

Police violence targeting LGBTIQ+ people in Nigeria: Advancing solutions for a 21st century challenge

 Sulaimon Abiodun Olawale Giwa^{1,2}, Carmen H. Logie³, Karun K. Karki⁴, Olumide F. Makanjuola⁵ and Chinonye Edmund Obiagwu⁶

¹ School of Social Work & Department of Sociology (Police Studies), Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada

² Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice, St. Thomas University, Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada

³ Factor-Inwentash Faculty of Social Work, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

⁴ School of Social Work and Human Services, University of the Fraser Valley, Abbotsford, British Columbia, Canada

⁵ Sexual Health and Rights Advocate, Nigeria

⁶ Legal Defence and Assistance Project (Human Rights Lawyer), Nigeria

Received 19 April 2020

Accepted for publication 18 June 2020

Published 30 June 2020

Abstract

The Government of Nigeria passed the Same-Sex Marriage Prohibition Act (SSMPA) in 2014, emboldening the human rights violations of LGBTIQ+ Nigerians by state and nonstate actors. Nigerian police enforce morality laws that criminalize same-sex relations, but their role as perpetrators of violence has not been well studied. Using six-year (2014 to 2019) administrative data, this article investigates the prevalence and typology of police violence and abuse of LGBTIQ+ Nigerians. Since SSMPA, violence against LGBTIQ+ Nigerians has risen by 214 percent. Survivors frequently report arbitrary arrest and unlawful detention, invasion of privacy, physical assault and battery, and blackmail/extortion. This study is the first to present serial, cross-sectional findings of LGBTIQ+ Nigerians' experience with the police. Available administrative reports and data were synthesized to produce a general picture of the situation on the ground. Findings point to actionable social and policy recommendations that can be taken to promote police accountability and improve police-LGBTIQ+ community relations.

Keywords: Same-Sex Marriage Prohibition Act; LGBTIQ+; police violence and abuse; human rights; Nigeria

1. Introduction

Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender/gender diverse, intersex and queer (LGBTIQ+) people live in contexts of danger and precarity in many global regions. In 70 countries across the world, same-sex sexual practices are criminalized; in 44 of these countries, legal constraints are applied to both men and women (Mendos, 2019). These countries include 31 of 54 African countries, of which 24 criminalize same-sex

practices for both men and women and 7 between men only (Mendos, 2019). In many of these countries, LGBTIQ+ people's human rights are repeatedly violated with no recourse to justice (Kennedy et al., 2013; Poteat et al., 2011; Zahn et al., 2016). Punishments range from flogging (Sudan) to life imprisonment (Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia) and the death penalty (Sudan, the southern part of Somalia and 12 Nigerian states; Mendos, 2019). Eleven countries in Africa have 'morality' laws that prohibit public expressions of sexual and

gender diversity, including provision of information for LGBTIQ+ people (Mendos, 2019). In 19 African countries, the right to develop and register LGBTIQ+ agencies and non-governmental organizations is restricted (Mendos, 2019). These regulations limit civil society's participation and ability to advocate for LGBTIQ+ rights and services.

Human-rights violations of LGBTIQ+ people in sub-Saharan Africa are rooted in perceptions that same-sex identities and gender diversity are foreign or Western influences, therefore 'un-African'. This thinking persists despite anthropological evidence that same-sex relationships have existed since precolonial times in Africa. Murray and Roscoe (1998, p. 6), for example, have argued that same-sex practices have been a 'consistent and logical feature of African societies and belief systems'. As African societies emerged from European colonial rule, the inclusive views they once held gave way to discriminatory and punitive responses to sexual orientation and gender diversity. Precolonial social acceptance was undermined through colonial laws fuelling discriminatory practices that today continue to undermine—and erase—LGBTIQ+ Africans from memory, imagination and nation building. Former colonial powers introduced most of the current laws criminalizing same-sex practices in African contexts, yet they have removed these laws in their own countries, labelling them as discriminatory. Semugoma, Nemande and Baral (2012) describe this as 'the irony of homophobia in Africa'. For example, in the Nigerian Criminal Code any act of same-sex practices is outlawed including oral and penetrative sex; these are described as 'carnal knowledge against the order of nature' and 'acts of gross indecency' (The Federation of Nigeria, 1916).

Many reasons are given for the denial of LGBTIQ+ human rights in many parts of Africa. These include religion; concern with preserving the traditional (heteronormative) family unit; fear of HIV transmission; protecting children from imagined child abuse; and the perception that LGBTIQ+ Africans will receive preferential treatment (Human Rights Watch, 2016; Sexual Minorities Uganda, 2014). This perception is grounded in the idea that extending equal rights to LGBTIQ+ Africans would normalize non-heterosexual orientations and in turn result in 'special' or 'additional' rights and privileges. No scientific evidence substantiates claims that recognition and protection of LGBTIQ+ rights would have negative societal impacts. The contrary is true: human-rights violations among LGBTIQ+ people compromise health. For instance, an article focused on the immediate effects of the passage of the Same-Sex Marriage (Prohibition) Act (SSMPA) reported an increased fear of seeking health care, and avoidance of health care and HIV prevention and treatment services among men who have sex with men in Nigeria (Schwartz et al., 2015).

This article presents exploratory research on the role that the police may play in constraining LGBTIQ+ people's sexual and gender rights. As part of the state apparatus designed to

uphold the rule of law, police may act in ways that restrict and infringe on the rights of LGBTIQ+ people (Zahn et al., 2016). International non-governmental organizations have consistently reported the problem of police violations of LGBTIQ+ people's rights (Human Rights Watch, 2016); however, knowledge is lacking on the prevalence and forms of police violence and abuse. This case study about police violence against LGBTIQ+ people in Nigeria draws on a human rights-based framework to illustrate this argument. Nigeria is an appropriate case study due to its hostile legal and social environment: same-sex sexuality and gender non-conformity are criminalized, either by imprisonment in states without Sharia law, or by death penalty in states under Sharia law (Amnesty International, 2013; Carroll and Mendos, 2017).

2. Human rights-based conceptual framework

In certain global contexts, LGBTIQ+ people are denied their basic rights to participate fully in everyday life (Mendos, 2019). The inequality and marginalization they experience keep them in a position of disadvantage (Dentato, 2018). At the core of the global human rights-based framework captured in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) is the belief that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and in rights (UDHR, 1948). The framework employs a two-pronged objective for populations that are marginalized or excluded, vulnerable and discriminated against. First, rights holders are empowered to claim and exercise their inalienable rights (UNDG Human Rights Working Group, 2003). Second, official authorities are held accountable to promote and protect the human rights of all citizens, without discrimination on the basis of a prohibited ground (e.g. sexual orientation or gender identity; UNDG Human Rights Working Group, 2003).

LGBTIQ+ people's lives flourish in global regions where their right to life, security and protection by the state is safeguarded (Mendos, 2019). However, LGBTIQ+ people's human rights are not recognized or protected everywhere. Thus, they are at risk for discrimination, abuse, poor health and death (Marks, 2006). The Yogyakarta Principles (2007), a benchmark for the international protection of human rights in relation to sexual orientation and gender identity, upholds UDHR principles by reaffirming the duty of individual states to ensure that LGBTIQ+ people are protected against violence or bodily harm from both state and nonstate actors.

