THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN KADUNA TOWN

BY

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D E C L A R A T I O N

I hereby declare that the thesis entitled **THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN KADUNA TOWN,** is my original work with all the sources of information and references acknowledged. The formulations and subject matter of the thesis have not been presented for a higher degree in this University or any other University.

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CERTIFICATION

This thesis entitled "The Social Context of Violence Against women in Kaduna Town" by Christiana David Kantiyok, meets the regulation governing the award of master of Science Sociology of Ahmadu Bello university, Zaria, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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D E D I C A T I O N

To my beloved sons and daughter, Bend alias Nyabvowo, Bege Alias Suchet, and Joyce Alias Kushie without whose calmness it would have been difficult for me to produce this thesis.

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ABSTRACT

This study, the social context of violence against women in Kaduna town, is based in Marxian theory which advocates fundamental changes in the society as Regards women. It is also guided by the radical feminists who regard patriarchy as the most pervasive and enduring system in women oppression.

Data were collected from five social welfare offices. These are: two state social welfare offices and two Local Government Social Welfare Offices in Kaduna where a total of one hundred and twenty (120) case records were studied. five clients were then selected for intensive case study from the medical social welfare office of the Ahmadu Bello University Teaching Hospital, Kaduna. This brings the total number of social welfare offices to five. The choice of the research area was determined by the industrialized nature of of the town which makes it possible for many ethnic groups to be represented.

The data were coded manually to find out the relationship between the economic status of women and the extent and prevalence of violence against them as well as the relationship between social class and the experience of violence. Frequency distribution tables were used as well as percentages, and in a few eases, cross tabulation,

In the findings, age distribution of the women shows that women aged between 15 and 35 years experience more-violence than older and younger women. Married women suffer more battering as a form of violence, single and divorced women suffer more abuse, while widowed women suffer more deprivation as a form of violence.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Violence may be defined as any act directed at an individual or group of persons which can negatively affect the recipient psychologically, physically, socially or economically. Economically, most women in Nigeria are caught within a complex web of dependency which is reflected in the marriage institution. Generally in Nigeria, women's suffering stems from socio-cultural violence. Male children are more valued than female children, creating an impression that men are superior to women and that therefore, women deserve to be treated like subordinates. Culture abates sexual harassment in the sense that a man who pays bridewealth tends to regard the wife as his property and expects "value" for his money. Consequently, the woman is forced to obey him in all aspects of life or else she could be stabbed, kicked, beaten, poured acid on and so forth, leading to physical injuries and deformation.

Religion as an institution could also be seen as one of the tools used by men to express violence against women. For instance, the main tool used by men to express violence against the Bajju women, one of the ethnic groups in Southern Kaduna State, is a traditional god called Abvai. The Abvia is believed to be a spirit of the ancestors operating to maintain peace and order among the people. Through the worship of Abvai, men appropriate the most nutritious food from women thereby depriving them (women) of the

nutritious food from women thereby depriving them (women) of the right to benefit from such foods as eggs, chicken, beans, goat meat, etc. Thus Nkut, a one time abvai worshipper had this to say during one of the researcher's interviews with him: "The essence of Abvai worshipping is to eat, drink, and earn respect from women with the Abvai at men's disposal!.

Women are denied these foods which are essential most especially to pregnant women for their health and the infants'. Menstruating women are considered unholy, therefore, should not cook for men or touch anything used by men. Similarly, in some Christian Churches, a woman is not allowed into the Church if she is menstruating. Female babies are not to be dressed inside the Church-their mothers must take them outside to change their napkins because men are said to be sexually aroused when that is done inside the Church whereas women never complain when male children are dressed inside the Church.

During worship in some Churches, if it becomes very necessary for a woman to walk into or out of the Church, she is expected to bend down while moving until she gets out. She does the same from outside until she gets to her seat, whereas men walk straight and majestically into and out of the Church. There has been a serious debate against the decision of the Anglican Church in America and Britain to ordain women as priests, despite the fact that women played greater roles in proclaiming the gospel of the resurrection of Jesus from the death, they are now denied the right to serve God in their chosen areas.

Hassan (1988/89:27), in her study on equality of men and women before "Allah" found out that not only in the Islamic, but also in Christian and the Jewish traditions, three logical assumptions form the basis of the superstructure of men's alleged superiority to women. These are: one, That God's primary creation is man, not woman, since woman was believed to have been created from man's rib and is therefore, secondary, to man, Two, that woman not man was the primary agent of what is customarily described as man's fall and expulsion from the Garden of Eden, hence, all daughters of Eve are to be regarded with hatred, suspicion and contempt. And thirdly, that woman was created not only from man but for man, which makes her existence merely instrumental and not of fundamental importance. These religious beliefs go a long way in perpetuating patriarchy which in turn subjects women to a lower position and hence objects of violence, for instance the, Moslem religion supports that a woman could be beaten by her husband if she 'misbehaves'. It is widely believed that men who batter women from the psychological point of view have intense dependent relationships with their victims. Men experience a great deal of fear of losing the relationship and take extreme measures in controlling women's behaviours which include the violence itself, monitoring all activities of the victim, limiting who she sees, and so forth. (Hassan 1988) The men appear excessively possessive and jealous about their partners. Battering men seem to have difficulty in identifying many of the emotions except for anger. Their experiences of fear, anxiety, frustration, hurt, irritation, guilt

etc get lumped together and are expressed as anger. Usually the target of this anger becomes someone or something in the batterer's immediate environment such as a spouse, and that person may have nothing to do with the distress. Usually, the object of that anger is the woman whom the man assumes, should know what he wants without asking. Her failure to know and do what he wants amounts to 'no love' and therefore confrontation. The man becomes impulsive and acts without thought of the consequence. This violence against women continues even in widowhood.

In her findings on widowhood in Nigeria. Kalu B. (1990:75), view major life events especially death in the family unit, as stressful and important in creating conditions for various somatic and psychological disorders. Practices associated with mourning and bereavement in several societies and culture mean that the process disproportionately affect women. This is true of Africa where the prolonging of grief is culturally imposed on widows but not widowers. In the first instance, stress in a widow starts immediately the husband dies. Control by the husband's kins starts even with his corpse. The natal family of the deceased husband exercises complete control over the corpse. It decides on the place and process of burial. Since the woman is a property of the husband's family according to some Nigerian customary laws, she is expected to submit to the dictates of his family. The widow inspite of the grief she experiences, is exposed to a lot of assaults from different directions, most especially by the husband's kins. For instance, the mourning period is an opportunity

for any member of the husband's family who has been aggrieved at some point by the behaviour of the widow in the past, to get even. They scold her on the pretence that she did not treat her husband well when he was alive.

There are instances of physical abuse, like spitting on the woman or shaving her head bald against her wish. In some instances, widows are made to eat out of broken plates, confined to wretched small rooms, or made to sit on bare floors for days. Most communities are also known for considering a woman guilty of her husband's death until proven innocent.

In Nigeria, women who lose their husbands undergo certain treatments which tend to add to their sorrow. The widows might be confined for days or weeks during which time they are not expected to make their hair, wash or change their dresses, They might even be expected to marry one of the relations of their husbands with or without their concent. But widowers normally do not undergo rigorous mourning rites (Oleruntimhim: 1992). On widowhood practices in Cross Rivers and Akwa Ibom States on the other hand, at the death of a spouse, the bereaved widow is subjected to various awful and dehumanizing practices. In her time of deep sorrow, she is almost always suspected of having caused her husband's death so that she might acquire his wealth. As a result of these attitudes, she is resented and subjected to various inhuman treatment. The husband's properties, it does not matter if they acquired them together, are removed from her reach and even divided among relations. The widow is not cared for. She is tagged

wicked.

