

# **Unsafe Spaces: Dodgy Friends and Families**

Report on the

Survey of the Incidence of Sexual Violence and Abuse Against Young Girls  
and Women in High Schools and Tertiary Institutions in Osun and Oyo  
States, Nigeria

By

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For

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**Dedication**

To all the girls and young women who shared their experiences of sexual violence and abuse  
with WARSHE

And

To all survivors of sexual violence and abuse everywhere

WARSHE

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We appreciate the efforts of the executive members of the All Nigerian Conference of Principals of Secondary Schools (ANCOPPS) for providing the links to their members on the field. And we sincerely thank all those principals who warmly welcomed us and who allowed us access to their female students. We are grateful to all those female and male teachers who helped us in the process of sampling girls for our study, and also organized them in classrooms, halls and libraries; and who did not begrudge us when we asked to be left alone with the girls.

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Finally, we are grateful to all the respondents who took part in this study. In particular, we salute the courage of the girls and young women who shared their experiences of sexual violence and abuse with us; from the bottom of our hearts we thank them most sincerely for providing the data for this study and for putting forward their first order constructs of their experiences. It is our hope that the pains they went through recounting those experiences will turn to gains for them, their children, and other girls and women within their environments and beyond.

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## **List of Abbreviations**

**ANCOPPS** - All Nigerian Conference of Principals of Secondary Schools

**AWDF** - The African Women's Development Fund

**CEDAW**-The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

**GBV**- Gender Based Violence

**I-IDEA** - International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance

**ITW**- Intensive Training Workshop

**SVA** – Sexual Violence and Abuse

**VAW** - Violence Against Women

**UNDP** – United Nations Development Programme

**WARSHE**- Women Against Rape, Sexual Harassment and Sexual Exploitation

## Executive Summary

About twelve years into our work of protecting children, girls and women from sexual violence and abuse, and helping them to cope when abuses have occurred, we felt a need to work with evidence about the phenomenon, that derives from a systematic process of inquiry, that would allow us: recommend specific policies or policy directions to education, health and social welfare authorities, and the system of administration of justice; map the nature and direction of future advocacy work; plan further education intervention in the education sector; and be more strategic about our intervention efforts. We therefore proposed a feminist action research, and asked the African Women's Development Fund (AWDF) for support. The AWDF provided support in 2011, and the ground work for the study reported here began in the last quarter of 2011.

Our study, a feminist action research, had descriptive, explanatory and action components, and we adopted a narrative approach to the study. In January, February and May 2012, through open ended questionnaires that we converted to interview guides depending on the literacy level of respondents, we collected short narratives from 2, 281 girls in high schools and 837 young women in tertiary institutions in Oyo and Osun states, in South west Nigeria. We examined the incidence and dimensions of sexual violence and abuse, and sought explanations for the phenomenon through qualitative and quantitative analyses of the narratives of our respondents.

We found that:

- 23% of our respondents, that is 717 of 3, 118, had experienced SVA and that there were differences in extent by rural areas and urban centres, and by educational level;
- Rape was the most common form of SVA that respondents had experienced, and 28% of those who had experienced abuse had suffered more than one form of abuse;
- About 31% of respondents who had experienced SVA had the experience before age 13, and 80% before age 18; and 1 out of 4 had experienced SVA more than once.
- While half of the respondents who had been abused were abused by persons whom they were supposed to trust minimally, 1 out of 5 respondents (20.94%) were abused by persons whom they would ordinarily trust, absolutely. Persons whom they would usually trust the least were the least dangerous. Forty eight point four seven per cent (48.47%) of our respondents were abused in environments that we thought of as low level safe space, while 46.49% were abused in environments that we considered to be high level safe space.
- The assailants' homes topped the list of environments where respondents were abused in our assumed low level safe space with 142 respondents (or 1 out of 4) abused in assailants' homes. The assailants who attacked the respondents were: their relatives; a few teachers and religious leaders; family friends; neighbours; male friends/boyfriends, and persons they knew from afar. In our assumed high level safe space, the respondents' home topped the list of place of abuse, with 189 (or 1 out of 3) respondents suffering abuse in their own homes. Relations, neighbours and fellow students, and persons they knew from afar were most guilty of attacking the respondents in their own homes. Still on our assumed high level safe space, school premises came up for mention next as the environment where 61 respondents experienced sexual abuse.

- Respondents suffered shame, fear, aches and pains, cuts and injuries especially to their vagina, bleeding, loss of virginity, pregnancy and ostracism as a result of sexual violence and abuse. Some hate men, had death wishes, and or felt murderous.
- At least one third of the girls and young women who had experienced sexual violence and abuse defended themselves vigorously; verbally, physically, and at times violently.
- About half of the respondents did not tell significant persons around them about their abuse. A few significant persons were told but did not, or could not act in favour of the respondents, although some of them were deeply pained about the abuse of their children. Some mothers rebuked their girls for lurking around danger, and for ‘allowing themselves to be raped.’ They therefore either beat the girls thoroughly, or told them to shut up.
- Most parents however, acted swiftly when their children/wards told them they had been abused. They reported to parents of young assailants, school authorities, and the Police. School authorities sacked a teacher, expelled a student, and took disciplinary action against some teachers. We do not have details of those disciplinary actions. Police did one or two, or in some cases, three of the following: beat the assailant thoroughly and set him free; got the assailant to sign an undertaking that he would not repeat the misdemeanor again; kept the assailant in Police detention for days; or let the assailant off once he had begged for forgiveness

The major explanation that we have for the incidence and dimensions of sexual violence and abuse in this study is that girls and young women who were *alone with particular types of men* became vulnerable to sexual abuse because such men turned the spaces that they shared with the girls and women into unsafe spaces. The contributory factors to sexual violence and abuse that we identified in this study were: girls being alone in the company of potential abusers; men who do not mind abusing trust and power and those who behaved according to dictates of patriarchal beliefs and attitudes; differing assumptions made about relationships by all including parents; impunity; warped values; poverty; parents/guardians’ work day and working hours, and fenced homes.

We raised concerns about: the scale of the abuse of trust and power in homes and school environments; the inattention to proper medical attention and counseling of respondents after an incident of SVA, especially rape; the strident calls for girls to remain virgins when many of those who reported experience of SVA had experienced rape, most of them before they reached age 18; and the lack of recourse to judicial processes in Police handling of cases reported by respondents.

We suggested among others: mass sensitization and education of girls and young women, their parents, and other stakeholders on the breadth and depth of the problem of SVA; strengthening the capacity of social welfare departments and establishing toll free hot lines that children can call to report SVA by relations and other adults; enactment of GBV or VAW laws by the people and governments of Oyo and Osun states; re-professionalization and motivation of the criminal investigation department of the Police and the entire Police force; adoption of sexual harassment policies and procedures in educational institutions; and establishment of trauma centres, to be located in a general hospital, in each of the education zones of the two states. We also suggested

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an alternative discourse of virginity; one that focuses on those who take the virginity of children by force and fraud.

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## **Section One**

### **Introduction, Methodology and Context**

In this section, we provide the background to the study reported here, the framework that undergirds the study, the research design, the research instrument, the sample, and the process of administration of research instruments. We describe the tools used to analyze the data that we collected and speak to the scope and limitations of our study. We also provide basic information about our respondents and situate our respondents in their geographical, historical, social, and legal context.

#### **Background**

WARSHE was inaugurated in 1998, following increased whispered instances and media reportage of sexual violence and abuse. Since inception over thirteen years ago, as part of her education and prevention efforts, WARSHE has held at least 21 No. symposia for high school students and students in tertiary institutions; 8 No. intensive training workshops (ITW) for students in tertiary institutions; and 3 No. ITW for the leadership of schools in three (3) states in the South Western part of Nigeria. During and after each programme, teenagers and young women, and also young men, have asked questions that show that sexual violence and abuse is a major source of concern among them. Many teenagers and young women ask more personal questions when we assure them that they can be anonymous by putting their questions on sheets of papers which they then pass to us without indicating their names. Usually we get a deluge of questions. Some meet us after those programmes to ask for advice on how to handle current cases.

Also since inception, out of about 37 cases of SVA that we had handled at the level of intervention (those are cases of abuse of persons who were willing to move beyond reporting an abuse to WARSHE), 21 involved teenage girls in high schools and young women in tertiary institutions. There were about 14 other young female victims of SVA who did not return to WARSHE after the initial interaction. We believe that this is just the tip of the iceberg, as we get to hear many cases through whispers, and many cases just do not get into the arena of whispers.

Just as the Nigerian print and broadcast media carry cases of sexual violence and abuse against young women and children regularly, medical doctors whom we had interacted with over the years are upset by the number of cases that present in their clinics. Because we do not have data that have been systematically collected, evidence from the media and doctors appear as secondary data and anecdotal evidence.

WARSHE had tried to develop a database of cases of sexual violence and abuse (SVA) against girls, young and older women, but our attempts were not consistent and have been limited to our immediate community because of reasons that are tied up with the problem of funding. We therefore have data about: cases of SVA that were reported to WARSHE; and cases documented by the courts and hospitals in Ile-Ife, for a few months in a limited number of years. We believe that a more systematic attempt at data collection especially from those who are victims and potential victims (the primary source of data) is necessary.

We therefore asked the AWDF to fund a feminist action research that—would carry out a systematic study (survey, and intervention where necessary) of the incidence of sexual violence and abuse among teenage girls in high schools and young women in tertiary institutions. We were interested in: the ratio that had experienced SVA among a sample; the forms of SVA (sexual harassment, sexual exploitation, rape, incest and others) that are more widespread against two categories of young women (high school students and students of tertiary institutions); the environment and circumstance in which their abuse occurred and the circumstance that made them prone to certain kinds of abuses; the perpetrators of the abuses; the age at which they first experienced abuse; the average number of times that individuals had experienced abuse; their response to their abuse; others' response to survivors' abuse; the consequences of the abuses they suffered, and why they suffered those abuses. We were conscious of the fact that whenever we ask women to respond to these kinds of questions, we are asking them to break the silence on matters that they may never have spoken to anyone about. Some may have talked about their abuse and it may have been wrongly handled. For others, it might be a time for critical self reflection on their experiences. We thought we might need to provide support and intervention (medical, emotional/personal, legal and intervention at the level of the school and family) to at least 5% of students that we will interact with in the process of the research. The objectives of the study were to: 1) examine the incidence and dimensions of sexual violence and abuse (SVA) against girls in high schools and young women in tertiary institutions in Oyo and Osun states, Nigeria; 2) seek explanations for the observed incidence and dimensions of SVA; and 3) provide support and intervention in the course of the study.

We were of the view that this kind of research is imperative if we are to fulfill our mission of contributing to efforts aimed at improving the social status of Nigerian women. We thought that the research would provide us with solid evidence from which we could: recommend specific policies or policy directions to education, health and social welfare authorities, and also the system of administration of justice; map the nature and direction of future advocacy work; plan further education intervention in the education sector; be more strategic about our intervention efforts; and seek further support from strategic women's human rights organizations, other human rights organizations that do not have women as their focus, and funding partners.

### **Methodology**

WARSHE is a feminist organization and was conceived as an intellectual and political programme that would assist girls and women to resist sexual violence and abuse and cope with the abuses when they occurred; as part of a larger mission to improve women's social status. From the position that there is no value-neutral research, we decided that our systematic investigation of the incidence of sexual violence and abuse against girls in high schools and young women in tertiary institutions would be guided by the core values of feminism (the ethics of care, criticism and social justice), and politics. So, apart from the key objectives of revealing the truth about girls and women's lived experience of sexual abuse, and describing and explaining the phenomenon from their perspectives, we planned to provide support and intervention (educational, medical, emotional/personal, legal and intervention at the level of the school and family) to girls and women that we will interact with in the process of the research because of their experiences and the pains that come with recalling and talking about those experiences. In other words, we wanted the study to serve women's interests.

## **Research Design and Method**

This is a feminist research that adopted the narrative approach. It has descriptive, explanatory and action components; and employed qualitative and quantitative analytical tools.

The main instrument that was used to collect data for this study is a questionnaire that had a few closed and many open ended questions. The questionnaire was converted into an interview guide where the literacy level of a respondent was low. The questionnaire sought information about respondents' age, who they lived with, parents'/guardians' occupation, and the space that is available to the respondent within her home. Respondents were asked to provide information about the type of sexual abuse they had experienced, the perpetrator, where it happened, the consequences of their abuse, what they did during and after their abuse, what significant persons around them did, the reasons their abusers gave for abusing them, and their own apprehension of the reason the perpetrator abused or tried to abuse them.

The research took place in two states; Oyo and Osun states in Southwest Nigeria. Out of about 966 high schools in Oyo state and 562 high schools in Osun state, we selected 12 schools each, one rural, the other urban from the 6 education zones of each state, through purposive and convenience sampling techniques. We therefore targeted 24 high schools from the two states. There are at least two universities and two schools of nursing in Oyo and Osun states; and while one of the two states hosts just one polytechnic and a host of other specialized tertiary institutions, the other hosts two polytechnics and a few other specialized tertiary institutions. We targeted three higher institutions from each state, and through purposive and convenience sampling techniques, we selected one university, one polytechnic and one school of nursing each from Oyo and Osun states.

We planned to purposively sample: 18 female students each from junior secondary school (JSS) classes I & II, and 19 female students from junior secondary school (JSS) III; and also sample 19 female students each from senior secondary school classes (SSS) I, II & III. We wanted a minimum of 100 students per school to complete our questionnaires, because we had planned to sample a total of 2, 400 high school students. From the tertiary institutions, we planned to sample 200 students each from the six higher institutions that we had selected, because we wanted a sample of 1, 200 female students from tertiary institutions.

### **Administration of Research Instruments**

On 26<sup>th</sup> January 2012, we carried out a pilot study in one education zone in a state that adjoins our host state, Osun state. From 31<sup>st</sup> January to 24<sup>th</sup> February 2012, one principal researcher and 3 researchers in Oyo state, and one principal researcher and 4 researchers in Osun state, collected data from 2,898 girls and young women in 25 high schools and 4 tertiary institutions. While the Osun team succeeded in collecting data in May 2012 from 219 female students in the third higher institution that had been selected for the study in the state, the authorities of the third institution that was selected in Oyo state, tactically refused to give WARSHE approval to access female students of that institution.

In high schools, with the assistance of mostly female teachers, the researchers employed random techniques to the extent that they were practicable, and also convenience sampling, to draw the students that would participate in our study. In a few rural schools, we did not have to draw



samples because there were not many girls in some classes. In such schools, we used intact group of girls in the classes concerned. We produced 112 questionnaires for each school, and planned to sample 112 girls from each school, to increase the probability that, our target of retrieving 100 questionnaires will be met after the exercise in each school. In the tertiary institutions, convenience sampling was the technique that was adopted for selecting students for our study; and we took 220 questionnaires to each institution to be sure that we have 200 questionnaires in at the end of field work.

Except for one higher institution where the researchers had to access respondents in their hall of residence, school authorities moved girls and young women who were selected to participate in our study into halls or classrooms, often in batches, at times all at once, depending on the available space. Given that we had planned this study as a feminist action research, we were prepared to provide: education/sensitization exercises, counseling and the links to medical services during field work. In the two states, especially in high schools, the researchers found that it was not particularly helpful that we introduce the subject of our research to the groups before we asked the students to complete the questionnaires or before they were interviewed. We observed that some of the girls were feeling self righteous, sometimes even calling on their colleagues to ‘confess.’ So we adopted the routine of introducing the research teams, and telling selected persons that we were in the schools to talk woman to woman. We then held sensitization sessions for all respondents after they had completed their questionnaires or after they had been interviewed.

All young women in tertiary institutions and many girls in urban centres completed their questionnaires by themselves, but we had to hold interviews with some respondents in urban schools and most of the respondents in rural areas. The Osun state team reduced the number of girls sampled from schools in rural areas in the state from 100/112 to 60, in line with the decision taken at the end of our pilot study, when we found low literacy level in both Yoruba and English languages among girls in rural areas.

At the end of field work, we had obtained information from 2, 281 girls in high schools, and 836 young women in tertiary institutions. Table 1.1 provides the breakdown of these figures by states, while Appendix 1 provides breakdown of number of respondents by state, education zone, school and class.

**Table 1.1**  
**Number of Respondents by State and Institution**

	<b>Oyo State</b>	<b>Osun State</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>High Schools</b>	1, 197	1084	2,281
<b>Tertiary Institutions</b>	322	515	837
<b>Total</b>	<b>1, 519</b>	<b>1, 598</b>	<b>3,118</b>

Some girls, often those who had suffered abuse, interacted with the researchers after they had completed their questionnaires or after their interviews, and after sensitization exercises. They raised their concerns about abuses they had suffered or are suffering, and named their abusers. It was at this point that the researchers, together with the respondents, agreed on the modalities for

intervention; to tell parents/guardians about abuse, seek medical help, seek assistance from or discuss with school authorities and social welfare officials, and adopt particular strategies for resisting further abuse.

### **Analyses of Data**

Respondents' short narratives, which we strung together from the answers in their questionnaires and their responses in interviews, represent the data for this study. Additional data came from respondents' interactions with the researchers during sensitization exercises before or after completion of questionnaires/interviews; and during the preliminary stages of intervention. We subjected data to qualitative and quantitative analyses. We therefore analyzed and interpreted words, phrases, and themes in respondents' short narratives, and entire narratives in context and within dominant and alternative meaning perspectives. We categorized data and analyzed data using descriptive statistics, such as frequency of occurrence, percentile scores, and measures of central tendencies, and inferential statistics such as t-test and chi square independence and homogeneity test. We also adopted the tabulation and graphical representation of data and results of descriptive statistics.

### **Scope and Limitations of the Study**

In this study, we accessed girls and young women through their schools. Clearly, this means that we did not include the group of girls and young women who did not have access to, or were not in high schools and tertiary institutions at the time of the study, in this study. In other words, out-of-school girls and young women were not included, and were not in focus in the study reported here. The implication of our focus is that we may not be able to generalize our findings and conclusions to girls and young women who are out of formal education.

The low literacy level (in both the English and Yoruba languages) of high school students, especially in the rural areas was a big challenge. It made data collection exceedingly taxing, especially given the number we had targeted for each school. It was during the pilot study that we confronted this challenge, hence the decision to reduce the number to be sampled from rural schools to 10 girls each from each class, and conduct interviews with them. While the Osun team went with this decision, the Oyo team did not. While the interviews in Osun gave the opportunity for immediate intervention, we are also of the view that it may have constrained the autonomy of some of the students concerned.

There were a few obtrusive female and male teachers. The Oyo team reported that one male teacher passed by the class where girls had been assembled for the purpose of the study and grabbed the questionnaire that a female student was completing. Incidentally, we encountered similar behavior during the pilot study, when a male teacher attempted to dictate answers to the questions to the students. In another school in Oyo state, a female teacher, in a conspiratorial tone, sarcastically asked some female students whether they were going to indicate they had been abused.

In one rural school, a teenager, in her own writing pleaded with the researchers not to 'broadcast' her story to the students and teachers in her school. Although she shared her story with us in writing, and as she did, we noticed she was almost breaking down, because she was fighting back tears; she wanted her story to be confidential. We then imagined if there were intrusive

teachers in her school as we encountered in a few schools, she probably would not have told us about her abuse. We do not therefore underestimate the impact of the intrusions by those few teachers on the students' responses to our questions.

We need to mention the pains that some of the respondents went through as they shared their lived experiences through the questionnaires that we administered and during interviews. In one tertiary institution, a prospective respondent shook her head, and more or less threw the questionnaire back at a researcher when she saw the subject matter on the front page. The researcher pleaded with her to complete the questionnaire and she did. That was her way of refusing to recall her experience of SVA. Another respondent, also in a higher institution kept writing, and pleaded with the researcher who administered the questionnaire to her to relax while she wrote, because she indicated she needed to write about herself and share her lived experience. We assumed that she found the process of writing therapeutic. These were exceptions to how respondents who we suspected had experienced abuse reacted when they were completing the questionnaires. Many look pained, often close to tears, and a few actually shed tears. This got us thinking that some of the respondents may have told us they have never experienced SVA, so they do not have to recount those experiences. Or some of them may have shut down on recounting those experiences half way through, because they supplied some and did not supply other information. Given the foregoing, we suspect that the incidence and dimensions of SVA that the researchers documented in this report is the tip of the iceberg.

There were a few challenges around school schedules and official permission to access female students. Although most school heads (principals) were welcoming, and they created the time and space for our interaction with their students, in spite of fixed school schedules, a few wanted further clarifications about the purpose of our survey, and one refused to disrupt school schedule for our survey. In the same vein, the authorities of one higher institution tactically refused to grant the WARSHE researchers access to female students. Also for one week in February 2010 the research team in Oyo could not access girls in the last year of senior secondary school because a pre-West Africa School Certificate, state wide examination was going on for the class. These situations and the low literacy level among some of the girls in high schools reduced the final number of girls and women who took part in our study by 483. Our target was 3,600 respondents.

### **The Respondents**

As we had indicated, 2, 281 female high school students, and 837 young women in tertiary institutions took part in our study. Most of the respondents in high schools were between ages 10 and 18, while most of the respondents sampled from tertiary institutions were between ages 18 and 22. While most of the respondents lived with their parents, others lived with relations or family friends. The reason some live with relations and family friends range from the need to keep relatives company, to easy access to schooling, to financial need, and to death of a parent, and in one case, disputation of paternity of the respondent. Most of our respondents' parents and guardians work outside the home as teachers, doctors, artisans, civil servants, accountants, farmers, and as business men and women. Being business men and women could range from petty or wholesale trading in household provisions and farm products, to big businesses. Most of the respondents hail from the two states from which respondents were drawn, Oyo and Osun

states, and so they are Yorubas; some others are Yorubas whose home towns are in other Yoruba states, while yet others hail from other parts of Nigeria.

