

Media Frames of Gender Violence in Nigeria: A Case Study of Federal Radio Corporation South-East, Nigeria

Charles Chukwudi Eze* charles.eze@unn.edu.ng,¹ Peace Nwamaka Ojonta peace.ojonta@unn.edu.ng,² Dorathy Ngozi Ugwuja dorathy.ugwuja@unn.edu.ng,³ Ukamaka C.M. Ozioko ukamaka-c.ozioko@unn.edu.ng,⁴ Ugwu Ogechukwu Serah seramartins2468@gmail.com.⁵

Department of Mass Communication University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

Abstract

This study examined the phenomenon of gender based violence and the effect of mass media reportage of the incidence in South East Nigeria using Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria as a case study. How the media signpost violence against women stories or report the incident in media discourages the victims from reporting the incidents. It therefore becomes necessary to examine the sources of the news on violence against women as reported by the media, the frames as well as the frequency of such reports. The study did a survey of news and other programmes staff of Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) in the South East Zone, this includes all the states of the zone: Imo, Anambra, Ebonyi, Abia and Enugu States. The study was intended also to find out whether the victims or the police were the major source of news on gender based violence to the media.

The findings of the study show that the reports come more from the victims or their relatives rather than the police. However there have been several cases of violence against women that were not reported. In Nigeria, violence against women affects both women living in urban and rural areas. This study recommends the need for increase knowledge, challenge attitudes and to modify behaviour. Media interventions can also alter social norms and values (e.g. the belief that masculinity is associated with aggression) through public discussion and social engagement. Media campaigns have proven successful in increasing knowledge of intimate partner violence and influencing attitudes towards gender norms, but less is known about their ability to reduce violent behaviour, this should be sustained.

Background of study

Gender-based violence is a phenomenon deeply rooted in gender inequality, and continues to be one of the most notable human rights violations within all societies. Gender-based violence is violence directed against a person because of their gender. Majority of victims of gender-based violence are women and girls (EIGE, 2021).

According to the World Bank Group (2019) Gender-based violence (GBV) or violence against women and girls (VAWG), is a global pandemic that affects 1 in 3 women in their lifetime.

Gender-based violence is widely defined as the most extreme forms of gender-based discrimination, manifested as an act inflicting physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, including threats of such acts (ACE, 2021)

Violence against women is a problem not only across underdeveloped countries -but all over the world and has become more important in public debate and media after the popularity of feminist ideology and feminist movements.

Women have traditionally suffered from various forms of gender-based discrimination and violence in both the public and the private spheres. (ACE, 2024) In the past decade, while women have increased their share in elected bodies of governance, education and labour force, gender-based stereotypes and harmful traditional practices still significantly inhibit women from gaining an equal footing with men in various spheres of political and public life(Ibid)

To safeguard women rights which is a part of human rights, the World Conference on Human Rights took place in Vienna, Austria from 14-25 June 1993. A pivotal moment, the conference's main outcome was the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, a common plan for the strengthening of human rights work around the world. The outcome of this conference has remained an instrument used around the world as a reference point (OHCHR, 1993).

Gender inequality can be found in the patriarchal structure of the cultural background of many societies, ethnic groups, nations or people, religious communities, traditional or Christian and Muslim which give more power to men than to women (**SSS**). To varying degrees, patriarchal cultural and sexual norms, discriminatory divisions of power, labour and the financial dependence of women persist in Nigerian society and beyond.

Violence against women ranges from physical, psychological, sexual, and verbal to emotional acts. Such acts have become norm with little or no attention paid to it on the ground of gender discrimination. More so, Nigerian society likewise other societies operate on the basis of shared attitudes and beliefs which are based on gender which results in women being regarded as inferior to men. In some societies, although there are some religious and legal rights which women of every society is allowed to enjoy but it is rather difficult to seek justice and equality of rights in a patriarchal society.

In Nigeria, sometimes laws and legal procedures condone Violence against women for corrective purpose. This is found in the Penal Code applicable to Northern Nigeria, Section 55 permits domestic chastisement of wives for corrective purpose. Hence sometimes, the Nigerian Police Force acting on what is called 'cultural normative order' does not generally treat violence against women as a threat to human dignity and rights, and as a gross violation of human rights (FRN, 2010). Feminist scholars believe that all these discrimination are rooted in the Patriarchal system of the society.

