

**THE ADVOCACY ROLE OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS BASED
NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS IN COMBATING
DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN LAGOS
STATE, NIGERIA 1999-2007**

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CERTIFICATION

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ABSTRACT

Domestic violence affects about 81% of Nigerian females. Despite being a signatory to several international conventions on the protection of women against domestic violence, the Nigerian State has not made adequate institutional provisions to protect women against domestic violence particularly in the private sphere. However, Women's Right Based Non-governmental Organizations (WRBNGOs) in Nigeria have endeavoured to establish the political linkage between the private and public spheres in order to sensitize relevant State institutions to the victim's plight – an issue that has not been adequately studied. This study therefore, examined the role of WRBNGOs in combating domestic violence in Nigeria, with a specific focus on Lagos State. It investigated the WRBNGOs' domestic violence advocacy with concerned State institutions. In particular, it explored the best practice strategies with which the WRBNGOs responded to the diverse domestic violence experiences of victims.

Data were collected using qualitative research methods. Sixty-two victims' experiential case histories were elicited through in-depth interviews at three WRBNGOs. These were complemented with unobtrusive observation at the Welfare Office (WO) and the Office of the Public Defender (OPD). Key informant-interviews were conducted with 16 legislators, coupled with an opinion survey of 50 civil servants, on issues related to the passage of the Domestic Violence Bill (DVB) in Lagos State. Eight Focus Group Discussions were held: three with victims, three with men and two with police officers. Data were transcribed and clustered into six thematic areas.

The WRBNGOs exhibited participant political culture by intensively lobbying the legislators to pass the DVB into law. Initially, the legislators exhibited subject political culture towards the DVB process due to the unpopularity of the sponsor of the bill at that particular point in time. This finding negated the manifest reason of culture which was given by 62.5% of the legislators. Subsequently, after the change of the unpopular legislator, the house passed the bill into law with a two-thirds majority vote. Another key finding of the WRBNGOs' advocacy with other State institutions suggested that the strategies of mediation, counseling and legal aid adopted by the WO and OPD had short term effects on the lives of the victims. This was in comparison with the best practice strategies of shelter provision, economic empowerment, mediation, counseling and legal aid adopted by the WRBNGOs which had positive long term effects in the lives of the victims. Victims provided with shelter and economic empowerment by the WRBNGOs were much more able to survive their traumatic domestic violence experiences.

There is a need for the State to collaborate with the WRBNGOs, to extend the service delivery of the WO, and OPD, to include shelter provision and economic empowerment. The implication of this for the policy and practice of the domestic violence law, is the need for the State to allocate adequate funds and to mobilize concerned institutions to exercise sufficient political will to enforce the law in Lagos State and throughout the federation.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my beloved father, who always supports and encourage me in many ways in work and life. I know he is possibly even more pleased than me that it is finished at last. I am proud of you, Daddy.

Finally to the Almighty God, my ultimate source of everything, to HIM alone is the Glory.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Multiagency Risk Assessment Conferences (MARACS)
Specialist Domestic Violence Courts (SDVC)
Independent Domestic Violence Advisors (IDVAs)
Domestic Violence, Crime and Victims' Act 2004 (DVCV)
Family Violence Initiative (FVI)
Women Police Station (WPS)
DOVVSU- Domestic Violence Victim Support Unit
Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF)
Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA)
Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR)
Zimbabwe Women Lawyers Association (ZWLA)
Restorative Justice (RJ)
Criminal Justice (CJ)
Violence Against Women Act of 1994 (VAWA)
LEDAP (Legal Defence and Assistance Project)
Project Alert
Women Advocacy Research and Documentation Center (WARDC)
The National Council of Women's Societies (NCWS)
The Federation of Women's Association of Nigeria (FOMWAN)
The Women In Nigeria (WIN)
NPS National Population Survey
GADA (Gender and Development Action)
Missouri Coalition Against Domestic Violence (MCADV)
Legislative Advocacy Coalition on Violence Against Women (LACVAW)

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Violence against women is a global phenomenon that cuts across all national boundaries, races cultures and social classes (Krug et al., 2002; Gillum, 2002; Huang & Gunn, 2001). It occurs to one in every three women in the world (Heise *et al*, 1999) and has been termed the most pervasive yet least recognized human rights abuse in the world (Heise *et al*, 2002).

Basically, violence against women is gender-based and rooted in gendered power relations (Flake, 2005; Jewkes, 2002). In other words, it is violence perpetrated against women on account of their sex by mostly males (fathers, husbands, uncles, in-laws, cousins, or strangers). It exists in every country in one form or the other. Wife battering, femicides (in China) bride burning (in India and Pakistan) women trafficking (in Africa, United Arab Emirates, Asia, Europe United States of America), female genital mutilation (Africa), acid bathes (in Asia and Africa) sexual abuse, and rapes.

In Nigeria, violence against women is no exception. It manifests in different forms: wife battery, assaults and injuries, acid bathes, rape, state violence, ethnic-religious conflicts, women trafficking, harmful traditional practices (like oppressive widowhood rites and female genital mutilation), discrimination on the basis of gender, denial of girl-child education and child brides whose first births may result in vesico-vagina fistula and so on (Effah-Chukwuma & Osarenren, 2001).

Violence against women is a manifestation of historical unequal power relations between men and women which have led to domination over and discrimination against women by men and to the prevention of the full advancement of women (UN, 1993).

Many reasons have been adduced to explain these inhumane acts. For example according to (Pereira, 2002 & Osirim, 1998), rising poverty in the context of globalizations's structural adjustments, debt- loan conditionalities has been linked to an upsurge of violence against women in Africa.

More women's cultural gender roles of being subservient bread eaters have been changed to economic gender roles of co- or even family bread winners. This shift in economic gender roles coupled with mass retrenchment, poverty, bad governance and particularly the state's unaccountability, has led to a lot of psychological frustration and jealousy on the part of men and their subsequent outlet of violence at two conflictual levels. The levels are the public and private levels. The conflicts at the public level manifest as ethnic, religious, oil marginalization, and urban conflicts in society, while the conflicts at the private level manifests as domestic violence in the home. At both levels women are the most affected casualties.

Women are often the victims of domestic violence and are in the greatest danger at home where they should feel safest. This is because, biologically, the male is stronger than the female; therefore he is at an advantage to overpower and control the female if he so wishes. Such acts of violence if perpetrated in public would be punished by law, but they often go unchallenged when men direct them at women in the privacy of their homes, out of public view. Even most witnesses, neighbours inclusive, ignore it and do not intervene, as they regard it as a domestic problem that should be resolved by the couple (Peace women, 2011). The community's non interference is understandable based on evidence from existing literature that domestic violence is a socially permissible phenomenon in most African cultures under certain conditions (Koenig, 2003). For instance if a wife or female intimate refuses to cook or have sexual relations with her husband the community believes that the male intimate is justified if he resorts to beating his intimate (Odimegwu, 2003). The community's noninterference can therefore be attributed to the community's inculcation of socialized norms that domestic violence is justifiable under certain conditions. Nevertheless, prior research as demonstrated that the community's insensitivity and ineffectiveness towards intervention to domestic violence has contributed to the escalating frequency and intensity of domestic violence in victims' lives (Crowell & Burgess, 1996).

Another reason that has been adduced to explain these inhumane act of violence is patriarchy. Feminists view patriarchy as an institution in which men can use their potential of violence as a powerful means of restricting and subordinating women's bodies, lives and activities by instilling the fear of violence (Coole, 2001; Mackay, 2001). Sociologists such as Isiugo-Abanihe (2003) are also of the opinion that the patriarchal culture of most Nigerian

societies fosters gender inequality. In some Nigerian cultures, violence against women is condoned as a part of married life. Most women victims prefer to endure it or face the consequences rather than moving away from their matrimonial homes (Atinmo, 1997). Most women victims resort to enduring the violence because of the stigma, social disapproval and feelings of shame and guilt that emanate from societal pressure; as the society will stigmatize them as deviating from the acceptable norm of normal married life (WHO, 2009).

One of the most common forms of violence against women from which women sustain injuries is domestic violence, it is also known as intimate partner violence (WHO, 2005). Global population surveys suggest that 15%-71% of women ever partnered globally have been physically or sexually assaulted by a male intimate in a domestic setting, at a point or the other in their lives (Garcia-Moreno et al, 2003. p. 25; Dunkle et al, 2006).

Scheter (1995) defined domestic violence as:

a pattern of assaultive and coercive behaviours including physical, sexual and psychological attacks as well as economic coercion that adults or adolescents use against their intimate partners.

The effects of violence on women's lives can be devastating to a woman's reproductive health as well as her physical and mental well-being. Psychologically, it creates a sense of insecurity, and could also lead to loss of life. Other negative effects include economic costs, in terms of medical bills for number of days in which they are absent from work due to domestic violence (Heise et al, 2002).

There has been a greater understanding of the causes and effects of the problem of violence against women and this has fuelled recognition of violence against women as a social problem that requires political action. It was recognized as a violation of women's rights in the landmark United Nations Treaty, The 1993 United Nations Declaration on the elimination of violence against women (1993) generally referred to as the Vienna Convention. The treaty unequivocally affirmed that women's rights are inalienable, integral and interrelated and equal to all existing human rights and peoples. During the United Nations Fourth World Conference on women in Beijing (1995), women's coalitions from all over the world, unanimously adopted the Beijing platform of action to eliminate all forms of

violence against women. They also listed concrete actions to be taken by the United Nations. Non governmental organisations and other International organisations.

As a further step, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights appointed the first United Nations Special Rapporteur on Violence against women. Her responsibilities were to analyse and document all forms of violence against women and, most importantly hold governments accountable for violations against women. Currently, there is an update on the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1999. The African continent has also included an additional protocol on women's rights in the African Charter on Human and People's Rights which Nigeria has also ratified on December 16, 2004 and deposited her instrument to the African Commission on February 18, 2005 (ACHPR, 2013).

National regional, and international gender sensitive organisations which are an integral part of the society, have begun to take action on the issue. Not surprisingly, however women organisations the world over have been the main agents spearheading the process of seeking to eliminate all forms of violence against women; through mass mobilisation and activities in women's networks (Nwolise, 2005:10). Nigeria is also no exception. Most of the gender sensitive organizations advocating for the elimination of gender based violence in Nigeria are women's rights based non governmental organizations (WRBNGOs) because women are mostly the victims on the receiving end of the violence.

Nigerian women have been known to demonstrate remarkable organizing skills dating as far back as the pre-colonial, colonial and the present post -colonial dispensations and these have been explicitly documented. During the precolonial period, they had village women's associations, kinship wives associations, and market women associations, while amidst other activities they organised informal banking schemes (Mba, 1982). However, most of the women's organisations of the pre-colonial and colonial period were organisations based around practical interests (Molyneux, 1985). These were interests which arose out of the women's immediate daily needs such as food, good health, clothing and shelter. The women's survival and modes of meeting these needs were dependent upon their positions within the division of labour and domestic work. In addition to their individual survival modes of achieving their practical interests, a key mode was participating in associations. Nonetheless, such associational interests were majorly based around women's traditional

roles of motherhood, social reproduction, fertility issues and self-help. Noticeably however, these needs were such which did not challenge male domination. Though some of their organisations were based on what Molyneux (1985) also called strategic needs that is the political transformation of practical needs. Women groupings of the precolonial were usually not engaged in struggles to gain power but simply to defend and maintain their autonomy.

In the colonial period, such women's groupings were also unambiguously part of the struggles for independence. Usually, their strategic interests were politically economic in nature. For instance, the Abeokuta Women's Union Taxation Struggles, the Aba women's riot of 1929 and the Lagos Market Women's Union – none were purely political (Pappart, 1986).

During the post colonial period, when military regimes were ruling the government, women's groupings were basically conservative for fear of being prosecuted. Human rights non-government organisations, which were oppositional, risked being proscribed and having their officers sacked, detained and harassed. During this period, the National Council of Women's Societies (NCWS) and the Federation of Women's Association of Nigeria (FOMWAN) adopted pro-military government status and were highly conservative. However, an anti-military women's group, Women In Nigeria (WIN) which was established in 1982, emerged, according to Charmaine Pereira, as a significant force in challenging the subordination of women on the basis of class and gender (Pereira, 2002). Ayesha Imam (1994) also remarked on the vibrancy of WIN during the military regimes in criticising the government activities, for instance the government's human rights abuses during the Abacha regime.

The institutionalisation of the position of the first lady, a phenomenon Amina Mama (1995:41) christened "femocracy" led to the adoption of several programmes that were supposedly meant to advance women's cause. Some of them are the Better life for Rural Women (BLP) – Maryam Babangida (1987-1993); Mariam Abacha, Family Support Programme (FSP) and later Family Economic Advancement Programme (FEAP) (1994-1998). Women's Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative (WRAPA) - Justice Fati Abubakar (1999), Child Care Trust – Late (Chief) Mrs. Stella Obasanjo (1999-2007) and Women Trafficking and Child Labor Eradication Foundation - Titi Abubakar (1999).

However, institutionalising the position of the first lady has had more negative than positive outcomes as Mama (1997) rightly observed:

Femocracy has affected the gender politics of the nation, but not in the way that one might have hoped. It cannot be said to have enhanced gender equality or to have in any way challenged conservative attitudes to women. Instead, eight years of femocracy has generated promises to appoint token women, and has made the parading of expensively attired wives into a political tradition.

Aili Mari Tripp (2000) also drawing on the work of Mama, refers to femocracy as promoting an extremely conservative politics that was not concerned with defending women's rights but only those issues pertaining to traditional motherhood roles. The wives of Nigerian presidents' have only used their positions to draw attention to themselves, to "show off" rather than to turn the States' attention to the course of women.

Shortly before the end of military rule the situation was such that, a vacuum had been created such that there remained an emphasis on women issues programs adopted and sponsored by the state in the public sphere. These programs were often led and organised by pro-state conservationist women's organisations. However, with the end of military rule, and the inception of Nigeria's nascent democracy in 1999, Nigeria's civil society, of which women rights based non-governmental organisations are a part of, began to flourish unconservatively (Kew, 2004). Their interests began to be heterogeneously wide ranging (Olojede, 1999). Incidentally, it was also during this period that international funding bodies diversified their funding patterns towards non governmental organizations in Africa. They turned from funding solely economic, educational, health, welfare and development issues to including an interest in promoting issues on women's rights, advocacy, political leadership and political participation in their agenda (Tripp, 2005).

Some of these funding bodies supported non partisan activities around legislation regarding women's land ownership, marriage, inheritance, female genital mutilation, rape, domestic violence and many other such issues. Other donors helped support women's caucuses of parliamentarians or members of constituent assemblies (Tripp, 2005: 84). Commentarily therefore, there is no gain saying the fact that the international funding bodies' expanded interest on issues bordering on women's rights is a catalytic factor in the

WRBNGOs' attention to issues on women's rights. Considering the foregoing, the focus of this thesis is to specifically study the advocacy role of women's rights based nongovernmental organisations on the issue of domestic violence in Lagos State, Nigeria.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Though there exists no official statistics on the extent of domestic violence against women in Nigeria, studies indicate that it is a widespread social problem in the country (Okemgbo, 2005; Ilika, 2003). Amnesty International's survey report; also suggests that the levels of violence are shockingly high (Amnesty, 2005). According to the report, two thirds of women in Nigeria are believed to have experienced physical, sexual or psychological violence in the family. Ameh and Abdul (2004) discovered that 28% of pregnant women attending their antenatal clinic in Zaria had experienced domestic violence. Ezegwui *et al* (2003) also discovered that 37.2% of women attending the University of Nigeria Teaching Hospital, Enugu, between May and August 2000 experienced domestic violence. Odujirin's (1993) findings also indicate that 81% of Nigerian women are victims of domestic violence. Project Alert a non-governmental organisation in Lagos also conducted a survey in May 2001. According to the survey, 64.4% of women in work places experienced domestic violence, 56.2% of market women, 7% of girls and young women in secondary schools and universities experienced domestic violence (Odujinrin, 1993).

However, despite the prevalence of domestic violence as a social problem, and in spite of the international conventions entered into by Nigeria, the country has not made adequate institutional provisions to take care of domestic violence victims. In particular, Nigeria, has not made adequate institutional provisions to take care of women victims who are living with violent family members or men, especially in the private sphere. Neither has the government set up effectively responsive institutions to penalise perpetrators. In other words, the Nigerian State is not sensitive to the victims' plight. This is the central problem identified in the literature. The issue of the state's insensitivity is manifest at the legal and institutional levels respectively. For instance the Nigerian State has not domesticated CEDAW into Nigerian law, though it is a signatory to it. Neither is the Nigerian State acting with due diligence as recommendation 15 adopted by the Committee on the Elimination of

Discrimination Against Women in 1992 warrants of its signatories of which Nigeria is a member.

The recommendation requires the state to be obliged, in the first place, to take effective legal measures, including penal sanctions on perpetrators of all forms of violence against women. Secondly, the recommendation requires the state to set up preventive measures such as public awareness educational programmes. In the third place it is to institute protective measures including shelters, legal aid, counselling and rehabilitation support for victims of domestic violence.

The Nigerian customary laws and the penal code discriminate against women's citizenship and rights vis-à-vis domestic violence. According to section 55 of the Penal Code; wife beating is allowed in the Northern states of Nigeria, if it is with the intention to correct a wife as long as it does not amount to grievous hurt. In the context of the law, the man is a law-abiding citizen as long as all these do not happen while he is correcting his wife. Several issues can be raised regarding the issue of injuries though. For instance, one may very well ask about injuries which are not obvious like internal hemorrhaging or the psychological trauma and economic costs of such acts to the female citizen's right to dignity and security? Nor is the law on rape impressive. Rape can only be punished if there were witnesses to the crime. Where the woman cannot provide the required corroboration or provide medical evidence of penetration and physical injury, the only charge that can be brought against the perpetrator is indecent assault. Now the question is: which rapist would want to get caught in the act by witnesses? Of course he will rather pounce on his victim when he sees that the coast is clear.

In Nigeria, the onus still lies on the state to take effective legal measures, including penal sanctions on perpetrators of all forms of violence against women. This is because legal constraints are present in existing legal provisions. For instance the law indicates that lawful assault on males in section 353 of the Criminal Code of Nigeria is punishable by 3 years imprisonment. While a similar assault on a woman is punishable by two years of imprisonment in section 360 of the Criminal code. This is clearly a discriminatory provision. It should be noted that the law on assault is only applicable to victims attacked in public, but it is not applicable for victims in the privacy of their homes. This obviously does not ensure the safety of women who are physically assaulted in their homes where domestic violence

takes place.

At the institutional level, when women report cases of violence to existing institutions of the State such as the police, they tend to turn a nonchalant attitude to the reported cases; and if they will act at all they do not act immediately. They would rather regard it as a private family affair. They more often than not remind wives that the Nigerian culture permits men to beat women (Atinmo, 1997:81). Moreover the complainant is usually advised to go and mend her ways as she is likely to be battered due to her own misdemeanour. They only take cognizance when it turns out to be a serious case like murder – but why should the police only take action when the case has degenerated to death? Amnesty (2005) cited in Anaba (2007: 5).

Corruption in form of bribes, which also leads to complicity on the part of the police, is pervasive in the Nigerian political system so that justice may be perverted (HRW, 2010: 44-47). Considering the foregoing, with the fact that 81% of Nigerian female citizens are experiencing domestic violence (Odujurin, 1999) with their rights not being adequately protected by the state's institutions, signify that there are deep flaws within Nigeria's political system.

Examining the problem from this study's perspective, the abused Nigerian female citizen needs to ask in Thomas Hobbes' words: "If life is still short, nasty, and brutish due to violation of her human rights by domestic violence" - what then is the essence of the state? Indeed studies of domestic violence among the Nigerian police have shown that the incidence of domestic violence is prevalent among both well educated and less educated police officers in Lagos State (Aremu et al, 2006: 15). This finding leads the political scientist to ask the question that if the officers who should be defending the victim's rights are also amongst the perpetrators; then who guards the guards?

In light of this finding, it is not surprising therefore that domestic violence is the least reported form of violence in Nigerian police stations (Okulate, 2005: 1605). The issue is even more pathetic amongst the medical personnel who insist that it is only gunshot wounds that they are liable under the law to report. Other injuries from physical assaults, like domestic violence, are not deemed important nor expected to be reported to the police (Amnesty, 2005). Previous research has also extensively highlighted these weakness or

inability of social organisations, the police and medical services who are in positions of responsibility to provide support to abused women (Ilika et al, 2002: 57-58). The judiciary, also more often than not, adopt dismissive attitudes to cases of domestic violence because most judges are males and are products of the cultures, which condone domestic violence (Amnesty, 2005).

The nonchalant attitude of the Nigerian state is obvious. With a population of nearly 130 million people, Nigeria has only two shelters for battered women. No class of women has been exempted from undergoing domestic violence. Even elite women are not spared. Citing two examples of such, La Franiere (2005) described how the wife of a deputy governor of a northern Nigerian state told reporters in 2004 that her husband beat her incessantly, in part because she watched television movies. Also during the third republic, one of former President Olusegun Obasanjo's appointees to a national anticorruption commission was allegedly killed by her husband in 2000, two days after she asked the state police commissioner to protect her.

Collectively, these institutional machinery (the police, the judiciary and the medical personnel) are part of the state's defacto responses to an abused Nigerian female citizen's questions on her demand for protection of her fundamental human rights against domestic violence. The problem of the Nigerian States' inadequate institutional provisions to the victims' plight has been made complex in the State's subversive evasion of the political linkage between violence against women in the private sphere and violence against women in the public sphere. The next section highlights this complexity.

Nigerian women constitute about half of the population (NPS, 1999). By virtue of this, they also make up half of the electorate in the Nigerian political system, which supposedly espouses gender equity as a democratic attribute. The law of participatory democracy suggests that the rights of women citizenry should be equal to that of men. The link between human rights and citizenship cannot be overstated. As Arendt observed, an individual's human rights and dignity would be fragile and unprotected if the individual's citizenship is not politically secured (Arendt, 1973). One could say that since Nigerian female citizens are not treated in terms of full citizenship in respect of their human rights and political rights, they are subjects (Okome, 2000). We know too well that the politics of exclusion and inclusion are equally fundamental to the theory and practice of democracy.

According to Horowitz (1993), democracy is about inclusion and exclusion, about access to power, about the privileges that go with inclusion and the penalties that accompany exclusion. Unfortunately the politics of exclusion is tacitly being practiced to exclude and relegate female citizens' concerns, like domestic violence, as being private out of the states' public sphere. Thus there is no gender budget allocation in Nigeria's federal allocation account for such gender sensitive issues as domestic violence, nor are there funds allocated for shelters, or gender sensitive police and judiciary trainings.

This signifies that Nigeria's federalism is thoroughly pro-masculine gender. Feminist theorists have therefore insisted that the artificial divide of the public and private spheres be demystified and the political linkage between the private and public be exposed. The state however is holding on to attending only to matters relating to the public. In Susan Moller Okin's critique of the public/private dichotomy, she argued that not withstanding the states' supposed commitment to non-intervention in the private sphere; liberal states have, in practice, regulated and controlled the family in order to pursue an illiberal end: the perpetuation of patriarchy (Okin, 1989). Several political scientists and feminists have therefore rejected the conception of a politics whose boundaries excludes the private sphere; and they are advocating for the extension of the definitional boundaries of the political to include the private sphere (Pateman, 1989; Einstein, 1993; Shapiro, 1999). The need for deconstruction of the private/public divide in Nigeria has been rightly observed by Salihu et al (2002) cited by Pereira:

For women, whatever happens at the level of the domestic arena is in turn carried over to what is generally called the public space. The reason that this is significant is that women may experience the denial of their citizenship and fundamental human rights at any one, if not more of these levels – family, community, private sectors and state and so on. Hence it is necessary to go beyond the public space when we talk about women's citizenship and rights, to address the interconnected and interlocking character of women's lives as well as women's rights realising women's fundamental rights requires addressing up men's unequal access to economic, political, social and cultural resources which are located not only in formal public arenas but also in private and semi-private places, households and communities. This is the paradox that lies at the heart of women's citizenship as well as public policy formulation and the political process today.

They have therefore called for a deconstruction of institutions of state, which are indirectly perpetuating patriarchy and discrimination through the non-interventionist position of state in the private sphere. To them, relations of power struggles in the private sphere's personal domain should also be considered political. Realising that mere theorising will not effect appreciable change, feminists' theory embraced an internationalist agenda to reconstruct the public – private dichotomy by claiming women's rights as an integral part of universal human rights which ought to be protected by the state.

Moreover, there were underlying non-state actors that advanced this cause. Women's advocacy groups in those countries realised that domestic violence was a serious political problem – with the state hiding behind the public/private divide so they decided to do something about it. They established women as political actors in parliament to engage in the process of changing laws and state policies (Gill & Claudia, 2000).

Going a step further, they campaigned for awareness, established shelters for abused women and, through their political representatives, adopted the institutional approach in which they lobbied for institutions of state (police, judiciary, welfare, hospitals) to start taking action on abused women's claims. As a result of the adoption of this feminist internationalist agenda women in most developed countries, United States, Britain, Canada, Australia and so on have laws against domestic violence geared in their favour by the state.

In comparative perspective, women's rights based non-governmental organisations in Nigeria too have been striving to do the same; to make the state's institutional machinery accountable through the rights based internationalist approach. They have sought to consolidate female citizens' rights in Nigeria's nascent democracy through addressing this social problem in a politically constructive manner by forming two coalitions on violence against women. The first one, comprising of 12 founding organisations, is the National Coalition on Violence against Women formed in January 2001; though it was formally recognized on March 13 March 2001. It carries out research, advocacy, and the provision of supports to female survivors of violence. The other is the Legislative Advocacy Coalition on Violence Against Women (LACVAW), also formed in February 2001 (Pereira cited in Annan- Yao et al, 2005). Its 45 founding members lobbied with international donors for a bill on violence. It was sponsored through Honourable Florence Aya- the Chairperson of the House of Representatives Committee on Women Affairs and Youth Development (1999-

2003). The draft bill was titled ‘Violence Against Women (Prevention, Protection and Prohibition) Act 2002. It has not been made into law. Part of the difficulty, being that Honorable Florence Aya was not re-elected to continue the bid for the law and none of the elected female legislators there have sought to continue the process. In addition nationally, fewer than 2 per cent of all elected legislators in the local, state and national legislatures are women, making it difficult to put women's issues on the country's political agenda. For instance in the Fourth Republic, just three of Nigeria's 109 senators were women, while only 12 women were elected to the 350-member House of Representatives.

In Lagos State a draft Domestic Violence Bill, which had received two readings in the House of Assembly, continued to face resistance emanating from male legislators. In lieu of the above problematic, the study will seek to proffer solutions to the following research hypotheses and questions.

1.3 Hypotheses

Studies have shown that the activism of autonomous women's organizations include services as strategies that address and promote the human rights of domestic violence victims (Johnson, 2007; Weldon, 2002). Furthermore evidential result analysis in women's studies have highlighted the importance of the strong actions and presence of vibrant women's movements as a causal condition in the successful policy outcome of antidomestic violence policies worldwide (Mazur, 2002; Weldon, 2002; Dobash and Dobash, 1992; Stetson and Mazur, 1995; Mazur, 2002; Stetson, 2002; Walby, 2004:15; Zippel, 2006).

Relatedly and in addition to these evidential analysis, is one of the most dominant theories in the women and politics literature which is called “The politics of presence” it was propounded by Phillips (1995). This theory postulates that the presence of women in state politics/legislatures is a causal and instrumental condition to the passage of women friendly laws such as domestic violence laws, and laws on reproductive rights, such as laws against Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). The theory, bases its ideology on the fact that when women are in parliament they are representatives of women because they share the empathetical values and attitudes of the women electorate. Therefore Phillips (1995) is of the view that female legislators would be more likely to support and vote for gender friendly

issues in comparison with their male counterparts. Sequentially in line with the foregoing studies and from the problematic of this study, we ascertain the presence and activism of vibrant anti-domestic violence WRBNGOs in Lagos state. We also affirm the presence of a female legislator in the Lagos State House of Assembly at the onset of this study. In lieu of this ascertations, from the evidential analysis in the studies mentioned above, for this study we hypothesize that:

- 1) The WRBNGO's advocacy strategies in comparison with the victims' strategies would significantly reduce the violence in victims lives.
- 2) The WRBNGO's advocacy strategies and the presence of a female legislator in the LSHA are sufficient conditions for the successful passage of the anti-domestic violence policy in Lagos State.

Guiding these hypotheses are the following research questions:

- 1) What were the strategies adopted by victims as response against domestic violence.
- 2) What have the WRBNGOs done to help abused female citizens?
- 3) What are the WRBNGOs doing to make the state accountable to combat domestic violence against women?

1.4 Research Objectives

Most importantly the above questions will illuminate the path to fulfilling the specific objectives of the study which are:

- 1) To investigate the strategies adopted by victims as response against domestic violence acts.
- 2) To examine the activities of WRBNGOs in assisting abused women.
- 3) To examine the engagements and contestations of the WRBNGOs in making the state accountable to combat domestic violence in Lagos State.

1.5 Justification of Study

While several International Organisations such as the United Nations International Conferences and many local Non-Governmental Organisations and their activists have begun to focus their attention on the issue of violence against women in the south, little work has been done by social scientists within sub-Saharan Africa (Tichagwa & Maramba, 1998).

The present study is particularly important because domestic violence research to date has largely overlooked developing countries. For instance the issue of domestic violence has been more largely studied in high income-countries, such as the United States, however evidence of scholarly work of domestic violence against women in Africa, especially West Africa, has been scarce (Ofei-Aboagye, 1994; Takyi & Mann, 2006). Being a country in West Africa little is known about domestic violence advocacy in Nigeria. For instance (Agina cited in Anaba, 2008: 48) made reference to this dearth in domestic violence advocacy, by discrediting Nigerian WRBNGOs to be inexperienced in the art of domestic violence advocacy in a democratic setting, because they have been more accustomed to working under military rule. Even though few studies exist on domestic violence in West Africa (Ofei Aboagye, 1994), we find that Lagos State in Nigeria which is the focus of this study has vibrant WRBNGOs who are engaged in concerted advocacy efforts against domestic violence. Therefore the advocacy of these WRBNGOs in Lagos state one of the thirty six states of Nigeria which is located in West Africa, is worthy of a study. Particularly considering the fact that at the onset of this study it was the only state which was engaged in domestic violence advocacy. This was with the exception of two other states, Cross River and Ebonyi states which had already engaged in domestic violence advocacy. These two states had been successful in their domestic violence advocacy with specific laws against domestic violence having been enacted in their states amongst all the other thirty-six states which had not.

The relevance of this study to the field of international relations cannot therefore be overemphasised given the challenges that violence against women pose as a violation of universal human rights in a supposed democracy. Moreover, bearing in mind that the Nigerian state is a signatory to international treaties to safeguard human rights, which is an integral aspect of international relations.

Political rights for women are basic human rights, and human rights are an integral part of democracy. A key determinant for a successful democratic consolidation is the ability of

an elected government to observe, protect and enhance the fundamental rights of citizenry to promote gender justice through social justice. Democracy can only thrive in a state where there is respect for human rights, political reforms and subsequently good governance. Civil society has been cited by Harbeson as the missing key to sustained political reform (Harbeson, 1994).

It would be extremely difficult if not impossible to talk about good governance and democratisation without human rights and political reform. Women's rights based non governmental organisations (WRBNGOs) form an integral part of civil society which promotes human rights and they influence public opinion and policy through their advocacy. The study of human rights in Political Science is integral to protection of the citizen's security and protection from abuse.

This research will contribute to improve knowledge and understanding of what women's rights non-governmental organisations are doing to combat domestic violence in the lives of abused female citizens by opening our insights to possibilities of strategies of the nongovernmental organisations engaging the state institutions in making them accountable and thereby instituting legislative reform. It will also serve as an opportunity to look at civil society government relations in order to focus on the quality of interactions between state and non-state actors rather than viewing the interactions between society and state in zero sum terms (Horowitz, 1993).

Wallan notes that when it comes to understanding human conflict and violence especially, the formulation of domestic public policy intended to manage them something more than common sense is required: empirical scholarly research (Wallan, 1999). Significantly therefore, the product of this research has the latent advantages of becoming an invaluable instrument, in the decision making work of policy makers, women's rights based organisations (WRBNGOs) and an asset and reference point for intending donor organisations to refer to.

1.6 Conceptual Clarification

Concepts are the building blocks with which political scholars explain political ideologies and theories. Consequently, we begin by defining certain concepts used in the

course of this study as these will help eliminate conceptual confusion and ensure the value of clarity. These concepts include political participation, domestic violence women's rights based nongovernmental organisations WRBNGOs advocacy and patriarchy. In the next section we will briefly note the key concepts adopted that assess the nature of domestic violence policies and advocacy relations between WRBNGOs and concerned state institutions.

Domestic Violence

To begin with, as a concept, violence is easier to identify and point to than to define (Potter, 1999). This is because we know it as it breaks out. However, for the purposes of clarity in this study, we need to define what domestic violence is and what it is not. For instance, Itzin (2000: 237) has observed that "how violence is conceptualized and defined will determine what is visible and seen and known . . . and what is and is not done about it through policy and practice."

Domestic violence has been defined variously; (Kelly, 2003: 79; Edleson, 2007). Hundreds of organizations, book chapters, and journal articles have defined domestic violence with each describing the term as they understood it. An organization The Missouri Coalition Against Domestic Violence (MCADV) in the United states defined domestic violence as:

a pattern of assaultive and/or coercive behaviours that adults or adolescents use against their current or former intimate partners. It occurs in intimate relationships where the perpetrator and the victim are currently or previously have been dating, living together, married, or divorced. They might have children in common, or not (Missouri Coalition Against Domestic Violence, 2005).

Another definition is the one given by, 'Safe Horizon' it referred to Domestic violence, as:

a pattern of behaviour used to establish power and control over another person through fear and intimidation often including the threat or use of physical, sexual, psychological and/or economic abuse.

Furthermore, Webster et al (2002) define domestic violence as:

any violent or abusive behaviour; whether physical, sexual, psychological, emotional, financial— actual or threatened – used by one person to control or dominate another person with whom they have or have had a relationship.

The United Kingdom Home Office has pinpointed domestic violence to be a crime and have therefore broadly conceptualized it as:

Any incident of threatening behavior, violence or abuse psychological, physical or sexual financial or emotional between adults who are or have been intimate partners or family members, regardless of gender or sexuality.

Earlier on Straus et al (1980) had emphasized that domestic violence is an expression of physical force or threat which is employed to maintain dominance and control in family relationships. This violence could be outbursts in the form of punching, hitting, slapping, kicking, throwing objects, or wielding weapons (Straus, Gelles & Steinmetz, 1980).

Flitcraft et al (1992) have also defined domestic violence as:

a pattern of coercive control consisting of physical, verbal, or sexual acts against former or current intimate partners (Flitcraft, Hadley, Hendricks-Matthews, McLeer, & Warshaw, 1992).

Domestic violence could also include slapping, hitting, choking, burning, cutting, or holding someone against her or his will (Buvinic, Morrison & Shifter, 1999). In domestic violence studies, the terms such as intimate partner violence, spousal assault, wife abuse, wife beating, wife battery, family violence and relationship abuse have always been interchangeably used to connote domestic violence (Saltzman, Fanslow, McMahon & Shelley, 1999).

However, the term ‘domestic violence’ is preferably used in this study to label the phenomenon because the term “domestic” can immediately be conjured up in the mind of the reader to identify that the setting of the act is in the home (Dwyer, Smokowski, Bricout & Wodarski, 1995: 186). Whereas intimate partner violence does not so much as depict this; rather, it gives an illustration of violence occurring anywhere and whenever as long as the partners are intimate. Wife abuse also limits the violence to wives or married women when in fact domestic violence could be experienced by single unmarried women.

Family violence encompasses a broadened definition which includes all violence that may occur within the family such as sibling violence, violence between relatives, in-laws, and violence against children (Stets & Straus, 1990; Straus, 1993; Straus et al., 1980). This definition is limiting though it encompasses family members it constricts non-family members who may be cohabiting under the same roof. For instance housemates or flat mates are not family members. But living under the same roof with perpetrators exposes them to the risks of violence in the domestic setting. Given these definitions, from various scholars we conceptualize that domestic violence is everything in all the above definitions except that for in consideration of this study's title and aims; there is a need to emphasize that it is violence against the female sex with the aim to control. In addition the idea that they must occur in the private sphere of the home is implicit in this conceptualization.

For the purposes of this study, therefore, the definition for domestic violence is adapted from Kelly Liz's perception which has been selected over other definitions because it has elaborately explained what domestic violence is while excluding violence against the male gender and emphasized violence against single and married women.

According to her, the term 'domestic violence' refers to:

the violence and abuse women suffer from husbands or partners, commonly recognized as involving physical, sexual, emotional and mental abuse. Domestic violence is an ongoing pattern of violence and abuse enabling coercive control by the abuser. It is a situation of repeat victimization where the victim is vulnerable precisely because she shares her home with her attacker and may have feelings of loyalty and even love towards him (Kelly and Reagan 2006.)

Advocacy

Another fundamental concept which would be used extensively in the course of this study is advocacy. To further our understanding of this concept Weiz (1999: 140) posits that advocacy has a legal connotation; she defines it as services provided to support victims during the legal process and to enhance the safety of victims. Allen et al (2004) on their own part expanded the definition of advocacy by viewing it as a variety of approaches –to help survivors of domestic violence navigate the systems involved in the community response as they attempt to acquire needed resources. Allen and his colleagues, grouped these approaches into a wide variety of social institutions that meet the various needs of the survivors. These

social institutions include the criminal justice system, health care system, social services and or religious institutions.

Coming from the same perspective as Allen et al (2004), Pence and Shepard (1999) observed that domestic violence advocacy could be regarded as a dyad. To them, advocacy could be labeled as individual advocacy on one hand or institutional advocacy on the other. Citing Edleson (1993) in their study, to them the notion of advocacy for individuals includes helping victims obtain access to important resources such as housing, financial assistance, and education. However, institutional advocacy entails working to change institutional practices or policies that work against the needs of battered women and includes activities such as lobbying legislatures, working with criminal justice agencies at a local level, or even law enforcement training. Furthering Sheperd and Pence's (1999) discourse on advocacy, McDermot and Garafalo (2004) observed that the ultimate aims of individual and institutional advocacy was the empowerment of domestic violence victims. McDermot and Garafalo (2004: 1248-1249) have defined empowerment in terms of giving the power of choice back to victims whose choice has been taken away by their batterers by generally ensuring the victims' safety.

In addition Kelly and Humphreys (2000) have noted that for some, 'advocacy' was representing the interests of women, and negotiating on their behalf in a legal setting (criminal and/or civil); for others it was supporting and empowering women to secure their rights in a community context. They are also of the view that advocacy could also be a way of taking issues forward with the purpose of making legislative and policy changes. In the same vein, Kwong-leung, Tang and Heather Peters (2004) have acknowledged that tools such as advocacy are one way of connecting policy with frontline social work as workers advocate for programme and policy changes to better support clients. Though there is no universally adopted definition of advocacy we can, still deduce from the context of the definitions offered so far, that advocacy consists of socio-economic and legal structures entrenched within the polity that victims or survivors could be dependent upon.

Human agents are needed to effectively carry out domestic violence advocacy amidst the polity's socio-economic and legal structures and they are called advocates. Advocates help the victims assess their situations, provide information about legal processes, and provide referrals for additional resources (Davies, Lyon, & Monti-Catania, 1998) described

advocates as “anyone who responds directly to help abused women in an institutional context. Advocacy is an important function of non-governmental organizations (Jenkins, 1987; McCarthy & Castelli, 2002; Rees, 1998, 2001) and domestic violence victim advocacy is dedicated to the care and protection of women and their children (Pence, 2001; Schechter, 1982: 5).

Political participation

Citizens within a polity can influence the decision making process of policy making in a range of political participatory actions. They could engage in political participation by voting for leaders whom they know would make policy decisions that they prefer.

