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Newspaper Framing of Issues in the 1999 Yoruba-Hausa Inter-ethnic Conflict in Sagamu

This study examines the characterisation of issues in the 1999 Yoruba-Hausa inter-ethnic conflict in Sagamu, south-western Nigeria. The occurrence of the 1999 Yoruba-Hausa conflict in Sagamu had some historical significance. It was the first inter-ethnic conflict that occurred two months after the enthronement of democracy in Nigeria in 1999. Furthermore, it was the first inter-ethnic conflict between the Yoruba and the Hausa in Sagamu community after many centuries of peaceful co-existence. Therefore, the authors investigate how four major Nigerian national newspapers, National Concord, The Guardian, The Punch and Nigerian Tribune reported and characterised issues during this conflict. The study triangulates between in-depth interview and content analysis research methods for data gathering in order to unpack issues embedded in the research questions. Theoretically, the study explicates framing theory given its relationship and appropriateness to the characterisation of issues in the selected newspapers in relation to the conflict. This study finds that the largest number of the stories analysed were characterised and framed around disunity and disintegration while death and economy dominate the themes that were reported in the selected newspapers over other themes. Therefore, the study concludes that, the strategic position of a newspaper is a considerable factor that should propel journalists to place high premium on social responsibility, public service and accountability in conflict reporting.

Keywords: Conflict, conflict reporting, Sagamu community, Yoruba-Hausa ethnic groups, media framing, 1999 Yoruba-Hausa conflict.

Introduction

People's understanding of public issues, including but not limited to, politics, wars, conflicts, famines and the environment may be regarded as entirely dependent on layers of media representation and framing through newspapers, documentaries, films, magazines, television series or websites (Hodkinson, 2010). It is, therefore, brought to the fore, for instance, that "we understood the event of September 11, 2001 by means of a series of direct media representations in the forms of television, the Internet and newspaper coverage at the time." (Hodkinson, 2010, p.269). This consequently implies that the role of the media, in all forms and at all levels, in a period of crisis and conflict is essential because the media are unarguably powerful to shape the reality about conflict and can further affect peoples' perception and understanding about conflict. This argument resonates with the submission of Bratic & Schirch (2007) who state that news media do not only

perform the role of mitigating conflict and crisis, they also instigate war, conflict and violence. Tahir (2009) also contends that "the media can lead to escalation of conflicts and at times become a source of violence in society. In this information age, a single wrong message by the media can create prompt response, which can be both negative and positive, depending on the way the message has been framed." (p.7)

The media role in conflict reporting, especially newspapers, is huge and underpins the constructs of framing and representation of issues, characters, parties and ideologies involved in a given conflict. This informs the focus of this study, which examines the newspaper coverage of the Yoruba-Hausa conflict which occurred in July 18, 1999 in Sagamu of Ogun State, South-Western Nigeria. This study focuses on the conflict because it (the conflict) occurred two months after the enthronement of the current democratic experience in Nigeria and the return of the

military to the barrack. The return of the military to the barrack after successive 16 years of ruler-ship in Nigeria (1983-1999) and the enthronement of the Fourth Republic and democratisation of the polity in 1999 also shaped the structure and the performance of the Nigerian media. The assumed liberalised and democratic media landscape ushered in by democracy in 1999 and the social responsibility canon of the media, especially in reporting conflict, gave the authors of this study the impetus to examine how Nigerian national newspapers responded to and reported/framed the first inter-ethnic conflict that occurred in the Fourth Republic in Nigeria. This, therefore, informed the research objectives and research questions crafted for this study.

Research Objectives

- i. To examine framing of issues of the 1999 inter-ethnic conflict in Sagamu by Nigerian national newspapers.
- ii. To identify the immediate and remote cause of the 1999 inter-ethnic conflict in Sagamu.
- iii. To determine the relationships that exist between Yoruba and Hausa ethnic groups after the 1999 inter-ethnic conflict in Sagamu.

Research Questions

- i. What forms of framing did the selected Nigerian newspapers use in reporting the 1999 Yoruba-Hausa conflict in Sagamu?
- ii. What are the immediate and remote causes of the 1999 Yoruba-Hausa conflict in Sagamu?
- iii. What forms of relationships exist between the Yoruba and Hausa ethnic groups after the 1999 inter-ethnic conflict in Sagamu?

Socio-cultural Relationship between Yoruba and Hausa in Sagamu before the 1999 Conflict: The Situation in Brief

Historically, the Hausa were said to have settled in Sagamu community many hundred years ago (¹Garba, personal communication, June 6, 2016; ²Rasheed, personal communication, June 6, 2016) while Olubomehin (2012) specifically notes that their settlement could be traced back to the last decade of the nineteenth century. Garba (personal communication, June 6, 2016) states that his great grandfather, who was enthroned as the first Seriki in Sabo, Sagamu was born in Sagamu which is similar to the experience of Rasheed (personal communication, June 6, 2016), who, at the time of this study was 71 years old and has been a chief since the reign of the former Seriki, notes that "I was born here in Sagamu, my father and grandfather were all born in Sagamu."

The settlement of the Hausa at Sabo in Sagamu was not by accident. Research has it that the Hausa originally settled in Ibido, a section of Sagamu town; from where they were later relocated by the ³Akarigbo of Remoland, Oba William Adedoyin, to Makun, which is a quarter within Sagamu township. However, due to an increase in the population of the Hausa, they were finally

moved to Sabo (Olubomehin, 2012), specifically in 1939 by Oba Williams Adedoyin (Nolte, 2010). Rasheed (personal communication, June 6, 2016) confirms that "we the Hausa were not originally residents in Sabo. At the beginning, we lived in various communities of Sagamu including Ibido, Isale Oko, Makun and Isote. We were later relocated to this place called Sabo, by the then Akarigbo of Remoland, Oba William Adedoyin. The Oba gave this place to us as a royal gift because our great grandfather who received the gift did not pay any money." This is, however, contrary to Nolte's account which has it that "the Hausa had to pay the original owners of the land, the people of Ijoku after they (Ijoku people) went to the court to challenge the occupation of their land by the Hausa." (Nolte, 2010, p.145).

The socio-cultural relationship between the Yoruba and the Hausa tribes in Sagamu before the 1999 inter-ethnic conflict was said to be "the best with strong ties in many aspects of life" (⁴Oyenuga, personal communication, June 9, 2016), "was very cordial" (Garba, personal communication, June 6, 2016), "has ever been good since the beginning" (Oyewunmi, personal communication, June 9, 2016), and "had never witnessed any hitches whatsoever before the 1999 experience." (Garba, personal communication, June 6, 2016) Other studies confirm that before the 1999 conflict, the Yoruba and the Hausa in Sagamu community enjoyed cordial socio-cultural, political and economic relations (see Ajibua, Oladitan, Adesina, & Bewaji, 2013); Olubomehin, 2012) as there was no record of dispute between the two ethnic groups in Sagamu before the 1999 conflict (Ayodele, 2000). As a mark of respect to religious differences between the indigenes and the Hausa and other migrants, a cultural cum religious boundary was established between the two divides. This was, of course, facilitated by a geographical feature, a river called "Eruwuru" which separates the main town of Sagamu from Sabo. According to an historical account:

Sabo leaders negotiated that local masquerades such as *Oro* or *Agemo* would not visit them, which satisfied the more conservative Muslims as well as the small group of Sabo Christians, whose number has increased as migrants from Eastern Nigeria also moved to Sabo as traders and farmhands in the production of palm oil... Most importantly, in local political understanding, the fact that Sabo was not visited by the masquerades from Ofin or Ijoku also gave Sabo a fairly high degree of political autonomy (Nolte, 2010, p.146).

The kolanut business was mainly responsible for the cordial relationship between the Yoruba and the Hausa and "with the passage of time, the relationship improved so much that most Sagamu kolanut traders, especially women, offered credit facility to the Hausa in the kolanut business and the Hausa kolanut traders would pay after their trip from the north" (Rasheed, personal communication, 2016) The kolanut trade is mainly conducted between Sagamu women traders and Hausa men in Sabo market on Monday

and Thursday of every week. The socio-cultural relationship between the two tribes extended to witness many inter-tribal marriages, wherein the Hausa started to learn and speak Yoruba language very fluently and vice-versa (Olubomehin, 2012).

This Study and Framing Theory: Towards a Convergence

The thesis of this study is, as rightly noted, to examine the newspaper characterisation of the Yoruba-Hausa conflict which occurred in July 18, 1999 in Sagamu Ogun State, South-Western Nigeria. This, therefore, underpins the relationship of the study and the central thrust of framing theory. Framing, as a media effect theory (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007), is the selection of a restricted number of thematically related attributes for inclusion on the media agenda when a particular object is discussed." (McCombs, 1997) As further argued by Weaver (2007), framing is more concerned with how issues and other objects (people, events, groups, organisations and countries) are depicted in mass media than with which issues or objects are more or less prominently reported. This is because framing defines how issues are characterised in the media and the overbearing effects they (issues) have on media audiences (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Framing is regarded as the organisation, definition and structure of a news-story (Weiss, 2009). This informs the argument of many media theorists and researchers who hold that by framing media contents, journalists tend to be subjective and unbalanced in their presentation.