On the other hand, violence against women can be classified. The most disadvantaged or vulnerable group are some women from the rural areas, low income groups that may not be aware of existing services such as legal aid or the rights they are entitled to. Moreover courts, tribunals and police stations are not always equipped to receive disabled or elderly women. More so, some women may be reluctant to report abuse due to fear or they may not be able to communicate with the police or with prosecutors and judges if interpretation is not provided free of charge. It is against this background that combating this form of violation of women's rights would require active involvement of the Police force and Media. The Police force as an institution is a major stakeholder in promoting gender equality and the empowerment of women, guided by its mandate to maintain peace and uphold fundamental human rights to freedom and good governance. On the other hand, the media plays key roles in tracking violence against women.

Statement of Problem

Although the women have been given protection by the various global, regional and national policy commitments to gender and women empowerment including the first international human rights instrument that exclusively addresses violence against women. This was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly Declaration of Violence against women in 1993, there is still occurrence of violence against women, especially in Nigeria. Worldwide, women experience sexual harassment, domestic violence, rape, beatings, and mutilation of sensitive parts or even killed with impunity (WHO, 2011).

In order to combat the acts of violence against women, it is instructive to work towards preventing and investigating such acts. In addition, there is need to develop comprehensive legal, political, administrative, and cultural programmes and structures to prevent violence against women. There is need for training of

law enforcement officials and to collect statistics about the incidence of acts of violence against women. Therefore, the question that agitates the mind is what is the frequency of stories on violence against women reported to the police and media in Nigeria?

In Nigeria, it is not uncommon for violence against women to go unreported. Some victims fear stigmatisation, police extortion and a lack of trust in the judicial process, consequently they choose not to report cases to the authorities. There have also been instances where those brave enough to report are targeted and face derogatory comments at the police station. The victims often find brick walls at the hospitals, police stations and courts where they are supposed to get attention or justice.

In addition, how the media signpost violence against women stories or report the incident in the media discourages the victims from reporting the incidents. It therefore becomes necessary to find out the sources of violence against women as reported by the Nigerian Police and media and the frames and frequency of such reports.

Furthermore, despite this growing number of protection, gender equality and empowerment to combat violence against women in Nigeria, the women have failed to go to the police or media to report such incidence. Some do not even know that cases of violence against women were to be reported to the police or media. It is therefore necessary to create awareness in the society especially women on the role of police and media in eliminating violence against women.

Violence against Women: An Overview

Violence against women (VAW) is one of a common form of violence that refers to types of harmful behaviours directed at women and girls. Violence is often directed towards girls and women as the subordinate gender. Violence against women shall be understood to encompass, but not be limited to, the following: battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry - related violence, rape, female genital mutilation, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution (UNDP, 1993).

It encompasses many forms of violence, including violence by an intimate partner, rape, sexual assault and other forms of sexual violence perpetrated by anybody including, child sexual abuse, forced prostitution, trafficking of women,

as well as harmful traditional practices such as early forced marriage, female genital mutilation and honour killing (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2015b).

It also refers to typically masculine and feminine characteristics, abilities and expectations about how women and men should behave in society. Gender based relationship differ depending on culture, religion, ethnicity and class. Importantly, gender roles are not universal, they are time bound and changeable (Henslin, 2010).

Gender-based discrimination against women and inequality of power and resources are the root causes of violence against women and girls (Fulu et al., 2016). International agreements recognise that violence against women is characterised by the use and abuse of power and control in public and private spheres and is intrinsically linked with gender stereotypes that underlie and perpetuate such violence (United Nations, 2013).

More so, it is un-equal visibility, empowerment, and participation of men and women (boys and girls) in all spheres of public and private life. Gender equality includes the agenda of changing the structure of society which constantly maintains unequal power relations between men and women (boys and girls). Gender equality is not 'de jure' equal rights, but equality 'de facto'. Thus, differences in women and men's social experiences are managed in a way that they do not negatively affect or discriminate against them as gendered beings. In diverse ways, men (boys) and women (girls) may be different, but such differences are better expressed in diversity terms rather than in inferiority or superiority terms (Olabisi, 2013).