Other forms of violence against women include rituals made with organs of women's bodies after killing them, impregnating insane women as a form of ritual, sending away wives because they have not produced male children, asking female children to choose between career and marriage.

The social realities pertaining to women's inferior position determine how women are treated in different places and at different times. The two major steps to the study of women in this respect include:

1. The definition of the status of women and identification of the signs that indicate whether it is high or low.
2. Carrying out the measuring rod to several countries and time periods to measure the variations that occur under different social and cultural conditions, and the variations that occur within different groups in the same cultural entity. (Giel 1975:2).

To Giel (1975:3) people have high status when others look up to them, allow them latitude to come and go, and bestow on them rewards such as money, power, and love. Low status in contrast deprives a person of "deference" from others, freedom to make choices, enjoy material comfort and emotional satisfaction.

Frequently, the low status person becomes an object of anger, hence the violence against women as low status persons in the family and the society at large. There are also forms of violence suffered by females which include, among others, lack of freedom to

choose who to marry, the double sex standard and unequal and equitable opportunities to participate in social development., lack of equal educational opportunity as male counterparts, inability to enjoy equal employment, benefits and favourable terms of divorce or inheritance.

Violent acts directed at women have created collective consciousness in women, leading them to form associations in order to address these problems. For instance, the declaration of 1975-85 as a United Nations Decade for Women focuses on strategies and programmes to eliminate all forms of discriminations against women worldwide. To this end, many national and international organizations have been formed, each aiming at improving women's living standards and ending their exploitation, subordination and violence generally.

Inspite of the physical injuries women sustain from battering and the psychological trauma resulting from continued existence in violence, there are other acceptable acts by the society which are thought to be normal and unharmful, but which affect the health of women drastically. Most pronounced of these are contraceptives and use of traditional herbs for birth control. Each contraceptive method has its side effects and only the women are exposed to these effects while most men are skeptical about those methods meant for them.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

This study aims at identifying the social context of violence against women in relation to:-

1. The socio-economic categories of women exposed to violence
2. Various types of violence directed at women.
3. The reactions of women to these violence acts.

THE STUDY AREA - KADUNA TOWN

The selection of Kaduna Town for this study was influenced by the densely concentrated population brought about by the establishment of industries in and around Kaduna. Kaduna is also the capital city of Kaduna State, and harbours ethnic groups.

Records from social welfare offices show that the social welfare office is a very busy office which attends to at least five clients in a day most of those cases pertain to domestic violence. While some of the cases are reported by either neighbours, friends, other relatives or by the police, cases pertaining to medical welfare are reported by doctors and nurses who refer the patients to the Medical Social Workers. But where judgement is required these patients are treated and sent to the state Social Welfare. A review of related literature would give us a better understanding of the forms and extent of violence against women.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Straus (1980:57) views violence in married couples as a specific instance of violence endemic in society. This perspective has contributed to the understanding of the household as a dangerously violent place. Violence in the family is perpetuated by the society at large with the women most often injured in the violent acts. It often involves shouting, hitting, and threatening with a weapon. The head of the family (usually the man) following from the societal standpoint, is vested with power which is a weapon used against the wife.

To Straus, a man striking a woman has a different meaning from that of a woman striking a man. The society considers it 'normal' for a man to engage in extra-marital affairs, but a serious taboo against the woman, just like power is used by the bourgeoisie to subordinate the poors.

Straus and others (1980) stated that the family borrowing form the society at large, accepts violence as a means of solving problems and conflicts. They cite evidence of cultural acceptance of violence in television programming, folklores and fairy tales. Surveys also show widespread public acceptance of violence and that each generation learns to be violent from family violence.

Thus, violence begets violence. They also state that sexist organization of society and its family system are some of the

fundamental factors in the high level of violence against women in form of battering. These researchers cite the power of men over women at societal level in a family as a cause of violence. They see violence used by the most powerful members of the family as a means of legitimizing his dominant position. In their conclusion, they stated that women suffer more violence in homes in which economic power is concentrated in the hands of husbands.

Other researchers and activists combine the concern with power dynamics and violence in general from the more universalistic perspective. They analyse the abuse of intimate partners as a social relation. They focus on the relationship of domination rather than individual acts of violence. Violence does not exist only among spouses, it extends to all categories of women, married or single. Chase (1977:56) for instance, states that, "together with race and class, sex serves as one of the basic reference points around which society is organized. Whether we are born male o female shapes our lives fundamentally." He also observes that until recently, history has been written primarily by and about those who "have made it" (usually men) and the sources used by the historians have been created by people in power-upper and middle classes, and books based upon those sources have largely dealt with the same group. Women's history can provide a unique angle of vision on how society functions and how various groups within it succeed or fail to achieve control over their own lives.

Magaret Mead (1930) commented on the dilemma facing women who wished to pursue a career. She stated that a female had two

options-either she proclaimed herself "a woman and therefore, less an achieving individual or an achieving individual and therefore, less a woman". If she chose the first option, she increased her chances of being a loved object, the kind of girl who men would woo and boast of, toast and marry. But if she decided to follow a career, she ran the risk of losing for ever as a woman, her chance of the kind of love she wants. Unlike men therefore, women were deprived of the right to be fulfilling individuals, thereby, being subjected to men's will. Often, bodies of women are found with some parts like breasts, eyes, genitals, throat etc, removed for rituals.

Pearce (1992:19) in her study of the conjugal violence among the Yoruba stated that ..... "the home was represented as a supportive spring-board from where individual could successfully face the outside world. Since 1960s however, it has become increasingly clear that a great deal of violence occurs within the family setting regardless of family type". But violence towards women in particular remains a taboo subject for a long time, and very little research was conducted prior to the early 1970s even in the West.

It is also believed that the African woman is exposed to a greater number of possible assailants than her western counterpart in the nuclear setting. Among the Yoruba for instance, family is patrilineal and partrachal. Within the family unit, a woman is a member of a number of dryads which exposes her to more than the husband/wife or child/mother type of violence seen in the nuclear

home. Thus, the co-wife, the child of co-wife and the in-laws are possible assailants besides the husband. To mabogunje (1958:28-36) in the Yoruba family, the husband is the most important person followed by the members of his own kin (parents and siblings). This kind of family setting encourages wife beating and other forms of violence as the husband could possibly take side with his kin against the wife.

Wife beating has widespread implication for the health of the women. In 1986, a United Nations expert argued that the health effects are often long lasting for women. Paltiel (1989) in turn, noted that health workers have been slow to recognise the health risks facing women who live with violent men. Women, he added, suffer in terms of physical injury, mental stress, fear, become less self confident, experience pregnancy wastage or complications and in some cases, death.

On the other hand, Spruil (1980) observed that during the 17th and 18th centuries in the southern part of Nigeria "unmarried persons were regarded as pitiable encumbrances" and that the home was the only field in which women might distinguish themselves. The family in turn, was generally perceived as a hierarchy, with the man as father and head, and woman and children as his inferiors. The only woman's right was a right to protection which involves the obligation to obey.

Violence against women is not limited to the family but cuts across all social institutions. It knows no culture, racial or geographical borders, and it affects the rich and the poor, the

education. Women from the middle class especially working women she stated, were also battered.