A human rights-based approach may result in social justice for the most vulnerable and marginalized members of society (Ife, 2012; Reichert, 2007), including LGBTIQ+ people in Nigeria. It would promote the use of legal mechanisms for rights protections and ensure access to essential services free from discrimination (e.g. freedom from police violence and abuse). Finally, it would reinforce the

concept that LGBTIQ+ people are citizens who should be recognized and treated as such (Broberg and Sano, 2018).

3. Contextualizing police violence and abuse in Nigeria

Before Nigeria was colonized by Britain in 1861, traditional, Indigenous policing was common throughout the region. It embraced informal social control and restorative justice values, rooted in religious and social structures (Arisukwu, 2012; Ikuteyijo and Rotimi, 2012). Traditional rulers were involved in the day-to-day resolution of crimes and dispute settlement (Zumve, 2012); transgressors were required to make amends to their victims and the community, based on established norms. This system of crime control allowed for law and order to be maintained, without much violence taking place.

However, when Britain expanded its colonial powers across Nigeria, it replaced traditional policing methods with Western systems of policing (Tamuno, 1970). It became commonplace for police to use violent force against Nigerians to silence dissent or resistance to British colonial rule. Compliance and defensive weapons were means to subjugate and otherwise incapacitate—or even kill—those who contested colonial labour exploitation. The Women's Riot of December 1929 to January 1930, where the military and police were deployed, resulted in the death of 55 women; more than 50 other women were seriously injured (Alemika and Chukwuma, 2000). In the Enugu colliery strike in 1949, 21 miners were killed, and 50 others wounded (Alemika and Chukwuma, 2000). A similar pattern of events unfolded during the Tiv Riots of 1960—the same year that Nigeria gained its independence from Britain—wherein 19 civilians were killed and 83 injured (Alemika and Chukwuma, 2000). The strategy of using violent repression marked the police relationship with the public; this has continued to the present day.

Contemporary police violence against the general population in Nigeria is widespread and well documented (Alemika and Chukwuma, 2000). Political and socioeconomic instability in the country, coupled with institutional management problems internal to the police force, has long been argued to foster a climate of lawlessness, corruption, intimidation, confrontation with the public, and harassment (Karimu, 2014). Under successive military regimes, Nigerian police have enforced authoritarian directives that have stymied the development and functioning of democratic institutions (Arisukwu, 2012). The lack of sustained government investment in the police force has further contributed to a situation where police personnel are ill equipped to meet public safety priorities and the emerging needs of local communities (Ikuteyijo and Rotimi, 2012), giving rise to vigilante groups such as the Bakassi Boys (disbanded by the federal government in 2002). Such groups,

unlike rogue individuals and mobs, have been emboldened by the ineffectiveness of the police in curbing crime (Taft and Haken, 2015) and have used more violence. According to Karimu (2014, p. 82), 'No government agency in Nigeria except the defunct National Electric Power Authority has been so severely criticized as the Nigeria police for not living to its responsibilities and expectations'.

Nigerian police have been found to routinely engage in behaviours that undermine the rule of law (Alemika and Chukwuma, 2000). In extortion-related confrontations at roadblocks meant to combat crime, ordinary citizens have reportedly been beaten, sexually assaulted, and/or killed for not paying bribes to the police (Human Rights Watch, 2005, 2010). LGBTIQ+ people have also been targeted in LGBTIQ+ spaces such as at parties organized by LGBTIQ+ members or on social networking and online dating applications like Grindr, Manjam or 2go, in order to intimidate or extort money from them (Okereke, 2019). These abuses have often acted as foils for the police to extort even more money from the families of those in custody (Human Rights Watch, 2005, 2010). The corrupt system of 'returns', in which junior officers pay their superiors some of the money collected from bribes and extortions, fosters a culture of impunity that incentivizes these abuses to continue with disregard for any form of accountability (Human Rights Watch, 2005, 2010).

4. Sociolegal contexts of police brutality and abuse of LGBTIQ+ people in Nigeria

Internationally, the development of LGBTIQ+ advocacy may be traced to specific incidents that sparked a movement for LGBTIQ+ rights, such as the Stonewall rebellion in New York City (Carter, 2004). Compared to these, the current struggle for LGBTIQ+ human rights in Nigeria may be argued to stem from provisions in the penal code and SSMPA criminalizing consensual same-sex relations in the country. Sections 214, 215, and 217 of Nigeria's Criminal Code Act (The Federation of Nigeria, 1916) permit the state to penalize sexual practices between persons of the same sex. More recently, the Nigerian government passed the Same-Sex Marriage (Prohibition) Act (SSMPA), which came into effect in January 2014 (Refworld, 2019). The Act imposes far-reaching restraints on LGBTIQ+ people's lives in Nigeria (Adebanjo, 2015; Adeoye, 2019; Sogunro, 2017). Along with barring same-sex marriage or civil union, cohabitation between same-sex partners, and direct or indirect public display of same-sex relationships, it prohibits the registration and lawful assembly of LGBTIQ+ groups, organizations, clubs and societies. Supporters and human rights defenders also face severe punishment that can include up to 10 years in prison (Refworld, 2019). According to the international non-governmental organization Human Rights Watch (2016), public violence and police abuse of LGBTIQ+ people in Nigeria have increased since the passage of SSMPA. Its

punitive laws promote a climate of fear and anxiety among the general population, which contributes to a cycle of misconceptions and stigma leading to aggression and violence, as well as conveying to LGBTIQ+ Nigerians that their lives are disposable (Bass and Lee, 2015).

The police are the enforcement arm of the state when it comes to constraining LGBTIQ+ people's rights. In Nigeria, they play an important role in upholding state-sanctioned decrees that legitimize violence (Human Rights Watch, 2016). Nigeria's Constitution guarantees the human rights of all its citizens and makes no specific reference to sexual orientation and gender identity. However, SSMPA can result in increased violence against LGBTIQ+ people (Schwartz et al., 2015). Indeed, while police as an institution are at the nexus of enforcing discriminatory laws against LGBTIQ+ people, they simultaneously have the responsibility to protect and serve marginalized and vulnerable populations, ostensibly including LGBTIQ+ people (United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2018). Such denial of rights protection results in LGBTIQ+ Nigerians having no recourse to justice.

The denial of human-rights protection promoted by SSMPA thus leaves the Nigerian police in a precarious position: the fundamental rights of some citizens are respected and upheld, while those of LGBTIQ+ people are denied. This situation is ironic because of the disconnect between police primary responsibilities as described on paper—to serve 'mankind [*sic*]; to safeguard lives and properties; to protect the innocent against oppression or intimidation and the peaceful against violence or disorder; and to respect the constitutional rights of all men [*sic*] to liberty, equality and justice' (Premium Times, n.d., 'Primary Responsibilities of a Police Officer')—and the way it is practised in real life. In failing to extend protection from discrimination to LGBTIQ+ people, as guaranteed by the Constitution to all Nigerians, the ability of the police to foster a positive relationship with the LGBTIQ+ community is undermined.