### **The Context of the Study**

Oyo and Osun states are located in the South western part of Nigeria. The indigenous people of the South west of Nigeria are known as the Yoruba and they speak Yoruba language. Idowu (1962) told us that ‘the Yoruba comprise several clans which are bound together by language, traditions, and religious beliefs and practices.’ (p.5). He also indicated that Yorubas believe they are descendants of a great ancestor, Oduduwa. Some of the towns and cities in Oyo and Osun states, the two states that our study covered, are central to the history of the Yoruba; Oyo, Ogbomosho and Ibadan in Oyo state, and Ile-Ife, Inisa/Osogbo, and Ijeshaland in Osun State. Oyo and Osun states were part of the old Western Region, pre-independence and post-independence; and both states constituted the old Oyo State, created in 1976, until it was split into two states in 1991.

### **Yorubas Then**

Between the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, just after the amalgamation of the protectorates of Southern and Northern Nigeria, when the entities were ruled as one entity by the British, S. Johnson, and O. Johnson researched, recorded and wrote the book titled: “The History of the Yorubas” (Johnson, 1921.) In this paragraph and the ones that follow, we shall highlight key aspects of Yoruba history, culture, norms, and values, that were recorded in the book in question, that speak to some of the issues and explanations that are germane to the subject matter that we studied, and that we present in this report. Alongside this book, we shall take a cursory look at other scholarly writings about the Yorubas, with the hope of understanding the phenomenon of sexual violence as it presently manifests, and exploring possible alternative discourses around the key issues that our findings throw up about sexual violence and abuse (virginity, SVA by relations, girls abused in the home of male friends/boyfriends, punishment, and the wall fence), and the explanations that are held as true, and bandied around in the public sphere about why sexual abuse occur (girls’ presence in the home of male friends and boyfriends, and girls’ dressing.)

Johnson (1921) wrote that Yoruba towns were

walled, deep trenches are dug all round it outside, the more exposed to attack the more substantial the wall and for the greater security of smaller towns a bush or thicket called ‘Igbo Ile’ (home forest) is kept, about half to one mile from the walls right round the town. This forms a security against a sudden cavalry attack, and a safe ambush for defence, as well as hiding places in a defeat or sudden hostile irruption... (p. 109)

Although Johnson did not say so, it is obvious that those Yoruba towns and villages that he described in details in his book were so built in the context of the Yoruba internecine civil wars which took place in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Johnson further stated that Yoruba houses were built in compounds called *Agbo Ile* (a flock of houses), “in the form of a hollow square, horse shoe or a circle, enclosing a large central area,

with one gateway the house being divided into compartments to hold several families, or more or less related or united by ties of kinship, or friendship.” He also wrote that a high wall often encloses a garden attached to the back of the building, and that the space enclosed is always in proportion to the size of the house, the rank, and the means of the owner.

Johnson (1921) told us that in early times, boys and girls, up to age 8, walked around naked. From age 8 to the age of puberty, they were allowed the use of aprons, the cut and shape of which was different for either sex, with boys’ apron called ‘bante’, while girls’ apron was called ‘tobi.’ He wrote that “the whole period was regarded as one of unencumbered freedom which ceases with the act of marriage.” He further stated that it was not uncommon to see 15 year old girls, when engaged in hard work, whether at home or in the farm with absolutely nothing on; and that on such occasions, even their mothers were scantily dressed. Although Johnson attributed the observed personal appearance of the Yorubas at the time to poverty, and indicated that in modern times, Yorubas paid better attention “to their outward appearance ... and dress very decently and becomingly as compared with former generations of the same people”, of the character of the Yorubas he said “theft was rare as also fornication in spite of the scantiness or often times complete absence of clothing to which they were accustomed.”

Johnson further stated that licentiousness is abhorred, and that there were well attested cases

where a member of a family would be condemned to slavery by unanimous vote of all the relatives when he has brought disgrace on the family. Sometimes forcible emasculation is resorted to as a punishment (as in cases of incest) or total banishment from the town and neighbourhood to where the offender is not likely to be known (p.122)

Johnson also noted that among the ancient Oyo, young men were permitted to have friends among girls, and they could pay one another visits. At annual festivals, the young man and his female friend would meet, take active part in the ceremonies, and offer manual services to each other. He further stated that:

at the time of harvest, the female friend with the full consent of her parents would go for about a week or a fortnight to assist her male friend in bringing home his harvest while he himself may be engaged on his father’s farm. Yet notwithstanding so much mutual intercourse strict chastity was the rule not the exception (p. 122.)

Even as far back as 1921, Johnson had observed that the practice just described had long been discontinued, due to the degeneracy of the time he wrote the book.

Concerning marriage, Johnson wrote that no girl will marry without the consent of her parents, promiscuous marriages were not allowed, and except among the Igbonas, consanguineous affinity (marriage between persons who descend from the same ancestor) was not allowed, however remote.

## **Yorubas Now**

Today, Oyo state is a huge state in terms of geography and population; the urban centres are huge, and far flung from the state capital; and Ibadan, the state capital is a metropolis. Although Osun state has large urban centres, they are not as big as the urban centres in Oyo state, and Osun state is a more compact state, with several communities linking each other. We observe that the rural areas from which samples of high school students were drawn in Oyo state are clearly rural and agrarian communities, where many parents are either farmers, or trade in farm products. Whereas, the rural communities from which our samples were drawn in Osun State were mainly junction communities and also communities adjoining urban centres. These communities have the character of urban centres. As a matter of fact, given scarcity of, and relative high cost of housing in urban centres in Osun state, (as it is the case with urban centres all over Nigeria), many of the people who work outside their homes commute from those adjoining communities to work in the urban centres.

## **Living Arrangements**

Concerning living arrangements, the arrangements in urban centres are not exactly like the ones in the rural areas. The tendency in urban centres is for families to: live in their own buildings, whole buildings, which are usually fenced; live in block of flats (which they rent, or which may be owned by the family), and share fenced compounds with others, or rent a room or two which share toilet and kitchen facilities with other tenants who are often not their kins. Also in urban centres, families live in houses that are set apart from each other in small and at times, big estates that may or may not be fenced. In cases where persons live with others in the same fenced area, they hardly refer to their neighbours as living in the same *Agbo-Ile*. Those persons who say that others reside in their *Agbo-Ile* in urban centres, reside in the indigenous areas, where homes are not fenced. Nigerians, including Yorubas fence their homes for reasons of safety and boundary setting. The main threats are from petty thieves, armed robbers, and trespassers. And really, fenced homes (including the height and design) have become status symbol, usually among families in urban centres, just as those high walls that enclosed gardens attached to the back of the building in old Oyo were in proportion to the size of the house, the rank, and the means of their owners .

When compared with houses in urban centres, houses that belong to ordinary folks in rural and agrarian communities are not fenced, and it is almost a given that homes would not be so totally deserted that there will not be a member of a family or passerby within earshot most times of the day. So whereas Yorubas of old fenced whole towns to ward off attacks, the Yorubas today build fences round their houses to protect their homes, and also show off their wealth. They show off their wealth, just as Yorubas of old did somewhat; with the high wall that enclosed the garden that they attached to the back of their buildings.

The 2010 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2010) indicated that 15.7% of Nigerians were at risk of multi dimensional poverty; and that 72.1 per cent of Nigerians had severe deprivations in living standards. In the context of poverty, many relations, literate and illiterate, schooling or out of school, male and female, who are hopeful of getting a (better) means of livelihood, jobs, trades, and so on, usually move to urban centres, or move from rural and urban centres to the metropolis to live with relations.

## **Dressing**

Concerning clothing, everyone in Yorubaland now go around fully clothed. In rural areas and the densely populated parts of urban centres, it is possible to see the occasional 1-3 year old running around naked, and being totally unaware of his/her appearance. A few 5-7 year old girls can also be seen with wrappers around their chests, playing; and it is not out of place to see women in their 40s upwards who tie wrappers without upper clothing, but having their brassiere on, as they get down to some serious tasks in indigenous areas in urban centres, and in rural areas. However, beginning in the 1990s, there has been a focus on the types of clothing that young teenage girls, young women in tertiary institutions and a few older women wear. They are accused of wearing 'revealing dresses', clothing that show too much of their bodies, skirts that are too short, and so on. At the level of speaking to the type of clothings that are well suited to certain environments, the discourse about women's manner of dressing seems unharmed. However, when the discourse of women's dressing, (totally excluded discourses of men's dressing), moved from a seeming concern for dressing to suit the occasion to the realm of using women's manner of dressing to justify the occurrence of sexual abuse, some women took umbrage; and ordinary Nigerians and opinion moulders lined up for or against the arguments. Matters came to a head when a female legislator went to work to pass to law, a bill prohibiting indecent dressing (Alliances for Africa, 2008).

The discourse around women's 'wild and bad dressing' and the way it is being linked to sexual abuse ignores the observation that Johnson made about the character of Yorubas of old when he remarked that fornication was rare in spite of the scantiness or often times complete absence of clothing to which persons then were accustomed. The discourse gets more amusing when persons who are trying to get women to 'dress well' insist that 'it is not in our culture' for women and girls to dress 'wildly and badly.'

## **Virginit**

In line with Johnson's (1921) observations about chastity being the rule in times of old among the Yorubas, Fadipe (1970) cited in Alaba (2004) observed that in every division of Yoruba land great importance was attached to a bride being found *Virgo Intacta* (found to be a virgin), no matter the social status of her parents. A bride who was found *Virgo Intacta* brought much pride to her husband and rejoicing to her parents, while those found *Non Virgo Intacta* brought opprobrium and were usually sent back to their families. Alaba observed that no sooner had modernity (literacy, colonialism, capitalism, individualism, etc) crept into the hitherto preliterate, subsistence agrarian, communal Yoruba society than the great importance attached to virginity waned and almost disappeared. While Alaba's observations are correct, the discourse around chastity and virginity in the public sphere in Yoruba land has grown and is strident; and it is carried on through all vehicles of socialization. The worry that we have is if rape and other forms of sexual abuse have become rampant, and children are being raped, how many virgins will be left to bring pride to their husbands and rejoicing to their parents?

## **Licentiousness**

We also note that while Johnson made the point that licentiousness was abhorred in Yoruba land, Yusuf (1998), in a study of rape-related myths from proverbs (a folkloristic source), showed that Yoruba proverbs like Anglo-American proverbs, have the same attitudes towards the phenomenon of rape. Yusuf said the most basic of the proverbial rape-related myths in the

Yoruba language and the English language is that women are by nature licentious or adulterous. He then cited some English and Yoruba proverbs that propagate and sustain this sexist view. Yusuf makes the point that the state of affairs seems hardly surprising because the two cultures, Western and Yoruba cultures significantly co-exist and have diffused due to the British colonization of the country, Christianity and the Trans-Atlantic trade in African (including Yoruba) slaves. Although Yusuf does not support the sexist beliefs and assumptions that are inherent in the view that women are by nature licentious or adulterous, we want to make the point that by the account of Yoruba social polity left by Johnson, that view is not from Yoruba culture of old. That view is from Yoruba culture of recent times. Unfortunately, much of Yoruba culture today, is a combination of Western, Christian, colonial, Islamic, and capitalist cultures. Embedded in those views that are put across as proverbs, are the beliefs that: 1) if women are licentious by nature, men have to give them what they want/need/require, which is sex, including rape; and that 2) when men ask women (who are usually deemed licentious) for sex, instead of saying yes to sex, the women say no, men who know what women want, interpret their no to mean yes. What persons in both cultures (Anglo-American culture and Yoruba culture now) refuse to put into such proverbs is that men are the ones who view women as sexual objects.

### **Respect for Elders/Seniors**

Fafunwa (1974) said that respect for elders and those in position of authority is one of the seven cardinal goals of traditional African education. According to Oyewumi (2003), seniority is the social ranking of persons based on their chronological age. She also indicated that the principle of seniority is dynamic and fluid; it regulates social relations in marriages, and you can be a `senior`, to persons who are clearly older than you (in terms of chronological age), if you are in a position of authority – a religious leader, a top government functionary or a community leader. While Oyewumi (2003) attempts to show that the principle of seniority regulates social relations more than gender, and then portrays seniority as enabling, Bakare-Yusuf (2003), cautions attempts to romanticize seniority as enabling, rather than constraining because ‘the vocabulary of seniority often becomes the very form in which sexual abuse, familial (especially the aya/wife in a lineage) and symbolic violence is couched’. Bakare-Yusuf finds alarming, the refusal of the proponents of seniority (as the dominant mode of power in Yoruba social system) to complicate and interrogate the workings of power, given

the virulent abuse of power in the teacher-student relationship in the Nigerian education system that often goes unchallenged by the victim because they are loathe to challenge the abuser in the name of ‘disrespecting their senior’. In these situations, what is at work is not seniority but rather another form of power, disguised as respect for the elder. Seniority in the Yoruba context is therefore often a ruse for other forms of power.

### **Religion**

Idowu (1962) wrote that the Yorubas are religious in all things; ‘religion forms the foundation and all the governing principle of life for them’ and they believe that ‘the full responsibility of all the affairs of life belongs to the Deity; their own part in the matter is to do as they are ordered through the priests and diviners whom they believe to be the interpreters of the will of the Deity’



(p.5). Idowu's book dealt in detail with traditional Yoruba religious beliefs. Mejiuni (2006) however observed that today,

in many parts of Nigeria, Christianity and Islam have fused with traditional cultures, obliterating traditional religions in such places, with most adherents and custodians of traditional religion being openly Christians and or Muslims. Religion pervades the public and private lives of Nigerians and scholars have drawn attention to the increasing phenomenon of Christian and Islamic fundamentalism (p.161).

We observe that the discourses around chastity/virginity and women's dresses, and the link that persons seek to establish to sexual violence are most strident among Christian and Muslim leaders, their followers who display a lot of religiosity, and community leaders. Not surprisingly, these people do not try to do a critical examination of the possible causes of sexual violence and abuse and the implicit and explicit ways in which persons within their groups perpetuate SVA by acts and omissions. We hope that the contents of this report would redirect their gaze and teaching appropriately.

### **The Legal Context**

Apart from social norms, beliefs and values, and from the point of view of social norms, beliefs and values, societies regulate the behaviour of members through laws. Nigeria inherited most of the laws that declare certain behaviours as offence from British colonial rule. The criminal code, which operates in the southern part of Nigeria, considers most sexual offences against girls and women as either felonies or misdemeanours. Sections 357, 358, 359 and 360 of the criminal code act stipulates that

Any person who has unlawful carnal knowledge of a woman or girl, without her consent, or with her consent, if the consent is obtained by force or by means of threats or intimidation of any kind, or by fear of harm, or by means of false and fraudulent representation as to the nature of the act, or, in the case of a married woman, by impersonating her husband, is guilty of an offence which is called rape.

The law stipulates that a person who commits the offence of rape is liable to imprisonment for life, with or without caning. A person who attempts to commit the offence of rape is guilty of a felony and is liable to imprisonment for fourteen years, with or without caning.

Sections 218, 219, 222, and 222A of the Criminal Code Act, stipulates that defilement of girls under thirteen carries the same punishment as rape, and the same punishment as attempted rape is due to a person who attempts to defile a girl under 13. A house holder who permits the defilement of young girls in his premises is guilty of an offence. Whether he would be adjudged to be guilty of a felony or a misdemeanour depends on the age of the girl. Unlawful and indecent treatment of girls under 16, and causing or encouraging the seduction or prostitution of a girl under 16 also attracts a prison sentence of two years.

Lawyers, women's rights activists and women who had experienced sexual violence have criticized the existing laws on sexual offences and their implementation, for not going far enough, because of the clause on corroboration of testimony of one witness, and for being archaic and in need of reforms. It is widely held that these have led to extremely low number of convictions in the law courts. Keen observers believe that the laws lead to impunity; they lead to the perpetuation of sexual abuse because offenders know they will not be punished.

### **The Child Rights Act**

The Child Rights Act, a law to provide and protect the rights of a Nigerian child and other related matters, which was passed into law by the Nigerian National Assembly in 2003, became operational in Osun State (one of the states that this study covered) in 2007. In 2011, Osun State established the family court to take care of cases emanating from infractions on the rights of children and members of families. Although Oyo State has no family court, and it is not on record that a child rights law has come into force in the state, officials in the state ministry of social welfare indicated that the Child Rights Act guide their actions. The Osun State of Nigeria Child Rights Law states that a child means 'a person under the age of eighteen years'. Section 31 of this law prohibits sexual intercourse with a child, and all other forms of sexual abuse and exploitation of children. In addition, Section 30(2) prohibits the use of a child 'for the purpose of begging for alms, guiding beggars, prostitution, domestic or sexual labour or for unlawful and immoral purpose' (p. 26).

### **The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)**

CEDAW, an international treaty adopted by the United Nations General Assembly to protect and promote women's rights, which came into force in 1981, is a legally binding treaty. The United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women) in her 2011-2012 progress of the World's women report reiterated the position that CEDAW requires governments to incorporate CEDAW's definition of substantive equality into their legal framework and carry out comprehensive reviews of legislation and constitutions to ensure that the entire legal framework supports gender equality. To achieve substantive equality, governments are responsible for the impact of laws, which means tailoring legislation to respond to the realities of women's lives. Nigeria has ratified this treaty and its optional protocol, but she is yet to domesticate the provisions of the treaty. In spite of this absence, in the last three years, two states in the south-western part of Nigeria (Lagos and Ekiti states) and one in the middle belt (Kogi state) have passed prohibition of domestic violence/gender based violence bills into law. The two states that our study focused on do not have specific laws that prohibit GBV/VAW.

The preceding paragraphs show the context in which our study of the incidence of sexual violence and abuse against girls in high schools and young women in tertiary institutions took place. The geographical, historical, social and legal contexts that we described are the contexts within which the respondents in this study either experienced or did not experience SVA. As readers will discover, these contexts shaped the incidence and dimensions of the abuse that respondents suffered, and they provided the explanations that we sought for the incidence and dimensions of sexual violence in the area in focus.

## Section Two

### Experience of Sexual Violence and Abuse

In this section, we focus on respondents' primary experience of sexual violence and abuse (SVA). We explore the prevalence of sexual violence and abuse against girls in high schools, and young women in tertiary institutions; we examine the different forms of sexual violence that the respondents had suffered, the age at which many girls experienced abuse, the number of times they had experienced abuse, and we cite a few of the experiences that they shared with us.

As we had earlier indicated, a grand total of 3, 118 respondents took part in our study; representing 2, 281 girls from 24 high schools and 837 young women from 5 tertiary institutions in Oyo and Osun States. Out of 3, 118 respondents, 717, that is, 23% (or about 1 out of 4 respondents) had experienced sexual violence and abuse. The percentage for high school students was 18.7% while the percentage for students in tertiary institutions was 34.6%.

The percentage of female high school students who attend schools in urban centres who had experienced sexual violence and abuse (SVA) in Oyo and Osun States was higher than the percentage of high school students who attend schools in rural areas in the two states, who have had the same experience, at 21.6% and 14.8% respectively. However, whereas about 1 out of 5 girls in the rural schools in Osun state have had experiences of sexual violence and abuse, it was about 1 out of 8 girls in rural schools in Oyo State who have had those experiences. The percentage of girls who have had experience of SVA in Osun rural schools was higher at 18.6%. What these figures tell us is that when compared with their counterparts who attend rural schools, more of the girls who attend high schools in urban centres have experienced SVA; and when compared with their counterparts in rural schools in Oyo State, more of the girls who attend rural schools in Osun

#### Box 2.1

"I was twelve years old when my uncle raped me 5 times in the room. I felt sad. I told my mother about it. Although she felt bad, she did not do anything until she died."

"On one occasion when I went to the roadside to buy something, a man who I knew from afar, offered to give me money if I would have sexual intercourse with him. I was 13 then. I did not answer him. Instead, I told my sister, who went to him and abused him."

"When I was six years old, a relation had sexual intercourse with me when my parents were not around and they asked him to stay with us. I felt ashamed of myself and I have told God never to do it again. I want to tell my parents, but I am afraid because my father is a disciplinarian."

"I always hawk for my Mummy. There was this man who I do not know who had told me several times that I am a beautiful girl and he would want me to be his wife. On this particular occasion, he tried to rape me. I placed a curse on him, and I took my bowl and ran away. I was 17, and I did not tell anybody about it. May be he tried to rape me because that place was quiet. "

"Yes, at 15, my first boyfriend tried to rape me inside his room. I felt like killing him. But thank God it did not happen. He wounded me on my legs. I think he just wanted to destroy my life although he said it was because he loved me. I left him alone, I did not go to his house again, and I told my best friend, who did not do anything."

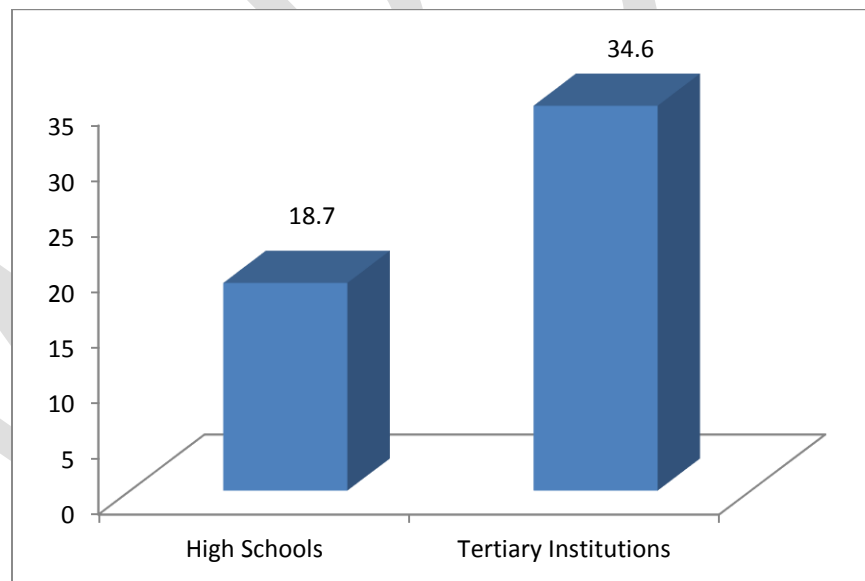
"I was 11 when the son of a Pastor tried to rape me at home. That first time, I bit him, so he left me. The second time he succeeded. Blood came out of my body and I felt bad. I told his parents but he ran away."

state have experienced SVA. Can we then state that: girls who attend high schools in urban areas are more susceptible to sexual violence than their counterparts who attend schools in rural areas, and those who attend rural schools in Osun State are more susceptible to SVA than those who attend rural schools in Oyo State?