Furthermore, Omorodion noted that while the cases of the lower and middle classes get to the agency, cases of the upper and elite groups were under secrecy. This situation gives the impression that all is well with these groups which is often not the case. On the prevalence of wife battering as a form of violence, the researcher found out that there was a significant increase in the proportion of women who get battered in Benin City.

The injuries sustained by the battered women included facial bruises, black eyes, cut on the month, lose of teeth, swollen hands etc. The women interviewed stressed that often they are used as punching bags to the satisfaction of the men. This makes them wonder whether the men are under an evil spell or some negative forces directed to murder them. Due to the feeling of built in superiority in Nigerian men over women, violence is expressed by them towards their wives anywhere anytime even if there is no cause for it. For instance, it has been reported that more and more Nigerians are charged to court for wife battery. The vintage people Magazine of October, 1991, reported that frustration of Nigerians working and living in Britain, especially the capital, seems to be taking its toll. There is an evidence that domestic violence in London involving Nigerians has now increased. According to the police report, out of every five cases reported, two are Nigerians. A lot of men are now beating their wives or girlfriends, and Nigerian women are no longer taking it in good faith - they are

rising up to the situation and are prosecuting.

The social reason attached to this violence could be that a lot of Nigerian men who go to Britain with grandeur ideas of making fortune within a short time, find themselves, even with their high qualifications doing manual jobs which in the long run emasculate them.

Consequently, frustration builds up and because everybody minds their own business tension mounts and the poor scapegoat is usually the wife or the girlfriend. A Nigerian told a police officer in Britain when he was arrested for beating his wife that she was talking to him "anyhow". Surprisingly, it was discovered that she had merely told him to hold their three month old baby while she got his food.

Sheffield (1989:483-488) in her analysis of violence against women has moved from singular analysis of particular forms of violence to frameworks that include many forms of male sexual violence. To Sheffield, the analysis of male sexual violence as an integrated phenomenon rests on a theoretical premise that violence and its threat are foundations of male domination. She calls this phenomenon sexual terrorism, which she defines as the system by which men and boys frighten and dominate girls and women. This is manifested in both actual and implied violence. All females of all ages are potential victims (at anytime) in any place and through variety of means like rape, physical abuse, incestuous assault, sexual harassment, prostitution, pornography, etc.

Sheffield also stated that many forms of sexual violence are

perceived as ordinary everyday occurrences. These are often readily dismissed by the women themselves because of the cultural orientation, and by agents of control, and are less studied.

These common experiences to Sheffield, including a range of verbal, visual and physical intrusion are the under-pinning of sexual terrorism. They serve to remind women and girls that they are at risk and vulnerable to men's aggression just because they are females.

Besides the above mentioned forms of violence, women in western society are often molested through illusive and obscene phonecalls which are regarded as illegal and unwelcome intrusion. The dynamics of obscene phonecalls mirrors the social construction of masculinity and feminity. The male caller assumes a traditional muscular role. He is active, the aggressor, the one with voice, while the social construction of feminity includes silence and passivity.

Warshaw (1989:506-514) as well as many other investigators on the other hand, have documented the discrepancy between the large number of women who come to health care setting with symptoms related to living in abusive relationships and the low rate of detection and intervention by medical staff. According to her findings, up to 64 per cent of hospitalized female psychiatric patients have histories of being, physically abused as adults and 37 per cent of obstetrics patients across class, race and educational lines are at risk of abuse during pregnancy. She also found out that studies that have focussed on emergency room visits

have revealed that 22-25 per cent of women presenting with any complaint were there because of symptoms related to on-going abuse, whether secondary to an injury or as a manifestation of the stress of living under abusive conditions.

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

This study centers on the violent acts directed at women as a gender group in the society, the reasons for violence, types of injuries sustained and the prevalence of such acts. Women's experiences in most kinds of relationships (including gender relation which lead to one (masculine) gender being violent against the other (feminine) gender, are based on power and /or authority. It could be political, economic, social, religious or otherwise, and perpetuated by culture via socialization.

Women suffer violence in the hands of husbands, family heads, male neighbours,school mates, colleagues at work place, leaders at places, customers, clubs, boyfriends and even little male children who have been conditioned to feel superior to their female counterparts. According to the symbolic interactionist school which was propounded by mead (1930) and Goffman among others, the individual perceives himself only through interacting processes. The concept **woman,** derives its meaning from the interaction between men and women and the attitudes and behaviours of men towards women depends on the men's perception of what 'woman' is and the

acceptance or rejection of this by women follows from the interaction with themselves and perceiving themselves different from the way they are perceived. This is referred to as self consciousness.

Another perspective is the structural functionalist theory which borrows from the ideas of the naturalist. This theory sees society as a system made up of parts in which each part contributes to the maintenance of the entire system.

Some of the ideas of the naturalists are that it is natural for women to bear, rear, and love children, while men are naturally aggressive, desire sexual intercourse, possessive and stronger than women, (though findings of some studies have proved this assertion wrong. For instance, Hellandendu (1992) found that in some cultures handicapped women coped more successfully with physical handicaps and were consequently better integrated into their respective communities than men who had similar disabilities), and that because of their strong sex drive, they like to own a lot of property and keep as many women as they could. To them, people's personalities are as a result of biology. The society is therefore seen as natural, functional, and the division of labour is biologically determined and inevitable. They also maintain that for society to change, biology should first be changed, and changing biology is impossible. Anything done to change society is unnatural, therefore the status quo should be preserved.

However, this framework neglects the cultural and social aspects of life which act upon the individuals to define their

roles and give meaning to their actions.

In as much as symbolic interactionism and structuralism could be used to explain human behaviour in terms of self conceptualization and perception of the actions of others, violence against women and the forms it takes could best be explained and understood from the conflict perspective propounded by the socialistmarxists. They explain the prevalence of violence against women from the stand point of class and gender subordination in the society. They see women as being oppressed, subordinated and dominated as a gender group as well as members of lower class.

The basic ideas of Marxist theory hold that human being, must produce food and material objects in order to survive. Central to the ordering of society is productivity, marx maintained that the forces and relations of production form a base for all other aspects of social institutions like the family, education, political, laws, systems of knowledge, beliefs and value among others. (Elliat 1986).

Furthermore, Marx contended that the crucial feature in the social organization of production is the division of society into two opposing classes on the basis of ownership or non-ownership of the means of production. The capitalist class owns the means of production while the proletariat have only their labour to sell. The property owning class dominates the non-owning class who is subordinate, and oppressed. Marx believed however, that special relations are historically specific and subject to change (Elliot 1986:10-11). For Marx, at certain moments in time, class conflicts

erupt and ultimately the existing relation of production are swept away and a new social order emerges. Conflict therefore is endemic in the social order and change comes about, not through a fradual evolutionary process but as a result of conflict between opposing forces.

Following from the Marxist perspective, Angels, in his book "The origin of the family, private properly and the state", located the origin of violence against women in form of oppression in the emergence of monogamy. Forms of marriages changed from polygynous marriage where economic, social and political unit was the clan to monogamous marriages where the nuclear family is the basic economic unit in which the women and the children depend on the men. Social relations between men and women deteriorated with the advent of class society. The transition from hunting and gathering system to the sedentary system was the first step in women's oppression.

The nature and extent of violence against women in form of oppression can best be understood by having an overview of the society at different times under different modes of production. Women suffered more under the agrarian mode of production than under hunting and gathering systems. Under agrarian system, the society was dominantly patrilineal. Land was controlled by men and there was a very significant division of labour compared to hunting and gathering society.