5. Methodology

Prior to SSMPA coming into effect in January 2014, to our knowledge there had been no systematic effort to collect statistical data on the human-rights violations experienced by LGBTIQ+ people by the Nigeria Police Force. Likely sources of data—the Nigeria Police Force and the Ministry of Police Affairs—do not collect this type of information. In both cases, the ability of state actors to recognize the negative consequences of SSMPA and other anti-LGBTIQ+ legislation is undermined by a lack of data, without which it is difficult to establish a starting point from which to track progress over time.

Since SSMPA's enactment, the organization Initiative for Equal Rights (TIERS), in collaboration with several

LGBTIQ+ human-rights organizations, has documented reports of violence. These reports (dating from 2014 to 2019) and the figures and tables generated by the authors constitute our data sources for this research. Sources for the reports included survivors, friends and/or eyewitnesses, TIERS community-based paralegals, media reports and 24-hour call-in hotline numbers. In 2015, TIERS published a report on human-rights violations for the period December 2014 to November 2015 (TIERS, 2015). They published similar reports for the periods December 2015 to November 2016 and December 2016 to November 2017, respectively (TIERS, 2016, 2017). The most recent reports, published in 2018 and 2019, covered the periods December 2017 to November 2018 and December 2018 to November 2019, respectively (TIERS, 2018, 2019).

The human-rights unit at TIERS authenticated and completed status reports on all reported cases. The intake documentation tool featured a questionnaire section on the survivor's sexual orientation, gender identity/expression and social identity—were they out, not out, or actively part of any known LGBTIQ+ community/organization in Nigeria. Intake case managers also asked survivors if they believed they had been violated because of their real or perceived sexuality or gender identity/expression, and gathered additional data like screenshots, photos, affidavits, medical forms and police complaint forms, if available. Survivors were informed that case data would be featured in TIERS's annual report, which would not include their personal information without their consent. TIERS also have a status section to track ongoing cases.

Summative qualitative content analysis was employed to make sense of the data (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). Keyword frequency counts or manifest content were incorporated and then broadened inductively to include an analysis of latent meanings or themes (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). First, each report was read in its entirety to develop a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of interest. Next, administrative data contained in the reports were closely examined to identify, group, and quantify words for content usage. This process was manually facilitated with the aid of coloured markers, organizing data into meaningful patterns (Givens, 2008). Using Word document functions, the resulting data were captured in figures and a table, including relative and absolute figures. Finally, the data were interpreted against the context of SSMPA's impacts on LGBTIQ+ rights in Nigeria.

6. Findings and discussion

As Figure 1 shows, between SSMPA's introduction in 2014 and 2019, the frequency and number of reported instances of violence and human-rights violations against LGBTIQ+ people by state actors, nonstate actors, and state

and nonstate actors combined has steadily increased. In general, reports of LGBTIQ+ violence and human right violations increased 214 percent. (An exception was 2016, which saw a drop in the number of reported cases from the previous year, from 172 to 151.) Men were more likely than women to report having experienced violence and violations of their human rights. There were 129, 228, 265 and 344 reported violations against men in 2016, 2017, 2018 and 2019 respectively. (These figures are higher than reported violations for the same years, perhaps because they take into consideration the total number of people violated and not just the total number of violations.) In the same years 28, 19, 21 and 53 reported violations were against women. No breakdowns for reported violations by gender were available for the years 2014 and 2015.

It is important to note that because of actual or perceived threats of violence, these numbers may underestimate true prevalence. Survivors may have decided not to report their case for fear of retaliation or further abuse by police (Angeles

and Roberton, 2020; Dario et al., 2020; Giwa and Jackman, 2020; Herek, 1989; Hodge and Sexton, 2018; Human Rights Watch, 2016; Mallory, Hasenbush and Sears, 2015; Miles-Johnson, 2013; Nyanzi, 2014). Nonetheless, the data suggest a possible relationship between SSMPA and the spike in LGBTIQ+ violence and human-rights violations, but causality cannot be inferred, as no earlier data exist for comparison. As discussed previously, Nigeria has had anti-LGBTIQ+ laws as part of its social fabric since 1916.

How the frequency and prevalence of historical violence compares with current figures is unknown. Community-level stigma and discrimination towards LGBTIQ+ people have, according to Adebajo (2015), persisted for a long time and could be seen to contribute to mistreatment of LGBTIQ+ Nigerians. The observed increase in LGBTIQ+ violence and human-rights violations may thus reflect rising community-level stigma, or it may reflect the synergistic effect of the law on community attitudes and behaviours. This deserves additional, rigorously designed research attention.

Figure 1. Prevalence of reported LGBTIQ+ violence and human-rights violations in Nigeria, 2014-2019

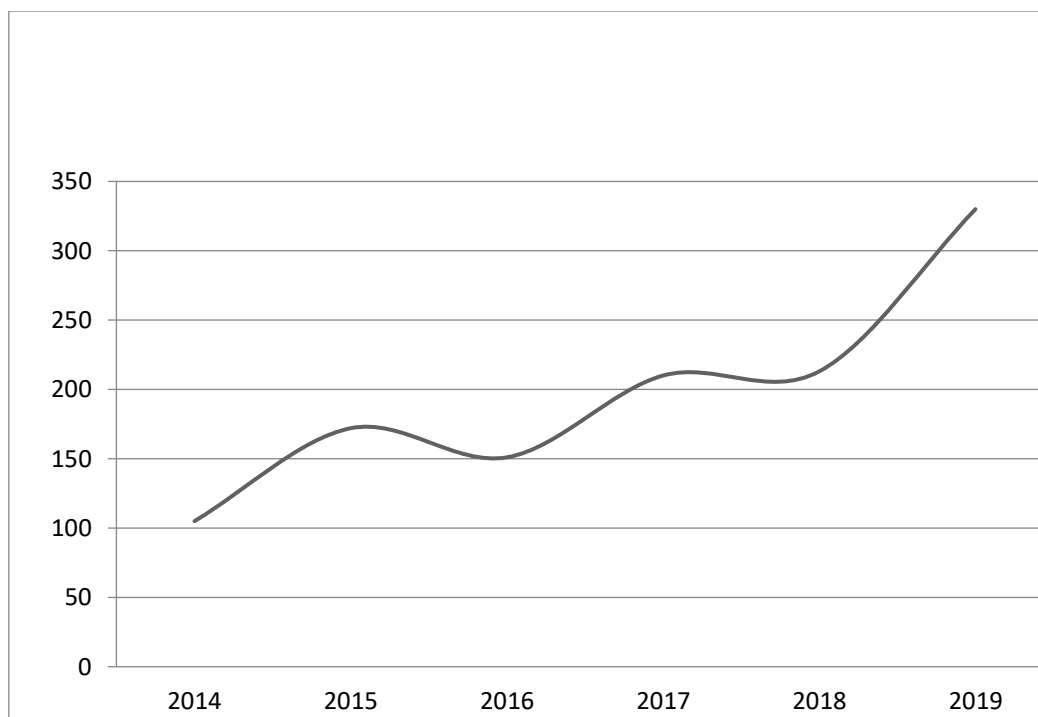


Figure 2 illustrates the reported violations by state actors, nonstate actors, and state and nonstate actors combined. This figure demonstrates that nonstate actors accounted for most reported perpetrations of violence against LGBTIQ+ people. From 2014 to 2018, the reported number of violations among state actors was stable except for 2017, when the average decreased by 27 percent. However, in 2019, there was a 100 percent increase in the average over the previous five years.

