the kidnapping and abduction of children, men and women by Mushala and his rebels. Her study further revealed that kidnapped men became his rebel soldiers while girls and women were married off to his conspirators.⁴⁵ The insights from this study formed a basis of the investigation of the roles and challenges of policewomen in the Zambia Police with particular attention to the Mushala rebellion.

Kambafwile's work titled 'An Evaluation of the Extent to which the Law protects Women in Employment against Gender Discrimination in Zambia' was very significant to this study because it provides a detailed information on the extent to which the Zambian law, protects women. Kambafwile argued that the Zambian law on the discrimination of women in employment, has not done much to emancipate women from unfair treatment and gender discrimination with regards to the promotion and appointments.⁴⁶ The women in male dominated institutions continued to suffer sexual advances, request for sexual favours and verbal or physical harassment of a sexual nature that includes abusive language and sexual remarks.⁴⁷ This study builds on these insights.

Chabu⁴⁸ and Kasonde⁴⁹ works on the recruitment and promotion practices in Zambia Police, are the other essential and informative studies that provided the study with historical background on the recruitment and promotion practices in the police. They argued that promotion and recruitment practices in the Zambia Police were based on the standing orders, which provided the guide lines for recruitment in the service. They explained how the service recruits and promotes states at different levels.⁵⁰

The Challenges of Policewomen during training at Lilayi and Sondela Training School

Women faced a number of challenges during training at Lilayi and Sondela Police Training School. The physical training at Lilayi was very challenging for the women. Women were not trained or treated differently from men. They all underwent the same training but the women found the physical training very strenuous. The road run and route march from Lilayi to Shantumbu Village and then Kafue was more

44 Mwansa, "Gender and Agriculture Development in Zambia."

45 T. Shaba, "The Social – Economic Impact of the Mushala Rebellion in North Western Province of Zambia 1976-1990." M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, (2019), pp.83-93.

46 Shaba, "The Social – Economic Impact of the Mushala Rebellion in North Western Province of Zambia 1976-1990."

47 N.S. Kambafwile, "An Evaluation of the Extent to which the law Protects Women in Employment against Gender Discrimination in Zambia," MA. Dissertation, University of Zambia. 2011, p.10.

48 Kambafwile, "An Evaluation of the Extent to which the law Protects Women in Employment against Gender Discrimination in Zambia, pp. 19-22.

49 G. Chabu, "Recruitment and Promotion Practices in Zambia Police Service from 1964-2009," MA. Dissertation, University of Zambia (2014), p.32.

50 F. Kasonde, Zambia Police Standing Order (Lusaka: Government Printers, 2009), pp.10-14.

challenging. Once in Kafue at Sondela Paramilitary Training School, they were given a ticket or tag, which they went back with to Lilayi through Kafue road.⁵¹ They were given the tags from Kafue as evidence that they had reached Kafue. Among the first 17 women on training in 1966, two women decided to withdraw because they could not stand the physical nature of the training, which turned out to be too hard for them.⁵² Other most challenging task for women during the training was dismantling and then assembling the firearms. Most of the women failed to perform this task because it required a lot of strength and speed.⁵³

Marshall argued that women were considered naturally weak and would not be given equal tasks and strenuous physical training as their male counterparts.⁵⁴ Therefore, he recommended that light materials should be used to make policing equipment suitable for the physical traits of both sexes.⁵⁵ He argued that the weight and size of a firearm should be considered taking into account that women have smaller hands than men and that they were physically weak with less strength. He recommended that there should be a variety of firearms suitable for both sexes so that women would be able to balance and maintain proper control of their weapons without straining themselves. Lighter policing equipment would also help women physically because they would require less strength and physic.⁵⁶

Additionally, female recruits were harshly treated by the instructors who were against their inclusion in the Unit. These instructors were very hostile towards the female recruits and used harsh and abusive language. Mushauko argued that policewomen were discriminated against during training and were exempted from masculine skills training hence denying them the needed and required skills for policing.⁵⁷ Manengu contended that the attitude of the female recruits became very negative because they were viewed as weaker vessels. They doubted their performance and their ability to adapt to the training environment.⁵⁸ Another challenge that female recruits experienced was the forty-night medical check-ups that included a pregnancy test. This stressed some trends inequality as women were the only ones discharged from the training because only they could be pregnant.⁵⁹

It was during this period when there was no consideration of human rights and the policewomen trainees were not free to speak out against any violation of their human rights. The instructors would force themselves on the women who ended up having sexual relationships with their instructors out of fear. Some women had sexual affairs because they wanted favours from the instructors and would not be