Journalists necessarily report issues in ways that give the audience cues to understand and prioritise issues, including which aspects to ignore (Weiss, 2009). This assertion resonates with the conceptualisation of framing by McCombs (1992). The scholar postulates that framing calls attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring other elements which might lead audiences to have different perceptions, reactions and actions (McCombs, 1992). Tankard, Hendrickson, Silberman, Bliss, and Ghanem (1991) also describe a media frame as "the central organising idea for news contents that presents a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration." (p.3) Further, "to frame in media reporting is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text in a way to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and treatment recommendation for the item described." (Entman, 1993, p. 52).

The basic assumptions and propositions of framing theory, as explicated above, share resonance and relationship with the focus of this study- examination of newspaper framing and characterisation of issues in the Yoruba-Hausa conflict which occurred in July 18, 1999 in Sagamu of Ogun State, South-Western Nigeria. This informs why the authors anchor the theoretical framework of the study on the assumptions of framing theory, examining such variables as themes/issues of stories, characterisation of stories, photo diversity and usage in

stories, and description of stories in the newspapers studied.

Research Methodology

This study adopts a triangular methodological approach within the paradigms of qualitative and quantitative research methods. Triangulation is regarded as "the use of two or more methods of data collection in the same study related to some aspects of human behaviours." (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011) Triangulation is a methodological approach in research which "involves obtaining different perspectives on the same issue through two or more research methods for data collection, thereby increasing researchers' confidence in their findings and allow a fuller understanding of the richness and depth of the study." (Creswell, 1999) The qualitative aspect of this study involves the use of in-depth interview and qualitative content analysis, while the quantitative part relates directly to the use of quantitative content analysis. The combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods is essential because, it has been argued that, neither research method can singularly offer a sufficient understanding of a research problem (Creswell, 2003; Sobowale, 2008; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 1998). Therefore, the use of both methods in this study may enhance the robustness of findings to achieve or offer more valuable academic contributions to knowledge.

The need for the adoption of in-depth interview method in this study is premised on the fact that in-depth interviews have an explanatory power (Schroder, 1999), and may comprehensively explore the social processes and dynamics (Gillespie, 1995) involved in the presentation of the inter-ethnic conflict that occurred between the Yoruba and the Hausa in Sagamu in 1999. Conversely, "quantitative content analysis collects data about media content such as topics or issues, volume of mentions, 'messages' determined by key words in context (KWIC), circulation of the media (audience reach) and frequency." (Macnamara, 2005, p.4) This study, therefore, adopts a quantitative approach, content analysis, because of the volume of mentions necessitated quantification by counting and frequency, and coding for statistical analysis to draw scientific conclusions (Macnamara, 2005).

The in-depth interview method has been found to be a useful qualitative data collection technique for certain reasons including, but not limited to, issue identification, strategic planning and problem probing (Rubin & Rubin, 2004). In this study, the researchers interviewed four Sagamu residents; two Sagamu natives and two Hausa natives who have stake and witnessed the occurrence of the conflict in 1999. The sample size of four is based on the fact that Lee, Woo, and Mackenzie (2002) argue that studies that use more than one method require fewer participants as interviewees. The interviewees include: Alhaji Inua Garba, the Seriki (Royal Father) of Hausa community in Sagamu and Alhaji Rasheed, the third senior-most Chief of the Seriki of the Hausa community in Sagamu. Other interviewees are Chief Oyenuga, the Chairman, Akarigbo in Council Committee, in charge of the management and

administration of Sabo market Sagamu and Alhaja Oyewunmi, the Iyalode (Women leader) of Sabo market in Sagamu. Each of the interviewees was interviewed based on consent to participate in the study.

In regards to content analysis method, the researchers studied four national newspapers from 18th July to 18th August 1999, namely: *The National Concord* (Now defunct), *The Guardian*, *The Punch* and *Nigerian Tribune*. This timeline covers the period of occurrence of the conflict and few weeks afterwards in order to determine how Nigerian newspapers responded to the coverage of the conflict. The selection of these four national newspapers was based on the fact that all of them, as of the time of the conflict, were popular national newspapers and they are still among the top ranked national newspapers in Nigeria except the defunct *National Concord*. For instance in 2012, *The Punch* was ranked 1st, *Daily Trust* 4th and *Nigerian Tribune* 6th among the Nigerian national newspapers (Dragomir & Thompson, 2012). Before the extinction of the *National Concord*, these four newspapers enjoyed national coverage, reach and circulation, which made them popular across Nigeria. All of the newspapers have been in existence for several years in the country and have consistently published since their establishment and enjoyed readership across the length and breadth of Nigeria. Except the defunct *National Concord*, the other three selected newspapers still enjoy good status as national newspapers in Nigeria in terms of readership, coverage and frequency.

The population of the newspapers studied is 31 editions from 18th July to 18th August 1999. Given the small number of these editions, the researchers adopted a consecutive sampling technique to content analyse all the editions. The units of analysis include: news story, editorial, feature article/news analysis, column/commentary and letters to the editor. Within the units of analyses, content categories were coded, which include position of stories, gender of voices mentioned, description of stories, characterisation of stories, issues/themes reported in stories and photo diversity/usage in stories. These are highlighted in the table 1 below. In all, 67 stories were coded and the findings are as presented in table 2.

Table 1: Content categories coded in the selected Nigerian newspapers in relation to the 1999 Yoruba-Hausa Sagamu Conflict.

Position of story	Framing of stories	Description of story	Gender of voices
Lead story	Peace and harmony	Positive	Male
Other front page story	Disunity and disintegration	Negative	Female
Back page	Reconciliation and compromise		
Inside page	Empathy and sympathy		
Centrespread			
Types of story	Themes reported in stories		Photo Diversity
News story	Death		Coloured
Editorial	Destructions		Black and White
Feature/ Analysis	Arrest		No photograph used
Commentary	Community mistrust		
	Economic loss		

Findings and Interpretation

Table 2: Findings in the study.

Coverage of Stories by Newspapers Studied	Frequency	Percent (%)
National Concord	15	22.4
The Guardian	10	14.9
The Punch	22	32.8
Nigerian Tribune	20	29.9
Total (n)	67	100.0
Type of Stories	Frequency	Percent (%)
News Story	47	70.1
Editorial	3	4.5
Feature/News Analysis	7	10.4
Column/Commentary	10	14.9
Total (n)	67	100.0
Position of Story	Frequency	Percent (%)
Lead Story	1	1.5
Other front page story	21	31.3
Inside page story	45	67.2
Back page story	0	0
Total (n)	67	100.0
Gender of voices mentioned in stories	Frequency	Percent (%)
Female	10	15.0
Male	57	85.0
Total (n)	67	100.0
Description of stories	Frequency	Percent (%)
Positive	20	29.9
Negative	47	70.1
Total (n)	67	100.0
Framing of stories	Frequency	Percent (%)
Peace and harmony	8	12.1
Disunity and disintegration	46	68.7
Reconciliation and compromise	8	11.9
Empathy and sympathy	5	7.5
Total (n)	67	100.0
Themes reported in stories	Frequency	Percent (%)
Death	43	64.2
Destruction	4	6.0
Arrest	2	3.0
Community mistrust	5	7.5
Economic loss	13	19.4
Total (n)	67	100.0
Photo diversity/usage in stories	Frequency	Percent (%)
Black and white	47	70.1
Coloured	0	0
No photograph used	20	29.9
Total (n)	67	100.0

Interpretation of Findings

In this study, the findings indicate that the total number of stories coded and analysed is 67. This may be interpreted that there is a low coverage of the 1999 conflict by the selected newspapers. This interpretation is premised on the

fact that the period of 31 days (July 18-August 18, 1999) covered in this analysis, spreading across four major national newspapers should have expectedly given more volume of coverage than 67 stories. Specifically, however, the findings show that *The Punch* covered the 1999 Yoruba-Hausa Sagamu conflict more than other newspapers studied with 32 percent (n=22) and this is closely followed by *Nigerian Tribune* with 29.9 percent (n=20). The coverage recorded by *The Punch*, which is more than other newspapers, may be related to the fact that *The Punch* has enjoyed a long-time leadership status among other Nigerian newspapers in terms of coverage and readership. Expectedly, this study indicates all the newspapers studied reported the conflict mostly through news stories (70.1 percent, n=47) more than other editorial contents of newspaper. This further confirms the fact that newspapers are event-driven mass communication medium in their coverage. However and interestingly, 14.9 percent (n=10) of all stories analysed in this study focused on opinions/column writing. This may mean that Nigerians, especially the elite class, fairly showed concerns about the conflict and channelled their opinions through newspapers. It is essential to state that, based on the findings of this study, the newspapers studied did not give prominence to the conflict through their editorials. This argument is based on the fact that, in journalism, editorial is generally regarded as the most important section of newspapers because it traditionally carries the official position and opinion of newspaper organisations on issues of national interest. Therefore, in regards to the 1999 inter-ethnic conflict in Sagamu, the non-prominence given to the conflict through editorials by the selected newspapers (4.5 percent, n=3) implies that the conflict seems not to be very important to the newspapers. Furthermore, it may imply that the newspapers analysed did not focus much on social, historical and interpretative perspectives and analyses of the 1999 conflict, which is reflected in the low coverage through editorial (4.5 percent, n=3) and feature/news analysis (10.4 percent, n=7). It is pertinent to note that the historical and social context in relation to the socio-cultural relationship between Yoruba and Hausa in Sagamu before the 1999 conflict which is presented above (see p. 3) did not find expression in the news of the conflict. Rather, attention was paid to the 'immediate cause,' thus de-contextualising the issue at stake.