These findings suggest that Nigeria remains a dangerous place for the safety and inclusion of LGBTIQ+ people.

By contrast, reported violations rose by 57 percent among nonstate actors between 2014 and 2015 (from 79 to 124). This was followed by a decline of 15 percent between 2015 and 2016 (from 124 to 106) and an increase of 58 percent between 2016 and 2017 (from 106 to 168). There was an additional slight increase of 1.2 percent between 2017 and 2018 (from 168 to 170). This was followed by a substantial increase of 44

percent between 2018 and 2019 (from 170 to 244). The rise in reported violence perpetrated towards LGBTIQ+ people by nonstate actors—such as individual persons, mobs and vigilante groups—can be situated in the larger context of criminalization of LGBTIQ+ identities, expressions and organizations. For reasons discussed earlier, the existing culture of violence in Nigeria also makes it easier for LGBTIQ+ people’s rights to be violated. Pervasive violence may produce a climate of impunity for nonstate actors, who can perpetrate violence towards LGBTIQ+ people while being perceived by the state and police as fulfilling the community’s wish to constrain sexual and gender diversity (Adebanjo, 2015).

When individual citizens and mobs violate the human rights of LGBTIQ+ people and their actions are ignored or overlooked by the police, LGBTIQ+ people are silenced from speaking out about their abuse. For example, in a research

report based on 73 interviews with LGBT people, Human Rights Watch (2016) found that LGBT Nigerians feared reporting their abuse to police since doing so could elevate their risk for further harm. Violence by community and police therefore further constrain sexual and human rights by rendering LGBTIQ+ people unable to seek justice.

As can be seen in Table 1, the top-reported forms of violence and human-rights violations by nonstate actors (i.e. individuals, mobs and private groups implicated in the violation of LGBTIQ+ human rights) were physical assault and battery; blackmail and extortion; harassment (unspecified); stigma and discrimination; and defamation. Correspondingly, the top-reported violations by state actors (i.e. police, judiciary and other agents who act on behalf of the government or its agencies) were arbitrary arrest and unlawful detention; invasion of privacy; physical assault and battery; and blackmail and extortion.

Figure 2. Reported violence and human-rights violations by state, nonstate, and state and nonstate actors against LGBTIQ+ persons in Nigeria, 2014 to 2019.

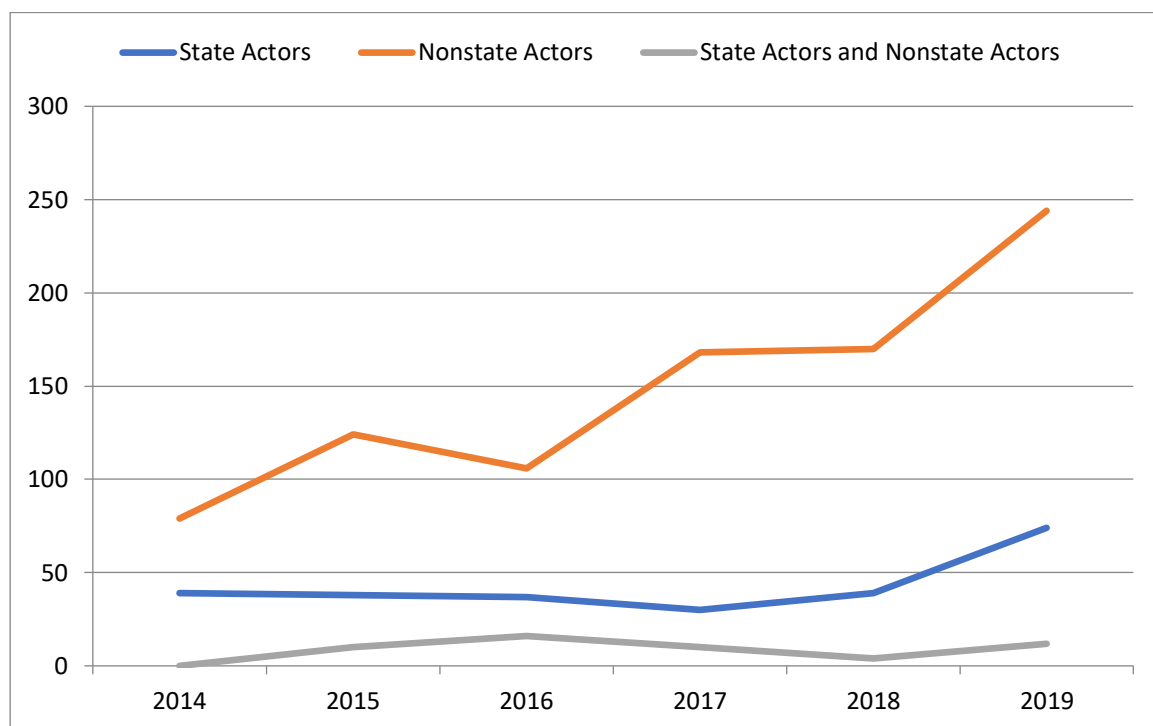


Table 1. Violence and Human-Rights Violations Against LGBTIQ+ People in Nigeria, 2014 to 2019.

Type of violation	2019 Perpetrated by			2018 Perpetrated by			2017 Perpetrated by			2016 Perpetrated by			2015 Actors not specified no./%	2014 Actors not specified no./%
	State actors no./%	Nonstate actors no./%	All actors no./%	State actors no./%	Nonstate actors no./%	All actors no./%	State actors no./%	Nonstate actors no./%	All actors no./%	State actors no./%	Nonstate actors no./%	All actors no./%		
Arbitrary/unlawful arrest & detention	42/38%		4/15%	22/39%	6/2%	1/14%	9/20%	2/1%	6/32%	19/42%	6/4%	9/36%	27/23%	39/35%
Attempted murder, murder & manslaughter		1/0.3%		1/2%	3/1%		1/2%	2/1%			2/1%			
Blackmail/bribery/extortion	14/13%	54/15%	5/19%	10/18%	57/24%	3/43%	2/4%	65/29%	3/16%	4/9%	44/27%	6/24%	54/46%	19/17%
Breach of confidentiality, invasion of privacy	16/14%	12/3%	2/7%	10/18%	15/6%	1/14%	15/35%	15/7%	3/16%	11/24%	11/7%	4/16%		
Defamation		12/3%			15/6%		1/2%	19/8%	1/5%	3/7%	16/10%	3/12%		
Denial of fair trial/hearing							2/4%		1/5%	3/7%	1/1%			
Deprivation of liberty, peaceful assembly		5/1%					1/2%	1/0.4%		1/2%	2/1%			
Discrimination & stigma	4/4%	29/8%	1/4%	1/2%	21/9%		1/2%	15/7%	1/5%		6/4%			
Forceful eviction		14/4%			12/5%			25/11%			10/6%			
Harassment (unspecified)	9/8%	34/10%			16/7%									
Hate speech & crime		5/1%			3/1%									
Kidnap		4/1%			3/1%		1/2%	1/0.4%			2/1%			

(table continues)

Table 1. (cont'd.)