Okolie (2004: 53) defined political participation as:

freedom of expression, association, right to free flow of communication, right to influence decision process and the right to social justice, health services, better working condition and opportunity for franchise.

Political Culture

Political culture is one of the central research concepts in contemporary Political Science. It interprets citizens’ interests in politics, views about public institutions, citizen participation and opinions regarding elections. Almond and Verba (1963) define political culture as:

The pattern of individual attitudes and orientations toward politics among the members of a political system.

It is the subjective realm that underlies and gives meaning to political actions. They classified political culture into three, namely: subject political culture, parochial political culture and participant political culture. Parochials are those people who manifest little or no awareness of the national political systems. Subjects are those individuals who are oriented to the political system and the impact which its outputs, such as welfare benefits and laws, may have upon their lives, but who are not oriented to participation in the input structures. Participants are those individuals who are oriented to the input structures and processes, and engage in, or view themselves as potentially engaging in the articulation of demands and the making of decisions.

Policy

In definitional terms the sixth edition of the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, defines a policy as a plan of action agreed or chosen by either of a political party, a business, a government etc based on a principle that they believe in and influences how they behave. A political party or a government designs policies in the context of a particular social system.

Policy Elites

According to Skrentny (2006):

Policy elites" refers to state actors with some influence over the direction, shape, and timing of policy making. For federal policy, this usually includes a wide range of actors: presidents, cabinet members, White House staff members, agency officials, members of Congress, congressional staff.

Women's Movements

This study adopts Bleijenbergh's & Roggeband's (2007) conceptualization of women's movements. According to them:

By women's movements we mean organizations that struggle to eliminate unequal gender relations and promote the equal participation of women in the labor market.

In other words this implies that women's movements are a collective of organisations that seek equal relations for both the male and female gender; particularly as it relates to the female gender within a capitalist democratic state.

NGO

The term "NGO" was first used by the United Nations in 1949, since then it has been used interchangeably to refer to a broad spectrum of organizations such as "voluntary associations, non-profit associations international non-governmental organisations nongovernmental development organisations new social movement organisations people's organisations, membership organisations grassroots support organizations (Fernando & Heston, 1997; Fisher, 1997). Consequently, as it is applicable to several organisations in

different contexts, the term 'NGO is a contested one. So much so that it is recognized that there is no definitional consensus for the term within the international academic and development community. This is because there has been much debate over its meaning. For instance Moghadam (1997) notes that the term nongovernmental organisation eludes precise definition and classification. The most common way of defining these organizations is by the type of activities they are involved in.

In the same vein, Mencher (1999) notes that the term NGO is really a catchword for an enormous variety of structures, pursuing diverse strategies, of widely differing sizes, aims or missions, and defies definition because of this diversity. In other words, these imply that despite the lack of consensus of a definition for the term Ngo we could recognize them by what they do that is the roles they play. These include advocating for the environment, improved healthcare, children's rights, women's rights, and so on. So that how they function is exhibited in the roles they play. In addition to their diversities and categorical functions political scientists are divided on the role of NGOs vis-avis the society and the state. There are those who are of the view that as autonomous actors within the state, Ngos perform the role of supporting and strengthening liberal democracy by emerging to fill the institutional vacuum caused by the weakness of the state, political parties and trade unions (Clarke, 1998a). While there are scholars who arguably contest this standpoint with the view that rather Ngos by virtue of filling in the gap left by the weak state are principal actors in the weakening of the state further. As they are of the view that by virtue of the Ngos being heavily dependent on funds from international donor agencies to fund the projects abdicated by the state; the institutional capacity of state organizational sectors hitherto responsible for dispensing the duties the Ngos take over do infact undermine the ability of the state to take up its responsibility to her citizens. There are also debates within the Ngo discourse that have extended to include, overlapping discourses about the undemocratic organizational structures, impact and efficiency of some of these Ngos which have led to complex micropolitical implications. Aiyede (2004) claims:

Differences in organizational structure and processes sometimes stand in the way of sustained cooperation. Organisational solidarity and competition have also been major sources of quarrel. These fears have generated disagreements over roles, and have therefore weakened alliances.

Interestingly, however, in considering these claims in relation to gender based organizations in Nigeria, it has also been noted that more conspicuously than other categories of Ngos in Nigeria, gender based organisations do feature democratic membership structures. Even Aiyede (2004) was also quick to affirm that this has however not deterred donor agencies in continuing to promote and support networking among Ngos within the country. Commentarily therefore it is noteworthy within this review to comment that the adjudication of the impact of these Ngos be left to the donor agencies to whom the Ngo report. As the positive roles played by the WRBNGOs in filling the gaps left by the state cannot be understated as well.

With this in mind the next few paragraphs reviews the academic literature on Ngos, in order to highlight the role of WRBNGOs that are dominant in the literature. However studies on the WRBNGOs organisational structure, or the WRBNGOs impact which do not deal with the role of Ngos in Nigeria, are not discussed here. The organizational structure and impact of the WRBNGOs as not discussed here as understandably, this study's focus is pivoted on the "role" of WRBNGOs in Lagos Nigeria. Therefore to include a broader range of literature would be eccentrically off tangent.

Literature on the roles and capabilities of Nigerian women to mobilize themselves for making indelible impact on the State and its policies has been demonstrated severally. From an historical viewpoint, literature on women's informal organizing leading to women's mass movements in Nigeria has been added to increasingly. At present it is such that that women's organizing has passed through several phases and changes from the precolonial to the authoritarian postcolonial uptill the present democratic post colonial. A range of "impactful" accounts have been documented. For instance, scholars such as Okonjo (1976) and Van Allen (1976) gave vivid illustrations of women's resistance groupings of the precolonial and colonial of the women's riots in Aba, Abeokuta and Lagos market womens resistance to taxation based on eco-political activisms (Johnson-Odim, Cheryl, 1997).

Literature, also indicates that during the authoritarian post colonial military regimes the Nigerian state abdicated its responsibility of accountability to the citizens' welfare. This was shown in various ways with the introduction of structural adjustment programme (SAP), leading to increasing debt burden and rising inflation, embezzlement and mismanagement of funds, collapse of the oil market, non protection of lives and properties during

electoral, religious and ethnic conflicts. The situation was such that the State's social services such as health, education and so on were drastically compromised, reduced or became non-existent (Awe et al, 1990). In response to these, most gender-based NGOs were strictly apolitical. They exhibited this by taking up greater roles in social welfare activities as more funding from local and state governments became available, so much so that the legitimacy of their claims to be, as Clark (1998) frames it "bulwarks against the state amassing unbridled power," was undermined. Of particular note is Diamond's (1994) observation that:

Many of these NGOs saw their overriding priorities as being the provision of professional skills to promote economic and social development, such that questions regarding the role of democracy in their political structures were of secondary concern to that of providing an efficient, centralized structure that could get the job done.

The state also manipulated and coopted women's organizations by offering them loans and incentives to improve their economic conditions (Fallon, 2008; Tripp, 2008). Though there were few exceptions. For instance some gender-based organizations such as WIN challenged the military regimes and subsequently faced constant harassment from security forces. From the foregoing it is to be noted that the role of the women's group mobilizations in the colonial was one of blatant resistance to the colonialists and of cautioned resistance during the authoritarian regimes. Most of them rather sought to attend to the welfare of female citizens. This they did by filling up the institutional vacuums left by the state economically and socially in form of loans and so on.

However with the institutionalization of democracy in Nigeria in the 1990s, their roles have changed a new set of roles has gained prominence in the literature on NGOs. It is such that the WRBNGOs mode of getting the gaps left by the state, filled for the state's citizens has changed. Now their mode of making the state take up responsibility and be accountable has changed to that of being confrontational as diplomatic advocates within a liberal democracy.

Patriarchy

The frequency of the use of the concept of patriarchy in the current review of literature

and the remainder of this thesis mandates a focus on the ways in which the definition of patriarchy in previous studies may impact on the study of the advocacy role of women's rights nongovernmental organizations in domestic violence. Patriarchy is a system of social stratification, which engages a wide range of social control policies and practices to ratify male power in order to keep girls and women subordinate to men (Renzetti & Curran, 1999: 3). These social control policies have well entrenched socio-cultural frameworks and structures that ensure that most political systems of the world are male privileged by reinforcing the subjugation of women. Women are often at risk for and targets of various forms of abuse and assaults from male perpetrators of violence if the women refuse to be subordinate. (Kabilsingh, 1991; Pongsapich, 1997). This is very much so as Yllo (1996) has noted that male aggression is the mainstay of most cultural images of violence.

Hooks (1992: 18) offers a concise definition that projects what patriarchy is all about. To her, patriarchy is a political-social system that insists that males are inherently dominating, superior to everything and anyone deemed weak, especially females, and endowed with the right to dominate and rule over the weak and to maintain that dominance through various forms of psychological terrorism and violence.

1.7 Scope of the Study

- The geo-spatial scope of this study is Lagos State. The three case study non-governmental organisations to be covered in this research are LEDAP (Legal Defence and Assistance Project, Festac Town, Lagos); Project Alert (Allen Avenue, Ikeja, Lagos); Women Advocacy Research and Documentation Center WARDC, (Oshopey Plaza, Opebi Allen Lagos), all of them are located in Lagos State, the most populous state in Nigeria, in which most women rights' organisations in Nigeria are located.
- They have been purposively selected because they form a subset within two sampling frames. The first one is the sample frame of the twenty-two members of Noprin-Network on police reform in Nigeria, formed in 2000 to make the police accountable for citizens' security. The second sampling frame of the forty-five founding members of Lacvaw- Legislative Advocacy Coalition on Violence against Women who drafted The Violence Against Women Bill. LEDAP and Project Alert having been

internationally recognized and sponsored by United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). Women Advocacy Research and Documentation Center WARDC, Oshopey Plaza, Opebi Allen Lagos,

These three are the apex non-governmental organisations that have emerged as a subset re-occurring where issues of domestic violence have occurred in Lagos State. Though most of LACVAW's members are located in the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria, it was noted that most of these members of Lacvaw do have branch offices in Lagos. To them Lagos state seems to be a central reference point.

Lagos State is situated in south-western Nigeria, it was until December 1991 the Federal Capital of Nigeria and remains Nigeria's central financial hotspot. This is the state where most Nigerian women 'breadwinners' of the transnational corporations in the globalization's process are employees are situated. It occupies an area of 3577sqkm about 787sqkm or 22 percent is water. To the south it spans the guinea coast of the Atlantic Ocean for over 180km from the Republic of Benin on the west to its boundary with Ogun State in the east. It extends approximately from latitude $6^{\circ} 4^{\prime}$ North and from longitude $2^{\circ} 45'$ East to $4^{\circ} 20^{\prime}$ East (Arikawe, 2000).

The Speaker heads the State House of Assembly located in Alausa secretariat Ikeja, Lagos, comprising 40 honourable members; other officers of the House include the Deputy Speaker, majority leader, Deputy Chief Whip, and the Minority Whip. The House is overwhelmingly made up of one political party – The Alliance for Democracy (AD) which incidentally is the only representative oppositional party for the A.D. in the 2003-2007 political transition. The study covers the period 2004–2005.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

There are two main limitations to this study: 1. Cultural limitations and 2. Methodological limitations. Due to the fact that most Nigerian cultures are patriarchal and given the culturally sensitive nature of this behaviour and the possible reluctance of many respondents to acknowledge its' occurrence, several checks have been put into place in the methodology to increase the validity of such reporting and to eliminate non-response.

Interviews were conducted in the absence of family members in utmost confidentiality. To authenticate access to respondents, the register ledgers of the women's rights nongovernmental organisations were used to trace the respondents' addresses in order to locate them. This study was limited to focus group discussions, in depth interviews, literature and internet search; this is because the interview based research has been proven to be an essential instrument in helping to explore the activities of nongovernmental organisations (Moyo *et al*, 2000; Tichagwa & Maramba eds, 1998).

We believe that by adopting it in this study, it will provide the strongest evidence available about the women's non-governmental organisations' strategies and interventions. The study focuses only on domestic violence against women not men, as it became obvious from examination of literature and popular media that it is mostly women that are victims of domestic violence in Nigeria.

For financial and logistic reasons, the study will not be able to generate specific data from other geo-political zones of Nigeria. Overall, with the checks put in place, we strongly believe that, within the limitations of this study, information elicited will be valid.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Preamble

The opening chapter introduced domestic violence as a social problem requiring policy action. In particular, it highlighted the politics inherent in domestic violence by explaining the interface between the public and private spheres. This chapter builds on the first chapter by providing an in-depth review of current and relevant literature on domestic violence and nongovernmental organisations, to tell us what is known about them. In addition to reviewing existing works, this chapter will highlight gaps in existing literature. This will provide the platform from which to locate what research is necessary to effectively further current and successive research on WRBNGOs' advocacy on domestic violence. Specifically, a theory applicable to advocacy relations between WRBNGOs and concerned state institutions would be adopted. In relation to the literature reviewed this chapter would also examine a global overview of literature on the policy implications of diverse advocacy relations and strategies of women's organisations in different countries of the world.

This research is particularly important because domestic violence research to date and, in particular, domestic violence advocacy research in developing countries have been insubstantial. In other words, while a substantial amount of work has been carried out in the areas of domestic violence in developed countries, little is known about domestic violence advocacy in developing countries particularly in Nigeria.

2.2 Review of Existing Literature on Domestic Violence

This section explores the existing literature relating to domestic violence, the literature search identifies over twenty one studies relating to domestic violence, each of which is appraised here. Firstly, it briefly critiques the studies based on their methodology. Secondly, from the findings in the current literature, it highlights the limitations inherent in these studies, and reviews them based on their themes and disciplinary perspectives. Finally, after pointing out the limitations in the existing literature it identifies the gap the present study seeks to fill.

To begin with, it critiques the studies based on their methodology. Literature indicates that most of the methods known on generating data for gender based violence, particularly domestic violence in Nigeria, come from quantitative survey research. For instance, in their study of wife beating amongst civil servants in Ibadan Nigeria; Fawole, O.; Adedibu, L.; Aderonmu, Adeniiran and Fawole (2005) utilized a quantitative research method, the cross sectional survey design. Taking a demographic approach, Oyediran and Abanihe (2003) made use of secondary data emanating from a nationally representative survey to examine the perceptions of Nigerian women towards domestic violence. Adopting a public health perspective Okenwa, L.E.; Lawoko, S. & Jansson, B. (2009) measured the prevalence and predictability rates of domestic violence in Lagos State by cross sectional design, using a modified version of the Conflict Tactic Scale (CTS) (Straus and Gelles, 1990). For more examples see Adeyemi et al (2008), Odujirin (1993).

From a methodological standpoint therefore, these quantitative surveys have enabled us to understand the prevalence, frequency, patterns, perceptions and correlates of domestic violence by intimates. However, as quantitative survey methods, they have also decontextualized the experiences of the women into numerical figures. In so doing, these methods have not allowed for an in-depth understanding of the individual voices, contexts, and experiences of victimization undergone by the victims nor the unique strategies with which they use to combat the violence. In contrast to the quantitative studies, above this study therefore adopts a qualitative research methodological approach which seeks to explore the experiences and strategies employed by WRBNGOs and victims against domestic violence. This will be expatiated on in the next chapter.

Secondly, we review findings from the current literature, based on their themes and disciplinary perspectives and we highlight the limitations inherent in these studies. An

inventory of existing literature pertaining to domestic violence in Nigeria reveals that most of it emanates particularly from disciplinary perspectives. This limitation is clearly reflected in their choice of approaching the study of domestic violence from disciplinary related themes such as perceptions, prevalence and incidence in disciplines such as sociology, public health, economics and history. Mostly, in their study of domestic violence in Nigeria, sociologists and public health scholars have focused on the perceptions, attitudes, clinical and reproductive health of various sections of the Nigerian population towards domestic violence.

For instance, Oyediran & Abanihe (2003: 38-53) studied Nigerian women's perceptions on domestic violence. Their findings revealed that 66.4% and 50.4% of ever-married and unmarried women agreed and perceived that a husband is justified for hitting or beating his wife if his wife does not fulfil certain conditions such as cooking for the man. These findings were drawn from data which suggests that socio-cultural factors such as ethnicity, religion, age have a significant influence on Nigerian women's perception of domestic violence. They conclude that in order to facilitate the design of effective programmes to eliminate violence against women in Nigeria, culturally oriented programmes are needed to change public consciousness.

Acceptably, this finding enables researchers to note that Nigerian women themselves need to change their perceptions from the belief that wifebeating is justifiable under certain conditions to the belief that wifebeating is not justifiable under any conditions. Nevertheless, though the women's perceptions are noteworthy, we cannot rely on the women's perceptions only to eliminate the violence. There still remains the need to change the women's perceptions correctly from tolerance of violence under certain conditions to zero tolerance of domestic abuse under any conditions. However to change how Nigerian women's perceive domestic violence, programmes need to be facilitated by some bodies, or entities, the questions that come to mind are do such entities exist? If they do who are they, and what are they doing?

Following the disciplinary trajectory based on the theme of perception, Ogunfowokan *et al* (2008: 42) also revealed that 50% of the adolescents in Osun state Nigeria have a high perception of what domestic violence is and what it is not. In the same disciplinary and thematic vein of perception, Fawole *et al* (2008: 62) in their study of civil servants' perceptions of physical violence found that men with low education status and socio-

economic status were most likely perpetrators of domestic violence.

Still on sociologists and their expantiation on the theme of perceptions, others such as Okenwa et al (2008), studied the prevalence rates and risk factors associated with women's willingness to disclose domestic violence, in Lagos State. They generated data from questionnaires administered to 911 women who were visiting a reproductive health facility in Lagos State. Their findings revealed that 54% of women were unwilling to disclose domestic violence experiences, 37% were willing to disclose to institutions.,1% were willing to disclose to the police. They suggest that reasons for the low 37% disclosure to institutions could be that the women did not trust the institutions and that some institutions are not interested in domestic problems. Although these findings add to the literature by revealing the percentage of women willing and unwilling to disclose their domestic violence experiences; nevertheless this finding is a generalizable finding. As it investigates institutions of all types together. Further research on categorigal institutions such as the WRBNGOs in this study are warranted. This is in order to assess the independent role that the WRBNGOs do play when women who are willing to disclose their traumatic experiences approach them. On a slightly different theme, which is frequency, the study of Ilika et al (2002) revealed a high frequency of domestic violence amongst women clients of child bearing age in an hospital in Eastern Nigeria.

From a public health perspective, Adeyemi, Irinoye, Oladimeji, Fatusi, Fatoye & Mosaku & Ola (2008: 723) examined the knowledge, attitude and actions of health professionals of the Obafemi Awolowo University Teaching Hospitals Complex (OAUTHC), Ile-Ife, Nigeria towards women experiencing spousal violence. Their study concludes that health professionals' knowledge of domestic violence in the lives of the victims does not necessarily translate to a correct attitude of aiding the victims. Also on prevalence and risk factors, Aderinto (2003), Abanihe (2005) studied the socio -cultural dimensions of domestic violence and attributes its cause to conflicts in gender roles. They concluded that domestic violence occurs when a woman fails to fulfill her expected gender roles of obedience and respect to her patriarchal husband, tending the house and so on. This, however, leads the researcher to ask the pertinent question, who beats the men when they also fail to perform their own expected gender roles of family breadwinners as the socio- cultural structure expects from them?

However, inspite of these themes and their insightful disciplinary contributions to the field of domestic violence, there still exists a missing link in the discipline of Political Science. The need for a study of domestic violence from a political perspective is particularly important because there is a dearth of research on domestic violence from a political science perspective. Rarely do studies explore the politics that domestic violence against a woman's body generates. This is in spite of the fact that empirical research has established that there is a political linkage between community violence (public sphere violence) and domestic violence (private sphere violence) [DeKeseredy et al. (2003) cited in Raghavan et al 2006: 1135]. Whereas the inclusion of the "political" in domestic violence research will not only enrich our knowledge of domestic violence it will also enhance our understanding of certain issues between the state and oppressed female citizens. At this point in this discourse, it is imperative to define what the term political is. According to Crozier (2010), most studies in mainstream Political Science have adopted Almond's and Verba (1963: 14-15) definition of the term political. Almond & Verba (1963: 14-15) have defined the political as the "inputs" of structures within a political system. According to them:

These structures, incumbents, and decisions may...be classified broadly by whether they are involved in either the political or "input" process or in the administrative or "output" process. By "political" or "input" process we refer to the flow of demands from society into the polity and the conversion of these demands into authoritative policies. Some structures that are predominantly involved in the input process are political parties, interest groups, and the media of communication. By the administrative or output process we refer to that process by which authoritative policies are applied or enforced. Structures predominantly involved in this process would include bureaucracies and courts.

This study also adopts Almond's and Verba's (1963: 14-15) definition of the term "political". In furthering our discourse on the missing "political" link in the field of domestic violence, we note that political scientists have tended to treat this concern as secondary to the study of violence in Nigeria, which is arguably a spurious assumption on their part. Rather, observedly, their studies have focused on political violence such as ethno-religious violence fuelled by ethnic militias, electoral violence, civil violence and state violence. See Ibeanu (2003), Nnnoli (1995), Osaghae (2001), Ukiwo (2003), Ikelegbe (2001a), Ikelegbe (2001b) and Pereira (2002).

Other instances of such violence in Nigeria come to mind: the Ife-Modakeke conflicts; the clash between OPC militants with Hausa Traders at Sagamu 1999; the religious riots between Muslims and Christians in Kaduna 2000; the electoral violence due to the Babangida's regime's annulment of Moshood Abiola- the supposed winner of the June 12 elections; the clashes of the Movement for the survival of the Ogoni people (MOSOP) with the transnational oil company Shell during the Babangida and Abacha regimes in the 1990s. The Jukun/Fulani ethnic conflict, the clash of military boys of the Obasanjo administration with the Egbesu boys in Odi, the Niger Delta youths. For a comprehensive list of political violence in Nigeria see Agbaje (2003), Adebani (2004; 2005), Ikelegbe (2001) to mention a few.

Noticeably, however, most of these studies of political violence have not explored the interconnections or linkages between community violence and domestic violence. Instead they more often than not neglect the gender perspective, and are generally gender neutral so that the intricacies of how violence affects women (which is usually more negative) are lost and collectively glossed over with men's and children's. Few studies such as Jike's (2005: 697) have linked the exacerbating ethno-oil violence in Nigeria to the domestic tensions within the home's private sphere. Though his study was not focused on domestic violence or women's organizations against it, he made reference to the high rates of divorce in Bonny, where a lot of tensions were arising from young wives who were deserting their poor husbands for rich oil workers and expatriates. In turn young husbands join the militants to gain access to oil wealth to impress their wives thus the society is made worse for it.

In the same vein, Olawale (1996) connects political violence which he termed as urban violence in society, to domestic violence in Kano City. Reiterating his words : Sometimes the man gets offended by the stressful urban environment in which he lives and earns his living. Consequently, the man would like to attack something –something within the limits of his strength. He comes home later to displace his aggression on the wife. In comparison with regards to electoral violence, La Ray Denzer's (2004) study provides a wealth of data for deepening insights into the dangerous impact of authoritarian state directed political violence. In particular, her detailed retrospective narrations of how Kudirat Abiola, Chief (Mrs.) Tejuoso and Suliat Adedeji -all staunch opposing women political icons were murdered are relevant for understanding dimensions of gender-based violence in Nigeria.

Denzer (2004: 303).

Admittedly Jike (2005), Olawale (1996) and La Ray Denzer (2004) have identified womens' vulnerabilities viz-a-viz political violence but none have explored contexts in which violence against women is advocated for in different ways by different women's organizations engaged in actual combats against it. Nor have they accounted for how these advocacies re-engage in victims' everyday experience of violence. Consequently proclivities for further research into gender-based violence exist and expand along domestic violence and women organizations' lines.

On observing how this gap impinges on women's rights and relatedly in a bid to narrow it, others have come closer to the subject, by furthering the discourse on women's mobilizations against gender- based violence. But the scope of their studies have been limited to the extent that local women's associational grass-root groupings Ikelegbe (2005) and women's nongovernmental organizations Ifeka (2001) have mobilized against gender-based violence and exploitations by the Nigerian state and oil rich multinational companies. Above all, the foregoing review of literature shows that most prior and related political studies, have critically addressed gender-based violence as it relates to women in the public sphere. Particularly, as it relates to power struggles for the acquisition of resources, for instance political positions, land, property, religious affiliations, ethnic identity, or oil within the Nigerian nation/public sphere.

In contrast therefore, this study seeks to study the power struggles for the acquisition of a vital resource in nation building which is peace in Nigerian private spheres /homes. WRBNGOs in Nigeria are endeavouring to establish the political linkage between the private and public spheres in order to sensitize relevant state institutions to the victim's plight-this is the gap in the extant literature on domestic violence. This is an issue that has not been adequately studied; this is the gap in the extant literature on domestic violence.

Emphatically therefore, the study of domestic violence from a political perspective is an issue that has not been adequately studied. In addition, globally scholars have voiced their concerns about the risks that the absence of political discourses on domestic violence work by women's organisations entail. Scholars such as Hammons (2004), cited in Lehrner & Allen (2008: 221) and Davis (1987) have lamented that in the absence of detailed political

analysis on work done on domestic violence by domestic violence organisations, domestic violence advocacy organisations risk becoming simply another tier of social and human services delivery system. As all they would be assumed to be doing would be that they are offering interventions to victims at the individual level.

In discussing the importance of not overlooking the work of WRBNGOs, Mazur (2009: 20) discredits mainstream non feminist comparative politics and policy studies scholars. She accuses them of not integrating their findings from feminist scholarship in a meaningful way nor bringing gender, women's movements, or women's representation in as an important aspect to be analyzed in comparative studies of democratic politics. Despite this observed lag in literature on WRBNGOs work on human rights work and gender policy issues nevertheless there are some feminist policy scholars that have studied violence against women issues in cross variation or as single issues, (Gelb, 2003; Weldon, 2006). Nevertheless these scholars have studied such issues in developing and developed countries in continents such as the Americas, Latin America and Asia. None has had a focused study on domestic violence advocacy leading to policy adoption in Nigeria as a developing nation. Although some studies with similar approaches exist such as Anaba (2007), Nwankwo (2008) have studied domestic violence policy adoption in Nigeria however they have studied it from a legal perspective.

Another study that has attempted to study domestic violence from a political perspective in Nigeria, has studied it as a miniscule portion of a wider study of violence against women, Obrien (2010). Obrien (2010) exclusively studied domestic violence in cross variation with other forms of violence against women policies such as women trafficking, girlchild marriage, as it pertains to other states in Nigeria in comparative perspective. Creditably, such a study does have an import of giving a general outlook to why certain violence against women's policies were adopted in some states and why some were not. However in their giving a general picture, the nuances and influential role of the women's organizations in protecting victims' human rights with a step by step analysis of their involvement on the issues leading up to setting the agenda and the final passage of the policy are lost. In particular, literature has often been unable to give a step by step political analysis or explanation of WRBNGOs apparent roles as political actors and policy entrepreneurs in the policy making process of domestic violence against women policies, Burstein,

Einwohner, and Hollander (1995) cited in Soule & King (2006: 1872). Nor are there any known studies of their strategies in their advocacy roles as protectors and defenders of victims' human rights vis-avis their domestic violence.

Given this gap in the literature, to explore the political perspective we undertake a close political analysis of the advocacy work or role of WRBNGOs in relation to domestic violence in Lagos State. To do this we substitute Almond & Verba's (1963: 14-15) aforementioned analytic of the "political" to this study, we examine the flow of the demands for the "political" or (input) by the structures (WRBNGOs) in the decision making process of the political system (Lagos state). Furthering Almond's and Verba's (1963: 14-15) analytic, we examine if the structures' (WRBNGOs) political interactions with the political decision making processes within the political system (Lagos state) would enable the WRBNGOs to gain free and equal access and recognition of their demands vizaviz domestic violence in the decision making process of Lagos state to be able to convert their (political/input) demand that the state be sensitive to the victim's plight into an authoritative policy. In other words this analysis would examine the WRBNGOs role in the policy making process of the domestic violence policy /law in Lagos state.

In particular, the WRBNGOs advocacy role in aiding victims of domestic violence and sensitizing relevant government institutions in the public sphere to the victim citizens' plight of domestic violence in the private sphere. It would also address their advocacy strategies in relation to their defence of the victims' human rights, in relation to political participation, ensuring the human security of abused female citizens, political education, political awareness, political trust and political consciousness.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

Using the lens of women's resistance, we offer a theoretical framework to analyse both the linkages between the advocacy role of WRBNGOs in combating domestic violence by their seeking to defend victims human rights and their seeking to influence the making of a

domestic violence policy in Lagos State. As a corollary to the growth and multiplicity of women's movements around the world the social movement theory cannot be overemphasized. Especially with the development of both regional and international non-government organizations concerned with women's rights, viz a viz violence. Snow et al (2004: 7), (2007) define social movements as challengers or defenders of existing institutional authority whether they are located in the political, corporate, religious or educational realm or patterns of cultural authority, such as systems of beliefs or practices reflective of those beliefs.

Prior to the late 1960s social movements were traditionally recognized as those based on the marxist political paradigm. It propounds that social movements manifests as class struggles for economic and political gains in the public sphere between the capitalist bourgeoisie and the proletariats. The proletariat workforce mobilize themselves as labour unions against the capitalist owners of the means of production. However by the 1960s social movements which were not politically based emerged outside the mainstream of the political system and became acceptable as new social movements (Melucci, 1985; 1996). Some were inclined to other issues which were apolitical, others were culturally inclined while others were sexually oriented like the gay rights movement. Alvarez and Escobar (1992) offer an explanatory description in this context. They are of the view that contemporary social movements are not restricted to only traditional state and political party activities. To them, new social movements offer new realms of identifying and perceiving the political even within the economy, culture, nature and even science.

In contemporary times, social movements are found in most institutional facets of the social order such as the movement on environment, the civil rights movement, the labour movement, the religious movement, the womens' movements and the womens rights movements and so on. Acknowledgeably most of these new social movements are identity or ideology oriented (Kriesi, 1995).

Hunt & Benford (2004) demonstrate that social movements have set boundaries and distinct peculiarities that analytically defines them as a group with a collective identity. For instance although the women's rights movement and the feminist movement are a part of the broader generalized women's movement because they are similar in their pursuit of advancing the cause of women yet they differ in their orientative approaches.

Describing them in terms of identity and ideology, Shaheed (2010) shows that, although their definitive boundaries may not be easily observable, the more generalized 'women's movement encompasses institutions and individuals who take up women's issues in activism, but their principal concern is not gender in/equality. Whereas 'women's rights movements' always place a focal premium on gender equality so that the recurrent theme of their activism is primarily geared towards achieving greater gender equality through their assertion of women's rights. This approach of the women's rights movement often requires women to unite and seek for justice at the policy level.

However by contrast the feminist movement also a part of the greater women's movement is premised on the feminist identity and ideology. The feminist ideology attributes the gender specific oppressions and inequalities faced by women to be caused by patriarchy. They view patriarchy as an androcentric system which privileges males over females and believe it is manifest in all the structures of both state and society and beyond. Their principal concern is to challenge and eliminate patriarchy as a system which actively disempowers regardless of other socio-political differences. Feminists do not perceive having women representatives in decision making for improved health and better laws as an end in itself. Rather they regard women representatives in decision making as, stepping stones, agents who should initiate change by restructuring the patriarchal power structures and relations within the system Dobash & Dobash (1979), Schechter (1982), Bograd (1988), Donovan (1992) and Dutton (2006: 97). Hence their belief is encapsulated in the feminist mantra that the personal is political and this belief undergirds most feminists' movements activists struggles with governments against domestic violence in the world (Weissman, 2006).

However for the purpose of this study, this study subscribed to the women's rights movements approach whose focal point is premised on gender equality for a major topical reason. The reason being that it does not subscribe to the traditional feminist idea that patriarchy is the main cause of domestic violence rather it subscribes to the women's rights movement approach that domestic violence is a form of gender inequality. In other words a form of oppression that makes a woman feel unequal, or inferior because it infringes on a woman's right to non-violence. Besides, patriarchy is not the only cause of domestic violence.

Research has shown that there are other causes even some women may be perpetrators of domestic violence against other women too. For instance lesbianic partners are not patriarchal but one or the other may perpetrate violence against the other thus violating the other's right to nonviolence. Examples of female to female violence in which the females are in a partnership of some sorts abound in the African home setting. They include co-wife-rivalry in a polygamous household, mother-inlaw to daughter-inlaw, sisters inlaw to sistersinlaw or even sister to sister sibling rivalry. It could also be female friends as long as they cohabit together in the same home domestic setting. These examples clearly do not espouse the idea of patriarchy but they do depict an inequality in terms of the power that one of the two partners can use against the other.

Furthermore the women's, rights movement activism against gender inequality approach does explain the what, why and how the WRBNGOs as social movements act against domestic violence. It gives insights to what the WRBNGOs do against domestic violence which is manifest in their activism against domestic violence. It also focuses on why the women's movements are against domestic violence which is because domestic violence is a form of gender inequality. It also offers an explanation as to how the WRBNGOs go about making the state sensitive to the victim's plight, which is manifest through their activities that describe how the women unite together to seek for justice at the policy level (Barata & Senn, 2003); Dobash & Dobash (2000); Graham Kevan & Archer (2003); Kurz (1989) Leone, Johnson, Cohan (2004).

Having identified the major existent groups within the generalized women's movement globally, the question arises does a women's movement exist in Nigeria? This is in consideration of the various mobilizations of women's organistons in Nigeria. If it does to which of these women's movements does the Nigerian women's movement subscribe? These questions have been contested and generated intense debates amongst Nigerian women feminists, activists and scholars.

In relation to the feminist movement scholars such as Madunagu (2008), Aina (1998) cited in Adamu et al (2010) insist that feminist groups can only be acknowledged to exist in Nigeria to the extent that they are understood and inextricably linked to the struggles of African feminists within the three epochs on the African continent's historical past and what they entailed. For instance the precolonial epoch was rife with, patriarchy, male oppression,

domination, women as submissive, slavery, while with colonization, coupled with underlying vagaries of patriarchy came by women's liberation struggles alongside men in agitation of national independence. Struggles which included fights against taxation, as earlier mentioned in chapter one. Inclusive with the present post colonial are the neo-colonial economic herstories on Nigerian women's experiences negative effects of globalization, such as women trafficking, and women's mobilizations against oil multinationals. These are obviously struggles which are unique to African women and incomparable to their Western feminists counter parts struggles.

Furthermore for Ibrahim (2007), most women's organizations' mobilizations in Nigeria would only be regarded as feminist if they were focused on emancipatory strategies to reverse female subordination through processes of social change. These processes would expectably transform unjust existing societal structures. Ibrahim (2007) is of the view that most of the womens organisations mobilizings cannot be called 'a movement', because these organizations simply aim at helping women improve their lives without seeking to transform unjust societal structures.

The closest organisation to the feminist ideal of a feminist women's movement in Nigeria, according to Madunagu (2008) is Women in Nigeria (WIN) which was ideologically oriented on Marxist and feminist values. Herself a feminist activist, she asserts:

I make bold to state that feminism in Nigeria in its present form – consistent, organised, with clear objectives and ideology – came into being with the inauguration, in 1983, of the organisation Women in Nigeria (WIN) following the 1982 national conference on the same theme. WIN was a direct outcome of the conference, envisioned as a feminist movement and named as such (Madunagu, 2008: 666).

In a contrasting trajectory, from feminist values Women's rights activist organisations in Nigeria are focused on an internationalist agenda of defending women's human rights with no recourse to seeking to change ingrained traditional societal structures such as patriarchy. Formidably however the rate at which such women's activist organisations have multiplied have been quite impressive. This is because they engage in advocacy and transformatory changes in defence of women's rights on various issues relating to women's concerns. Nevertheless the bane of the women's activist groupings has been largely an untrusting class

and communication divide/gap between the educated elite women who lead these Ngos and the mass of rural/urban women whose rights they seek to represent. Notably this divide can be said to have been existent since Nigeria's colonial epoch when few elitist women sought to represent mass urban young female hawkers' interests to the colonialist government. This trend was observed by George (2007) who claims that the educated elite women's activism and advocacy work on behalf of the mass urban female youth hawkers was a representational activism of some sorts.

George (2007) is of the opinion that the educated elite women's activism hampered was by class identification which according to her led them to more often "fight for" than "fight with" non-elite women and girls. Also expatiating on the implications of the gap generated by the class based differences between the elite educated and the mass of the women they represent, Pereira (2002) cited in Adamu et al (2010) succinctly explains:

The gap between urban and rural women, between the 'formal' and 'informal' sectors, and between the 'elite' and the 'masses' is very wide. Urban, educated middle-class women have the national leadership potential but not the mass support needed for effective political action. Besides, the majority of such women insist on the depoliticisation of 'women's issues' and operate within the framework of voluntary associations which cannot enforce sanctions on their members. Urban market women and rural community-based women have the potential for mass mobilization and can enforce effective sanctions, but they lack the national leadership and political objectives. This is because the women at the grassroots perceive the Urban elite women as being more privileged than they are.

Nevertheless inspite of the aforementioned divisions in the activism of elite based Ngos and the mass rural urban women they represent; we find that the contributions of these women's rights activist organisations in defence of various Nigerian women's causes, rights and empowerment far outweigh any discrepancies between them.

It is clear from the feminist groupings and the Ngo activist groupings that there is no unified women's movement in Nigeria. Rather what can be observed is that there exists women's groupings mobilizing and defending different heterogenous justifiable agendas. Ranging from strategic, practical, religious, to advocacy. These observations notwithstanding we find that the women women's groupings though fluid and not unified are

still a generalized Nigerian social women's movement. To this end Adeleye-Fayemi (2007) cited in Adamu et al (2010) comments:

While several divisive issues still remain unresolved, there is a Nigerian women's movement ...in so far as there has been a collective, if somewhat pocketed response to the needs of women in the country. There is usually consensus on issues which are considered to be priorities, [and] which affect the lives of Nigerian women such as poverty, illiteracy, health and reproductive rights, political participation and peace.

However, there are clear ideological differences, which influence opinions and strategies within the movement. We can therefore talk more comfortably about different positions and strands within the movement [than] ...about the existence of [a] women's movement.

Furthermore, because the women's groupings exhibit defined qualities of a social movement according to social movement scholars who have conceptualised social movements as having three distinguishable elements. These elements are: a group of people who have a conflictual orientation towards an opponent; a collective identity coupled with common goals and beliefs and a repertoire of collective actions (Tarrow, 1994).

Justifiably the generalized Nigerian women's movement are a group of women (people), they have a conflictual orientation towards oppression of all forms against the female gender if need be they liase together to form a collective identity an example of this can be seen when both muslim and christain Ngos joined forces together to condemn Safiatu Hussein's intended stoning. Coupled with this the generalised Nigerian women's movement have common goals and beliefs to defend women's human rights as in the coalition of feminist and activist organisations against the Nigerian governments non domestication of CEDAW. The generalised Nigerian women's movement always follow up their beliefs with a repertoire of collective actions. For instance the Nigerian Feminist Forum (NFF) NFF-a feminist organisation together with several activist women's organisations, staged several press conferences ,and public hearings against a proposed federal bill which was to intititionalise a dress code for Nigerian women. This was even though the bill was introduced by the female chairperson of the Nigerian Senate Committee for Women and Youths (Madunagu, 2008: 669).