51 Chabu, "Recruitment and Promotion Practices in Zambia Police Service," pp.32-39.

52 Interview with S/Supt. Justin Mutale, Lusaka, 11th June, 2014.

53 Interview with C/Insp. Mercy Tembo, Lilayi, 18th June, 2014.

54 C. B. Mhango, "Female Corner," *Nkhwazi Magazine*, Vol. 5 :2 (July 1982), p. 33.

55 Marshall, "Barriers for Women in Law Enforcement," p.15.

56 Marshall, "Barriers for Women in Law Enforcement," p.15.

57 Marshall, "Barriers for Women in Law Enforcement," p.15.

58 Interview with Ass. Sup. Lloyd Mushauko Gender National Coordinator for Zambia Police Service, Lusaka, 6th August, 2019.

59 Interview with Senior Officer Staff Benny Manengu.

subjected to strenuous training and punishments.⁶⁰ This was not only prevalent in the Zambia Police but also in other countries as Susan Martin evidently argued that in Australia women in policing were sexually abused during training and this continued when they were deployed to work in different police departments and stations.⁶¹ The female recruits at Lilayi and Sondela Training School were victims of sexual abuse and torture. Male instructors used to beat female trainees as part of training without regard for human rights. During this period there were no female instructors and matrons whom women recruits could confide in, hence the lack of role models to motivate the female trainees.⁶²

However, despite challenges that women faced during training most of them endured and completed their training because they were brave and strong. The first pass out parade in 1966 was officiated by the then first lady Betty Kaunda who was very proud of the women.⁶³ Shibuyunji explained that Betty Kaunda was very excited and proud of the newly trained policewomen and advised them to work very hard to prove their worth. She further explained that the then first lady encouraged the policewomen to be exemplary in their work as police officers as they were now role models to the upcoming generation of girls who would aspire to become policewomen. Women policing was very important as policewomen were very key in handling matters affecting the under privileged and the marginalised such as the widows, orphans and single mothers.⁶⁴

The Roles and Challenges of Policewomen after Training

The policewomen continued to face challenges in the field once they were deployed to perform their roles and duties as police officers. The roles and duties that women performed in the police mainly consisted of social and administrative work. Policewomen were assigned to light jobs such as receiving statements on the inquiry desk, telephone and switch board operation, helping children, villagers and old people to cross roads and as assistants to detectives in the Criminal Investigation Department (CID). They assisted CID police officers when interrogating female suspects. They were restricted to special units and were assigned primarily to do clerical work in the registry, guard duties, search of female suspects and attend to juvenile cases.⁶⁵ Therefore, policewomen were not permitted to do very challenging jobs because male officers anticipated women failing and doubted them to equal men in most job skills. Policewomen were considered to be lazy, not fit emotionally, mentally and physically. Benny Manengu explained that under the paramilitary

60 Interview with Compol. Winfridah Kumwenda, Lilayi Paramilitary, 21st March, 2019.

61 F. Kasonde, *History and Reformation of Zambia Police Service*, pp. 20-22.

62 Martin, "Doing Gender, Doing Police Work: An Examination of the Barriers to the Integration of Women Officers," p.11.

63 Interview with C/Insp. Mercy Tembo, Lilayi, 18th June, 2014.

64 Interview with C/Insp. Mercy Tembo, Lilayi, 18th June, 2014.

65 Interview with W/Compol. Nellia Shibuyunji, Kafue, 21st April, 2014.

wing, policewomen found it difficult to adapt to the work culture of men towards them after training as they were treated with hostility in many cases. Therefore, it was difficult to get the experience they needed as they depicted negative and poor work culture.⁶⁶

According to senior police officer Raymond Hamoonga, in some cases policewomen found bush operations and night shift very challenging and preferred to perform light jobs. They were considered to be lazy and took their personal life of parenting as priority. Therefore, they avoided working in night shifts.⁶⁷ Ngandu expressed her displeasure on the work culture of policewomen and stated that:

I find most female officers lazy. They always want to take advantage of their female status not to perform certain duties. They want to work as telephone operators as opposed to being in the shifts. Even in the shifts they resented shift number one which requires an officer to report for work at midnight and knock off at 06:00AM.⁶⁸

The other challenge that policewomen faced in policing was the lack of consideration for educational advancement, refresher training and promotion courses. This trend was evident in 1974 when very few policewomen were considered for educational training. There were three policewomen against twenty policemen who were sponsored by the Force for education advancement. In the same year only one sub-inspector policewoman against nineteen policemen were sent for further studies.⁶⁹