The development of capitalism led to the superiority of exchange value by men over women. Women do most of the work that fall under the use values because theirs is not considered

production for exchange. With the invention of complex technology the need for manufactured goods and the concentration of the means of production in a few hands, usually the men, marginalised women in the labour force. Women did the domestic tasks at home while men worked for the capitalists. Women were considered instrument for production who nurture future generation of workers, and depend on men for survival. Women under capitalist system who work in industries suffer many work loads as a subordinate gender, and as servants to the capitalists and domestic servants in their homes. For example, men are considered the bread winners while women are house keepers. This subjects women to economic dependency and victims of violence.

The socialization process is a key to the gender discrimination, in that girls are trained to behave like females and to do female work. For instance, girls are trained to be domestic oriented, that is, to be quiet, gentle, eat and sit in particular ways, remain at home and work with their mothers, while boys go out and explore-to master outdoor activities. This pattern of socialization builds up a sense of superiority in the male child which is carried on the adulthood.

The political merger is seen in various ways, like the state law which requires a woman to obtain permission from her husband before she is given a passport, the denial of unmarried mothers maternity leave, although, now granted without pay. The latter is a way of punishing women for sex outside marriage as there is no similar penalty for unmarried fathers.

Though there are other theories of oppression based on Marxist ideas which advocate for changes in the social relation between men and women, for the purpose of this study I will dwell on the socialist feminist theory of oppression. This theory brings together two traditions the orthodox Marxian tradition which has already been discussed and the radical feminist tradition which will be discussed.

Radical feminists see patriarchy as the most pervasive and enduring system in women oppression. Patriarchy for them, is a system of violence in both physical and emotional ways. Some of the offences committed against women as highlighted by radical feminism include fashion in a bid to beautify themselves for men. For instance, they argue that in order to be sexually appealing, women are enslaved to beauty and fashion such as wearing of high heel shoes, using bleaching creams, wearing such clothes that would be appealing to men even though they are uncomfortable or deleterious to health. The Yoruba and Kanuri women for example, wear beads around their waists to be appealing to men, the Ghinese girls' legs are tied (bound) for five years to limit their speed in movement, lecture notes by (Kisekka 1991) and make their feet smaller than those of men. Failure to achieve these shapes sets women at a disadvantageous position in the sight of men.

Men also preach ideal motherhood and chastity-woman should be able to suffer anything for the sake of her children without complaint. That is why in some cultures like Fulani and Hausa, a woman must never express pain during childbirth (labour) even when

recognized as exploitation of a power relationship rather than as an exclusive sexual issue. She cited the examples in Uganda of men who are aware that they have AIDS and yet insist on sleeping with their wives thereby infecting them.

Other forms of violence highlighted here include rape, incest, sadism in pornography, female infanticide, "widow suicide" where a widow is killed and buried along with her husband, killing of twins or their mothers in some parts of the society, and brutalizing women in some traditional religious organizations.

For instance, no woman under Abvai traditional religion in Bajju land has political power. Men control the Abvai religion, the most powerful political and judicial instrument in the community (Kantiyok 1991). Women could not contribute in any decision-making. Men make laws and decide on the punishment due to each offence. The legal system in Bajju land was and is still strict on offenders but it was usually harsh on women who were heavily fined for minor offences. A female offender could either be fined, enslaved or banished.

There is also a fattening process in Akwa Ibom and Cross River States where a female before getting married is confined to one room and fed until she is fat and round even though it may be against her wish (Okeshola 1990).

As has been mentioned earlier, this study focusses on socialist feminism which embraces marxian tradition and radical feminism. The socialist feminist theory focusses on exclusively women oppression in a capitalist patriarchal system as well as all

the forms of woman oppression at different levels. For instance, discrimination against women is experienced irrespective of ethnicity, age, religion level of education etc.

Socialist feminists advocate the elimination of women's dependency which enslaves them to men. They challenge all systems of domination such as the purdah system in Islam which keeps women at a disadvanteous position thereby, subjecting them to dependency and keeping them uninformed of the current events that concern them. In this way the woman remains at home as the man's property with (in some cases) just enough food to sustain her.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Among the reasons that influenced the choice of Kaduna town is the researcher's acquaintance with the town and the demarcated areas for the data collection as such knowledge made the research less expensive.

Problems of violence are sensitive issues that not all women would want to open up and discuss their marital problems most especially with people they are not familiar with. This is because some of them may be biased about the information needed from them. Due to uncertainty about confidentiality) of the information, some respondents would rather not give the correct information. There are also those women who have been conditioned either by their religious or traditional etiquette not to disclose their experiences in marriage to others because those who do so are considered irresponsible and lousy. This makes women suffer in silence and those who try to discuss do so on the surface thereby leaving the source of the problem undisclosed.

The researcher therefore, chose to study the records from social welfare offices, believing that whoever makes up her mind to go to social welfare with her case would discuss her problems in totality with the hope of obtaining help. Those cases which come to medical social welfare offices are clear cases which the clients cannot conceal because they are anxious to recover from their

health problems. They have to tell the truth to either the doctor or the nurses who refer them to the social workers for help. However, the social welfare offices cannot claim to have perfect records as one finds that the cases recorded some from nearly the same category of people, that is, the lower class. This is one of the limitations of the research.

Due to financial constraints, and difficulty in getting respondents to co-operate, for interviews, cases treated at the state and Local Government welfare offices were used as sources of data. It took the researcher about two to three hours to be able to properly study each case. The cases studied from the files were only those which reflected violent acts in gender relations. The researcher spent altogether eight weeks collecting data.

SAMPLE SIZE

There are nine social welfare offices in Kaduna town which include two state social welfare offices and two Local Government Social Welfare offices in Kaduna South; and two state and two Local Government Social Welfare offices, with the medical social welfare office Ahmadu Bello Teaching Hospital (from where the case histories were selected) as the fifth in Kaduna North.

The sample size for the study is one hundred and twenty (120). Thirty cases were studied from each of the four randomly chosen social welfare offices, the fifth of which provided the case histories as mentioned above.

Two factors influenced the sample size. These are:-

1. The time period within which the cases were filed was specified. That is, only cases filed from 1989 to 1991 were studied.
2. Only cases relating to violence against women were studied. For these reason the number of cases was limited.

DATA ANALYSIS

The data were coded manually to find out the relationship between the economic status of women and the extent and prevalence of violence against them as well as the relationship between social class and the experience of violence. Frequency distribution tables were used as well as percentages, and in a few cases, cross tabulation.

In this study, the independent variables include age, sex, marital status, religion, ethnic group educational status, occupation, income and type of residence. The dependent variables on the other hand include nature of violence, type injuries, reasons for violence etc.

PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED DURING DATA COLLECTION

Despite being a social worker and having been working alongside with the state social workers, the researcher still

encountered many problems in the data collection. The researcher lived in Zaria during the time of research and the data were collected in Kaduna which posed a problem of having to be travelling every working day to Kaduna. While in Kaduna, movement from one area to another was a difficult task in terms of finance and the fatigue involved as one would wait for a bus or taxi for an hour or more, and by the time one is able to board a bus, the fare would double or triple the normal fare.

Another problem the researcher encountered was that of lack of co-operation by some of the social welfare officers. The researcher had to visit some of the offices five times or more before any audience was granted. Even when permission to study the case files was granted, not all the files were released at a time.

There was also the problem of improper documentation of cases which made it difficult for the researcher to determine how some of the cases ended. The researcher had to ask about such cases which (questions) were also not readily answered.

