Cultural Violence and the Nigerian Woman

(Pp. 369-381)

Arisi, Regina. O. - Department of Social Science Education, Faculty of
Education, Delta State University Abraka
E-mail: regina_arisi@yahoo.com
Tel: +2347035687119

&

Oromareghake, Patrick - Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social
Sciences, Delta State University Abraka
E-mail: **oromareghake@yahoo.ca**
Tel: +2348037427124

Abstract
*This paper highlights the cultural factors responsible for and negative effects
of cultural violence against women in Nigeria and makes a case for raising
public consciousness against it. Violence against Women or Gender-Based
Violence is an age long psychological and social issue deep-rooted in
Nigerian societies and African countries in general. In some societies,
cultural practices, norms and beliefs fuel the behaviors and relegate
woman to second class status. Some practices and gender role assignments
ensure total submission of the woman to male dominance and control at
home in ways that perpetuate gender inequality. The data for this paper were
derived from the primary and secondary sources and both descriptive and
analytical methods were used to assess the impact of cultural violence on
women. The study demonstrates that there cultural violence against women
manifested in all levels of socio-cultural, economic, and political status
of women in Nigeria irrespective of class, education or profession. The paper*

reveal that in Nigeria, gender preference culturally favours the male child to continue the family name, entitles him to land and property ownership, to visit and talk with the elders where older women only cook and serve the men at family or community meetings.

Introduction

Nigerian women have suffered various forms of gender-induced violence from pre-colonial, through the colonial era and afterwards. Not even civilisation and western education has changed most men's perception of the Nigerian woman as someone who deserves some respect and dignity. Here, women are still regarded as a variety of humanity inferior to the menfolk and are therefore treated in manners undeserving of human beings. In Nigeria and Africa generally, women are considered as tools to be used by men. They are regarded as objects to be used for pleasure, temptation and elimination. In Nigeria, a man will beat his wife and nothing will happen, instead they will expect her to go on her knees and beg him.

Cultural violence against the woman and the female gender is an ubiquitous plague that has continually beleaguered societies in Nigeria and Africa in general. The governments have come up with specious and spurious policies that camouflage protection for women, yet fall short of achieving this objective. Majority of women in Nigeria and Africa in general suffers one form of violence or another. Often, this violence takes physical and/or psychological forms. Together with emotional violence which assumes a universal applicability. It is disturbing; indeed, melancholic that women have unfortunately and helplessly come to accept these mistreatments as the norm rather than the exception. Most of these women are raised in the belief that their identity is subsumed or attached to the man's and that they can't have dignity of their own.

This fallacious belief is rooted in most African cultures and the African women born and raised in these disquieting cultures know nothing other than the system and way of life they are used to. They, thus, are blind to the aberrations of these cultures. It is commonly argued in sociology that no culture is vice and none would promote evil or antisocial behaviors. Yet, the distinction between good and evil is in most cases is subject to the understanding and reality of the party making such distinction and dependant on several variables. Certain cultures in Nigeria are repugnant to natural justice. For example the Ikwerre culture of Rivers State requires that if a woman must inherit her father's property, she has to remain single i.e.

unmarried. The very moment an Ikwerre woman marries, she forfeits her right to any inheritance. On the contrary, men may marry as many wives as they wish and yet inherit their father's.

In the Tiv culture of Benue State, men offer their wives to august visitors sleeping over in the man's house in demonstration of the host's regard for such friend or visitor. The wife that is offered usually does not have any prerogative on the issue other than to make sure she satisfies the visitor in bed that night. Rather than spite such culture, married women look forward to the visit of strong, macho, and herculean men especially, wives married to men with diminishing strength. This is a typical example of a weird culture a people have come to accept.

In Benin, families pride on sending their daughter abroad for commercial sex. The female trafficking industry in Nigeria has gained so much traction and is now a multimillion naira business. In some cultures, women are made to drink the water used in washing the corpse of their deceased husbands to determine if the wife had a hand in the death of the husband. In most cases, the women are forced to drink the corpse water.

Domestic violence is not construed a crime, and women of all cultures in Africa suffer this form of violence in marriage commonly. And it is only the women that knows and feels the excruciating pain she goes through in a violent marriage. Every moment of such marriage equals the pain in a labour room. So, as long as the woman remains in the marriage, she feels a pain, maybe psychological and, sometimes, physical, that equates with the pain of child-bearing labour. It usually is more terrible than words can describe. These forms of violence against women go on in Nigeria, indeed, Africa and the governments treat them with levity. Women suffer in silence and go into all manners of depression.