In the context of position of stories, this study found that only 1.5 percent (n=1) of the entire 67 stories reported the conflict through lead stories. This finding suggests that the selected newspapers did not give prominence to the conflict in their coverage, which further resonates with the fact that only 4.5 percent (n=3) of the 67 stories analysed reported the conflict through editorials. Despite this argument, it may, on the other hand, be interpreted that the newspapers studied may have exercised a sense of caution within the purview of the social responsibility theory of the press by not projecting the conflict as lead stories in their coverage. However, it is noteworthy that 31.3 percent (n=21) of the stories reported

by the four newspapers account for other front page stories. This may mean that the conflict fairly attracted the attention of the newspapers studied but some other issues seemed to have been more prominent and attracted the attention of the newspapers more than the 1999 conflict as reflected in lead stories and editorials.

Within the context of the description of stories, negative stories dominated the newspapers studied with 70.1 percent (n=47) and 29.9 percent (20) respectively. The dominance of negative stories may not be unconnected with the nature of the event- inter-ethnic conflict, which is usually characterised by killings, destructions and bloodshed. More importantly, this finding is a reflection of the popular journalism maxim that "bad news sells newspapers" which still dominates journalism practice and news coverage in many parts of the world including Nigeria. This underscores the importance attached to news values by news workers in the news making process. As Deluca and Peebles have reminded us, "by definition, the news is about what is new, what is out of the ordinary. The news is attracted to disturbers of order and deviation from the routine." (Deluca & Peebles, 2002, p. 138)

The framing and characterisation of issues in the 1999 inter-ethnic conflict between the Hausa-Yoruba ethnic groups constitutes a major preoccupation in this study. This is reflected in the first research question (*What forms of characterisation did Nigerian national newspapers use in reporting the 1999 Yoruba-Hausa crisis in Sagamu?*) In answering this question, therefore, this study found that while the conflict was characterised with peace and harmony, empathy and sympathy, reconciliation and compromise, the largest number of the stories reported in the newspapers studied were characterised and framed around disunity and disintegration accounting for 68.7 percent (n=47 out of the entire 67 stories). Given this finding, it may be interpreted that the nature of the event, inter-ethnic conflict, which involves human life, actually determined the way and manner journalists also framed their news reports and other newspaper writers. It may also be a reflection of the time the conflict occurred which was a few weeks after the inauguration of democratic government after many years of military rule.

Furthermore, and in relation to the characterisation of the conflict, the specific themes or issues in the stories reported about the conflict were examined. Findings show that the nature of the event being studied, inter-ethnic conflict, largely reflected in the overall findings as issues/themes bothering on death dominate the newspaper reportage of the conflict over other issues. This account for 64.2 percent (n=43 out of the entire 67 stories analysed). Followed next are issues bothering on economy (19.4 percent, n=13) as the conflict involved destruction of properties and commercial goods. Images have always played prominent role in news coverage either on the television screen or in the newspapers. They not only attract

readers, they tell stories and amplify their significance. A large quantum of the stories reported by the newspapers studied were accompanied by black and white photographs (70.1 percent, n=47), none of the stories carried a coloured photograph while 29.9 percent (n=20) of the stories did not use photographs. This finding suggests that the newspapers studied used photojournalistic approach to report the conflict and perhaps to generate more social concern.

In relation to the second research question (*what is the immediate and remote cause of the 1999 Yoruba-Hausa conflict in Sagamu?*), which is qualitatively answered through in-depth interviews, the study found that the conflict was caused by the violation of religious and cultural belief between the Hausa and Yoruba during the 1999 annual *Oro* festival. *Oro* is one of the popular Masquerades in the traditional beliefs of the South-Western people of Nigeria, and it is celebrated once in a year mostly in the middle of night before the dawn. There are a few cases of communities which celebrate *Oro* Masquerade in the broad day light. By traditional belief, it is an abomination and clearly forbidden for female to sight *Oro* or watch *Oro* in session in Yoruba culture. This abomination is held in the highest esteem since antiquity. According to the interviewees, the immediate cause of this conflict was connected to the killing of a Hausa prostitute during *Oro* festival in 1999. According to the narration of Oyenuga (personal communication, June 9, 2016), the conflict was connected to *Oro* Festival in 1999. "I was aware that a Hausa prostitute lady came out in the midnight to sight the *Oro* masquerade, which is an abomination in Yoruba-land. The Hausa prostitute was killed by the *Oro* faithful and celebrants. Then the Hausa retaliated, which led to the conflict on July 18, 1999, the last day of *Oro* festival. This same version was also rendered by ⁵Oyewunmi (personal communication, June 9, 2016) "I live at Sabo and what the majority of us believed to have caused the conflict is the killing of a Hausa prostitute lady by the *Oro* believers, claiming that the prostitute lady came out in the midnight to sight *Oro*, which is an abomination in Yoruba-land." The two Hausas interviewed shared the same view that the killing of the prostitute actually led to the conflict between the two ethnic groups. According to Garba (personal communication, June 6, 2016):

In that year, it was narrated that a Hausa prostitute lady was outside while the *Oro* people were already out in the mid-night, they beat her and she fell in the cause of being beaten, which led to her death. So in the following morning, the 17th July, 1999, the Hausa gathered and started to protest around the Sabo community to express their grievances on the death of the lady. I remember they started shouting "*No more Oro and we no go gree* and so on."

In a newspaper report, which traced the cause of conflict, it was reported that the then *Lisa* (the second in command to the Remo Monarch) of Akarigbo of Remo Kingdom, Late Chief Moses Ogunlaja, stated that the cause of the conflict was connected to the actions of some Hausa

women who defiled the traditional belief of the Yoruba by coming out in the mid-night to watch *Oro* in session. In his words:

Women, whether indigenes or strangers are forbidden from coming out to watch *Oro* cult in session. But the trouble started on Tuesday last week when some Hausa women defiled the warning and came out in the night. We promptly alerted the Seriki Hausawa who assured us that it wouldn't happen again. But as if this bloodletting was destined to occur, the Hausa women came out again on Thursday and Friday and it got to the climax on Saturday, the last day of the *Oro* festival... (Weekend Concord, Saturday July 24, 1999, p. 12).

While the then Seriki Hausawa, Alhaji Garuba, did not deny the fact that some Hausa women came out to watch *Oro* in session, the Hausa Monarch accused the *Oro* people of coming out before the stipulated time (see Weekend Concord, Saturday July 24, 1999, p. 12).

The historical narrative is very important in understanding the remote and the immediate cause of the conflict and the information provided in the media coverage of the event. From the accounts of the interviewees, it is clear that the conflict arose from a clash of cultural/religious values. It must, of course, be understood that the breach of the agreement stipulating that worshipers of the traditional religions must not cross the boundary separating Sabo from the main town must be due to the exponential expansion of Sabo. Sabo is no more a stranger quarter of the 1930s. Many Sagamu indigenes, among whom are adherents of traditional religions, have built houses and now live in Sabo. In another dimension, the conflict may be interpreted as a political reaction to the 1999 Presidential election which saw the emergence of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo as the President in preference to Chief Olu Falae who was supported by the Yoruba. The general perception then was that Chief Obasanjo was a candidate of the Hausa/Fulani establishment. It seems to be plausible to argue that the Sagamu youth regarded the prostitute's action and the protest of the Hausa that followed as part of the Northern agenda to mock them on their own soil in addition to their political defeat and humiliation in the 1999 presidential election.

Consequently, the important point to note was the rapture in the inter-ethnic relationship that has been built for many years. According to one of the interviewees, the 1999 inter-ethnic conflict between the Yoruba and Hausa in Sagamu recorded social-cultural setback, huge economic loss and devastation, health challenges, and loss of lives." (Garba, personal communication, June 6, 2016). In regards to its social-cultural effect, Oyenuga (personal communication, June 9, 2016), states that "the age-long socio-cultural relationship that existed between the two tribes was shattered as mistrust set in after the conflict, especially in the area of inter-ethnic marriage. The inter-ethnic marriage as a practice between the Yoruba and the

Hausa has since reduced drastically.” Economically, “the loss was huge as many properties: houses, cars, stores and malls filled with goods were burned to ashes. The Hausa were more hit than the Yoruba as they immediately ran away to the north in their thousands, selling their houses and other properties at a cheaper price.” (Oyenuga, personal communication, June 9, 2016).