That notwithstanding, the research was a success because before long, the researcher was able to establish a good rapport with the social workers who had proven difficult from the beginning. With this report,enough information for the research was obtained.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

The findings of the study will be presented in this chapter under broad subtitles as follows:

(a) The socio-demographic characteristics of the victims.

(b) The nature of violence suffered.

(c) The social context of violence.

(d) The relationship between assailants and victims.

(e) The sources of referral.

(f) The institutional management of violence.

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF VICTIMS

The relevant socio-demographic characteristics for this study include age, religion, state of origin, educational attainment, type of residence, marital status and number of children.

Table 1 Show the age distribution of the victims of violence.

Table I: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF VICTIMS

	No	**Percentage**
14 and below	**4**	3.3
15 - 39 years	**99**	82.5
40 years and above	17	14.2
Total	120	100.0

Table 1 indicates that although women of all ages are victims of violence, it is more prevalent against women aged 15 to 39 years than against the younger and older age categories.

Victims of violence cut across all religious groups in Nigeria as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF VICTIMS

	No	**Percentage**
Christianity	66	55.0
Islam	50	41.0
Traditional religion	4	3.3
Total	120	100.0

Table 2 shows that a greater number, 66 (55%) of the victims are Christians, followed by muslims, 50 (41.70%), with only an insignificant number 4 (3.3%) of traditional worshippers. This uneven distribution could be explained by many factors including cultural and religious beliefs. For instance, while Islam allows divorce under certain conditions, most Christian denominations hold that marriage obligations and marriage continuity are unconditional. The woman must remain in marriage whatever the hardships she suffers. Thus, restricted access to divorce for Christian women may be responsible for their larger number seeking redress at the social welfare agencies. The low representation of

traditional worshipper could be due to the smaller number of the entire traditional worshippers.

State of origin is another socio-demographic variable used in this study to enable the researcher determine the number of women from each state who reported their cases of violence, Table 3 shows that victims of violence are drawn from different geographical areas including Kaduna, Niger, Plateau, Anambra, Benue, Kano,kwara and Rivers states.

Table 3: STATE OF ORIGIN

	No	**Percentage**
Kaduna	58	45.3
Niger	10	8.3
Plateau	9	7.5
Anambra	8	6.7
Benue	12	10.0
Kano	13	10.8
Kwara	5	4.2
Rivers	5	4.2
Total	120	100.0

The greatest number 58 (45.3%) of women presented in Table 3 are, mainly from Southern Kaduna. These comprised of ethnic groups like Jaba, Ninzam, Bajju, Kataf, Mada, Kagoro and Kamanton amongst others. Other states whose women are represented include Niger, 10

(8.3%), with ethnic groups like Gwari and Nupe, Plateau state,9 (5.8%) has a representation of ethnic groups like Angas and Birom. Those women from Anambra state, 8 (6.7%) and Rivers state, 7 (5.8%) are mainly Igbo and Ijaws respectively. Others are Kano state, ;13 (10.8%), with Hausa and Fulani groups represented, Benue state with Tiv and Idoma represented, and Kwara state with Yoruba and Ibira ethnic groups represented.

Table 4 shows the educational attainment of the victims.

TABLE 4: LEVEL OF EDUCATION

	No	**Percentage**
No Formal Education	25	20.8
Koranic Education	14	11.7
Primary Education	20	16.7
Post Primary Education(sec,TC)	30	25.0
Post Secondary Education	31	25.8
Total	120	100.0

As it can be seen in table 4, women who attained Post Secondary levels of formal education constitute a higher proportion of victims. This does not necessarily mean that educated women experience more violence. It is more likely that educated women

report cases of violence against them due to awareness of their rights as citizens and the existence of social welfare offices.

Regarding occupation, 60 (50%) of the victims are unemployed, 22 (18.3%) are civil servants. The women included in this study mostly live in low cost quarters provided for government civil servants and in a room and a parlor or single room in compounds shared by other tenants, while some of them are homeless as can be seen in table 5.

TABLE 5: TYPES OF RESIDENCE

	No	**Percentage**
Low cost quarters	42	35.0
Three room	8	6.7
Room and Parlour	20	16.7
One room	46	38.3
Homeless	4	3.3
Total	120	100.0

As can be seen in Table 5, none of the women lives in high class residence like Government Reserved Areas or bungalow

Table 6 shows the marital status of the women

Table 6: MARITAL STATUS

	No	Percentage
Married	71	59.2
Divorced	10	8.3
Single	32	26.7
Widowed	7	5.8
Total	120	100.0

While some of the women have children, others do not. In some cases, childlessness was the cause of violence against the women. Table 7 shows the number of children the victims have.

TABLE 7: NUMBER OF CHILDREN

	No	Percentage
None	52	43.3
One	16	13.3
Two	15	12.5
Three	14	11.7
Four	14	11.7
Five and above	9	7.5
Total	120	100.0

As can be seen in Table 7, 52 (43.3%) of the women have no children. Out of this number, 20 (38%) are either married, widowed or divorced. They are therefore either married or have once been married but have no children .

TYPES OF VIOLENCE

Violence suffered by women takes different forms. Below are types of violence identified in the study and the number of women who suffered each type.

TABLE 8: NATURE OF VIOLENCE

	No	**percentage**
Battering	45	37.3
Deprivation of needs	30	25.0
Sexual abuse	23	19.2
Verbal abuse	15	12.5
Forced into prostitution	3	3.7
Force into marriage	4	3.3
Total	120	100.0

Table 8 indicates that 45 (37.5%) of the women were battered in forms of beating,stabbing, kicking, slapping and so forth. Thirty (25%) of the women suffered deprivation of one kind or the other. In some cases, the women are abandoned along with their children.

Twenty-three (19.2%) of the women were cases of sexual abuse such as being raped, charmed with Magun (don't climb) or starved sexually. Other complained of too much demand for sex by their male counterpart which yields them violence if they complain. Fifteen (12.5%) of the women were cases of verbal abuse while three (1.7%) admitted to having been forced into prostitution because at divorce, the former husbands asked them to refund their bride wealth which they could not afford nor could they be remarried before paying their former husbands.The only alternative for them was to earn money through prostitution to re-pay. Four (3.3%)of the women were cases of forced marriage.

SOCIAL CONTEXT OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Regarding the age distribution of the victim of violence, this study shows that 99 (82.5%)of the women are between the ages of 15 and 39 years, which is child bearing age. This could be attributed to the fact that these are women who have a lot of work load, for instance, as wives, as mothers, as employees and so forth. They thus bear more responsibilities than women in other age categories who have fewer roles to play. The very young women and girls for instance, who are either 14 years of age or younger constitute only 3.3% of the total number of women while old women aged 40 years and above constitute only 9.1% of the total cases. It could be deduced therefore that women of child bearing age either experience more violence or are more prone to report violence directed at them than

other groups.

The data show that the type and extent of violence suffered by individual women depends on their levels of education. Table 9 shows the relationship between level of education and types of violence suffered.

TABLE 9: LEVEL OF EDUCATION BY TYPES OF VIOLENCE

Types of Violence	No formal Education	Koranic Education	Primary Education	Post Primary Education	Higher Edu.	Total
Battering	16	3	12	6	8	45(40%)
Deprivation of food and Sex	5	5	5	6	9	30(27%)
Sexual abuse	1	2	1	13	6	23(20%)
Verbal abuse	3	4	2	5	1	15(13%)
Total	25	14	30	24	113	113(100%)

Missing cases = 7

It is indicated in Table 9 that those women who have no formal education suffer more battery than other forms of violence. This is followed by and deprivation of needs and verbal abuse. They get more battered and deprived, and verbally abused because they are mostly dependent on their husbands. Next to this group are those with Koranic education. This group is more deprived and verbally abused than other forms of violence. Those who have primary education are non-or low-income earners and suffer battering like

the former groups. Those with higher education suffer more deprivation followed by battering may be due to their complaints.