Justifiably considering the foregoing discourse, in response to the first initial question does there exist a women's movement in Nigeria? There certainly does exist a women's social movement in Nigeria. In response to the second, howbeit orientatively diverse they still form a fluid generalised whole though not ideologically unified. Overall interestingly we find that the Nigerian women's movement being a chip of the old block of the global generalised women's movement which is also not unified in its ideologies. This is because social movements do not emerge in a vacuum rather they emerge to challenge conflicting conditions peculiar to a society. In other words it is the specific nature and existing preconditions of the societal structure or society concerned that determines the emergence of social movements even in developed countries of the world. Therefore as Wichterich (2000: 168) states:

Now as ever before women must carry on struggling for social justice, legal security and the power to make decisions and shape their lives. In the women's movements of the future some will fight for equality and rights within the existing system, while others develop counter strategies and feminist alternatives to that system

The social movement theory of which the women's movement is part of, has three approaches; the classical model, the resource mobilization model and the political process model. The classical model is based on the assumption that when there is tension leading to a breakdown or strain in the social order a disruptive psychological state is generated which leads to the buildup of a social movement which seeks to manage the tensions emanating from the strain in the structure of the political system. However, critics of this model have however observed and rightly so, that strains in a social order are necessary but insufficient reasons for the formation of social movements. The critics of this model are of the view that there must be a reason or an issue that caused discontent.

Moving a step further, the resource mobilization model assumes that strains causing discontent will have to exist in a social order, but its evolution into a social movement would depend on the availability of key resources to support the protest activities of the group Norris (2002). Key resources such as organization, will enable the group to mobilize and take effective rational and politically purposeful action to the crisis which caused discontent according to Tilly (1978). Another important resource worthy of note is the

group's solidarity without which the group cannot take meaningful collective action. The point here is that there has to be a network of organizations enmeshed in a consensus of interconnectedness to mobilize and oppose the issue at hand. Otherwise, the group's protest activities could just be regarded as a spur of the moment or spontaneous mob action, political riot or mob whose impact may not be extensive.

The third model of the social movement theory is the political process model. The political process model defines the activism of a social movement as a sustained challenge to particular policies within a state McAdam (1982). The political process model has four stages the agenda setting, policy formation, policy adoption, and the policy implementation stages.

The agenda setting stage is the stage at which certain public problems are identified, recognized, and defined, and specific solutions or alternatives are generated, and considered. Interestingly, the political process model furthers the discourse of the social movement theory, simultaneously as one cannot exist without the other. This is because the political process model situates the group of discontents within the existing political context of the social structure. Then it examines the relationship of the discontented group with the political opportunities and constraints within the existing social structure.

According to Friedman (2000: 25), the "political opportunity structure" is comprised of the conditional circumstances and external contexts of the institutions and their actors within them that specify the emergence of a social movement within the social structure. In doing this the discontented group that is the social movement calls for a rearrangement of the affected institutions in the social structure. The social movement watches out for the political opportunities which would enable it to fight its cause while maneuvering its way from debilitating political constraints present in the political system (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald op.cit, Meyer et al, 2004).

More often than not, political opportunity structures condition the emergence of social movements and their ability to bring about policy change (Gamson & Meyer, 1996) cited in Ball et al., 2006]. The existence of a political opportunity makes available within the political structure advantageous openings that can increase the chances of a social movement's goal of achieving its desired policy outcome (Tarrow, 1994). The openings that political opportunities create could include transition from an authoritarian political system to a

democratic one (Tarrow, 1994; Klandermans, 1990). For example, Chile's transition to democracy, from an authoritarian military government was a political opportunity for the women's movements in Chile to push for change. It was then that they could demand for the passage of most women friendly bills in Chile (Alvarez, 1990; Chuchryk, 1989; Jaquette, 1989; Waylen, 1994). However before social movements such as women's movements can make a demand for an issue to be on the state's agenda, the political process model insists that citizens must have a subjective meaning to the situation causing the strain. Put differently, the citizens must come to a realization that the situation causing the strain in the political system is an unlawful violation that is therefore unacceptable and illegal before collective action can take place.

Meyer (2004), Mc Adam (1982: 51), (1999) have all termed this situation as cognitive liberation as the citizen's consciousness has to be liberated and transformed from the status quo which is causing a strain to what ought to be. It is very important that the social movements are able to differentiate between what is causing the strain, and what strategies to employ to change the situation to what it ought to be (Smith et al., 1997: 70). This imperatively demonstrates that the social movement is able to search out the problem and is therefore able locate the forces of the decision making process from which to solicit its preferred solutions (Baumgartner & Jones, 2004; 2005; Boscarino, 2009).

It is when this differentiation is done that social movements can mobilize structures within them for collective action. Mobilizing structures are the supportive internal organizational infrastructures within a social movement through which social movements mobilize and engage themselves in collective action (McAdam, McCarthy & Zald, 1996). The activism of the social movements on the policies they are concerned with often have observable traits, such as origins, peaks, and declines in the social movement's collective action with or against the state; (Tilly, 1978; 1983; Tarrow, 1991). Though there is a good deal of debate in the literature on the merits and demerits of one model of the social movement theory above the other, movements more often than not adopt the one most suitable to their cause (Della Porta and Diani, 1999; 2006). The political process model is the most adaptable model of the social movement theory to the women's rights movement. The political process model, enables women's rights movements to act as policy actors within the state. In particular related research has tended to conclude that women's movements

concerted and networked activism is key to the inclusion of domestic violence policy on several governments' policy agenda (Weldon, 2002; Skinner et al, 2005).

As collective actors seeking significant policy changes, social movements mobilize themselves, and institutional structures by employing a range of strategies ; under different circumstances to convince key political law makers to adopt their desired policy (Amenta and Caren, 2004). A vital strategy they employ is known as framing. By framing an issue, social movements interpretatively explain and justify why the policy idea needs to be adopted by decision makers. The notion of a frame being interpretative originated from Geofmann (1974: 21) who described a frame as "schemata of interpretation " that enable individuals "to locate, perceive, identify, and label" occurrences within their life space and the world at large. Collective action frames are deployed by political actors such as social movements to interpret ideas meaningfully in order to attract the support of potential adherents to their cause. Conversely, when social movements craft these frames antagonists are also, demobilized especially when they do not have a meaningful counter argument to outmaneuver other political actors during discursive policy struggles (Snow & Benford, 1988: 198), (Oliver and Johnston, 2000).

The importance of employing a proper frame cannot be overemphasized. More often than not when a policy is suitably framed within the politico- circumstantial context of the country for which it is intended, it would be politically acceptable for adoption by the law makers (Johnson, 2007). Otherwise the policy would lack the credibility of being adopted by key decision making elites. As a tool in the policy formulation process of agenda setting, framing has been and is still being utilized by womens' movements worldwide. The women's rights movements present and set their agenda against domestic violence within a frame work that is rooted on their ideology of gender equality. Examples of women's movements who have had to craft frames for the adoption of domestic violence within the politico-circumstantial context of their countries abound.

For instance the anti-domestic violence policy was adopted by the Korean government when the Korean womens' movement underplayed and compromised its feminist ideology of being opposed to patriarchy. The women's movement had to do this because the Korean society is essentially a patriarchal society having strong cultural Confucianist values that promote a unique family centred culture against individual welfare (Jones 2006). If

the women's movement had presented a frame which was pro-feminist, such as the gender violence frame which emphasizes male domination and discrimination of the female as an individual the bill would not have been deemed adoptable by Korean decisionmakers. Similarly in Russia, the womens' movement had to strategically craft a frame which accommodated the human rights framework with the dominant Russian cultural value of Protectionism –that is protecting the female sex from harm in society. In employing the cultural language of protecting women and extending it to include protecting women from harm in their own homes they were able to present the bill in a way that was politically correct to Russian policy decision elites.

Most countries of the world are patriarchal, therefore it is unsurprising that state elites in several countries all over the world are not favourably disposed to women's movements which frame domestic violence as a feminist issue. In addition, framing domestic violence as a feminist issue is constricting, as it analyses domestic violence from a monolithic perspective of patriarchal oppression. Studies into the roots and causes of domestic violence have shown that there are diverse ways in which women are being oppressed and discriminated against. Patriarchy is just one of them. Furthermore the policy implementation and evaluations of some countries which have adopted pro-feminist anti-domestic violence policy has been fraught with underlying tensions from groups of discontents such as mens' groups who are against anti-domestic policies being gender framed in favour of the female gender perceiving them as pro-feminist. For instance countries such as Canada, Australia, Finland and Scotland have had to change their profeminist domestic violence policies. In Australia profeminist domestic violence policies have been degendered from being female gender focused and have now been reframed as family violence to include both genders (Murray & Powell, 2009). In Finland profeminist domestic violence policy have been reframed on the basis of gender neutrality, while they have been reframed on the basis of gender equality in Scotland (Hearn & Mckie, 2010: 143-146).

Therefore there is need for a better framework than the feminist framework to which women's movements can subscribe. In lieu of this, the womens' rights movement have subscribed to the human rights framework. The rationale for this being that the human rights framework increasingly offers encompassing resources that address the diverse discriminations that women experience in and outside of the home be they gender, class or

race based. In addition, the human rights framework's is quite suitable to the women's right movement as its values are complementary to the women's rights ideology of gender equality. In and of itself the concept of human rights and its values has its roots in Western political theory which accords to every individual the right to freedom and autonomy. Significantly therefore within the confines of this concept, the state has an obligatory responsibility under international human rights law and practice to protect on an equal basis the inalienable human rights of every individual male or female. The international human rights law stems from an accumulation of documents otherwise termed conventions from International and United Nations conferences. The gender friendly contents within these conventions are a result of the strong participatory organising participation and representative presence of influential global women's movements at these conferences. These global women's movements, demonstrably defined women's rights as human rights during the UN conferences of the 1990s and 2000s (Merry 2006, 2009). For instance it was as result of the strong participatory organizing of global women's movements at the Second World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993, that womens' rights were declared a violation of human rights. Specifically the wordings of Section I, paragraph 18 of the Vienna document states that:

the human rights of women and of the girl child are an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of universal human rights.

Currently, the human rights framework has become so useful to social movement activists' mobilizations as it adds more credibility to the rationale behind why they seek to act on the cause they seek to defend or challenge. (Boyle, 2002; Snow, 2004; Snow & Benford, 1988; Snow et al., 1986). In the case of anti-domestic violence women's rights organisations, the human rights framework provides an all encompassing "frame" to start its activism from (Smith et al., 2006). As it emphasises the importance of providing domestic violence victims with services such as housing, job training, and economic support (Schneider, 2004). Unquestionably the use of the human rights frame by social movements for setting the agenda to end domestic violence against women has gained currency globally in the past 30 years (Bunch 1990).

Once the social movement has set the issue on the agenda by its choice of a frame then the social movement can mobilize for collective action to effect policy change. This they do, by identifying and making use of existing political opportunities in the social structure of the policy process. For instance, Amenta and colleagues (2005), provide evidence that collective actors have the greatest likelihood of achieving political success when they are well mobilized and when political opportunities exist. The political opportunity structure determines the emergence and level of activities that is the collective actions and mobilizations of social movements. Tarrow (1998) and Eisinger (1973) postulate the political opportunity structure to consist of four major clusters namely: The degree of openness of the political system, the stability of alignments of power, division among ruling elites, availability of elite support.

In considering the first, cluster which is the degree of openness of the political system Tarrow (1998) he argues, that a social movement can be enabled to emerge if the political system within which it operates gives it room to operate. Room in this case is access. Access could range from the political system's allowing the organisation of free and fair elections to political institutions set up to hear the public's grievances. Tarrow is of the opinion that the access does not have to be totally opened it could be partial because civil society organisations cannot stage protests when the political system is closed. A succinct example that comes to mind are Nigeria's past military regimes and dictatorship. Even though the military regimes made decrees that ensured no open political and societal gatherings during the Abacha era demonstrating that the system was totally closed. Yet Professor Wole Soyinka, Kayode Fayemi and human rights activists could still find partial access into the political system through the open air waves of Radio Kudirat which was a form of political institution representing the media (Fayemi, 2005).

As a second cluster (Tarrow, 1998) describes the stability of alignments of power, as another political opportunity in the political system. Tarrow (1998) is of the view that when political instability occurs within the political system such as when rigged unfair elections are staged in a supposed democracy it connotes the illegitimacy of the polity to civil society. Social movements can emerge to protest the illegitimacy of the polity on account of this.

The third of the four major clusters of the political opportunity structure is Divisions among Ruling Elite. Studies have indicated that when there are divisions among ruling

elites in a political system social movements often use this to their own advantage. Social movements simply strongly support the oppositional party whose ideology favours their cause against the party that does not. In return for their support the oppositional party they support grants them the favours that they seek to initiate social change. A succinct example of this comes to mind. During the Abacha dictatorship years, precisely in 1998, a youth social movement (Youths Earnestly Ask for Abacha (YEAA) was founded and led by Daniel Kanu. The youth movement's major goal was monetary gain, through their political opportunistic use of the Divisions among Ruling Elite to further their own cause which was monetary. They were monetarily supported by the Abacha regime. In return the youth movement adopted a promilitary stance against prodemocratic civil society organisations by staging pro-Abacha campaigns such as the one million man march in Abuja (Omotola, 2010: 146).

The fourth major cluster of the political process model, is closely related to the divisions among ruling elite, it is the availability of elite support. Within the context of a political system social movements often seek the support of elites in their causes. Such elite allies within the system often offer social movements political opportunities by enhancing the political leverage and power when aiding the social movement by articulating their cause to the government. Amenta and Young (1999: 6) note, that social movements are challenging the political system and as "challengers are rarely alone in pressing for collective benefits for a group". To Amenta and Young (1999) elite allies could be the media, parliamentarians or even other influential social movements. Jenkins and Perrow (1997) opionate that elite allies hold power to set the agenda, by raising consciousness, and representing the movement's interests in the political system, in order to change the options for political action.

During the analytical discussion of data in this study we will observe how the political-process model of the social movement theory, have impacted on the collective actions of the WRBNGOs as a women's movement.

In furthering the discourse on the political process model of social movements, scholars such as Philips (1995) have engaged in critical political analysis on the influential relationship of the women's movement with the politics of presence as political opportunity structures. Through what Phillips (1995) calls the politics of presence she points out that the

women's movement has been able to influence state policies on feminine gender friendly issues. Phillips' theory postulates that the presence of women in state politics/ legislatures is a causal and instrumental condition to the passage of women friendly laws such as domestic violence laws, and reproductive rights such as laws against female genital mutilation (FGM). It bases its ideology on the fact that when women are in parliament they are representatives of women because they share the empathetical values and attitudes of the women electorate. Therefore Phillips (1995) is of the view that key female legislators would be more likely to support and vote for gender friendly issues in comparison to their male counterparts. In the subsequent parts of this study we are set to see if the politics of presence would have a positive relationship impact with the WRBNGOs on domestic violence policy outcome in Lagos State.

2.4 A Global Overview of WRBNGOS' Domestic Violence Advocacy

Domestic Violence against women has gained worldwide currency in both the global North and South due to its negative consequences. As a widespread social problem, there has also arisen a need to curtail it. In response to that need, the role of women's social movements all over the world on the issue of domestic violence is distinctive in each countries' domestic violence advocacy policy. Their distinction is reflected in their relentless activism, and campaigns to the end that several advocacy strategies have been adopted against domestic violence the world over (Weldon, 2002: 79). This section will provide an analysis of current knowledge and practices regarding advocacy strategies to domestic violence, starting with a critical analysis of current advocacy strategies on the nature of domestic violence relevant in empirical research. This will be done with a view to interpreting the pros and cons of each to propose an interpretation of what is effective, redemptive and liberating about each of the strategies.

This will be followed by an overview of diverse domestic violence advocacy policies of different democracies, which would further shed light on the political culture of their policy makers towards domestic violence and the role of the WRBNGOs against domestic violence in those democracies. WRBNGOs address domestic violence against women in a variety of ways. Their advocacy services include planning the safety of the victim, counselling,

telephone hotlines, staging domestic violence awareness campaigns, media campaigns, running victim social service referrals, medical advocacy, individual and group therapy, legal advocacy, for victims (Burt et al, 2000; Pence & Shepard, 1999). They also provide job training, and temporary or transitional housing for victims and their children exposed to domestic violence (Edelson, 1993) (Pence & Shepard, 1999).

To achieve their objective, of zero tolerance for violence, WRBNGOs also seek to influence institutional change by lobbying policy makers to adopt and enforce domestic violence policies within their country's criminal justice systems. Women's organizing and the increased presence of elected women in government have a potential impact on the governments' policy change. Basically all these advocacy services to which women's movements the world over have subscribed can be grouped into two broad domestic violence advocacy strategies. Namely these are legal advocacy better known as criminal justice (CJ) and social advocacy otherwise referred to as restorative justice. Criminal justice advocacy is rooted in liberal feminist's paradigm that the state should provide redress in response to women's experiences of domestic violence through instituting change in its legal system and institutions such as the police and the judiciary.

This response is what is known as criminal justice. Without such a response the state's justice system is deemed to have failed. Specifically theorizing what crime is, Hudson and Galaway (1996), define crime as primarily a conflict between individuals that results in injuries to victims, communities and the offenders victims, communities and the offenders. Criminal justice is meted out as mandatory and presumptive arrest policies, protection orders, and no drop prosecution policies (Iovanni and Miller, 2001). In contrast cultural feminists arguably disagree with the liberal feminists' view. Rather they insist on restorative justice (RJ) whose tenets entails the use of inter- personal relationship building as response to domestic violence. They claim that the legal system is masculine in structure thereby empowering male offenders and disempowering female victims (Koss et al, 2003).

In other words, justice to them is obtained when the response to domestic violence is victim oriented, if it acknowledges the hurt that domestic violence caused in the relationship between the victim and the offender rather than only recognizing the wrong committed against the abstract state. Contexts in literature on the meaning of restorative justice describe it as a process. For instance Strang and Braithwaite (2002) describe it as a process where

stakeholders affected by an injustice have an opportunity to communicate about the consequences of the injustice and what is to be done to right the wrong. They point out that this process has the aim of a result which is to restore the victims, the offenders and the community.

Earlier on, Marshall (1999) has emphasized the importance of the parties dealing with the aftermath of the offence and its implications for the future collectively. Most countries adopt the use of either restorative justice or criminal justice as a strategy against domestic violence. Nonetheless, the proponents of each strategy claim that theirs has greater benefit than the other. These claims have led to several debates for and against each strategy. The adherents of restorative justice share the view that restorative justice is preferable to criminal justice's court proceedings because the discursive nature of its conferencing empowers the victim by allowing her to tell her story in her own words. She is not disempowered psychologically by a barrage of serious legal questioning of 'yes' 'no' questions and answers from the lawyers of the accused. Rather, she can narrate her traumatic experience with her being the center of attention.

Besides, the victim's narration generates healing for the victim's emotions. According to the restorative justice proponents, victim narration fosters feelings of empathy and remorse in the perpetrator. These feelings would in turn make the offender tender an apology in a bid to be forgiven by the victim and consequently make reparation for his actions which caused the victim pain. They are of the opinion that a key benefit of this process is that it will reduce the likelihood of the offence recurring. In contrast, however, studies from criminal justice scholars give several reasons why the restorative justice strategy cannot be an alternative to criminal justice.

To begin with, Stubbs (2007) argues that it is unethical for Restorative justice (RJ) practitioners to encourage and press victims to forgive a perpetrator once he tenders an apology. She states that even Braithwaite (2002: 571), a prominent restorative justice adherent, recognizes that: It is cruel and wrong to expect a victim of crime to forgive. Apology, forgiveness and mercy are gifts; they only have meaning if they well up from a genuine desire in the person who forgives, apologizes or grants mercy.

Criminal justice (CJ) advocates are of the opinion that the victim is under no obligation

to accept the perpetrator's apology- she has a right not to. Besides how do we know if the apology is genuine and that it is not just a technique adopted by the perpetrator to evade justice and to save face in the sight of society? Furthermore, the CJ advocates highlight the fact that restorative justice processes, which bring the victim and the offender together to dialogue could be a security risk to the victim's welfare as victims stand the risk of potential violence with the perpetrator. Several victims who have engaged in discursive restorative processes with perpetrators have experienced a recurrence of violence during the discourses (Kaye et al, 2003).

Even though RJ advocates claim that there are potentially restorative solutions to any harm or crime, CJ advocates argue otherwise. CJ scholars believe that there are some offences which cannot be solved by the restorative justice approach and domestic violence is one of them. Being a crime, strong action should be taken against it. Adopting a restorative justice response is an indication of unseriousness and levity on the part of the state and society (Lewis et al 2001). Despite the stance of CJ advocates, RJ scholars still argue tenaciously that RJ is a better alternative to CJ. This is because with CJ the rate at which victims prosecute their perpetrators is low because the victims often do not want to be stigmatized, or lose their source of economic sustenance if they should prosecute.

Coupled with this, the offender conviction rates by judges are also low and perpetrators are often acquitted for lack of evidence that the offence really occurred. More often than not, acts of domestic violence are committed in the vicinity of the home away from witnesses who could give evidence. Moreover, victims are often traumatized and revictimized during the court proceedings. This often results from the inadequacy of criminal justice to grant victims justice. The ongoing debate between the two groups has influenced the policy choices that WRBNGOs in several countries have lobbied their governments for.

For instance in the United States contemporary women's movements such as the National Organization for Women and the Legal Momentum have made tremendous progress in influencing the US government's policy decision which is the criminal justice approach. On the face of it, even though the US government appears to adopt both the restorative and criminal justice approach, research indicates that the balance tilts heavier on the application of the criminal justice approach than the restorative justice approach. This was specifically reflected in the institution of the Federal Violence Against Women Act of 1994 (VAWA)

which was reauthorized as the Violence Against Women Act of 2005. It was signed into law in January 2006.

On the one hand the United States criminal justice approach entails mandatory arrest, dual arrest and no drop prosecution charges. Mandatory arrest procedures are used to compel police intervention in situations of domestic violence. It requires that police officers exercise knowledgeable discretion in laying charges at the scene of domestic violence when they do have a reasonable reason to believe that assault of the victim by the perpetrator has occurred. Such mandatory arrest charges are laid by the police officer even if the victim seeks to waive off the fact that the domestic violence act occurred. Should both parties allege that the other was the suspect perpetrator at the scene of the violence, this often leaves the police officer with no choice than to make what is known as a dual arrest. This implies an arrest of both parties.

In the cause of the legal process, some victim prosecutors may be unwilling to follow through the legal process of testifying against the perpetrator defendant: they may therefore seek to drop charges against the perpetrator defendant. Should this occur, under such a specified circumstance the government has a provision known as a no- drop policy which as the term implies, the victim is not allowed to drop the charges she had previously laid against the perpetrator. Rather prosecution of the perpetrator proceeds even in the absence of the victim or without the victim testifying against the defendant. Clearly this policy offers no choice to the victims. Critiques of the no drop policy and mandatory arrests argue that the victim's views and choices in the arrest or non arrest of their abusers ought to be considered and respected by the government. Even if the government believes some of them are making bad choices or acting contrary to their own interests (McDermott and Garofalo, 2004: 1264); (McPhail et al, 2007).

In the United States, when the perpetrator has been charged, his victim dependant receives welfare benefits from the government under a stipulated short term with mandatory work requirements and service to the community conditions. Welfare receipt is a critical economic resource for women who often find it hard to function and retain their jobs in the labour market because of the psychological after-effects of the abusive relationship they have been in (Boone, Erickson, and Arch-Walton, 1999; Kurz, 1999). However, Raphael (2000) has argued that the time constraint which the government places on domestic violence victim

recipients is not beneficial to the recipients. She is of the view that when the government withdraws welfare checks in the short term and the victim has not been able to find work in the short term that the government disburses welfare checks, victims will inevitably become financially dependent on their abusive partner or other abusive partners again. Thus a vicious cycle, which Scott et al (2002) have termed a dangerous dependency that perpetuates the violence begins.

On the other hand vestiges of restorative justice are inherent in the coordinated community response (CCR). In 1980, the coordinated community response was introduced as an interventionist measure to ensure and improve the effectiveness of the criminal justice approach in the US (Shepard & Pence, 1999). It comprises of an integrated network of members of the community such as the judiciary, police, community activists, health workers, clergy who are committed together to address the problem of domestic violence by providing holistic services in terms of prosecuting the perpetrator, provision of victim services, adequate welfare, and law enforcement (Stark, 2001; Sullivan and Allen, 2002). Regardless of how particularly important the CCR is, critics are of the opinion that the coordinated community response efforts focus on the creation of reforms in the criminal justice system while failing to address the humane needs of the victims such as housing needs provision or enhancement of financial empowerment leading to a better quality of life (Pence, 1999; Allen, 2001).

Similarly, in the United Kingdom, the activities of the women's organisations have had significant impact on the government's policy towards domestic violence (Skinner et al, 2005). Although the government's policy on domestic violence is also legal, community based and also finally culminating in a criminal justice approach, it is structured slightly differently to that of the USA. For three decades prior to 2004, there existed no specific legislation against domestic violence in the UK. Rather there existed pieces of legislation such as the Criminal Justice Act 1988 and the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 both of which covered domestic violence offences. In addition to the provisions of these pieces of legislation, specialist domestic violence courts (SDVC) were also created to speed up the justice process by catering specifically to the needs of victims. This was more-so for those who needed non-molestation orders to be issued to their perpetrators under civil law more quickly than the bureaucracy that the criminal law's due process could afford.

Alongside these pieces of legislation the government also introduced Multiagency Risk Assessment Conferences (MARACS) - coordinated one-stop shop interagency forums. These forums are made up of different agencies' professionals, such as the police, social services, health, and refuges liaising closely together to prevent further victimization and to provide advocacy and support services for domestic violence victims and their children. At the same time, the government also authorized individuals known as Independent Domestic Violence Advisors (IDVAs) to monitor the agencies and support the victims. However, quite recently in 2004, a new English Domestic Violence, Crime and Victims' Act 2004 (DVCV 2004) -which specifically criminalises domestic violence came into force due to the sustained mobilization efforts of concerned individuals and women's organizations in the UK.

The relevant provision of this Act extends police powers of arrest to include common assault. The new law enables courts to impose restraining orders on defendants either on their conviction or acquittal. Furthermore, it allows the police to arrest a suspect or perpetrator for a breach of a non-molestation order -a criminal offence which is now made punishable by up to five years imprisonment if brought before a criminal court. This provision was previously the prerogative of specialist domestic violence courts. Though the government's initiative of funding SDVCs, IDVAs, and the MARACS have been welcomed for being cost effective, for fostering partnerships between concerned key agencies and for increasing the number of successful prosecutions, several areas of concern are yet to be addressed (Hestia Briefing, 2008).

As a social movement, Women's Aid advocated for a Coordinated Community Response to Domestic violence but the government instead set up a coordinated agency response, mainly influenced by the police criminal justice orientation and these have negative implications. It means only victims who report their cases to the police and who are considered at high risk of re-victimization (as the name of MARACS indicate) would be catered for. The question that comes to mind is: who caters for other victims who do not report to the police? Especially now that attrition rates are high because victims do not want their perpetrators sentenced to five years imprisonment.

So the fact that victims report to the police is not a yardstick of measuring whether or not they are at risk or not. Research indicates that instead of approaching MARACS, most victims seek help from refuges and other domestic violence services that are more concerned

about the victims' humane and safety needs as opposed to MARACS which are criminal justice oriented. There is a need therefore for the government to include other non statutory specialist domestic violence services in its National Domestic violence programme by giving them political support in terms of adequate funding and resources (Women's Aid, 2008).

Women's organisations have also shaped the governmental response to domestic violence in Canada. Their use of the tools of international conventions, advocacy and lobbying has brought about substantial changes in Canada's domestic violence policy (Graham et al, 2003; Tang and Peters, 2006). The government set up the Family Violence Initiative (FVI), which addresses domestic violence under general family relationship terms as part of the myriad of problems posing as a public health menace through the Public Health Agency Act. The Public Health Agency partners with fifteen other departments- Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Department of Justice Canada, the Status of Women Canada and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to mention a few- to effect the federal government's mandate on improving the general welfare and health of Canadians nationwide. The Public Health Agency set up the National Clearing House on Family Violence to disseminate information on the negative effects of domestic violence to the Canadian public.

Even though there is no specific national legislation against domestic violence in Canada, concerned provinces have enacted anti-domestic violence legislation to prosecute offenders within their own jurisdiction under the provisions for assault in the Federal Criminal Code. Each province has a different name and provision for its own anti domestic violence legislation. For instance, the anti-domestic law in Ontario is known as the Domestic Violence Protection Act; in Manitoba as the Domestic Violence and Stalking Prevention Protection and Compensation Act; in Alberta as the Protection against Family Violence Act, in British Columbia as the Domestic Violence Prevention Act. However, some territories and provinces in Canada have none in existence.

However, with the advent of the new neoliberal government and its policy makers in Canada, there have been reforms which have impacted negatively on Canada's domestic violence policy. McMahon and Pence (2003) have called attention to the implications of the Canadian government's recent domestic violence policy provisions by assessing them in political terms. They observed that it limited the political sphere of influence of Canadian female politicians and activists in and out of state. This is because the policymakers are

neoliberal and therefore exhibit subject political culture in terms of funds allocated to social programmes such as welfare. For instance, the government choice of criminal justice has meant that the government's budget, towards services (such as housing, and childcare funds) that would benefit the victims of DV directly were decreased and most times nonexistent. This, inevitably, sets limits on the number of issues that female politicians and activists can advocate and organize around because the governments' policy response though criminal justice based does not make adequate welfare provision for victims' needs.

For instance, to be eligible for welfare the government mandates that such victims, should be in employment and work (Shewell, 2001). This mandate is quite often uneasy on the part of single mothers for whom welfare benefits can hardly meet basic needs such as childcare, health, transportation, clothing, food costs and house rents. Very often, the "no work no welfare benefits conditionals" often pressurizes victims and leaves them with no choice but to search for other ways to try and meet their basic needs. Very often these ways compromise the well-being and safety of the victims and their children (Raphael, 2000; Raphael & Tolman, 1997; Mosher, 2000). Situations could be so bad that some victims are left with no option than to go back to live with their abusers (Evans and Swift, 2000).

Likewise in Australia as in Canada, feminist organizations have been very much instrumental to governmental action on domestic violence policy based on female gendered domestic violence policy as early as the 1980s (Chappell, 2002: 96). However in 1996 the federal government's legislation against domestic violence experienced a major definitional shift from a feminist gendered domestic violence policy to a broad gender neutral family violence policy (Murray & Powell, 2009). The family violence policy extends violence to include other members of the family and is not limited to women alone (MacDonald, 1998, Hallahan & Henry, 2002; Phillips, 2006). This extension has been attributed to Prime Minister Howard's government's inclination towards domestic violence legislation that is family oriented rather than domestic violence legislation based on welfare and or feminist perspectives. Also considering Howard's social conservative government's aim of reducing welfare budget costs and its' desire to limit the sphere of female activists and politicians viz-a-viz DV. In Australia the new Family Protection Act 2008 has replaced the Crimes (Family Violence) Act of 1987.

Apart from the victims' right to protection orders, plans are also underway to

incorporate mandatory arrest to their criminal justice approach. This legislation makes manifest the participant political culture of Canadian policy makers towards family violence rather than domestic violence and is reflected in their funding and support of Aboriginal projects and traditional laws which refer to violence against women as family violence rather than domestic violence (Chung et al, 2003). However despite governmental support for indigenous Aborigines in cases of domestic violence the indigenous Australian Aborigines still prefer restorative justice who which was initially adapted in correcting delinquent crime prone juveniles because of its approaches of mediation and retributive justice.

Summers et al (2003) adduce this preference to the fact that most abused aborigines would rather opt for restorative justice to avoid repeated criminalization which they believe is a result of the traumatic effects of racism and ongoing colonization fuelled by the government's legal process (Strategic Partners, 2003: 45). The Australian government's definitional shift has negative implications in the lives of women who unfortunately form a major composition of domestic violence victims. For instance a cutback in victim's welfare funding and a preference for family harmony with initial reconciliatory initiatives means that the victims' safety and her economic circumstances are compromised.

Before August 7, 2006 Brazil was the only country in Latin America without a law specifically against Domestic Violence (Roure, 2009). Wife murder- the gravest form of domestic violence was condoned, if done in order to save the family's honour should a wife be caught to have been adulterous. Several women's groups such as Agende Cfemea organisations had staged campaigns against domestic violence and lobbied the Brazilian government to take actions to no avail. Nevertheless, despite the inadequate response of the government and the insensitivity of the male dominated police and judiciary, the women's movements were not deterred in their struggle against domestic violence. Rather in 1985 they played the significant and innovative advocacy role of influencing the government to create the world's first and Brazil's first specialized female staffed police stations set up to investigate crimes such as domestic violence against women in Sao Paulo (Aboim, 1997; Santos, 2005).

Other developing nations in Latin America, such as Peru, Nicaragua, and Ecuador were intrigued at this innovative strategy of the Sao Paulo's women's movement. They also followed suit by copying the Sao Paulo women police station (WPS) models. Santos (2005)

observes that in spite of the fact that these countries share cultural and political similarities, their copying Sao Paulo's model is based on their economic similarities as well. In her words:

It is less expensive to have women's police stations than to set up shelters. (Downie, 2005)

However, in comparison to other WPS models in other Latin American countries such as Ecuador, Nicaragua, and Peru the Sao Paulo WPS model still has its limitations. For instance the WPS staff still needs institutionalised gender sensitive trainings on women's rights in order to attend to issues pertaining to victim's human rights adequately Santos (2005) (Jubb 2008, 50) and (Izumino, 2002). It must also learn to keep record of victims cases for adequate follow up of victims' cases and data compilation for government's planning purposes Jubb (2008, 36). The WPS are also weakly linked to complementary services provided by other organisations within the state Jubb et al (2008: 10). Nevertheless, despite the identified shortcomings of the Sao Paulo WPS model, it is important to our understanding of debates on gender and the state, security sector reform, and democratization in Brazil and Latin America.

The female members of the police staff further the discourse on gender and the state, based on their trainings on the psychological and legal dimensions of domestic violence. They do this by filing charges and take action once a case is lodged. These procedure makes women victims feel safe to report incidences of domestic violence in these stations (Santos, 2005). Even though these female police stations provided emotional support for the victims trauma and also succeeded at raising the public's consciousness against domestic violence their effectiveness of criminalizing and prosecuting perpetrators was minimal Santos (2004: 30). The reason being that prosecutors and judges often dropped charges against perpetrators because they lacked special gender sensitive trainings in violence and were of the opinion that the couples would soon reconcile Santos (2004: 30). Besides these, because there was no specific law against domestic violence, in Brazil, the women's groupings continued their struggle for a specific law against domestic violence through the use of international laws.

However the specific case of a domestic violence victim in Brazil, mounted pressure on the Brazilian government to pass an anti domestic violence law in Brazil. The case was that of Maria da Penha, a domestic violence victim. She had suffered domestic abuse

ranging from being battered to being maimed to be a paraplegic from being shot in the back by her husband, all within 20 years without getting due justice for the violence Roure (2009: 89). Women's rights activists organisations were able to obtain justice for Maria da Penha at the Inter-American Human Rights Commission. The commission found the Brazilian State guilty of negligence because Maria da Penha had suffered domestic abuse ranging from being battered to being shot in the back by her husband all within 20 years without getting due justice. This victory of seeing justice done on behalf of Maria da Penha translated into the Brazilian government's passage of the law 11.340 against Domestic and Family violence in Brazil. The law is also known as the Maria da Penha Law as it has been named after Maria da Penha. It emphasizes the criminalization of perpetrators of domestic violence which is now regarded as a human rights' violation in Brazil. Though the law is a welcome development in the struggle against domestic violence, its implementation has been hampered because of difficulties in enforcing exclusion orders and insufficient resources to support the victims (Brazil and Compliance With CEDAW Shadow Report, 2007).

On the Asian continent, in India population based surveys from previous studies have estimated the prevalence of domestic violence against women from different sociocultural settings to be between 20-50% (Jejeebhoy, 1998, Verma & Collumbien, 2003). Studies have also linked these prevalence of domestic violence in Indian women's lives to inimical customary practices such as dowry related deaths and the practice of sati that is widow burning. The abuse that stems from dowry giving begins when the groom and his family harass the bride's family for more money to be added to the dowry initially given by the bride's family to the groom's family. The abuse is precipitated and leads to the groom or his family staging accidents leading to the wife's death in their home, if the bride's family cannot add to the dowry they had initially given to the groom's family (Rao, 1997; Vyas & Watts, 2008; Musa, 2012). The Sati act- which is the art of burning of a widow on her late husband's funeral pyre, or with his personal belongings, also increases the statistics of female feticides in India (Narasimhan, 1994 cited in Johnson & Johnson, 2001: 1060). In 1983 as a result of the Indian women's movement mobilizing and lobbying, the government recognized domestic violence as a crime and made provisions in section 498 of the Indian Penal code to dissuade perpetrators.

Section 498-A of the Indian Penal Code, outlaws specific acts of cruelty by a man or his family against a married woman. The types of cruelty defined and prohibited by 498-A are: actions likely to drive a woman to suicide; actions that will cause harm to a woman's body; harassment intended to acquire a woman's property; and dowry-related harassment. Any relative of a victim can bring a potential case to the authorities, and sentences can be up to three years in jail and/or a fine.

However, later on when the penal code was being implemented to get justice on behalf of victims it was discovered that it was inadequate in some respects as it was deemed to narrowly address specific cases of domestic violence such as only cases pertaining to cruelty and harassment. Therefore in a further bid to empower victims and protect them from abuse the Indian women's movement lobbied the government and advocated on a bill for a civil law which would specifically criminalize different forms of domestic violence comprehensively (Ghosh & Choudhuri, 2011: 321). Their bid was successful and the law titled the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act 2005 has since taken effect in India from 2006. The law has encompassing provisions and is comprehensively exhaustive for different women, such as wives, mothers, sisters, sister in laws, and female live in partners Lawyers Collective Women's Rights Initiative (LCWRI, 2008, 2009). Furthermore the law makes provisions for women to have the right to live within their husband's or live in partner's house without being subjected to eviction or violence.

In addition, just as the UN definition of domestic violence the law defines domestic violence comprehensively to include physical, verbal economic, sexual violence and dowry related harassment. Though the law has been lauded by most women's groups some critics have been quick to note its imperfections. Critics claim that it has three striking flaws. The first flaw is that the law is gender biased and favours women without considering male victims of domestic violence and is therefore not gender neutral. Secondly they note that the law has a potential for abuse. For instance it could be abused by women who have matrimonial issues with their husbands or female in-laws. Such women who have matrimonial grievances or issues which are not domestic violence related could use the laws to get back at their husbands or in-laws even if they have not been subjected to domestic violence.

For instance India's PWDVA 2005 has no mechanisms in its provisions against perjury which could disprove victims' false allegations should in case the victims lie against the groom or his family on false acts of burnings or harassments. This implies that some brides who have had grievances against their husband or his family for reasons not related to dowry extortion/burnings may lie against their husband or his family that the family tried to burn her to death when in fact they did not. Since acts of staging dowry related burnings occur behind closed doors it would be quite difficult for innocent grooms and their families to prove their innocence in court in cases such as this. In the likely event that there are no witnesses the court's verdict could be that the groom and his family be imprisoned for three years for an offence that they did not commit as no law exists to prove perjury in India. Thirdly the critics view the definition of domestic violence by the law as too broad. This is because the law is not only limited to physical and sexual violence it also encompasses cases of verbal abuse such as name calling, emotional and economic abuse. These are cases that the critics regard as too petty for perpetrators to be criminalized on account for three years. Even though the critics have argued and put forward these flaws in the Indian PWDVA 2005, nevertheless it has been observed that domestic violence initiated by women in India constitutes only a small fraction (1 to 4% for women belonging to different categories) of the domestic violence initiated by men (IIPS, 2007 cited in Ghosh & Choudhuri, 2011: 323).

On the African continent three countries have enacted national legislation against domestic violence. These countries are Mauritius, South Africa and quite recently Ghana. In Ghana, one in three women has been abused by their intimate partner (Appiah & Cusack, 1999). Several organizations within the Ghanaian women's movement (better known as the National Coalition on Domestic Violence on Legalization) have united to tackle this problem. These organizations include: The Ark Foundation, and Women's Initiative for Self-Empowerment. In spite of the stiff opposition from the male folk the women's coalition movement in Ghana known as the Sisters' Keepers had lobbied for legislation against Domestic Violence since 2003. The methods and strategies employed by the opposition included a spate of orchestrated violent serial killings of women in Ghanaian urban areas to silence and frighten the women's movement with the aim of making them desist from advocating for a law against domestic violence.