Violence against women is a crime that should carry stiff penalty. This issue has led to the death of many women, some were maimed for live. We live in a male-dominated society. It is not a Nigerian thing; it is all over the world. Women are being violated daily in the offices, homes and every social place. Some women don't even know that they are being violated; they just accept it as part of their existence, which is not true. There are various legislations against this form of violence but many people do not know. The Nigerian penal and criminal code penalises rape, assault and other forms of abuse, but they are hardly reported. The penal code gives men the permission to violet their wives. You should also know that the civil law entitles females to

limited ownership rights. In some cultures only men have the right to own properties.

Domestic violence is prevalent in marriages and intimate relations. According to demographic and health survey, 64.3 per cent of Nigerian women consider it normal to be beaten by their husbands. Girls below the age of 18 are also being abused; but unfortunately, most of these cases are not reported because of the fear of stigmatisation. There is every need to put a stop to this violence against women, but unfortunately, African culture and our laws in Nigeria make it difficult, as the society appears to be more favourable to men. However, every effort must be made to stop this unacceptable act.

Cultural Violence and Women in Nigeria
One of the key issues addressed at the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing was the elimination of violence against women (United Nations, 1996: 112-113). Violence affects the lives of millions of women worldwide, irrespective of their socio-economic status. It cuts across ethnic, cultural and religious barriers, impeding the rights of women to participate fully in the society (de Bruyn, 2002; 3:14-15). The urgency of addressing this global problem is tragically illustrated by the treatment of women in conflict or crisis situations, where various forms of harassment, intimidation, rape and forced pregnancies are being used as instruments of war, especially by the opposing forces or the supposed peacekeepers (Heise, Raikes, Watts and Zwi, 1994: 65-79; Molloy, 2000; Schreck, 2000: 162-166; Girard and Waldman, 2000: 167-173; Nordstrom, 2001). The recent incident in the Darfur region of Sudan, where women were violently abused both physically and sexually and some killed is typical (Refugees International, 2004). However, it is not only in times of war that women are vulnerable to abuse. Throughout the world, women suffer untold violence in the family, at work and in the wider community, while the perpetrators include individuals and the state apparatus. Women worldwide remain vulnerable to life-threatening conditions and abuse of physical and psychological integrity (Rath, Jarratt and Leonardson, 1989: 227-233). Although violence against women is highly under-reported, its prevalence is high in many cultural settings both in the developed and developing countries (Odimegwu, 2001: 16-21; and Foster, 2002: 3-4). For instance, studies indicate that 10-58% of women have experienced physical abuse by an intimate partner in their lifetime (Brinkerhoff, Grandin and Luupri, 1992: 15-31). Furthermore, cross-sectional studies show that 40% of women in South Africa, 28% in Tanzania and 7%

in New Zealand reported that their first sexual intercourse was forced (Heise, 1999).

Violence against women is evident in many forms, including domestic, verbal and physical abuse, rape and sexual assault, early and forced marriages, incest and female genital cutting. In most societies, physical abuse is often considered an acceptable behaviour, and where it is frowned at, women are often blamed for inciting men to engage in it (Idimegwu, Ibid, Watt and Zimmerman, 2002: 1232-1237; Kiragu, 1995; Finkler, 1997: 1147-1160). For example, among the Luhya community in western Kenya and Tiv-speaking people of Nigeria, wife beating is even regarded as a sign of love, which women have been socialised to accept and sometimes encourage it (Idimegwu, Ibid; Foster, 2002). Violence against women by male partners is widely condoned by many Nigerian societies, where the belief that a husband may chastise his wife by beating her is deeply embedded in the culture (Odujinrin, 1993; Okemgbo, Omideyi and Odimegwu, 2002: 101-114; Ilika, Okonkwo and Adogu, 2002: 53-58). Traditional attitudes regarding the subordination of women exacerbate problems of sexual and domestic violence (Ondicho, 2000: 35-44). Therefore, violence against women provides one of the most obvious illustrations of the low position and status that women are accorded in many cultures in Nigeria.