In Nigeria, as in several other parts of the world, at least one in every three women has been beaten, coerced into sex, or otherwise in her life time – with the perpetrator usually being someone known to her (UNWOMEN 2009). It is the most pervasive violation of human rights of women and girls, fractures communities and stalls development. According to World Health Organisation (WHO) (2015), 35 % of women living in the world experience violence against women. News Agency of Nigeria (2013) reported that one out every five Nigerian women and girls between 15 and 24 years old have been a victim of one form of violence or the other. In recent times, there have been several cases of violence against women and several of these cases are kept silent despite their pervasiveness. In Nigeria, violence against women affects both women living in

urban and rural areas. The women of rural areas of lower class are usually become more vulnerable of different kind of violence than women of higher class and urban areas. In Nigeria, a good number of women live in rural areas and belong to lower class with poor economic participation, which are the main reasons of violence against women.

A number of factors contribute to this high rate of violence against women in the country. In the first place, violence against women is seen as a 'private' matter to be dealt with by the family. It is often regarded as a fact of married life that must be tolerated. In addition, Nigeria is failing to implement her obligations under international law. In 2007, Nigerian National Assembly rejected the domestication of the international law of the convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (CEDAW), despite having ratified it in the 1980's without reservation. The situation still remains unchanged up till now. The Domestic Violence Protection Bill 2006 in Nigeria has only passed its first reading at the National Assembly (Eight years after-2014), and out of the 36 states in the country only four (4) have enacted the domestic violence law without proper structure for implementation (Nnadi, 2012).

A wide range of studies have produced remarkable consistent list of events that are said to trigger violence against women. These include not obeying the man, arguing back, not having food ready on time, not caring adequately for the children or home, questioning the man about money or girlfriends, going somewhere without the man's permission, refusing the man sex and suspecting the woman of infidelity (Alo et al, 2012).

The most common forms of violence against women are rape, sexual harassment, domestic violence and murder. They are discussed as follows:

Rape

Rape is the most popular form of sexual assault. It is an act of power, anger and dominance over another because they are seen helpless. It can be seen as an act of forcing any one into sexual intercourse against her will. Women and girls are indiscriminately raped without regard to their dignity and age. Women and girls of different ages, educational levels, religions, sexual orientations and physical descriptions can be victims of rape. Most rapists are known and they are often the victim's father, partner, neighbour, or some other household member. It is

seen as a crime against a person. According to the Section 218 of the Criminal Code of Nigeria, the offence of Rape under the Nigerian laws – attracts a heavy punishment of life imprisonment and is defined as “having carnal knowledge of or sexual intercourse with a woman or a girl without her consent or under duress and is liable to imprisonment for life.” However many rape cases go unreported. In Nigeria, Rape Incidence for women and girls was 63.04 per cent in 2015, it increased to 72.13 per cent in 2016 and decreased to 69.33 per cent in 2017 respectively. There are other several reports of rape incidence in Nigeria.

The Nigeria Bureau of Statistics (2017) reported that there are 2,279 cases of rape and indecent assault in Nigeria. More so, the police arrested a 40 year old man for sexually abusing a minor (names withheld) in the state. The incident occurred in Ekoli-Edda, Afikpo South Local government area of Ebonyi State. In another report, a 22-year-old university student studying in the southern city of Benin was murdered in a church. She was brutally raped and bludgeoned to death. Similarly, in Anambra state, about 155 incidences and complaints on rape were recorded by some NGOs that worked on sexual violence in the state. However, only 12 out of the 155 cases were taken up by the police and surprisingly none of them was successfully prosecuted

Sexual Harassment

It is the unwanted, unwelcome sexual advances, displays, request for sexual favours and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature. It can also be in the form of suggestive looks or remarks which can be followed up by an unwanted physical contact which appears familiar (Ewelum, 2009). In Nigeria, Women experience sexual harassment at times at the workplace. The female workers are seen by some male workers as sexual objects rather than employees or co-workers. Paraveen (2010) indicate in his study on sexual harassment at workplace that only one fourth of reported cases of sexual harassment are filed in court for justice. Sexual harassment is a type of sexual discrimination. It is revealed through a survey study that **87% of women face** sexual harassment in every country.