Despite the opposition, the Ghanaian women's movement put in place an advocacy process of strategies incorporating a domestic violence bill coalition they also took photographs of domestic victims which they sent to the media and the press portraying the debilitating effects of domestic violence. They held meetings to lobby with parliamentarians on the need for a law against domestic violence. The Sisters Keepers advocacy efforts resulted in the Ghanaian Parliament's passage of a law against Domestic violence on February 21st 2007. Though this step has been lauded by many, critics still question the effectiveness of the present legal structures by examining the extent to which the Ghanaian legal system and age long customary laws covertly facilitate domestic violence (Ackah, Yaw, 2006). For instance Act § 42(g) of the Ghanaian Criminal Procedure Code 1960 (Act 29) justifies the use of force in marriage; it strengthens the notion that sex without consent is justifiable within the confines of marriage.

One of the problems associated with the provisions of Act § 42(g) of the Ghanaian Criminal Procedure Code 1960 (Act 29) is that it inevitably makes it difficult for wives who get raped by their spouses to report it to authorities let alone seek redress. Coupled with this are the established notions that most women are brought up in the belief that domestic abuse is acceptable and normal if a woman does not fulfill her expected gender roles under customary law (Ofei Aboagye, 1994). Victims of domestic violence support fund supported by voluntary contributions and Parliament to provide support for victims with matters of rehabilitation and reintegration. As far back as 1998 the police set up the Women and Juvenile's Unit, (WAJU) to aid abused women gender trainings and sensitization seminars for police. With the Domestic violence bill having been passed into law WAJU has been renamed DOVVSU- Domestic Violence Victim support Unit.

Though in reality DOVVSU is understaffed and lacks resources to deal effectively with the demands of the victims it is meant to serve, the funds had not been supplied a year and a half later. For instance in order to provide evidence of the assault a victim has undergone photographic evidence needs to be presented in court. Yet machinery like cameras to take photographs of victims is not in place. Rather victims are advised to go out and take their own photographs. Furthermore even though the law has been passed, no governmental shelter has been set up by the government. Instead there exist only two WRBNGO's owned shelters for the service of Ghana's 21 million populations (Amoahkene, 2004; Boas, 2006).

These shelters are located near the country's urban capital city- Accra. This signifies that the country's rural domestic violence victims may not be able to access their services because of the distance.

In Zimbabwe, the rates of domestic violence escalated as an aftermath of the economic crises of the 80s and the 90s (Osirim, 2003). A quarter of the Zimbabwean female population experience rape and domestic violence coupled with the economic crises. There has also been an upsurge of political violence in the state against women and men who oppose or refuse to vote for candidates of the winning party ZANU PF. Opposers have experienced episodes of physical assaults, torture or even deaths. These political tensions have manifested as frustrations in homes and inevitably led to a rise in domestic violence within homes in Zimbabwe (Osirim, 2003). Demographically, statistics also indicate that women who undergo domestic violence in the 15-49 age group constitute 65% of HIV patients (Juhl, 2007). Research reveals that this is so because such women failed to negotiate for the use of contraceptives for fear of reprisals and assaults from their male partners and this makes such women susceptible to infection.

Also nearly 60% of murder cases judged at the High court have been linked to domestic violence (Afrol, 2008). Women's coalition groups had been advocating for a law against domestic violence since 1998. After many agitations, the Bill was successfully presented to parliament for a law against domestic violence in 2003. This procedure was however stalled for four years. In 2006, during the process of the passage of the domestic violence law, the MP Mr. Mubawu, made gender insensitive and politically incorrect statements against the Domestic violence bill in parliament. Mr Mubawu declared thus:

I stand here representing God the Almighty. Women are not equal to men. It is a dangerous Bill and let it be known in Zimbabwe that the right, privilege and status of men is gone. I stand here alone and say this bill should not be passed in this house. It is a diabolic bill. Our powers are being usurped in broad daylight in this house.

Mr. Mubawu's utterances incensed the Women's Coalition, and in order to register their protest the Women's Coalition organized a protest march against him. This was because when the debate for and against the Bill was on in Parliament Mr. Mubawu had made gender insensitive utterances against the passage of the Bill. The Womens' Coalition was particularly

infuriated and shocked because they had been amongst the electorate who voted him into the house of parliament and they did not expect that he would not support their cause (Action Aid, 2006). The results of these protests and other struggles was fruitful. During February 2007, a network of Zimbabwean gender activists and the Women's Coalition-a group of 27 women's rights based organizations- celebrated the success of their four year long lobby and campaign with the two houses of Zimbabwean parliament for legislation against Domestic violence. The law was published in the government gazette on February 26 2007 (Oxfam, 2007; UNHRC, 2007).

Spearheading these WRBNGOs were the Musasa Project, Solidarity Peace Trust, Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF), Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA), Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR) and the Zimbabwe Women Lawyers Association (ZWLA). These local WRBNGOs advocacy were supported financially with international funding from international donors such as Oxfam and Unifem. The advocacy strategies of the Zimbabwean gender activists included campaigns, media sensitizations on the dangers inherent in domestic violence. They also set up shelters for victims.

The point must however be made that in Uganda domestic violence is an accepted practice in traditional culture (Doro, 1999 cited in Leeder, 2004: 253). The scars of colonial rule entrenching patriarchal customs and post colonial political violence have also exacerbated perpetrators use of violence against their intimates. Domestic violence as an aftermath of the post colonial political violence of war has been linked to men's inability to provide for their families. According to Dolan cited in Keen (2008: 21):

war may undermine men's' ability to provide for their families and may sometimes lead them to seek more violent and abusive interpretations of their own masculinity, including domestic violence and military recruitment.

Domestic violence in polygamous homes particularly in rural Uganda's countryside has been traced to health issues such as HIV transmission transcending from rapes in the political violence of the war and other modes of transmission. Widespread transmission occurs from most wives inability to negotiate sex with contraceptives because of their economic dependence on their abusive husbands (Human Rights Watch). In addition to the adverse

effects of political violence and colonial rule, cultural practices such as bride price payments, have been transformed and ill used to generate financial gain. One must also note that in Uganda domestic violence has been linked to bride price demands of cattle from the bride's family (Kaye et al, 2005). This is a striking contrast to the Indian oppressive dowry system in which the families of the groom demand excessive dowry payments which lead to domestic violence against the bride if her family cannot meet the demand.

In Uganda, the bride's family makes excessive demands so that should the wife decide that she wants a divorce her family is not usually able to refund the exorbitant bride price which often leads to domestic violence between the husband, his wife and or in-laws (Dolan cited in Cleaver, 2002: 69) illustrates the link between bride price and domestic violence by citing a case study of in-laws. In his study he, depicts how a son in law cut his mother-in-law and beat his sister in-law because of the mother in-laws' inability to return the bride-price after her daughter became impregnated by another marriage. In response to domestic violence as a resultant effect of the precipitative intersections of exorbitant bride-price demand and political violence the Ugandan women's movement, especially the Mifumi project- a women's rights based organization - have been at the forefront of lobbying the government advocating for legislation against bride-price, and domestic violence. The Ugandan women's movement, and the Mifumi project, have approached the problem of domestic violence by working toward criminalizing bride price and discouraging child marriages as both are factors which create conditions for bad treatment of women in their homes (Mifumi, 2009).

These activists in Uganda deftly distinguish that bride price customs have not always contributed to the frequency of domestic violence, but that brideprice giving became dangerous practice for women as a result of their standardization under colonial rule. The problem with the Ugandan bride price custom in terms of furthering domestic violence is not its role in solidifying marriage as a gift. But it is in its demand as an essential requirement of marriage and in disputed situations its demand for its return. In this case local activists believe it is important to criminalize this practice but with clear recognition of the difficulties of enforcement within the cultural and administrative conditions of local governments the activities of both these local domestic violence projects demonstrate how empowering women involves working through the conditions of culture rather than staunch opposition to cultural practices based on universal standards.

Each example shows that the issue at hand is not whether criminalization is an inherently dangerous strategy but rather the importance of considering alternatives other than criminal sanctions against perpetrators and understanding how the effectiveness of such sanctions are dependent on the complexities of governance at local and or national level. In both cases it is more important for activists to support women's basic civil rights to property and personal autonomy than to focus energies on criminalizing the actions of perpetrators. This is yet another reason for feminists to focus their attentions directly on the welfare of the women as situated in given societies. In an abusive state many attitudes, values and norms in places where they occur still enforce and encourage abuse. In Uganda, violence against one's wife is accepted as legitimate when it is mentioned most men just shrug and say it's our culture (Doro,1999).

During my field trips to Uganda I observed the pervasiveness of domestic violence particularly in polygamous households in Mbale. The women's movement intensified their efforts by lobbying the government for a bill against domestic violence against women and the Bill was tabled before the Parliament on December 9, 2003. It was titled the Domestic Relations Bill. When it reached the committee stage in 2005, parliamentarians, the media and the general public regarded the bill as controversial and they jettisoned it. This led to massive protests on 29th March 2005 from the women's movement and their supporters on the streets of Kampala, the capital of Uganda. Furthermore, during the presidential campaign leading to the elections of 2006 President Yoweri Museveni said that the Domestic Relations Bill was not urgently needed, thus the debate was effectively closed. This was a severe setback for the Ugandan women's movement (Tamale, 2008: 13).

Over all we note that in analyzing the overview of country strategies against domestic violence we find that criminal justice and restorative justice strategies have flaws and have not proved to totally curb the menace of domestic violence. We find that in the pursuit of the victim's overall wellbeing, the northern countries advocacy place too much emphasis on criminal justice as a panacea to domestic violence (Fagan, 1996; Coker, 2000). Put differently, there exists an uneven balance in the exercise of criminal justice in relation to restorative justice so that criminal justice tilts the scale heavily upon restorative justice with the resultant effect that that there is no parity between them.

For instance in the USA victims fear to report abuse because they are scared of dual

arrests, mandatory arrests and insufficient welfare provisions. The situation is not any better in Canada where the government seeks to renege on housing by lowering victims' housing options coupled with governmental reductions on victims' welfare. Nor in the United Kingdom where although welfare provisions are better than the previous two, victims are not given the chance to voice out or make their choice. That is if or not they want their abuser to be charged or not. This in turn has led to high attrition rates. Nevertheless, it should be noted from the overview that in spite of the flaws of the criminal justice and restorative justice strategies in northern countries, there is no gainsaying the fact that the statistical figures of domestic violence incidences in those countries are being managed.

In addition, we observe that the strategies of Southern WRBNGOs against domestic violence against women have been influenced by their Western counterparts. They are also seeking criminalization of perpetrators through the politics of recognition. The politics of recognition demands that the state recognises and criminalizes men's coercive use of force against women; their adoption of criminalization strategies is therefore in line with the politics of recognition. Strikingly however even though the overview has observed the strategies and roles adopted by the women's organisations in other countries; we find a dearth of accounts on the strategies or roles adopted by the WRBNGOs against domestic violence in Nigeria within the literature. The next chapter therefore contains the methodology used in eliciting data to find out the advocacy role and strategies adopted against domestic violence by the WRBNGOs in Lagos, State Nigeria.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Preamble

The vulnerable position of abused female citizens of violence, especially domestic violence, has increasingly gained attention over the past few years worldwide. To this end, different methods such as surveys to quantify the frequencies and prevalence of domestic violence abound. However, advocacy services for abused women have not been sufficiently explored even in the developed countries of the world (Tutty et al, 1999).

Notably absent, particularly in Nigeria, is an in-depth exploration of the services offered by organisations as advocacy to the forms of domestic violence women experience, neither are the strategies adopted to combat this violence known. This chapter features the methods of inquiry used in this study's purposes. This section describes our research methods, provides an overview of the research process and who the participants in the study were. The study of the role of women's rights based nongovernmental organizations in combating/addressing domestic violence among female citizens who solicit their aid raises a number of difficult issues. This is because even though they work as independent bodies, they do not work singularly. Rather, they make collaborations with concerned institutions of the state.

More often than not studies on violence against women in Nigeria have focused largely on singular approaches by differently concerned bodies. It should be noted that these organizations do not and cannot work in a vacuum. Besides it has been increasingly argued that research on domestic violence and other forms of violence against women should involve

collaboration between researchers, and advocacy service providers such as the state and civil society. This arises from the value position that the service providers of advocacy and the women who have experienced domestic violence possess essential expertise to skillfully do first rate transformational work that would positively affect abused female citizen's lives. It has therefore been noted that interactive dialogue with these advocates is essential throughout the research process (Campbell & Dienemann, 2001).

It has also been proved that collaborative models such as this:

...promote research that serves social transformation and avoids harming those studied. Those being studied are believed to have extensive knowledge that requires their participation in the design, data collection and analysis, and use of research. Finally, the role of the researcher is also transformed in these models from one of detached expert to a partner, educator, and facilitator who works closely with those being studied. (Edleson & Bible, 2001:74)

In an effort then to finding answers to this study's research objectives and questions, we begin by exploring the collaborative relationships between the women that experience domestic violence and their advocates. To do this, the researcher addressed the tasks of:

Locating the study area.

Deciding the study design.

Selecting the study participants.

Choosing the method of analysis.

3.2 Study Area

During our baseline pilot study, our field work spanned a range of locations, which included local governments within which the women's rights based nongovernmental organizations and concerned institutions of the state, the police, Social Welfare, Lagos State, House of Assembly are located within Lagos State and Ministry of Women's Affairs. The pilot project began on March 1, 2006 and continued through June 30, 2006. The information obtained through the pilot study informed our methodological approach and the final design of the instruments of inquiry. However, the data collected during the pilot project was not incorporated into the aggregate data analysed in this study.

The baseline pilot study covered six women's rights non- governmental organizations during the baseline pilot study. They are the following:

- LEDAP (Legal Defence and Assistance Project, Ikorodu, Lagos)
- Project Alert for Violence Against Women, Allen Avenue, Ikeja, Lagos
- Women Advocacy Research and Documentation Center (WARDC), Oshopey Plaza, Opebi Allen Lagos,
- Lagos GADA (Gender and Development Action) 14, Adebola Street, Surulere, Lagos
- BAOBAB for women's human rights, Muri Okunola, Victoria Island.

All these organisations were approached during the baseline pilot study. An assessment of these six organisations during the baseline pilot study revealed that three (3) were active participants while two (2) were passive participants. Thus the WRBNGOs mapped out as active participants for the study area excluded GADA and Baobab for the major reasons that their activities against domestic violence are minimal.

Baseline pilot study field notes reveal that initially GADA was the first organisation to conduct programmes against domestic violence in Lagos State. In 2000, GADA organised a three day national training and awareness workshop on domestic violence for the police, media practitioners and representatives of civil society sponsored by Friedrich Ebert Foundation. GADA also organised domestic violence awareness trainings for police cadets-in -training at Ikeja, sponsored by Osiwa.

However, in recent times, GADA's focus has shifted from domestic violence to advocating for women in politics. This is due to the fact that Osiwa, their major funding body has stopped funding programmes against domestic violence. Prior to its stoppage of the funds, Osiwa had insisted that GADA should wield influence on the Inspector General of Police to mount domestic violence desk in all police divisions across the federation. The Inspector General of Police had however refused to do this. Therefore, Osiwa stopped funding programmes on domestic violence against women in Nigeria through GADA (Ude, 2006). Hence when women who experience domestic violence solicit aid at GADA, GADA makes referrals to WARDC because they have access to funds on domestic violence issues.

WARDC also has in- house pro- bono legal counsels who advocate for domestic violence cases- a service which GADA does not render (Ude, 2006). This finding during the baseline pilot study informed the choice of WARDC as the active participant WRBNGO in

the study area in place of GADA.

The baseline study at Baobab revealed that they have a mandate to defend women's human rights most especially with respect to inhuman treatment. It seeks to ensure that women are aware of their rights under the Sharia law, under the guise of implementation of Sharia laws in Nigeria.

Of note is, Baobab's successful defence of the rights of Safiyyatu Husseini and Amina Lawal against being condemned to death by stoning because they were convicted by Northern Sharia courts as adulteresses. This is not to say that Baobab does not advocate for the rights of women who experience domestic violence. The pilot study only reveals that the cases they attend to are often minimal. For instance Baobab's annual report 2004 reports that individual cases of domestic violence attended to by Baobab were seven. Moreover on repeated visits to Baobab the researcher was not allowed access to the respondents for ethical reasons Personal communication with (Momoh, 2006). This was the major reason why Baobab was not enlisted among the list of active participatory WRBNGOs in the study area. Baobab revealed that they have a mandate to defend women's human rights most especially with respect to inhuman treatment. It seeks to ensure that women are aware of their rights under the Sharia law, under the guise of implementation of Sharia laws in Nigeria.

The baseline pilot study at the Lagos State Ministry of Women Affairs revealed that no victims of domestic violence approached the ministry for aid with regards to domestic violence. If in case they should do, the ministry would direct them to the Office of the Public Defender as the ministry does not have any provisions in that order. As the staff of the Lagos State Ministry of Womens Affairs noted that "scarce human and fiscal resources made it imperative for the ministry not to work closely with the WRBNGOs on empowering victims to cooperate with women's movement organizations aiding domestic violence victims. However the ministry utilises the funds disbursed to it by the state government to aid poor women by giving them loans to set up small businesses. The ministry also does training for women in soap making and tie dye fabrics locally known as Adire. The number of women who have access to such bursaries are however dependent on the funds available.

3.3 Participant Organisations

Based on the data obtained during the baseline pilot study, this current project involves eleven study sites namely, three active participatory WRBNGOs, three police divisions the Lagos State House of Assembly, Office of the Public Defender, and the Ikeja Social Welfare office at Old Lagos Secretariat. Each of these participant organisations shared some commonalities with the others as much they possessed unique site demographics, politics, resources, and services which it renders to women who undergo domestic violence.

The study area blended site-specifics and cross-site measurements to allow both broad general inferences and more specific conclusions about each of the eleven sites that comprise the study area. It is important to note here that an exhaustive survey of all the sites in which victims solicit aid from service providers of advocacy within Lagos State was beyond the scope of this study. However, the selection process ensured a certain degree of service quality and victims' needs variation at each site, and the focus was to study the coordination and communication between the WRBNGOs and the victims' service providers mandated by the state. Basic steps for information on the participant organizations' profile assessment included examining each organisation's archival records relevant to the quality of victim services they offer on site.

LEDAP

LEDAP (Legal Defence and Assistance Project Ikorodu, Lagos), Project Alert (Allen Avenue Ikeja Lagos), GADA and WARDC Oshopey Plaza, Opebi Allen Lagos, Lagos.

The Legal Defence and Assistance Project Ikorodu Lagos is a non profit organisation set up in 1997 by a group of Pro bono Lawyers who share a common commitment to justice, the rule of law and human dignity. Their mission is to ensure that the human rights of victims of domestic violence and other social ills are protected within the ambit of the law. Where there are no provisions within the law, they seek to improve the legal framework for human rights protection and to protect and administer justice to Nigerian citizens who may not be able to afford legal fees. LEDAP provides free legal representation to poor and vulnerable victims of human rights violations. LEDAP has a project on domestic violence advocacy for Bills against domestic violence in twelve states' houses of Assembly. LEDAP is funded by local and international donors.

PROJECT ALERT ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Project Alert was established in January 1999 to render practical support services to abused women and to research such abuses for the purposes of influencing policy. Once a primarily outreach organization against all forms of violence against women, Project Alert now has a shelter named Sophia's Place which has become home to increasing numbers of battered Nigerian women, including women refugees from war torn African countries.

WARDC

WARDC (Women Advocates Research and Documentation Center) is a non partisan, nonprofit civil rights group established in May 2000, to promote respect for human rights, gender equality, equity and social justice. WARDC offers a Pro-bono legal service that enables women, children and people with disabilities to challenge discrimination and inequalities. Among its list of current activities is advocating for gender and constitutional reform and gender budgeting in Nigeria.

3.4 Research Design

In an effort to deciding on the most appropriate research design to be adopted in this study, we recall the findings from the examination of the research methods initially adopted in other domestic violence studies as explained in our review of literature in the second chapter of this study. Existing literature has indicated that most of the methods known on generating data for gender based violence, particularly domestic violence in Nigeria, come from quantitative survey research. For instance, Fawole et al (2005: 56) utilized the cross sectional design a quantitative research method, to study wife beating amongst civil servants in Ibadan Nigeria. Oyediran and Abanihe (2003: 38-53) made use of secondary data emanating from a nationally representative survey to examine the perceptions of Nigerian women's perceptions towards domestic violence. Using a modified version of (Straus and Gelles, 1990) Conflict Tactic Scale (CTS), Okenwa et al (2009: 519) measured the prevalence and predictability rates of domestic violence in Lagos State by cross sectional

design.

During our review of literature in the previous chapter, we observed that these quantitative surveys have enabled us to understand the prevalence, frequency, patterns, perceptions and correlates of domestic violence by intimates. Nevertheless we note from a methodological standpoint, that as quantitative survey methods, they have also decontextualized the experiences of the women into numerical figures. In so doing, these methods have not allowed for an in-depth understanding of the individual voices, contexts, and experiences of victimization undergone by the victims nor the unique strategies with which they use to combat the violence. In contrast to the quantitative studies, this study therefore adopts a qualitative methodological approach to explore the experiences and strategies employed by WRBNGOs and victims against domestic violence. Therefore in consideration of the foregoing the research design was structured to be a qualitative research because it is a useful means of collecting sensitive data and understanding emic perspectives (Otiz, 2001). In other contexts of gender based research, where there is need to measure trends such as sex disaggregated data of maternal morbidity, political participation /representation in parliament or gender balance in schools, quantitative data methods such as surveys would be appropriate (Beetham & Demitriades, Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005).

However, in gender sensitive research where the nuances of social phenomena cannot be easily quantified numerically particularly in cases such as this, where respondents personal experiences are deeply emotional, risky and yet need be captured, qualitative research methods are best employed with minimal use of quantitative methods (El Bushra, 2003b; Bergen, Renzetti & Edleson, 2004).

This design was therefore selected because the study was primarily qualitative and exploratory though simple minimal statistical measures such as Pearsons value hsaone way Anova test. Excel and Minitab software were also employed to generate graphs, charts, and percentages which were used to analyse data when possible and necessary. The qualitative design enables the researcher to develop an exploratory and deeper understanding of the experience of domestic violence abuse and the subsequent experience of making the transition out of the abusive relationship. The research techniques employed for data collection consisted of in depth interviews, focus group discussions, key informant interviews, and elite interviews. Therefore with this in mind, since the number of cases (in

this case of states) in Nigeria which have adopted domestic violence as a law is limited, Ragin's (1987) Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) with the aid of dichotomous coding or the Boolean method which is used for limited cases was used. It has proved to be useful in measuring hypothetical independent and dependent variables and to check the extent to which the pattern of potential cases match themselves (Mahoney, 2003). Moreover, quantitative analysis has been considered weak when the potential interactive effect of multiple causal conditions are to be analysed. Most importantly, this methodological approach shapes and aids the discussant interpretation of the study's resultant research analysis.

3.5 Study Population/Participants

The study population comprised of 62 women who were victims of domestic violence. The rationale for this sample size was that the women must have sought aid from the WRBNGOs, the Welfare Office and Office of the Public Defender. Inclusive, were a cross section of 16 legislators who were involved in the signing of the domestic violence bill in the Lagos State's House of Assembly. Twelve staff from the WRBNGOs and six staff from the Welfare office and Office of the Public Defender and 14 police men.

Twelve men participated in three focus groups comprising of four male respondents each of different age groups and socio-economic statuses, in order to find out men's views on perpetrators of domestic violence and holding the state accountable. They were recruited through convenience sampling in three different locations of Lagos to ensure selection from different socio-economic groups. Their willingness to participate in the discussions and their knowledge of someone who beats his intimate served as their eligibility to participate. Of the 12 men who were successfully interviewed four were shoe sellers at Oshodi, four were clothes traders from Ikeja Allen and four were bank officials of Bank PHB of Victoria Island of Lagos state. The men who participated in the focus group discussions had to be residents of Lagos State at the time in question, and must either have beaten their intimates or know some men who batter their intimates.

The eligibility requirements for focus group participation of the police officers in the police stations approached, was that the police stations must have been involved with the WRBNGOs and governmental organizations and their victim clients at one point or the other.

Fifty civil servants also took part in a survey opinion at the Lagos State House of Assembly. The rationale for the sample size of fifty civil servants at the Lagos State House of Assembly was that they had to be serving the Lagos State government within the Lagos State House of Assembly.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

The present study used the ethics protocol on Safety, Confidentiality and Preparation recommended by (Campbell & Dienemann, 2001; Ellsberg & Heise, 2000; Hall et al, 2003; and Dutton et al., 2003).

The safety of the interviewer and particularly the respondents while they were being interviewed was central to the research, as it is not considered ethically responsible, to either the survivor or even the interviewer, to plunge into interviews without adequate preparation (J.C. Campbell & Dienemann, 2001; Brown et al, 2002; Sullivan & Cain, 2004). Meticulous care was taken in structuring the questions and the respondents' minds were prepared as to the kinds of sensitive questions to expect.

In addition to their acceptance of voluntary participation and informed verbal consent, the women respondents were informed about the aims of the research from the onset. Respondents gave verbal, rather than written consent, this was to make certain that their identities were kept anonymous.

Each respondent was interviewed in privacy at times and locations of the respondent's choice. In places where they thought they felt most secure from jealous stalking partners due to the sensitive and confidential nature of the interview. For instance two interviews were conducted in Mr. Biggs Opebi Allen, one interview took place in the respondent's car, and some were conducted in the WRBNGOs, their places of business or shops. Only one interview was completed in the respondent's house and that was when her intimate was not at home.

In addition, to ensure safety from stalking partners the focus groups were conducted within the vicinity of the WRBNGOs. Also in order to ensure the confidentiality of the focus groups the women's voices were not tape recorded but rather the research assistant

took notes. Also prior to recruiting field research assistants informed verbal consent was obtained from the Executive Director or Program Director of each participating WRBNGO and the Office of the Public Defender. It was only at the Social Welfare office that the director insisted on written consent. It was important to first obtain consent from the WRBNGOs' Directors, because the research study's purpose was to elicit the phenomenological experiences of their victim clients. Once consent was obtained from the Directors, recruitment of field assistants began. For ethical reasons and to respect the privacy of the victim respondents, the victims names are not listed in this study.

3.7 Procedure

The study was an exploratory one. It focused on the dynamics that three women's organisations in civil society: LEDAP (Legal Defence and Assistance Project Ikorodu Lagos) Project Alert (Allen Avenue Ikeja Lagos), and Women Advocacy Research and Documentation Center WARDC Oshopey Plaza Opebi Allen Lagos, adopt in making state institutions accountable, in combating domestic violence as a political problem in relation to women's human rights. A triangulation of methods was adopted in eliciting data for this study. The researcher was directed to WARDC from GADA as GADA at the time of the research was no longer handling domestic violence cases rather she sent referrals to WARDC. Also at Baobab their focus had shifted to women and oppressive Islamic laws.

Sources of Data: Included primary and secondary sources.

The primary sources were the victim respondents who were assisted by the three women's rights nongovernmental organisations, the staff of the nongovernmental organisations, the focus group discussions with men, state institutional officials police, judiciary, and the legislators. The secondary sources were related literature, internet search, media reports, articles, magazines and journals.

Method of Gathering Data: The study employed qualitative research methods to collect data. Data were generated through a desk search of available documentation by conducting register evaluation at each of the three case study non-governmental organisations. Their register ledgers were reviewed to examine and document different domestic violence cases of respondents that each non-governmental organisation had handled and also to locate the

victim respondents through their given addresses. In some instances, the researcher elicited data by approaching some of the victim clients who incidentally came to solicit the help of these service provision centers during the period when the researcher was there as a research intern. Oftentimes their cooperation was sought for by the researcher through the staff of the service provision centers.

At the Office of the Public Defender (OPD) the researcher gathered data by engaging in participant observation sessions in house with the victim clients and their abusive husbands who were called to OPD tribunal by the OPD lawyers.

During such tribunal sessions the researcher was introduced as a doctoral student who was studying domestic violence to the victim and her intimate. The researcher was allowed to take notes, ask questions, make contributory remarks and also to visit the victim and her intimate partner at their places of abode, business, shops or offices (See Appendix 7 figs. 23-25 for a photograph of researcher with OPD staff and victims).

However, at the welfare office, the researcher was not allowed participant observer status. She was however allowed to be a non participant observer who simply made mental notes of the interrogatory sessions of the victim clients, their abusive intimates and their children. At the Welfare Office, she was not allowed to record victim's experiences by hand or by tape either. She could only sit and listen in the interrogative counseling sessions and the Juvenile Court. Therefore she engaged in unobtrusive observation.

After register evaluation then the process of register validation began; victim respondents were purposively selected from each of the two years to eliminate sampling bias. Information on the role of the WRBNGOs in making the state accountable to victims' plight was elicited through conducting in-depth interviews with victim respondents.

In-depth interviews are useful in violence against women research because they aid the survivors' act of narration which can be therapeutic to survivors who often need a sympathetic listening non judgemental ear which they can find in interviewers (Risch & Kassam-Adams, 2006). In all 62 in-depth, semi-structured, qualitative interviews of 1.5-3 hours in length were conducted with women who had experienced domestic violence in Lagos State between 2005-2006. The breakdown being 30 from Project Alert, 20 from LEDAP and 12 from WARDC. These were complemented with observations from the OPD

and the Welfare Office at Alausa. The interviews were conducted between April 2006 and November, 2006. The interview guides are attached as Appendix 1 &2.

Considering the fact that a focus group is a qualitative data collection method that involves bringing a group of homogeneous participants together with a moderator to discuss a particular topic or issue (Krueger and Casey, 2000; Sandelowski, 2000 and Berg, 2003). Furthermore that they are advantageous in that they allow for generative interactions between participants and yield a good deal of information in a timely and cost-effective manner (Berg, 2003). The researcher solicited the aid of two trained female research assistants in facilitating some interviews and focus groups based on a semi structured interview guide. The interview guide was semi structured and included a series of open ended questions about the victim respondents' experiential case histories of abuse and their strategic responses to abuse .

To test for effectiveness of the WRBNGOs, the victim respondents' opinions on what the WRBNGOs did for them and what impact it had on their abuse experience was sought. Also the views of women who solicited help at two state institutions Social welfare and Office of the Public Defender (OPD) were sought to compare the WRBNGO's respondents' satisfaction to theirs. Through the desk search register evaluation; the engagements of the women's rights organisations with the institutions of state concerned for example police, medical, welfare officers and judiciary was investigated through the case studies of victim respondents.

In order to gain deeper insights and understanding into the context of a phenomenal research interest, particular informants often hold the key to vital information which aid the research process (Patton, 2002). In light of this Key informant interviews were conducted on state institutional officers with whom the WRBNGOs collaborate. Key informant interviews were also conducted on the staff of the women's rights nongovernmental organisations on the engagements of their organisations as regards domestic violence (See Appendix 7 figs. 11-18).

Elite interviews were also conducted with legislators in connection with the domestic violence bill. The decision to use elite one on one interview for the legislators was determined by the constraints of an environment in which all the legislators could not be interviewed at once in a focus group discussion. Considering the fact that most of the

legislators had important matters of state to attend to, and the time schedules for booking appointments with them were tight. Even a number of those with whom appointments had been fixed in their offices or by phone sometimes called off the appointments at short notice. Besides most legislators usually attend seating's in the Lagos State House of Assembly twice a week, if they attend once they are under no obligations to attend all the seating's. By this singular reason it would have been difficult to make all of them converge for a focus group discussion.

In addition, the legislators' links with the women's rights non-governmental organisations and vice versa, were explored in order to investigate their activities towards enacting a law on domestic violence- which would make the state accountable. These were complemented with voices from eight focus group discussions: four with the victim respondents and the other four were with male respondents all of different age groups and socio-economic status. These were facilitated in order to find out women and men's views on the issue of domestic violence, perpetrators of domestic violence, and holding the state accountable.

Because the relationship of each target group such as the men, police and the victim respondents and welfare officers to the phenomenon of domestic violence differed, we shaped questions in the interview guides to be appropriate to each relationship. Open-ended questions have been noted as facilitators of conversational flows in gender sensitive research as they allow respondents to answer in their own words without providing preexisting answer choices or objectives (Giacomini & Cook, 2000; Patton, 2002). Therefore each interview began with open ended questions having prompts such as asking a number of identifying questions such as participant's demographic profile in order to obtain general information for coding about the participants and to most importantly achieve a conversational tone by putting the interviewees at ease. Soon thereafter the probes focused specifically on domestic violence, about the respondents' knowledge, and feelings regarding domestic violence. This was followed by questions about their abusive experiences, how they attempted to cope and how they sought support from for the interventions of the WRBNGOs, Police, and Social Welfare. The responses to the identifying questions provide interesting background information and are captured in chapter 4. The interview schedule for each category of

respondents is attached in Appendix 1- 6. (See also photographs of researcher conducting focus group discussions with the police officers in Appendix 7 figs 28a-d).

Method of Data Analysis: The research questions, reflecting the purpose of the study, guided the process of data collection and analysis. The qualitative data that were collected from the key informant interviews, focus group discussions of the victim respondents, male respondents, and legislators and were tape recorded and transcribed verbatim. However, some respondents refused to be tape recorded on such cases and therefore notes were taken while some respondents also insisted on phone interviews rather than face to face. Those in local dialects and pidgin language were translated, and coded according to a coding guide designed from a preliminary assessment of the translated scripts using the Atlas ti software package for qualitative content data analysis. Soon, the data saturation point -the point at which data from interviews no longer yield new relevant information to the data (Charmaz, 2000) was reached, therefore the coding exercise ceased.

The researcher then identified the coherent patterns emerging from the respondents accounts in the qualitative data content these are known as themes (Baban, 2002). The qualitative data content was analysed into six thematic clusters and their subthemes, with the technique of thematic decomposition guided by phenomenological and discourse analysis, (Smith, 1999; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). This was useful in providing insights for fuller understanding of the quantitative data in secondary sources, as commonly reported views and quoted responses highlighted and reflected a consensus or divergence from the perceived norms worth noting. The thematic clusters are: Their voices: Their responses, What they did: the women's rights based nongovernmental organizations responses, The victims' assessments of the effectiveness of the WRBNGOs interventions. Lagos men's views on domestic violence, For Or Against: Where The Lagos State Legislators Stood On The Domestic Violence Bill. The Lagos State House of Assembly's Domestic Violence Bill: The Process of Passage of Legislation.

Qualitative data generated, were transformed into statistical data with the use of Excel and Minitab software and analysed with the use of One way Anova test, graphs, and Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). The data were presented as frequencies and percentages using its' measures of central tendency and standard deviation. Exit Interviews lasted between 1.5 and 2.5 hours. All the interviews were transcribed and the respondents met

with the researcher a second time to edit, and clarify the information in the transcripts. The next chapter presents the findings resulting from the methodology adopted.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION OF RESULTS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Preamble

The current research is aimed at the exploration of the advocacy role of WRBNGOs in combating domestic violence in Lagos State. Therefore, this chapter features the results of the methodological analysis in the previous chapter based upon the rich anecdotes and reflections presented by the victim respondents and other participants in this study. The findings and their discussions are presented drawing examples from the case studies, life histories and interviews of the victims, other respondents and participants from participating organisations. Six core themes relating to this study emerged from the data generated from the methodological analysis. These themes are:

- Their voices: Their responses.
- What they did: the women's rights based nongovernmental organizations responses.
- The victims' assessments of the effectiveness of the WRBNGOs interventions.
- Lagos men's views on domestic violence.
- For Or Against: Where the Lagos State Legislators Stood on the Domestic Violence

Bill.

- The Lagos State House of Assembly's Domestic Violence Bill: The Process of Passage of Legislation.

These six themes encapsulate the data generated in the study in response to the research hypotheses. These six dominant themes that have emerged out of the interviewees' responses have been organized and matched correspondingly in response to each research hypotheses. For ease of reference, themes 1-4 relate to the advocacy role of the WRBNGOs in protecting and defending the victims' human rights. While themes 4-6 relate to the the political advocacy role of the WRBNGOs with the government viz-a-viz the passing of the domestic violence policy as law in Lagos State. The demographic details of the victim respondents are presented first on table 1 in section 4.2 and translated into, graphs derived from Excel software charts. These are followed by qualitative data from respondents in themes one to six as a presentation of cross sections of the victims' experiential narratives and other respondents views in the study. Tables and graphs derived from Excel software charts have also been incorporated within qualitative data in themes one to six in order to further highlight on the data derived. The discussions in sections 4.2 and 4.3 provide an overview of the results of the current research and discusses them in relation to existing literature in line with the concepts and theories defined in chapter one and two. Concluding this chapter is a discussion of context, which incorporates the limitations of the study and the generalizability of the study's findings.

4.2 Demographic Analysis of the Sample

This study examined 62 case study samples of abused respondents of which overall, 93.5% (58) were between ages 18 and 44, with the largest cluster of victim respondents in the 25 to 44 age range (Figure 1).

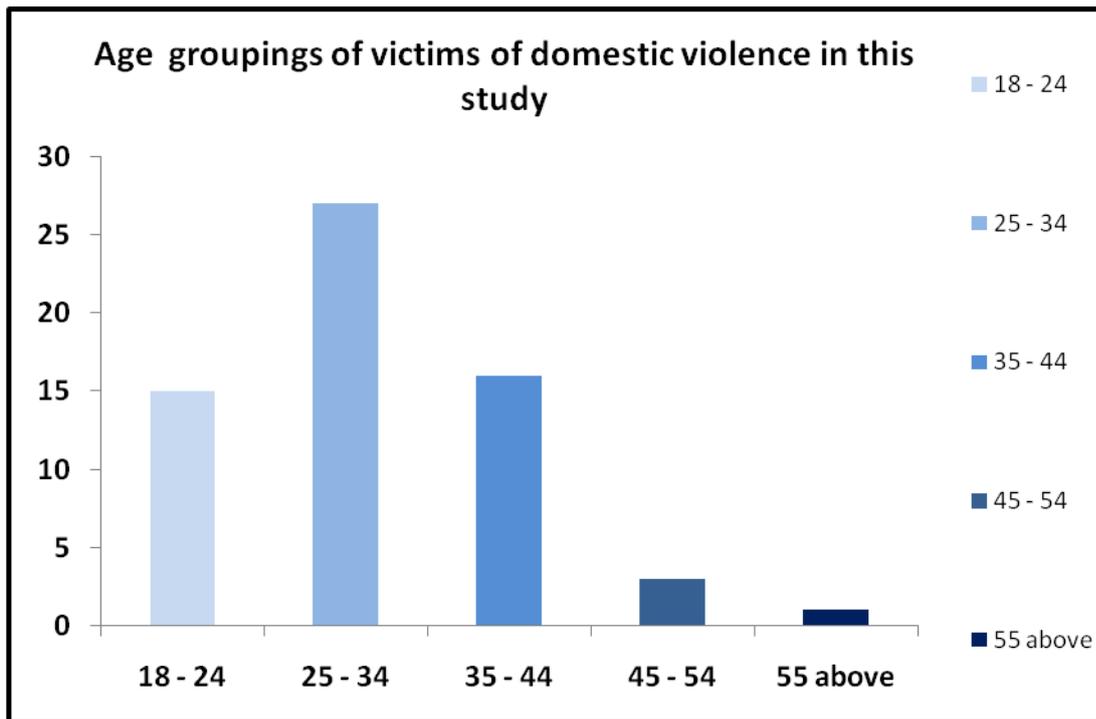


Figure 1: Illustrating the age groups of the victims

The total sample was ethnically diverse, with 64.5% (40) identifying as Yoruba the predominant ethnic grouping in Lagos where the study was conducted; the remaining 35.5% include Ibos 22.5 % (14), and other ethnic groups 12.9% (8) (see Table 1).