Cases one and two in this study illustrate deprivation of basic needs and sexual abuse respectively.

CASE 1: A WOMAN WHO MUST NOT COOK OR SLEEP UNTIL HER HUSBAND IS AROUND

> This is a case of a thirty-eight year old mother of four children from Jaba ethnic group who has been married for seventeen years. She revealed that her husband holds the key to the store where food stuffs are kept, He gives her the quantity she should cook and locks up the store until the next time he wants her to cook. He batters her, if for any reason, she takes foodstuff by herself. The man comes late and whether he comes with a girl friend or not determines where the wife sleeps. He asks her to sleep with the children or outside, if he comes with a girl friend, which is why she must never go to bed until he comes back. she wakes up in the morning to fetch water for her husband and his girl friend to have their bath, and also prepares their break fast.
>
> An arrangement was made for both husband and wife to meet with social workers for counselling.

CASE 2: A WOMAN WHO SUFFERS SEXUAL HARASSMENT

> This is a case of a woman aged about forty years, a mother of five children from langtang ethnic group in Plateau State. This woman who has been married for nineteen years contracted sexually transmitted disease from her husband. Doctors have asked her on several occasions to invite her husband to the hospital but he has refused to go. Soon after treatment, the woman gets infected again and refusing to have sex with the husband yields her battering.

Those women with secondary education suffer more verbal abuse followed by deprivation of needs. They suffer less battering than women who have little or no formal education.

Those women with higher education that is, those who attained diploma or degree levels in Table 9, suffer more deprivation than other forms of violence. They are derived of one thing or the other by their male counterparts or guardians and complaints could yield them battering. The missing cases in table 9 are 7 in number. These include cases of forced marriage and prostitution.

It is noteworthy that although categories of women are associated with types of violence, no form of violence is restricted to a particular group of women. A woman could therefore suffer most (if not all) forms of violence , yet only one or two may be recorded.

The occupation of the victims and their levels of income relate to the extent to which they experience violence. Those women in study who are self-employed are mostly petty traders while the civil servant consist of school teachers and nurses on grade levels 01 to 08. It was not possible to record their levels of income as it was not available in the welfare records, but there is a clear indication that a large number of employed women (mostly low income earners) reported their cases of violence to social welfare. The type of violence suffered is related to occupation as can be seen in table 10.

TABLE 10: OCCUPATION BY TYPES OF VIOLENCE

Level of Occupation

Types of Violence	Unemployed	Self employed	Civil Servants	Total
Battering	32	7	6	45(39.8%)
Deprivation of food and Sex	13	8	9	30(26.5%)
Sexual abuse	6	7	10	23(20.4%)
Verbal abuse	10	3	2	15(13.3%)
Total	61	25	27	113(100%)

Missing cases = 7

From Table 10 it can be seen that of the 61 cases of unemployed women, thirty two (32) were battered,(13) were deprived of some needs, six (6) were sexually abused, (10) ten were verbally abused while others which are missing in the table (7 in number) were cases of women who were forced either into marriage or into prostitution

A higher portion of the unemployed women suffer more battering than employed women due to their unemployed status which makes them dependent. The self-employed women are less dependent and therefore less battered, due, probably to the fact that they are less demanding. The most frequent insult they suffer is verbal abuse similarly, civil servants are more verbally abused at home and as

subordinates at work place. They also suffer deprivation of needs the resortment of which yields them battering.

The types of violence women suffer are associated with their marital status as can be seen in Table 11

TABLE 11: MARITAL STATUS AND TYPS OF VIOLENCE

	Marital Status				
Types of Violence	Married	Divored	Single	widowed	Total
Battering	40	2	2	1	45(37%)
Deprivation of food and sex	20	2	4	4	30(25%)
Sexual abuse	2	4	17	-	23(19.2%)
Verbal abuse	6	2	7	-	15(13.0%)
Others	3	-	2	2	7(5.8%)
Total	71	10	32	7	120(100%)

On the social context of violence as it relate to marital status, of the 71 (59.2%), married women, 4.0 were battered, 20 were deprived of one basic need or the other, 6 were verbally abused, 2 were sexually abused and 3 were forced into marriage. It can be seen that married women suffer more battering than other forms of violence. Of the 10 (8.3%) divorced women in the study, 2 women were battered by a former husband and a new lover respectively, 4 are sexually abused, and two are verbally abused. This indicates that divorced

women experience more sexual abuse than other forms of violence. This could be argued that they are now unmarried and may want to experiment and see if other men are better than their former husbands. Consequently men take advantage of this anxiety to abuse them sexually because they have no man to challenge those acts.

Another category of women that is frequently sexually abused is the single group. Of the 32 single ladies in study, two were battered, 4 were deprived of some needs and 17 were sexually abused. This indicates that women who are single are more sexually abused. They are also verbally abused by their boyfriends and other people in the society.

The widowed group suffers more material deprivation the other forms of violence. Of the seven widows in study four were deprived of one or the other of their late husbands' properties and are verbally abused and battered if they resist. Case three illustrates the types of violence suffered by widows.

CASE 3: A WIDOW WHOSE PROPERTIES WERE SEIZED

This is a case of a middle aged women of approximately 42 years. She hails from Zangon Kataf Local Government Area of Kaduna State. She had lived with her husband for about 25 years before his death, leaving her with 4 children. The deceased husband left a will which favoured the widow. This displeased the man's relations because the man was well to do and had left a fortune behind. The deceased's brother could not imagine leaving everything for the wife just because she would have to take care of their children as the deceased husband put it. The man's younger brother, being now the only son of the family, went and seized the care, the television set, the video machine, the passbook and all other valuables, including

the documents of the house the woman was living in and left her with her children to their fate. The woman sued him to court, which ruled in favour of the widow and her children, but the deceased's relations have continually to come harass her. This has affected the women's health as the fear of living in continous treat of violence has caused her hypertension.

As regards fertility, lack of children is one of the reasons for which men are violent against women, however, having children does not shield a women from experiencing violence. Table 12 show the number of women who have children, the number of children they have and the type of violence they suffer.

TABLE 12: NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND TYPES OF VIOLENCE

	Number of Children						
Types of Violence	None	One	Two	Three	Four	Five and above	Total
Battering	7	2	5	6	4	2	26 (29.5%)
Deprivation of Food and Sex	8	2	1	5	7	3	26(29.5%)
Sexual abuse	1	8	6	-	1	3	19(21.5%)
Verbal abuse	4	3	-	1	2	1	11(12.5%)
Others	-	1	3	2	-	-	6(7.0%)
Total	20	16	15	14	14	9	88(100%)

Missing (Single) Cases = 32

From Table 12, 20 of the women in study have no children. Out of this, 7 were battered, 8 were deprived of one basic need or the other, 1 was sexually abused, 4 were verbally abused.

Women who have no children mostly suffer deprivation followed by battering due to the importance attached to children in

marriage. Infertility makes women worthless in most communities, thus, making the suffer. They are battered and verbally abused by their husbands, affines and other members of society. The table omits single ladies because they have no children.