The UNICEF report of sexual harassment in Nigeria 2015 indicate that one in four girls in and one in ten boys in Nigeria had experience sexual violence before the age of 18 years. The cases of sexual harassment are usually unfiled as well

unreported in media and to the police, due to the shame and embarrassment attached.

Murder

Spousal Murder or murder in intimacy is prevalent in Nigeria. Ewelum (2009) observed that most women live with both physical and psychological threats, often when they complain of these threats to their friends and relatives, the victims may not be taken serious. They are advised to be tolerant or patient, when the woman or the victim are reported dead in the hands of such lovers or husbands, the relations and friends regrets their decisions. Data from a wide range of countries suggest violence against women account for a significant number of deaths by murder among women. Similarly, studies from Australia, Canada, Israel, South Africa and United States of America show that 40% - 70% of female murder victims were killed by their boyfriends or husbands (WHO, 2012).

Domestic Violence

It is a type of violent aggression which takes place in the home. It is an abusive treatment of one member of the family on another member which is against the law of basic human rights. It includes intimidation and control ranging from physical, sexual, psychological, emotional, verbal and economic abuse, either used alone or in combination with the aim to establishing and maintain power and control over the victim. Types of domestic violence include wife battery, child abuse and neglect, child sexual abuse and exploitation, child labour, forced and early marriage, female genital mutilation, marital rape, widowhood practices and so on (FGN, 2010). According to Afrol News (2007) that two - thirds of women have experienced physical, sexual and physical violence in the family.

Domestic violence can be seen as a means of enforcing conformity with the role of a woman within customary society. The economic level of the woman does not matter. It affects all levels of women and young girls, literate and illiterate, old and young, rich and poor. It is a negotiation of the principles of equity, equality and justice(Maina, 2013). It is gender specific violence because it concerns women and girls. The violent actions that are taken against the women includes: pushing, hitting, slapping, stabbing dragging, shooting, choking and so

on. Obi and Ozumba (2007) pointed out the high incidence of domestic violence in southeast, Nigeria. The report of their field study shows that 70 % of the respondents have experienced abuse in the family. 92 % of the victims are women and 8 % are men (AfrolNews, 2007). It is seen as 'private matter' that should be settled in the family. About ¾ of the victims were warned to keep quiet while they are beaten up (AfrolNews, 2007). The idea of keeping quiet reinforces the culture of silence and under reporting of incidence of domestic violence in Nigeria which has not helped the victims and in the development of the nation.

The POLICE

Violence persists because discriminatory laws condone and even legalizes certain forms of violence against women in the country.

There is widespread tolerance of violence against women in the country. This tolerance is also replicated among Nigeria's law enforcement officials. The police frequently dismiss complaints of violence against women on the grounds that the state has no right to interfere in private or family matters. The fundamental principles of human rights explicitly make provision for the inclusion of women, creating no room for discrimination. The philosophical foundation of human right is based on the principles of equality, dignity and non-discrimination (Udu, 2011). The Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) states –'all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights'. As basic values, human rights are legally guaranteed by human rights law which become binding on governments to protect the rights of the vulnerable and the weak in the society (Olabisi, 2013)

On an international level, the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women provides the following definition:

'The term violence against women means any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life.'

In most cases, the violent behaviour is part of a range of tactics to exercise power and control over women and their children, and can be both criminal and non-criminal; and the threatening or violent behaviour can comprise of physical, sexual, emotional, psychological and financial abuse.

Physical violence can include slaps, shoves, hits, punches, pushes, being thrown down stairs or across the room, kicking, twisting of arms, choking, and being burnt or stabbed.

Psychological and emotional abuse can include a range of controlling behaviours such as control of finances, isolation from family and friends, continual humiliation, threats against children or being threatened with injury or death.

Financial or economic abuse includes forcibly controlling another person's money or other assets. It can also involve stealing cash, not allowing a victim to take part in any financial decisions or preventing a victim from having a job.

Family violence is a broader term that refers to violence between family members, as well as violence between intimate partners. It involves the same sorts of behaviours as described for domestic violence. As with domestic violence, the National Plan recognises that although only some aspects of family violence are criminal offences, any behaviour that causes the victim to live in fear is unacceptable. Sexual assault or sexual violence can include rape, sexual assault with implements, being forced to watch or engage in pornography, enforced prostitution, and being made to have sex with friends of the perpetrator.