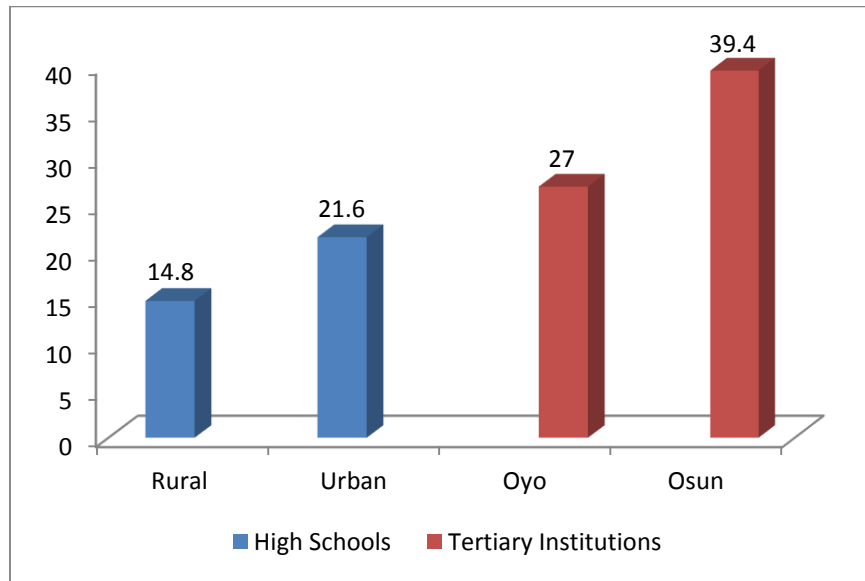
Concerning the experiences of young women in tertiary institutions, 27% of the respondents in tertiary institutions in Oyo State, that is, 1 out of 4 respondents had experienced SVA, while 39.4% or 2 out of 5 respondents in Osun state had experienced SVA. Based on these percentages, when compared with their counterparts in tertiary institutions in Oyo state, more young women in tertiary institutions in Osun State had experienced SVA. The question that we raised in respect of girls in high schools is also relevant here; can we then state that young women who attend tertiary institutions in Osun State are more susceptible to sexual violence than their counterparts who attend tertiary institutions in Oyo State? We will respond to this question, and the one in the preceding paragraph in Section Seven of this report.

The details of the number of girls and young women who have had experiences of sexual violence and abuse in the two states from which samples were drawn are set out in Appendices II, III & IV, and those details are presented in bar graphs in Figures 2.1 and 2.2 below.

**Figure 2.1:**  
**Percentages of Girls in High Schools and Young Women in Tertiary Institutions who had Experienced SVA in Oyo and Osun States**



**Figure 2.2**  
**Percentages of Girls in High Schools in Rural Areas and Urban Centres and Young Women in Tertiary Institutions in Oyo and Osun States who had Experienced SVA**

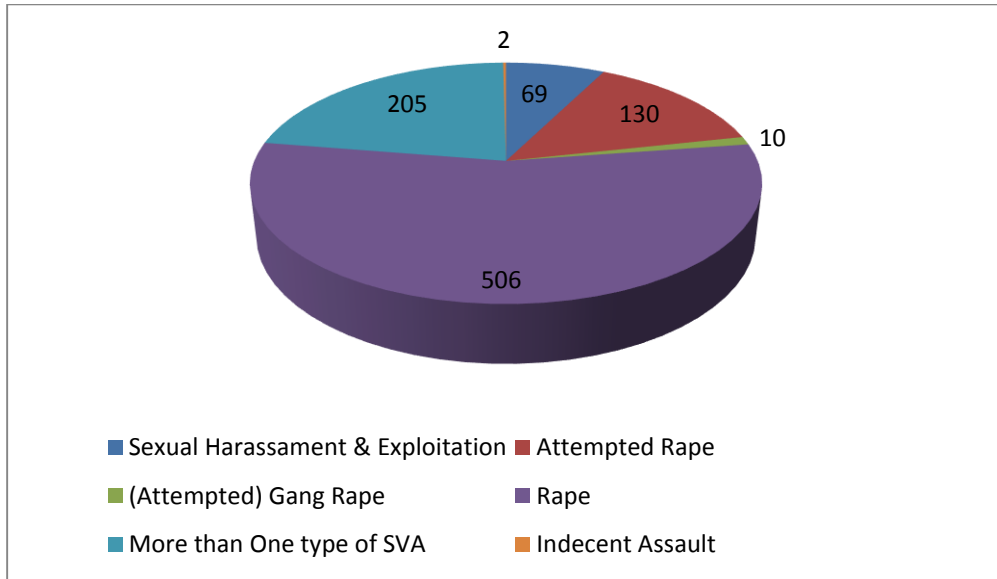


### **The Types of Sexual Violence and Abuse that Respondents Had Suffered**

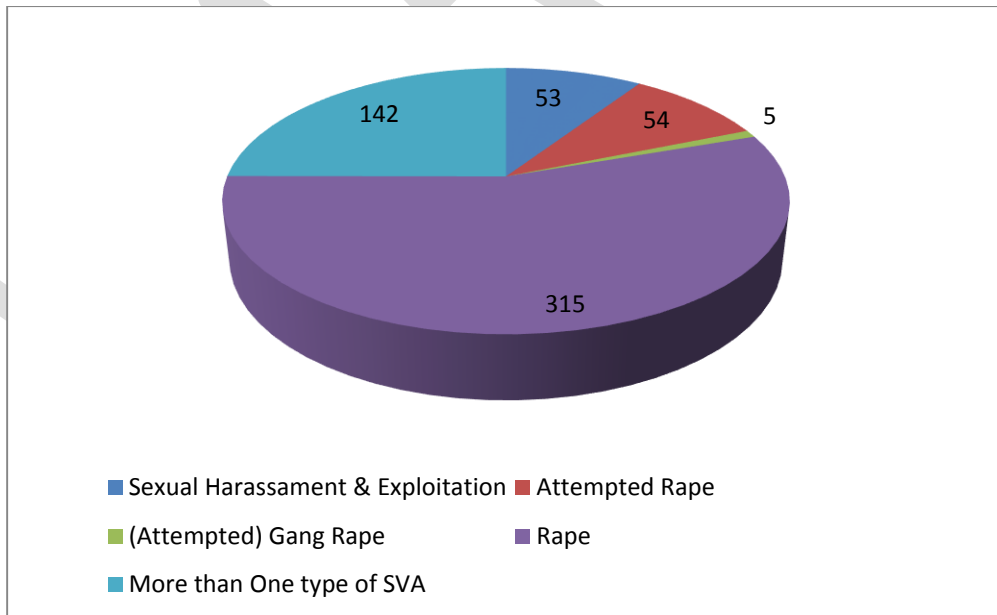
Girls in high schools and young women in tertiary institutions cited their experience of: (attempted) rape and gang rape; indecent assault; sexual harassment; attempts to exploit them sexually, and attempts to lure them into prostitution, and for a very few of them, how they thought briefly of selling their bodies for money. We have reproduced some of their narratives, in Boxes 2.1, 2.2 & 2.3.

Rape was the form of sexual abuse that most respondents had suffered, as 506 respondents had experienced this abuse. Only two respondents had experienced indecent assault, while 10 had experienced gang rape or attempted gang rape. Sixty Nine (69) had experienced sexual harassment, (attempted) sexual exploitation, were going to be lured into prostitution or felt they should sell their bodies for money. However, 205 out of 717 respondents who had experienced SVA told us they have had experiences of two or more of the abuses listed above. Figures 2.3 and 2.4 are the graphical representations of the number of respondents who had experienced the different forms of sexual violence and abuse that respondents in this study mentioned. While Figure 2.3 shows the number for all categories of respondents in this study, Figure 2.4 highlights the number of high school students who had experienced different forms of abuse. In Appendix V, we will find the details of the number of girls and young women who had experienced different forms of sexual violence and abuse.

**Figure 2.3**  
**Number of Girls in High Schools and Young Women in Tertiary Institutions Who had Experienced Different Types of SVA**



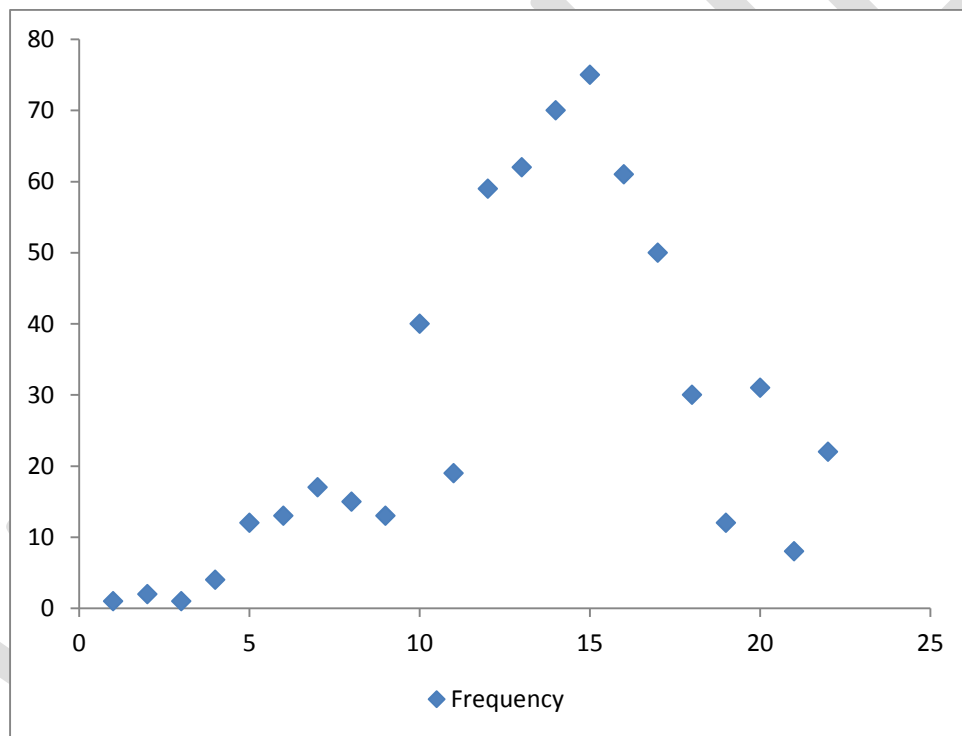
**Figure 2.4**  
**Number of Girls in High Schools who had Experienced Different Types of SVA**



### The Age of Experience of Sexual Violence and Abuse

We asked the girls and young women who were involved in this study to tell us the age at which they experienced the abuses that they cited. Some respondents did not provide this information. Out of the 617 that provided this information, 31.1% experienced SVA before age 13, before they got to teen age, while they were still children, some barely out of diapers. Fifty six point four percent (56.4%) experienced SVA as teenagers, and just as they became young adults, at age 18. Those that experienced SVA at age 18 were 30 out of the 348 in this category. And 11.8% experienced SVA after age 18. These tell us that a minimum of 1 out of 4 respondents who have had experience of SVA, had experienced SVA before age 13, at least half experienced SVA as teenagers and as they got to the age of majority, and a minimum of 1 out of 10 respondents experienced SVA after age 18. Figures 2.5, 2.6 and 2.7 are the graphical representations of these data and results.

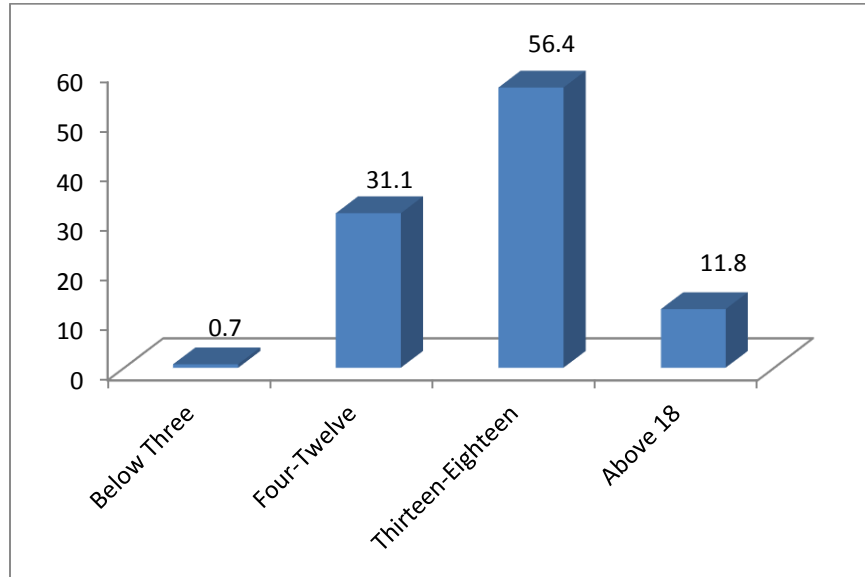
**Figure 2.5**  
**Girls and Young Women who had Experienced SVA by Age of Experience of SVA**



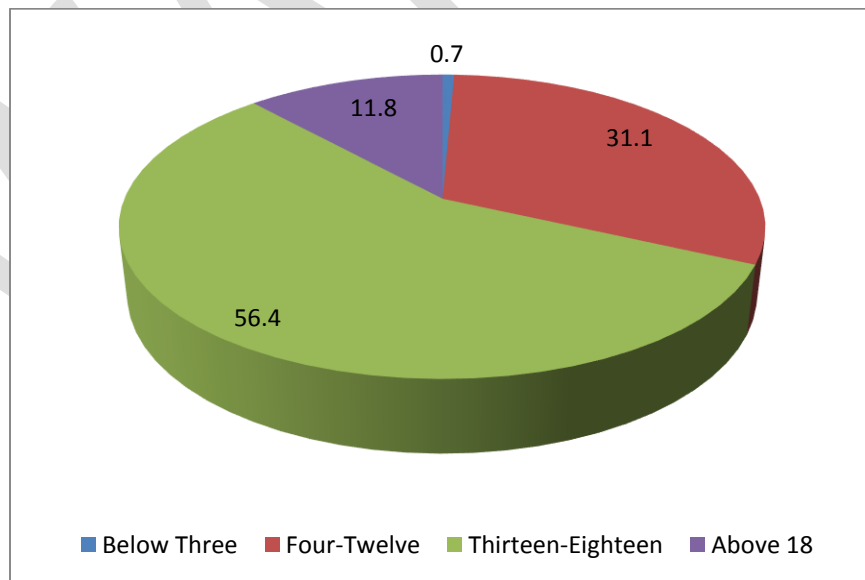
A close look at Figure 2.5 shows that many girls in high schools and those who are now young women in tertiary institutions had experience of SVA at ages 14 and 15. The two ages, represent the mode for the group, as a set of 70 respondents and another set of 75 were abused at ages 14 and 15 respectively. Quite telling is the fact that the respondents who experienced SVA at ages 14 and 15 represent 20% of the total that told us that they had experienced sexual violence and abuse. This is even more so if we consider the fact that the age of most of the respondents from high schools who had experienced abuse was between 10 and 18. Nine (9) of them were above age 18. Among students in tertiary institutions, most were between ages 18 and 22. Fourteen were less than 18, while 75 were older than 22 years. Again, a close look at the frequencies in Figure 2.5 tells us that in the pre-teens, ages 10 and 12 seem to spell danger. Among teenagers,

ages 14 and 15 appear to be when danger locks, and among young adults, age 20 appears to be when young female adults should watch their backs closely.

**Figure 2.6**  
**Percentage of Respondents who had Experienced SVA by Age Group of Experience**



**Figure 2.7**  
**Percentage of Respondents who had Experienced SVA by Age Group of Experience**



In order words, a minimum of about 1 out of 5 of the three thousand, one hundred and eighteen (3, 118) respondents who took part in this study had experienced SVA as children; while they



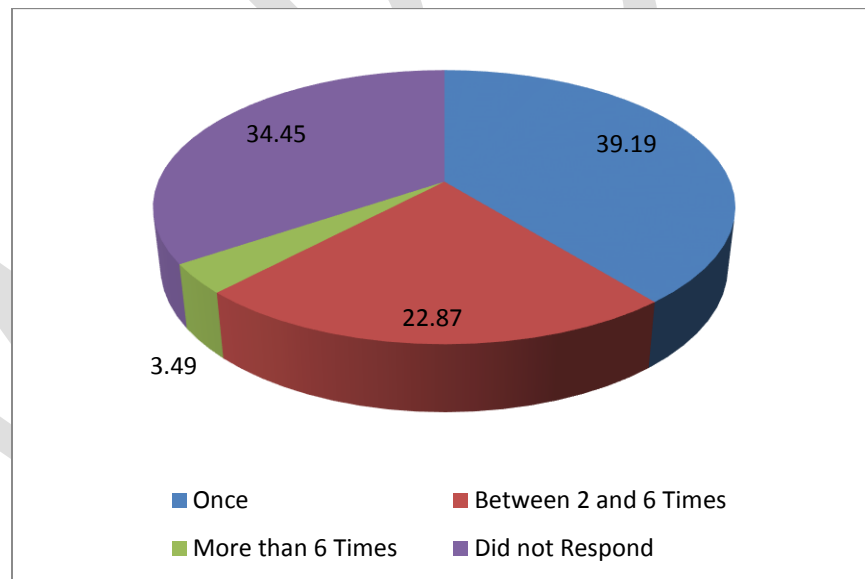
were in their pre teens and in their teenage years. Appendix VI shows details of respondents who had experienced SVA by age of experience and location of institution and educational level.

These results confirm the hunch, and the position of some Nigerians who implored WARSHE to focus also on sexual abuse of children of primary school age and girls in secondary schools, when WARSHE started work among young women in tertiary institutions 14 years ago.

### **The Number of Times that Respondents Had Experienced Sexual Violence and Abuse**

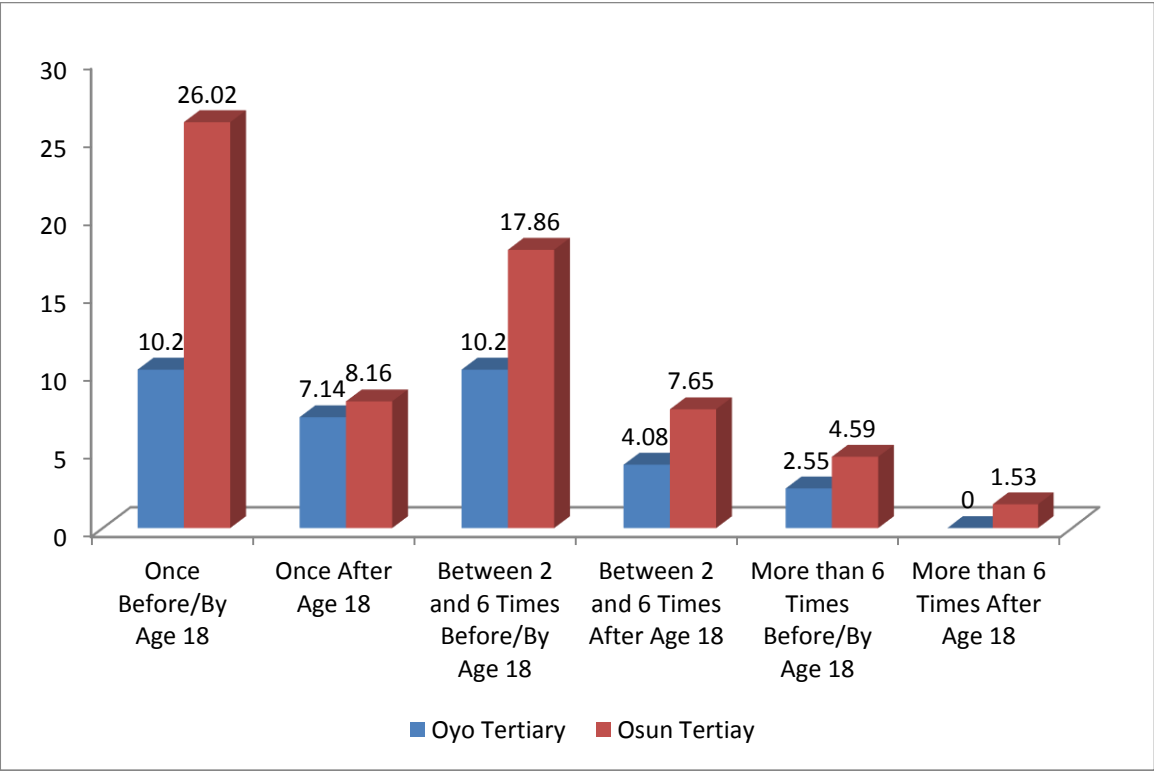
We asked respondents in this study to tell us the number of times that they had experienced sexual violence and abuse. Only 470 of the 717 that had experienced abuse provided this information. So, 34.4% did not respond to that question. Thirty nine point one nine per cent (39.19%), or 2 out of 5 respondents indicated they had experienced violence once; 22.87%, that is, 1 out of 4 respondents said they had experienced SVA between two and six times; and 3.49% told us they had experienced SVA 7 times and above, that is, several times. What this tells us is that while 2 out of 5 respondents had experienced SVA once, 25.35% or 1 out of 4 had experienced sexual violence and abuse more than once. Figure 2.8 is a graphical representation of the percentages. We also observe that some of the respondents suffered one form of abuse on a continuous basis.

**Figure 2.8**  
**Percentage of respondents who had Experienced SVA by Number of Times of Experience**



Given these results, we reverted our gaze to the number of times that students in tertiary institutions, most of whom are young adults, had experienced sexual violence and abuse, before and by age 18 and after age 18. Figure 2.9 shows that half of the young women had suffered SVA once, and 36.22% of them had experienced SVA once before, and at age 18. More telling however is the fact that 71.42% had experienced SVA before and at age 18.