In answering the third research question (*what forms of relationships exist between the Yoruba and Hausa ethnic groups after the 1999 inter-ethnic conflict in Sagamu?*), the qualitative approach was also used within the spectrum of in-depth interviews. Findings from the interviewees show that the two ethnic groups have been relating well since after the 1999 conflict. This is because the symbol of their relationship, ab initio, is the kolanut business, which is the mainstay economy of the Sagamu indigenes. The continued existence of kolanut in Sagamu and the Hausa, being the sole buyers of kolanut, make the relationship between the Hausa and the Yoruba in Sagamu seemingly inevitable. According to Rasheed (personal communication, July 6, 2016), “what happened between us and the Yoruba during the conflict is enough to result into the extinction of the Hausa in Sagamu for ever. But because of the kolanut business, we had to peacefully come together to continue life.” More so, “majority of the Hausa living in Sagamu have declared Sagamu as their first home as we have strong businesses here, our family members, immediate and extend, are all here. We are practically involved in the socio-political schemes of Sagamu. So it is difficult to leave this town.” (Garba, personal communication, June 6, 2016) Garba (personal communication, June 6, 2016), who was appointed a supervising councillor during the last administration in Sagamu Local Government Council, states further that “personally, I feel Sagamu is my home. Anytime I travel to the north, I usually rush back to Sagamu because I sometimes look like a stranger in the north and this is what happens to many other Hausa.”

Another important reason that enhanced the relationship between the Yoruba and the Hausa after the conflict is the issue of inter-tribal marriages. All interviewees note that inter-tribal marriages were very common between the two ethnic groups before the 1999 crisis. In fact, Garba (personal communication, June 6, 2016) states that one inter-tribal marriage was actually conducted between a Yoruba lady and a Hausa man on the Saturday that the conflict broke. The long family ties that had existed made it fairly easy for the two ethnic groups to re-establish relationship after the crisis. It was, however, noted that “since after the terrible conflict of 1999, the inter-tribal marriages have drastically reduced between the Yoruba and the Hausa in Sagamu.” (Oyewunmi, personal communication, June 9, 2016) Oyenuga (personal communication, July 9, 2016) learns credence to this fact that “since after the 1999 conflict between us and the Hausa, it is difficult for me to allow my child to get married to the Hausa people. Of course, there are a few people, who may

still wish to do that, but I cannot allow that to happen to any of my child.”

Furthermore, an important area of tremendous change in the scheme of things is the Hausa hegemony in Sagamu since after the 1999 conflict. For instance, the Hausa have lost, since after the conflict, the leadership of Sabo market and Kara trailer park to the Yoruba. As revealed by Oyenuga (personal communication, June 9, 2016), “before the conflict, the Hausa were absolutely in control of the administration and management of Sabo market. The Yoruba were treated like strangers or visitors and yet, there were no problems or agitations from the Yoruba. This is because the understanding then was that Sabo community actually belonged to the Hausa and the Yoruba had to comply with their rulership in Sabo community.” This same interviewee states further that, “but now, the system has changed because immediately after the conflict, the Akarigbo of Remo Kingdom, Oba Michael Adeniyi Sonariwo, set up the Akarigbo in Council Committee of which I am the Chairman since 1999 to oversee the administration of Sabo market. The committee comprises twenty members including two Hausa representatives.” The Hausa also lost the control of Kara trailer park after the conflict. There is also an Administrative Council in charge of management of the park. The council is dominated by the Yoruba with a few Hausa members, which hitherto, was solely managed by the Hausa without the intervention of the Yoruba.

Discussion of Findings

In general, while it may be stated that the newspapers studied responded to the coverage of the 1999 inter-ethnic conflict between the Yoruba and the Hausa in Sagamu, South-Western Nigeria, the fact, as reflected in the findings, is that there appears to be a low coverage despite the magnitude of the conflict. Findings further reflect that, as elsewhere and by orientation and operation, newspapers are event-driven as all the newspapers studied reported the conflict mostly through news stories more than other types of stories. It is also a fact in this study that the newspapers studied did not give journalistic prominence to the conflict, especially through their lead stories and editorials. These two sections of newspapers in general constitute the most important and strategic sections to give prominent attention to issues, which may also determine the degree of importance that members of the public will attribute to such issues. Though the nature of the issue in question, conflict, which usually involve human lives and inestimable destructions seemed to have attracted major stakeholders to be responsive to the conflict for timely resolution despite the non-prominence through lead stories and editorials.

The use of photograph in this study suggests that the newspapers studied appreciably used photographs as a framing technique in the coverage of the 1999 conflict. This is because 47 (70.1 percent) out of the entire 67 stories reported on the conflict in the four newspapers used black and white photographs. This resonates with the submission of Batziou (2011) who argue that framing through

photojournalistic practices in newspapers is capable of transmitting newspaper messages in ways that can influence the receptions of newspaper readers in interpreting news, regardless of the accompanying text. A look at some of the photographs used by the selected newspapers implies that most of the photographs were in consonance with the themes reported about the conflict by journalists and the characterisations of issues. The selection of some of these pictures may be interpreted as a deliberate approach to frame and characterise issues around the conflict in such a way that members of the public attribute an appreciable level of importance to the conflict.

The framing of issues in the 1999 inter-ethnic conflict in Sagamu as found in this study bother on themes such as death, destruction, community mistrust, disunity and disintegration, peace and harmony, empathy and sympathy, reconciliation and compromise, and economic loss. Some of the stories in the selected newspapers attest to the way in which reporters characterised issues in the conflict. For instance, framing the event, *National Concord*, reports that “a bloody clash between Hausa and Yoruba communities in Sagamu, Ogun State yesterday left at least 50 people dead and scores of others injured. No fewer than 100 houses and shops, including three mosques, and a bank as well as several vehicles and motorcycles were also burnt.” (Monday July 19, 1999, p.1) In another story, it is reported that “death toll in last weekend’s ethnic fighting in Sagamu, Ogun State, rose to 66 as scores of people continue to flee the city. The exodus of the people, particularly non-indigenes, was due to palpable tension and fear of possible escalation of the clash triggered by a misunderstanding between the Hausa community and Yoruba worshippers of *Oro*- a type of masquerade which parades the streets at night.” (*National Concord*, Tuesday, July 20, 1999, p.1) Another story that learns credence to the characterisation and framing of the conflict around some of the themes identified above include:

The ancient city of Sagamu was like a ghost town last week. Most of the streets were deserted and all shops, schools and business premises remained under lock and key. Though there were no corpses littering the streets like in the preceding two days, there was obvious marks of unsightly scenes. A visitor could imagine the town was emerging from a war. Sagamu looked like an evacuated battlefield. Sagamu, headquarters of Sagamu Local Government, Ogun State is taking its turn among communities where communal clashes have decimated the population and tragically threatening good neighbourliness. Since last Saturday’s night, the city has witnessed one of its most devastated crises in modern time. Many will insist that they had never witnessed gory site before. (*The Punch*, Friday July, 1999, p.25).

One of the stories also reads:

Sunday 18 July 1999 was a day that will for long linger in the minds of the residents of Sagamu Ogun State. It was a day the entire Sabo area was completely razed. It was a

day of free blood and human parts. A day of sorrow, grief and tears. A day devoid of harmony. Beheaded corpses were over 20. Those burnt beyond recognition were close to that number. Those shot dead continued to multiply every hour. At least, 100 people were killed during the mayhem caused by two prostitutes. (*Nigerian Tribune*, Wednesday July 21, 1999, p. 20).

The framing of issues around the conflict were further buttressed with the headlines of some of the stories reported in the selected newspapers. The table 3 below captures some of these headlines.

Table 3: Framing of issues in the 1999 inter-ethnic conflict in Sagamu through newspaper headlines.