In sub-Saharan Africa, a number of socio-economic and demographic factors are significant correlates of violence against women (Odujinrin, Ibib; Okemgbo, Omideyi and Odimegwu, Ibid; Ilika, Okonkwo and Adogu, Ibid; Jewkes, Levin and Penn-Kekana, 2002: 1603-1617). The social context of violence against women in Nigeria is related to the traditional African patriarchal society that defines the gender power structure. For instance, upon marriage a woman surrenders to her husband exclusive sexual rights and obedience. This invariably gives her husband the liberty to violate and batter her if he feels that she has not adequately fulfilled her obligations, or for any other reason. Where the socio-cultural context of domestic violence is largely dependent on the gender power relation, men are always right; they always win in any case against their wives; the female relatives of a man are usually the first to accuse the woman and find her guilty irrespective of obvious signs of physical abuse (Johnson, 1997: 2-3).

Despite the fact that violence against women is a daily, occurrence, both in the public and private spheres, it is often rendered invisible, unrecognised and at best trivialized (Odimengwu, Ibid; Ondicho, 2000: 35-44). For many

years in Nigeria, violence against women received very little or no attention, with the silence engulfing it being used as a weapon in further perpetrating the act. However, since the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (CEDAW) (United Nations, 1989, 1997: 143), attempts have been made by government, non-governmental organisations and other stakeholders in Nigeria to address the powerful cultural, traditional and religious forces that have hitherto hindered the elimination of domestic and sexual violence. However, these programmes may be hampered without a good understanding of people's attitudes and perceptions toward violence against women, and the underlying cultural underpinning of the practice. Domestic Violence should not happen to anyone, in any place or at any time but it does. It is a relational vice that is endemic across all societies within and outside the continent of Africa.

It is generally a form of maltreatment that threatens the safety and health of the abused. There is a long standing awareness of this physical and emotional violence by the Nigerian law makers, given the cries that have come out from the Nigerian based social science scholars and various advocacy groups. But for decades and decades no active stance, inform of swift legal and behavioral education have accompanied these calls as they relate to domestic family abuse.

A tradition of battering as it relates to relational aggression towards a current wife, an estranged spouse, an ex- wife, a child, or a house-help (house-boy/house-girl) remains a reality in Nigeria. As a result many victims have wallowed in complete silence.

The case of a Nigerian Monarch (the embattled Deji of Akure) ushered in a new era of awareness of domestic abuse, especially spousal abuse; this opens the road to protection and justice on the matter of Domestic Violence. In any human tradition, including all the multiple cultures and traditions across Nigeria, the sight of Mrs. Olori Bolande Adesina, with apparent blistered skin from a chemical substance and the reported marks of physical brutality through public flogging, ought to alarm every Nigerian locality. These brutal acts of domestic violence allegedly came through her husband, the recently deposed and disgraced King of Akure, Oluwadare Adepoju Adesina, the Osupa 111. At time of this grave abuse, the king was reportedly having his contingency of police guard around him. And initially, the police reportedly saw the matter as a private affair between husband and wife; a mentality that is all too common and deeply ingrained in the psyche of many of the people.

Across the country one of three women reportedly is a victim of domestic violence usually from a Husband, Boyfriend or Partner. Police reports of abuse remain scant, and lacked adequate follow up. And there is little or no forceful police documentation, prosecution or judicial actions on matters of domestic abuse. This is so as the cultural, social, religious and familiar perceptions of the people sometimes see this type of maltreatment as nothing short of an act of correcting a 'bad' wife or an unbearable woman. Acts of the so called corrective measures include slaps, whips, punches, kicking, and forced sex, forced ejection and other spousal violent acts. These so called acts of correction usually occur within the context of residences, workplaces, barracks, markets, in-laws' homes, motor parks, and other settings.

As a cultural reality, domestic abuse/violence against women is characteristic of a man, and finds comfort among all kinds of male partners, from the poor, rich, illiterate, educated, to the very royal man. In the same vein, the female victim takes comfort in silence, in passivity, fear and in being dependent on the abuser financially, and residentially. In the same manner, the victim reliantly remains in the home for the sake of the children.