Table 1: Demographics of the Sample (in Numbers and Percentages)

Age	<i>N</i>	%
18-24	15	24.19%
25-34	27	43.54%
35-44	16	25.8%
45-54	3	4.8%

55 and over 54	1	1.61%
Ethnic group		
Yoruba	40	64.5%
Ibo	14	22.5%
Others	8	12.9%
Religion		
Christianity	56	90.3%
Islam	4	6.45%
Other	2	3.22%
Education		
Primary School	10	16.12%
Secondary School	18	29%
University	25	40.32%
Polytechnic	9	14.5%
Employment		
Employed	24	38.7%
Unemployed	22	35.48%
Trade/ Skill /Business	16	25.8%
Relationship status		
Married and living together	55	88.7%
Cohabiting	3	4.83%
Not married	4	6.45%

Further results derived from the victims/survivors show that (25) 40.32% were educated up to university level (Table1 and Figure 2). This was a strong indicator that the victims'

educational status notwithstanding there was no association between education and the victims not experiencing domestic violence.

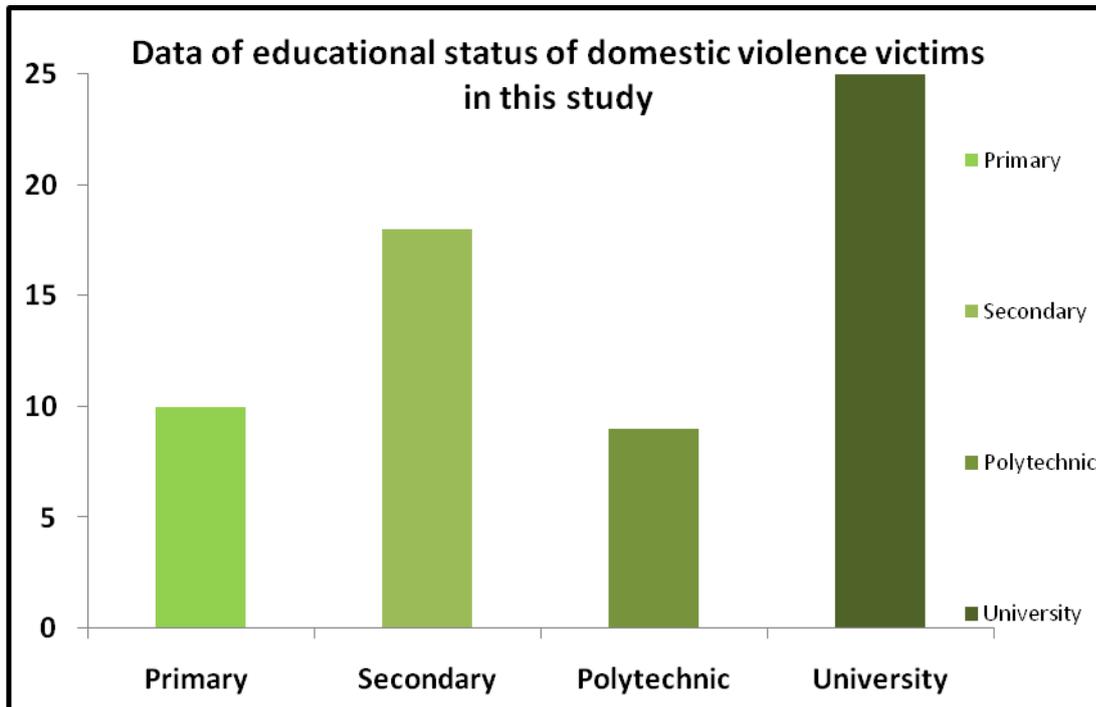


Figure 2: Illustrating the educational status of the victims

It was observed that (22) 35.48%, of the victims were unemployed while (24) 38.7% of the victims were employed and (16) 25.8% were either trading or doing a skilled type of business.

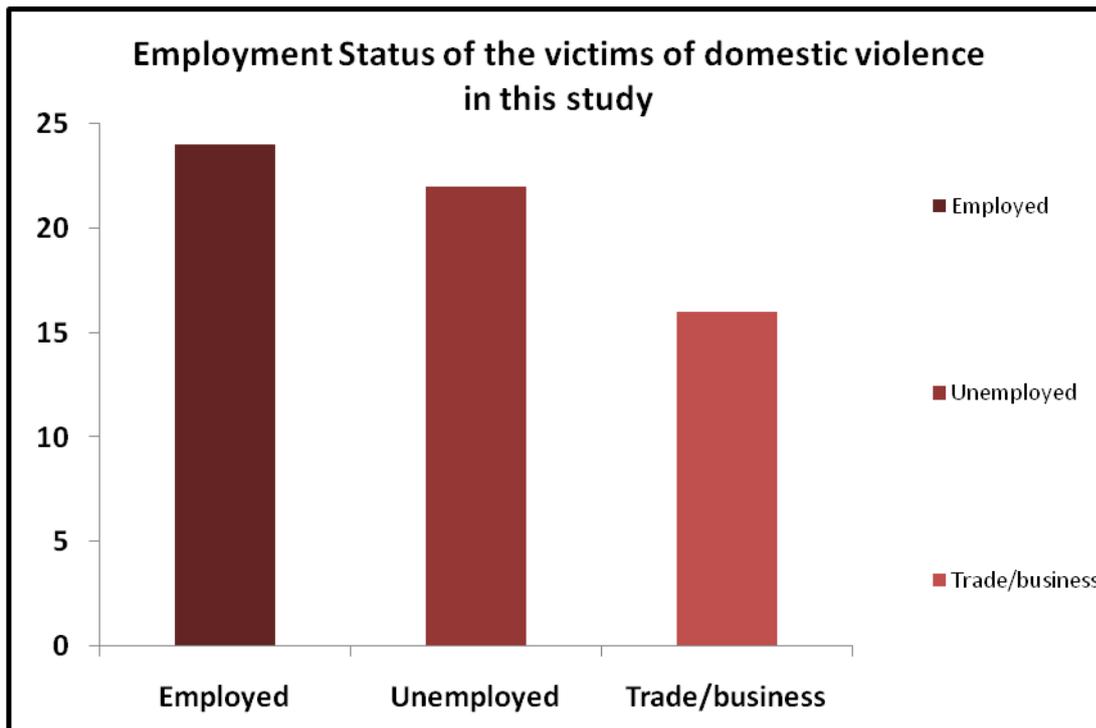


Figure 3: Illustrating the relationship between employment status and domestic violence

The data suggests, that being married and living together indirectly links the victims to more violence. This reveals that commitment by living together in marriage, makes victims feel bound to stay in the relationship and consequently be victimized by their partners. Whereas the percentage of those co-habiting without being married (3) 4.8% who had also experienced domestic violence was not as high. This indicated their non-committment and not being bound to the relationship. Therefore, they could leave the home and relationship and not be bound to the perpetrator to experience the violence. Almost 70% of the abused respondents at the WRBNGOs had received aid from the welfare office at least once. Respondents were predominantly Christians 90.6% (56) and 88.7% (55) were married.

4.3 Testing the First Hypothesis

On recall the first hypothesis as previously mentioned in chapter one is that: The WRBNGOs advocacy strategies in comparism with the victims' strategies would significantly reduce the violence in victims lives. The themes that emerged to test the first

hypothesis are: Theme 1) Their voices: Their responses Theme 2) What they did: the women's rights based nongovernmental organizations responses Theme 3) The victims' assessments of the effectiveness of the WRBNGOs interventions. Theme 4).Lagos men's views on domestic violence.

The first theme, "Their voices: Their responses" emerged from the data as measures to test the first hypothesis. For theme 1, table 1, and figures 1-3 presents the demographic data of the victims in numbers and percentages. Data for the first theme emanated from the In-depth,semi structured interviews and focus groups with the survivors who sought aid from LEDAP,WARDDC, Project Alert, Office of the Public Defender (OPD) and the Social Welfare office (SWO). This theme reflects a variety of case study experiential perspectives that emphasize the types of domestic violence experiences and coping strategies of diverse battered women. Firstly we look at data represented by the victims' voices as this depict the victims' experiences of domestic violence. During each interview, each victim was asked to describe her perception of the phenomenon of domestic violence. According to Patricia Williams, there is a myth of equal oppressions which generalizes the fact that women are oppressed in the same form (Williams, 1997). However, Ann Russo (2001) has noted that such a notion of universal sisterhood understatedly reduces the unique complexities of many victims' testimonies and unduly minimizes the societal, historio-cultural, enviro-contextual experiences of domestic violence that each woman has undergone. The current study concurs with Ann's view.

"Their Voices"

Data generated from "Their voices" were basically the victims' phenomenological descriptions of their personal experiences. These were classified into four specific sub themes physical violence, psychological violence, economic violence, and sexual violence. Using the experiential life history narrative, survivors' testimonies of such violence are identified in phenomenological as case study statements.

Psychological violence

The psychological effects of domestic violence often remain with the survivor for a

lifetime, and women may have psychological or emotional scars that will rarely heal. Psychological violence in 90.3% (56) of survivors' lives occurred in the form of verbal abuse, and derogatory attitudes. Usually, the victims' life challenging circumstances or disabilities were used to erode their sense of self esteem.

Victim: LEDAP Employed, Trader, Cosmetics, skin beauty creams seller at Onipaanu under bridge, Yoruba, 35 year old, Muslim, secondary school leaver, married.

Life history: She has been married to a commercial bus driver who plies Oshodi-Onipaanu route for the past 15 years and she is infertile. Five years ago her husband got married to a second wife who now has two children for him. Her husband and her co-wife call her names and insult her due to her inability to bear children. It affected her state of mind and she became mentally ill. Her brother took her to Yaba psychiatric hospital where she received treatment.

Phenomenological Case Study Statement

Wetin dem no call me, she go say I be he- goat, dem go abuse me, abuse me sote, sote I go cry say which kind life I come..... my husband go kukuma refuse to sleep with me..... One time, he came 'underbridge' and begin to hala me and scatter scatter all the cream wey I dey sell.

(There was nothing they did not call me , she used to call me he-goat, my husband too joined her and refused to sleep with me".....there was a time he came to 'underbridge' to threaten me and even scattered all my wares....).

Physical violence

This was the most common form of violence, 95.16% (59) women experienced physical violence.

Victim: WARDC, Unemployed, Housewife, 31 year old, Ibiobio, Christain graduate of Biochemistry, married.

Life history: She is the wife of a Captain in the Nigerian Army, residing at Ojoo military cantonment. Her parents never approved of the marriage. She married him at

the registry against her parents' will because she was six months pregnant. The third month into the marriage marked the beginning of her predicament in the hands of her husband.

Case Study Statement

At any slight opportunity, he beats me black and blue. Once, he slapped me, and while reaching for the safety of the window sill, I stumbled and fell. He kicked me on the head with his boots. I tried to defend myself with a pestle... he reached for it and hit me on the mouth and I lost one of my incisors. It was a very painful experience for me.

Economic violence

The effects of the changing socio-economic and political conditions in Nigeria's democratic polity are being displayed in male –female relations within the home. It is such that economic violence exists as gender power dynamics between the sexes. Moreso, as there is now a noticeable shift in economic gender roles for more and more women whose economic gender roles have translated colonial and pre-colonial expectations of dependable bread eaters to co-or sole family breadwinners- 67.7% (42) of the women interviewed were co- or sole family breadwinners. Marxist feminists have pointed out that economic gender violence often occurs in economies operating capitalist patriarchy. This is often reflected in economies undergoing economic reforms, like Nigeria which is currently undergoing globalization's privatization and liberalization reforms. These reforms ensure that a lot of female proletarianization goes on alongside male unemployment or underemployment. The findings reveal that levels of wife assault have increased with increasing unemployment for men whose frustrations at the economic gender role switch are vented out on their wives as violence. For example 53% (33) of the male perpetrator husbands/intimates were underemployed and 47% of the victims' partners (29.14) were unemployed. Indicating that the levels of poverty which cause a switch in gender roles increase the frustration leading to violence from men. Findings also show that 35.48% (22) of the women were dependent on their husbands and needed child maintenance allowance from their husbands for their children.

Victim: Legal Defense Advocacy Project LEDAP

Employed, Petroleum Engineer with NNPC, 39 year old Ibo,Christain, University graduate, Cohabiting, her Partner also a trained Engineer but a Secondary School Teacher at Ikoyi.

Life history: She has been co-habiting with him for three years. Her partner and his younger brother live with her in her rented duplex. She possessed a greater earning power in the relationship. To foster trust between them, they both keep a joint account at a branch of Guaranty Trust Bank. She began to notice a depletion in the account balance and he would lie that he was using it to fund his brother's schooling. She was however suspicious and kept her ears to the ground and found out that her partner kept a mistress outside, and that he had even bought the mistress a Toyota Camry car. She therefore withdrew a substantial amount of money from the bank account and opened a new bank account with it. This she did without his knowledge. From then the verbal abuse started. He would rant on and on, that she was stingy, this would degenerate to physical abuse by him and he would demand that she hand over her monthly earnings to him.

Case study statement

There was a day after a heated argument.He carried me and threw me against the wall with his brother watching. When I tried to stand up, he sat on me and punched me in the stomach..... I was four months pregnant..... I suffered a miscarriage and was hospitalized after this.....

Sexual violence

A range of behaviours were identified as sexual assault. They included rape, incest, and marital rape. Due to the sensitivity of this aspect of domestic violence, most victims/survivors were reluctant to discuss and reveal their experiences of abuse. Therefore, it required gentle sensitive probing while interviewing the victims. A method that helped was the researcher's initial access to their case files. This gave the researcher a prior knowledge of what they had gone through. Once the researcher began to speak knowingly about their

experiences, they opened up and began to talk. In all, 25.8% (16) women were sexually assaulted. Project Alert had 11.29% (7) of the victim survivors, of sexual assault followed by WARDC which had 8.06% (5). LEDAP had 6.45% (4) while OPD and Social welfare had none.

Victim: Project Alert Unemployed, 20 years, High school USA, Ibo Christain not married.

Life History: From childhood, she had been taken to live in the United States when her parents got a visa to live and work in America so she practically grew up there. Her two sisters were born there. Her dad went to jail for gun-running in America and served two years. When he had spent his jail term he returned to Nigeria with her, her mother and her two sisters. On their return, she and her two sisters were consistently raped by their father for about three years. According to her, her father moved with a lot of strange ladies and under one pretext or the other, he often brought the ladies to their home and used to have sexual orgies with them. Her mum was a witness to his acts but was complacent about them. She, however, could not stand it and after one of such acts, she challenged her father. His response to her query was to slap her, tear her clothes and rape her. She said that despite her screams for help, her mum and her sisters who were in the same house when the act occurred did not come to her aid. Rather when she confronted her mum later, her mum pleaded with her to keep quiet about it and not let anyone else know what her father did to her because it is a stigma and society frowns on people with such history so she kept quiet about it. Shortly after the incident though her mum did not challenge her dad, she noticed that her mum was traumatized and her father also cajoled her mum to move out of the house and go and live in the village. The Nigerian Television Authority aired her plight and those of her siblings on the news. This was how Project Alert's shelter took them in, and came to their rescue.

Case study statement

*I still have nightmares about the rape.....my mum is presently depressed and gets into bad moods she talks crazy and mumbles a lot of nonsense
.....*

Victim: WARDC 18 years, Unemployed, Secondary school, Ibo Christain not married.

Life History: She had lost her mum when she was about four years and her father also died while she was in senior secondary school three. She and her siblings were distributed to friends and relatives. She was taken in by her late father's younger sister who was a nurse at the Orthopaedic Hospital at Igbobi Lagos. Her aunt and her husband treated her well. But their eldest son who was also her cousin was sexually assaulting her. She knew it was wrong and had told her aunt who had refused to believe that her son who was a 25 year old undergraduate could commit such an offence. Rather when her aunt heard, her aunt accused her of becoming wayward and that she was just trying to put the blame on her own son. Her aunt threw her out of her home because of this.

Case Study Statement

What pains me most was that I lost my virginity.....and my aunt did not believe me.....

The women's experiences of domestic violence, highlights consistency with previous research. It reveals that, the Lagos victim respondents in this study have also experienced domestic violence manifested in its various forms namely physical, sexual, psychological, and financial abuse (Bowker, 1983; Gondolf & Fisher, 1988; Walker, 2000).

Their Responses

The subsequent part of the first theme "Their Responses" represents the victims' initial coping strategies to the violence". We begin by examining the victims' strategies so as to be able to compare the victims' strategies with the WRBNGOs advocacy strategies. In order to explain the findings from the field the research data is presented qualitatively with the victims' experiential narratives of their initial coping strategies. This are followed by a table, a graph translated from Microsoft excel chart illustrating each victim and the initial strategy she adopted.

Each of the survivors identified in their experiential responses the various initial coping strategies with which she used to respond to the violence, and how she contacted the

WRBNGOs. Some victims called the police, others left the violent relationships, and others sought help from hospitals or resort to divorce. Zawitz (1994); Gelles and Cornell (1993). The victims had varied responses which have been arranged into 12 sub-themes below.

Seeking To Please

90.3% (56) of the women sought to be in favour of the perpetrator. This was frequent with those who were economically abused and sexually assaulted.

*I felt that if I gave in to his sexual urges there would be peace and he will leave me to rest.....*Victim: LEDAP, Employed Nursery school Teacher, 24 years old, Yoruba, Christain, Polytechnic, married.

Keeping Away

72.5% (45) tried as much as possible to keep away from the perpetrator and this occurred mostly with those who were sexually and physically abused. Some packed out of the home.

I dreaded being inside the house alone with him particularly when his wife and children are not at home I preferred sitting till dusk on the balcony outside his house when he calls I pretend not to hear. Victim: Project Alert Unemployed, 20 years old, Ibo, Secondary School, raped by her step brother

Retorting

In Nigerian culture when women or children are being reprimanded by an older person or authority figure such as parents or husbands women are not expected to reply. Out of the domestic violence victims 59.6% (37) said they do reply back when their intimate partners use abusive language or sing abusive songs and this they say only infuriates the perpetrator more.

Case Study Statement

He blamed me for the down turn of events in his life and called me a witch I replied that he must also be wizard to be married to a witch. Then he started hitting me with his fists. Victim: OPD, Unemployed, 30 years old, Ibo, Christain, University graduate married

Fighting Back

Out of the domestic violence victims 25.8% (16) fought back, with physical force, some through psychological means, of not cooking, denying him sex, taking his money and so on.

When he chased my children and I from his house we had no choice but to start sleeping in my rented shop, yet he still came stalking me, from time to time he would come and harass my customers and destroy my wares..... So I went to organize area boys (thugs) for him they beat nonsense out of him. He was so angry that he got me arrested and imprisoned by the police.....though he bailed me on the third day.
Victim: OPD Employed, Trade, Foodseller, 28 years old, Ijaw, Primary school leaver, married

Endurance

Under the guise of religion and or culture 67.74% (42) of the women endured the violence and kept quiet about it and they accept it as a phase of married life.

Life history: Her husband was a blind man, but he had so mastered the corners of his house that when he wants to batter his wife he was swift to locate her and beat her up. By virtue of her sight she could easily beat him up but she did not, she preferred to endure and submit to his beatings.

Case study statement

I tried to be a good wife to submit to him as the Bible says women must submit to their husbands in all things. I thought it was appropriate to submit in all circumstances to my husband's beatings. Victim: OPD Employed Hair Dresser 34 years old, Yoruba, Christian Deeper Life

Reaching out to Societal Networks

In Africa when domestic violence occurs within the home the wife often goes to the perpetrator's family or friends to solicit their support for reconciliation with her husband. Out of the domestic violence victims 50% (31) sought help from family and friends.

Traditional Resolution: Family and Friends

The incident kept repeating itself and you can see the resultant marks on my face... I went to inform some of his friends about this and three of them came in the evening to talk to him, he felt so bad at this and the following day Saturday 4th January 2006, he told me that I am on my

own, and that I should not ask him for anything not even for the baby we were expecting because up till then he has not bought anything despite my pleas. Victim: WARDC -Military Captain's wife Unemployed, Housewife, 31 year old, Ibiobio, Christain graduate of Biochemistry, married.

Workplace Reporting

Out of the domestic violence victims 20% (12) of the victims reported the perpetrator at his place of work.

One month he kept coming home late around 11.30pm, on returning he would claim they were having meetings after office hours. I decided to go and plead with his boss to shift the meetings to during the day but do you know what happened when I met his boss? His boss said they had had no such meetings and that in fact my husband was always among the first to leave the office around 5.30pm to go home to his wife and kids! That day he came home early and asked me what right I had to go to his workplace to enquire about his movements..... that day he beat the daylight out of me I also took a piece of wood and slammed it on his head while he was sitting down unsuspecting.....he saw stars and passed out..... from that day our fights grew worse.

Victim: OPD Unemployed 39 years old Yoruba Christain University graduate Married.

Reporting To Police

On questioning the women victims if they felt citizens that their rights vis-a-vis domestic violence ought to be protected by the State through its institutions such as the police, social welfare, judiciary and so on, (58%) 36 affirmed that even if they did go to the police, the police would not do anything on their behalf and 20% (12) did not think the government owed them any such obligation. While 9.9% (16) asserted that the government did owe them protection viz-a-viz their human rights. However 11.1% was undecided.

I lost my baby because of the severe beating he gave me When I came back from the hospital I ordered him and his brother to move out of my official apartment, but he insisted on staying, I went to report at the Ogba police station and I gave the constable on duty my home address but they never came...

Victim: LEDAP Employed, Petroleum Engineer with NNPC, 39 year old Ibo,Christain, University graduate, Cohabiting.

Pursued Legal Means

Only two victims (3.2%) of the two only one person pursued legal means to a logical conclusion.

I could no longer, bear the insults, his drinking, the beatings, his vomit, his girlfriend, above all my money..... I decided to divorce him at a magistrate court in our local government but the judgment was in his favor, the judge gave the custody of our three children to my husband despite the fact that our last born was 1year 8months. He also granted my husband my properties the ones I had built with my own money and my sweat. During the court sessions I heard that my husband had gone to bribe the magistrates with money. So that the judgment could be ruled in his favor. A copy of the statement of the judgment was not released to me until the 30days during which I could appeal to the "unfair" judgment had lapsed..... I also decided to bribe police officers and they went with me to arrest him to give me back my children but he showed them the judgment and the police said they could not act against the judgment.....

Victim: OPD Employed Estate Manager 44 years Yoruba Polytechnic graduate Christain married.

Religious or Spiritual Means

About 29% (18) of the victims sought spiritual assistance in churches, mosques and traditional African religions.

We invited both families to our village shrine, to take an oath, that I did not poison him , but he refused to take the oath, he only confessed there and then that he was sorry about accusing me falsely, that I did not poison him just that he did not want the relationship any more.....

Victim: Welfare Office, 36 years old, Ibo, Christain, Secondary School Trade Married

Going To the Hospital

Out of the domestic violence victims 8% (5) of the respondents went to the hospital.

They took me to the general hospital there they checked me medically

and the doctor said since I had already taken my bath, they could not find any evidence of the rape which I accused him of”...

Victim: Project Alert Unemployed, 20 years old, Ibo, Christain Secondary School not married.

Seeking Welfare Support

32.25% (20) sought welfare assistance.

I went to the Social welfare office at Alausa and I requested their help concerning maintenance benefits for my children and they kept asking me to come back today come back tomorrow, I could not afford the transport fares so I stopped going”...

Victim: Welfare Office, 41years old Itshekiri Christain Primary Trade, Married

Table 2: Victims’ Responses to Domestic Violence

Response	Number	Percentage
Seeking To Please	56	90.3%
Keeping Away	45	72.5%
Retorting	37	59.6%
Fighting Back	16	25.8%
Endurance	42	67.74%
Reaching out to Societal Networks	31	50%
Workplace Reporting	12	20%
Reporting to Police	10	16.1%
Pursued Legal Means	2	3.2%
Religious or Spiritual Means	18	29%
Going to the Hospital	40	64.5%
Seeking Welfare Support	20	32.25%

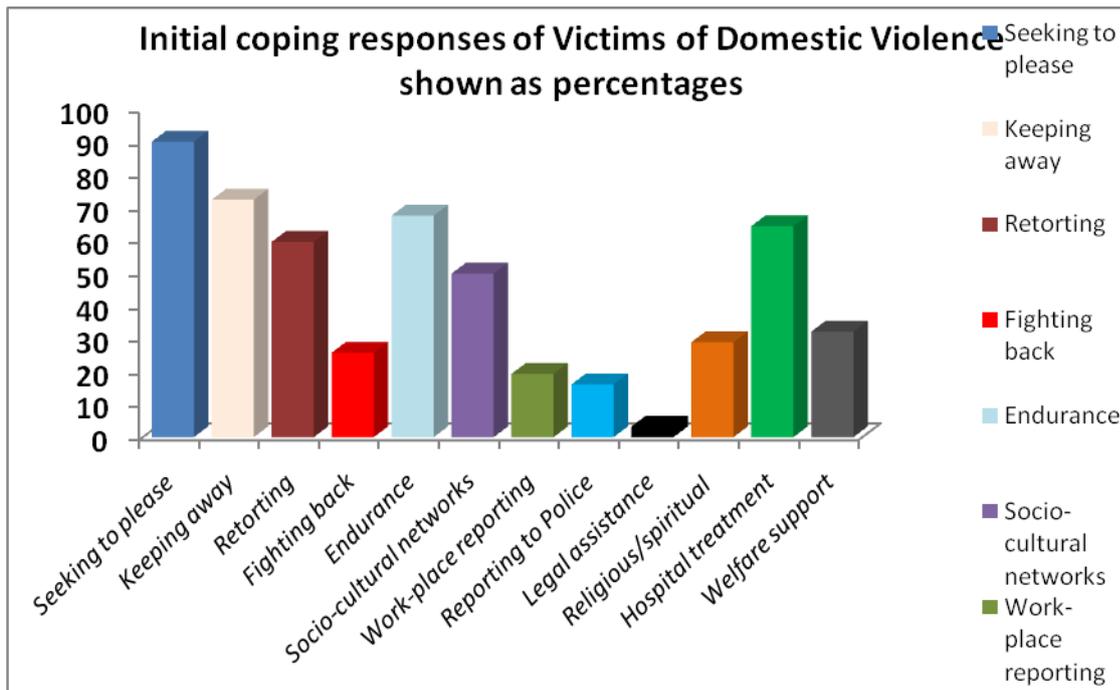


Figure 4: Graphical representation (Excel software) of the initial coping responses of victims to domestic violence

These findings provide further insight on the types of initial individual responses that abused Nigerian women adopt as they seek solutions to their being victimized. The data in Table 2 indicates the types of individual strategies and services the victim respondents in this study employed prior to seeking the WRBNGOs services as a result of their abuse experiences. It also gives an indication of how helpful each service or strategy was to the victim respondents. This is based on the number and frequency at which the victims sought them in a rank of percentiles. The rank and file of frequency, and percentages of most sought services and strategies were as follows: (a) Seeking To Please 90.3% (56), Keeping Away 72.5% (45), Endurance 67.74% (42), Reaching Out To Societal Networks 50% (31), Workplace Reporting, Pursued Legal Means 3.2% (2), Going To The Hospital 64.5% (40).

Taking another look at the frequencies of the victims' initial coping strategies in Table 2, we note that in comparison to other forms of initial individual help seeking responses 29% of abused respondents sought, religious or spiritual means in this study; while 50% sought mediation and counselling help from socio-cultural networks which included family and friends. The percentage of those who employed these initial coping strategies in comparison to other initial coping strategies indicates that they found them helpful to an extent. It also

provides further evidence to existing studies that victims often seek help initially from informal sources (Henning & Klesges, 2002; Macy, Nurius, Kernic, & Holt, 2005; Wilcox, 2006).

Also comparatively, the percentage of abused respondents 3.2% (2) who sought legal aid also highlights the fact that abused Nigerian women perceive legal aid as less helpful. The researcher's findings with what the WRBNGOs affirm reveal that the domestic violence victims themselves do not want to prosecute their husbands all they want are temporary punitive measures in which their husbands are severely warned to desist from the habit. This is because survivors feel guilty and trapped in these relationships. The survivors might also feel guilty because cultural expectations from the family does not expect them to take their husbands to court. As any such action would be a stigma on them forever to go back to their father's house as "dalemosu" - that is neglected abandoned women) will be worse than enduring the violence. This concurs with Mama's observation that in most parts of Africa taking legal action against one's husband is not an acceptable way of solving marital problems (Mama 1989, 2000).

These findings are also consistent with findings that have demonstrated that abused women of African descent often find solace in societal networks of family and friends based on tenets of religion and or culture in addressing their experiences of domestic violence (Bethea, King & McKeown, 2000; Ayyub, 2000). In particular in major parts of the world there is growing recognition of the application of culturally viable alternatives in addressing domestic violence in differing cultural contexts (Bhuyan & Senturia, 2005).

Similarly the data in Table 2 and figure 4 indicates that the victims also responded to their victimization experiences by seeking aid to combat the violence in a number of ways in line with the literature (Waldrop & Resick, 2004). These were highlighted in theme one and two. Furthermore from the frequencies reported, few points on the response strategy and behaviour of victimized Nigerian women against domestic violence can be noted. First, it is clear that more often than not abused Nigerian women's initial individual response strategies appear to be what Lazarus and Folkman call 'emotion focused coping. Emotion focused coping is as the name suggests directed at reducing the emotional stress emanating from a stressor which in this case is the violence from the perpetrator. It includes behaviours such as avoidance, minimization, distancing, selective attention, positive comparisons, and extracting

positive value from negative events (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Though somewhat helpful, because they offer emotional relief and support to the victim's psyche what is to be noted however is that these forms of responsal strategy do not change the abusive situation of the victim. Rather they are more of a re-action by the victim to the violence in other words; the victim is reacting to being acted upon with violence from /by the perpetrators.

4.4 What They Did: The Women's Rights Based Non Governmental Organisations' Responses

In continuance to seeking response to the first research hypothesis which is based on the assumption that: The WRBNGOs advocacy strategies in comparism with the victims' strategies would significantly reduce the violence in victims' lives. The second theme "What they did: The women's rights based non governmental organisations' responses" was derived as a measure from the data. The identified responsal strategies of the WRBNGOs to aid the victim's plight addressed by the second theme are divided into four subthemes, services, networking, collaborations, and education. These are further illustrated by graphs, and excel charts. The comparison of the victims' strategies and the WRBNGOs strategies are done using the one way Anova test in the concluding parts of this section.

Services

The services rendered included interactive mediation and counseling. The first response of the WRBNGOS to the plight of the victims of domestic violence in the study was mediation and counseling. This form of individual therapy was common to all the WRBNGOS in the study. Out of the domestic violence victims 86.6% (54) were counseled, it was observed that though majority were severely hurt by their perpetrators they would rather not seek divorce or legal action. For instance 3.2%(2) sought legal aid. Sixty percent 60% (37) were afraid of the societal/cultural stigma such action always attaches to the victim when it becomes public knowledge. Usually a summons letter is issued out to the individual. Once the perpetrator honors the invitation, interactive meditative sessions are embarked on with the perpetrator and the victims to get to the root of what causes the violence and what the couple can do to stop the violence. Once headway is negotiated a letter of memorandum is signed between both parties and a WRBNGOs staff is assigned to monitor the peace brokered.

However if there is a breach of peace then other options, such as divorce, separation, children maintenance and custody are sought.

Alongside these mainstream conventional Western mediation strategy. The WRBNGOs also incorporated traditional/cultural forms of conflict resolution into their strategy. This strategy includes the use of parables, proverbs and folklores to pacify the aggrieved couple; this is a form of restorative justice. In such situations, well meaning relatives and close willing friends of the couple are also invited and summoned to aid in the mediation process. These relatives are usually those who attended the couple's traditional wedding ceremony. Notably, therefore this finding reveals that the WRBNGOs in this study have also incorporated components of religion and culture in their mediation services. It was also observed that the WRBNGOs have not neglected the African traditional legal systems of conflict resolution which according to Nwolise are based:

around the resolution of disputes in such a way that community cohesion was restored, while individual needs were met (Nwolise 2004: 59-60.)

Further we note that in adopting the traditional form of conflict resolution/counselling into their mediation approach, the WRBNGOs' strategy of advocacy have engaged in an approach that differs from common Western restorative justice strategies. They have done this by entwining the African culture specific perspective with the predominant western criminal justice and restorative justice response. The resultant effect being an hybrid of both models. Moreover, and most importantly this hybridity strikingly displays the WRBNGOs expertise in adaptiveness, by weaving the context of the 'old' African model into the 'new' western model of domestic violence resolution to form a useful whole.

This point is well illustrated by Graeme Gill quoted by Aiyede (2000: 89):

The Dynamics of Civil Society 7... actors do not play out their roles in a vacuum, but in a context consisting of the structures from the past and continuing into the present. They must deal with the legacy of what has gone before rather than create their own environment de novo.

In cases of economic violence where the victim survivor is not financially independent and if economic violence is recognized to be the reason for the frequent forms of domestic violence, the victim survivor is counseled among other things to seek to be financially independent. If the survivor is willing, she is apprenticed to acquire a skill or learn a trade.

The skills imparted at LEDAP include bead making, hat making, and at Project Alert sewing, hair dressing while at WARDC computer skills Microsoft word.

For those already educated but without jobs the WRBNGOs seek paid employment for them in sister WRBNGOs or other establishments where their education can be put into use. For those who wish to further their education the bills for their exams are footed. This however depends on the funds available to each WRBNGO as at the time the victim solicits their help. It was observed that eighty percent of the women who sought the WRBNGOs aid had to be financially re-empowered, as before that they were either wholly or partially financially dependent on their abuser. Below is a cross section of the WRBNGOs' responsal strategies.

Counseling, Job Allocation/Skill Acquisition

Victim WARDC

Her husband was summoned but he refused to show up at WARDC. Deducing that domestic violence was aggravated because she was unemployed WARDC gave her free training in their computer school, she was also counseled by their legal unit to divorce and save her life as according to them she may not survive the next beating. But she preferred the option of separation which she has done. Now she has her own computer business outfit around Opebi Allen area of Lagos.

Victim LEDAP

This victim was constantly battered by her husband. Even though she was educated and had B.A in English she was unemployed and was financially dependent on him. LEDAP issued a summons letter to the husband which he honored. During the interactive counseling and mediation sessions the violence was linked to economic violence. LEDAP helped her to secure a job as an English teacher in a private secondary school within Lagos. This led to better relations between her husband and herself and the beatings stopped.

Networking with Other WRBNGOs and Concerned Institutions of State

On the issue of networking Project Alert networked for 60% (18) of her clients, LEDAP 33.3% (4) while WARDC networked on behalf of 25% (5) victim survivors. This suggests that Project Alert has the highest collaborative relations network with other sister WRBNGOS, faith based organizations, and state institutions. For instance when the sister WRBNGOs have victims who need emergency shelter they often refer their victim clients to Project Alert's shelter Sophia's place. Peculiarly Project Alert is the only WRBNGO out of the three that operates a shelter. There is a proliferation of shelters in high income developed countries like the United States, where there are over 1200 shelters in operation whereas in middle and low income countries they remain rare. Nigeria falls within the range of the latter. In fact of the three shelters existent in Nigeria, Project Alert's shelter Sophia's place is the first which was established in May 2001. There victims are taken into residence for the space of four weeks to rest and decide for themselves what options they choose to follow after the four weeks, and if the victim is still undecided about the way forward. When it is realized that the survivor's life is in danger and that she must be relocated from the perpetrator to prevent stalking or murder she is advised to relocate to a location unknown to the perpetrator.

In emergency cases where it is evident that she does not have friends or family to relocate to or that she cannot afford to pay for another accommodation then the WRBNGOs pay for her accommodation in a low-cost housing ('face-me-I-face-you'). It was observed from the data that Project Alert often had cases of victims related with sexual violence such as incest. Usually when the victim's case is such that she needs to stay more than four weeks at Project Alert's Shelter Sophia's place then project Alert links up and networks with other sister WRBNGOs such as Women's Consortium of Nigeria (WOCON), directed by Bisi Olateru-Olagbegi. Project Alert also links up with religious faith based organizations. One such faith based organization that Project alert liases with is the Real Woman Foundation directed by Nike Adeyemi. The Real woman foundation rehabilitates orphans, teenage girls and women subjected to abuse. Especially if the teenage girls are pregnant and need a safe place to stay before they put to bed.

Victim: Project Alert Unemployed, 19 years old, Ibo, Christain Secondary School not married.

Life history

Her father and mother had been separated for six years and she had lived in a three bedroom flat with her father and two brothers. Her father, a bank staff lost his job, became severely ill and was in dire need of money. So he let out one of the rooms in his three bedrooms flat to a young male tenant. One day she arrived earlier than usual from school while neighbors were not around. The tenant was the only one at home. He forcefully pinned her against the wall with his elbow, lifted her skirts and raped her. He later apologized and said he had been drunk. Her dad was an authoritarian so she could not bring herself to tell him what happened. She discovered she was four months pregnant and her dad got the tenant locked up under police custody. Her dad also sent her packing out of the house at around 10p.m.so she had nowhere to sleep but the bar beach out in the open that night. Some “area boys” at the beach tried to rape her but she was rescued by security guards.

Victim’s response: In the morning she went to her uncle-her father’s brother who took her to his pastor.

Networking: The pastor referred her to WOCON from where she was referred to WARDC. WARDC gave Project Alert a call and a space was made ready for the victim survivor at the shelter. She stayed at the shelter till she gave birth. Her mum also came to stay with her in the shelter all through the period.

Project Alert’s response:- a summon was made to the victim’s father, he came and still refused to take her back into his house nor did he want to sponsor her education any longer. The tenant and his dad also came and signed a memorandum of understanding that they would provide baby needs and money for the upkeep of the baby on a monthly basis. This the tenant and his dad have faithfully adhered to till date. Project Alert’s shelter –Sophia’s place and WOCON footed the hospital bills of the victim client as she could not afford it. She had the baby by a Caesarean section. Project Alert also paid for her senior secondary school examination which she passed. The survivor is presently in Lagos State Polytechnic and Project Alert has helped her secure a sponsor for her education at the University.

Victim: Project Alert Unemployed, 18 years old, Ibo Christain Secondary School not married.

Survivor’s response: Having been thrown out of her aunt’s home, she had gone to WARDC because she had found their contact address on one of their pasted posters on violence against

women.

Networking: Though WARDC had no accommodation to offer her, she was also judged quite young to live alone in low cost housing (face me I face you). WARDC staff liaised on her behalf with Project Alert, and a space was made ready for the victim survivor at the shelter.

Project Alert's response: During the survivor's stay at the shelter, a summons was made to the victim survivor's aunt, uncle and her cousin. Interactive counseling was embarked upon. At the end of the mediation her cousin denied the rape allegation and her aunt still refused to take her back into her home. Neither did the victim survivor want to go back to live with them. But the matter was resolved amicably as the victim survivor was registered in a boarding secondary school. Because her aunt was still willing to continue to sponsor her education. A memorandum of understanding was also signed that they would provide for her material needs and money for her upkeep while at school.

Collaborations with State Agencies

With The Police

The researcher interviewed the DPO of Ilupeju police station and the Assistant Commissioner of Police Joseph Habillah- Area F command. She also had focus group interviews with police men of Area F command and Ilupeju police stations. (Photographs of these focus group discussions can be seen in Appendix 7, figures 28a-d).

At present there are 88 police divisions in Lagos, and each one has a gender rights desk where victims whose rights have been infringed upon can lodge their complaints. Though the gender rights desks were mounted at the initiative and order of the Inspector General of Police according to the DPO Adegoke, the Divisional Police Officer, (DPO) Ilupeju Police Station the WRBNGOs facilitated the mounting of the gender desks in the Ilupeju Police station.