SN	Newspaper headlines	Issues/themes framed	Newspapers and date of publication
1	Sagamu: Day of fury	Death and destruction	<i>National</i> July 18, 1999
2	Sagamu death toll now 66	Death	<i>National Concord</i> July 20, 1999
3	Sagamu: Journey into the valley of death	Death	<i>Nigerian Tribune</i> July 20, 1999
4	Bloodbath: 50 killed as Yorubas, Hausas clash in Sagamu, 100 houses burnt	Death and destruction	<i>National Concord</i> July 19, 1999
5	Sagamu mourns... after the mayhem	Empathy and sympathy	<i>Sunday Punch</i> July 24, 1999
6	The Sagamu mayhem	Death and destruction	<i>The Punch</i> July 20, 1999
7	Sagamu riot victims for mass burial	Death and, empathy and sympathy	<i>The Punch</i> July 21, 1999
8	Obasanjo grieved by Sagamu killings - Minister	Death, empathy and sympathy	<i>National Concord</i> July 22, 1999
9	20 feared killed in Sagamu -Curfew imposed	Death	<i>National Concord</i> July 19, 1999
10	Tears in our eyes	Empathy and sympathy, destruction, and death	<i>The Guardian</i> July 24, 1999
11	Pains in our hearts	Empathy and sympathy	<i>The Guardian</i> July 24, 1999
12	Sagamu mayhem: PDP chieftain donates N.1m to victims	Empathy and sympathy	<i>The Punch</i> August 13, 1999
13	50 feared dead in Sagamu communal clash	Death	<i>The Guardian</i> July 19, 1999
14	Sagamu mayhem: A sabotage – Oba Adeyemi	Mistrust	<i>Nigerian Tribune</i> July 24, 1999
15	FG raises panel on Sagamu riots .Fresh killings alleged	Reconciliation and compromise, and death	<i>The Punch</i> July 21, 1999
16	Sagamu’s day of Blood	Death and destruction	<i>Nigerian Tribune</i> July 21, 1999
17	The Sagamu killings	Death	<i>Nigerian Tribune</i> July 22, 1999
18	50 killed in Sagamu .60 injured .80 houses burnt	Death, destruction, and economic loss	<i>Nigerian Tribune</i> July 19, 1999
19	Peace return to Sagamu, govt assures residents of safety	Peace and harmony	<i>The Guardian</i> July 22, 1999
20	Sagamu riots: Yoruba,	Peace and harmony	<i>The Punch</i>
21	For peace in Sagamu	Peace and harmony	<i>The Guardian</i> July 23, 1999

Conclusion

Framing of issues in conflicts is a sensitive aspect of news coverage as it goes a long way in escalating or mitigating conflicts. The media, therefore, should bring to the fore considerations for peace journalism, development journalism and social responsibility in the coverage of conflicts for the purposes of social cohesion and integration. The commercialisation drive to journalism product (news) should not be the preference point in the coverage of conflicts as this may influence reporters to be negative oriented and be advertently driven with the maxim "bad news sells newspapers." In this case, while journalists are expected to be socially responsible by emphasising reconciliation and peace in conflict coverage, it is observed that journalists exploitatively tend to focus much attention on the negative aspect of the conflict in order to sell a large number of newspaper editions and to maximise profit during the period of the conflict. Specifically, findings from the 1999 inter-ethnic conflict between the Yoruba and the Hausa in Sagamu, South-western Nigeria suggest that while a large proportion of the news stories focus on the bad or the negative aspect of the conflict, which may have been informed by the commercialisation drive of news, reporters still covered the event fairly-well in mitigating the conflict through the echo of peace and reconciliation stories.

Consequently, this study concludes that, newspapers as a strategic mass communication channel, have a major role to play in society in reducing tensions during the period of crisis. The enduring nature of newspaper, frequent publication, graphical illustrations and the comprehensive analysis involved in its editorial contents are considerable factors that make newspapers strategic in society. Considering these valuable features of newspapers, journalists are expected to place high premium on social responsibility, public service and accountability in their professional duties. This consideration should further propel newspapers to frame and characterise conflict reporting around peace and harmony, compromise and reconciliation, social order and cohesion, and communality and social integration. In this framework, newspapers should be developmental in their approach thereby moderating their drive for commercialisation of news, which makes journalists to focus more attention on the negative or the bizarre aspect of an event including conflict.

Footnotes

- ¹ Alhaji Inua Garba is the Seriki (Royal father) of the Hausa Community in Sagamu Ogun State south-western Nigeria.. His father was the immediate past Seriki, who was on the throne during the conflict. Alhaji Inua Garba is one of the interviewees in this study.
- ² Alhaji Rasheed is the third senior-most chief to the Seriki of the Hausas in Sagamu community who has been a chief since the reign of the immediate past Seriki. Alhaji Seriki also is one of the interviewees in this study.
- ³ Akarigbo is the traditional title of the most senior king or monarch in Remoland wherein Sagamu is serves as the

Headquarters. Remo as a region comprises 33 towns. The seat of power is situated in Sagamu. Akarigbo is a first class monarch in Nigeria.

- ⁴ Chief Oyenuga is the Chairman of the Akarigbo in Council Committee. He is also a chief to the Akarigbo of Remoland. The committee was constituted after the 1999 inter-tribal conflict in Sagamu to manage the affairs of Sabo market. Chief Oyenuga is one of the interviewees in this study.
- ⁵ Alhaja Oyewunmi is one of the interviewees in this study. She is the Iyalode (Women leader) of Sabo market. She is a stakeholder in the management of the affairs of the market.

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Life after Domestic Homicide: Examining the Psychosocial Implications on Children-Survivor

Although the problem of domestic violence has received considerable attention, the study of domestic homicide is relatively recent and limited to precipitating conditions or the act itself. Most of the literature on familicide focuses on the personality characteristics of the victim and perpetrator or tries to answer the question, "How did the death happen?" Little notice, however, has been given to the children of the victim and offender who, in the midst of their loss and extreme suffering, inherit the fallout from the death of one parent, and incarceration of the other. The study therefore explored the psychosocial implications of parental absence on account of death and incarceration on surviving children. Qualitative data were obtained from 18 convicted and awaiting trial inmates for spousal homicide in three selected prisons in Lagos state, key informant interviews (KII) with four officials of Office of Public Defenders (OPD), three officials of Directorate of Public Prosecutions (DPP) and two child psychologists. Surviving children of domestic homicide suffer massive upheaval, psychiatric disturbance, ill health, financial difficulties, ostracism, scars from witnessing the domestic violence that preceded the murder and the propensity for future intrafamilial violence. The study concludes that direct and indirect exposure to domestic violence and homicide is negatively associated with children's emotional, behavioural and developmental well-being. Hence, welfare of such children which should include therapy, relief of suffering, resolution of trauma symptoms, provision of supportive environment and clarification of cognitive or emotional distortions about the homicide should be incorporated in the prosecution process by relevant agencies.

Keywords: Children-Survivor, Domestic homicide, Psychosocial implications, Spousal homicide.

Introduction

Domestic violence and domestic homicide has come to represent major public health challenges and a key subject of criminological discourse in Nigeria, in particular, and the world in general. It is adjudged to be the most extreme form of domestic violence and one of the most common types of homicide in the world (Harlon, Brook, Demery, & Cunningham, 2016). In Nigeria, the occurrences of domestic homicide appear to be on the increase despite the unavailability of reliable statistics. Without doubt, news reportage on spousal killing has reached an all-time high within the last two years in the country (Ifeanyichukwu *et al.*, 2017; The Guardian, 2017). This trend has been confirmed by the office of the Directorate of Public Prosecution of Lagos State who remarked that women in the country are now six times more at risk of being

murdered by their spouse than by a stranger. According to a senior officer of the directorate, in the first and second quarter of 2017 alone, there had been 13 cases of spousal homicide treated by the directorate. Meanwhile, Shija (2014) reported that an average of 300-350 women are killed by their husbands or boyfriends in Nigeria annually.

The interest of the criminal justice system and social welfare literature have been firmly positioned on what becomes of the survival and growth of children who are products of families that experienced domestic homicide. This is premised on the high impact that might trail the loss of a parent to domestic violence and the ensuing incarceration of the other parent for murder. Many of these children may already have the scars from witnessing the domestic violence that likely precedes the murder. They may observe the actual event, or their

exposure may be more indirect, such as hearing violent encounters or later witnessing the results from a violent exchange. Both direct and indirect exposure to domestic violence is negatively associated with children's emotional, behavioural and developmental well-being (Godbout, Dutton, Lussier, & Sabourin, 2009).

Recently, there have been an increasing body of evidence that describes the deleterious effects of exposure to domestic violence can have on the health, cognitive functioning and emotional well-being of children (Emery *et al.*, 2011; Robbins *et al.*, 2012; Harlon *et al.*, 2016). As a matter of fact, the age of a child and stage of development can be an important determinant for what those consequences may be (Danies, Evans, & DiLillo, 2016). For example, children who are within the primary school age and younger should ideally be learning to think in egocentric ways, begin the process of gender identification, develop language skills, and explore a moral schema. For children that are within this age, exposure to violence has been established as a positive correlate of disrupted developmental milestones such as language development, toilet training, and motor-skills acquisition (Schaefer, 2011). In addition to disrupted development, exposure to domestic violence is positively associated with reduced empathy and prosocial behaviours, poorer communication skills, and increased behaviours that undermine the development of a social network (Godbout *et al.*, 2009).

Children that are of older age who are exposed to domestic violence are vulnerable to complex emotional and identity problems (Naughton, O'Donnell, & Muldoon, 2017). This is due to the fact that they take social, gender, and behavioural cues from their adult role-models. For example, they are at risk of developing stereo-typed notions of gender, e.g. women are victims and men are perpetrators of domestic violence. Although peer identification is considered a key developmental task of adolescence, exposure to domestic violence may promote behaviours, which inhibit membership in a peer group. For example, several reports link exposure to domestic violence to aggressive behaviour, conduct problems, depression, anxiety, low self-esteem, and impaired social competencies. Empirical studies have pointed out that there is variability in the impact of domestic homicide on children (Harlon *et al.*, 2016; Loius & Johnson, 2017). It was asserted that the variability is hinged on the level of proximity of the child to the event. Although it is common for children who experience domestic violence to suffer post-traumatic stress syndrome (PTSD), physical health problems including psychosomatic concerns, and sleep disturbances, they are more often reported in children who witnessed the murder. The reaction of children to such experience may also vary based on their age. For example, younger children may start wetting the bed whereas older children may show an obsessive fascination with guns and violence (Naughton *et al.*, 2017). Many have distressing nightmares and flashback memories of their parent's mutilated body including images and sounds of the incident.