Type of violation	2019 Perpetrated by			2018 Perpetrated by			2017 Perpetrated by			2016 Perpetrated by			2015	2014
	State actors no./%	Nonstate actors no./%	All actors no./%	State actors no./%	Nonstate actors no./%	All actors no./%	State actors no./%	Nonstate actors no./%	All actors no./%	State actors no./%	Nonstate actors no./%	All actors no./%		
Mob attack		6/2%		1/2%	10/4%		1/2%	4/2%			3/2%			9/8%
Physical harassment, assault & battery	17/15%	82/23%	6/22%	4/7%	37/15%		6/13%	44/19%	2/11%	2/4%	31/19%		37/31%	34/31%
Police brutality				2/4%	1/0.4%	1/14%								
Rape, attempted rape	1/1%	10/3%			12/5%		1/2%	4/2%			2/1%			
Sexual harassment, assault	1/1%	13/4%	2/7%	3/5%		1/14%					1/1%			
Theft		23/7%	2/7%		10/4%		1/2%	10/4%		1/2%	10/6%	1/4%		
Threat to life		14/4%	1/4%	1/2%	11/5%		2/4%	10/4%	1/5%	1/2%	10/6%	2/8%		10/9%
Torture	4/4%	8/2%		2/4%	5/2%			6/3%	1/5%		2/1%			
Trespass								1/0.4%						
Verbal abuse	3/3%	25/7%	4/15%		2/1%									
Wrongful dismissal					2/1%			2/1%			3/2%			

Note: Percentages are for the year specified. They have been rounded off and may not add up to 100%. ‘All actors’ comprises state and nonstate actors acting together. For 2014 and 2015, available data from TIERS did not specify whether reported violence and human-rights violations were committed by state actors, nonstate actors, or both. Only the raw totals were provided for the reported top violations.

Although most violence and human-rights violations by state and nonstate actors were carried out independently of each other (except for 2014, for which data are unavailable) both groups acting *together* were also implicated in the abuse of LGBTIQ+ people. Figure 2 shows that in 2015 there were 10 reported cases of violations by state and nonstate actors in unison. This figure rose to 16 in 2016, an increase of 60 percent. It dropped, however, in 2017 to 10, a decline of 38 percent. Then, in 2018, it plummeted again to 4, a decline of 60 percent. However, there was an increase from 4 to 12 in 2019, marking a historic growth of 200 percent.

We suspect that the Public Complaint Rapid Response Unit News Bulletin from the Inspector General of Police in 2016 may have had an effect on the behaviours of police officers (Abimboye, 2016) and could help to explain the observed decline between 2017 and 2018. The Bulletin cautioned officers against illegal mobile phone checks and stressed severe disciplinary actions where it was proven that an officer engaged in such behaviour. The change in officers' behaviour, in turn, may have influenced the actions of individual citizens and mobs during the same periods, such that they engaged less in violence and human-rights violations of LGBTIQ+ people. In this way, the intervention by the Inspector General of Police is a potential indication of the power of police leadership to shape the conduct of police members—and by extension the general public—in respecting the constitutional rights of LGBTIQ+ Nigerians.

Nonetheless, based on the figure from 2019, it appears that police leadership continues to struggle with bringing the behaviour of police members in line with human-rights standards and practices. The lack of consistency in this regard could promote harmful social norms that advocate and rationalize community violence against LGBTIQ+ people (Human Rights Watch, 2016). Thus, LGBTIQ+ people may not feel safe to reach out to the police for help when their human rights are being violated (Human Rights Watch, 2016). Further research is required with both police officers and LGBTIQ+ people in Nigeria to understand the dynamics of the police leadership and the changes in reporting.

7. Policy and social action responses to police violence targeting LGBTIQ+ people in Nigeria

Policy drives much of the violence and sexual and human-rights constraints experienced by LGBTIQ+ people (Beyrer, 2014). An immediate policy action that could be taken by the Nigerian government, of course, would be to abolish the SSMPA law. The removal of sections 214, 215 and 217 from the Criminal Code Act, which criminalize same-sex sexual practices, could follow. Finally, LGBTIQ+-specific rights have not existed for over a century (The Federation of Nigeria, 1916). Laws need to be passed to protect LGBTIQ+ people from discrimination. They need to be enacted so that persons,

including state and nonstate actors, could be prosecuted for violating LGBTIQ+ people's rights. Similar progressive policies respecting the human rights of LGBTIQ+ people exist in countries such as South Africa, which after becoming the first African country to prohibit discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity in its Constitution (Mendos, 2019), celebrated its 30th annual Johannesburg Pride parade in October 2019. South Africa was also the fifth country in the world to legalize same-sex marriage (Masci, Sciupac and Lipka, 2019) and to allow adoption by same-sex couples (Thoreson, 2008). These LGBTIQ+-inclusive non-discrimination policies affirm and protect the equal rights of non-heterosexual people to life, liberty and security of the person.

Policies can also specifically address police practices. The government could issue an explicit directive to police commissioners and senior officers, prohibiting all forms of extortion, bribery, torture in police custody, violations of privacy and corruption in the name of SSMPA. Such a directive could instruct police officials to implement a hate-crime recording and monitoring framework for reported acts of violence against LGBTIQ+ people and require them to investigate such cases without delay. Furthermore, as measures of accountability the Ministry of Police Affairs could share reports of police-reported LGBTIQ+ hate crimes and investigations received from the Nigeria Police Force to the police affairs, human rights and justice committees of the National Assembly. While implementing policies does not ensure changes in practice, it is a start. It could be buttressed by trainings from community-based LGBTIQ+ and human-rights groups and supported internally by police personnel who champion LGBTIQ+ rights and human rights more broadly.

Training and professional development opportunities informed by stigma-reduction strategies could be provided to legislators and policymakers, to prevent against further enactment of punitive sexual-orientation and gender-identity discrimination laws (Human Rights Watch, 2016). Topics in such trainings might include LGBTIQ+ identities and terminologies; the harmful impacts of stigma and discrimination; the state of LGBTIQ+ rights in Nigeria and around the world; and inclusive policies that promote the rights and well-being of LGBTIQ+ people. In addition, the trainings should be interactive and include in-person professional workshops, case studies and role-plays or simulations. These have been found to be more effective than lecture-style trainings, because they emphasize adult learning principles (Della, 2004; Morgan et al., 2000; Israel et al., 2014). Trainings must include staff at the Ministry of Police Affairs as well as police officers and cadets, to sensitize them to the realities of LGBTIQ+ people. One study (Israel et al., 2014) found that police who participated in a five-hour training on LGBTQ issues increased their knowledge of the

challenges faced by LGBTQ people and reported improved confidence using LGBTQ-affirming tactics (i.e. strategies used in response to hate-motivated incidents directed at someone who is LGBTQ). The Nigeria Police Force and the Ministry of Police Affairs must envisage a new relationship with the country's LGBTQ+ community. Through diverse public engagement and promotional activities, they must seek ways to gain the trust of LGBTQ+ people and encourage them to report acts of violence by state and nonstate actors, with assurance that they will be taken seriously.