According to DPO Adegoke:

In most cases the women do not want their husbands to go to court just that we should shake their husbands up a bit, we do quite a lot of mediation here as well, we counsel them and we give them time to sleep over it if they are still adamant on divorce we refer them to court or the

women's rights nongovernmental organizations. On incest I cannot remember any cases of incest. The frequency at which people come to report domestic violence maybe a case a week or thereabout. Reasons they give include the husband left the home for another woman and the woman, the wife is nagging, the wife is wicked to the children but real reasons include the fact that the man is not financially responsible. DPO Adegoke

It was observed that the police usually did not take cognizance of the victim respondent's case except in cases when a human rights organization helps the victim to take it up with the police.

Victim: Project Alert 45 years old Yoruba University Christain Married

Life history

Victim is educated and married to an engineer and they live in Dolphin Estate Ikoyi- one of the rich estates in Lagos. They have three girls and a baby boy. Six years into their marriage the man started being quite possessive and stopped her from working, going to functions, visiting friends and relatives, he also demobilized her use of the mobiles phone by excommunicating her. One day she went to the market and came back only to receive the beating of her life. Her husband accused her of having extramarital affairs at times he beats her up in the middle of the night. Then she discovered that he was sexually fingering their three daughters, because they told her. When she confronted him he beat her up and began to lock her up in the house when he goes to work. Neighbours who heard her screams during the night alerted Project Alert.

The shelter's response: Mrs. Chukwuma alerted the police at Ilupeju police station and the Ilupeju police station alerted the Ikoyi police station which was closer to the estate where the woman lived. A warrant was issued and two police officers were mandated to help pack out the woman's property from the house. The police broke into the house and rescued the lady and her children. The lady took refuge in the shelter with her children for three weeks before she relocated.

Victim: LEDAP Employed, Petroleum Engineer with NNPC, 39 year old Ibo, Christain, University graduate, Cohabiting.

The engineer reported her partner's abuse at the police station but after her statement

was taken no further action was taken. Also the NNPC engineer's husband failed to turn up for mediation and counseling at LEDAP when he was invited. However LEDAP staff accompanied the engineer to Oshodi police station. This made the police go to the engineer's house and they issued an eviction warrant to her partner. He was warned to move out within the next three days or face a charge of trespassing. Without making any fuss he moved out the very next day.

At the OPD, It was observed that they (OPD staff) made no referrals of clients to the WRBNGOs rather they liaise with the police and also have in house conflict resolution tribunals.

Victim: OPD Employed, Photographer, 37 years Yoruba Christian married.

This is the case of a survivor whose husband regularly raped and battered her. Matters came to a head one afternoon when he bit her neck. When she tried to resist, he threatened her with a knife and marked the whole of her face with a knife. According to her, the sole reason for the beatings was the nosy in-laws living with them.

OPD Response

The photographer went to OPD to report the abuse and was referred to the Ketu police station. There a photograph of the wounds the photographer sustained was taken as evidence for legal proceedings on assault and battery. The case was referred to a magistrate court on allegations of assault and battery. OPD is offered the woman legal aid.

Collaborations With Social Welfare

Lagos State has 18 welfare offices. At the Social Welfare Office at the old secretariat Alausa, findings from staff interviews and victim interviews revealed that WRBNGOs, such as Project Alert make referrals to the welfare office rather than vice versa. Findings from cases observed unobtrusively, also reveal that 80% of the cases that have to deal with child welfare are as a result of domestic violence. The chief welfare officer admitted that the Lagos State welfare office is restricted solely to cases involving the welfare and custody of children born to persons not married under the Matrimonial causes act. Also before they are attended

to, the women have to pay two hundred naira #200 to register and open a complaint file at Lagos State Social Welfare. The WRBNGOs make referrals to the social welfare office because the welfare office operates a juvenile court which being a court has collaborations with the police.

At the Lagos State Welfare Office, men who refuse to pay maintenance fees for their wards' food, clothing, school fees and who are not married under the act are sent invitation letters if they fail to show up. The officer in charge of the case procures a court summons from the Juvenile court's magistrate. The court summons is taken to the police who pick up the offender and keep him in police custody for a few days for contempt of court. Often after this the perpetrator often agrees to pay his wards' maintenance fees. On failing to keep up with the agreement, warnings and reminders are sent to him after which he is picked up again. Findings from interview sessions with welfare staff revealed that 50% of Welfare respondents' batterers are picked up again. They also testified that their records indicate that 33.3% of the perpetrators sometimes changed their home address and/or employment; the result being the inability of the welfare office to trace the perpetrators afterwards.

Findings also reveal that more victim clients seek help from the Lagos State Welfare Office in a ratio of 5:1 in comparison with the WRBNGOs put together. 87.5% (28) of Welfare and OPD clients were unaware of the existence of the WRBNGOs. They also voiced their preference for a place to stay and financial capability to live independently off their batterers. We found that the women who accessed the state institutions of Welfare and OPD encountered barriers in their help seeking as citizens. The barriers included lack of money for the upkeep of themselves and their children. Lack of money for transportation to the welfare office and for the summons letter, fear of losing their children that is should in case their partner was given custody of the children. This is in contrast to welfare services in developed countries where they provide the victim with counseling, referrals, job training, and financial assistance, while also subsidizing their transportation and childcare needs (Goodman *et al.*, 1999; Yoshihama, Hammock & Horrocks, 2006). Research demonstrates the value of such support for women who lack the resources to live independently and who because of this are, more likely to remain in violent domestic relationships (Bennett *et al.*, 1999). However such support is not offered to victims of domestic violence in Lagos State

Social Welfare offices. This is in spite of the fact that the social welfare office does not provide for job training, vocational skills acquisition or shelter and housing needs.

Victim: Project Alert, Unemployed, 32years; Ibo, Secondary School Leaver, Married

She got married to the man, who is a pilot and who provided her with funds even more than she needed. Her younger sister was staying with them and that was when she discovered that he was having an affair with her sister. On confronting him he asked her to move out of his house with her two sons a 4yr old and a six yr old.....He also stopped funding her as she was unemployed and had no funds, she went to lodge her complaint at Project Alert. Her husband was invited several times for an interactive mediation session to Project Alert but he refused to come. Project Alert therefore referred her to the social welfare office so that she could claim maintenance benefits for the children.

Collaborations with the Media

The plight of battered women gains national attention through the Nigerian Television authority and other media. The media often makes referrals to WRBNGOs. For instance during the New Dawn Television programme directed by Funmi Iyanda a domestic violence victim phoned in to report that her husband had been regularly battering her in front of their children for about six years. The most recent was that she had been bitten on the right breast by him. She had called from the hospital where she was being treated. She was seeking Funmi Iyanda's advice on what to do. Funmi Iyanda referred her to Sophia's Place-Project Alert's shelter where she stayed and recuperated with her children. Her Husband was summoned to the Project Alert office, for interactive mediation using the traditional form of conflict resolution with relatives. He also signed a memorandum of understanding not to beat her again and they were successfully re-united.

Education

The WRBNGOs have a whole range of activities to make the general public aware

about the detriments of domestic violence. Project Alert and LEDAP for instance have embarked on police trainings at different times of the year. Having discovered that police need gender sensitive trainings to enlighten them on how to attend to women who go to their police stations to report domestic violence.

LEDAP's Activities

The Women's Human Rights Programme of LEDAP is at the fore front of the campaign for the enactment of a Domestic violence Act in Nigeria. LEDAP had a round table talk for stakeholders on the draft domestic violence bill and they are also lobbying for the bill to be enacted in 12 pilot states. The first phase was in six pilot states namely, Cross River, Enugu, Edo, Jigawa, Benue, Ekiti, Lagos, Akwa Ibom, Plateau, Kaduna, Katsina and Ebonyi States. Presently Cross River and Ebonyi have passed the bill through LEDAP's advocacy. LEDAP is also lobbying Lagos Legislators to do the same. Between 2002 and 2003 LEDAP also organized a series of advocacy training and strategic workshops in the 12 project states to train civil society organizations, ministry of Justice Prosecutors and Police officers on the skills of legislative advocacy with particular focus on the proadvocacy skills on domestic violence bills (Madubugwu, 2003: 12 & 49; Anaba, 2007: 24). In Lagos State, the Lagos State House of Assembly Legislators were also included in LEDAP'S zero tolerance domestic violence trainings .

In November 2005 LEDAP also conducted a training workshop for prosecutors and specialized prosecuting agencies on human rights and best practices. LEDAP also had police gender trainings in order to improve recording of domestic violence cases by two divisions of the Lagos police and this project spanned from September–December 2005. This was done to reduce the cases of domestic violence in the long-run. LEDAP is also involved in information dissemination and has disseminated information against domestic violence with the aid of stickers, bill boards, and several publications. In March 2006 LEDAP organized a network rally road walk from the LEDAP office to the Lagos state house of Assembly to urge the passage of the Domestic violence bill into law in Lagos state. The purpose of the rally were to increase the awareness of the citizens of Lagos on issues and consequences of Domestic violence and the ongoing engagements in the Lagos State House of Assembly on the passing of the bill into Law.

Also to make the public aware of the existence of a men against domestic violence network known as the blue ribbon network, a network of men against domestic violence. Being an initiative of LEDAP. LEDAP also organized a press conference to sensitize the public on the ills of domestic violence against women on March 8 International women's day. By the end of the project there was according to the DPO whom the researcher interviewed-an increase in the awareness of domestic violence among police officers of Ilupeju and Oshodi divisions located at Area F Ikeja in Lagos as result of the training there was a decrease in the number of victim survivors being sent home without being able to file a complaint and an increase in cases of domestic violence cases recorded at Akinpelu police station at Oshodi-Balode division and Ilupeju. This training session was reported in *This Day* Newspaper of 23rd December, 2005. At the end of the training Domestic violence memory cards were distributed to the police to remind them on what to do when cases of domestic violence are reported in their stations.

Project Alert's Police Trainings

Also on the 18th of August 2006 Project Alert in conjunction with Cleen Foundation conducted a training session for police officers of the Area F command Ikeja Lagos. This training was facilitated by a grant from the European Union. The training was basically teaching police officers to respond to gender based violence when victims report such incidences at their stations. This project was a yearlong project which took place on a quarterly basis in all police commands in Lagos. The first of its kind took place on May 16 2006 at Lagos Travel Inn. Project Alert also had an Information Education Communication lecture on February 2nd 2006. There, information distributors were taught the value of the right language to address different target audiences on domestic violence against women. This had to do with how to get to the write the right words to put on stickers, T-shirts and stickers.

Both LEDAP and WARDC with Project Alert were part of the 13 member NGOS of the Domestic violence Coalition who had an advocacy meeting with Honorable Chief Mrs.Tejuosho on Wednesday March 2006 to deliberate with her on her efforts towards the passage of the bill. This yielded a positive result as it was a month later that the public

hearing of the bill was done.

Project Alert has a Human Rights Education Programme under which it organizes workshops, seminars and campaigns on violence against Women. Under it Project Alert also embarks on Media Advocacy through docu –dramas which are documented drama programs where experiences of women victims are portrayed and making the general public aware of the negativity of domestic violence. For instance Television docudramas titled Trauma, No safe Haven, was aired in six states of the Federation stations that broadcast them include Nigerian Television Authority Channel 10, NTA Enugu, Abuja and Cross River Broadcasting Corporation Calabar, Plateau Radio and Television, Edo broadcasting service Benin. Project Alert also disseminates publications on gender based violence, namely Liquid hate, Eliminating Domestic violence, Sophia’s Place and so on. Project Alert also works in several states of the Federation, for instance it organized a rally against acid bath in Edo state in 2004.

The findings from theme 2, also indicate a welcome development, that Nigerian men have also started organizing against domestic violence against women. This development is in consonance with men’s longtime organizing against domestic violence against women in other countries such as the USA, Canada, Australia (Chalk & King, 1998; Dobash *et al*, 2000; Rooney & Hanson, 2001). The Blue Ribbon men’s network demonstrated this, by their pro-domestic violence rally to the Lagos state house of Assembly where their spokesman requested for an anti-domestic violence law in his address to the speaker of the house.

Even though the WRBNGOs adopted the above mentioned strategies in a bid to protect and defend the victims’ human rights, these WRBNGOs encountered some problems in their efforts to combat domestic the victims. Below we note the kinds of problems the WRBNGOs faced from their staff narratives.

WARDC

- Sometimes clients lose interests and complain that they did not ask you to go this far, such clients drop the cases and if we interfere the client may turn around and accuse us of violating her privacy.
- We are often faced with accommodation problems if the victims need accommodation.

- Sometimes we get abusive calls intermittently from the perpetrator who allege that we are the ones teaching his intimate partner to reply him. For example a man who was arrested and granted bail for assault came to you my office to threaten me to take my hands off the case.
- We have had to go and lobby legislators to vote for the bill to become law and we sometimes find them disinterested. We have had to be diplomatic “sending them cards on their birthdays for instance”. We have also had to be interested in their personal affairs to get them interested in signing the bill. We phone them and ask about their welfare.
- We also have funding dilemmas.
- The police also insist that they do not want to interfere as the police act says they should not interfere in family issues.
- Sometimes we are sued by the perpetrators

LEDAP

- We found reluctance in the male legislators as to the passage of the domestic violence law.
- We get threatening text messages sometimes from the perpetrators.
- Women shy away from prosecuting their perpetrators to a logical conclusion.
- Sourcing funds for economic sustenance of the victims is usually a headache.....especially housing and maintenance costs.....

Project Alert

- Some perpetrators refuse to turn up for counseling
- Apart from police stations, commands where we have carried out gender based violence trainings we have found it hard to mobilize support from police officers to help victims.
- Sometimes we are short on professionally qualified staff at the shelter.
- At times shelter inmates quarrel
- We have financial funding needs sometimes we have had to turn away victims and victim referrals from other WRBNGOs. when the shelter is full and when we are not able to provide alternative accommodation

- Without the domestic violence law we have little to work on to help abused citizens. Also in their quest for a solution to these problems the WRBNGO's members of staff proffered suggestions. These were:

- There is a need for safety, shelter- the government needs to create a shelter for the victims to have a place to get themselves together.
- There is need for the bill to be signed into law.
- To stop creating a culture of violence in children rather there is need to re-orientate the children with the use of civic education.
- There should be programmes to re-orientate men's cultural views of control as battering their wives.
- Inimical laws which confer right of wife battery on women like the Northern Penal code should be removed.

Below are graphs generated from Microsoft excel software illustrating the data generated from the WRBNGOs strategies.

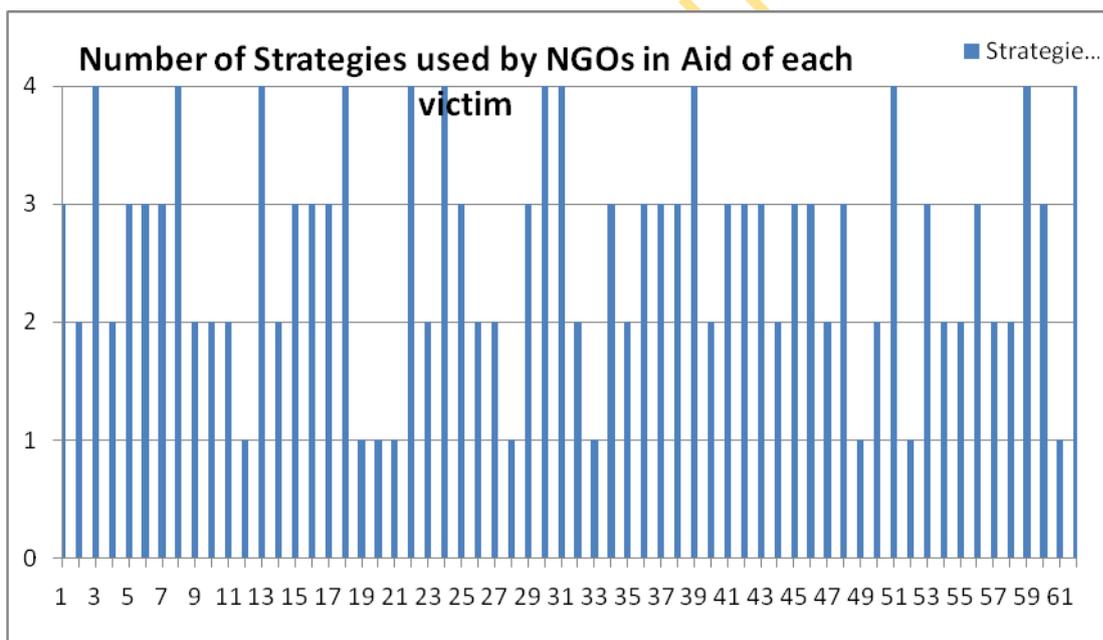


Figure 5: Showing the graph of the number of strategies employed by the WRBNGOs for each victim

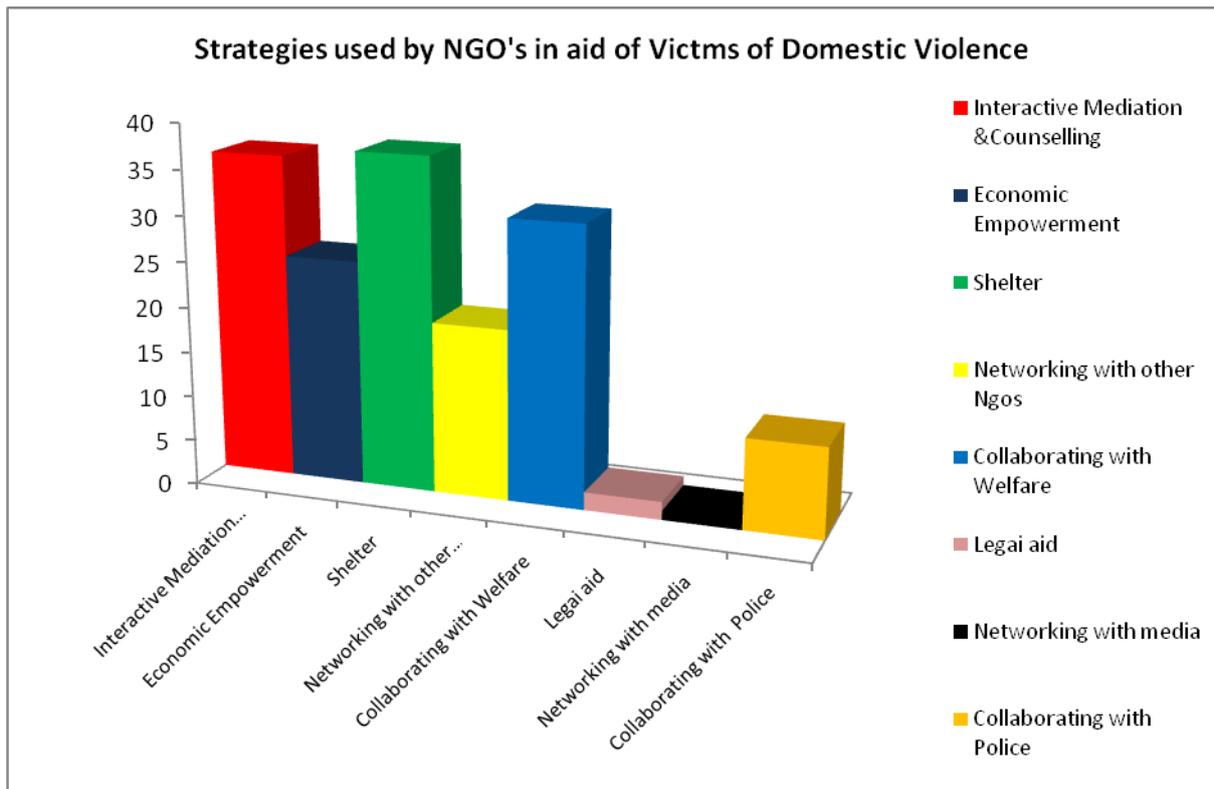


Figure 6: Graphical illustration number of Victims of domestic violence that benefited from each of the WRBNGOs strategies

4.5 Victims' Assessments of the Effectiveness of the WRBNGOs

In the quest to test the first hypothesis that: The WRBNGOs advocacy strategies in comparism with the victims' strategies would significantly reduce the violence in victims' lives a third theme was derived from the data. The third theme : Victims' assessments of the effectiveness of the WRBNGOs interventions emerged from the data to compare the WRBNGOs strategies with the victims' strategies. The comparison of the victims' strategies and the WRBNGOs strategies have been carried out qualitatively by examining a cross section of appraisal from the victims on the WRBNGOs effectiveness with the use of percentages, histograms and graphs. The victims appraisals of the WRBNGOs effectiveness have also been statistically, illustrated using the one way Anova test to measure the mean, range and standard deviation of each strategy adopted in the concluding parts of this section. Below is a cross section of the victims' appraisal of the effectiveness of the WRBNGOs advocacy strategies.

By victims' appraisal of effectiveness we mean, the effectiveness of services that the victims sought, the kinds of services they received, and their appraisal of the helpfulness of those services. The data generated from the 62 victim respondents altogether from the WRBNGOs were complemented with observational sessions from the OPD and the Welfare office. Out of the 62 who had sought the WRBNGOs help 20 had also solicited aid from the Welfare Office. Forty one (66.13%) of the survivors who had sought assistance from Welfare and other sources prior to seeking help from the WRBNGOs specified that that they were satisfied with the intervention of the WRBNGOs. In particular they specified that in comparison to the help they had received from other sources; the help they had received from the WRBNGOs for their basic needs in terms of mediation, shelter and economic empowerment were indeed helpful in their being able to become better survivors and leading a better quality of life in the long run (Figure 7 & 8).

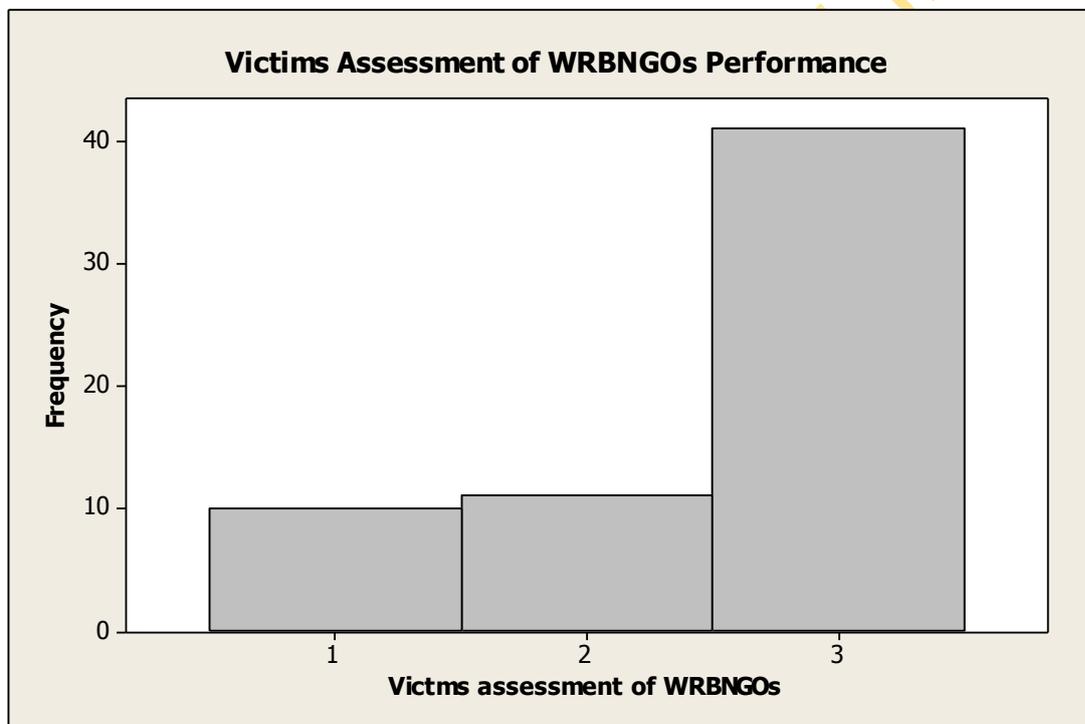


Figure 7: Showing the response of the 62 victims of domestic violence to the effectiveness of the NGOs, where 1 represents undecided group, while 2 unsatisfied and 3 satisfied groups

Of the 62 victims investigated in this study, 20 had previously solicited assistance from the Welfare Office; the body established by the state to resolve such issues like domestic

violence. However, after the WRBNGO’s intervention 10 (50%) victims were satisfied; 4 (20% were unsatisfied whereas 6 (30%) were undecided. The measure of effectiveness being the rate at which the incidence of domestic violence was reduced or eliminated in the victims’ lives. 13.3% (4) were not satisfied and 20.1% (6) were undecided (Figure 8).

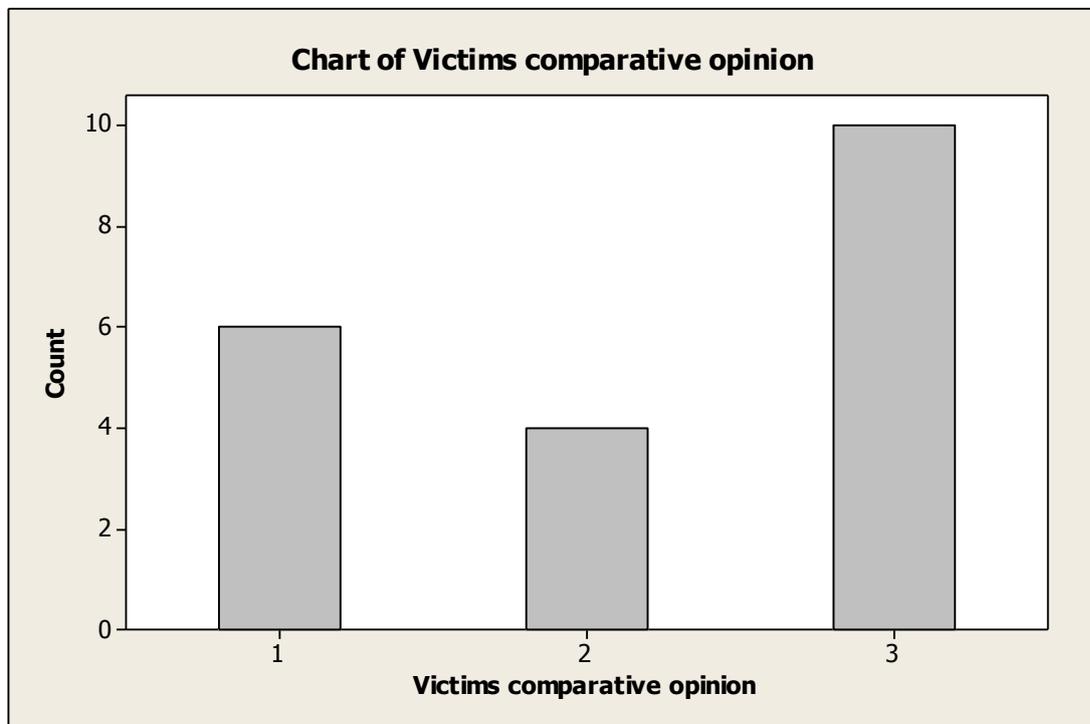


Figure 8: Minitab barchart showing the response of the 20 victims of domestic violence who had sought the help of welfare before the NGOs intervention. From the chart, 1 represents undecided group, while 2 unsatisfied and 3 satisfied groups

Effective

If it had not been for LEDAP’s intervention my partner would not have left my house..... maybe I would have been in the mortuary by now.

Victim LEDAP Employed, Petroleum Engineer working with NNPC, 39 year old Ibo, Christain, University graduate, Cohabiting.

I am happy at the job Project Alert secured for mewith it I am able to take care of my children.....Victim- Project Alert, Employed, Receptionist, 38years old,Yoruba, Christain.

WARDC has really helped me to look towards my future and that of my children unafraid, with the computer training I have had from them I

have been able to employ an assistant in my business I no longer make money demands on him. Victim -WARDC, Employed 35 years old, Yoruba, Muslim, Polytechnic, Married.

Ineffective

I went to Project Alert hoping that they would be able to help me get maintenance allowance, for my children from him, but it was like making a bad case worse..... Project Alert referred me to Social Welfare but the official we were assigned to at social welfare was bribed by my husband, so he refused to honor their letter of summons. However, the welfare office boss got to know about it and transferred the errant official. Furthermore he sent a copy of the summons letter to my ex-husband's boss at Nigerian Airways and my ex-husband's boss threatened to give him a query if he did not turn up..... that was why he turned up. When he did, my ex- husband kept evading the payment of maintenance allowance for the two children. Rather he used to bring provisions in two big "Ghana must go bags". He just used to give me little money for soup for the children claiming that since he had bought them provisions "what else do I need to buy"? It is stressful carrying the provisions from the welfare office every month as I do not have a car. I am disappointed, the money I expected was greater though he gives them money it is not enough, I expected to be able to live off him like I did when I was married to him with no job

Victim-Project Alert, Unemployed, 32years; Ibo, Secondary School Leaver, Married

Though WARDC provided free legal aid for me and they made an appearance in court on my behalf, the judgment was not in my favor, the judge said I should go and lift my school off my husband's land, how do I do that?- Victim - WARDC Employed Educationist, 54 years old, Yoruba, University, Married.

From theme 2 we find that despite the WRBNGOs adoption of similar problem focused strategies as adopted by the governmental organisations the data presented in theme 3 "The survivor's assessments of the effectiveness of the WRBNGOs interventions", revealed a difference in their strategies. We find that the data from the range of victims' initial coping responses in theme 1, revealed that victims found the problem focused strategies of the WRBNGOs more beneficial than those of the government institutions of Welfare and OPD. This is because in addition to the problem focused strategies of mediation and counselling adopted by the government institutions and the WRBNGOs, the WRBNGOs broadened their

scope of problem focused strategies to include other intervening services against domestic violence in victims' lives. The WRBNGOs adopted the problem focused strategies of economic empowerment and provision of shelter as intervening services to the other existing services as a combative strategy against domestic violence in the victims' lives.

In this study we found that the strategies of services mediation and counselling, networking, collaborations education coupled with economic empowerment and shelter provision adopted by the WRBNGOs have had significant impact at changing the subjugative and abusive situation of the victims. The combination of these services have been appraised by the victims as more helpful in the long term than the services of mediation and counselling; which are the only services offered by the state institutions of Welfare and OPD.

Identifying this key finding and addressing it, is one of the primary contributions of the women's movement to domestic violence research in Lagos state. This is because the intervening services of economic empowerment and shelter go beyond offering short term solutions of emotional support which the services of mediation and counselling offer. These services also offer two cogent long term supports. The first being independence of space in the form of shelter to think rationally without the controlling influence of the abuser and the second being financial independence in the form of skills or jobs. Both forms of support were found to have had a positive impact in making the victim a positive survivor of the abuse.

In this study we find that the strategies of services, networking, collaborations and education adopted by the WRBNGOs have had significant impact at changing the objective abusive situation of the victims. This was because they were focused both at relieving the victims' emotions and also at solving the problem of domestic violence. We found that through these strategies the victims' most identified cogent need of housing, economic empowerment coupled with mediation and counselling were catered for.

Problem focused strategies change the objective situation through gathering information, weighing and choosing options in a bid to solve the problem by mitigating the negative effects of the abuse (Holahan & Moos, 1987; Hobfoll, Freedy, Green & Solomon, 1996). The response strategies employed by the WRBNGOs are in line with literature that

indicates that advocates in the non-profit sector usually employ techniques similar to those employed by governmental organizations (Rees, 1997, 1998, 1999). This is evident in the WRBNGOs adoption of similar strategies to those adopted by the governmental organisations of Welfare and OPD.

The strategy of collaborating with faith based religious organisations is not new as it is similar to what advocates in developed countries also practice Fortune (2001); Gillum, Sullivan & Bybee (2006). But the ingenuity of the WRBNGOs in devising the idea of renting low cost housing for the victim is. This finding is inconsistent with existing literature. This is because in developed nations of the world a victim is accommodated in a standardized women's shelter not in low cost housing. Furthermore should accommodation be sought for a victim in developed countries of the world it is usually the welfare office of those countries that make provision for it and not the women's' organisations in those countries.

In Nigeria, the victim's need for shelter is great particularly within the city of Lagos. This is understandably so as people's need of housing is a chronic problem in cities of South Western Nigeria (Arimah, 2002 in Guyer, Denzer & Agbaje eds., 2002). Particularly when one considers that a victim often needs time, a safe place, her own space to regain her shattered self esteem and non-availability of this need could leave the victim with no choice than to return to her abuser (Melbin, Sullivan & Cain, 2003; Bybee and Sullivan, 2002: 105; Sever, 2002; Raphael, 2000; Giulia Paglione, 2006). Many women escaping an abusive relationship are not in a position to support themselves through labour market participation, although clearly some are. Some women need time to heal, some need a safe place (and employment is often very unsafe), and some need supports and training (Raphael, 2000). Many women have nowhere to turn for financial support, as their partners have effectively destroyed women's relationships with friends and family. Thus, having access to financial support that is both independent of the abuser and not dependent upon labour market participation is a critical pathway to women's safe exit.

Another interesting finding with respect to the advocacy role of the WRBNGOs in the lives of the victims concerns victims' responses on why they had initially not approached the WRBNGOs for help. For instance 87.5% (28) of the respondents observed at the OPD and Welfare office were unaware of the existence of these WRBNGOs which they could have approached to support them through their traumatic and trying time. One respondent wished

she “had known about the WRBNGOs services,” and another regretted that she “didn’t know where these WRBNGOs were located” in Lagos because she was new to the city. Others reflected this same concern of not knowing what resources were available and mentioned how they would have availed themselves of these services had they known.

Furthermore, in spite of the fact that concerned state institutions such as the Welfare and OPD do not make referrals (that is refer clients who might need resources such as shelter or economic empowerment which they cannot provide) to the WRBNGOs. The WRBNGOs refer their clients to the Juvenile court of the Welfare and the tribunal of the OPD. As presented in the qualitative data under theme 2: “What they did: the women’s rights based nongovernmental organizations’ responses”. It was observed that only the police as a state institution make referrals (though minimal according to Inspector Adegoke) to the WRBNGOs.

This finding highlights a distinct lack of collaboration between concerned state organisations and the WRBNGOs. Further data from the victims’ responses indicated that there was a high level of networking that is collaborations between the WRBNGOs on victims’ cases. For example qualitative data indicates that if WRBNGOs A cannot, at a particular moment, make provision for low cost housing (popularly referred to in Nigeria as “face me I face you”) for a victim it solicits the assistance of Project Alert’s shelter-Sophia’s place. In turn if Sophia’s place is full and its capacity for sheltering a victim has been stretched Sophia’s place also solicits assistance on behalf of their clients from faith based organisations such as Real Women Foundation of the Daystar Christian Centre. As this faith based organisation has larger housing space though it is not solely a shelter for abused women. Comparing the graphic data on the range of the victims’ initial coping strategies, and the data of the victims’ opinion on the WRBNGOs effectiveness with the one way Anova statistical test indicate the range of strategies we find that the WRBNGOs interventions in female victim citizens’ lives have been effectively distinguishable. For instance from the graphical data on victim’s initial coping strategies we observe that the initial coping strategies used by the victims ranged between two to ten strategies with a mean of 5.31 and standard deviation (SD) of 1.75. Whereas with the the graphic data of the WRBNGOs strategies and the Anova statistical test analysis we note that strategies used by the WRBNGOs ranged between one and four strategies with a mean of 2.6 and SD of 0.96. This

indicates that the WRBNGOs used fewer strategies for each victim but were able to achieve the aims of the WRBNGOs in tackling the problems of the victims.

Thus the first hypothesis, that the WRBNGOs' advocacy strategies in comparison with the victims' strategies would significantly reduce the violence in victims' lives has been proved by the result revealing that there is a significant correlation between the WRBNGOs strategies in combating domestic violence to those of the victims, with the result of the one-way ANOVA $p < 0.0005$ (See Appendix 8, also see photographs of a cross section of some victims interviewed in Appendix.7, Figs.19-22).

From the second theme, two common problems faced by the WRBNGOs were noted. The first being that they had observed from mediation sessions that Lagos men and the general public condoned domestic violence. In lieu of this the researcher conducted three focus groups with men in each local government where each WRBNGO is situated. This was to find out if indeed they had conceptions which condoned domestic violence. From this the fourth theme: Lagos men's views on domestic violence emerged.

4.6. LAGOS MEN'S VIEWS ON DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

In all twelve men attended the focus group discussions, 33.3% (4) questioned the rationale behind viewing domestic violence as a man batter woman issue. They insisted it happens both ways. In their view women also batter men, giving examples of men they knew whose wives batter them. 25% (3) did not view chasing a woman as stalking rather to them it is part of the dating game. 66.6% (8) did not consider marital rape as rape; neither did 83.3% (10) consider shouting at an intimate partner as domestic violence.

Men's Views on the Potentials of making the bill into Law

75% (9) were not in favor of the bill being passed into law, 16.6% (2) were for the bill being passed into law while 1.2% (1) was undecided about the passage of the bill.

It can never happen aah that would mean the end of all of us (men).....me go to jail because of beating my wife?...

If they sign that bill they are not men, we did not vote for them to betray our

confidence..... are they there for the women or the men?

These days, why can't there be lasting solutions like in the olden days when traditional methods of settlement were used to settle quarrels? You or your wife will report to the family head the family will gather..... and summon you and your wife she will be made to beg you even if you were the one who was wrong.... the husband is the head of the wife- you know.... these days nothing like that- it is court police, separation or divorce...

Let's stop pretending that everything is okay. How much am I earning that my wife will want to dress like Stella? When you tell her to contribute to the family upkeep that is when she will tell you that are you not ashamed of your self? You a whole man- African man- asking her to contribute. That is when she remembers you are an African man.

What! Do you mean I can't touch my wife anytime I feel like it? Ahh! That no be rape o!

This NGO business is really not the solution, even welfare is not... all these oyinbo people we dey copy they get good welfare, their own state go pay your wife money if she no work, they go give your children free education.... but we our own welfare no dey work talk less state no go pay you money if you no work na you go find work wen hunger don hala you.

4.7 Testing the Second Hypothesis

The second hypothesis assumes that: The WRBNGO's advocacy strategies and the presence of a female legislator in the LSHA would be sufficient conditions for the successful passage of the anti-domestic violence policy in Lagos State. In the bid to test this hypothesis, we need to know if these same conditions were attributable to the successful outcome of domestic violence laws in other states in Nigeria who have passed the law. In other words we need to know if WRBNGOs advocacy strategies and the presence of a female legislator or political figure in the other states that have signed a domestic violence law have been sufficient conditions for the passage of their states' domestic violence bills. This will enable us to predict the trajectory for the outcome of the bill in Lagos State. When this have been done we would compare the results with data generated from the fifth and the sixth themes. The fifth and sixth themes are

namely: 5. “For or Against: Where the Lagos State Legislators stood on the domestic violence bill”; and 6. “The Lagos State House of Assembly’s domestic violence bill: the process of passage of legislation”. Data from these themes will then be used to compare and measure the second hypothesis about the sufficiency of the WRBNGOs and the presence of a female legislator as causal conditions for the passage of the bill into law in Lagos State.

In consideration of the foregoing, this section analyzes and compares the determinant conditions of domestic violence policies in the three states which have passed domestic violence bills into law out of the thirty-six states in Nigeria. The states are Cross River, Ebonyi and Jigawa states. These are the only other states apart from Lagos state within Nigeria’s thirty six states which have passed a domestic violence bill into law. The case studies would also include the Nigerian Federation this is because even though its own bill has not been signed an attempt was made by WRBNGOs in Nigeria to see it signed. This totals our case studies to four.