Though there has been a considerable amount of research that focused on children's experience of domestic violence (Richards, 2011; Danies, Evans, & DiLillo, 2016; Loius & Johnson, 2017), little is known about what happens to these children in the aftermath of the murder of a parent and the incarceration of the other parent. Besides being neglected in literature, they are often overlooked in the chaos that follows the death and incarceration of both parents and they feel alone, lost and invisible. Far from being distant spectators, many of these children were actually in the home when the homicide occurred and may have witnessed it or found the body of their parent (Harlon *et al.*, 2016; Ifeanyichukwu *et al.*, 2017; Loius & Johnson, 2017). As a result, they may not only have to deal with the trauma of death by homicide but may be haunted by the sights and sounds that occurred during the incident including the mutilation of their mother's body or the "blank, evil, and frightening look in their father's eye immediately after he committed the homicide" (Loius & Johnson, 2017:36). They may also be there when their father or mother is being arrested and taken away by the police. As bystanders, they may also witness the reactions of family members to the death notification. The varying gruesome experiences that the children are susceptible to in the event of domestic homicide and apprehension of their parents and the significant effect that it can have on their development and social life is the main concern of this study. In particular, the study will examine the psychosocial effects of domestic violence and homicide experiences on surviving children; and evolve an ideal psychosocial management that can safeguard the children from degenerating into social menace and improve their prosocial behaviours.

Theoretical Orientation

The purpose of this study which is to examine psychosocial effects of domestic homicide on children survivors makes it imperative for the adoption of a dual directional theoretical approach. Therefore, theoretical orientation for this research is taken from a theory rooted in psychology (attachment), and a sociological theory (social disorganisation). The adoption of these two theories is by no means an indication that there are no other relevant theories in the two fields that equally provide such theoretical depth to the study.

Attachment theory:

This theory looks at the importance of the developing brain on emotions and behaviours throughout the lifespan of a person (Schaefer, 2011). One of the pioneers of attachment theory is John Bowlby. His contributions, are rooted in psychodynamic thought, and include his works in attachment (1969), separation (1973), and loss (1980) (Robbins, Chatterjee, & Canda, 2012). "Bowlby emphasised that attachment behaviour is regarded as a class of social behaviour of an importance equivalent to that of mating behaviour and parental behaviour" (Robbins *et al.*, 2012:36). They went further to discuss how attachment

occurs by the end of the first year for nearly all children, and the absence of attachment can lead to symptoms of serious developmental problems. Attachment provides a useful lens to enhance the understanding of domestic violence and the impact this has on the development of children because it gives the ability to understand the importance of the relationship, the attachment, and the effect that an insecure attachment can have on the relationship (Yamawaki, Ochoa-Shipp, Pulsipher, Harlos, & Swindler, 2012). A child, who experiences this type of trauma at a young age, will not have an appropriately developed brain (Richards, 2011). This idea suggests that there will be significant differences between the brain of child who has grown up or is currently growing up in a loving, supportive, and caring environment, and the brain of a child who is witnessing domestic violence within their family system, causing them to experience constant fear and inconsistency; hence the inability to grow and thrive.

Attachment Theory suggests that an assaultive male's violent outbursts may be a form of protest behaviour directed at his attachment figure that may have rejected him and/or precipitated by perceived threats of separation or abandonment. (Robbins, Chatterjee & Canda, 2012) Thus, the central features of a fearful attachment pattern are anxiety and anger (Keeling & Van Wormer, 2011). Early life separation and loss were strongly correlated with adult domestic violence perpetration as well as exposure to parental violence, validating that insecure attachment style is related to the dis-regulation of the negative flow of emotions in intimate relationships (Moylan, Herrenkohl, Sousa, Tajima, Herrenkohl & Russo, 2009). In addition, this theory offers a better understanding of the role of caregiver and child, and therefore will provide the theoretical framework guiding this study.

Social Disorganisation:

This theory has helped in the understanding of the dynamics and effects of neighbourhoods characteristics on criminal and delinquent behaviours that occur in public (Barnett & Mencken, 2002; Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003). In recent times, researchers have used social disorganisation theory in order to have a more complete understanding of the structural factors that may put individuals at risk for more private crimes, such as domestic violence (Emery, Jolley, & Wu, 2011; Wright, 2011; Wright & Benson, 2011). Social disorganisation theory is a consensus theory, whereby social order, social stability, and social integration occur as a result of common norms and values among members. The theory posits that the less cohesion, solidarity, and integration within members of a society or social group, the greater the rate of criminal and delinquent behaviour; whereas socially organised areas are effectively enforcing informal social controls and have lower rates of criminal and delinquent behaviours (Sampson & Groves, 1989; Akers & Sellers, 2009). The key role of a family as a social unit to foster cohesion cannot be achieved in a chaotic setting of domestic violence. Children that are offspring of such families hardly contribute positively to the cohesion,

solidarity and integration of a society (Richards, 2011; Danies, Evans, & DiLillo, 2016; Loius & Johnson, 2017).

The main premise of social disorganization theory is that crime and delinquency result from a breakdown in structural and institutionalized social controls, or informal social controls (Sampson, 2012; Shaw & McKay, [1942]1969). Informal social controls are regulated by members of a community and in a disorganised community these controls are not present, therefore, crime and delinquency flourish (Sampson, 2012; Shaw & McKay, [1942]1969). This theory attempts to link violence in the family to the broader social environment. This includes the culture, the formal and informal social networks of the family, the closer family setting and circumstances, and the family history. This type of framework sets up a basis for a risk-theory of domestic assault based on the given criteria. In Nigeria, similar to other African countries, the beating of wives and children is perceived to be a necessary form of discipline (Aihie, 2016). Therefore, in beating their children parents believe they are instilling discipline in them, much the same way as in husbands beating their wives, who are regarded like children to be prone to indiscipline which must be curbed. This is especially so when the woman is economically dependent on the man (Abayomi, 2014).

Synthesis:

The attachment theory exposes the individual risk factors that may increase the odds of experiencing or perpetrating domestic violence. As postulated by the theory, one of the most common risk factors for domestic violence is experiencing or witnessing violence in one's family of origin. Several studies conducted to examine risk factors that increase the risk of domestic violence indicate that those that witnessed violence as a child between parents or guardians have an increased risk of being victims in their future intimate relationships. From the social disorganisation angle too, researchers have posited that structural-level factors are part of a larger model of violence examining the interrelationships between the individual, family, social-structural, and sociocultural levels. For example, the increase in the level of domestic homicide in Nigeria in recent times as against the traditional era has been attributed to specific breakdown at the structural level (Adebayo & Kolawole, 2013; Abayomi, 2014; Aihie, 2016). The social control mechanisms that used to prevail in the time past have been systematically reduced by different factors, while the family structure has equally changed over time. Therefore, a combination of the psychological and sociological theories is adequate to effectively explain the individual and structural dimensions to the problem of domestic homicide and the effect it will have on the children.

Research Methods and Data

Research Sites and Settings

The research setting for this study includes three purposively selected prisons in Lagos State who provides accommodation for convicts and awaiting trial inmates of

domestic homicide. The selection of the prisons was based on security level, geographic proximity and provision for convicts and awaiting trial inmates of spousal homicide. The sampling frame for this research consists of male and female maximum and medium security prisoners living in celled housing units in Kirikiri Maximum Prison, Kirikiri Female Prisons and Ikoyi Prison. In addition, two government agencies that work for the prosecution and control of domestic violence and homicide, Office of Public Defender and Directorate of Public Prosecution both in Lagos State were included in the study. The officials of the Welfare Unit of the Office of Public Defender and Prosecution officers of the Directorate of Public Prosecution were engaged to provide key information for the study. Finally, child psychologists resident in the University College Hospital, Ibadan were also included in the study.

Data

The site selection and sampling strategies employed for this study were designed to gather data from respondents who are both comparable to and distinct from one another in ways believed to be relevant to experiences in events leading to the killing of their spouse. The same goes for officials of Office of Public Defender, Directorate of Public Prosecution, Lagos State and University College Hospital, Ibadan. Data for this study consist primarily of in-person interview data collected during April and June of 2017; interview data were supplemented with official data on demographic and sentence-related characteristics and field notes taken throughout the duration of the study. All interviews were strictly confidential; pseudonyms are used throughout this article to refer to participants. The participation rate for the study was high (86 percent), with only three respondents declining to be interviewed. The total sample for this study is 18 prisoners (convicts and awaiting trial inmates), with 12 males and six females; four welfare officials of Office of Public Defender; three prosecuting officers of Directorate of Public Prosecution and two child psychologists with the University College Hospital. Audio recording were not allowed during the interview for prison inmates, therefore notes of the proceeding were taken down by a research assistant. However, audio recording was permitted for interviews with key informants. Interviews averaged forty-five minutes. The shortest interview was eight minutes and the longest lasted one hour fifteen minutes. The variability in interview duration was a product of the semi-structural nature of the interviews.