On the social action front, LGBTQ+ organizations in Nigeria recognize that the struggle for civil rights and equality under the law in that country are connected to those of the broader international community. Within the limits of legal restrictions and much in the way seen in other countries where LGBTQ+ rights are protected by law, they make consistent attempts to document the experiences of LGBTQ+ people in Nigeria, bring global attention to their situation and encourage pressure from regional and international communities on the Nigerian government to enact laws that protect the human rights of LGBTQ+ people (Adebanjo, 2015).

Local efforts from groups such as TIERS are also paving the way towards a more inclusive society that supports the liberation and visibility of LGBTQ+ people in Nigeria. For example, as part of its capacity-building initiative, TIERS offers sensitization and empowerment skills training to institutional stakeholders and community members to enhance their knowledge about LGBTQ+ people. The declining support for SSMPA may be directly related to this effort—87 percent of Nigerians polled by NOI Polls in 2015 showed support for SSMPA, compared to 92 percent in 2013 (Bisi Alimi Foundation, TIERS and GLAAD, 2015).

Coalition building and broad-based mobilization with non-LGBTQ+-focused groups, including the 334 community-based and non-governmental organizations affiliated with the Human Rights Agenda Network (HRAN) based in Nigeria (HRAN, 2019), are also integral to advancing LGBTQ+ human rights. Such alliances can help to build solidarity and catalyse respect for LGBTQ+ people's human rights by collectivizing shared struggles (Beyrer, 2012). These organizations could include HIV organizations providing prevention and care services to the general population (e.g. AIDS Healthcare Foundation Nigeria); women's organizations and others advocating gender equality (e.g. Women's Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative); and disability organizations and advocacy groups promoting the political and social rights of people with disabilities (e.g. Centre for Citizens with Disabilities). Because some of these collaborators may already be engaged in collaborative work involving police leadership and/or have experience working successfully with police on a common goal serving the public interest, they could leverage existing relationships to advance human rights for LGBTQ+ Nigerians. Such advocacy could

result in the creation of a police-LGBTQ+ liaison committee, for example, similar to those operating in countries like Canada (Kirkup, 2013), to help bridge the divide between the police and members of LGBTQ+ communities and foster social engagement in shared activities.

A helpful starting place for building respectful and equitable relationships can be practising cultural humility, through self-reflection on one's beliefs and cultural identities (Tervalon and Murray-Garcia, 1998). Cultural humility practices include self-awareness, openness to learning and embracing complexity (Bennett and Gates, 2019). Dialogues rooted in cultural humility can help people to engage in self-reflection and self-critique on their own assumptions, biases and values regarding LGBTQ+ issues. Such dialogues could then highlight the negative impacts of stigma and discrimination on LGBTQ+ people, their families and Nigerian society to change stigmatizing attitudes and to recognize LGBTQ+ rights as human rights. There are more than 250 ethnic tribes in Nigeria (Adedini *et al.*, 2015), so no two dialogues can be the same. However, dialogues in community forums that allow individuals, groups and families to share their experiences and learn from one another can help to drive social change to improve the human rights of LGBTQ+ people (McAllister, 2015). As well, in this approach, there should be a collaborative effort towards alliance building with religious, social and cultural commentators who are not necessarily members of the LGBTQ+ community but who have a broad-base, national appeal in speaking against the stigma and discrimination of LGBTQ+ people (McAllister, 2015).

As the above strategies for social action to advance human rights suggest, changing people's negative attitudes, behaviours and underlying values and biases against LGBTQ+ persons will require a sustained, amplified and multifaceted effort. Human rights advocacy could leverage international collaborations with LGBTQ+ groups and activists in other global contexts. International collaborators could also engage in practices of cultural humility when seeking to work with Nigerian LGBTQ+ groups, which would involve acknowledging the historical roots of LGBTQ+ stigma in Nigeria—and other former colonies—in British colonial practices. Cultural humility for international collaborators working with LGBTQ+ Nigerians could integrate Bennett and Gates's (2019) recommendations to explore power differences, resource needs, considerations of diversity and of the whole person (beyond stigma) and to build ongoing, respectful relationships that maximizes local strengths, expertise and existing advocacy.

8. Limitations

Study limitations are worth noting. Our research relied on available administrative data from TIERS and partner

organizations covering six reporting periods between January 2014 and November 2019. The data set is cross-sectional, precluding understanding of causality, and we are limited in variables to assess, as labels were predefined. Qualitative data to enhance deeper understanding of the issue are also lacking.

The Nigeria Police Force is key to the safety of LGBTIQ+ people but is often overlooked in the process of finding solutions to violence perpetrated by police officers. Research could explore officers' views of internal and external changes needed to improve their relationships with, and perceptions of, police service quality for LGBTIQ+ people. In addition, ongoing grassroots activism challenging dominant norms of sexual orientation and gender identity has been helpful in slowly shifting societal attitudes towards LGBTIQ+ people in Nigeria (Bisi Alimi Foundation, TIERS and GLAAD, 2015). However, this change has not trickled down into all public institutions. Little progress has been made in the delivery of justice and in advancing equality for LGBTIQ+ people under the law. Thus, another possible research direction is to explore barriers to grassroots LGBTIQ+ organizations activism effecting policy change and policing reforms in Nigeria.

9. Conclusions

The current research synthesized serial cross-sectional data to produce a general picture of the experience of LGBTIQ+ Nigerians with the police. The presented data showed that, since the introduction of SSMPA, human-rights violations and abuse rose by 214 percent. The police are involved in several actions that compromise the safety and well-being of LGBTIQ+ Nigerians. Arbitrary arrest and unlawful detention, invasion of privacy, physical assault and battery and blackmail and extortion were the top human-rights violations and abuses reported among police state actors. These findings have important implications for policing in a democratic state such as Nigeria. Police legitimacy—that is, citizens' trust in the police—risks being eroded when sworn officers participate in and perpetrate violence against LGBTIQ+ members of society. Their actions, though encouraged by the SSMPA and other existing discriminatory laws, undermine the fundamental rights of LGBTIQ+ Nigerians to a life free of violence and abuse as stipulated in the aforementioned legal regimes. Additionally, the unequal application of the rule of law means that LGBTIQ+ Nigerians are exposed to human-rights violations and abuse with no recourse to justice or support from the police. Addressing this issue is paramount to ensuring the safety and well-being of LGBTIQ+ Nigerians and to promoting a climate that support survivors to come forward in reporting their abuse to the police.