Some women took up the challenge and performed the most challenging tasks and equalled men in most job skills. Ngandu explained that in 1975 she had the feel and faced the challenges of being in charge in Chadiza district and later in 1977, she was transferred to Chiwempala and elevated to the rank of Chief Inspector of police. She also acted as police Officer in-Charge of Chingola Central Police Station. Recounting her experience during the interview, as a female officer in charge in Chadiza, Ngandu recalled the incidents which she defined as most challenging.⁷⁰ She narrated how she had led men in the collection of dead bodies in Chadiza district during the liberation struggle in Mozambique. She often came face to face with armed men but did not seek refuge and run away. Instead she took up the challenge, took the lead in the operation and succeeded.⁷¹

Winfridah Kumwenda, trained under paramilitary in 1975, explained how the

66 C.B. Mhango, "Female Corner," *Nkhwazi Magazine*, Vol.5:2 (July 1982): 33.

67 Interview with Senior Officer Staff. Benny Manengu.

68 Interview with Senior Public Relations Police officer Raymond Hamoonga, Police Force Headquarters, 21st March 2019.

69 R. Hamoonga, "Mary Chikwanda goes Clergy," *Police News* Issue No.003(2010): 24.

70 Zambia Police Annual Report, (Lusaka: Govt. Printers 1979), p. 7.

71 R. Hamoonga, "Mary Chikwanda goes Clergy," p. 24.

Unit appreciated the pass out parade and deployment of policewomen in 1976 as it coincided with the famous Mushala rebellion that had put the entire Zambian security wings under pressure. Paramilitary was engaged in the search for Mushala and his rebels. Newly recruited policewomen were part of the operations with the task of handling the search and investigation of the women and children that were victims of the Mushala rebellion.⁷² Thokozile Shaba asserts that:

During his insurgency Mushala and his group looted villages, abducted small girls and women, forced young men to join his movement and sabotaged some communities' of North Western province of Zambia. From January 1976, Zambian authorities began to receive reports of armed robbery and shootouts with local police. The Mushala rebel group terrified the villagers in the affected communities. Mushala became a source of concern to the nation as his guerrilla activities comprised the freedom which came with the independence in 1964.⁷³

Evidence from Thokozile Shaba's study reveal that the rebellion had most distressing and detrimental effects on families, especially the vulnerable such as women and children in areas where Mushala operated.

Another policewoman who took up the challenge and broke the obstacle in male dominated sections of the police was Sub-Inspector. Kaona who became a Police Ballistics Expert in 1980. She was among the three policemen who had been sent to Germany to train in firearms and ammunitions, tool marks identification and criminal technical photography for a year at the Federal Criminal Investigations in Wiesbaden. She was the only female student among the fifteen students who came from different countries including Libya, Saudi Arabia and South American countries and there she was treated the same as her male colleagues.

Furthermore, Constable Florence Mbewe, was another policewoman who in 1975 qualified to work as a finger prints officer and became an expert at Force Headquarters in Lusaka. She explained that:

One ought to have a free will and sober mind to succeed. If one has a problem then this is not the right place to be in and I think that is why most female officers haven't joined the section. It is true that as a mother one is likely to have problems in this section and find it more difficult to combine her job with other parenting commitments.⁷⁴

72 C. B. Mhango, "Female Corner," *Nkhwazi Magazine*, p. 34.

73 Interview with W/Compol. Winfridah Kumwenda.

74 T. Shaba, "The Social – Economic Impact of the Mushala Rebellion in North Western Province of Zambia 1076-1990." M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, (2019), p.9.

Initially, Florence Mbewe was not comfortable in this section, which was dominated by policemen, because of their negative attitude towards her. However, she eventually got used and regarded her male counterparts as ordinary colleagues.⁷⁵ She managed to overcome the barriers in this section and the male officers accepted her as a competent finger print expert.

Additionally, women in policing were not easily accepted by their male peers, their supervisors, or in their own police department. They were viewed with scepticism or worse by their male counterparts in spite of the fact that they had been successful in performing police work in most cases. Anonymous,⁷⁶ who joined the Police in 1972 and was sent to Lusaka Central Police station where she dealt with complaints from the general public and later in 1977 when she was transferred to the Finger Print Section complained about the resistance that she received from her male counterparts. She complained about her immediate supervisor who was too hostile⁷⁷ to work with and always criticised and never paid attention to her problems. Therefore, she decided to go for a nursing course to get away from the challenging police work and resistance from the male officers. She came back as a qualified nurse and continued working in the Police Force clinic. She did not resign as Police officer. Sergeant Maggie Zulu was another police woman who went for a two year nursing course and continued working in the police as a nurse. Constable Muchala quit police office work in 1978⁷⁸ and went for a secretarial course because she felt discriminated against as a woman.