Ethnicity is an important proxy of cultural factors affecting cultural violence, since it encompasses values and norms that govern the behavioural and psychological levels of women's participation in decision-making and power relation within households and at community levels. It may also reflect openness to the influences and/or adherence to other cultures due to interactions from different areas and/or regions. Culture can also affect domestic violence indirectly through education and modernisation. With more than 389 ethnic groups (Otite, 2000: 1-242) in Nigeria, ethnic differentials are critical in explaining cultural differences, interpersonal relationship, communication and conflict resolution mechanism. The heterogeneity of ethnic groups in Nigeria also implies that social change takes place at different pace and in a non-uniform manner. For this paper, ethnic affiliation of the respondents will serve as a proxy for culture and the ethnic groups will be regrouped into six categories based on the numerical strength and affinity. The ethnic sub-divisions used were Hausa/Fulani, Igbo, Yoruba, northern minorities, southern minorities and others (which include nationals of other countries). The northern and southern minorities comprise numerous smaller ethnic groups in the north and south respectively, whose sample size was too small to stand alone in the analysis. It was assumed that ethnic affiliation would reflect fundamental beliefs in religion or customs of the people, though it is difficult to measure.

Studies have observed some variation in the level and type of violence experienced by married and unmarried women (Idimegwu, Ibid; Odujinrin, Ibid). It is therefore instructive to further examine the perceptions of Nigerian women on domestic violence with respect to their marital status. Marriage in the African context confers additional status and burden on women. In most cultures, however, a married woman is expected to be submissive not only to her husband but also to the man's relatives, whether males or females. It is believed that focusing on all women would conceal major differences in the perception of domestic violence between those who were married (currently or previously) and their single or never married counterparts. Hence, the subsequent analysis was disaggregated by the marital status of respondents. It was hypothesised here that married women are more likely to agree that a husband is justified for beating his wife than those who were single. Thus, perceptions on wife beating are examined with respect to marital status under varying social environments, economic circumstances, cultural and religious affiliation.

Ethnic affiliation effects the perception on women of domestic violence. Ethnic effect occurs through the levels of resources that women control, which influences relationships between husband and wife as well as the prevailing power relations. In Nigeria, all ethnic groups have a strong patriarchal structure, but the Hausa/Fulani and northern minorities are more gender restrictive (Kritz and Makinwa- Adebusoye, 2006). The results show that respondents of the Hausa/Fulani ethnic group and other northern minority ethnic groups were more supportive of wife beating than their counterparts of Igbo or Yoruba origin and southern minority ethnic groups. Furthermore, shows that Muslim women were more supportive of wife beating for any reason than their Christian counterparts. Other factors considered such as type of union and spousal age difference, confirmed the expected directions of relationship with domestic violence.

Domestic violence is deep-rooted in many African societies, including Nigeria, where wife beating is considered a prerogative of men (Idumengwu, Ibid; Ofie-Aboagye, 1994: 1-25) and a purely domestic matter by the society (Kirangu, Ibid; Rivera Izabel,1995: 43-45). Domestic violence is one of the greatest barriers to ending the subordination of women. Women, for fear of violence, are unable to refuse sex or negotiate safer sexual practices, thus increasing their vulnerability to HIV if their husbands are unfaithful (Watts, Ndlovu, Njovana and Keogh, 1997: 2-6). This paper examined the attitude and opinion of Nigerian women on the issue of wife abuse, particularly wife

beating. It is believed that this effort will facilitate the design of effective programmes to reduce violence against women both within and outside the home. Regrettably, societal perception of violence against women has led to crass abuse of women physically, emotionally and sexually in the process of performing their multiple roles as mothers, wives, workers and even lawmakers (Idimengwu, Ibid).

Conclusion

Domestic violence should be recognised as a criminal issue through the amendment of existing legal instruments and domestication of international treaties that deal with women violence. Such amendment should mandate the police to intervene in domestic quarrels, particularly between spouses. Other stakeholders should also be sensitised on the need to eliminate violence against women. For example, interest groups (religious, social, etc) should be educated, through their leaders, to appreciate the need for close conjugal relationship rather than the familiar male-dominant culture. Educational programmes should show, through research and training that religious doctrines do not support violence against women and they are not at variance with the principle of egalitarian societies.

To be sure, the high prevalence of violence against women remains a direct obstacle to women's participation in development projects. Even as women's involvement in development continues, as it is bound to happen, concern about problems caused by violence against them often diverts their energy from pursuing and achieving their goals. Hence, the success of efforts in integrating women in development depends in part on addressing the issue of violence against women. Countering violence against women does not only eliminate a major obstacle to the development of women, it also actively addresses women's realisation of their full potential.