Sixty-eight (68) of the women in study have children. Out of the 68, 16 who are mostly young women have one child each. Eight (8) of those women who have a child each were sexually abused, tow (2) of the women were battered, two (2) were deprived of some needs, three (3) were verbally abused while one of them was forced into marriage. It appears that the more the number of children, the less women are sexually abused and the more battering and deprivation they suffer. It could be that they suffer sexual and verbal abuse too but report only battery and deprivation because of their effects on other members of the family, most especially the children. Those women who have 3 to 4 children get more battered and are deprived of needs more often than they experience other forms of violence. Of the 9 women who have 5 children or more, 3 are married. Two of these 3 were battered while one was verbally abused. Three of the women are widowed and have been deprived of their late husband's properties, and 3 are divorced and are sexually abused. This indicates that widows suffer more deprivation as a form violence while divorced women experience more sexual abuse than other forms of violence. On the whole, it could be deduced that women suffer violence regardless of whether or not they have children have sometimes the more the children, the worse the experience.

PERPETRATORS OF VIOLENCE

This study shows that violent or coercive acts against women are perpetrated by husbands, other members of one's family as well as friends. Table 13 shows the relationship of victims to their of victims to their assailants.

TABLE 13: RELATIONSHIP OF THE ASSAILANT TO THE VICTIM

	No	Percentage
Husband	70	58.3
Boy friend	23	19.2
Father	3	2.5
Inlaws	9	7.5
Others	15	12.5
	---	---
Total	120	100.0

Table 13 indicates that out of the 120 cases of violence,70 (58.3%) of the assailants are husbands, 23 (19.2%) are boyfriends. The rest of the assailants are father, inlaws and others such as stepson, bus conductors, school teachers and neighbours.

Case history four is an example of the types of violence perpetrated by husbands.

CASE 4: A WOMAN WHOSE PREGNANCIES FIELD HER VIOLENCE

> The victim is a 36 year old Kamanton woman who has four children. she has been married for twenty (20) years,. Each time she is pregnant, she is battered and deprived of food by her husband who claims that he is not responsible for the pregnancy. This continues until the baby is born when the husband changes his attitudes. Asked why she thinks the husband behaves that way, the woman said her does that to find an excuse to sleep outside his home and to avoid bearing responsibility of providing what is needed for her pre-metal and postnatal care. The man's failure to give evidence of his wife's extra-marital affairs suggested that the wife had told the truth. Both husband and wife were counselled by social workers.

The types of violent acts directed at women are associated with the kinds of relationship between assailants and their victim as shown in Table

TABLE 14: RELATIONSHIP OF ASSAILANTS TO VICTIMS AND TYPES OF VIOLENCE.

Types of Violence	Husband	Boyfriend	Father	In-laws	Others	Total
Battering	41	2	-	2	-	45(37.5%)
Deprivation of food						
Yand Sex	20	-	-	8	2	30(5.0%)
Sexual abuse	2	15	-	1	5	23(9.2%)
Verbal abuse	7	5	-	-	3	15(12.5%)
Others	-	2	-	-	5	7(5.8%)
Total	70	22	2	11	15	120(100%)

From table 14, of the 70 cases of violence directed by husbands, 41 and 20 are cases of battering and deprivation respectively. Two (2) are cases of sexual abuse while 7 are cases of verbal abuse. While husbands deprive their wives of basic needs and batter them at the slightest chance, boyfriends sexually abuse their female counterparts, the resistance of which yields them battering. However, some of the perceived deprivation of needs could be the result of the current economic hardship while others like those cited in cages 1 and 3 are deliberately employed to punish the women

The form of violence directed by fathers is mostly forcing their daughters to marry men they do not love as indicated in table 14 where the missing cases included 2 cases of forced marriage and a case of need deprivation, all by fathers. Case five illustrates such forced marriages.

A GIRL WHO WAS USED BY HER FATHER TO PAY HIS DEBT

> This is a case of a girl whose 56 year old father from Jema'a Local Government Area of Kaduna State could not pay his creditor. Two weeks to the girls scheduled marriage, the father woke her up one night and told her that she would be getting married but not to her proposed husband, but to his friend whose money he could not pay. The girl was forced to marry an old man she did not love. She died in her first child birth because the man would not let her go to the hospital when the labour started until the third day. She died on the way to the hospital. The mother of the deceased who reported the case wanted a punitive measure against her son inlaw. The case was later withdrawn by the deceased's relations to be settled at home.

Affine in most cases try to show women that they are more accessible to their son's or brother's properties than the wife. In

that case they deprive them (wives) of their rights. of the 9 cases of violence by affine in table 14, 6 are cases of deprivation, 2 are cases of verbal abuse and a case of battering. The remaining cases are committed by people other than husbands, boyfriends, fathers and affine. The violence suffered include divorced women being forced into prostitution, sexual abuse, verbal abuse, deprivation and so forth.

The perpetrators of violent acts view their behaviours as legitimate reactions to various deviations by the victims. Below are some of the reasons given by the violent persons for their actions.

TABLE 15: HUSBANDS' REASONS FOR VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

	No	**Percentage**
Disobedience to husband	30	25.0
Sexual promiscuity	12	10.0
Late home coming	22	18.3
Economic unproductivity	35	29.2
Lack of children	6	5.0
Lack of desired sex of children	5	4.0
Secrecy with money	6	5.0
Too frequently sick	4	3.3
Total	120	100.0

Table 15 show that 30 (25%) of the violent acts purported to have been incurred by the disobedience of the women involved. The said disobedience takes different from which include refusal to shun laziness, making trouble with husband inlaws, denying the husband sex, improper care for the family, and nagging. Twelve (10%) of the cases are said to be engaging in sexual promiscuity and extra-marital affairs which their husbands and boyfriends could not tolerate. Twenty-two (18.3%) of the women were accused of too much commitments to outdoor activities either in the church or women's associations which make them come home late, with little or no time to take care of their families. Thirty-five (29.2%) of the cases are those women who are economically dependent (unproductive) as the cases suggest.

This goes to suggest that dependent women get more battered than those who are independent or less dependent on their husbands economically. Six (5%) of the women are childless while five (4.2%) have undesired sex of children (females). Four (3.3%) of the women are said to be falling sick often which requires their husbands to spend money for treatment. This turns them violent. Consequently, the sick women are abandoned to their fate.

In violent acts, women usually sustain different kinds of injury. The injuries could be physical, emotional or psychological. The types of injuries sustained by women in study are indicated in Table 16.

TABLE 16: TYPES OF INJURIES SUSTAINED

	No	Percentage
Physical injuries	45	37.3
Emotional/Psychological	75	62.7
Total	120	100.0

From Table 16, 45 women (37.3%) suffered physical injuries ranging from facial bruises, twisted arms, tooth removed, head wounds, swollen lips, black/red eyes.

The rest of the women 75 (62.7%), claimed that violent directed at them has effected their mental health. Some of the women even claimed that they were hypertensive as a result of their experiences.

The researcher, through discussion with some of the battered women in the social welfare office, gathered that most violent men use canes, knives and bottles when beating their wives. The men who use their hands do so with a first and aim at the face and head, the most delicate parts of the body.