Makowani, one of the first women to be recruited and trained as a police officer in 1966, added that women police officers were regarded as under-dogs. They were undermined by their male counterparts even when they proved their worth.⁷⁹ She further asserted that women ensured that they worked very hard and proved capable of handling the most dangerous and challenging work of policing. She explained that the other challenge that women faced was the issue of accommodation. Women officers were made to share a house while male officers were permitted to occupy a full house as individuals regardless of their marital status.⁷⁹ This was affirmed in the Annual Report of 1973 which states that, “These problems were largely due to the shortage of housing strength on the establishment and also the inadequacy of transport.”⁸⁰

Some male officers refused to assign women officers to general patrols and thus blocked them from gaining the experience they needed. Hunt concluded that women were harassed, resisted by the male officers because they feared that women would divulge departmental (actually, their own) secrets about police corruption

75 Mhango, “Female Corner,” p. 35.

76 C.B. Mhango, “Female Corner,” p. 35.

77 (Could not mention the name because of ethical issues).

78 E. Mulenga, “Female Corner,” Nkhwazi Magazine, Vol.2. N0. 1 (August 1983): 20.

79 Mulenga, “Female Corner,” p. 20.

80 E. Mwaata, “A Close Look at a Woman Police Officer,” *Police News Issue*, No.005 (2010): 23.

and violence.⁸¹ Thus, Hunt cited fear of exposure by women officers was cited by Hunt, as the underlying cause of the significant resistance to women.⁸² Mary Chikwanda challenged the male officers by becoming the first woman police officer to do operations work in the bush such as Kagem, where the police offered guarded energy installations.⁸³ She spent eight months at Kagem and was sent back to Kamfinsa where she continued her work as a trainer under Training Division. From 1992 to 1993 she was sent back to operational duties as a platoon commander in Luanshya. Towards the end of 1993 she was transferred to Kamfinsa as an Assistant Training Officer where she worked up to 1995.⁸⁴

Conclusion

The article has shown that the official recruiting and training of policewomen started in 1966. Prior to 1966 the Zambia Police employed women on a temporary basis as clerical workers, tailors and home craft personnel who were merely considered to be supporting staff to the Force. The wives of the police officers and female clerks were called upon to help police officers with the search and examination of female offenders and also help during ceremonial duties. The help that was rendered was not paid for because it was not recognised as very important. It was not safe and secure for untrained women to be engaged in police work because some female offenders were hard core criminals and made it very difficult for the women without police skills to handle such cases. The Force realised the need to recruit and train women as uniformed police officers and was impelled to start infusing one or two women in a squad of men in 1966.

The first women to be recruited and trained were white women in 1955 and in 1958 African women were infused under the Northern Rhodesia Police Force. There was need for female police officers in the Force to execute feminine duties such as searching of female suspects and taking care of them during their stay in police custody and attending to their personal needs. The Force also needed to employ women as police officers for them to perform secretarial, clerical work, guard of female suspects, and attend to juvenile cases and other social work duties. The police women were initially employed on a temporary basis and would not to be considered for promotion even when they rightly deserved it. The United Nations recommendations on the elimination of discriminatory legislation against women prompted the Force to consider the promotion of women to higher ranks and increase the establishment. Consequently, the Zambia Police in 1966 started the official recruitment and training of women that led to the inclusion of policewomen as permanent officers expected to perform the same duties as their male counter parts.

81 E. Mwaata, "A Close Look at a Woman Police Officer," P. 23.

82 NAZ Box 124 Northern Rhodesia Police Gazette: Zambia Police Annual Report for The year 1973, p. 7.

83 J., Hunt, "The logic of sexism among police". Women and Criminal Justice, (1990) 2, pp. 3-30.

84 Hunt, "The logic of sexism among police". pp. 3-30.

Women faced various challenges during training and in the field while performing their duties.

Prior to 1995, the Zambia Police was called a Force because its trainings and operations were mainly characterised by force. The instructors at the training school would force the female trainees to have sexual relations with them. Additionally, instructors used to beat female trainees as part of training without regard for human rights and because there was no sensitisation on the observance and respect for human rights. During this period there were no female instructors and matrons whom women recruits could confide in and look up to as their role models. The policewomen continued to face challenges in the field once they were deployed to perform their roles and duties as policewomen. They faced hostility from their male counterparts who could not accept working with them because they were considered to be incapable of performing police duties. Some policewomen endured the challenges and managed to become trained police officers despite the challenges they faced. However, some women trainees and officers failed to contain the challenges and decided to withdraw.

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