Recommendations

The matter of domestic abuse remains more unsettling given the confusing marital laws as it relates to the matter of marriage, domestic relationships, and sexual age of young females with regard to marriage, in the customary and sharia based articles or laws of the Nigerian Constitution. As to the indigenous, communal, and cultural factors that continue to negatively impact domestic violence issues there are ways out of these experiences. What the Nigerian society needs is to create a non-Euro-American therapeutic system to the problem of domestic violence in Nigeria. Here are some ways out of this problem:

1. The removal of the affected woman from the home is culturally viewed as a disgrace on the entire family; as such the African wife prefers to remain with the husband.

2. The rescuing of the woman and the prosecution of the offending husband is not a top priority of the family as the woman is on a cultural level, seeking for non-independence, compared to the Euro-American culture, where the issue of independence remains a major option.

3. The affected woman is principally looking for the system to help the man, so he could gain some social skills, self-control skills and learn non-violence approach to dealing with frustrations.

4. Family and Communal influences as in the extended family members, trained community workers rather the government or the judicial System align better with the family psyche of marriage.

5. It is helpful to use certified and qualified Community psychologists, Community service Social Workers and Case Managers who are very familiar with the clients' tribal characteristics such as dialect, customs, attitudes and other related features. These workers' sole aim should be focused on working with an offender in the area of humanitarian treatment of women, and with the victim in order to reduce her fear, and restore some degree of comfort in the family or to the home.

6. In a life threatening case the system and law enforcers must be involved in matters of domestic abuse, violence and battery.

7. The use of positive –thinking male family members (e.g. the married ones) should serve as marital models to the batterer.

8. Therapies that emphasize non-individualism, group harmony, shared responsibility and positive supplication or spiritual wellness are essential.

9. African customs tend to view women as 'less than', as it relates to social and cultural status; this belief systems need to be adjusted to fit today's contemporary living especially now that women have equally become more exposed to their basic human rights.

References

Brinkerhoff MB, Grandin E and Lupri E. (1992), Religious involvement and spousal violence: the Canadian case. *J Sci Study Rel*; 31(1): 15-31.

Boulding (1977) 'Twelve friendly quarrels with Johan Galtung', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 16, No. 3, pp. 255-262.

Derriennic, J.-P. (1972) 'Theory and Ideologies of Violence', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (1972), pp. 361-374.

De Bruyn M.(2002), Violence related to pregnancy and abortion: a violation of human rights. *Sex Health Exch*; 3:14-15.

Finkler Kaja. (1997), Gender, domestic violence and sickness in Mexico. *Soc Sci Med*; 45(8): 1147-1160.

Foster LA. (2002), South African experiences in fighting domestic violence. *Sex Health Exch*; 3: 3-4.

Kiragu Jane. (1995), Policy review: HIV prevention and women's rights: working for one means working for both. *AIDS Captions*; 2(3): 40-46.

Galtung, J. (1969) 'Violence, Peace, and Peace Research', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (1969), pp. 167-191.

Galtung, J. (1971) 'Structural and Direct Violence', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (1971), pp. 73-76.

Galtung, J. (1996) *Peace by peaceful means : peace and conflict, development and civilization,* London: Sage.

Galtung, J. and Hoivik, T. (1990) 'Cultural Violence', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (1990), pp. 291-305.

Gapminder.org (2009) *Gapminder World* [Website], available from the World Wide Web :<http://graphs.gapminder.org/world/>.

Girard F and Waldman W. (2000), Ensuring the reproductive rights of refugees and internally displaced persons: legal and policy issues. Inter Fam Plann Persp; 26(4): 167-173.

Heise LL, Raikes A, Watts CH and Zwi AB. (1994), Violence against women: a neglected public health issue in less developed countries. *Soc Sci Med*; 39(9): 1165-79

Heise L, et al. (1999), Ending violence against women. *Pop Reports* Series L, No. 11. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University School of Public Health, Population Information Program, December.

Ilika AL, Okonkwo PI and Adogu P. (2002), Intimate partner violence among women of childbearing age in a primary health care centre in Nigeria. *Afr J Reprod Health*; 6(3): 53-58.