Cross River State

The Cross River State domestic violence bill, was the first bill against domestic violence to be signed into law in Nigeria. It was titled, Law No. 10 of 2004 to Prohibit Domestic Violence Against Women and maltreatment Cross Rivers State. It was signed into law by the governor of Cross River state in 2004, Dr. Donald Duke. In particular section 3 of the Domestic Violence and Maltreatment of Widows (Prohibition) Law, 2004 of Cross River State, criminalises any act that subjects a woman to “any form of unwholesome treatment or domestic violence.” The activism of the WRBNGOs in Cross River state was initiated by LEDAP which had already presented draft domestic violence bills to 12 state Houses of Assembly across Nigeria of which Cross River was inclusive (CLEEN, 2006: 21). The WRBNGOs activism was a unilateral bid to resocialise and reorientate any misconceived condonement of domestic violence on the part of the legislators. Inclusive in these activism was CIRRDOC and a coalition of Eastern Nigerian women’s rights organizations. LEDAP and these WRBNGOs along with CIRRDOC conducted domestic violence zero tolerance trainings for Cross River state legislators (Personal Interview with Onyeukwu, LEDAP project Director, 2006). According to Onyeuku these trainings were funded by international donors.

At that particular time the composition of the Cross River state legislature was generally an all male one. There was no female legislator or female state appointee who sponsored the bill for a domestic violence law. These trainings were carried out to convince them on the necessity of signing the bill into law. CIRRDOD also trained traditional rulers in the art of domestic violence dispute resolution. It also devised a traditional mode of resolving domestic violence disputes by referring victims to traditional rulers in Cross River state. This is because the people of Cross River state hold their traditional rulers in high esteem and would more often than not, do as they are bidden by their traditional rulers (Onyeukwu, 2004). We find that the WRBNGO coalition in Cross River State along with LEDAP were able to lobby majority of the legislators to vote for a bill for the law against domestic violence to which the Governor Donald Duke appended his signature.

Ebonyi State

Ebonyi state was the second state to have its bill against domestic violence signed into law. This was again attributable to the activism of WRBNGOs in Ebonyi state spearheaded by CIRRDOD. The WRBNGOs in Ebonyi state also had the support of LEDAP as Ebonyi state was also on LEDAP's pro-domestic violence bill advocacy list of 12 states. In their role as agents of political socialisation, in resocialising any negative condoning preconceptions of domestic violence by the legislators, the WRBNGOs conducted zero tolerance trainings on the Ebonyi State House of Assembly legislature. The passage of the bill in Ebonyi state can also be linked to the zero tolerance stance for domestic violence by the then governor of the state Dr Sam Egwu. This is evident in his publications on the harmful effects of violence against women during ethnic and religious violence in Nigeria, (Egwu, 2001). Prior to his becoming the Ebonyi state governor, Dr. Sam Egwu was a pro-gender political scientist lecturing at the University of Jos prior to his becoming the Ebonyi state governor. Dr. Sam Egwu also had, had good previous working relations with the Director of CIRRDOD, Mrs. Oby Nwankwo. This is because both of them had edited a pro-gender book together before he became governor of Ebonyi state, see (Egwu & Nwankwo, 2003). It is therefore quite understandable for this reasons that when the WRBNGOs lobbied him and the Legislators in the Ebonyi state House of Assembly that Dr. Egwu signed the bill into law in Ebonyi state. The law was titled: Ebonyi State of Nigeria Law No. 003 of

2005 Protection against Domestic Violence and Related Matters Law 2005 31. 2008.

On the role of a female legislator in the passage of Ebonyi's State anti domestic violence Bill, evidence exists that two months before the bill was passed into law, the first female legislator for Ebonyi State in the person of Honourable Dorothy Obasi was voted into the Ebonyi State House of Assembly. This indicates that Honourable Dorothy Obasi was obviously not present in the State House of Assembly during the agenda setting stage of the bill in the forty male member House. Though little is known about her contribution to the passage of the bill in the two months in which she took office before the bill was signed into law.

Jigawa State

Jigawa State is the third State, to have its bill against domestic violence signed into law in Nigeria. The bill prohibiting domestic violence was signed in January 2008 (Amnesty, 2009). It was signed by Governor Sule Lamido of Jigawa state. This was again attributable to the activism of WRBNGOs as agents of socialization in Jigawa state and the support of a key female civil servant by name Hadjia T.Abdulwahab in the Ministry of women's affairs and social development. She chaired the subcommittee on domestic violence in the state (See Jigawa state, Nigeria website). It took the activism of Jigawa state women in the United Kingdom diaspora represented by MP Harriet Harman from the United Kingdom, to influence and reorientate the political culture of Jigawa state legislators to agree to sign the bill into law (O'Brien, 2010).

The Federal Bill

The Nigerian Federal bill against domestic violence has not been signed into law. However, on recall from chapter 1 we find that there was a strong concerted effort on the part of the WRBNGOs as agents of socialization with the female legislators lobbying the Nigerian state to pass the bill into law. But we find that the political culture of the legislators was biased as they were of the belief that the bill was a pro-abortion bill so they refused to sign the bill. This was despite the support and activism of key female legislators such as Honourable Florence Aya and vibrant WRBNGOs like WRAPA. The results show that, apart

from WRBNGOs Advocacy and the presence and support of a female legislator –(the two assumed causal factors for the outcome of a domestic violence policy at the onset of this study); we now find that Participant political culture of the elite also has to be taken into consideration. A major observation from the cases was that when the two causal factors of the WRBNGOs advocacy and participant political culture of the legislators for a gender friendly bill existed, domestic violence bills were passed into law. See the Boolean algebraic data set and its dichotomous table below.

We find that Ragin’s Boolean algebraic language used in an algebraic data set enables the researcher to calculate different causal combinations (Ragin, 1987). We take an (applied) example of the three observable causal combinations which have accounted for domestic violence policy in the three states which have passed the law in Nigeria so far. Namely Political Culture (C), WRBNGO Advocacy (A) and Strong influential female figure (F) which are all hypothesized to account for the outcome of the passage of the Bill for the Policy of a Law against Domestic violence. (PoD). A causal combination could be imagined that C could be both necessary and sufficient for PoD (the solution formula would be $C = \text{PoD}$). Jigawa. Another causal combination could be imagined as necessary, but not sufficient (one possible term would be $\text{PoD} = C \cdot A$) Cross River. In this case the WRBNGOs Advocacy is necessary but not sufficient, while another could be sufficient, but not necessary (one possible term would be $\text{PoD} = C + F$) Ebonyi. In this case the participant political culture of the legislators is sufficient but not the necessary cause. However, C could also be neither sufficient nor necessary – for example, if PoD were either produced by either strong influential female Presence either as a legislator/legislators or as a simultaneous presence of Political Culture and strong influential female $\text{PoD} = A + (F \cdot C)$. The latter two examples in particular demonstrate that causal statements may be adequate but highly complex, entailing not only conjunctural causation, but also equifinality. Equifinality means that different causal combinations can lead to the same outcome” (Berg-Schlosser, De Meur, Rihoux, & Ragin, 2008). This may be further complicated for example, Political Culture could have a positive effect on a Bill for the Policy of a Law against Domestic violence, PoD if it is combined with WRBNGO Advocacy. The Dichotomous coding for the determinant conditions are tabled below.

Table 3: Causal Combinations

State	Political Culture	Female Legislator / Appointee	WRBNGO Advocacy	Policy Outcome
CrossRiver	1	0	1	+
Ebonyi	1	1	1	+
Jigawa	1	1	1	+
FederalBill	0	1	1	-

Where zero is equal to nonexistent/Absent, one is equal to existent/present while the plus sign is equal to positive outcome and the minus sign is equal to negative outcome.

From the causal combinations above we find that Ragin’s Boolean algebraic language enables the researcher to calculate different causal combinations for hypothetic theoretical relationships by making If or then statements. However we found that these causal factors do not act in a linear, independent manner, by having separate effects on the outcome. In other words they function interactively as causal combinations over a period of time. For instance the data obtained on the three states’ causal conditions although not wholly consistent or causal, indicates the combination of at least two conditions as the causes for a domestic violence law in those states. This conclusion has been reached by evaluating the consistency of each causal combination in the equation. “Consistency” here being the measure of the degree to which causal combinations in each case (state) are a subset of the outcome (policy).

We observe here, that the two most dominant causal conditions are the WRBNGOs advocacy and the Political culture of the legislators. With the Political culture of the legislators being the most dominant of the two. We find that having a female legislator/key influential female figure was a necessary but not a sufficient causal condition for the bill to be signed into law. Neither was the activism of the WRBNGOs, a sufficient reason for the bill to be signed into law even though it was a necessary condition.

According to Ragin (1987: 99) a cause is defined as necessary if it is present for a certain outcome to occur, while a cause is defined as sufficient if by itself it can produce a certain outcome' (Ragin 1987: 99). In other words necessity is present if, anytime we notice the outcome, we also see the cause. However it is also possible to notice a necessary cause without observing an expected outcome. For example it can be noticed that a female legislator in the person of Honourable. Florence Aya was present as a necessary cause for the expected outcome of passage of the Nigerian Federation's National Domestic violence bill 2005. But the expected outcome which was the passage of the bill into law was not to be. In contrast, sufficiency for an outcome is present if we can see the cause. In this case the participant political culture of legislators is a sufficient cause that is why we can also see the outcome of a domestic violence law/policy.

For every rule there is always an exception. We note that in some cases we might also see the outcome without the assumed sufficient cause. Usually this occurs when the assumed sufficient cause is applied in a different political context from where it has been hypothesized. For example domestic violence policies have been signed in developed democracies where the womens' movements have been able to strongly influence public opinion above the legislatures political culture. The advocacy of the womens' movements would so much influence the electorate to vote for a domestic violence policy so much so that the political culture of the political elite would not matter. It should also be noted that it is not only observable causes that are necessary or sufficient for an outcome. There could be causes which are relevant but neither sufficient or necessary. For instance public opinion could be a causal condition that is not obviously identified as a necessary or sufficient cause in some democratic settings. This is in particular in developing democratic settings yet public opinion could still pass as a relevant but not necessary nor sufficient cause for the passage of a domestic violence policy.

Having observed the trend of causal conditions for the passage and non passage of the domestic violence bill into policy in Nigeria to include political culture has a causal condition, we shall also test the second hypothesis of this study using data generated from the fifth and the sixth themes. As previously stated in chapter 1, the second hypothesis is "The WRBNGO's advocacy strategies and the presence of a female legislator in the LSHA would be sufficient conditions for the successful passage of the anti-domestic violence

policy in Lagos State''. Namely the emergent themes for testing the second hypothesis are :
5. For or Against: Where the Lagos State Legislators stood on the domestic violence bill. 6. The Lagos State House of Assembly's domestic violence bill: the process of passage of legislation.

On recall, the data generated from the WRBNGOs strategies in theme 2 highlighted that a general problem which the WRBNGOs faced was that of the legislators not passing the domestic violence bill into law in Lagos state. The researcher therefore conducted key informant interviews and elite interviews with the principal legislators involved in the policy making process of the bill on domestic violence against women in the Lagos State House of Assembly (See a cross section of their photographs with researcher interviewing them in Appendix 7 figs. 29-38).

In addition a random opinion survey of fifty civil servants working within the Lagos State House of Assembly was carried out. These were conducted in the bid to find out why the bill had not been passed into law and also to test for if the presence of a female legislator in the LSHA would be sufficient conditions for the successful passage of the anti-domestic violence policy in Lagos State. In lieu of this, we look at themes 5 on the legislators' initial views on the passage of the bill and themes 6 on the status and process of the passage of the bill.

4.8 For Or Against: Where The Lagos State Legislators Stood on the Domestic Violence Bill

Theme 5: For Or Against: Where The Lagos State Legislators Stood On The Domestic Violence Bill addressed the legislators' views against the passage of the bill. The fifth has been arranged into 3 sub themes namely State of the economy, Culture, and The Legislators' views on the Role of the WRBNGOs.

State of the Economy

50% (8) of the legislators interviewed were of the view that men's domestic violence towards women is a function of the environment which is fueled by the endemic poverty in the economy. They believe, that men who are frustrated by the poverty in the environment

take it out on their intimate partners. These findings suggest that the rates of domestic violence in Lagos could be curtailed if more men's gender roles as family breadwinners could be strengthened with the creation of more employment opportunities. Therefore, the role of WRBNGOs' in seeking to create jobs for the women victims is a step in the right direction.

Our cultural, historical, environment favours violence. When I lost my job, when my wife who had a job then, talks at home, I will scream the level of stress in African economies is much, the issue of sexual harassment is not our problem in Africa poverty is our problem. The European has a steady supply of electricity in his environment it's a laughable idea. It is just good for the papers only as our environment is not yet ready for this. Even if you pass the law, you discover that the judges who pass the law have seven wives whom they beat too. It is just like the law against polygamy, it is not a shame it is allowed. Policemen beat their wives more than the ordinary man, the policeman who earns #9000 now gets home with the frustration... of what he is being paid..... he beats his wife..... Women have to learn to cope, with the violence; I do not believe that you abandon your home.

Honorable Adewunmi, Onibiyo Adelabu

It will not work our level of infrastructure, the level of literacy, poverty is not the same with that of the developed countries these are the things which will make the bill not to work in our own system. If they catch anybody here in Nigeria, we don't even have enough infrastructure, they will put them in Kirikiri with hardened criminals.

Honorable Oyewo Babatunde

Culture

62.5% (10) did not deem the law as culturally acceptable within the Nigerian culture.

In Africa we may have our problems but we are proud to say we have no problems in the family, our family network is strong, see over there they have higher divorce rates than we do because our women learn to endure. We have lower rates...

Honorable Obasa Ajayi

For me, I cannot sign a bill that will let my wife control my home. For that bill to work in Nigeria, it will be very difficult because our culture is different from European culture. In their own culture women rule the home in our own culture men rule the home. If we should pass that bill now, it will mean giving women more privilege and most of the men will

not like it. Women will no longer respect men.

Honorable Ajose Julius

In his own view the Speaker of the Lagos State House of Assembly did not regard marital rape and shouting as domestic violence.

Let's face it the Western world's perception of domestic violence is different from our own perception of domestic violence. Some of the things they refer to as domestic violence is not what we call violence because we have this cultural differences. Marital rape is not a form of domestic violence. You are a Nigerian; have you heard of it? We don't have marital rape in our culture. My wife will not say I raped her. rape as it is perceived in our culture is different from what is tagged rape in the Western world. Shouting at your wife or at your husband is not domestic violence.... it is imported.

Rt. Honorable Adeyemo Ikuforiji the Speaker LSHA

I was a former member of the Women Affairs Committee and I participated fully in the making of the bill right from inception... It is a step in the right direction.

Honorable Balogun Abdul Rasaq Representing Surulere II Constituency

The bill is all right; it is a welcome development.

Honorable Odesanya Olarenwaju Representing Ikorodu I Constituency

How can you ask me to sign a bill where all the grown up males in my constituency are likely to be jailed for one form of domestic violence or the other.....? I have four local governments in my constituency with a minimum of 5 Councilors. At a meeting with my constituents, the various proposed bills were reviewed and they refused for me to cast my vote for the domestic violence law. In fact, as soon as I presented the whole picture to an older constituent, he replied: you mean If I touch my wife and she says she is tired and I go ahead..... they will send me to jail? No, no, no! keep the bill in your pocket that is not what we sent you there to do.

Honorable Adewunmi Onibiyo Adelabu

The Legislators' views on the Role of the WRBNGOs

25% (4) hardly knew the names of these non-governmental organizations.

I am aware of one or two NGOs trying to make movesWARDC was trying to lobby me into getting this done and they were saying they were

trying to come and make presentation.....

Hon Oyewo Babatunde Representing Amuwo Odofin I

Yes they came, they came.....

Hon Obasa Ajayi Representing Agege I Constituency

I and other members received a million and one postcards from all over the world through Amnesty International urging us to support the bill. What is wrong is wrong all over the world. These WRBNGOs should be commended for what they are doing.

Hon Balogun Abdul Rasaq. Representing Surulere II Constituency

(See Appendix 7, figs. 29-38 for photographs of researcher while interviewing the legislators)

4.9 The Lagos State House of Assembly's domestic violence bill: the Process of passage of legislation

Theme 6: The Lagos State House of Assembly's domestic violence bill: the Process of passage of legislation addresses the passage of the bill and tests for if the presence of a female legislator in the LSHA would be a sufficient condition for the successful passage of the anti-domestic violence policy in Lagos State.

Being a private member bill the domestic violence bill had to be sponsored by a legislator in the Lagos State House of Assembly. It was therefore sponsored by Honorable Funmi Smith Tejuosho (See figure 29 in Appendix 7 for a photograph of Hon. Tejuosho and researcher). Following due process the bill was introduced on the floor of the house by the clerk of the house. Upon the introduction of the bill the principal sponsor Mrs. Tejuosho moved a motion that she wanted the first reading to be taken. The clerk of the house therefore took the short title of the bill. This was the first reading of the bill, it was held on 31/5/04. The clerk of the house then slated it for the second reading. Draft inputs on the bill were from multiple sources; the legal unit of the house, the Ministry of Justice, the WRBNGOs staff, other non governmental organizations, concerned state institutions, Ministry of Women affairs, and the general public. The draft, that was presented before the legislators clearly represented a gender-neutral feminist frame which

recognised that a victim could be either male or female in its language. It therefore addressed the victim as his/her. Thus its definition of the problem of domestic violence and the way in which the victims would be conceptualized was inclusive for all potential victims of domestic violence.

Before the draft was read on the floor of the house it was advertised in Punch a widely read newspaper, then it was gazetted. The draft bill was circulated to honorable members before the day of the first and second readings to give the honorable members of house an insight into what the bill was about. Honorable Tejuosho also received the support of a 13 member NGO coalition of which LEDAP, Project Alert and WARDC were members. The second reading of the bill was held on May 31st 2004 and December 16th, 2004 respectively. During the deliberation of the second reading by the legislators, they stated their views on the merits and demerits of the bill. Majority of them were not for it, and they voiced stiffly that it was not cultural. Nevertheless, the bill was committed to the Women and Poverty Alleviation Committee on May 21st, 2005. At that time Hon. Tejuosho was the chairman of the committee. The most vocal of the legislators on the issue of the bill being un-cultural was chief Adelabu (See figure 31 in Appendix. 7. for a photograph of Hon. Adelabu and researcher).

This reaction from majority of the male legislators in the house stalled further action on the bill. This made the WRBNGOs to begin to increase their mobilizations for the bill by giving support to Honorable Tejuosho who was at that time the only female legislator amongst the 40 member house of legislators. An instance is the road walk rally organized from LEDAP to the State house of Assembly during March 2006 by LEDAP's network of men (The Blue Ribbon network) Olatubosun (2007). The leader of the network addressed the Speaker of the house on behalf of the men. He requested that the draft bill against domestic violence which had already received two readings but which as at that time still stiffly resisted by Lagos State legislators be promulgated into law. In reply, the speaker addressed the network and promised that the Lagos State House of Assembly LSHA would put the issue of domestic violence on the policy making agenda.

In March 2006, shortly after the rally, the WRBNGO coalition had an advocacy meeting with Honorable Tejuosho. These two incidents yielded a positive result as it was a month later, precisely April 2006, that the Women and Poverty Alleviation Committee

arranged a public hearing in the lobby of the LSHA, in order to make the bill popular, because of the implication of the bill in citizen's lives. It was chaired by the speaker of the LSHA and various stake holders. WRBNGOs and other members of the public, judges, market women, police officers, attended the public hearing,(See figure 34 in Appendix 7 for a photograph of the researcher, Hon. Tejuosho and the market women who attended the public hearing). They deliberated on the issue and contributed their ideas towards the bill. Their input was sought to aid the Women and Poverty Affairs Committee make its report to the House and to hopefully improve the quality of decision making.

Funds were appropriated for the public hearing of the bill by the speaker of the house Honorable Adeyemi Ikuforiji. Though the public hearing was held, it was observed that majority of the legislators refused to turn up for the public hearing, rather they were reported to have gone for a picnic at a resort. After the public hearing a report about the outcome of the public hearing is made to the House. The report is usually laid on the floor of house by the chairman of the committee sponsoring the bill. However on May 30th 2006 when Honorable Tejuosho attempted to lay the report of the bill on the floor of the house; she was resisted from making the report with several of the legislators refusing her right of access to the floor to make the report on the grounds that she was no longer the chairman of the committee. The legislators insisted that the new chairman, Honorable Adio, should make the report. The Speaker and the present Chairman, Honorable Adio, appealed to the House to let the past chair- Honorable Tejuosho, make the report but the House was adamant.

Following this impasse, it took Hon. Adio, the committee's new chairman, ten months before he could present a report of the bill, on 3rd March, 2007. The bill was perused by each individual member in order to add their own input, when they had made their inputs it was presented for third reading on 10th May, 2007 with a two thirds majority vote from the legislators. This achieved, a clean copy of the bill was sent to the executive governor of Lagos State, His Excellency, Governor, Babatunde Fashola, for executive consent. The Governor appended his signature to effect the passage of the bill into law on May 18, 2007.

The Lagos state antidomestic violence law is titled "The Protection Against Domestic Violence Law 2007 of Lagos State. Section 18(1) (f)–(m), Protection Against Domestic Violence Law, Lagos State, specifically describes domestic violence to include a

range of acts such as:

- Physical abuse
- Sexual abuse exploitation including but not limited to rape, incest and sexual assault
- Starvation
- Emotional, verbal and psychological abuse
- Economic abuse and exploitation
- Denial of basic education
- Intimidation
- Harassment
- Stalking
- Hazardous attack including acid bath with offensive or poisonous substance
- Damage to property
- Entry into the complainant's residence without consent where the parties do not share the same residence or
- Any other controlling or abusive behaviour towards a complainant, where such conduct harms or may cause imminent harm to the safety, health or wellbeing of the complainant;
- Deprivation
- Economic Abuse
- Emotional, verbal and psychological abuse
- Exploitation
- Harassment and intimidation

Reasons given for the initial none passage of the bill

According to 62.5% of the legislators, the bill was not signed initially due to some technicalities, of language; in which the Nigerian culture and notion of what domestic violence is, was not considered. On the contrary, an opinion poll among the civil servants

in the Lagos State House of Assembly revealed a latent reason. According to 70% (35) of the civil servants, the personality and attitude of the sponsor of the bill (Chief Mrs. Tejuosho) was what irked the other legislators in not signing the bill. The civil servants were of the opinion that her assertiveness and outspokenness when addressing her much older male counterparts while she was lobbying and persuading them to sign the bill -which is not to be expected of a woman in Nigerian culture, may be the reason why the bill had not been signed. As in Nigerian culture women are expected to be submissive and passive. In attending three seatings of the house, the researcher also observed the enigmatic and assertive outspokenness of Chief (Mrs.) Tejuosho in the House.

Also, a male legislator who requested anonymity and spoke off record also affirmed that the assertiveness of Honorable Tejuosho on the issue of the domestic violence bill definitely served as an impediment to the passage of the bill into law. He went further, to link the non passage of the bill to the affiliation of Mrs. Tejuosho with the former speaker of the House who was voted out of office in 2005. The defunct Speaker was voted out of office by a two thirds majority vote of no confidence due to alleged misappropriation of funds. Having introduced a bill for a law that could make womenfolk assert their rights to nonviolence and also being one of the loyalists of the defunct speaker, her initiative of a bill was not therefore accepted hence the non passage of the bill by her fellow legislators. This sheds light on why she was resisted when she sought to present and lay the report of the committee about the public hearing on the floor of the House. It is obvious that it really did not have anything to do with her not being the chairman of the women affairs committee any longer than because her personality and her carriage then was not accepted for the presentation of the bill.

It has been noted that women's voices are often marginalized due to an exclusionary and competitive character of electoral democracy (Samarasinghe, 1992: 239-240). This occurs when competing with their male counterparts, especially when values are to be allocated. To allocate values, authority must be manifest, hence the outspokenness of Mrs. Tejuosho when she spoke on behalf of her constituent members and the women citizens.

The discussion on the set of findings in this second section, are based on the political advocacy role of the WRBNGOs with the government viz-a-viz the passing of the domestic violence law in Lagos State. Politically, the findings conceptualize the advocacy role of the

WRBNGOs in combating domestic violence by placing them within Gabriel Almond's widely used concept of political culture. This revealed the political culture of the victims, the WRBNGOs and the legislators. The findings reveal that the political culture of the legislators is an important causal condition for the passage of the domestic violence policy. They are conceptualized in that order, respectively.

The Victims

The findings in themes one and two "Their voices: Their responses", The women's experiences of domestic violence revealed the victims' strategies of response on how they coped with the violence. In particular, the findings highlight that majority of the women respondents relied first on individual strategies, then on family and friends –social networks and lastly on the state institutions.

From the women's responsal strategies on how they coped with the violence in themes one and two, 1) Their voices: The women's experiences of domestic violence 2) "Their responses: victims' coping strategies", the findings highlight that majority of the women respondents relied first on individual strategies, then on family and friends –social networks and lastly on the state institutions. This reveals a low level of political trust in the political system see (Welzel, 2007: 405). The findings suggest that the victim respondents have a weak concept of their human rights as citizens with 60% having manifested subject-parochial political culture, that is, they were aware of the existence of these state institutions but were inactive about approaching appropriate institutions for help. While 30% exercised parochial political culture as they did not think the state owed them any obligation to protect their human rights as citizens.

This is because they were unaware of their human rights viz-a-viz the state's obligations towards them. Ten percent exercised participant political behaviour. In other words, they were aware of their human rights as citizens being violated, they were also expecting an investment on their input (electoral mandate) as citizens. That was why they expected an output from the state institutions, like the police, and the welfare. In contrast to state institutional services, respondents all described their involvement with the WRBNGOS advocates in positive terms, and this too echoes findings in the relevant scholarly literature

(Campbell, 2006).

The Legislators

The theoretical view that “political elites place the interests of all citizens, including traditionally marginalized groups such as women” above their own has been globally acknowledged (Kunovich & Paxton, 2005, 505-6). Nevertheless, in practicality, this study ironically displays the contrary. The study associates its findings with the perspective that even in countries with consolidated democracies, if the mass public’s attitude towards a political issue is parochial or subject political culture, the elite’s values and political culture is primary and will have both coherence and consequences (Verba, 1987: 7).

Therefore, in lieu of the foregoing, we find that the initial non-passage and final passage of the bill by the legislators can be interpreted from the detailed analysis of the qualitative data presented in theme 6 “The Lagos State House of Assembly’s Domestic Violence Bill: The Process of Passage of Legislation.” It provides an inductive analysis that reveals three reasons on the passage and initial non passage of the bill. Out of these three, two are most salient. They are the manifest and latent reasons. The third buttresses the point that the latent reason reveals, which is that the elites’ values are primary and have coherence and consequences. The first reason attributes the manifest reason of culture as the reason why the bill was not initially passed into law. It placed the legislators’ refusal to pass the law within a traditional cultural conception that condoned domestic violence.

Moreover the legislators’ political behavior as the elite public was observed to be a function of their values, the political socialisation they were exposed to in childhood, their environment which condones domestic violence, their life experiences, and education. This explains why the initial political process of the bill was stalled by the intersection of the issue of culture, and was evident in the subject political culture that 65% of legislators interviewed exhibited on non passage of the bill. Also the data in theme 6 “The Lagos State House of Assembly’s Domestic Violence Bill: The Process of Passage of Legislation”; on the opinion survey of the civil servants and the elite interview with the anonymous legislator, were quite helpful in understanding the second reason which was a latent one.

The latent reason was attributed to the unpopularity of Honorable Tejuosho with the

other legislators at that particular point in time. It was also evident in the low turnout of the legislators at the public hearing of the bill. On recall, data reported that only 10 out of the 40 member house of legislators were present at the public reading of the bill. According to Honorable Tejuosho, majority of the legislators who should form a two-thirds majority in passing the bill into law were avoidably absent during the public reading of the bill they rather went to a resort for a picnic (Tejuosho, 2006). In other words, the legislators political behaviour indicated that the issues of the civic public's rights were of little concern to them than their primordial interests.

This finding suggested by the qualitative data, provides strong and complementary evidence in support of the latent reason why the bill was not initially passed into law. This was evident in the final passage of the bill after the chairmanship of the committee was changed from the personality of Honorable Tejuosho to that of Honorable Adio.

Furthermore, the inference that the personality of the sponsor of the bill is a latent reason for non passage of the bill is a pointer to the fact that the legislators would rather prefer to jeopardize the intents and purposes of a bill which would safeguard the rights of victim citizens for their own primordial interests. Their exhibition of this political culture towards the human rights of the abused victims concurs with the observation of Lucian Pye (1965) that:

In all polities, there is a fundamental distinction between the culture of the rulers or power holders and that of the masses.

The inductive analysis of qualitative data in theme 4 also inferred a third but supporting reason that with the legislators facing an imminent election, they were bound to try and meet the desires of their male constituents who did not want the bill to be signed. We observe, that they failed to sign the bill until their constituents recast their votes for them in the next election so as safeguard their primordial interest which was their political mandates to be Lagos state legislators for another term.

The WRBNGOs

Overall, the results provide strong qualitative evidence that the WRBNGOs have engaged the state on the human rights of abused female citizens through political participation as an issue attentive public. In addition the data obtained from themes three to

six indicate that the WRBNGOs and the female legislator have played a vibrant role in the policy making process of the domestic violence bill in Lagos State, particularly at the agenda setting stage. Qualitative evidence of this is illustrated in their attendance at the Public hearing, inviting several stakeholders of the public to attend, WARDC's door to door and telephone lobbying advocacy of the legislators. Furthermore LEDAP's legislative trainings of the legislators on the reasons why the bill needs to be passed into law. LEDAP's road walk rally to the State House of Assembly to sensitize the legislators before the public hearing of the bill. All these are all a reflection of their influential role in the policy making process.

These findings significantly demonstrate the WRBNGOs participant political culture. In other words they believe that they can contribute to the political system and that they can be affected by it. These findings demonstrate that the WRBNGOs political behaviour exhibit participant political culture, in other words they believe that they can contribute to the political system and that they can be affected by it.

Nevertheless, inspite of the WRBNGOs advocacy we note that the WRBNGOs advocacy strategies with the presence and support of a female legislator were not a sufficient reason for the passage of the domestic violence policy in Lagos State. Rather the successful outcome of the domestic violence law in Lagos State is attributable to the causal combinations of the participant Political culture of the legislators with the WRBNGOs advocacy and the presence and support of a female legislator. This is in consideration that the WRBNGOs are necessary causal conditions, while the Political culture of the legislators are a sufficient causal condition for the passage of the domestic violence bill into policy in Lagos State. We also observe that political culture matters as this result falls in line with the results demonstrated in the four preceding case studies of Nigerian states, who have also signed their domestic violence bills into law.

Sequel to the preceding sections of this chapter, this section discusses the data presented on the WRBNGOs advocacy role within the confines of the social movement theory. In particular it identifies how their advocacy role relates with the key characteristics of the political opportunity structure. Acknowledgably according to Tarrow (1998: 76-80) the key distinguishable characteristics of the political opportunity structure are: the degree of openness in the polity, the stability of political alignments, the presence of allies and support group; divisions within the relevant elite and or its tolerance of protest and repression or

facilitation of dissent by the state. Each of these key characteristics are discussed below in line with the data presented above.

Political Opportunity Structure: The Degree of openness in the Polity

The first distinguishable characteristic of the political opportunity structure is the degree of openness in the Polity it considers how the womens movement gained access to the political System. Nigeria's Transition from authocratic rule to democratic rule created a mode of access for the women's movement combating domestic violence in Lagos state. In particular it offered them an open opportunity to articulate their grievences by legitimate means through political structures such as the Lagos State legislature LSHA.

Political Opportunity Structure: The Stability of Alignments of Power

The second key characteristic of the political opportunity structure is the stability of political alignments. This implies a measure of the degree of the elements attributable to stability of the alignments of power in the system. Once political instability is detected by the social movement it motivates them for collective action. In a democracy, "governance" is an important test of alignment of power. According to the UN High Commision on Human rights (1996):

The true test of good governance is the degree to which it delivers on its promise of human rights: The key question is are the institutions of governance effectively guaranteeing the right to health adequate housing sufficient food quality education fair justice and personal security, civil, cultural, economic political and social rights?

Relating this to Lagos state, the women's movement identification of a 'lack' and disrespect for women's human rights in the state can be noted as causing an instability in the alignments of power. The state's failure of delivering women's human rights in a supposedly budding democracy was causing a strain leading to instability in the state. This instability encouraged the women's movement to frame the issue of domestic violence as a violation of a woman's human right.

Ideologically, the women's movement relied on the broader encompassing human rights framework and together with the women's committee drafted a bill for a policy/ law that was gender neutral. The result of this was that in the final outcome of the bill the language of the bill was not feminine in addressing the victim rather it was gender neutral. The bill included the masculine gender with the feminine gender in its language. For instance the final draft uses the phrase His/Her in addressing the perpetrator.

Political Opportunity Structure: The Presence of Allies and Support Group

The third major characteristic of the Political Opportunity Structure is the presence of allies and support group. In other words the availability of support from elite allies. Noticeably from the beginning the women's movement in Lagos State had the support of an elite ally in the person of Honourable Tejuosho who introduced the bill on the floor of the House. Her introduction of the bill encouraged the women's movement to mobilize for increased collective action in a repertoire of political actions. For instance they influenced public opinion by mobilizing several stakeholders such as market women, civil servants and civil society to attend the Public hearing of the Bill. The WRBNGOs mobilized for citizens' political participation by encouraging the Blue Ribbon men's march to the LSHA to launch a peaceful protest for the legislators to sign the bill into law. Their mobilizations also included using Political education methods to raise female victims' political consciousness and awareness on the obligations of the state to them viz-a-viz non-violence. This the WRBNGOs did by pasting non violence posters, acting on teledramas distributing Tshirts and pamphlets on zero tolerance to violence. The WRBNGOs also mobilized themselves for collective action to defend and protect victims human rights by networking amongst themselves. They provided the victims shelter, and sources of income through empowerment. The support of Honourable Tejuosho and the repertoire of the WRBNGOs political collective actions set the issue of domestic violence on the state government's agenda.

Political Opportunity Structure: Division among ruling elites

The fourth significant characteristic of the political opportunity structure is division among ruling elites. The division and nonconcensus of the Lagos state legislators could be

clearly observed by their action of initial nonpassage of the domestic violence bill. It could also be observed in their stout resistance and connivance against their female colleague when she attempted to represent the bill at the second stage on the floor of the house. Their division was heightened by their unmistakably noticed absence when the public hearing of the bill was held. The division of elites affects the political opportunity structure because it allows groups to manipulate the competition between elites, as well as taking advantages of openings that result from struggles in elite area of the political and societal system. However the legislators division provided the opening for the WRBNGOs to increase their protest and lobbying strategies. For instance their protest drew the attention of the local media. This resulted in an international focus on the legislators by international human rights bodies such as Amnesty International. Amnesty International began to pressurize the legislators on the reason why the bill should be passed into law. Amnesty international sent letters personally addressed to each legislator on why the onus was on the legislators to sign the bill into law. The WRBNGOs protest through the media also drew the attention of domestic violence victims in Lagos state. This made the victims aware of the existence of the WRBNGOs and what services the WRBNGOs could offer the victims. The legislators division on whether to pass the bill or not to, also gave room to the WRBNGOs to manipulate the competition between the legislators. The legislators initial resistance by non passage of the bill also awakened; the WRBNGOs consciousness that their advocacy strategies in the area of seeking to change the legislators subject political culture was important and therefore needed to be intensified if the bill was to be signed.

On account of this, the WRBNGOs turned the legislators division into an advantage, by conducting trainings to change the legislators' political culture and to raise the legislators' consciousness to pass the bill into law. Theoretically, therefore, we find that as social movements the WRBNGOs have made use of the budding representational democracy and presence of gender as political opportunity structures to influence the political recognition of domestic violence as a crime in Lagos State. Their use of the political structure of the budding representational democracy was manifest in their lobbying legislators to pass the domestic violence bill. This is an issue they would not have pursued when Nigeria was under military rule. Their use of the political opportunity structure of the presence of a female legislator was manifest in the support they gave to the female sponsor of the domestic

violence bill Honorable Tejuosho Smith; when she presented the bill on the floor of the Lagos State House of Assembly.

4.9.1 Limitations

Although we believe our results are important, findings need to be considered in light of the study's limitations. The findings are based on women who received advocacy services from WRBNGOs and concerned state institutions particularly those who earn low incomes. Thus, these results are best generalized to other similar populations. However, the findings do provide perspectives which inform the development of a more governmental sensitive approach on the issue of domestic violence, particularly, for domestic violence victims with low income women living in Nigeria.

A second limitation concerns the use of political culture as the conceptual model of analysis in this study, which does not permit us to make general statements about our findings. It is likely that the concept of political culture may affect the potential generalizability of the findings in this study to other settings, particularly, fully fledged democracies. For example, it has been suggested that controlling for political culture in some fully fledged democracies such as the USA does not make much of a difference in the relationship between feminist civil society and policy outcomes on violence against women (Weldon, 2005: 212). This is because previous studies have shown that rather it is the effectiveness of women's organizations in civil society that improves policy responsiveness to violence against women in each of the states in the United States (Weldon, 2005). Nonetheless, in spite of this limitation it appears that the concept of political culture plus the civic and political organizing of women's social movements are important determinant factors in shaping state response to domestic violence against women in budding African democracies.

This implies that prevailing institutional circumstances, contexts and not just the inherent features of a policy, determine the causal combinations and political dynamics at work in a state. Furthermore according to Meyer (2003):

The content and the process of making policy serve as both stimuli and outcomes of social movements. Understanding these relationships- that

is, how policy and citizen movements affect each other- is essential to understanding the functioning of contemporary democratic politics and indeed, the democratic process more broadly.

Relatedly, therefore, addressing the political culture of the political elites and building a vibrant women's social movement can help in eliciting improved governmental responses in Nigeria's democratically developing states and inferentially Africa's developing democracies.

In concluding this chapter, we note from the findings presented in this chapter, that Nnaemeka (2003) was right when she observed that:

one cannot underestimate the power of women's struggles, as structured as they might be, to affect social change.

This is because the data presented in this chapter has helped us to better understand the multiple ways in which WRBNGOs as social movements influence the policy and political process of the making of the domestic violence law/policy in Lagos State. This has been demonstrated in the WRBNGOs' role as social movements and political actors advocating for victims of domestic violence in Lagos State in policy and in practice. In policy they have acted in agenda setting and the policy making process in practice by protecting the human rights of victims.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

This last chapter of the study, provides an overview of the results of the current research and discusses them in terms of their implications for policy and research. At the outset of this study, the problematic of the study was presented and noted, that despite being a signatory to several international conventions on the protection of women against domestic violence, the Nigerian State has not made adequate institutional provisions for domestic violence victims. This is in particular in terms of effective legal measures and penal sanctions, to protect women against domestic violence. However, we know that Women's Rights Based Non-governmental Organizations (WRBNGOs) in Nigeria have endeavoured to sensitize relevant State institutions to the victim's plight. Underlying this knowledge of the WRBNGOs activities were presumptuous notions of what the WRBNGOs were doing. In order to have a clarity to the role of what the WRBNGOs are doing in combating domestic violence in Lagos state we hypothesised that:

- 1) The WRBNGOs advocacy strategies in comparism with the victims' strategies would significantly reduce the violence in victims lives.
- 2) The WRBNGOs advocacy strategies and the presence of a female legislator in the LSHA are sufficient conditions for the successful passage of the anti-domestic violence policy in Lagos State.

These hypotheses were tested bearing the fundamental objectives of the study in mind which were namely to:

- 1) Examine the activities of WRBNGOs in assisting abused women.
- 2) Investigate the strategies adopted by victims as response against domestic violence acts.
- 3) Examine the engagements and contestations of the WRBNGOs in making the state accountable to combat domestic violence in Lagos State.

During the study's literature search, studies revealed that a number of studies to date have considered violence against women in the public sphere with a few researching into violence against women in the private sphere. This was the gap that was identified in the literature. In lieu of the foregoing the study of violence against women in the private sphere was examined from a political perspective through the study of the role of Women's Rights Based Non-governmental Organizations (WRBNGOs) in Nigeria. In particular, the study examined how the WRBNGOs have endeavoured to aid victims while sensitizing relevant State institutions to the victim's plight on domestic violence. This was done through the study of the advocacy role of WRBNGOs in combating domestic violence through seeking to defend victims human rights and seeking to influence the making of a domestic violence policy in Lagos State.