For the offenders of domestic homicide, each interview started with open-ended questions designed to elicit information about their marriage experiences without specifically referencing domestic violence or homicide. The goal of this segment of the interview was to elicit general thoughts and feelings about family life without specifically broaching the topic of homicide. The next sets of questions were more tailored towards domestic violence. However, interviews with the experts took a different pattern as direct

questions were asked from the onset after intimating them with the purpose of the study. In all, 18 offenders of domestic homicide in the selected prisons, and nine key informants provided primary data for this study, while secondary data were collected from the Office of Public Defender, Directorate of Public Prosecution and selected prisons.

Method of analysis

Data analysis followed the iterative process that often characterises grounded theory in particular, and qualitative research more generally (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). During data collection, extensive field notes on any interactions and observations relevant to the study of domestic violence and abuse were taken. After data collection was concluded, content analysis was done with the use of a qualitative software program (NVivo) was deployed. Content analysis has to do with the probing of content and themes of text to uncover both definitions contained in the text and those that emerge through the analysis (Krippendorff, 2012). Open coding was used to identify themes apparent in the respondents' narratives through line-by-line analysis. Once initial memos were written and links between themes became clearer, we returned to the full body of data to begin focused coding. Focused coding helped in ensuring that the themes that emerged from the initial subset of the data were both relevant to and appropriately configured for the full set of data. Focused coding followed a similar line-by-line process to that of open coding, but applied the specific codes that had been identified as important to the theoretical framework.

Research Findings

Sociodemographic characteristics of respondents

Though the sample of the study was 18, the sociodemographic characteristics of the respondents still showed considerable diversity. Data on age, education, and status in the prison were obtained from official report while the rest were obtained from offender self-report. Only six of the respondents were females while the remaining 12 were males. The lopsidedness in gender distribution is as a result of higher number of males in the study population and the willingness of more males to partake in the study. The respondents were youthful though only two of them were below age 30, while majority of them (13) were between age 30-40 and only three were above 40 years old. All of them are educated with the least number (2) having secondary education while the rest of them (16) are at least graduates of higher institutions. In respect of the status of the respondents in the prisons, trials of majority of them are still ongoing while only four of them (two of whom are condemned to death) are convicted. Majority of them are of Yoruba ethnic affiliation (8), Christian religion (10) and self-employed (12). The interviews were conducted primarily in English (and occasionally in Pidgin English and Yoruba).

Offenders' childhood experience of domestic violence

In their growing up years, all the inmates of the selected prisons who are convicts and awaiting trial prisoners described an array of experiences of domestic violence involving their parents and guardians. Sixteen of the 18 respondents expressed that they had abusive childhood where parents and guardians subjected them to 'excessive disciplinary punishments' like 'beating' 'flogging' 'slapping' 'kicks' 'hitting on the head' 'throwing items at me' 'pushing me violently' 'hitting with sticks and other objects.' Majority of them noted that they grew up with such perception that anytime they go wrong or engage in wrongful behaviour, such disciplinary measures would automatically be meted out on them as penalty. Eight of them described a more intense abuse like 'being locked out to sleep outside their homes,' 'being hit with iron and other dangerous materials that saw them spilling blood' 'being locked up in a room for hours' 'denial of food and drinks as punishment for a day or more' 'hiring third party to beat me up'. Tayo, a 32 year old who is undergoing trial for strangling his wife in her sleep to death volunteered:

I grew up with the belief that it is normal to hit and kick a child as this was the treatment that I underwent in my childhood. In fact, it got to an extent that if I am not beaten for doing something wrong, I get worried or fearful as my father's silence can be more dangerous. It is only after he had beaten me that I will be rest assured that I have paid my debt for that wrongdoing...

In respect of the respondents' witnesses of violent encounters between their parents, 13 of them expressed that they had witnessed frequent occurrences of violent altercations between their parents, 11 added that they had witnessed their parents' fight with other people in their growing up years. The respondents described the fights between their parents as involving fisticuffs, throwing of items to each other, hitting each other with dangerous items, destroying properties, and engaging in wrestling bouts. According to them, these events are normally 'disturbing', 'saddening' 'embarrassing' to them when they were young. They stated that they reacted by crying, running to their room and locking up themselves, covering their eyes in shame and fear, running out of the house to call for help, making phone calls to relatives, and making attempt to separate them.

Perception of violence and abuse as adult:

Considering the growing up years of the respondents in which they experienced violence and abuse, they were asked about their perception of violence and abuse when they attained adulthood. An overwhelming majority of them perceives violence and abuse as not good but inevitable. They opined that there should be discipline if 'one wants to assert authority as a man, father and husband' 'one needs to slap a woman to order sometimes' 'it is almost impossible to have a violent-free relationship in marriage.' One of them provided more details:

...well I will not call it violence, but it's just an occasional strike that is meant to express one's strong disapproval to a situation. After all the Bible also support that such means of correction is required for children. It is indeed very difficult to gain the respect and fear of a woman without you using it (violence) once in a while. However, it shouldn't be every time, otherwise it will lose its potency...

Adetunji/39/Kirikiri Maximum

Adetunji went further to state that he got his idea from his late father who told him that a man should be ready to be violent in order to be respected by his wife, and that any man that fails to employ violence when confronted by his wife, is a weakling. Generally, the respondents perceive violence as being inevitable and useful if applied moderately in relationship between parents and children as well as between husband and wife. They provided reasons that are closely related to the position of Adetunji quoted above. They opined that it is only when it goes wrong that it might land them in the kind of trouble they found themselves. Kazeem pointed out that 'it is used to train children that become president (successful) and it is also used for wives that end up staying married with a man for 50 years and more.' Ironically, the female respondents also corroborated the position of the males by implying that 'reasonable measure of violence' is tolerable in a marital relationship. All six of them said they would have remained tolerant if their husbands were not too aggressive and consistent in resorting to violence at every given opportunity.

Children's Exposure to Domestic Violence and Homicide

Consequent upon the admission by all the respondents that there were varying degrees of violence in their families prior to the demise of one of the spouses, the study moved to examine the exposure of their children to such violent experiences. They were requested to provide information on whether they normally take note of the presence of their children when they engage in arguments and violence. This query was relevant to 14 of the respondents (with four of the six females) that have children who lived with them.

Eleven of the 14 respondents that had children living with them admitted that their children had been present 'occasionally' when they had violent encounters with their wives. They stated that it is difficult for them to remember the children whenever they were angry to the level of engaging in fights with their spouses. Teslim, (a 46 years old and father of three children, condemned to death in Kirikiri Maximum Prison) who bathed his wife in acid for infidelity wondered:

Is it possible to be asking the children under such condition of anger to leave the house that we want to fight (he laughed)? Don't forget that it is hot arguments that often lead to serious fight. The only care that I often take is to ensure the children are not injured during the process of fighting with

their mother, because she is fond of throwing things at me.

The rest of the 10 respondents in this category described how their children had witnessed the violent encounters with their wives. Some of them remarked that they had intended to exercise caution but their accommodation space was too small to keep their children at a healthy distance from the scene of the fight. In some instances, respondents stated that their children peeped through key holes and other available channels while they engaged in arguments and fights with their spouses. However, only three of the respondents expressed that they are oblivious to the risk involved in the children witnessing such violence. They all implied that they thought it is even good for the children to know and learn about marital problems so as to avoid falling prey in the future.

Psychological Effects on Spousal Violence on Children:

As the majority of the offenders stated that their children often witnessed the violent encounters that they had with their spouses before the deadly incidence, the study moved to examine the psychological effect of these events on the children. One of the psychologists, Mr. Osahon volunteered: 'it affects children in so many ways. In the way they see life especially when it happens in their formative years. It affects their output to life'.

In a more comprehensive explanation of the effects, Mr Olagunju offered:

Children need a rounded picture of their parents in order to resolve their own inner identity struggles. When a father, for example, has no redeeming qualities, the child's self-image can be damaged because of the conflict inherent in trying to identify with the father. "If daddy is bad, then half of me must be bad because half of me come from daddy." These kinds of fears are common.

He went further to state that children that witnessed spousal violence often worry that they may inherit the badness or sickness of the perpetrator. That they will fear that they will end up like the parent who was killed or even the one that killed the other partner, or even that the perpetrator will come back to kill them too.

In a similar explanation of the effect, Mr Adeniyi volunteered:

The apprehensions of children that suffer such experience are not without merit, it has been well researched. The effect can be endless depending on the nature of such child. Some children may not forget so easily and can develop PTSD, anxiety and some may even hate marriage- see it as a deadly thing, some mental illness. Such children also have difficulties with attachment.