**Figure 2.9**  
**Percentage of Young Women in Tertiary Institutions who had Experienced SVA by Number of Times of Experience Before/By Age 18 and After 18**



This shows that the results that we obtained for the age at which respondents experienced abuse were not influenced solely by the fact that many of the respondents in this study were high school students who were between ages 9/10/11 and 16/17/18. So, most respondents' experience of sexual violence and abuse, whether they happen once or more than once, took place while the respondents were still children; were in their pre-teens or teenage years.

### Box 2.2

“Sexual intercourse took place between me and my brother at a tender age. I was 5 years old. I feel bad about it.”

“When I was 4 years old, a neighbor, who was about 20, raped and injured me. I had injuries in my vagina, and could not urinate until my mother treated me with some herbs. I was too young to defend myself. I feel very bitter because my Mom was told but she did not confront the assailant.”

“At age 11, a fellow student and my choir leader raped me in my home several times. On one occasion, it was when I was bathing. I was angry, I cried, I was afraid, and I could not talk to anybody. I had wounds. I dislike them, and whenever I see them they get me angry.”

“When I was in 100 level, the brother of my Mum’s friend took me to a hotel in Bashorun with the hope of having sexual intercourse with me. I did not know that that was where he was taking me to. I did not allow him, although he promised me so many things. He did that because I was in need of money to pay my school fees and I had approached him for help. He said if I want him to help me, I must sleep with him. I left him to God’s judgment. I told my Mum and friend. They were shocked; but happy that I did not do it.”

“When I was 6, a tenant of my parents used to put his manhood in my mouth in our home. He was scolded.”

“When I was 5-7, a very old man whom we used to stay with, in his house when my Mum went to work, used to get us to play with his manhood, and it went on for a long time. At the time, I saw it as a normal thing. We moved away from the apartment later.”

### Box 2.3

“When I was 10, my father’s younger brother touched my private part when I slept on his bed on two occasions. I told my parents about it.”

“I was walking along the road with two girls when I was attacked and raped. The two girls ran away. The rapist also ran away after he had raped me. I reported at the Police station. I saw the assailant the next day and accosted him, and handed him over to the police. They flogged him at the police station and released him.”

“When I was seeking for admission, someone I knew from afar touched my body and encouraged me to have sex with him so he would give me money. I told his wife and a quarrel ensued between them.”

“A teacher, a boyfriend and a religious leader raped me when I was 16 and 25 in Port Harcourt and Osun State. Although I tried to run away in one case, and defended myself in another, I became pregnant as a result of one of the attacks. My parents sued one of them, but cast me away when I became pregnant.”

## **Summary of Section Two**

In the paragraphs that follow, we provide the summary of the results presented in Section Two of this report.

### **Prevalence of Sexual Violence and Abuse**

Out of 3, 118 respondents, 717, that is, 23% (or about 1 out of 4 respondents) had experienced sexual violence and abuse. The percentage for high school students was 18.7% while the percentage for students in tertiary institutions was 34.6%.

### **High School Students**

The percentage of female high school students who attend schools in urban centres who had experienced sexual violence and abuse (SVA) in Oyo and Osun States was higher than the percentage of high school students who attend schools in rural areas in the two states, who have had the same experience, at 21.6% and 14.8% respectively.

However, whereas about 1 out of 5 girls in the rural schools in Osun state have had experiences of sexual violence and abuse, it was about 1 out of 8 girls in rural schools in Oyo State who have had those experiences.

These results tell us that when compared with their counterparts who attend rural schools, more of the respondents who attend high schools in urban centres had experienced SVA; and when compared with their counterparts in rural schools in Oyo State, more of the respondents who attend rural schools in Osun state had experienced SVA.

### **Young Women in Tertiary Institutions**

Twenty seven percent (27%) of young women in tertiary institutions in Oyo State, that is, 1 out of 4 respondents had experienced SVA, while 39.4% or 2 out of 5 respondents in Osun state had experienced SVA. So, when compared with their counterparts in tertiary institutions in Oyo state, more young women in tertiary institutions in Osun State had experienced SVA

### **The Types of Sexual Violence and Abuse that Girls Had Suffered**

Rape was the form of sexual abuse that most respondents had suffered, as 506 respondents had experienced this abuse. Only two of the respondents had experienced indecent assault, 10 had experienced gang rape or attempted gang rape, 69 indicated they had experienced sexual harassment, (attempted) sexual exploitation, were going to be lured into prostitution or felt they should sell their bodies for money. However, 205 out of 717 respondents who had experienced SVA told us they have had experiences of two or more of the experiences listed above.

### **Age of Abuse**

A minimum of 1 out of 4 respondents, who have had experience of SVA, had experienced SVA before age 13. At least half of our respondents experienced SVA as teenagers and as they got to the age of majority, and a minimum of 1 out of 10 respondents experienced SVA after age 18. Many girls in high schools, and those who are now young women in tertiary institutions had experience of SVA at ages 14 and 15. We can also say that 1 out of every 4 respondents that had experienced sexual abuse had the experience while they were either 14 or 15. We also found out that in the pre-teens, ages 10 and 12 seem to spell danger. Among teenagers, ages 14 and 15 is

when danger locks, and among young adults, age 20 is when young female adults should watch their backs closely.

**No of Times that Respondents had Suffered Abuse**

While 2 out of 5 respondents had experienced SVA once, 25.35% or 1 out of 4 had experienced sexual violence and abuse more than once. We observed that some of the respondents suffered one form of abuse on a continuous basis.

WARRSHE

### Section Three

## Perpetrators of Sexual Violence and Abuse and the Spaces Where the Abuses Took Place

In this section, we examine the nature of the relationship between survivors of sexual violence and abuse and their abusers or persons who attempted to abuse them; and also focus on the environments in which the abuses occurred. We observe that some respondents were very specific about who abused them and the exact location of the abuses, while others spoke about their abusers and the spaces where the abuses occurred in general terms.

### The Perpetrators

Respondents said they had been abused by neighbours, amongst them were co-tenants, their fathers' tenants, landlady's son, and persons who lived close to their own abode at the time. Persons who are clearly relatives of respondents were also fingered as abusers. The respondents identified them as cousins, a father, step brother, step mother's son, aunt's husband, sisters' husband, uncles, father's younger brother, or just, 'a relation.' Persons who are public figures/public servants were also mentioned; teachers, including a youth corp member, religious leaders and medical personnel. Respondents also pointed accusing fingers at their fellow students, former school mates, their male friends and boyfriends, and family friends. Persons who they called 'family friends' included the sons of their mothers' friends, their fathers' friends, the older brother of their mother's friend, their brothers' friends and their guardians. The girls and young women in this study were also abused or almost suffered abuse in the hands of persons they regarded as benefactors, their parents' male household help, and armed robbers.

Persons who they knew from afar; on their streets, while hawking goods, at a party, at a friend's place, and a commercial motor cyclist had abused

#### Box 3.1

"In my village, a stranger asked me to buy something for him. I did, and he raped me. I was 8 years old. Although I cannot remember other things about that incident, I remember that I was just crying, and I was very sad."

"At 18, a religious leader raped me in his house when he asked me to come and collect things for my mother. He said the reason he did was because he loved me."

"A teacher raped me in our house when I was 3 years old. I was not feeling fine. I do not remember other things ..."

"When I was 14, in a mission house close to the Church, a Pastor tricked me into having sexual intercourse with him. He said if I do not do it with him, I will not have absolute wisdom. I felt bad and disappointed, although I did not tell anybody."

"A student raped me on the street when I was 16 years old. I started behaving strangely, and blood started coming out of my private part. I told my parents, who called the Police and got him arrested."

"Someone I knew from afar, a male corper, tried to rape me in his office (school library) when I was 14. I felt very bad, and I was afraid because there was no teacher in the library then. He told me that it was because he loved me and he felt I was like the other students who enjoyed having sexual intercourse with their teachers. I pushed him away, and ran away. I told my Mum, who came to the school to report to the school authority. He was disciplined."

"A fellow student tried to rape me in the premises of our school when I was eleven years old. I shouted for help. I was afraid and shocked. He had asked me to befriend him, I said no, and abused him. My mother took the boy to the custody of the Police."

the respondents in this study. Finally, persons they had never met, total strangers have also abused them.

### **The Spaces**

The girls and young women in this study said they had been abused on the streets, street corners, neighbourhoods, and while passing through deserted school premises, on the road while travelling, and in the work place of assailants. They also mentioned bush, bush paths, the river side, school farm, and poultry farms as the places where they had suffered abuse. Respondents indicated that teachers (including the ones who had gone to give the girls extra lessons in the girls' homes), fellow students, male friends, and boyfriends had attacked them in classrooms, on school premises, in their own homes, and in the assailants' homes. Respondents were attacked by their relations when they paid those relations visits and during the time they lived with some relations. They were abused by relations in their own bedrooms, in their father's bedrooms, in the sitting rooms, while having their bath, in the store of their house, and so on. Friends to the fathers of some respondents and their relations raped them in school. A few girls suffered abuse in their rooms in their hostels/boys' hostel and in their mothers' shops. Respondents were also abused when they were going for religious activities. Finally, persons who came to goods to the parents of some respondents took advantage of the girls that were alone at home. They raped them in their parents' home.

Respondents mentioned a wide range of locations where they had suffered abuse. Although many of the places they mentioned are to be found in the two states that this study focused on, some abuses occurred in spaces other than within the two states in question. They mentioned: Odinjo junction, Ibadan; Alakia and Iwo road, Ibadan; UCH , Bashorun, Yemetu, and Iyana Church, Ibadan; Lagere, Ile-Ife; Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife; Odo-Ogbe, Ile-Ife; St Louis College, Ondo; Northern part of Nigeria; Owode in Ilorin; Ilesha; Imesi-Ile; and Idi-Araba, Ogbomosho. Others are: Federal Polytechnic, Ede; Owode-Yewa; Oshogbo; Port Harcourt; Kogi State; Gbongan; Ikirun and Imo State.

### **Girls and Young Women Interacting with Dodgy Friends and Families in Unsafe Spaces**

Given that we needed to put order to the myriad of persons who abused girls and young women and the environments in which the abuses occurred, we decided to sort the abusers and the spaces of abuse into different categories. This helped us to determine the categories of persons who abused our respondents the most, and the environments that were often mentioned as the spaces where the abuses occurred.

To categorize the abusers and spaces of abuse, we read through respondents' experiences which they shared with us through short narratives. A few words, concepts and themes popped out of those narratives. They are: trust, trust, and abuse of trust; vulnerability; power/powerlessness; assumptions; shock; trauma; injuries; shame; the wish to die/the wish to murder; and support /lack of support from significant others and the Nigerian state.

### **Dodgy Friends and Families**

On the basis of the type of relationship that the respondent had/has with an abuser, and the degree of trust that respondents, their families, and community members would probably repose in different groups of individuals, we placed abusers in four categories. Category A, are those

persons with whom respondents were supposed to have *very high level of relationship of trust*. This relationship of trust was assumed to be very high because of kinship ties; because they are thought to be servants of the almighty, attending to the spiritual needs of adherents of their religions; they are public servants/community leaders whom communities have trusted to nurture the minds of younger persons, training them to become future leaders; and those that care for community health and well being. Persons in this category are usually bound by the rules and regulations of their professions and the state, and or by the norms and values of their groups. The groups of abusers that we placed in Category A are relatives, teachers, religious leaders, and medical personnel. Given their positions within families (for relatives) and their roles in the public sphere, we know that this category of abusers have power that respondents do not have.

We placed persons with whom respondents were supposed to have *high level of relationship of trust* in Category B. These are persons with whom respondents and their parents/guardians have close affinity usually resulting from years of working together, and living close to each other. Respondents' parents and some of the people in this group also become close as a result of: friendships forged in childhood and friendships forged through children and relatives. At times they are so close to the respondents' families, on lookers think they are relations. The persons in this category are: family friends, neighbours, household helps and benefactors.

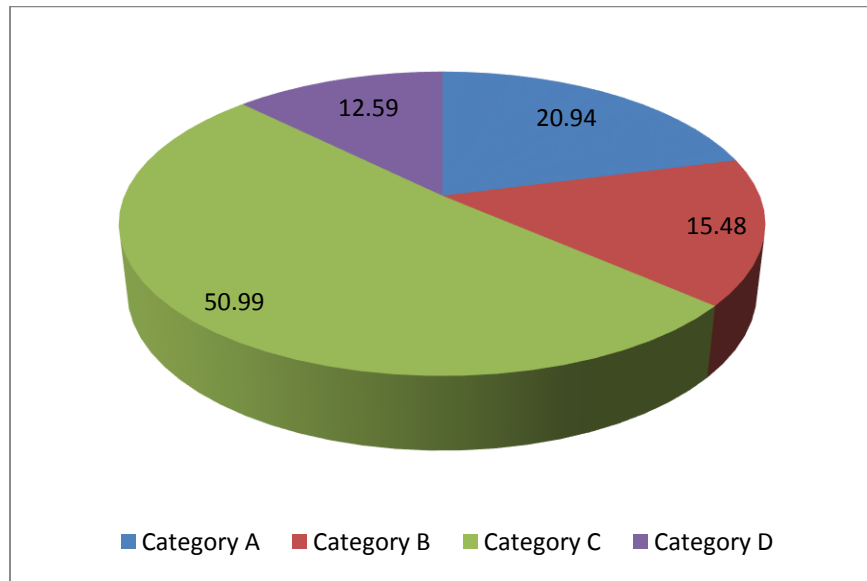
In Category C, we placed persons that respondents interact with regularly or irregularly while learning (in schools) and living in particular streets and communities. We believe that respondents and these persons, as it so often happens in human relationships, can bond, and forge long lasting relationships for personal, familial and societal benefits. These are fellow students, male friends/boyfriends, and someone known from afar. These are persons with whom respondents were supposed to have *medium level relationship of trust*.

In Category D, are persons with whom respondents were supposed to have *low level relationship of trust*. These are persons that are unknown to the respondents, and whose characters they cannot assess; and persons who are dangerous. These are: people respondents had never met, and armed robbers.

On the basis of these categorizations, and the number of girls and young women who had been abused by persons in the different categories, we found that persons in Category C, persons with whom respondents were supposed to have *medium level relationship of trust*, that is, fellow students, male friends/boyfriends and persons that respondents knew from afar, had abused 336 girls and young women. Persons in Category A, persons with whom respondents were supposed to have *very high level of relationship of trust* were next. These were respondents' relatives, teachers, religious leaders, and medical personnel. They had abused 138 girls and young women. In this category, while the respondents fingered 91 relatives and 25 teachers; they mentioned 16 religious leaders and 6 medical staff. Persons in Category B were next, and these were those with whom respondents were supposed to have high level relationship of trust; family friends, neighbours, household helps, and benefactor. The persons whom respondents were not supposed to trust, in Category D, were the least mentioned. They had abused 83 girls and young women. Individuals respondents had never met abused or attempted to abuse 67 of them, while armed robbers attacked 16 of them. Figures 3.1 and 3.2 show the level of abuse perpetrated by the four categories of abusers.

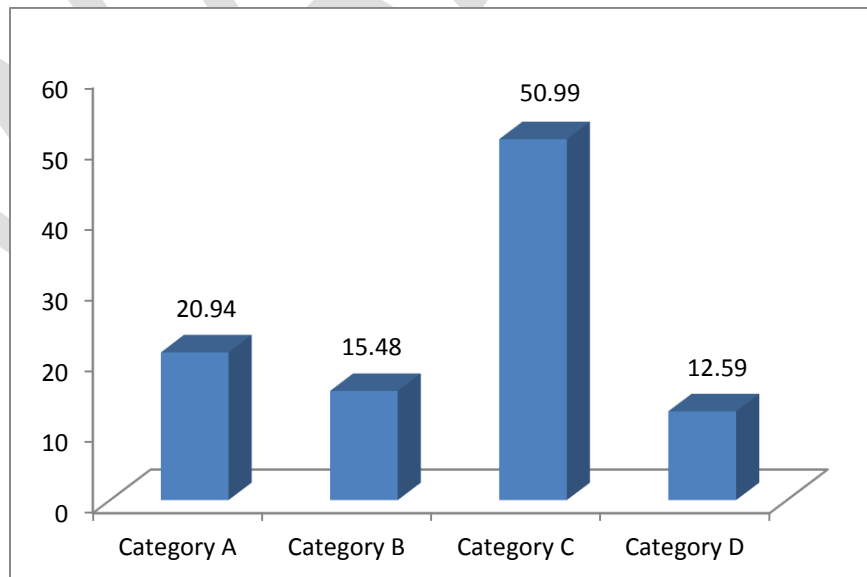


**Figure 3.1**  
**Percentage of Girls and Young Women who had Been Abused by the 4 Categories of Perpetrators of Abuse**



While half of the respondents had been abused by persons whom they were supposed to trust minimally, 1 out of 5 respondents (20.94%) were abused by persons whom they would ordinarily trust, absolutely. Persons who they should trust the least were the least dangerous.

**Figure 3.2**  
**Bar Graph Showing Percentage of Girls and Young Women who had Been Abused by the 4 Categories of Perpetrators of Abuse**



Details of the number of girls, and young women that the four categories of perpetrators of abuse attacked and the spaces where the attacks took place can be found in Appendix VII.

### **Unsafe Spaces**

In order to determine the environments in which persons who our respondents trusted, and trusted absolutely abused them the most, we again had to put some order to the myriad of environments in which the abuses had occurred, by putting the environments into categories. To categorize the environments, we once again return to those words, concepts and themes that were obvious in the narratives of our respondents; trust, trust, and abuse of trust; vulnerability; power/powerlessness; assumptions; shock; trauma; injuries; shame; the wish to die/the wish to murder; and support /lack of support from significant others and the Nigerian state. The question that comes to mind then is: which environments would anyone, girls and young women, ordinarily, assume to be safe at a general level and safe and free from sexual violence in particular?

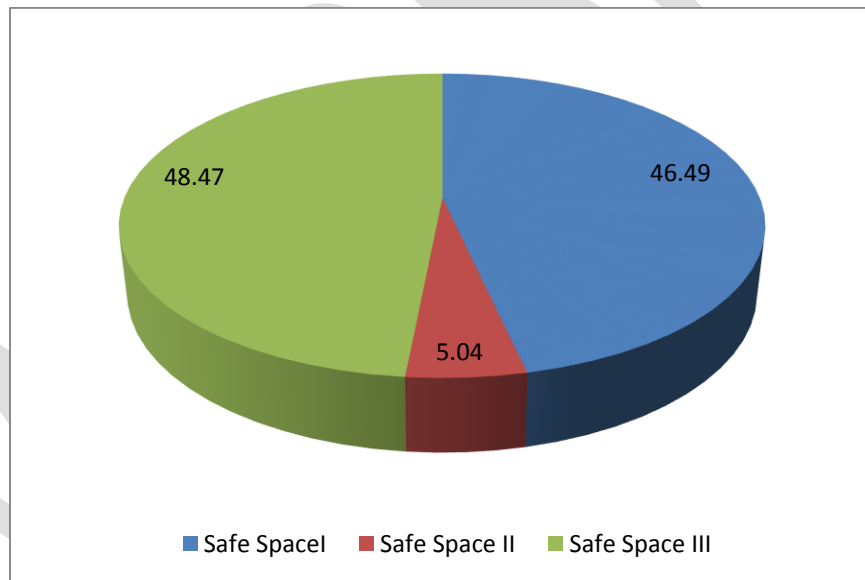
We therefore sorted the environments in which the abuse of the girls and women in this study had taken place into three categories. We called the first space '*Safe Space I*', which is an *assumed high level safe space*. These are respondents' homes, their schools, Churches/Mosques, and hospitals/clinics. These spaces were thought to be high level safe spaces because certain values are held up as sacrosanct in those spaces, and persons who inhabit or work within those spaces are supposed to hold the torch to those values. This is particularly so for homes. It is expected that persons who live within a homestead or members of a family will, for instance, protect one another from harm. Two of these spaces; schools and hospitals are publicly owned, and so the operators of the institutions are accountable to the public and the state. Religious institutions on their own part are expected to do God's work on earth, according to God's standards, encoded in their Holy Books. The activities of persons who come into schools, religious places and hospitals and clinics are therefore regulated, by established norms and values, by the codes of ethics of those who work in those spaces, and the rules and regulations put in place by their controlling authorities. It is because the conduct of persons in these spaces are generally highly regulated, and the regulations, in whatever form are enforced through (we assume), rewards and punishments, that we assume that the spaces are highly safe.

We classified the home of respondents' relations, a hostel and a shop as '*Safe Space II*', and the space is an *assumed medium level safe space*. A respondent's home is a place where she lives, whether she lives with her parents, relatives or with a guardian. The important point is that she lives under the care of at least one adult, who is responsible for her welfare short term or long term. Most of the respondents in this study live with their parents. A respondent's relative's home is not thought to be highly safe because of the matter of ownership, and the extent to which other persons, relations in this case, in their own homes, are able to hold the touch to the values that communities hold true. A hostel would, ordinarily be thought to be safe if it is one's hostel officially, but unsafe, if it is, for example, a male hostel, and so officially, females are not expected to be there. In addition when a child is in her mother's shop, she would be thought to be safe, but if she were in another woman's or man's shop, she might not feel so comfortable. More importantly however, is that in the spaces in this second category, rules, regulations and values are not enough to assume that one would be safe; membership and ownership, however defined, and control are important determinants of safety.

'Safe Space III', the one that we categorize as *assumed low level safe space* consist of the assailants' homes, streets, neighbourhoods, a friend's home, at a party, in the bush, by the river, in a farm, and in the assailants' workplace/office. Although all the people in these spaces, like the other two spaces, are supposed to uphold community values, and rules and regulations of their workplaces, questions of membership, ownership and control jump up again. The respondents in this study do not have control over events in these environments. They are not legitimate occupants of the home of an assailant, they cannot control what will happen at a friend's party or home, or in someone else's workplace and farm; meanwhile, streets, neighbourhoods, rivers, bush/bush path attract and belong to all and sundry.