Research has demonstrated that violence against women often involves a continuum of violence from psychological, economic and emotional abuse through to physical and sexual violence.

Many of the misconceptions surrounding violence against women centre on its causes. There are a number of myths that exist, such as: men can't control their anger or sexual urges; alcohol causes men to be violent; women could leave violent partners if they wanted to; and men experience equal, if not greater, levels of violence perpetrated by their partners or former partners.

Research has shown that the significant drivers of violence against women include: the unequal distribution of power and resources between men and women; and an adherence to rigidly defined gender roles and identities i.e., what it means to be masculine and feminine.

Attitudes that condone or tolerate violence are recognised as playing a central role in shaping the way individuals, organisations and communities respond to violence. Vic Health has summarised five key categories of violence supportive attitudes that arise from research. These include attitudes that: justify violence against women, based on the notion that it is legitimate for a man to use

violence against a woman; excuse violence by attributing it to external factors (such as stress) or proposing that men cannot be held fully responsible for violent behaviour (for example, because of anger or sexual urges); trivialise the impact of violence, based on the view that the impacts of violence are not serious or are not sufficiently serious to warrant action by women themselves, the community or public agencies; minimise violence by denying its seriousness, denying that it occurs or denying that certain behaviours are indeed violence at all; and shift blame for the violence from the perpetrator to the victim or hold women at least partially responsible for their victimisation or for preventing victimisation.

Media interventions

Media interventions use television, radio, the Internet, newspapers, magazines and other printed publications to reach a wide range of people and effect change within society. They aim to increase knowledge, challenge attitudes and modify behaviour.

Media interventions can also alter social norms and values (e.g. the belief that masculinity is associated with aggression) through public discussion and social interaction. Media campaigns have proven successful in increasing knowledge of intimate partner violence and influencing attitudes towards gender norms, but less is known about their ability to reduce violent behaviour, as it is difficult to measure potential changes in levels of violence associated with media interventions (21,30,33,53).

Research shows, however, that the most successful media interventions are those that begin by understanding the behaviour of their audience and engaging its members in developing the intervention (30).

One of the best-known and most carefully evaluated media programmes is Soul City in South Africa (54). This uses a series of radio and television episodes to highlight intimate partner violence, date rape and sexual harassment, among other social problems. The series is accompanied by information booklets that are distributed nationally.

An evaluation of the fourth series, which focused on gender-based violence, used a random sample of the national population and conducted two sets of interviews, eight months apart: before and after the intervention. The study reported an association between exposure to the Soul City series and changes in knowledge and attitudes towards intimate

Partner violence (55). For instance, at follow-up, the percentage of people *agreeing* with the statement “no woman ever deserves to be beaten” had increased from 77% to 88%, while the percentage *disagreeing* with the assertion “women who are abused are expected to put up with it” had increased from 68% to 72%. However, there were no significant changes reported in other attitudes such as “as head of household, a man has the right to beat his wife” (55) and the study design was notable to establish if there was an impact on violent behaviour.

In Nicaragua, a mass communication strategy named *Somos Diferentes, Somos Iguales* (We are different, We are equal) has promoted social change to improve sexual and reproductive health. The strategy aimed to empower women and young people to take control of their lives and to promote women’s rights and gender equality. Activities included a national television series (*Sexto Sentido*, or Sixth Sense), a radio talk show for youth and community activities such as training workshops for young people and youth leadership camps. The television series was a weekly drama with issue-based storylines that was broadcast in Nicaragua, other Central American countries and the United States. Using a sample of Nicaraguan youth (13–24-years-old), an evaluation found that the strategy was associated with a positive change in attitudes towards gender equity, among those exposed to it. However, the study lacked a control group for comparative purposes and did not measure changes in levels of violence towards women.

A number of campaigns have targeted men specifically, aiming to challenge traditional concepts of masculinity associated with violence. Evaluations of these have not, however, looked at their effect on violence. For instance, a 2001 Australian campaign known as Violence against Women—It’s Against All the Rules targeted 21–29-year-old men.

Theoretical Framework

The theories guiding this study are the social learning theory and culture of violence theory.