Isiugo-Abanihe U.C. (2003), *Male Role and Responsibility in Fertility and Reproductive Health in Nigeria.* Ibadan: Centre for Population Activities and Education for Development.

Jewkes R, Levin J and Penn-Kekana L. (2002), Risk factors for domestic violence: findings from a South African cross-sectional study. *Soc Sci Med*; 55(9): 1603-1617.

Johnson C. (1997), Domestic violence: the cost to society, the challenge to development. *Gender Action: Development Strategies for Sustainable Results*; 1(4): 2-3.

Kritz MM and P Makinwa-Adebusoye. (2006), Ethnicity, work and family as determinants of women's decision-making autonomy in Nigeria. Population and Development Program Working Paper Series No. 97.

Molloy J. (2000), Ending war against women. CRLP sponsors workshop on violence against women in situations of armed conflict during Beijing + 5 Regional Conference. R*eport Freedom News*; 9(3): 2.

National Population Commission (NPC) and ORC Macro. *Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey 2003*. Calverton: National Population Commission and ORC Macro, 2004.

Nordstrom C. (2001), Carita's war. *Development*; 44(3): 30-5.

Odimegwu Clifford O. (2001) Couple formation and domestic violence among the Tiv of Benue State, Nigeria. Paper presented at the International Colloquium Gender, Population and Develop-ment in Africa organised by UAPS, INED, ENSEA, IFORD, Abidjan 16-21 July.

Odujinrin O. (1993), Wife battering in Nigeria. *Inter J Gynecol Obstet*; 41(2): 159-164.

Ofie-Aboagye R.O. (1994), Domestic violence in Ghana: an initial step. *Colum J Gender Law*; 4(1): 1-25.

Okemgbo CN, Omideyi AK and Odimegwu CO. (2002), Prevalence, patterns and correlates of domestic violence in selected Igbo communities of Imo State, Nigeria. *Afr J Reprod Health*; 6(2): 101-114.

Ondicho TG. (2000), Battered women: a socio-legal perspective of their experiences in Nairobi. *Afri Study Monographs*; 21(1): 35-44.

Otite Onigu. (2000), *Ethnic Pluralism Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflicts in Nigeria.* Second edition. Shaneson CI Limited; 1-242.

Rath DG, Jarratt LG and Leonardson G. (1989), Rates of domestic violence against adult women by men partners. *J Am Bd Fam Prac*; 2: 227-233.

Refugees International. Visual mission: violence against women in Darfur, October 2004. http://www.refugeesinternational.org/content/report /detail/4329/

Reychler, L. and Jacobs, M. (2004) *Limits to violence,* Leuven: Centre for Peace Research and Strategic Studies.

Rivera Izabal LM. (1995), Women's legal knowledge: a case study of Mexican urban dwellers. *Gender Dev*; 3(2): 43-48.

Rousseau, J.-J. (1762) 'The social contract' in Rousseau, J.-J. and Cranston, M. W. (1968) *The social contract, Penguin classics,* Harmondsworth: Penguin, pp. 99-180.

Schreck Laurel. (2000),Turning point: a special report on the refugee reproductive health field. *Inter Fam Plann Persp*; 26(4): 162-166.

Soanes, C. and Hawker, S. (2008) *Compact Oxford English dictionary of current English,* Rev. 3rd ed.*,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

United Nations. The Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action, Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, China. UNDoc.DPI/1766/Wom.112-113. New York: United Nations, 1996.

United Nations. Department for Policy Coordina-tion and Sustainable Development. Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women [CEDAW] the work of CEDAW. Reports of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Volume IV: 1989. New York, New York, United Nations, 1997, xvi, 143 p.

Watts C, Ndlovu M, Njovana E and Keogh E.(1997), Women, violence and HIV / AIDS in Zimbabwe. *Safaids News*; 5(2): 2-6.

Watts C and Zimmerman C. (2002), Violence against women: global scope and magnitude. *The Lancet*; 359(9313): 1232-1237.

Weigert (1999) 'Structural violence' in Kurtz, L. R. and Turpin, J. E. (1999) *Encyclopedia of violence, peace & conflict,* London: Academic Press.

Ziegler, J. (2001) *The right to food,* Geneva: UNHCHR. (E/CN.4/2001/53).