The key informants all pointed out the experience of the children in family violence have varying negative consequences on their developmental process.

Children witnessing Domestic Homicide:

Only two of the 14 offenders stated that their children were present during the final violence that led to the death of their spouse. One of the two pointed out that the child that witnessed it was less than two years at the time. However, the other respondent said he had three children (with the youngest being seven years old) who were present at the time he 'accidentally' killed his wife:

...it wasn't my intention (to kill her), I thought it will be just one of those quarrels we always have only for her to collapse. The children joined me to help her but by the time we got to the hospital, she was pronounced dead...

The rest of the 12 gave different reasons why their children were not around at the incident of homicide. Out of the 12 of them, four (three males and a female) stated that they ensured that their children were not around at home because their attacks were premeditated. Meanwhile, the other eight of them said that the absence of their children were mere coincidence.

In line with the responses of the participants, the child psychologists were requested to provide informed opinion as regards the effects that the presence of the children at the site of their parent's demise may have on them. Mr Olagunju volunteered:

...if children should witness the murder of a parent, then there will be psychiatric consequences like trauma. There may be both short-term and long-term effects. On the short-term, it can make some children to be in a state of shock or numbness over a reasonable period of time. They will feel sad, depressed, lonely and angry. Don't forget the fact that in such situation, they will lose both parents at the same time. On one hand, they are victim-survivor, and on the other, they are offspring of a murderer. So the two roles will have psychological impacts on them on the long run...

Other psychologists corroborated the position of Olagunju as they provided different short- and long-term effects of witnessing such events. Mr Adeniyi pointed out that 'some of their difficulties may not just be related to the murder but the level of disruption that may have hit their young lives.' Mr Osahon stated in this direction:

...there are multifaceted problems that can emanate. For instance, if their home is sealed off as crime scene, they may suffer want of familiar clothes or other personal effects. If they have access to their original home, it is like an empty shell, filled with haunting reminders and echoes of the person who is now dead...they may also lose their neighbourhood, school, and friends in the process, so they have to adjust quickly to unfamiliar environment.

In response to a query on peculiar problems such children can face in Nigeria, Mr Olagunju offered:

It affects their general overview of life especially because members of our society are good at stigmatizing. The child/children will feel abandoned and this is because apart from passing judgment on the killer husband/wife, the government tend to forget so easily about the children except there's a strong follow up from and welfare section like NGO's e.t.c It can affect their education and all other aspect of their life(s) if they are not properly handled i.e. undergo therapy in the early stage of the incident.

Based on the issue raised by the psychologists that Nigerian government do not support children that are offspring of such violent family, this study included officials of the Welfare Units of Office of Public Defender and Directorate of Public Prosecution in the research, in order to provide information on the intervention policy of the government for such families.

Post-homicide Care and Support System for Children:

The study sought to find out the care and support systems that are available for such children considering the psychosocial risks that they faced aftermath of them losing both parents. The officials of Office of Public Defender and Directorate of Public Prosecution were engaged to provide the information. However, interviews with the officials revealed that there are no concrete provisions on the part of the agencies and on behalf of the government to ensure that a support system is established for the children. All the agencies do is to hand over the children to the families of either the offender or victim.

According to one of the welfare officers of OPD, Mr Chukwujekwu 'the government interferes and most times the children are handed over to responsible family members.' However, another official of OPD (Mr. Sowole) added that 'we sometimes provide psychosocial counseling, while the OPD source for sponsors and most times the government interferes by giving free education'. Officials of OPP however stated that it is not 'in their functions to provide care and support measures for children of such parents'. According to one of the officials, 'we only ensure that justice is served and hand over children to the families of the deceased or incarcerated for care.'

Required Psychosocial Interventions Needed for the Children:

Though the government agencies included in the study volunteered that government do not have concrete policies in place to support the children-survivors of domestic homicide, the study still requested the key informants to provide information as regards the psychosocial interventions requirements for such children. One of the OPD officials offered:

Stigmatization is the major problem and this is because of the way our society is. If the children are

not properly monitored they can become street children as a way of trying to source for livelihood for themselves and the girls can even suffer sexual abuse in the course of roaming about which can eventually make them to start prostituting.

Mr Sowole/OPD Welfare Unit/Lagos

Ironically, one of the officials of OPP (Mr. Ahmed) believes the government needs to be more involved; 'they (the children) should go for therapy. The government should be more involved, they should assist with funds & even psychologists or people who will help to counsel in such situations.' Mr. Olagunju also corroborated the opinion of Mr Ahmed as regards the need for therapy, and also added:

They need to see a therapist, whether it happened in their presence or not. Do not just let them just go or just take them to welfare homes. They must talk about the things they saw or heard, it is very important they talk about it.

The rest of the key informants aligned with the position above that therapy are required as a necessary psychological intervention, while adequate reintegration measures into the society, devoid of stigmatisation should be in place for the children.

Discussion of Findings

The present study has shown that early exposure to parental violence in the family of origin is associated with intimate partner violence and marital violence. Childhood psychological or physical abuse by parents represents negative early interpersonal life events that may have a developmental impact on the capacity to assume appropriate adult roles in close relationships (Godbout *et al.*, 2009; Adebayo & Kolawole, 2013; Naughton *et al.*, 2017). The study found that perpetrators of spousal homicide had childhood experience of abuse and witnessing parental violence. This shaped their developmental stages and makes them to perceive violence as an integral part of intimate relationship. This finding is in consonance with that of Danies, Evans, & DiLillo (2016), who conducted a comprehensive empirical review of the risk markers in husband-to-wife violence, including 52 case comparison studies and more than 97 potential correlates of intimate partner violence. They found that the most consistent factor of intimate partner violence was experiencing or witnessing parental violence as a child.

The study also found that the perpetrators of domestic violence and spousal homicide are either not aware of the psychological effects it has on children or are unmindful of children's presence when they perpetrate violent acts. This negligence has been found to have both short term and long term effects on the children that experienced such level of violence. Some of the short terms effects are PTSD symptoms, physical health problems, psychosomatic issues and sleep disturbances; while some of

the long term effects are self-image problems, difficulties with attachment, inner identity struggles, loyalty conflicts, fears and enduring trauma. A growing body of research shows that domestically abusive males are far more likely to have been exposed to family violence as children, as compared to nonviolent males, males who are unhappy in their relationship, or male perpetrators of other crimes, suggesting that witnessing and experiencing parental violence are specific precursor of spousal violence (Robbins *et al.*, 2012; Aihie, 2016; Loius & Johnson, 2017).

The findings of the study on the effects of spousal homicide on children-survivors bother on the need for intervention to care and support the children so that they do not suffer identified psychological effects. This present study reveals that the Nigerian government is only alive to its penal responsibility in cases of spousal homicide, but not doing enough for the children-survivors. The studies reviewed in this research have pointed out the psychological and sociological effects that such children are exposed to (Emery *et al.*, 2011; Richards, 2011; Danies *et al.*, 2016; Loius & Johnson 2017), therefore, the lukewarm attention paid by the government and other stakeholders to the welfare of the children may be partly responsible for the growth in domestic homicide in the country.

Based on the findings of this study, the key areas of intervention needs for the children-survivors are: psychological therapy, counselling, funds to cover schooling and other welfare, and protection from stigmatisation. According to Loius & Johnson (2017), the recovery of survivor-children that are adult is often complicated by estranged family relationships, emotional impasses, and conflict between victim's and perpetrator's extended families. Irresolvable binds contribute to chronic conditions which include loneliness, anger, and feelings of betrayal. Domestic homicide divides the loyalties within a person, as well as between family members.

Conclusion

The trauma from domestic homicide is enduring and causes long-range changes in the way people function. In Nigeria, for the children who remain, many of them are left to manage on their own. However, this study, in agreement with existing literature upholds that there is need for the children to be supported all the way from the time of the homicide, through the trial and conviction of the parent that perpetrated the crime, and even after through their developmental stages.

This study raises the need for treatment of violent child trauma for survivors of domestic violence and homicide; couples' therapy for violent spouses; treatment for parent-child relationship, especially for children being abused by their parents; domestic violence perpetrator prevention programming; relief of suffering from domestic violence, abuse and loss of parents; resolution of trauma symptoms; and, provision of supportive environment. In addition, as part of prosecution process, it is imperative for relevant agencies to first clarify the cognitive or emotional distortions about the homicide as it must have affected the

children-survivor. This is based on the relevance of such measures to enable effective strategies to check the growth of the prevalence of domestic homicide in Nigeria. As if left unaddressed, the generational cycle of abuse will continue to thrive while minor forms of aggression are likely to escalate into more severe or life-threatening violence.

It is indeed evident that based on the prevalence of domestic homicide in Nigeria in recent times, the findings of the study supports the importance of social policies informed by well-funded research that will allow better education and prevention, creation of efficient training programs for law enforcement officials, health care providers, and the general population to stop the generational cycle of abuse.

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