Social Learning Theory

Social learning theory is a psychological theory that explains how people learn by observing, imitating and modelling others. The theory was developed by Albert Bandura and considers the role of environmental and cognitive factors in influencing human behaviours. It is seen as a combination of psychological,

social, and environmental factors that influence behaviours. Learning demands attention, retention, reproduction and motivation. When a person observes behaviour, that behaviour will be remembered, produced (modelling) and adopted (imitation). Social learning theory describes how children are influenced by observing the behaviours of important others. The children learn behaviours that seem to them to achieve desired results. These behaviours are modelled and patterned in social interactions with peers, through media, or at home. They become rooted and replicated in future social interactions. (Bandura, 1986; 1997) Social learning theory may be used to understand why observing violence against women in the family of origin is a strong risk factor for men being perpetrators of violence against women in adult life (Mihalic et al, 1997; Ormond, 1999). Many studies show higher rates of abuse against women whose partners experienced or witnessed violence against their mothers during their childhood (Parish et al, 2004; Dibaba, 2008; Vung & Krantz, 2009). The theory is relevant to this study because it shows how the intergenerational transmission of (family) violence against women explanation which contends that people who have witnessed or suffered physical violence when growing up have a greater likelihood of living in a violent situation later on in life.

Culture of Violence Theory

Wolfgang and Ferracuti developed the Subculture of Violence Theory in 1967 in an effort to explain homicides, or murders. They developed this theory after extensive work in subculture theory of criminology where they analyzed patterns in data on homicides. They found that those in certain subcultures were more likely to commit these crimes. They believed that the members of these subcultures that were committing violent acts were perpetuating a learned behavior of violence.

This theory focuses on socially constructed gender norms that permit the use of violence by a dominant group against others. Violence against women is high in societies with traditional ideologies of male dominance (Levinson, 1998). Male dominance influences all levels of women's autonomy and academic lives. At the political level, male dominance determines economic allocations. This dominance also includes medical, legal and criminal justice systems (Wamala & Lynch, 2002). In some societies, violence is so common that it is integrated into the culture. Where a 'culture of violence' persists, preventing violence against

women is more challenging (Jewkes, 2002; Kaye et al, 2002). The theory is relevant to this study because it examines how the unequal distribution of power between the sexes has resulted in societies that have been dominated by men and that most women occupy subordinate positions of power, increasing their vulnerability to violence, especially within the family

Method of Data Analysis

The researcher used a survey research design. The sample comprise 40(forty) randomly selected staff of news and programme departments drawn from the five states of the South East zone of federal Radio corporation of Nigeria: Imo, Anambra, Ebonyi, Abia and Enugu States. This makes a total of 200. The data collected from the respondents were analyzed using percentages and the five points likert scale.

Findings

There have been several cases of violence against women and several of these cases are kept silent despite their pervasiveness. In Nigeria, violence against women affects both women living in urban and rural area. The women of rural areas of lower class are usually become more victim of different kind of violence than of higher class and urban areas. In Nigeria, a good number of women live in rural areas and belong to lower class with poor economic participation, which are the main reasons of violence against women.

A number of factors contribute to this high rate of violence against women in the country. In the first place, violence against women is seen as a 'private' matter to be dealt with by the family. It is often regarded as a fact of married life that must be tolerated.

In addition, Nigeria is failing to implement her obligations under international law. In 2007, Nigeria National Assembly rejected the domestication of the international law of the convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (CEDAN), despite having ratified it in the 1980's without reservation.

The situation still remains unchanged up till now. The Domestic Violence Protection Bill 2006 in Nigeria has only passed its first reading at the National Assembly (Eight years after-2014), and out of the 36 states in the country only four (4) have enacted the domestic violence law without proper structure for implementation (Nnadi, 2012).

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The most common forms of violence against women are rape, sexual harassment, domestic violence and murder.

Recommendations

Media interventions use television, radio, the Internet, newspapers, magazines and other printed publications to reach a wide range of people and effect change within society. They aim to increase knowledge, challenge attitudes and modify behaviour.

Media interventions can also alter social norms and values (e.g. the belief that masculinity is associated with aggression) through public discussion and social interaction.

Media campaigns have proven successful in increasing knowledge of intimate partner violence and influencing attitudes towards gender norms, but less is known about their ability to reduce violent behaviour, this should be sustained. Research shows, however, that the most successful media interventions are those that begin by understanding the behaviour of their audience and engaging its members in developing the intervention

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