References

- Abimboye, M. (2016) *Inspector General of Police bans illegal accessing of mobile phones*. Available at: <https://www.legit.ng/685255-inspector-general-police-bans-illegal-accessing-mobile-phones.html> (Accessed: 26 August 2019).
- Adebanjo, A. T. (2015) 'Culture, morality and the law: Nigeria's anti-gay law in perspective', *International Journal of Discrimination and the Law*, 15(4), pp. 256–270.
- Adedini, S. A., Odimegwu, C., Imasiku, E. N. S. and Ononokpono, D. N. (2015) 'Ethnic differentials in under-five mortality in Nigeria', *Ethnicity & Health*, 20(2), pp. 145–162.
- Adeoye, A. (2019) *Nigerian police officer tells gays: leave country or face prosecution*. Available at: <https://www.cnn.com/2019/01/23/health/nigeria-police-gay-prosecution-warning/index.html> (Accessed: 16 February 2019).
- Alemika, E. E. O. and Chukwuma, I. C. (2000) *Police-community violence in Nigeria*. Available at: <http://new.cleen.org/police-violence.pdf> (Accessed: 6 September 2019).
- Amnesty International (2013) *Making love a crime: criminalization of same-sex conduct in sub-Saharan Africa*. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/8000/afr010012013en.pdf> (Accessed: 17 January 2019).
- Angeles, L. C. and Robertson, J. (2020, January-February) 'Empathy and inclusive public safety in the city: examining LGBTQ2+ voices and experiences of intersectional discrimination', *Women's Studies International Forum*, 78. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2019.102313>
- Arisukwu, O. C. (2012) 'Policing trends in Nigeria since independence (1960–2012)', *The Police Journal*, 85(2), pp. 151–159.
- Bass, K. G. and Lee, J. (2015) *Silenced voices, threatened lives: the impact of Nigeria's anti-LGBTI law on freedom of expression*. Available at: https://www.bisialimifoundation.org/site/bisialimifoundation/assets/pdf/bisi-alimi-nigeriareport_final_highres.pdf (Accessed: 17 January 2019).
- Bennett, B. and Gates, T. G. (2019) 'Teaching cultural humility for social workers serving LGBTQI Aboriginal communities in Australia', *Social Work Education*, 38(5), pp. 604–617.
- Beyrer, C. (2012) 'LGBT Africa: a social justice movement emerges in the era of HIV', *SAHARA-J: Journal of Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS*, 9(3), pp. 177–179.
- Beyrer, C. (2014) 'Pushback: the current wave of anti-homosexuality laws and impacts on health', *PLoS Medicine*, 11(6), e1001658 <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.1001658>

- Bisi Alimi Foundation, The Initiative for Equal Rights, and GLAAD (2015) *A closer look at Nigeria: attitudes on lesbian, gay, and bisexual people*. Available at: https://www.bisialimifoundation.org/site/bisialimifoundation/assets/pdf/bisi-alimi-nigeria-report_v3.pdf (Accessed: 19 January 2019).
- Broberg, M. and Sano, H.-O. (2018) 'Strengths and weaknesses in a human rights-based approach to international development – an analysis of a rights-based approach to development assistance based on practical experiences', *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 22(5), pp. 664–680.
- Carroll, A. and Mendos, L. R. (2017) *State-sponsored homophobia: A world survey of sexual orientation laws—criminalisation, protection and recognition*. 12th ed. Available at: https://ilga.org/downloads/2017/ILGA_State_Sponsored_Homophobia_2017_WEB.pdf (Accessed: 19 January 2019).
- Carter, D. (2004) *Stonewall: the riots that sparked the gay revolution*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Dario, L. M., Fradella, H. F., Verhagen, M. and Parry, M. M. (2020) 'Assessing LGBT people's perceptions of police legitimacy', *Journal of Homosexuality*, 67(7), pp. 885–915.
- Della, B. C. (2004) 'Nontraditional training systems: realizing the effectiveness of an agency's most valuable resource', *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, 73(6), pp. 1–9.
- Dentato, M. P. (ed.) (2018) *Social work practice with the LGBTQ community: the intersection of history, health, mental health, and policy factors*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- The Federation of Nigeria (1916) *Criminal Code Act*. Available at: <https://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/laws/en/ng/ng025en.pdf> (Accessed: 17 January 2019).
- Givens, L. M. (ed.) (2008) *The SAGE encyclopedia of qualitative research methods*. Volumes 1 and 2. Thousand Oaks: SAGE.
- Giwa, S. and Jackman, M. C. (2020) *Missing persons investigation and police interaction with racialized people who identify as LGBTQ2S+*. Independent Civilian Review into Missing Person Investigations. Toronto, ON: Toronto Police Services Board.
- Herek, G. M. (1989) 'Hate crimes against lesbians and gay men: issues for research and policy', *American Psychologist*, 44(6), pp. 948–955.
- Hodge, J. P. and Sexton, L. (2018). 'Examining the blue line in the rainbow: the interactions and perceptions of law enforcement among lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer communities', *Police Practice and Research: An International Journal*, 21(3), pp. 246–263. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15614263.2018.1526686>
- Hsieh, H. F. and Shannon, S. E. (2005) 'Three approaches to qualitative content analysis', *Qualitative Health Research*, 15(9), pp. 1277–1288.
- Human Rights Agenda Network (2019) *Human rights agenda network membership list*. Available at: <http://hrannigeria.org/members-list> (Accessed: 30 October 2019).
- Human Rights Watch (2005) *'Rest in pieces': police torture and deaths in custody in Nigeria*. Available at: <https://www.hrw.org/report/2005/07/27/rest-pieces/police-torture-and-deaths-custody-nigeria> (Accessed: 26 August 2019).
- Human Rights Watch (2010) *'Everyone's in on the game': corruption and human rights abuses by the Nigeria Police Force*. Available at: <https://www.hrw.org/report/2010/08/17/everyones-game/corruption-and-human-rights-abuses-nigeria-police-force> (Accessed: 26 August 2019).
- Human Rights Watch (2016) *'Tell me where I can be safe': the impact of Nigeria's Same Sex Marriage (Prohibition) Act*. Available at: https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/report_pdf/nigeria1016_web.pdf (Accessed: 17 January 2019).
- Ife, J. (2012) *Human rights and social work: towards rights-based practice*. 3rd edn. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ikuteyijo, L. and Rotimi, K. (2012) 'Community partnership in policing: the Nigerian experience', *The Police Journal*, 85(2), pp. 123–131.
- The Initiative for Equal Rights (2015) *2015 report on human rights violations based on real or perceived sexual orientation and gender identity in Nigeria*. Available at: <https://www.theinitiativeforequalrights.org/resources/2015-Report-on-Human-Rights-Violations-Based-on-Real-or-Perceived-Sexual-Orientation-and-Gender-Identity-in-Nigeria-.pdf> (Accessed: 19 January 2019).
- The Initiative for Equal Rights (2016) *2016 human rights violations report based on real or perceived sexual orientation and gender identity in Nigeria*. Available at: <https://theinitiativeforequalrights.org/resources/> (Accessed: 19 January 2019).
- The Initiative for Equal Rights (2017) *2017 human rights violations report based on sexual orientation and gender identity expression in Nigeria*. Available at: <https://theinitiativeforequalrights.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/2017-Human-Rights-report-pdf> (Accessed: 19 January 2019).
- The Initiative for Equal Rights (2018) *2018 human rights violations report based on real or perceived sexual orientation and gender identity in Nigeria*. Available at: <https://theinitiativeforequalrights.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/2018-Human-Rights-Report.pdf> (Accessed: 19 January 2019).
- The Initiative for Equal Rights (2019) *2019 human rights violations report based on real or perceived sexual orientation and gender identity in Nigeria*. Available at: <https://theinitiativeforequalrights.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/2019-Human-Rights-Violations-Reports-Based-on-SOGL.pdf> (Accessed: 4 January 2020).
- Israel, T., Harkness, A., Delucio, K., Ledbetter, J. N. and Avellar, T. R. (2014) 'Evaluation of police training on LGBTQ issues: knowledge, interpersonal apprehension, and self-efficacy', *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology*, 29(2), pp. 57–67.