On the basis of these categorizations, and the number of girls and young women who had been abused in the environments that we had categorized into three, we found that while 48.47% of the respondents were abused in Safe Space III, the assumed low level safe space, 46.49% were abused in Safe Space I, the assumed high level safe space. Figures 3.3 and 3.4 are the graphical representations of percentages for the three spaces.

**Figure 3.3**  
**Percentage of Girls and Young Women who had Been Abused in the Three Assumed Safe Spaces**

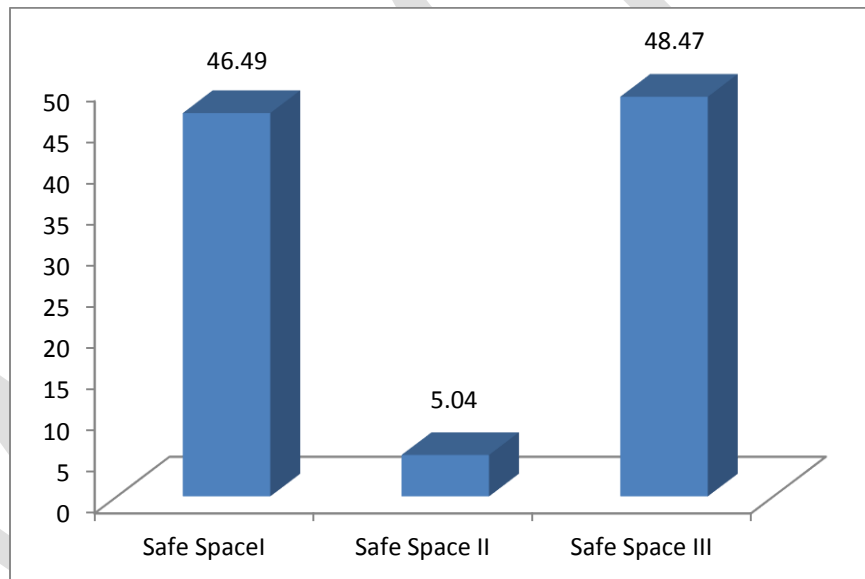


The assailants' home topped the list of environments where respondents were abused in Safe Space III, with 142 respondents (or 1 out of 4) abused in assailants' homes. We do not want to forget that the assailants who attacked the respondents were: their relatives; a few teachers and religious leaders; family friends; neighbours; male friends/boyfriends, and persons they knew from afar. In Safe Space I, the respondents' home topped the list of place of abuse, with 189 respondents suffering abuse in their own homes. Home was where girls and young women were most abused, with 1 out of 3 respondents suffering abuse in their own homes. Relations abused

them mainly in their homes, a few teachers and religious leaders abused them at home, family friends, neighbours, fellow students, male friend/boyfriend, people they knew from afar, persons they had never met, and armed robbers attacked them in their homes. Relations, neighbours and fellow students, and persons they knew from afar were most guilty of attacking the respondents in their own homes. We wish to re-state that we had assumed that the respondents' homes are assumed to be high level safe spaces. Still on the category of environments that are assumed to be high level safe spaces, after respondents' homes, school premises came up for mention next as environments where our respondents were often abused. Sixty one (61) respondents suffered sexual abuse in the hands of 9 groups of abusers in their schools. The respondents' fellow students topped the list of abusers, abusing 27 of them, while teachers followed, abusing 12 respondents in the school premises.

In three different schools, three high school students told these researchers that teachers who abused or were attempting to abuse them in school were physical sciences teachers, and they have, as they put it 'left them with their science subjects, and moved to the arts classes.'

**Figure 3.4**  
**Bar Graph Showing Percentage of Girls and Young Women who had Been Abused in the Three Assumed Safe Spaces**



We return to the percentage of respondents who suffered abuse in Safe Space I and Safe Space III, and observe that the percentages are close, and we wondered whether there is, indeed, any real difference in the number of respondents who suffered abuse in those two spaces. We therefore posed a question, and raised a null hypothesis. The question was: Is there a significant difference in the means of Safe Space I and Safe Space III? The null hypothesis was: There is no significant difference in the means of the number of girls and young women that were abused in Safe Space I and Safe Space III. Table 3.1 shows the number of girls and young women who suffered abuse in the hands of four categories of abusers in spaces that we assumed to be highly safe and the ones that we assumed would be unsafe.

**Table 3.1**  
**Number of Girls and Young Women Who Suffered Abuse in Safe Space I and III**

Safe Space I	Safe Space III
76	26
46	38
108	164
28	41

The test procedure that was adopted is the t-test.

Result:

**Table 3.2**  
**Paired Sample Statistics**

	Mean	N	Standard Deviation	Standard Error Means
<b>Safe Space I</b>	64.50	4	114	17.557
<b>Safe Space III</b>	67.25	4	64.825	32.412

Paired Samples Test

t value = -0.125

degrees of freedom= 3

mean = -2.750

pvalue = 0.909

standard deviation = 44.16

standard error mean = 22.058

Since the pvalue is greater than alpha(0.05), the decision is: do not reject the null hypothesis, which means there is no significant difference in the means of the number of girls and young women that were abused in Safe Space I and Safe Space III.

In order words, even though we categorized Safe Space I as an assumed high level safe space and Safe Space III as an assumed low level safe space, the number of girls that experienced abuse in those spaces is essentially the same after their means were subjected to statistical analyses.

Given this result, we went back to the environments of abuse that we sorted into the three assumed safe spaces, and tried to determine the character of the environments in Safe Space I and Safe Space III. We saw that there were disparate environments in those two spaces, but home was common to those two spaces. The victims' home in Safe Space I, and the assailants' home in Safe Space III. 'Homes' (victims' and assailants') were environments that were common to those two spaces, and incidentally, the two homes accounted for the large number of girls who were abused in Safe Space I and Safe Space III. In Safe Space I, 189 (or 1 out of 3) respondents suffered abuse in their own homes, while in Safe Space III, 142 respondents (or 1 out of 4) were abused in assailants' homes. Homes were the environment in which many girls and young women suffered abuse. Out of the 555 respondents who provided information about the specific location of their abuse, 331 (59.63%) experienced sexual abuse in homes.

This got us wondering about the character of a home, whether victims' or assailants', the similarities that homes shared with other places where abuses took place, and how homes differed from other locations of abuse; schools, religious places, bush paths, uncompleted buildings, streets, shops, etc, such that 60% of respondents were abused in homes. It occurred to us that when compared with other environments, homes are enclosed spaces, where "privacy" is guaranteed. So if a boy or man was visiting sexual assault on a girl, except she raises an alarm, nobody will know about the incident. In fact depending on the size of the home and its proximity to other homes, and the time of the day, a girl who shouts when she is being assaulted in a home may not be heard.

Once we found that many girls and young women were abused in homes and we had information about those who abused them in homes, we started wondering about the relationship between homes and other environments where abuses took place and also, the relationship between victims and perpetrators of abuse and those environments.

We again posed another question, and formulated a null hypothesis and an alternative hypothesis. The question was: Is there any relationship between the perpetrators of abuse and the environment of abuse?

Hypothesis:

H<sub>0</sub>: Perpetrators of sexual violence and abuse are independent of the environment of abuse

Against

H<sub>1</sub>: Perpetrators of sexual violence and abuse are dependent on the environment of abuse

Table 3.3 shows the number of girls and young women who had singled out their assailants and the spaces where the assailants abused them. The figures in Table 3.3 are different from those that we used to calculate the percentages represented in figures 3.1 and 3.2 because some respondents named their abusers, without specifying where the abuses occurred, and very few named a space without telling us the abuser. Those who pointed out their abusers but did not name the space where abuse took place were not included in Table 3.3.

**Table 3.3**  
**Number of Respondents who were Abused by Four Categories of Abusers in Specified Environments**

The Categories of Abusers	The Spaces Where SVA took Place			Total
	Safe Space I	Safe Space II	Safe Space III	
<b>Category A</b>	76	11	26	113
<b>Category B</b>	46	5	38	89
<b>Category C</b>	108	9	164	281
<b>Category D</b>	28	3	41	72
Total	258	28	269	555

The test procedure that was adopted was the chi-square independence and homogeneity test. And the assumptions that under gird the use of the test were that data were obtained from a random sample and the expected value in each cell was 5 or more.

**Result:**

16.7% of expected values are less than 5

Chi Square = 45.27

Degrees of Freedom = 6

p-value = 0.0000

Level of Significance =  $\alpha$  (5% or 0.05)

Since p-value is less than the level of significance, i.e.,  $0.0000 < 0.05$ , we reject  $H_0$ , and accept  $H_1$ , the alternative hypothesis, which is: Perpetrators of sexual violence and abuse are dependent on the environment of abuse.

This result means that: that there is an association between those who abused our respondents and the environments where the abuses took place; those who abused girls and young women had to be *in a location* for abuse to occur; so when the respondents shared the same location or space with a (potential) perpetrator of sexual abuse, abuse occurred. This seems clear from figures 3.1 and 3.2. Persons in Category D, persons that respondents did not share a space with, on a regular basis (persons they had never met and armed robbers), were not responsible for the abuse of many of our respondents. Whereas, persons who they shared spaces with regularly, were often fingered as their abusers. We recall for instance, that in our assumed high level safe space, after the home, the school came up for mention often, as the environment where sexual abuse of girls were perpetrated mainly by fellow students and teachers who they interacted with all the time in school. Pupils and students in formal education spend at least 1,344 hours every year in school, and so the result of statistical analyses, which established an association between place and perpetrators of abuse should not surprise us.

Box 3.2

“Yes, someone forced me to have sex with him in my home when I was 13, and was in JSS 3. I felt bad. He forced me to have sex with him but I did not do it. The person who forced me to have sex with him is my uncle.”

“At age 9, someone I knew from afar tried to rape me on the street. I was shivering and I felt bad. I did not tell my parents about it because it might lead to street fight and everybody will know about it.”

“My father’s friend used to have sex with me when I was 13 years old in my father’s house. I felt bad and lost my self esteem. He used to do it anytime my father travelled because I am always at home alone.”

“When I was 18, a religious leader forced me to have sex with him in my house. I felt embarrassed and ashamed of myself. He said he wanted to take revenge because I was dating a guy that was younger than him. I could not tell my parents because he is a man that is close to my family.”

“My cousin tried to rape me in my home somewhere in Mafoluku, Lagos when I was 21, and in part 1. Although he was unable to pull off my dress before I woke up, I felt like castrating him. When my parents and uncle asked him why he tried to rape me, he said it was the work of the devil. They dealt with him thoroughly. I stopped sharing a room with him.”

“Someone I had never met raped me around the bush path when I was on a pre-degree programme. I felt weak, tired, rejected, useless, and sobbed. I was 18. I was advised to keep the pregnancy.”

“At 21 in my room in school, a thief who entered my room through the window attempted to rape me. I was shocked. Even after several weeks, it still terrifies me. even

However, that our respondents shared a space with a perpetrator is not enough to result in abuse. Otherwise, all men who have the potential to abuse women would get busy abusing every girl and woman who they meet in different locations. We had mentioned that an enclosed space that guarantees some privacy or less interruption makes abuse possible and easy. In this case homes were the places where about 60% of abuse of 555 respondents occurred. We reasoned that another factor is important here, and that is the key factor that applies to all spaces of abuse, whether they occurred within or outside homes; the victim has to be alone with the assailant (s)/abuser or the victims have to be alone with the assailant (s).

So, with those two interpretations, we took the position that whenever our respondents were alone at home, or were alone with assailants at assailants' homes, or were alone with assailants in spaces other than 'homes', the assailants (who had intended to abuse them or just happened upon them) then abused them or attempted to abuse them. Some of the respondents had alluded to this in their narratives.

That girls were alone at home (in an assumed high level safe space) and the abuser was also there, and were alone (with assailant) in the assailants' home (that is, in an assumed low level safe space) ( they may have been invited, lured, and they may have gone there of their own accord), is what homes in the two spaces have in common with some of the other environments that respondents mentioned; in the school library when no one was around, in the back of the classroom, in the mission house, streets, neighbourhoods, bush, farm, workplace, river, and so on. However, because respondents were often alone with persons who they would be expected to ordinarily trust absolutely and minimally in homes, about 60% of them were abused in homes.

### **Issues of Concern**

First, we are concerned about the abuse of girls and young women by different categories of persons, but especially by family/extended family members in their own homes. However, just as the abuse of girls and young women by relatives in their homes is confounding and sickening, the audacity of non-inhabitants of such homes, going into those homes to sexually abuse the girls and young women there is shocking. Second, we are also worried about the abuse of girls in school premises, again by different groups of persons, but especially by their fellow students and teachers.

The scale of the abuse of trust and power in homes and school environments is gargantuan; and the implication of abuse by physical sciences teachers is that young girls get put off the science subjects. They are forced to seek other subjects where there are less hostilities directed at their bodies and psyche.

### **Summary of Section Three**

While half of the respondents had been abused by persons whom they were supposed to trust minimally, 1 out of 5 respondents (20.94%) were abused by persons whom they would ordinarily trust, absolutely. Persons whom they should trust the least were the least dangerous.

We found that while 48.47% of the respondents were abused in environments that we categorized as Safe Space III (the assumed low level safe space), 46.49% were abused in Safe Space I, the assumed high level safe space.



The assailants' home topped the list of environments where respondents were abused in Safe Space III, with 142 respondents (or 1 out of 4) abused in assailants' homes. The assailants who attacked the respondents were: their relatives; a few teachers and religious leaders; family friends; neighbours; male friends/boyfriends, and persons they knew from afar. In Safe Space I, the respondents' home topped the list of place of abuse, with 189 respondents suffering abuse in their own homes. Home was where girls and young women were most abused, with 1 out of 3 respondents suffering abuse in their own homes. Relations abused them mainly in their homes, a few teachers and religious leaders abused them at home, family friends, neighbours, fellow students, male friends/boyfriends, someone they knew from afar, persons they had never met, and armed robbers attacked them in their homes. Relations, neighbours and fellow students, and persons they knew from afar were most guilty of attacking the respondents in their own homes. Still on Safe Space I, school premises came up for mention next as the environment where 61 respondents experienced sexual abuse.

Even though we assumed that Safe Space I is a high level safe space and Safe Space III is an assumed low level safe space, the number of girls that experienced abuse in those two spaces is essentially the same after their means were subjected to statistical analyses.

We tried to figure out what those two spaces have in common. 'Homes' (victims' and assailants') were environments that were common to those two spaces, and incidentally, the two homes accounted for the large number of girls who were abused in Safe Space I and Safe Space III. In Safe Space I, 189 (or 1 out of 3) respondents suffered abuse in their own homes, while in Safe Space III, 142 respondents (or 1 out of 4) were abused in assailants' homes. Homes were the environment in which many girls and young women suffered abuse. Out of the 555 respondents who provided information about the specific location of their abuse, 331 (59.63%) experienced sexual abuse in homes.

This got us wondering about the character of a home, whether victims' or survivors', the similarities that homes shared with other places where abuses took place, and how homes differed from other locations of abuse; schools, religious places, bush paths, uncompleted buildings, streets, shops, and so on, such that 60% of respondents were abused in homes. It occurred to us that when compared with other environments, homes are enclosed spaces, where privacy is guaranteed.

We then tried to figure out the relationship between environments of abuse and perpetrators of abuse. Again, statistical analyses showed that there is an association between those who abused our respondents and the environments where the abuses took place; those who abused girls and young women had to be *in a location* for abuse to occur; so when the respondents shared the same location or space with a (potential) perpetrator, abuse occurred. This seems clear from figures 3.1 and 3.2. Persons in Category D, persons that respondents did not share a space with, on a regular basis (persons they had never met and armed robbers), were not responsible for the abuse of many of our respondents.

However, that our respondents shared a space with a perpetrator is not enough to result in abuse. Another factor is important, and that is the key factor that applies to all spaces of abuse, whether

they occurred within or outside homes; the victim has to be alone with the assailant (s)/abuser or the victims have to be alone with the assailant(s).

So, with those two interpretations, we came to the position that whenever our respondents were alone at home, or were alone with assailants in assailants' homes, or were alone with assailants in spaces other than 'homes', the assailants (who had intended to abuse them or just happened upon them) then abused them or attempted to abuse them. Some of the respondents had alluded to this in their narratives.

That girls were alone at home (in an assumed high level safe space) and the abuser was also there, and were alone (with assailant) in the assailants' home (that is, in an assumed low level safe space) ( they may have been invited, lured, and they may have gone there of their own accord), is what homes in the two spaces have in common with some of the other environments that respondents mentioned; in the school library when no one was around, in the back of the classroom, in the mission house, streets, neighbourhoods, bush, farm, workplace, river, and so on. However, because respondents were often alone with persons who they would be expected to ordinarily trust absolutely and minimally in homes, about 60% of them were abused in homes.

## Section Four Repercussions of Sexual Violence and Abuse

In this section, survivors of sexual violence and abuse share their feelings about their ordeal and the repercussions they had to bear as a result.

Survivors who shared their experiences with us indicated that the incident(s) saddened them, they felt hatred for their assailants, they were ashamed of themselves and could no longer look their assailants in the eyes, and they felt cheap, dirty, and cheated. One respondent said she had her bath 5 times before night fell. Many of the respondents cited bleeding resulting from rape, and one respondent said she still bleeds two years after the attack. Many girls and young women cited: aches and pains; bodily injuries; cuts and injuries to their vaginas; and weakness, after they were attacked. One respondent was unable to walk after the attack.

Two respondents told us that although they felt aroused, they did not allow the attempt to rape them to succeed, obviously because they had not given consent. One of the two said she was angered by the attempt to rape her. One respondent indicated that although she did not have sexual intercourse with men, she got used to being touched and kissed by men as a result of continuous assaults on her body. Yet another asked WARSHE for help because she said she had become addicted to sex as a result of the attack on her.

### Box 4.1

“Four men raped me four times around Baago area. I was 12 years old and blood was just coming out of my private part. I did not feel well. One of the four men had toasted me and I did not allow him that was why he raped me. I do not know why the others raped me and they are not people that I know. I just told my friends who counseled me.”

“When I was 15, my aunt’s husband raped me 5 times in his room. I felt bad and annoyed. I feel like killing him, and I pray to God to reward him.”

“Someone I know from afar raped me in my former house when I was 6 years old. I did not do anything. I did not tell my parents. I feel like death should take me away, and feel ashamed till now.”

“My relation raped me 2 times when we went there on holidays. I was 7 then. My lower abdomen was paining me and my pant had blood stains. He said he loves me and will marry me. I kept it to myself but I am always sad when I remember.”

““When I was about 15-17, our landlady’s son tried to rape me in his mother’s sitting room. While he was trying to force me, I was trying to get away, but my body started moving, so I cautioned my body. He has tried 3 times. I did not tell my parents, but I told my best friend.”

“A neighbor raped me in his house near my mother’s shop. I felt embarrassed, and as a result, locked myself in a room. I think it is because he was not married, although he was old enough to get married. I did not tell anybody about it. I was 8 years old.”

“A relation raped me at home when I was 9 and in primary 5. I lost my virginity. I felt like killing myself.”

#### Box 4.2

"I was going to Church when someone I had never met raped me. I was 6 years old. I felt like I should die."

"A neighbor raped me in the place where I lived. I was 12 at the time. Blood was coming out of my private part. He said he loves me, but I did not agree. My mother took him to the police station."

"When a fellow student raped me in his house three times, I felt sick, and was vomiting. My parents treated me, and sued him. I was 12 years old."

"When I was 8 years old, I was passing by on the road when I met this man who had sexual intercourse with me by force. I could not walk and I was worried. They put the man in prison and released him later."

"At 10, two relatives who lived with my parents raped me. I did not tell anyone about it. I felt sad, angry and cheated. Blood still comes out when I urinate. I find it difficult to relate to boys/men. I also feel used, dirty and hypocritical when I turn down the advances of men or advise my friends to abstain from sex."

"When I was 13, a teacher tried to rape me two times at home when he came to teach me at home. He succeeded the third time. I wanted to kill myself. My parents arrested the teacher and jailed him."

"My boyfriend and a Church member tried to rape me 4 times when I was 17. Each time I slapped and punched them away. I felt emotionally down; and I dislike men and hate them with a passion."

"A relation raped me three times in his room when I was 17, and in 100 level. I felt dirty, cheap and stupid. Someone told me it was a set up."

A number of respondents spoke directly and indirectly to loss of virginity. We will return to this subject later. Some felt they had lost something of themselves; they were, and are unable to trust men, and have kept men at a distance. Some of the Girls and young women who were attacked also felt murderous. They felt like killing and castrating their attackers; two hit their attackers with broken bottles, and one pulled a knife on the attacker, although she cut herself instead. There were those who were fearful, and those who had feelings of resignation because they felt their attackers were too big to handle (older than them, close to their families, were authority figures), there was nothing they could do in the circumstance, they had been threatened, or they had 'handed everything to the almighty to judge.'

About four respondents got pregnant as a result of their experience of sexual violence, while one respondent indicated she contracted sexually transmitted infection. Two of those who were pregnant gave birth to children resulting from rape by unknown assailants; while one of the four was ostracized by her family. A few of the girls said they were looking forward to avenging the assault on them, while some had death-wishes and suicidal thoughts; 'I wanted to die', 'I wished death would take me', 'felt like killing myself'.

#### Issues of Concern

From the narratives of the survivors in this study, two issues are telling. First, only 4 out of 506 respondents who had been raped told us that they received treatment after rape. Perhaps some received treatment but did not think it was important that they mention it because we did not ask them specifically whether they were treated? We suspect that the number of respondents that received treatment after they were raped is, indeed very low as the data revealed. This is because about half of the survivors did not tell anyone about their ordeal, and a few of those who did were either told to shut up, or beaten, or in one case, given family planning tablets. We also do not have evidence to show that parents who stood up for their children helped them to access proper

medical attention. The implications of a lack of attention to the medical needs of these survivors are better imagined. In addition, whereas most of the rape victims who told their parents and guardians about their ordeal got support from them, they also did not tell us that they went through any form of counseling. Those who said they got counseling were the victims of sexual harassment and exploitation, those who were going to be lured into prostitution, and those who had resisted the lure of prostitution. This means that survivors of rape did not get the assistance needed to work through their feelings and the issues that they had after their ordeal (the sadness, the death-wish, their anger and hatred for men, and so on).