Therefore, with the aid of the qualitative methodology and minimal statistical methods, the study tested both hypotheses with a view to achieving the fundamental goals of the study as mentioned above. Data generated from the field research in the study, were categorized into six themes namely:

- Their voices: Their responses.
- What they did: the women's rights based nongovernmental organizations responses.
- The victims' assessments of the effectiveness of the WRBNGOs interventions.
- Lagos men's views on domestic violence.
- For Or Against: Where the Lagos State Legislators stood on the Domestic Violence Bill.
- The Lagos State House of Assembly's Domestic Violence Bill: The Process of Passage of Legislation.

However, for ease of reference, the six core themes were categorized into two sets of findings. The first set of findings were related to the human rights advocacy role of the WRBNGOs in the lives of the victims. While the second set of findings were related to the political advocacy role of the WRBNGOs with the government, viz a viz the passing of the domestic violence law.

The first set of findings were related to the human rights advocacy role of the

WRBNGOs in the lives of the victims. These first set of findings measured the first hypothesis which assumed that: The WRBNGOs advocacy strategies in comparison with the victims' strategies would significantly reduce the violence in victims lives. Data generated from themes one and two revealed findings that were consistent with previous research while confirming the assumptions of the first hypothesis. These two themes also investigated the strategies of response adopted by the victims against acts of domestic violence. For instance, the finding that victim respondents in this study have also experienced domestic violence manifested in its various forms; namely physical, sexual, psychological, and financial abuse which is consistent with previous research (Walker, 2000). Similarly, they also responded to their victimization experiences by seeking aid to combat the violence in a number of ways in line with the literature (Waldrop & Resick, 2004). Although, we found significant differences between Nigerian women victims and their Western counterparts in their perceptions of choice in seeking legal aid. Findings indicated that in comparison to and unlike their western counterparts Nigerian women perceive legal aid as less helpful. This finding affirms the position of existing studies that in much, of Africa taking legal action against one's husband is not an acceptable way of solving marital problems (Mama, 2000).

Also, even though findings corroborate existing studies that victims often seek help initially from informal sources such as family friends and societal networks (Henning & Klesges, 2002). The findings of the present study revealed that Nigerian women victims often extended their informal sources to include informal sources which are rooted in tenets of religion and/or culture. Adaptively and in the same vein, we found that the WRBNGOs in this study have also incorporated components of religion and culture in their mediation services. This finding was demonstrated in theme 2: "What they did: the women's rights based nongovernmental organizations." The WRBNGOs have incorporated components of religion and culture in their mediation services, by entwining the African culture specific perspective of conflict resolution which is a form of restorative justice, with the predominant western criminal and restorative justice response. The resultant effect is the WRBNGOs use of an hybrid of both the African conflict mediation model and the Western models (criminal justice and restorative justice) in aiding domestic violence victims that approach the WRBNGOs for help.

One other interesting finding in relation to the advocacy role of the WRBNGOs in the

lives of the victims revealed the unawareness of the existence of the WRBNGOs and their services by the victims of domestic violence. This explains why 87.5% of the victims had not approached the WRBNGOs initially.

The Blue Ribbon men's network's pro-domestic violence rally to the LSHA presented in theme 3, is a finding that indicates a welcome development. It shows that Nigerian men have also started organizing against domestic violence against women in consonance with men's longtime organizing against domestic violence against women in other countries such as the USA, Canada, Australia (Dobash et al, 2000) was presented in theme four.

Among the findings is one that is inconsistent with existing literature on victims' sheltering. This finding is ingenious on the part of the WRBNGOs, as they have been able to devise the idea of renting low cost housing for sheltering the victims when the need arises. This is in contrast to women's organisations in developed nations of the world where victims are accommodated in standardized women's shelters and not in individualized low cost housing. Furthermore, should accommodation be sought for a victim in developed countries of the world, it is usually the welfare office of those countries that make provisions for it and not the women's organisations in those countries. Another finding in theme two revealed and identified the strategies employed by the WRBNGOs that brought about success or failure in preventing or combating domestic violence.

Apart from the aforementioned findings in the category of the human rights advocacy role of the WRBNGOs in the lives of the victims, there was a most striking key finding in themes two and three. This finding was the WRBNGOs' identification of the need for the adoption of problem focused strategies of economic empowerment and provision of shelter. The problem focused strategies were to include the other existing intervening services for the victims as inclusive combative strategies against domestic violence in the victims' lives. These existing intervening services included mediation and counselling, education, networking and collaborating with other WRBNGOs and state institutions. The combination of these services were appraised by the victims as more helpful in the long term than the services of mediation and counselling, which are the only services offered by the state institutions of Welfare and OPD. Identifying this key finding and addressing it, constitutes one of the primary contributions of the women's movement to combating domestic violence in Lagos State. Findings also indicated that even though data demonstrated that there was a

high level of collaborations between the WRBNGOs on the victims' cases there also existed a distinct lack of collaboration on victims cases between most concerned state Institutions (Social Welfare Office, Office of the Public Defender) and the WRBNGOs.

Altogether we note that the WRBNGOs have drawn extensively on human rights values and ideology in their approach of providing sheltered housing, economic support and job training to victims as its done in other countries of the world (Schneider, 2004). The first set of findings in themes one to three have measured the first hypothesis which suggested that: The WRBNGOs advocacy strategies in comparison with the victims' strategies would significantly reduce the violence in victims' lives. The graphic data generated, analysed the victims domestic violence experiences and the initial coping strategies the victims adopted. The data helped us to note the range of their strategies, and how many strategies they exhausted before turning to the WRBNGOs for help. In addition and comparatively the graphic data and one way Anova also examined the range of strategies that made the WRBNGOs interventions in victims lives effectively distinguishable. For instance from the analysis, the initial coping strategies used by the victims ranged between two to ten strategies with a mean of 5.31 and standard deviation (SD) of 1.75. Whereas those used by the WRBNGOs ranged between one and four strategies with a mean of 2.6 and SD of 0.96. This indicates that the WRBNGOs used fewer strategies for each victim but were able to achieve the aims of the WRBNGOs in tackling the problems of the victims. This implies that the WRBNGOs had a huge knowledge about how to resolve the problems being encountered by the victims and were therefore able to resolve them within reasonable period of time. Thus the first hypothesis, that the WRBNGOs' advocacy strategies in comparison with the victims' strategies would significantly reduce the violence in victims' lives was proved by the result revealing that there was a significant correlation between the WRBNGOs strategies in combating domestic violence to those of the victims, one-way ANOVA $p < 0.0005$ (see Appendix 8).

The demographic analysis of the victims also revealed some surprising results as the relationship between the women's education and domestic violence. The data analysis showed that 25 of the 62 victims were university graduates, 9 polytechnic graduates while 18 were 'O' level certificate holders (Figure 2. graph of victims' education). Nevertheless, despite the level of their education, the women still suffered domestic violence. However, It

was observed that when the WRBNGOs empowered the unemployed educated victims through provision of jobs, skills and trade the victims enjoyed better relationship with their partners as the violence reduced significantly. This was because being employed gave the victims more power of choice and independence to react to the violence.

Emphatically, one of the main aims of the study was to examine the WRBNGOs' engagements and contestations in making the state accountable to combat domestic violence in Lagos state. The second set of findings addressing these aim were related to the political advocacy role of the WRBNGOs with the government with respect to the passing of the domestic violence law/policy. To achieve these aims, these second set of findings measured the second hypothesis which suggested that: The WRBNGOs' advocacy strategies and the presence of a female legislator in the LSHA are sufficient conditions for the successful passage of the anti-domestic violence policy in Lagos State. The findings testing these hypothesis were highlighted in themes 4-6. Namely 4) Lagos men's views on domestic violence. 5) For Or Against: Where The Lagos State Legislators Stood On The Domestic Violence Bill, and 6) The Lagos State House of Assembly's Domestic Violence Bill: The Process of Passage of Legislation.

Although, the primary purpose of the first hypothesis was to determine if the WRBNGOs strategies would reduce the violence in victims' lives compared against victims' strategies nevertheless the exploration into the WRBNGOs strategies led to some important information for the second hypothesis. The second hypothesis suggested that: The WRBNGOs' advocacy strategies and the presence of a female legislator in the LSHA are sufficient conditions for the successful passage of the anti-domestic violence policy in Lagos State.

Observing how the WRBNGOs have interacted with concerned state institutions such as the OPD, the WO, the police and the LSHA legislators on behalf of the victims revealed the WRBNGOs advocacy strategies through the repertoire of political actions which they undertook. Their political actions revealed the WRBNGOs participant political culture as an issue attentive public. Their advocacy was observed in political actions such as their mobilizations which influenced public opinion by mobilizing several stakeholders such as market women, civil servants and civil society to attend the Public hearing of the Bill. The WRBNGOs mobilized for citizens' political participation by encouraging the Blue Ribbon

men's march to the LSHA to launch a peaceful protest for the legislators to sign the bill into law. Their mobilizations also included using political education methods to raise female victims' political consciousness and awareness on the obligations of the state to them viz-a-viz non-violence. This the WRBNGOs did by pasting non violence posters, acting on teledramas distributing Tshirts and pamphlets on zero tolerance to violence. The WRBNGOs also mobilized themselves for collective action to defend and protect victims human rights by networking amongst other WRBNGOs. They provided the victims shelter, and sources of income through empowerment. Premised on the evidence of the WRBNGOs political actions we affirmatively confirm that WRBNGOs engaged in advocacy in Lagos state.

In discussing the female legislators' role we explored how the presence of the female legislator was a political opportunity for the WRBNGOs in setting up the agenda of introducing the need for a domestic violence policy to the LSHA. The female legislator's introduction of the bill reflects two important stages of the policy process which are the framing and the agenda setting of the bill. This stages are important because they are the very stages that are most ignored by policy scholars when policies are being studied. Moreoften than not scholars are quick to dismiss bill introduction as not especially serious, yet Soule & King (2006: 1883) have argued that it is critical to examine these early stages for two reasons.

According to them:

First (and most obvious), without being introduced, a bill cannot pass on to more consequential stages. On top of this, and because of the lower stringency of rules and lesser consequentiality of bill introduction, comparing this stage to later stages allows us to test key claims of our elaborated theory of policy change. Examining the next two stages—the first and second votes on a bill—allows us to observe how increasingly more stringent sets of rules and increasing consequentiality of actions condition the effect of movement organizations, the POS, and public opinion on policy change.

Soule and King's (2006) argument, implies that the female legislator's introduction of the bill for a law sets the pace, and direction of further political actions of the Women's movement and how it might influence public opinion and the political system for policy change. To summarize, the results indicate that the presence of a female legislator may

sometimes matter at the agenda setting stage, but the presence of a female legislator may not matter at the political process stage of the passage of the law. We also note that though women's movements cannot in and of themselves pass bills into law the participant political culture of the women's movements exhibited by their repertoire of political actions have important implications across all the stages of the political process examined here.

It is to this end that we acknowledge the input of the presence of the female legislator as a causal condition for the outcome of the domestic violence policy as law. However we do not attribute the final outcome and passage of the bill to the presence of the female legislator and the WRBNGO's advocacy. This is because integrated insights generated from the data on hypothetical representations from other states in Nigeria who already had a domestic violence policy; and data generated from an opinion survey of civil servants proved otherwise. The data generated from these integrated insights revealed the most important finding in the second category of findings on the political advocacy of WRBNGOs.

The most important findings in this second category revealed both manifest and latent reasons as the two most salient reasons for the initial nonpassage and final passage of the bill. These two reasons represented the political culture of the legislatures which needed to be changed from subject political culture to participant political culture before the bill could be signed into law. The first and manifest reason was that the factor of traditional culture explained why the bill was not initially passed into law. It placed the legislators' refusal to pass the law within a traditional cultural conception that condoned domestic violence. The second and latent reason was the unpopularity of Honorable Tejuosho with the other legislators at that material point in time when the bill was being debated on the floor of the House. However we note three cogent reasons that changed the political culture of the legislators from subject political culture to the participant political culture which was needed for the final outcome of the bill. These cogent reasons are:

- 1) The WRBNGOs advocacy through political education of the male legislators through the WRBNGOs administering legislative pro-domestic violence bill trainings.
- 2) The subtle change of the female legislator from chair of the women's committee. This was because the female legislator's assertiveness was viewed by the legislators as traditionally unacceptable for a woman.
- 1) The legislators successful second term bid. It was after the LSHA legislators had

been voted in for another term by the male electorate in their constituencies, that the legislators signed the domestic violence bill into law. This was because the majority of the male constituents did not expect that the legislators would sign the domestic violence bill into law.

Altogether we note that the political culture of the legislators mattered as a causal condition for the final passage of the policy into law in Lagos State. Interestingly, this finding revealed a contrast between previous research and the present study. Notably the findings indicate significant differences between the political culture of legislators in developing countries such as Nigeria and developed countries such as the United States concerning the phenomenon of domestic violence against women. For example, in her review of political culture with respect to domestic violence in some fully fledged democracies such as the USA, it has been suggested that controlling for political culture does not make much of a difference in the relationship between feminist civil society and policy outcomes on violence against women (Weldon, 2005: 212).

Previous studies have shown that it is the effectiveness of women's organisations in women's social movements that improves policy responsiveness to violence against women in each of the states in the United States (Weldon, 2005). This limitation notwithstanding, it appears that the concept of political culture plus the civic and political organising of women's social movements as advocacy are important determining factors in the State's response to domestic violence against women within cosmopolitan states like Lagos state in budding African democracies. As is seen in the initial subject political culture of the legislators who put their own primordial differences above the interests of their electorate in Lagos state.

In lieu of the above data and to this end we confidently affirm the implausibility of the second hypothesis that suggested that: The WRBNGOs advocacy strategies and the presence of a female legislator in the LSHA are sufficient conditions for the successful passage of the anti-domestic violence policy in Lagos State.

Rather we recast the hypothesis into a fact that:

The WRBNGOs advocacy strategies and the presence of a female legislator in the LSHA are necessary conditions for the successful passage of the anti-domestic violence policy in Lagos State. While the participant political culture of legislators is a sufficient condition for the

successful passage of the anti-domestic violence policy in Lagos State.

5.2 Conclusion

In a number of specific ways the present study has made a contribution and extended the frontiers of knowledge in the study of violence against women in the private sphere. From the review of extant literature on domestic violence in this study, the need for more political studies with a qualitative methodological focus on the advocacy role of WRBNGOs became apparent. Locating the political and qualitative gap in the study of domestic violence advocacy has been the most cogent contribution of this thesis to knowledge. The adoption of an overtly qualitative research design has also allowed for an in-depth understanding of the individual voices, contexts, and experiences of victimization undergone by the victims and the unique strategies with which they used to combat the violence. This adoption of a qualitative research design is in contrast to existing quantitative studies which have decontextualized the victim's experiences into numerical figures as mentioned in chapter three of this study. Before now, it was as if the political and qualitative approach had been bypassed or even foreclosed.

Given this gap in the literature, we explored the political perspective by undertaking a close political analysis of the advocacy work or role of WRBNGOs in relation to domestic violence in Lagos State. To do this we substituted Almond & Verba's (1963: 14-15) aforementioned analytic of the "political" to this study. We examined the flow of the demands for the "political" or (input) by the structures (WRBNGOs) in the decision making process of the political system (Lagos state).

Furthering Almond's and Verba's (1963: 14-15) analytic, we examined the structures' (WRBNGOs) political interactions with the political decision making processes such as the legislators in the LSHA, within the political system (Lagos state). We found that this enabled the WRBNGOs to gain free and equal access and recognition of their demands vizaviz domestic violence in the decision making process of Lagos state. This is because the WRBNGOs were able to convert their (political/input) demand that the state be sensitive to the victim's plight into an authoritative policy. In other words this present study examined the WRBNGOs human rights role in the lives of abused female citizens and their roles in the

policy making process of the domestic violence policy /law of Lagos state. It addressed the WRBNGOs political interactions highlighted in their advocacy strategies of fostering political participation, ensuring the human security of abused female citizens, political education, political awareness, political trust and political consciousness.

In particular, through its study of the human rights advocacy strategies of the WRBNGOs in the lives of the victims we observed and contrasted the advocacy strategies of the victims and WRBNGOs in Lagos state. The most striking key finding in the category of the human rights advocacy role of the WRBNGOs, was the WRBNGOs' identification of the need for the adoption of the problem focused strategies of economic empowerment and provision of shelter as intervening services to the other existing services of mediation and counselling, networking collaborations, education, as a combative strategy against domestic violence in the victims' lives. The combination of these services have been appraised by the victims as more helpful in the long term than the services of mediation and counselling, which are only helpful in the short term and the only services offered by the state institutions of Welfare and OPD. This contribution signifies that for future governmental interventions in aiding the victims in relation to their human rights problem focused strategies must be adopted to close the gap in service provisions. Identifying this key finding and constitutes one of the primary contributions of this study to knowledge.

In addition the WRBNGOs political advocacy's adoption of a step by step view of the making of the domestic violence policy in Lagos State has allowed us a more processual understanding of the important advocacy role that the WRBNGOs play in sensitizing state institutions to the victims' plight. For instance we now have a more nuanced view of how the WRBNGOs sensitized the police and legislators through antidomestic violence trainings while advocating for an antidomestic violence policy. Their interactions with the Welfare office have enabled us to realise that there are gaps in provisions for the victims who need long term solutions rather than short term solutions. This step by step view of the WRBNGOs political advocacy role has also enabled us to have a more enlightened view of the female legislator's presence and the WRBNGOs role in the agenda setting stage and the WRBNGOs role in all the stages of the policy process as necessary causal conditions for the making of a domestic violence policy. Similarly it has enabled us to identify that political culture is a constant, a sufficient reason for the passage of a domestic violence law in most states in

Nigeria. This implies that though there could be different combinations of necessary and relevant causal conditions for the outcome/ passage of a domestic violence law in Nigeria but political culture would always remain a constant to be considered for the bill to be signed into law. This significantly contributes a formula that should the remaining cosmopolitan states like Lagos, within the 32 states in the Federation or the Federation itself, seek to adopt domestic violence policies, the political culture of the legislators must be worked on to achieve the consent of two thirds majority of the legislators to achieve a positive outcome.

Finally and collectively these findings have enabled us to place the advocacy role of the WRBNGOs in combating domestic violence in Lagos State as one that has initiated social change through the adoption of a hybrid of the African and Western criminal and restorative justice strategies. Basically, these hybrid is a combination of social strategies and political strategies. The social strategies have been shelter, economic empowerment and general victim welfare mediation and counselling while the political strategies include lobbying of legislators, to engage them in political participation, sensitization of the public through media, education and the public hearing. Identifying this key finding of the hybridity of criminal restorative and African justice strategies constitutes a major contributions of this study to Knowledge. By it we can recognise that African mediation strategies which includes traditional forms of conflict resolution can also be intertwined with western criminal and restorative strategies.

5.3 Recommendations

The present chapter has provided thought provoking insights, which have opened up stimulating considerations on the implications of the study for further research based on our research findings in conjunction with previous research and the social movement theory. Here in this chapter, despite the limitations of the current study, these implications and recommendations are highlighted.

Recommendations for the Policy and Practice of the Domestic Violence Law

1. A key finding in this study revealed that services in the form of shelter/housing, emotional support in the form of mediation and counselling, and empowerment in the form of skills acquisition education, and job placements were crucial in determining if a victim would become a positive survivor of abuse. The simultaneous provision of shelter and economic empowerment should therefore be important issues which the government, domestic violence advocates in Lagos State in particular and Nigeria as a whole need to address in aiding the victims of domestic violence.
2. Findings also indicate, the fact that concerned state institutions such as the Welfare and OPD do not make referrals to the WRBNGOs when their clients need shelter or economic empowerment. Even though the WRBNGOs in Lagos State collaborate and network amongst themselves and other state institutions such as the welfare and police. These findings highlighted a distinct lack of co-ordination between concerned governmental organisations and the WRBNGOs indicating the need for an emphasis on the practice of collaboration with each other. Considering the fact that 32% of victims sought assistance at the welfare office and OPD. There is therefore a need for the state to collaborate with the WRBNGOs, to extend the service delivery of the welfare office and the Office of the Public Defender to include shelter provision and economic empowerment. These collaborations should include training of police officers and welfare workers and the willingness on the part of the government to reduce poverty and increase access to shelters provisions which were not hitherto largely in place in the government institutions. The implication of these findings for the policy and practice of the domestic violence law is the need for the state to allocate funds and to mobilize concerned state institutions to exercise sufficient political will to enforce the law in Lagos State and throughout the Federation. This implies that in practice the police and welfare officers need to be trained so as to be sensitive to the plight of domestic violence victims. The government also needs to set up shelters for domestic violence victims. Data generated from the staff of the Lagos State Ministry of Women's Affairs indicated that "scarce human and fiscal resources made it imperative for the ministry not to work closely with the WRBNGOs on empowering victims cooperate with women's movement organizations to pursue domestic violence victim empowerment.

Therefore the government should also extend the funds of the Ministry of Women Affairs to include empowerment bursaries for domestic violence victims.

3. Since findings indicate that Economic violence is on the increase with 53% (33) of the male perpetrator husbands/intimates being underemployed and 47% of the victims' partners (29.14) unemployed; the government is urged to create more job opportunities for men within the political system in order to decrease the frustration leading to violence against women from men.
4. At present the trajectory of antidomestic violence policymaking is unique to individual states taking the initiative to enact laws in Nigeria. As no national law against domestic violence currently exists. In light of this we believe our results would be useful to WRBNGOs and legislators as it may help produce positive domestic violence policy outcomes in the remaining cosmopolitan states like Lagos within the remaining 32 states in the Nigerian Federation.

Recommendations for future research

This study has raised a number of interesting issues which are not currently well researched and that may benefit from further study. They are as follows:

- 1) The study did not set out to address the impact of the implementation of the domestic violence policy in Lagos state or even answer the narrower question of the effectiveness of the domestic violence policy in reducing violence. Because at the onset no domestic violence policy existed. Rather, the primary purposes of the study were to identify the strategies, predict the outcome and the engagements of the WRBNGOs advocacy role in combating domestic violence in Lagos state in particular as it entails the victims' human rights, policy formulation and policy passage. Positive policy outcomes range from the state's acceptance of demands, setting the demand as issues on the policy agenda to adopting the policies and finally implementing them (Burstein et al. 1995: 283-5). In lieu of this and the fact that an antidomestic violence bill has been passed into law in Lagos State the formulation and passage of the bill into policy now creates proclivities for further research in the area of the impact of implementation and effectiveness of the policy. For instance what practical impact would the governmental

implementation of this policy have in addressing the needs and interests of domestic violence victims viz aviz their empowerment and shelter needs.

- 2) Continuing in the same vein, as the WRBNGOs advocates create alliances with government officials, including welfare office, police, and legislators, they must maintain their autonomy, and critical perspectives. This way, they will be able to continue being objective and responsive to the needs of domestic violence victims.
- 3) There is Need for More Research on Cultural/Indigenous Mediation on Domestic Violence in Nigeria. In this study, the WRBNGOs adopted cultural mediation as part of their strategy of mediation and counselling and indigenous cultural mediation proved to be an initial form of response much sought by 29% of the victims in this study as a form of intervention than legal means. Furthermore since:

one cannot assume the social organization of one culture (the dominant West included) as universal or the interpretations of the experiences of one culture as explaining another one. (Oyewumi 2003.

So also we cannot assume that only Western criminal justice advocacy or Western restorative justice advocacy are the only means of advocacy for domestic violence victims in Nigeria. Research has shown that advocating for victims of domestic violence with cultural forms of mediation indigenous to them are more culturally effective and relevant for the victim. There is therefore a need to better understand and develop the interventional initiatives that indigenous cultural mediation offers to domestic violence victims in Lagos State and Nigeria.

- 4) The need for more research on Religious/Spiritual mediation in Nigeria
In a similar vein as the need for indigenous cultural mediation, there is also need for more research into religious /spiritual mediation. Since it was also one of the first ports of call for victims, there is need for mandatory gender violence sensitization trainings for Pastors and Imams and traditionalists because they happen to be the ones whom the victims of domestic violence approach first.
- 5) The need to develop the WRBNGOs' publicity strategies

The findings in this study revealed the abused female citizens' unawareness of the existence of the WRBNGOs and hence their inapproachability of the WRBNGOs. This finding has reinforced the need to conduct further research to address the publicity

strategies of the WRBNGOs. As this finding, indicates a mis-communication in the WRBNGOs political communication to the victims. Research has proven that working to prevent violence before it starts must be a priority as it has proven to be a powerful potential (Heise, 1996; Pickup et al, 2001; Krug et al., 2002; UNAIDS et al., 2000; Garcia Moreno et al, 2005).

In light of these findings, educational publicity strategies focused on transforming societal attitudes and beliefs surrounding domestic violence would be an important means of intervention, so that such behaviour of violence against women would no longer be considered acceptable.

The government should also fund and implement outreach and educational campaigns to address the underlying social and cultural attitudes that discriminate against women and that facilitate and perpetuate violence against them. These campaigns should promote zero tolerance for violence against women, remove the stigma from women victims of violence, and encourage victims to seek prompt and effective redress. The campaigns should include community leaders, local government chairmen, politicians, the media and civil society bodies. The campaigns could take place in schools, adult education facilities, citizens' forums, workplaces, through web pages, open lectures and debates.

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Appendix 1: In-depth interview Guide for the WRBNGOs

Section A

Please introduce yourself and your occupational designation in this WRBNGO.

When was this WRBNGOs formed?

Section B

What is your WRBNGOs definition of domestic violence?

Has this WRBNGO had any collaborations, engagements or contestations with the state on domestic violence issues?

What is this WRBNGO doing to make the state police, judiciary, legislators, medical welfare, legislators accountable to combat domestic violence? Please cite examples.

Have you had women who have been battered come to report such incidences? If yes what are the incidences? or cite examples please.

What is the frequency at which victim clients come to report?

What are the common reasons the parties give in reporting domestic violence?

What has your WRBNGO done on behalf of the abused female citizens?

What was your WRBNGO's response? Intervention, prevention, litigation mediation advocacy campaigns? What exactly do you do?

Were the victims satisfied with your response?

Did this response curb or reduce the rate of domestic violence?

Have there been parties who preferred legal settlement? If yes give examples no need to mention names.

Did your organization institute legal proceedings on their behalf? Or did they refer to state lawyers?

What is the frequency at which victim clients come to report?

Why is your WRBNGO helping abused female citizens?

What sort of services and strategies have you adopted to help abused female citizens.

Section C

What problems have this WRBNGO encountered in its efforts to combat domestic violence?

Probe for problems:

Give specific examples of these problems with the legislators, with the family of victim clients, with the victim clients themselves, state enforcement agencies, police, welfare, medical officers, lawyers?

How did this WRBNGO counter these problems?

What solutions or policy strategies do you think would best curb domestic violence in Nigeria, particularly in Lagos state?

Who are your donors? What kinds of projects do these your donors fund and why do you think they fund them?

Appendix 2: In-depth interview Guide for the Victims

Section A: Bio Data

Sex of respondent

Age at last birthday

Year of Birth

Religious Affiliation

Educational level

What is your occupation?

What is your marital status?

If married how long have you been married?

What is your partner's occupation?

Where is your permanent residence?

Where and with whom are you living presently?

Section B: Domestic violence Experience

Probe For: The respondent's life experiential history of domestic violence.

What sort of domestic violence abuse have you suffered from/? Is it battering, economic, verbal abuse or acid bathe? What exactly?

What sort of relationship do you have with the perpetrator?

When did it start? Was it before or after you got married? How many years into your

relationship did it start?

Who inflicts the violence/your spouse, boyfriend, inlaws, your family, landlord or neighbours? Who exactly?

Why do you think the person does it? To assert authority? Is it because he has no money to give you for household upkeep? Are you troublesome or nagging? Does he drink? Does he keep girlfriends? Why?

Has he done it once or frequently? Once a week? Fortnightly?

Are you living with the perpetrator presently?

If not why?

If you had your way would you still desire to live with the perpetrator?

If you had your way what sought of punishment would you like to be meted out to the perpetrator?

Describe how the abusive incident(s) have affected your current physical or emotional health.

Has it reduced any changes in your relationships, living situation, or working situation?

Do you think the government owes you an obligation to prevent you from experiencing this form of violence as a law abiding citizen?

Did you seek Welfare assistance?

Did you visit a doctor to treat the wounds, a private or a government Doctor?

Did you report him at the police station?

If you did what was their response?

If you did not why?

Were you satisfied?

Did you take any legal action? If yes why, if no why?

Did you get a lawyer to file divorce proceedings on your behalf?

Or did you seek to move out and have custody of the children?

If the government makes a law to jail the perpetrator would you prefer him to be jailed?

If not what would you like the government to do?

To Probe For:WRBNGO's intervention

What have this womens' rights based non-governmental organization done on your behalf to liase with the forces of state concerned police, medical, social welfare, judiciary, to make them accountable to your domestic violence experience?

To Probe For:

If yes, be specific give vivid examples of what the WRBNGO did on your behalf.

Why do you think the WRBNGO is assisting/assisted you?

To Probe for:

Their perception of the effectiveness of the services and strategies which the WRBNGO employ in combating domestic violence.

How did you learn about this WRBNGO?

What was your initial reaction to the violence? Did you keep quiet about it/ did you tell any friends/neighbours, pastors, or did you just accept it as a phase of marital life which would pass? When people asked you about how you got the wounds did you tell the truth about where you got them from? Or did you lie about it.?

What were the strategies you first of all employed before you sought assistance from this WRBNGo? What were your coping strategies? getting home late, avoiding the person, denying him sex? assistance? spiritual help? Remarriage? Extramarital affairs? did you pack out? if you packed out where did you move to?

Did those responsal strategies work?

If not, why do you think they did not?

What sort of service did the WRBNGO provide for you when you were battered?

Were you satisfied with this service?

Did it stop you from being molested?

Would you rate their services and strategies as effective or not?

If yes why?

If not why?

What sort of services or strategies would you further recommend that this WRBNGO provide apart from those already on ground?

Appendix 3: In-depth interview Guide for a cross section of Lagos Men

Please introduce yourself and what do you do for a living?

Do you know anyone who batters his intimate?

What is your opinion on Domestic violence?

Have you heard that the bill for a law against domestic violence?

Do you consent for the legislators in the Lagos State House of Assembly to pass the bill into law.

Appendix 4: In-depth interview Guide for the Police Officers

Section A

Please introduce yourself and your occupational designation in this Police Station.

Section B

What is your Police Station's definition of domestic violence?

Has this Police Station had any collaborations, engagements or contestations with WRBNGOs in Lagos state on domestic violence victim's issues?

If so what sort of collaborations, engagements or contestations have you engaged in with WRBNGOs in Lagos state on domestic violence victim's issues? Please cite examples.

Have you had women, who have been battered come to report such incidences at this station?

If yes what are the incidencies? or cite examples please. What is the frequency at which victim clients come to report?

What are the common reasons the parties give in reporting domestic violence?

What has your Police station done on behalf of the abused female citizens.

Were the victims satisfied with your response?

Did this response curb or reduce the rate of domestic violence?

Have there been parties who preferred legal settlement? If yes give examples no need to mention names.

What solutions or policy strategies do you think would best curb domestic violence in Nigeria, particularly in Lagos state?

Appendix 5: In-depth interview Guide for LSHA legislators

Please introduce yourself, your official role in the LSHA and what local government do you represent in Lagos State.

What is your own opinion about domestic violence?

Do you support that the bill for a law against domestic violence in Lagos State ought to be signed?

If yes why? If no, why?

Appendix 6: Questionnaire for LSHA Civil servants

Do you think Honourable Funmi Tejuosho is too assertive in her campaign for the antidomestic violence bill to be signed into law? Yes? or No?.

Do you think her assertiveness is an impediment in getting the bill passed into law by her male legislator contemporaries? Yes? or No?

Appendix 7: Photographs of a cross section of respondents in figures. Please note the figures are continued in serial numbers from the figures in chapter 4 of this study



Figure 9: A Photograph of an Honorary Plaque Received by GADA on their Efforts to Prevent Violence Against Women



Figure 10: Researcher at point of Entry into GADA for enquiries (10/3/2006)



Figure 11: Researcher Interviewing GADA Director, Agina Ude (5/3/2006)



Figure 12: Researcher's Interview at LEDAP with Chinwe Onyeukwu LEDAP's Project

officer (4/6/2006)



Figure 13: Researcher at LEDAP with LEDAP's staff (4/6/2006)



Figure 14: Researcher at the point of entry into Project Alert for enquiries (8/8/2006)



Figure 15: Researcher's Interview with Project Alert Director, Mrs. Josephine Effah-Chukwuma (8/8/2006)



Figure 16: Researcher's Photograph with Project Alert's Staff (8/8/2006)

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Figure 17: Researcher's Interview with Mrs. Grace Awuto (WARDC) Project Officer (16/8/2006)



Figure 18: Researcher's Photograph with WARDC staff (16/8/2006)

Below are photographs of some victims



Figure 19: Victim A



Figure 20: Victim B

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Figure 21: Victim C

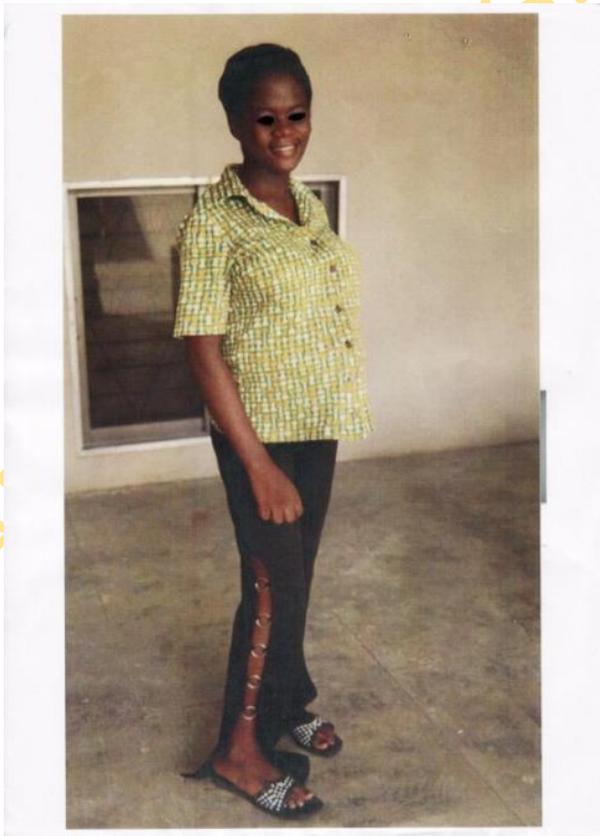


Figure 22: Victim D



Figure 23: Researcher's interview with Mrs. Bisi Akinlade Director, OPD (15/9/2006)



Figure 24: From left, Photograph of an OPD lawyer Mrs. Akinlosotu, the daughter of a victim who was helped to receive alimony for her child, the victim herself and Mr. Sesan, A Welfare Officer (17/8/2006)



Figure 25: Photograph of OPD staff, Mr. Sesan, a welfare officer and a victim helped to gain custody for her baby and Mrs. Akinlosotu OPD lawyer (17/8/2006)



Figure 26: Researcher at point of entry for enquiries at the Human Rights Desk of Ilupeju Police Station (4/7/2006)



Figure 27: Researcher at point of entry for enquiries at the Office of Human rights Desk Area F Ikeja Command, Ikeja Lagos (5/7/2006)



Figure 28a: Focus Group Discussion with police officers of the Ikeja Division at Lagos Airport Hotel, the director of Project Alert Effah Chukwma in green and members of the police force (4/7/2006)



Figure 28b: Focus Group Discussion with police officers of the Ikeja Division at Lagos Airport Hotel (4/7/2006)



Figure 28c: Focus Group Discussion with police officers of the Ikeja Division at Lagos Airport Hotel Commander, Habila Joshak, the Commander Area F Command, Ikeja is speaking during the discussion, while the researcher and other police officers listen to his discourse (4/7/2006)



Figure 28d: Focus Group Discussion with Police Officers of the Ilupeju Division (4/7/2006)



Figure 29: Researcher's Interview with Honorable Chief Mrs. Funmimi Tejuosho Smith (April 2006)

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Figure 30: Researcher's Interview with Clerk of the House of LSHA Mr. Rasheed O. Jaiyesimi (23/6/2006)



Figure 31: Researcher's interview with Honorable Adelabu Adewunmi Onibiyo representing Alimosho 1 Constituency (12/6/2006)



Figure 32: Researcher with Honourables Badmus, Honourable Tejuosho, Researcher and Lagos Market women who attended the Public hearing of the Bill (April 2006)

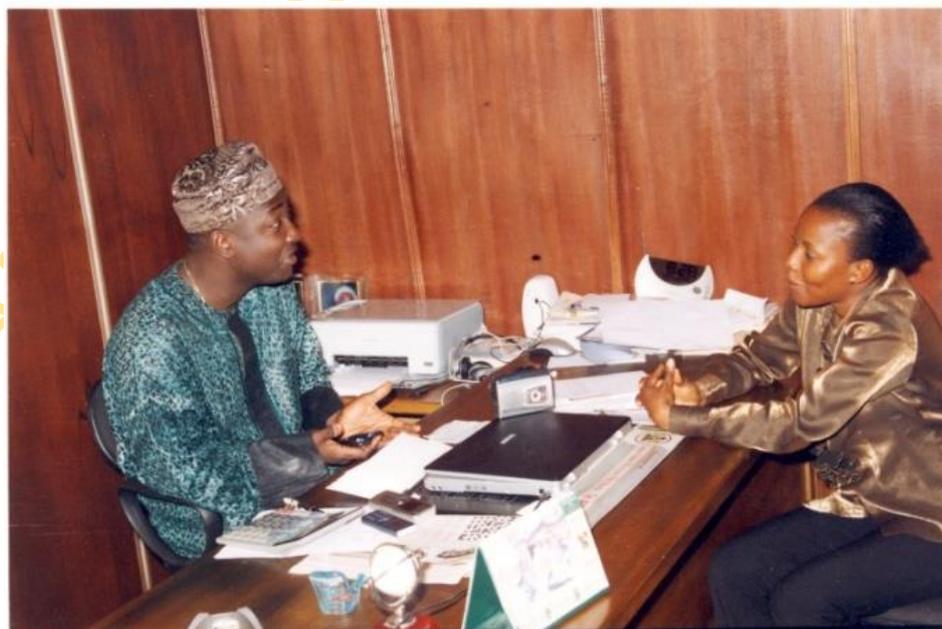


Figure 33: Researcher's Interview with Honourable Oyewo Babatunde representing Amuwo Odofin Constituency I (13/6/2006)



Figure 34: Researcher's Interview with Honorable Obasa Ajayi representing Agege constituency I (16/6/2006)

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Figure 35: Researcher's interview Honorable Ajose Julius (25/7/2006)



Figure 36: Researcher's interview with the Speaker of the House, Rt. Honourable Adeyemi Ikuforiji (9/9/2006)



Figure 37: Researcher's interview with Honorable Adebayo Odulana, representing Ikeja II Constituency (11/8/2006)

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Figure 38: Researcher's interview with Honorable Olujobi Badmus, representing Amuwo Odofin Constituency II (April 2006)

Appendix 8: Correlations between Victims strategies and NGOs strategies

One-way ANOVA: NGOs strategies, Victims strategies

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Factor	1	235.81	235.81	113.66	0.000
Error	122	253.11	2.07		
Total	123	488.93			

S = 1.440 R-Sq = 48.23% R-Sq(adj) = 47.81%

Individual 95% CIs For Mean Based on Pooled StDev

Level	N	Mean	StDev	-----+-----+-----+-----+-
NGOs strategies	62	2.597	0.966	(---*---)
Victims strategies	62	5.355	1.793	(---*--)

-----+-----+-----+-----+-