- Karimu, O. O. (2014) 'Nigeria Police Force performance in crime prevention and control: an assessment', *International Journal of Academic Research and Reflection*, 2(4), pp. 81–88.
- Kennedy, C. E., Baral, S. D., Fielding-Miller, R., Adams, D., Dlodlu, P., Sithole, B., Fonner, V. A., Mnisi, Z. and Kerrigan, D. (2013) 'They are human beings, they are Swazi': intersecting stigmas and the positive health, dignity and prevention needs of HIV-positive men who have sex with men in Swaziland', *Journal of the International AIDS Society*, 16(4Suppl 3), pp. 18749.
- Kirkup, K. (2013) *Best practices in policing and LGBTQ communities in Ontario*. Available at: [http://www.oacp.on.ca/Userfiles/Files/NewAndEvents/OAC P%20LGBTQ%20final%20Nov2013.pdf](http://www.oacp.on.ca/Userfiles/Files/NewAndEvents/OAC%20LGBTQ%20final%20Nov2013.pdf) (Accessed: 30 October 2019).
- Mallory, C., Hasenbush, A. and Sears, B. (2015) *Discrimination and harassment by law enforcement officers in the LGBT community*. Available at: <https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/LGBT-Discrimination-and-Harassment-in-Law-Enforcement-March-2015.pdf> (Accessed: 16 June 2020).
- Marks, S. M. (2006) 'Global recognition of human rights for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people', *Health and Human Rights*, 9(1), pp. 33–42.
- Masci, D., Sciupac, E. and Lipka, M. (2019) *Same-sex marriage around the world*. Available at: <https://www.pewforum.org/fact-sheet/gay-marriage-around-the-world/> (Accessed: 30 October 2019).
- McAllister, J. (2015) 'LGBT activism and 'traditional values': promoting dialogue through Indigenous cultural values in Botswana' in Sandfort, T., Simenel, F., Mwachiro, K. and Reddy, V. (eds.) *Boldly queer: African perspectives on same-sex sexuality and gender diversity*. The Hague: HIVOS, pp. 41–48.
- Mendos, L. R. (2019) *State-sponsored homophobia*. 13th ed. Available at: https://ilga.org/downloads/ILGA_State_Sponsored_Homophobia_2019_light.pdf (Accessed: 6 September 2019).
- Miles-Johnson, T. (2013) 'LGBTI variations in crime reporting: how sexual identity influences decisions to call the cops', *SAGE Open*, 3(2), pp. 1–15.
- Morgan, B., Morgan, F., Foster, V. and Kolbert, J. (2000) 'Promoting the moral and conceptual development of law enforcement trainees: a deliberate psychological educational approach', *Journal of Moral Education*, 29(2), pp. 203–218.
- Murray, S. O. and Roscoe, W. (eds.) (1998) *Boy-wives and female husbands: studies in African homosexualities*. New York: Palgrave.
- Nyanzi, S. (2014) 'Queer pride and protest: a reading of the bodies at Uganda's first gay beach pride', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 40(1), pp. 36–40.
- Okereke, C. (2019) *Duped through dating apps: queer love in the time of homophobia*. Available at: <https://africanarguments.org/2019/03/26/duped-through-dating-apps-queer-love-in-the-time-of-homophobia/> (Accessed: 15 June 2020).
- Poteat, T., Diouf, D., Drame, F. M., Ndaw, M., Traore, C., Dhaliwal, M., Beyrer, C. and Baral, S. (2011) 'HIV risk among MSM in Senegal: a qualitative rapid assessment of the impact of enforcing laws that criminalize same sex practices', *PLoS ONE*, 6(12), e28760. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0028760>
- Premium Times (n.d.) *Nigeria Police Code of Conduct*. Available at: https://www.premiumtimesng.com/docs_download/NIGERIA-POLICECODEOFCONDUCT.pdf (Accessed: 12 April 2020).
- Refworld (2019) *Nigeria: Same Sex Marriage (Prohibition) Act, 2013*. Available at: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/52f4d9cc4.html> (Accessed: 19 September 2019).
- Reichert, E. (ed.) (2007) *Challenges in human rights: a social work perspective*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Schwartz, S. R., Nowak, R. G., Orazulike, I., Keshinro, B., Ake, J., Kennedy, S., Njoku, O., Blattner, W. A., Charurat, M. E. and Baral, S. D. (2015) 'The immediate effect of the Same-Sex Marriage Prohibition Act on stigma, discrimination, and engagement on HIV prevention and treatment services in men who have sex with men in Nigeria: analysis of prospective data from the TRUST cohort', *The Lancet HIV*, 2(7), pp. 299–306.
- Semugoma, P., Nemande, S. and Baral, S. D. (2012) 'The irony of homophobia in Africa', *The Lancet*, 380(9839), pp. 312–314.
- Sexual Minorities Uganda (SMUG) (2014) *Expanded criminalisation of homosexuality in Uganda: a flawed narrative*. Available at: <https://sexualminoritiesuganda.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/SMUG-alternative-to-criminalisation.pdf> (Accessed: 19 January 2019).
- Sogunro, A. (2017) *Discriminating against persons based on sexual orientation and gender identity expression in Nigeria*. Available at: <https://theinitiativeforequalrights.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/Compendium-of-Law-.pdf> (Accessed: 18 January 2019).
- Taft, P. and Haken, N. (2015) *Violence in Nigeria: patterns and trends*. Cham: Springer.
- Tamuno, T. N. (1970) *The police in modern Nigeria, 1861–1965: origins, development and role*. Ibadan: University of Ibadan Press.
- Tervalon, M. and Murray-García, J. (1998) 'Cultural humility versus cultural competence: a critical distinction in defining physician training outcomes in multicultural education', *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*, 9(2), pp. 117–125.

Thoreson, R. R. (2008) 'Somewhere over the rainbow nation: gay, lesbian and bisexual activism in South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 34(3), pp. 679–697.

UNDG Human Rights Working Group (2003) The human rights based approach to development cooperation towards a common understanding among UN agencies. Available at: <https://unsdg.un.org/resources/human-rights-based-approach-development-cooperation-towards-common-understanding-among-un> (Accessed: 8 April 2020).

United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) (2018) *The role of the United Nations in combatting discrimination and violence against lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex people*. Available at: https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Discrimination/LGBT/UN_LGBTI_Summary.pdf (Accessed: 18 January 2019).

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Available at: <https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/> (Accessed: 8 April 2020).

The Yogyakarta Principles (2007) *Principles on the application of international human rights law in relation to sexual orientation and gender identity*. Available at: http://data.unaids.org/pub/manual/2007/070517_yogyakarta_principles_en.pdf (Accessed: 8 April 2020).

Zahn, R., Grosso, A., Scheibe, A., Bekker, L.-G., Ketende, S., Dausab, F., Lipinge, S., Beyrer, C., Trapance, G. and Baral, S. (2016) 'Human rights violations among men who have sex with men in southern Africa: comparisons between legal contexts', *PLoS ONE*, 11(1), e0147156. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0147156>

Zumve, S. I. (2012) 'Community policing in contemporary Nigeria: a synthesis of models', *Journal of Educational and Social Research*, 2(9), pp. 132–139.