Second, most of the survivors and those who did not tell us that they had experienced SVA were most concerned about the loss of virginity. How else could one have apprehended one single question that 2/3rds of a class of about 40 girls raised during the pilot study, and during collection of data in many of the high schools in the two states that we covered during field work? They asked whether it is possible to grow one's virginity back, after it has been taken in childhood. We recollect that about 31.2% of respondents had experienced abuse before age 13. And, pray, how does a child lose her virginity in childhood other than through abuse? Surely, a child cannot give consent in sexual matters. In the context of the dominant discourse about virginity, perhaps an alternative discourse around virginity is necessary?

#### **Summary of Section Four**

Respondents indicated that the incident(s) saddened them, they felt hatred for their assailants, they were ashamed of themselves and could no longer look their abusers in the eyes, and they felt cheap, dirty, and cheated. One respondent said she had a bath 5 times before night fell. Many respondents cited bleeding resulting from rape, and one respondent said she still bleeds two years after the attack. Many cited: aches and pains; bodily injuries; cuts and injuries to their vaginas; and weakness, after they were attacked. One respondent was unable to walk after she was raped.

Some respondents spoke to loss of virginity, they felt they had lost something of themselves; they were, and are unable to trust men, and have kept men at a distance. While some were fearful, and or had feelings of resignation because they felt their attackers were too big to handle (older than them, close to their families, were authority figures), and had handed 'everything to the almighty to judge', some felt murderous, they felt like killing and castrating their attackers.

A respondent got used to being touched and kissed while another got used to sex as a result of continuous assault on her body. Two respondents told us that although they felt aroused, they did not allow the attempt to rape them to succeed, obviously because they had not given consent. One of the two was angered by the attempt to rape her.

While some respondents had death wish, one had sexually transmitted disease, and four reported that they became pregnant as a result. Two gave birth to children from those incidents, and one of the two was ostracized by her family.

We were concerned that very few respondents made references to medical treatment and counseling after they had experienced rape. Apparently, most of the counseling they got was in respect of sexual harassment, exploitation and attempts to lure them into prostitution.

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Respondents were worried about the loss of virginity, in the context of dominant discourses about the need for girls to cherish their virginity. If 31.2% of respondents were abused before teenage, perhaps an alternative discourse around virginity is necessary?

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## Section Five

### What Survivors Did During and After their Ordeal

From our data, we note that about half of the girls and young women who experienced sexual violence and abuse did not do anything about it. They did not, or could not defend themselves, and they did not tell their parents or guardians after. A few in this category, told their friends. Respondents who could not defend themselves, and who did not report their abuse had been threatened, they felt their assailants were much older than them, the assailants were too strong and at times armed; the assailants were too close to their families and were respected; and their parents were either disciplinarians who will be angry with them if they knew they had been abused, or would make such a big fuss, that everyone will get to know their daughters had been raped. For some others in this category, it was because their parents would not do anything; at times, their inability to act was because they were too compromised to act.

We observe that at least one third of the girls and young women who had experienced sexual violence and abuse defended themselves vigorously; verbally, physically, and at times violently. Some of the girls in this category also told their parents about the attempt to abuse them or the violence they had experienced. There were those who could not defend themselves, but who told their parents about their experience.

Respondents insulted those who were harassing or trying to exploit them; and those who had raped them. Some of the girls and young women invoked divine wrath on their assailants; ‘cursed him’, ‘placed a curse on him’, while others stopped visiting, stopped seeing, stopped greeting their assailants; and broke up the relationship they had with the assailants. Some respondents said they ignored or warned persons who were trying to exploit them, while others ran away from assailants or would be assailants. One said she begged.

Some of the girls who were going to be assaulted, or were assaulted by their boyfriends or male friends said they slapped their assailants, and fought them. All categories of respondents mentioned that they bit their attackers, pushed

#### Box 5.1

“My friend tried to rape me twice in our house when I was about 17 years old. My breast pained me. I slapped him. He did not tell me why he tried to rape me.”

“A teacher raped me in his house when I was 13. The teacher had toasted me before. On this particular day, he said he would not come to school the next day so I should come and collect the lesson note for the other teacher. My body was in a bad condition, and I regretted going to his house. I did not do anything because he is my teacher, and I did not tell anybody because he said he will punish me if he heard anything about it outside.”

“Yes, when I was 16, a fellow student tried to rape me when I went to the well to fetch water. I begged this person who wanted to force me. May be he wanted to rape me because of the tight cloth that I used to wear and my make up.”

“A relation raped me in my school compound when I was 12 years old. I had wound in my private part. He did it because when he came for Christmas in our house, he toasted me and I did not accept, so he thought up a way of getting my parents into trouble. I told my parents, who set a trap for him. They invited the relation over for a family meeting. When he got to our house, they called the police who arrested him and dumped him in prison.”

“Someone that I knew from afar tried to rape me. I felt bad about it. I pushed him away and he fell down. I think he did that because he wanted to befriend me and I said no. I was 14 years old, and in JSS 2”

#### Box 5.2

“At ages 9 and 15, a fellow student and a former student tried to rape me, at the back of our house and at the assailant’s house. I tried to stab the first assailant with a knife, but cut myself instead. He beat me up and hit my head against the wall.”

“When I went to the riverside to wash clothes, boys who loiter around, whom I know from afar, tried to rape me. Adults who were not far off came to my rescue and the assailants disappeared. I did not report to my parents, because I felt that my parents will abuse me. I was 13 when it happened. I still see the boys around, and each time I see them, I run away.”

“Someone I had never met tried to rape in the boys hostel. I did what my Mum always tells me to do if such happens; I kicked his penis, and I did not wait. I was 17. When I told my Mum about it, she said I should be careful.”

“Someone that I knew from afar raped me twice on my way from school. I shouted. I was angry and I reported to my parents. They went to meet him at the bush path where he normally hides in waiting. I was 13 years old.”

“When I was 15 and in JSS 2, my area - brother tried to rape me in his room. I fought with him and did not allow him to have his way. I bit him like four times, and I reported the incident to his sister.”

“Two years ago, 2 students raped me on the way to school. I told my father. My parents reported to the police, and went to the assailants’ house. The Police caned them and released them after they begged.”

them away, and struggled to free themselves. About three said they destroyed things in their attackers’ homes, while one young woman said she hit the attacker’s manhood as she had been taught by her Mum. While one respondent was still a child, she attempted to stab her attacker, and two others said they hit their attackers with broken bottles.

Respondents who shouted and called for help were not often rescued, because their homes, bush paths or street corners were deserted at the time. A few teenagers indicated that they were rescued. One teenager who was rescued said that after she narrated the story of how her brother’s friend tried to rape her in her home to her neighbours, she iced the story with a lie; that he had stolen her N2, 000. He had to pay the money, and she thought she had rewarded him for behaving badly. Another respondent said she remembered that she just kept shouting when an adult at her mother’s work place tried to rape her when she was 5 years old.

A teenager showed vigilance and courage after she was raped. When she saw her assailant in town the second day, she accosted him, and got him arrested. While yet another organized a revenge attack on her assailant. She told us that together with her friends, they went to her assailant’s home to roughen him up. They beat him up so much so that his parents’ neighbours were concerned, and prevailed on the girls to stop.

But quickly, we want to note that most respondents fought, shouted, or bit their ways out of experiences that we now refer to as attempted rape, and 18% of those who had suffered abuse, about one in every five, indicated that they had experienced attempted rape.

#### Questions to Ponder

The Key Questions that respondents’ narratives raised are: a) how should girls and young women handle their experience of sexual violence and abuse during an attack; and b) what kinds of



response empower survivors of sexual violence and abuse the most?

### Summary of Section Five

From our data, we note that about half of the girls and young women who had experienced sexual violence and abuse did not do anything about it. They did not, or could not defend themselves, and they did not tell their parents or guardians after. A few in this category, told their friends.

One third of the girls and young women who had experienced sexual violence and abuse defended themselves vigorously; verbally, physically, and at times violently. Some of the girls in this category also told their parents about the attempt to abuse them or the violence they had experienced. There were those who could not defend themselves, but who told their parents about their experience.

Many of those who suffered abuses that were not rape said they warned the men, ignored them and or gave them a wide berth. Some of those who had experienced (attempted) rape said they ran away, begged, and placed a curse on their assailants

But we observed that most respondents fought, shouted, or bit their ways out of experiences that we now refer to as attempted rape, and 18% of those who had suffered abuse, about one in every five, indicated that they had experienced attempted rape

The Key Questions that respondents' narratives raised are: a) how should girls and young women handle their experience of sexual violence and abuse during an attack; and b) what kinds of response empower survivors of sexual violence and abuse the most? We will try to answer these questions later on in this report.

#### Box 5.3

"At age 13, at my former classmate's house, a fellow student raped me. He knocked my head against the wall. I felt weak, afraid and disappointed. Perhaps he did that because he had proposed to me in the past. My parents got him locked up in the Police cell for two weeks. I damaged his stereo set and other electronics in his house."

"There is this person who once touched my breast and offered to give me money if I would sleep with him. I warned the person for the first and last time. The person is a teacher. Let the Government sack him."

"When I was 9 years old, someone that I knew from afar raped me in his house. I had body pains, and I felt bad. I do not know why he did it, and I did not do anything to the man because he brought out a knife."

"Two years ago, 2 students raped me on the way to school. I told my father. My parents reported to the police, and went to the assailants' house. The Police caned them and released them after they begged."

"My brother's friend attempted to rape me when I was 14. I struggled with him and sustained bodily injuries. I also screamed and other people in the house came running. I told them about the attempted rape and lied that I had 2000 Naira on me which the assailant had stolen. He had to pay; big lesson for him."

"At 17, my boyfriend raped me in his house. I was bleeding, and went to the hospital without telling my parents. I kept the secret to myself, but I cursed him."

## Section Six

### What Significant Persons Did about the Violence and Abuse Meted out to Girls and Young Women

Many survivors of sexual violence and abuse, about half of them, did not tell significant persons around them that they had experienced abuse. Since those significant persons did not have information about the abuse of their children, wards and loved ones, perhaps we should not expect any action or inaction on their part then? Well, some of the respondents said as much. We had explored some of the reasons the survivors did not tell parents, guardians, and so on, about their abuse in Section 5. However, given the feelings that resulted from the attacks and the repercussions that survivors suffered, it seems surprising that some of the parents did not notice that their children had been traumatized. We will return to this point later.

A few of the survivors who told their parents or guardians about their abuse indicated that those adults did not do anything; while some of the parents in this category were deeply pained about the assault on their children but could not act, others were too compromised to support their children, and yet others thought their children suffered abuse because they allowed it to happen to them.

In cases involving assailants who were young and known to the victims, survivors' parents reported to the assailants' parents and or started a big row. Usually, survivors' parents let off, once apologies were tendered by assailants and or their parents. In one case, it was a religious leader who stopped the victim's mother from reporting to the Police when he begged her.

Many of the girls and young women were told to be careful and stop associating with persons who had abused them, or attempted to abuse them. In addition to this kind of counsel, most

#### Box 6. 1

"My relation raped me at my parent's when I was 14. I felt sad and was unhappy with him. At first, my parents were angry with him, but they forgave him after he appealed to them."

"My neighbor has attempted to rape me in my house many times. I feel very sad and disappointed. He always tells me that he loves me and will take care of me. I told no one but my friend who said I should give him what he wants."

"A fellow student has raped me twice in our house. I was not feeling fine and I was afraid. He did not tell me why he did it. I reported to my mother. She wanted to report to the Police but our Pastor begged her not to, so she forgave him. I was 15 years old when it happened."

"When I was 13, someone I knew from afar had hit my buttocks and asked me to have sex with him so he could give me money. I told my mother who went to him and abused him."

"I was 14 years old when a fellow student raped me in my home on two different occasions because I was the only one at home. I abused him and cursed him. I told my mother, who accused me of walking around carelessly."

"Someone who I know from afar, but who is close to my brother raped me inside our house 3 times when I was 12 years old. I think he forced me because he cannot control himself. I fought him and abused him. I felt weak, and I was sad. I told my friend who advised me not to stay alone at home."

"A fellow student raped me twice in my house when I was 10 and in primary 5. I shouted for help, I felt sad, and I was weak. I did not tell anyone about it."

#### Box 6.2

“My boyfriend has raped me twice in our house. I was bruised. He uses charms. My parents told me that from their findings. I could not do anything to him because I would not know he was having sexual intercourse with me until he has finished. I told my Mum, who arrested him with the Police, but he was bailed. On the second occasion, my parents met him in the act and he was severely beaten. He ran away and has since not shown up in our house. I was 15 years old.”

“My boyfriend raped me in his house when I was 13 years old. I tried to stop him, but I could not. When I told my Mum, she was angry with me; she abused me, and asked me not to ever mention it again. “

“My stepbrother raped me when I was 12 in our house. I abused him and tried to push him away. I told his parent (Dad), who is my Step Father, but he did not do anything about it.”

“When I was 14, someone I have never met raped me in his house when he asked me to come for the money for the goods I sold to him earlier in the day. I shouted, but there was no one around, I resisted him, but to no avail. My Mummy went to their house, told his parents, and nothing happened after, because they begged my Mummy.”

“When I was 13 years old, a bike man raped me in the bush. I was angry and sad, and I had bruises all over my body. He had told me that he wanted to befriend me but I refused. I tried to shout but he gagged my mouth with a cloth. I tried to fight him, but he was older than me and stronger. My mother beat me mercilessly that day. She caned me for allowing that to happen to me.”

parents/guardians acted swiftly when their daughters and wards told them they had suffered abuse. They often expelled relatives who had abused their children from their homes, and in one case, got the relative arrested. In addition, when abuses happen in schools, parents reported to the school authorities; in one case, a student was expelled, in another a teacher was sacked, and in a few others, the teachers were disciplined. Respondents did not tell us how. In two cases involving teachers, discussions were held with the school authorities.

Survivors, alone, but often led by their families reported many of the cases involving young assailants and other categories of assailants to the Police. The Police did one or two, or in some cases, three of the following: they beat the assailant thoroughly and set him free; got the assailant to sign an undertaking that he would not repeat the misdemeanor again, kept the assailant in Police detention for days; or let the assailant off once he had begged for forgiveness.

Some of the survivors who told their friends said their friends counseled that they should not stay alone at home, because they were attacked when they were alone at home. A friend told a survivor of attempted rape that she should give the assailant what he wanted, and a few told their friends that it was no big deal that men were harassing them, or were making attempts to exploit them sexually. In one case, the survivor and her friends went to roughen up the assailant in his home.

#### **Issues of Concern**

We observe that only one of the respondents referred to a judicial process after the arrest and detention of assailants by the Police. Assailants who were apprehended therefore got away with a slap on the wrist, given the penchant of the Police for acting both as law officers and judicial officers; they were the judges in most of the cases cited by the respondents in this survey.

But how did survivors apprehend the role of the Police? While many who reported at the Police station seemed satisfied that their assailants were kept in Police detention for days, and or were thoroughly beaten by the Police, some grudged the intervention of the Police. The criminal code, referred to in the early part of this report stipulates punishment for sexual offences; but the cases have to go through the judiciary. These sexual offences are criminal offences, and as yet in Nigeria, they do not fall under cases that can be handled through alternative dispute resolution processes. At any rate, the Police are the law enforcement arm of the Nigerian State, and it is therefore surprising that in the cases of sexual violence reported by survivors and their families, they chose to do the work of the Judiciary. Or is it surprising? Essentially, by failing to act according to the law, the Nigerian State, represented by the Police, failed the girls and young women whose experiences we have captured here, and those who have similar experiences all around the country.

WARSHE had earlier observed that when assailants go through the judicial process, whether or not they are convicted for sexual offences, they become sober; and are probably going to engage in critical self reflection on how they got to that point. Sending them off with a slap on the wrist from the Police Station probably does not get them to engage in self reflection; and so, it is not surprising that ‘rape and sleep in Police cell for two weeks’, ‘rape and be beaten thoroughly by the Police’ and ‘rape and beg {R&B}’ seem to be the game in town. WARSHE had intervened in the case of a man who was trying to rape a 16 year old girl who was shouting loudly. When his male friend and neighbor knocked on his door and asked why there was so much noise coming from his room, he replied that he was doing ‘R&B, Rape and Beg.’ And indeed, together with his family, he begged after the incident, when the matter was reported at the Police Station. He then adopted the game of begging when the survivors’ siblings and guardians were around, and taunting his victim and pointing her out to his friends as his

### Box 6.3

“A fellow student raped me 6 times in school at the back of the hall. I had a bruise on my face, I was disappointed, I hated the boy and could not look through his face again. I hit him with a rolling stick and went to report to the police. I was 13 when it happened.”

“At 13, someone I knew from afar raped me in my house. I felt so confused and did not understand what had happened. There was no one at home that day. I bit the boy bitterly. For a whole week, I felt pain in my vagina. They later caught him and beat him seriously.”

“My Daddy’s friend raped me 4 times at the back of the classroom after closing hours. He stuffed my mouth with a cloth when he was forcing me. I bled so much after; it was the Lord that saved my life. I was 14 years old when it happened. I did not know why he did that to me, because I did not offend him. When I told my parents, they did not do anything to him. They said the Lord will judge.”

“A relation raped me in my father’s junior brother’s house 4 times. I was 13 then. I felt disgusted and could not shout because he closed my mouth with a cloth. My vagina bled. I think he did it because they all know that my Mummy would not talk and she is going to collect money and any amount that she requests for will be given to her. I told my Mummy, and she gave me family planning drugs. She said I should always tell her whenever I have sex with men.”

“A teacher raped me when I was 10 after closing hours in school. I told my Mum, and the teacher was sacked.”

victim when he was in the company of his friends in town. We have therefore been tracking the phenomenon of R&B, Rape and Beg, and we are appalled at its prevalence, and how it may be conditioning the behavior of potential serial rapists and those who are thinking of rape. Some of the narratives of the girls and young women in this study seem to be part of that phenomenon, and more; ‘rape and sleep in Police cell for two weeks’, ‘rape and be beaten thoroughly by the Police.’

The biggest problem with ‘rape and beg’ is that it is the assailants’ way of describing impunity, and it is a cynical and an exploitative view of the concept of forgiveness. Survivors are expected to forgive those who had planned to rape them, and who knew they would beg after, especially in the name of God. The Nigerian state, represented by the Police, should not, inadvertently be a part of this game which is contributing to continuing sexual abuse of girls and women.

We are not therefore saying that survivors will get justice once the police move the cases to the judiciary. Four years ago, WARSHE documented problems that hinder the search for justice for survivors of sexual abuse. The problems identified in the WARSHE document were attitudinal, structural, and problems related to the system of administration of justice in Nigeria. However, one key problem that WARSHE called attention to, which affect the administration of justice is Police handling of cases of sexual violence and abuse (WARSHE, 2008). Four years on, respondents in our study have again shown Police handling of cases of SVA as a clog in the wheel of justice in cases of SVA.

Apart from the role of the Nigerian state especially in the perpetuation of R&B, the seeming lack of attention of some adults; parents and guardians, to the plights of children is a source for concern. Most of the girls and young women who experienced indecent assault, and (attempted) rape and gang rape were taken aback by their experience; they sustained injuries, and harbored some deep resentment, sometimes for themselves, and often for their assailants. If we take on board the fact that 40.1% of those who provided information about the number of times that they had experienced sexual violence and abuse had experienced SVA more than once, it is a surprise that parents whose children did not tell them about their experiences did not observe that their children had concerns.

### **Summary of Section Six**

About half of the respondents did not tell significant persons around them about their abuse. A few significant persons were told but did not, or could not act in favour of the respondents, although some of them were deeply pained about the abuse of their children. Some mothers rebuked their girls for lurking around danger, and for ‘allowing themselves to be raped.’ They therefore either beat the girls thoroughly, or told them to shut up. Most parents however, acted swiftly when their children/wards told them they had been abused.

They often expelled relatives from their homes, reported to, and interacted with school authorities, interacted with parents of young assailants and reported to the Police. Parents/guardians often counseled respondents in cases of SVA that are not rape cases. School authorities sacked a teacher, expelled a student, and took disciplinary action against some teachers. While some friends advised respondents who told them about the (attempt to) abuse to

watch their backs, others indicated that it's no big deal, and they could give in. In one case, the respondent and her friends went to the assailant's home to roughen him up.

Survivors, alone, but often led by their families reported many of the cases involving young assailants and other categories of assailants to the Police. Often, the Police did one or two, or in some cases, three of the following: they beat the assailant thoroughly and set him free; they get the assailant to sign an undertaking that he will not repeat the misdemeanor again; they keep the assailant in Police detention for days; or let the assailant off once he had begged for forgiveness.

We raised concerns about lack of recourse to judicial processes in Police handling of cases reported by respondents. Only one of the respondents referred to a judicial process after the arrest and detention of assailants by the Police. Assailants who were apprehended therefore got away with a slap on the wrist, given the penchant of the Police for acting both as law officers and judicial officers; they were the judges in most of the cases cited by the respondents in this survey. Police handling of the cases that our respondents reported to them foster impunity or rape and beg.

We arrived at the position that many adults, especially parents and the Nigerian State, especially the Police, failed many of the survivors who shared their experiences with us.

## Section Seven

### Why it Happened

In this section, we examine: survivors' understanding of why they were abused; the reasons abusers adduced for abusing the girls and young women; and we put forth our own explanations of why the abuses occurred.

About a third of the respondents who had experienced abuse said they did not know why they were abused, the assailants did not tell them, and they did not wait to ask why they were abused after they had been abused. They also did not wait to ask why someone attempted to abuse them once they were able to get away from that person. One respondent said she just could not understand why her mother's relation raped her.