SOURCES OF REFERRAL OF VIOLENT ACTS

In most case violent acts are reported by the victims themselves or by their close associates. They could also be reported by the security agents like the police as can be seen in

TABLE 17: SOURCES OF REFERRAL

	NO	Percentage
Victims themselves	59	47.5
Friends	20	16.7
Police	5	4.2
Neighbours	13	10.8
Others	25	20.8
Total	120	100.0

In Table 17, 57 (47.5%) of the cases were reported by the individual victims, 20 (16.7%) by friends of victims, 5(4.2%) by police, and 13(10.8%) by neighbours. Others, 25 (20.8%) were reported by other agencies and relatives. these included parents, the court, children of victims, medical social workers and other health personnel. Those who are directly affected by acts of violence feel the pain and so are more prone to report cases of violence against them.

INSTITUTIONAL MANAGEMENT OF VIOLENCE

Social welfare offices are seen by victims of violence who go to them as places of refuge where their problems could be solved. The type of help offered to clients depends on the type and magnitude of violence and may not necessarily reflect what the victim had expected.

Table 18 shows the four basic ways in which complainants are assisted.

TABLE 18: TYPES OF HELP OFFERED BY SOCIAL WORKERS

	No	Percentage
Counselling	61	58.8
Repatriation	26	21.7
Rehabilitation	25	20.8
Referred to court	8	6.7
Total	120	100.0

Table 18 indicates that 61 (50.8%) of the cases were handled by social welfare officers professionally, by counselling both the women and their male counterparts in order to reconcile or separate them depending on which is assessed to be safer for both or either party. Those who needed repatriation were repatriated to their various communities.

Cases needing rehabilitation, 25 (20.8%), were helped to learn some skills to enable them earn money and be economically independent. Other cases, 8(6.7%) were referred to court for better management.

Out of the cases referred to court, one of the accused (the violent person) was asked to pay compensation, two couples' marriages were dissolved, one of the offenders was fined, one victim was granted maintenance allowance, one aggressor was made to marry a girl he made pregnant.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The study confirms that violence against women affects every cultural entity and all categories of women irrespective of their ages and their economic status, and regardless of whether or not they are married. It affects the young and the old, the single and the married, the poor and the rich, the educated and the uneducated. That is, all women suffer violence. The difference lies in the intensity of the violence which varies with socio-economic variations and the ages of the women as this study shows. For instance, the age distribution of women in the study reveals that violence is more prevalent against women aged 15 to 39 years than against younger and older women. This could be attributed to their numerous roles for example as wives, mothers, employees and so forth which gives them chains of relationships in which violence is experienced. Furthermore, the findings reflect the home as a violent place for women as perpetrators of most violent acts reported to the social welfare are members of the same family with victims.

Another factor that influences the intensity of the violence suffered by the categories of women is level of occupation which is related to the levels of education of the women. that is the more educated a woman, the more highly placed she is occupationally, and the less dependent she is on her male counterpart. It also gives her advantage over the dependent woman who is deprived of basic

needs and gets battered if she complains. This point is illustrated by the cross tabulations of level of occupation and types of violence, and level of education and types of violence respectively. These tables show that women who have no formal education suffer deprivation of basic material needs. They also get verbally abused and battered. On the contrary, the highly educated women in the study get more deprived and verbally abused and less battered because they are less dependent. However, the unemployed and the low income earners are categorized into the lower class in which violence is more prevalent than in the middle and upper classes. The upper and the elite classes are not reflected in the findings due to the fact that their cases do not reach welfare offices.

Majority of the victims of violence in the study reside either in one, two or three room apartments, with a few of them living in government junior staff low cost quarters which characterize the lower class. These women suffer different kinds of violence ranging from battering, deprivation of needs, sexual abuse, verbal abuse, to forced marriage. They also as a result of the violence suffered, sustain different kinds of injuries which include physical, psychological and emotional abuse.

The study also revealed that women suffer violence in the hands of men generally irrespective of whether or not they are related to them. Those men include husbands, boyfriends, fathers, affines, neighbours, armed robbers, school teachers, bus conductors street boys etc.

It has also been revealed from the study that people other than the victims of violence report cases of violence against women. These include the police, neighbours, friends and relatives. The assailants defend their actions by giving many different reasons for being violent against women who are expected to be obedient and submissive in all respect. These reasons include disobedience, promiscuity, late home coming, economic dependency and unproductivity, childlessness, lack of desired sex of children, secrecy with money etc.

When clients take their cases to the social welfare office, they do so with the hope of obtaining help of one kind or another from the social workers. The type of help offered to clients depends on the types of violent acts directed at them, the intensity of the violence and how the victim perceives her condition. They types of help offered by social workers include among others, counselling, rehabilitation, home visits paid to clients, tracing the relations of the clients, accommodating orphans and giving them out to foster parents, and (in medical social welfare) buying drugs for those who cannot afford them. Serious cases are referred to court for settlement.

Those acts that constitute violence against women and their effects could be identified from one particular standpoint as shown by the findings. they are reflected in every institution to which men and women belong. This is in relation to whether or not the two sexes participate freely and equally in every aspect of life and are equally treated, whether those differently assigned roles

which subject women in their violent experiences are divinely ascribed or socially created; and how these social creation affect the lives of women.

> In institutions like the family, educational, religious, political, health and the security agencies, women are expected to be subject to men as taught by culture. This affects women's perception of the violent acts directed at them. That is, they accept subordinate positions and see men as divine rulers in the home.

The family has been viewed as the contact point where violent acts start through the institutionalization of forms and values of the society which are directed by men. Socialization in the family sets males over females which is seen as the first step in the subordination of women as a gender, which is why women in the study who have undesired sex of children (females) suffer violence.

Besides the feminine roles (affined) assigned to women, domestic violence does not stop at the level of married couples but extends to other relations of the husbands (affine) who see the woman as "our wife" and expect her to respect and obey them as much as she does her husband. Failure to do so yields the women confrontation from both husband and his male relations. Those women who are educated are more able to seek redress on violence directed at them by men and their relation. This is confirmed by the fact that the finding of this study shows that majority of the women who reported their cases of violence are those with higher education.

On the aspect of religion as it relates to violence against

women, this study shows that under no form of religion are women free from violence. In Christianity, a women is a man's helper and not his equal. women are hence taught to be obedient and submissive to their husbands regardless of the husbands' attitude towards them. They are not to divorce their husbands. This makes the number of the Christian women who reported their cases of violence higher than those of other religions.

Having examined some of the prevalent causes and effects of violence against women, one would like to advocate that women should address the issue of gender subordination which is at the root of violence. Activities of women's associations should be strengthened and their aims and objectives followed closely as they are mostly geared towards empowering women. Achieving the objectives of women's associations requires women to be one another keepers.

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SCHEDULE FOR DATA COLLECTION ON

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF VIOLENCE AGAINST

WOMEN IN KADUNA TOWN: CASES SOCIAL WELFARE RECORDS

1. Age: .....
2. Religion: ..... Islam ( ) Christianity:.....( )
   Eraditional ( ) others specify .....
3. Ethnic group: .....
4. Marital Status: .....
5. Level of Education primary ( ) Post Primary ( )
   High education ( ) No formal education ( )
   Koranic education ( )
6. Occupation: .....
7. Income per annum: .....
8. Type of residence: .....
9. No of children (If any):.....
10. Nature of case (violence):.....
11. Relationship of the violent:.....
12. Number of times the victim has experient similar violence:
    .....
13. Was any injury sustained? Yes ( ) No ( )
14. If Yes what type? .....
15. Referral of the case (a) Neighbours ( ) (b) friends
    Police ( ) (d) ( ) (e) others (specify) .....
16. What reason was given for being violent against the victim?

17. Type of help offered by social workers .....

18. Was the Judiciary involve? Yes ( ) No ( )

19. What was the outcome of the judiciary's involvement?

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