Some of our respondents alluded to the fact that they were alone where their abuse took place or the environment where their abuse took place was deserted at the time when they were abused or when the attempt to abuse them occurred. From the narratives of others, we inferred that they were alone at home, in assailants' homes or deserted streets or buildings, footpaths or farms.

A lot of the respondents indicated that persons who attempted to violate them and those who had attacked them had indicated before then that they loved them and they were beautiful. These were usually their male friends, boyfriends, and relations. There were girls and young women who thought they were victims of sexual violence because of their economic status; while one girl said someone tried to rape her because her Mum is rich, she is beautiful and respects elders, another girl said a relation's son raped her because his mother pays her school fees. A girl told us that a relation raped her because she had taken money from him and refused to sleep with him, while yet another said that because she needed financial support for her school fees and asked a family friend, he made it clear that she had to sleep with him if she wanted his support.

#### Box 7.1

"When I was 15, someone I knew from afar raped me in my area. I bled and was tired. I think the reason he forced me was that he had proposed to me and I refused. My parents arrested him."

"A fellow student tried to rape me at home when I was 10 years old. I slapped his face and fought him. I think he tried that because my mother is rich, I am beautiful and I respect older persons."

"One of my Daddy's younger brothers raped me in my Daddy's room when I was 12. I was shaking and I ran out of the house. He forced me because I was the only one at home. I reported to my Daddy, who sent him away."

"A fellow student tried to rape me because he said I'm the only girl that the teachers are proud of. I was 7 years old. I shouted, and he left me alone."

"At age 14, a relation raped me at home. I felt pain all over my body and was embarrassed. He behaved that way because his mother was paying my school fees. I fought him, and did not tell anybody about it."

"A relation raped me at home because there was no one at home except the two of us. I reported him to my parents who sent him packing from our house. I was 17 then."

"I was 16 when my sister's husband tried to rape me three times because he pays my school fees. Although I felt weak, I pushed him and ran away. I told my friend about it, and kept a distance from him."

"My relation raped me several times in my home when I was ten years old. He told me that it was because my father offended him."

The sexual attack on some of the girls were revenge for: their refusal to go out with boys and men who had asked them or their siblings out; abusing boys who had asked them out; an offence the attacker claimed their parents had committed; and for going out with someone else, and not him. One respondent thought the attempt to rape her may be due to the tight dresses that she wears; while another said she at times acts in seductive manner to men. Some of our respondents thought the attack on them was sheer wickedness, while many pointed out that assailants were just taking advantage of young people who were vulnerable.

While some of the girls and young women thought their assailants were under the influence of stimulants, some others were sure that their assailants attacked them to satisfy their sexual desires, or had uncontrolled sexual desires. There were assailants who attacked women on the basis of wrong assumptions and patriarchal norms; from the premise that women are sexual objects, a teacher tried to rape a teenager because he believed she was like the other girls who liked to sleep with their teachers. Another assailant said if it was not him, it would be another man, so it had better be him, who will have sexual intercourse with the teenager. Well, so he tells himself that rape is sexual intercourse, and sexual intercourse with a teenager is appropriate!

Some girls were attacked for being beautiful and proud and for being the teachers' favourite students. In these cases, the (attempted) abuse of some of our respondents were fuelled by patriarchal beliefs and attitudes, and were therefore attempts to cut girls who were beautiful, brilliant, proud, and who had refused the boys'/men's sexual advances to size.

**Sexual Violence and Abuse Occur When the Capacity to Abuse Trust and Power, Patriarchal Beliefs and Values, Differing Assumptions about Relationships, Warped Values, and Impunity, Berth in and Find Lone Girls and Young Women in Specific Locations (Unsafe Spaces.)**

In the preceding paragraphs, many respondents shared their thoughts on why they were attacked, and they also told us the reasons their attackers gave for attacking them. In the paragraphs that follow, we shall examine the reasons that the assailants and survivors adduced, and the survivors' first order construct of their experience. We will then connect our own explanations of why survivors experienced abuse to the explanations that the survivors provided.

**Abuse of Trust and Power**

Many of the men that were fingered by girls and young women, abused the trust that the survivors had in them, they abused the power that they had over their victims, and exploited the vulnerability of the girls and women. We recall that many of the girls were at home alone when they were attacked, often by persons who they and or their parents trusted, in their own home, which is a space that would ordinarily be assumed to be highly safe. And come to think of it, if one is not safe in her own home, which space can be considered safe? So the girls and young women were attacked right under their parents'/guardians' nostrils. We also recall that some of the adults who abused or tried to abuse the girls and women in our study were in positions of power relative to the girls and were explicitly or implicitly trusted by either the girls or their families or both; they were teachers, religious leaders that were respected by the family, an old man, a benefactor, family friends, relations whose income levels were higher than the survivors'



#### Box 7.2

A man I had never met raped me in his office. I was 19 years old and was in part 1. I got into trouble with the Police for wandering so he offered to help me, and called me into his office. He took advantage of me because I needed help. I could not tell anybody. I felt dirty, used and stupid. I washed 5 times before night fell.”

“A fellow student raped me in Ibadan when I was twelve years old. I cried. He did it because he just wanted to be wicked. I did not tell anybody.”

“Someone I had never met raped me along Odo-Ogbe road when I was 15. I bled and I felt so bad. He said it was because I am beautiful and proud.”

“Someone I knew from afar raped me in the classroom of my primary school when I was 9. My private part bled, I was unhappy and I cried. I think that man just picked on a young girl who knows nothing to enjoy himself. My parents came to school to report to the headmistress of the school.”

“My boyfriend raped me in his house twice, and I felt like a dead woman. He claimed that if he did not do it, someone else will. I was 21. I have since been avoiding him.”

“My Mum’s relation tried to rape me twice in my Mum’s house. The third time, he succeeded. I was 18, and was in part 1. I felt bad and I’ve not gotten out of the trauma. I just cannot fathom it.”

“At ages 10, 15, and 16, my cousin, a male family friend and a co-tenant’s child tried to rape me. They were not all successful, and I have been avoiding them since. I think it is because they find that I am alone when they come to my house. I did not tell my parents, but I declared them my enemies.”

and those who lived off the survivors’ families, but were older than the survivors. Essentially, adults failed children who had trusted and respected them.

We continue our focus on abuse of power and trust still. We recall that 31.1% of respondents in this study were abused before they reached teenage, and about 56.4% were abused as teenagers, and as they reached the age of majority, or adulthood. Therefore, 87.5% of respondents were abused while they were still minors/children, by among others, older persons: relations whom they identified either as maternal or paternal uncles, the husband of an aunt, a cousin, and so on; religious leaders; medical staff; family friends (father’s friend, brother’s friend, brother of mother’s friend); neighbors, many of who are older than their victims; and male friend/boyfriend, persons that survivors knew from afar, and persons they had never met, many of who are likely to be older than their victims.

#### **Abuse of Power of Seniority**

Although we did not ask respondents for the age of their abusers, their relationship with their abusers gave clues about the age of their abusers. Respondents also provided an important clue to the age of their assailants. In their narratives, many of them referred to their assailant(s) as ‘*nwon*’, which translates directly to ‘they’. If a non-Yoruba speaker were to analyse the data from the respondents, s/he would probably assume that a respondent who refers to her assailant as ‘*nwon*’ ‘they’, is referring to more than one assailant, and it may be assumed she suffered gang rape. An awareness of the Yoruba usage of ‘*nwon*’ was helpful in our analyses of data. ‘*Nwon*’ is used in two ways in Yoruba language. ‘*Nwon*’ that refers to more than one person and ‘*nwon*’ that is language of respect; the way a younger person refers to an older person in Yorubaland. Whereas ‘*o*’, meaning s/he, (for instance in ‘*o sope*’, meaning s/he said) can only be used in reference to someone younger than the speaker or the speaker’s age mate, a person who refers to

someone older than herself or himself as 'o', 'o sope', will be considered rude and lacking in character. So when our respondents referred to many of their attackers as 'nwon', it was clear to us that the attackers were older than their victims. Many of the respondents actually translated 'nwon' to the English Language as 'they' in their questionnaires. Where interviews were held, the researchers retained respondents' use of the word 'nwon' as 'they', in order to capture the essence of their response, and give the response meaning in context.

So, from the respondents' narratives, many of the persons who abused them were older than them, and so those assailants abused the power conferred on them as seniors or authority figures, and the trust that comes with being older than another in our context, when they meted out violence against our respondents. It is important that we note that even after they had abused and exploited these respondents, the girls and young women continued to refer to them in the respectful term 'nwon'. They did not drop the use of 'nwon'. This is because respect for elders is one of the important values that Yorubas hold true. It is therefore not surprising that about 40% of respondents who had suffered abuse did not, and could not do anything about their abuse. Unfortunately, persons who abused the children and young women knew this, so some kept up the abuse, knowing full well that their bad behavior will not be seriously challenged and punished.

#### **Assumptions Made About Relationships: Girls and Boys; Girls and Young Women and Young/old and Elderly Men; and Parents and Trusted Friends and Families Not on the Same Page**

While many men abused the trust that their victims had in them, many of the girls and young women were too trusting, and also held assumptions that differed from those of their abusers' about the relationships they had with the abusers. Too often, they thought they were being friendly with, and had platonic relationships with boys, young, and older men. Unknown to them, the boys and men saw them as sexual objects and were plotting how to have sexual intercourse with them. When the girls refused because they did not think of the boys and men as sexual partners, the boys/men forced them. At times, it was just that the girls were not ready for a sexual relationship. Usually, these girls were stunned, shocked, disappointed and traumatized by the attack on them.

Still on abuse of trust, there were parents who left their daughters in the care of wolfish and foxy male relations, family friends and neighbours who they probably assumed to be trust worthy and helpful. Such males, instead of looking out for the welfare of girls that had been committed to their care, exploited their positions as older persons, to visit abuse on the girls who were, at that point, vulnerable and unable to defend themselves. We think that allied to the point about abuse of trust by so many of the males fingered by survivors is that some parents were trusting of such males to the point of carelessness. Those parents could even be accused of neglect of their children, and or lack of attentiveness to their children's emotional needs, such that parents did not know that some of their children had been traumatized, in some cases, on a continuous basis by male relations, spiritual leaders, and 'close family friends'.

#### **Quiet Survivors**

Survivors who kept quiet about their abuse; those who kept quiet about their attempted abuse; and those who kept quiet about their first abuse, inadvertently allowed their assailants to

continue to abuse them. Those abusers got a blank cheque, sort of. We recall that many survivors of sexual violence and abuse, about half of them, could neither do anything about their abuse nor tell significant persons around them that they had experienced abuse. We also recall that some of the survivors suffered continuous abuse by one assailant; these survivors also unwittingly permitted their abusers to go and prey on other girls and women. Given the prevalence of patriarchal norms, such abusers may have convinced themselves that girls and women love abuse, or at least do not mind being abused.

### **Degeneration**

We return our gaze to relations who raped, attempted to rape, or attempted to exploit (younger) female relatives. We recall that some of the girls said male relatives raped them or attempted to rape them and there were no explanations for their bad behaviour. A few said assailants told them it was for an offence their parents had committed. For some other survivors, their male relatives abused them because they had toasted them and they refused, they had collected money from those relatives and refused to sleep with them, or that relations had been telling them they were beautiful. It seems strange that these kinds of conversations should be jumping up in Yoruba communities where marriages between blood relations; and by extension sexual relationships, are prohibited. If there were infractions around this, it would be that the parties involved met outside their communities, and were totally unaware that they were blood relations.

This is not just a tradition; it is a practice that still subsists, and the belief that blood relations should not marry is held as sacrosanct. So the idea of male blood relations toasting female relatives, or giving female relations money for sex, is a degeneration of the values that Yoruba communities hold true around marriage, and by extension, sex.

#### Box 7.3

“Someone I knew from afar tried to rape me at my friend’s party when I was 14. When I managed to escape, my body was shivering and I was unable to relax. He told me that he wanted to date my sister, and she abused him, so the attempt to rape me was his revenge. My parents reported him to his own parents.”

“My relation raped me in the bush when I was 18 because I had collected money from him before and I did not allow him to sleep with me.”

“A neighbor touched my breast because I asked him to help put water on my head. I wanted to defend myself, but the water was already on my head. I was 15.”

“A male friend and a stranger raped me when I was 18 and 25, and was in ND 1 and HND 1, in Lagos, and in school. I felt sick. I think they just like to take advantage of females because they are vulnerable. I told my friends, and I let the matter rest.”

### **In the Context of Patriarchy and Poverty**

Perhaps this kind of ‘degeneracy’ is to be expected in our patriarchal communities? Perhaps it was only a matter of time before these issues jumped up, in the context of increasing poverty within communities where: men believe women to be sexual objects; they assume that a woman or a girl must have a man or boy who is sleeping with her; men are God sent to women, and more importantly men do not get punished for raping ‘sexual objects’ (read girls and women). Within these structures, all girls and women can be preyed upon; perhaps the better if they are nieces, cousins, (step) daughters, and female in-laws, left in the care of dodgy male relations. Perhaps, they are even game if they require financial assistance!

### **In the Context of Impunity**

We recall that only two survivors told us that their parents handed relations who raped them to the Police. We hardly report sexual offences by relations to the police. Not that the Police will do any better than parents who ran their daughters’ assailants out of their homes. The problem with sending such assailants away from one home without them accounting properly for their misdeeds is that they will go and prey on the girls in other relatives’ homes.

Whether relations, friends, neighbours, teachers, spiritual leaders or persons that the respondent had never met, once sexual abusers go unpunished, they will abuse their victim a second time if the opportunity presents itself, or seek out another victim. We should not forget that some of the survivors told us that relations, neighbours, and friends and family friends abused them several times. Some attempted once, and twice, before they succeeded. They went that far because the victims were silent and so there were no checks on their bad behavior.

Unfortunately, even when survivors refused to be silent and the perpetrators were apprehended, they begged their way out, and they must have convinced themselves that they can always rape and beg (R &B) their ways out of punishment (often in the name of God); they must have convinced themselves that once they blamed the devil in our deeply religious environments, forgiveness is guaranteed. We recall that survivors told us about assailants who begged their parents at the police station, parents of assailants who begged victims’ parents, and the pastor who begged the victim’s mother not to report to the Police. In this context, boys and men who have the potential to abuse girls and women and those who are habitual abusers begin to feel it is their right to rape and exploit girls and women.

### **Sexual Violence and Abuse Occurred When Girls and Young Women Were Alone in the Company of (Potential) Abusers in Homes, Enclosed Spaces and Other Spaces that Abusers Turned Into Unsafe Spaces.**

From the analyses of data in Section Three, we know that sexual violence were either pre planned or were spur of the moment opportunistic attacks on vulnerable and powerless girls and young women; who were often younger and economically less endowed than their assailants; whose physical prowess could not match their abusers; and who were alone with assailants in spaces where assailants then turned into unsafe spaces.

From our analyses, it seems the locations where abuses took place, were not, in and of themselves unsafe. They became unsafe because persons (in this case men) who occupied them

by right, or who invaded those spaces: had little or no qualms about abusing trust and power; had no qualms about putting into practice actions fuelled by patriarchal beliefs and attitudes; and had convinced themselves that they will neither be caught nor punished when they have abused vulnerable girls and young women.

To better understand the point that is being made, we asked this question: why would a man (Man A) be alone with a girl or young woman in a 'home' or any other location, and not (attempt to) rape, sexually exploit or harass her; and another man, (Man B) be alone with the same girl or another girl and (attempt to) rape, sexually exploit or harass her? Our response is that when a girl or woman becomes physically or psychologically vulnerable for whatever reason(s), in any location, the space that she occupies becomes an unsafe space. If Man A. then interacts with this girl or woman who is alone in a particular location and did not abuse her, it could be that he has integrity and holds the values of trust as true and dear. He might or might not believe in patriarchal norms and values but puts a higher value on trust than patriarchal beliefs and attitudes. He might or might not be fearful of human and or divine wrath and punishment for infractions on the dignity of other persons, and it might just not occur to him to infringe on the sexual rights of others.

However, when girls and young women who are physically or psychologically vulnerable for whatever reason(s) are alone in the company of certain kinds of men (men who have the capacity to abuse trust and power at will, those whose behavior to women are dictated by patriarchal beliefs and attitudes, and those who thrive in impunity), such men (attempt to) abuse them. Man B. belongs among such men. A girl or woman becomes vulnerable to sexual abuse when she is alone in the company of these kinds of men, even if she is not vulnerable in other ways. These kinds of men therefore turn whatever space they occupy with a lone woman into an unsafe space. We have the suspicion that these analyses explain gang rape of a group of girls or women and rape in conflict situations.

### **Implications for Gang Rape and Sexual Abuse of Groups of Girls and Women in Peace time and Conflict Situations**

In gang rape of groups of girls and women in peace time and conflict situations, abusers turn homes, streets and whole communities into unsafe spaces through violence. When abusers kill and maim children and husbands, when they loot and brandish weapons, women feel alone, and become psychologically and physically vulnerable. In these situations, their capacity to put up any form defense is totally curtailed. The point here then, is that sexual abuses occur, when the space that the victims, girls and women, occupy has been rendered unsafe.

### **Are More Girls Alone with Dodgy Friends and Families in Unsafe Spaces in Urban than Rural Areas in Oyo and Osun States; and in Rural Areas in Osun State than Rural Areas in Oyo State?**

We wish to recall that girls in high schools in urban centres reported more experience of SVA than girls in high schools in the rural areas in the two states from which samples were drawn. The percentage for schools in urban centres was 21.6%, while the rural areas recorded 14.8%. We also recall that girls in high schools in rural areas in Osun State reported more experience of sexual violence than girls in rural schools in Oyo State, at 18.6 % and 12.06% respectively.

The major explanation that we have proffered for why sexual violence and abuse occur in this study is that girls and young women who were alone with particular types of men became vulnerable to sexual abuse because such men turned the spaces that they shared with the girls and women into unsafe spaces. We then started wondering, in the light of the results presented in Section two of this report, whether: girls were more alone in unsafe spaces in urban than rural areas in Oyo and Osun States; and were more alone in unsafe spaces in rural areas in Osun State, than rural areas in Oyo State.

But first, we wondered why the girls in this study, and the young women too, while still children/minors (because that was the age most of them experienced abuse), were alone with boys and men who abused them, especially because their narratives pointed to the fact that most of the abuses took place during day time. From the respondents' narratives, the reasons were: first, that they shared homes with the persons who abused them, so the abusers could perpetrate abuse whenever they were alone with them; second, parents and guardians had gone to work outside the home, and so girls were alone at home or were left in care of abusers, and at times they were left to their own devices, in which case they could visit female friends, male friends, boyfriends and neighbours; and third, there were those who were visiting relatives, those who were in their parent's shops and those who were hawking, those who were running errands, or attending religious activities, or returning from school, and those who were lured over by their abusers. So it could be said that most of our respondents had legitimate reasons to be alone in different spaces.

However, we need to return to those spaces where most of the abuses took place, homes, the victim's and the assailants'. The reasons they were alone with assailants is that they share homes with assailants and or parents and guardians had gone to work outside the home and they were left alone at home or they left their own home for the assailants' home. So the fact that most of the parents or guardians of our respondents work outside the home unwittingly contributed to respondents' vulnerability.

We therefore wish to speculate that the reason girls in urban schools reported more abuse than girls in rural schools in Oyo and Osun States, is not any different from the reason girls in rural schools in Osun State reported more abuse than girls in rural schools in Oyo State. The explanation appears to lie in the character of those geographical and social locations, and whether or not girls are likely to be alone often in homes in those locations. At this point, we again recall the characteristics of urban and rural areas of Oyo and Osun States that we had spoken to in Section One of this report. Oyo state is a huge state in terms of geography and population; the urban centres are huge, and the state capital is a metropolis. Although Osun State has large urban centres, they are not as big as the Urban centres in Oyo State, and Osun State is a more compact state, with several communities linking each other. We observe that the rural areas from which samples of high school students were drawn in Oyo state are clearly rural and agrarian communities, where many parents are either farmers, or trade in farm products. Whereas, the rural communities from which our samples were drawn in Osun State were mainly junction communities and also communities adjoining urban centres. These communities have the character of urban centres. As a matter of fact, given scarcity of, and high cost of housing in urban centres in Nigeria, many of the people who work outside their homes commute from those adjoining communities to work in the urban centres. The more important point here is that

whether in urban or rural areas, the information that we have about the work of respondents' parents/guardians is that most work outside their homes as petty and big time traders, farmers, artisans, civil servants, teachers, doctors, accountants, and so on.

Again, we recall that living arrangements in urban centres are not exactly like the ones in the rural areas. The tendency in urban centres is for families to: live in their own buildings, whole buildings, which are usually fenced; live in block of flats (which they rent or may be owned by the family), and share fenced compounds with others; and rent a room or two which share toilet and kitchen facilities with other tenants. Also in urban centres, families live in houses that are not fenced, but that are set apart from each other in small and at times, big estates that may or may not be fenced. Within these living arrangements, it is possible for a girl who is alone with a (potential) abuser to be subjected to abuse and not receive help.

Today, houses that belong to ordinary folks in rural and agrarian communities are not fenced, and there is always the probability that another family member or passerby (who is not very elderly and himself or herself vulnerable), will not be too far from earshot in homes, whether assailants' or victims'; such that others can happen upon those homes, or access those homes if they suspect foul play. We are not then saying that girls are safe in agrarian communities. The fact that 12.06% of the girls in high schools from rural areas have experienced abuse gives room for concern. In addition, the fact that six (6) out of the eleven (11) respondents who told us they were raped or were going to be raped on a farm, on the way to the farm, by the riverside and along bush paths were girls sampled from rural high schools should make us worry about the safety of girls and young women in rural areas. Two (2) of the eleven were young women drawn from tertiary institutions whom we did not ask whether their abuse took place in rural areas or urban centres. Our explanations about *girls being alone in the context of particular living arrangements* are relevant to the prevalence of sexual abuse in urban areas in relation to the prevalence in rural areas; and the prevalence in Osun rural areas in relation to prevalence in Oyo rural areas.

In the context of the foregoing, we return to the number of female high school students who had experienced SVA; 427 out of 2, 281 told us they had experienced SVA. We want to focus on this group because whereas we collected data by rural areas and urban centres for this group of respondents, we did not do the same for respondents that we sampled from tertiary institutions in the two states. We sorted data in respect of experience of abuse, perpetrators, and environments of abuse accordingly, and adopted urban or rural location of schools as independent variables, because we thought a higher prevalence of experience of SVA may be dependent on whether our respondents reside in, and school in urban centres or rural areas. Out of the 427 that had experienced abuse, 302 told us the exact location of the abuse. They mentioned the perpetrators more than the location of their abuse. Of the 302 female high school students who told us the location of their abuse, 194 were abused in victims' and assailants' homes; 36.59% of those who suffered abuse at home were girls in high schools in rural areas, while 63.4% were girls in high schools in urban centres.

Our next line of inquiry would be to ask why more girls in high schools in urban areas were abused in homes than girls in high schools in rural areas. The living arrangements that are peculiar to the two geographical and social locations provide the clue. Our explanations about

girls being alone (with particular kinds of men) in a home (a space) in the context of particular living arrangements therefore seem plausible.

We are therefore saying that more girls in high schools in urban centres reported experience of abuse and many of the abuses took place at home because homes in urban centres were more enclosed and less accessible to others than homes in rural areas. Given that we had provided the information that respondents in rural areas in Osun state were drawn from junction communities and communities adjoining urban centres, it is not surprising that when compared with girls in high schools in rural areas in Oyo state, girls in high schools in rural areas in Osun State reported more experience of sexual violence and abuse.

In other words, the living arrangement that is the hall mark of modern life in Nigeria today unwittingly contributed to the sexual abuse of children/minors. The paradox here is that these days, Nigerians fence their homes for reasons of safety and boundary setting.

### **Summary of Section Seven**

About a third of the respondents who had experienced abuse said they did not know why they were abused, the assailants did not tell them, and they did not wait to ask why they were abused or were going to be abused once they were able to get away from their abuser.

From our examination of survivors' understanding of why they were abused and the reasons abusers adduced for abusing our respondents, we arrived at the conclusion that: sexual violence and abuse occurred when persons that have the capacity to abuse trust and power, persons who behave according to the dictates of patriarchal beliefs and attitudes, persons who make wrong assumptions about relationships with girls and women, persons who have warped values, and those who believe they can get away with murder, berth in and find lone girls and young women in specific locations.

So, sexual violence and abuse occurred when girls and young women were alone in the company of (potential) abusers in homes, enclosed spaces and other spaces that abusers turned into unsafe spaces.

The major explanation that we have therefore proffered for why sexual violence and abuse occur in this study is that girls and young women who were alone with particular types of men became vulnerable to sexual abuse because such men turned the spaces that they shared with the girls and women into unsafe spaces.

We postulated that in gang rape and sexual abuse of groups of girls and women in peace time and conflict situations, sexual abuse take place at the point that women feel alone, and become psychologically and physically vulnerable; when the space that the victims, girls and women, occupy has been rendered unsafe.

We also thought we found two important factors that contributed to respondents' vulnerability: the fact that most of the parents or guardians of our respondents work outside the home; and fenced homes, which are the living arrangements that are the hall mark of modern life in Nigeria today.



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Our explanations about girls being alone (with particular kinds of men) in a home (a space) in the context of particular living arrangements (fenced homes) therefore seems to be the plausible explanation for why more girls in urban centres than rural areas in Oyo and Osun states; and more girls in Osun rural areas than girls in Oyo rural areas had suffered sexual abuse.

The contributory factors to sexual violence and abuse that we identified in this study are: girls being alone in the company of potential abusers; men who do not mind to abuse trust and power and those who behaved according to patriarchal beliefs and attitudes; differing assumptions made about relationships by all including parents; impunity; warped values; poverty; parents/guardians' work day and working hours and fenced homes.

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## **Section Eight**

### **This Epidemic Must Be Halted: Next Steps**

In the light of the concerns that we raised and the conclusions that we reached in the preceding sections, we make the following suggestions:

First, there is a need for mass sensitization and education of girls in primary and high schools; young women in tertiary institutions; girls who are out of school; parents and other stakeholders, about the different dimensions of sexual violence and abuse that we have raised in this study, how girls and women can keep safe, and how adults can help them stay safe. There is also a need to sensitize parents to be attentive to the emotional needs of their children in spite of their work day and working hours.

Second, governments should strengthen the capacity of social welfare departments to assist children who are being abused by relations and trusted persons. Because some homes have become unsafe spaces for children, governments have the responsibility to act decisively; they need to establish toll free hot lines to social welfare departments so that children can report offending adults to the state.

Third, the National Assembly needs to domesticate CEDAW urgently, so that state and federal governments will be compelled to revise existing laws, including the ones on sexual offences, to reflect the realities of girls and women in Nigeria. While waiting for this to happen, it is imperative that Oyo and Osun states initiate and pass prohibition of GBV or VAW bills to stem the wave of sexual abuse in both states. The absence of laws that prohibit the wide range of infractions that constitute sexual violence and abuse contributes to impunity around the issues because perpetrators are left unpunished.

Fourth, there is an urgent need for the Nigerian state to re-professionalize and motivate the criminal investigation department of the Police and the entire police force so they do not continue to aid and abet impunity around sexual violence and abuse.

Fifth, the Ministries of Education in Oyo and Osun states have to put sexual harassment policies and procedures in place for primary, secondary and tertiary institutions that they supervise, to regulate the behaviors of teachers and students, and take care of infractions on the dignity of persons, especially women that are as yet not offences in our laws.

Sixth, governments at all levels have to, as a matter of urgency, improve our economy, so that potential victims of sexual abuse and their parents are not economically dependent on abusers; and the potential abusers of children are less likely to reside in the home of children who legitimately reside in their parents' homes.

Seventh, Oyo and Osun state governments should, as a matter of urgency, set up one trauma centre each, to be located in a general hospital, in each of the education zones of the states. The centres will give medical, psychological support; legal and counseling services to victims of sexual abuse, battery and other forms of gender based violence. This should be a collaborative

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project of health, social welfare, public defenders and citizens rights personnel, and women's non-profits that work in the area of abuse.

Finally, the discourse of chastity/virginity should begin to centre male friends and boyfriends, relations, neighbours, teachers, spiritual leaders and others who interact with children and young women on a regular basis, who then obtain sex from them by force and fraud. Some of: those who want to marry virgins in future, those who want their sons to marry virgins and those who preach chastity cannot engage in rampant disvirgining of children and young women, and yet hope to see virgins every where they turn. Just the same way they cannot obtain sex from virgins by force and fraud, and then assert that girls and women are licentious.

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## Glossary

### **Rape:**

Is the act of forcing someone through violence, threat of violence or coercion (this includes verbal coercion) to have sexual intercourse.

### **Attempted Rape:**

Is when the assailant tried to, but did not succeed in having contact with and penetrating the victim's vagina.

### **Gang Rape**

Is when more than one person take turns to rape a girl or woman or girls and women in the same place.

### **Attempted Gang Rape**

Is when assailants tried to, but did not succeed in having contact with and penetrating their victims' vagina.

### **Indecent Assault:**

Is the act of touching someone's sexual organ without his/her consent in a morally offensive way. It is a sexual attack on somebody but one that does not include actual sexual intercourse (rape.)

### **Sexual Harassment**

Is unwanted sexual attention, which may interfere with a person's academic or employment activities/opportunities. Such unsolicited and unwanted verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature would usually come from someone in a position of power. That is a boss, a lecturer, or an official. It is a form of discrimination and it is an abuse of power.

### **Sexual Exploitation**

Is when a person obtains sex from another in a seemingly voluntary and fair exchange. It is an unjust transaction in which sex is the medium of exchange. The power relations at the background of sexual exploitation, makes it a special kind of exercise of one person's power over another.

### **(Lure to) Prostitution**

The act of enticing or setting a trap for someone (female) to engage in sexual intercourse or performing other sex acts in exchange for money or to offer herself for such purpose.

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## Appendix I

### Overview of Schools Selected for the Survey, Location of Schools and No of Students Sampled

S/N	Location (Education Zone)	Rural Or Urban School	Classes From Which Samples Were Drawn	No of Students Who: Completed Questionnaires/ Were Interviewed In Each Class	Total No Of Questionnaires Returned From the Schools
<b>Oyo State</b>					
1.	Zone 1	Urban	JSS 1 JSS 2 JSS 3 SSS 1 SSS 2 SSS 3	18 18 18 19 19 19	111
		Rural	JSS 1 JSS 2 JSS 3 SSS 1 SSS 2 SSS 3	18 18 19 19 19 19	
2.	Zone 2	Urban	JSS 1 JSS 2 JSS 3 SSS 1 SSS 2 SSS 3	19 18 19 19 19 19	113
		Rural	JSS 1 JSS 2 JSS 3 SSS 1 SSS 2 SSS 3	18 18 19 - - -	
3.	Zone 3	Urban	JSS 1 JSS 2 JSS 3 SSS 1 SSS 2 SSS 3	18 18 19 19 19 -	93
		Rural	JSS 1 JSS 2 JSS 3 SSS 1 SSS 2 SSS 3	16 12 25 20 20 -	
4.	Zone 4	Urban	JSS 1 JSS 2 JSS 3 SSS 1	18 18 19 19	112

			SSS 2	19	
			SSS 3	19	
		Rural	JSS 1	16	110
			JSS 2	18	
			JSS 3	19	
			SSS 1	19	
			SSS 2	19	
			SSS 3	19	
5.	Zone 5	Urban	JSS 1	18	112
			JSS 2	18	
			JSS 3	19	
			SSS 1	19	
			SSS 2	19	
			SSS 3	19	
		Rural	JSS 1	18	108
			JSS 2	18	
			JSS 3	19	
			SSS 1	18	
			SSS 2	19	
			SSS 3	16	
6.	Zone 6	Urban	JSS 1	17	84
			JSS 2	11	
			JSS 3	18	
			SSS 1	19	
			SSS 2	19	
			SSS 3	-	
		Rural	JSS 1	18	94
			JSS 2	18	
			JSS 3	19	
			SSS 1	20	
			SSS 2	19	
			SSS 3	-	
					<b>1, 197</b>
1.	Tertiary Institution 1				119
2.	Tertiary Institution 2				203
Osun State					
1.	Zone A	Urban	JSS I	18	112
			JSS 2	18	
			JSS 3	19	
			SSS 1	19	
			SSS 2	19	
			SSS 3	19	
		Rural	JSS I	10	60
			JSS 2	10	
			JSS 3	10	
			SSS 1	10	
			SSS 2	10	
			SSS 3	10	



			SSS 3	10	
2.	Zone B	Urban	JSS 1	18	112
			JSS 2	18	
			JSS 3	19	
			SSS 1	19	
			SSS 2	19	
			SSS 3	19	
		Rural	JSS 1	10	60
			JSS 2	10	
			JSS 3	10	
			SSS 1	10	
			SSS 2	10	
			SSS 3	10	
3.	Zone C	Urban	JSS 1	18	112
			JSS 2	18	
			JSS 3	19	
			SSS 1	19	
			SSS 2	19	
			SSS 3	19	
		Rural	JSS 1	18	112
			JSS 2	18	
			JSS 3	19	
			SSS 1	19	
			SSS 2	19	
			SSS 3	19	
4	Zone D	Urban	JSS1	18	112
			JSS2	18	
			JSS3	19	
			SSS1	19	
			SSS2	19	
			SSS3	19	
		Rural	JSS1	10	60
			JSS2	10	
			JSS3	10	
			SSS1	10	
			SSS2	10	
			SSS3	10	
5.	Zone E	Urban	JSS1	18	112
			JSS2	18	
			JSS3	19	
			SSS1	19	
			SSS2	19	
			SSS3	19	

		Rural	JSSI JSS2 JSS3 SSS1 SSS2 SSS3	10 10 10 10 10 10	60
6.	Zone F	Urban	JSSI JSS2 JSS3 SSS1 SSS2 SSS3	18 18 19 19 19 19	112
		Rural	JSSI JSS2 JSS3 SSS1 SSS2 SSS3	10 10 10 10 10 10	60
					<b>1,064</b>
1.	Tertiary Institution 1				85
2.	Tertiary Institution 2				85
					125
3.	Tertiary Institution 3				219

**Appendix II**

**Total Number and Percentages of Girls in High Schools and Young Women in Tertiary Institutions Who Have Had Experience of Sexual Violence and Abuse (SVA)**

	<b>Total No. of Respondents</b>	<b>No. that Had Experienced SVA</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Girls in High Schools</b>	2,281	427	18.7%
<b>Young Women in Tertiary Institutions</b>	837	290	34.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,118</b>	<b>717</b>	<b>23%</b>

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### Appendix III

#### Total Number and Percentage of Young Girls in High Schools in Urban Centres and Rural Areas who had Experienced Sexual Violence and Abuse

Oyo State High Schools				Osun State High Schools				Oyo State High Schools				Osun State High Schools				Grand Total For All High Schools
Urban Schools				Urban Schools				Rural Schools				Rural Schools				
Total No of Respondents	No that had experienced SVA	%		Total No of Respondents	No that had experienced SVA	%		Total No of Respondents	No that had experienced SVA	%		Total No of Respondents	No that had experienced SVA	%		
625	138	22.08		672	143	21.2		572	69	12.06		412	77	18.6		
Total No of Respondents from Urban Schools: 1297								Total No of Respondents from Rural Schools: 984								2281
No that had Experienced SVA: 281								No that had Experienced SVA: 146								427
Percentage: 21.6%								Percentage : 14.8%								18.7%

**Appendix IV**

**Total Number and Percentage of Young Women in Tertiary Institutions Who had Experienced Sexual Violence and Abuse**

Tertiary Institutions In Oyo State			Tertiary Institutions In Osun State			Grand Total For Respondents In Tertiary Institutions		
Total No of Respondents	No that had Experienced SVA	%	Total No of Respondents	No that had Experienced SVA	%	Total No of Respondents	No that had Experienced SVA	%
322	87	27%	515	203	39.4	837	290	34.6

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**Appendix V**  
**Types of Sexual Violence And Abuse Experienced By Girls In High Schools And Young Women In Tertiary Institutions In Oyo and Osun States**

*School 1=School in Urban Area*

*School 2=School in Rural Area*

	Sexual Harassment & Exploitation And Lure to Prostitution	Indecent Assault	Attempted Rape	Rape	(Attempted) Gang Rape	Total no that Have experienced SVA	Total no of Respondents from Schools	School Percentage	(Attempted) Rape, gang Rape, and other forms of SVA (more than one type of SVA)
Oyo zone 1 School 1	4	0	2	15	0	21	111	18.92%	5
Osun Zone A School 1	3	0	0	13	0	16	112	14.29%	4
Oyo zone 1 School 2	5	0	10	15	0	30	112	26.79%	3
Osun Zone A School 2	0	0	1	19	1	21	60	35%	12
Oyo zone 2 School 1	2	0	5	27	0	34	113	30.09%	10
Osun Zone B School 1	0	0	3	15	0	18	112	16.07%	7
Oyo Zone 2 School 2	0	0	0	2	0	2	55	3.64%	0
Osun Zone B School 2	0	0	2	25	0	27	60	45%	6
Oyo Zone 3 School 1	0	0	3	16	0	19	93	20.43%	3
Osun Zone C School 1	0	0	4	43	0	47	112	41.96%	31
Oyo Zone 3	7	0	1	7	0	15	93	16.13%	2

	Sexual Harassment & Exploitation And Lure to Prostitution	Indecent Assault	Attempted Rape	Rape	(Attempted) Gang Rape	Total no that Have experienced SVA	Total no of Respondents from Schools	School Percentage	(Attempted) Rape, gang Rape, and other forms of SVA (more than one type of SVA)
School 2									
Osun Zone C School 2	0	0	0	0	0	0	112	0%	0
Oyo Zone 4 School 1	0	0	2	10	0	12	112	10.71%	4
Osun Zone d School 1	4	0	7	17	0	28	112	25.00%	13
Oyo Zone 4 School 2	3	0	0	5	0	8	110	7.27%	0
Osun Zone D School 2	0	0	1	16	1	18	60	30.00%	9
Oyo Zone 5 School 1	0	0	2	30	0	32	112	28.57%	16
Osun Zone E School 1	1	0	3	20	0	24	112	21.43%	4
Oyo Zone 5 School 2	0	0	0	0	1	1	108	0.93%	0
Osun Zone E School 2	0	0	5	4	2	11	60	18.33%	1
Oyo Zone 6 School 1	18	0	0	2	0	20	84	23.81%	3
Osun Zone f School 1	0	0	2	8	0	10	112	8.93%	9
Oyo Zone 6 School 2	6	0	1	6	0	13	94	13.83%	0
Osun Zone F School 2	0	0	0	0	0	0	60	0.00%	0
<b>Total for</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>427</b>	<b>2281</b>	<b>18.71%</b>	

	Sexual Harassment & Exploitation And Lure to Prostitution	Indecent Assault	Attempted Rape	Rape	(Attempted) Gang Rape	Total no that Have experienced SVA	Total no of Respondents from Schools	School Percentage	(Attempted) Rape, gang Rape, and other forms of SVA (more than one type of SVA)
High schools									
Percentage for High Schools									
Two Tertiary institutions in Oyo	4	2	31	49	1	87	322		18
Three Tertiary institutions in Osun	12	0	45	142	4	203	515		45
Total for Tertiary Institutions	16	2	76	191	5	290	837		
Percentage for Tertiary Institutions									
Grand total for All	69/717	2/717	130/717	506/717	10/717				205/717
Percentage for All	9.6%	0.27%	18%	70.5%	1.3%				28.5%



**Appendix VI**  
**Number of Respondents who had Experienced Sexual Violence and Abuse by Age of Experience of SVA**

Age	Girls In High Schools (Urban Centres)		Girls In High Schools(Rural Areas)		Young Women In Tertiary Institutions		Total For Each Age	Experience ofSVA As Children, Teenagers And Young Adults	Percentage Of Total Who Had Experienced SVA At Different Stages
	Oyo	Osun	Oyo	Osun	Oyo	Osun			
1						1	1	192	31.1%
2			1			1	2		
3			1			0	1		
4			0	2	2	0	4		
5	2	1	2	0	1	6	12		
6	1	2	2	1	2	5	13		
7	5	2	2	0	0	8	17		
8	4	2	1	0	3	5	15		
9	2	6	0	1	0	4	13		
10	7	6	3	14	2	8	40		
11	3	10	1	1	1	3	19		
12	9	16	10	12	5	7	59		
13	12	18	8	11	4	9	62	348	56.4%
14	21	24	6	9	3	7	70		
15	12	23	5	13	5	17	75		
16	12	11	2	6	6	24	61		
17	7	5	0	3	7	28	50		
18	1	6	1	0	11	11	30		
19	0	1	0	0	5	6	12	73	11.3%
20	1				13	17	31		
21					2	6	8		
22					8	14	22		
Total No that responded to the question	99/138	133/143	45/69	73/77	80/87	187/203	617/717		
Percentage of total no of respondents who had experienced SVA who responded to the question = 86%									

Appendix VII

Perpetuators of Sexual Abuse and Environments of Abuse

Perpetuators of Abuse		Respondent's Home	School	Church/Mosque	Hospital/Clinic	At a relations'	In the hostel	Shop	Assailant's Home	Street/Neighbourhood	At a friend's/ At a party	Bush/Farm/River	Workplace/ His office	Perpetuators of abuse positioned or not positioned in a definite location				
A Relation	Urban	19	1			3			5			1		34	91	138	Category A: ❖ Relatives ❖ Teachers ❖ Religious Leaders ❖ Medical Staff	
	Rural	7				2		1	4					17				
	Tertiary	22	1			5			7					40				
A Teacher	Urban	2	7						1				1	11	25			
	Rural	1							1					2				
	Tertiary		5						1				1	12				
A Religious Leader	Urban	2		2										4	16			
	Rural								2					3				
	Tertiary	2		3					1					9				
Medical Staff	Urban													3	6			
	Rural		1											1				
	Tertiary				1							1		2				

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Family Friend	Urban	2	1			1								4	28	102	Category B: ❖ Family Friends ❖ Neighbours ❖ Household Helps ❖ Benefactors
	Rural	3					1	3			1			8			
	Tertiary	4						7			1			1671			
Neighbour	Urban	15			2			3		1	3			23	71		
	Rural	6						1						10			
	Tertiary	14				1		13		1		2		38			
Parent's Household Help	Urban													0	2		
	Rural													0			
	Tertiary	1												2			
Benefactor	Urban														1		
	Rural																
	Tertiary							2									
A fellow student	Urban	27	12	1						8	6	1		65	125	336	Category C: ❖ Fellow Students ❖ A Friend /Boyfriend ❖ Someone Known From Afar
	Rural	6	3				1	4	8	1				28			
	Tertiary	2	12					7			4			32			
A friend/Boyfriend	Urban	4						11		2	4			24	97		
	Rural	1						4		1				8			
	Tertiary	6	5			1	1	34	2	4		1		65			
Someone known from afar	Urban	11	2				3	10	8	2				44	114		
	Rural	8						5	4	2	1			23			
	Tertiary	6	2			1	2	14	2	8	2	2		47			

Someone she has never met	Urban	7	1			1				10				28	67	83	Category D: ❖ Someone Respondents Have Never Met ❖ Armed Robbers		
	Rural	1	4			1			1	10		2		19					
	Tertiary	1	2	1					1	5				20					
Armed Robber	Urban	2							2			1		5	16				
	Rural								1			1		2					
	Tertiary	4							2		1			9					
Assailant not mentioned	Urban																		
	Rural	1				1			2										
	Tertiary	2	2						1		1								
<b>Total</b>		189	61	6	2	16	3	9	142	71		37	11	8					
		258				28				269									
		Abused in Safe Space I (Assumed High Level Safe Space)				Abused in Safe Space II (Assumed Medium Level Safe Space)				Girls and Young Women Abused in Safe Space III (Assumed Low Level Space)									