TARGETING EXPLOITATION AT ITS ROOTS: THE IMPACT OF FEMALE MARGINALIZATION IN NIGERIAN HOUSEHOLDS ON DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND OTHER PREDICTORS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the impact of female marginalization within a household in Nigeria on the probability of domestic violence, an important predictor of a child's risk of falling victim to human trafficking. Specifically, data is used from the 2003 Nigerian DHS survey and determined that marginalization of females' roles and decision-making in a household has a statistically significant and robust effect on female attitudes towards domestic violence within a household. Data collected from Nigerian trafficking victims to identify domestic violence as a common experience is also used as a theoretical framework to the models. Key factors included in the model can be broken down into categories of socio-economics, attitudes towards domestic violence, and household structure. The paper integrates and builds upon previous works on the relationship between family dynamics, domestic violence, and vulnerability to exploitation in Nigeria in order to formulate effective policies to eliminate human trafficking.

I am greatly indebted to my thesis advisor, Sarah Gormly, for her expert and thorough guidance, encouragement, and critique of my work. I am also grateful to The Advocacy Project for providing me with the opportunity to live and work in Nigeria and conduct research with human trafficking survivors. Without the patience and candid honesty of Mr. Godwin Morka, the NAPTIP Lagos Zonal head in Nigeria, whom granted access to survivor case files to collect data, I would not have been able to examine in such depth the lives of trafficking survivors to understand and analyze the complexity of both the problems and the solutions to this growing problem. Many thanks are owed to my dear friend and colleague during my time in Nigeria, Laura Cardinal, for her companionship and expertise, and to my husband, Jonathan, for his never-ending support in all of my work. Lastly, I am forever touched by all of the human trafficking survivors in Nigeria that entrusted me with their stories in the hopes of making a difference in other Nigerian's lives.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Human trafficking is the third most lucrative illicit activity worldwide, behind drugs and small arms trade (Naim 2005), an estimated US$7 to $12billion industry. Thousands of Nigerian men, women and children (Morka 2006) are amongst the 600,000 to 800,000 victims trafficked annually worldwide (US Department of State 2006). Like most trafficked persons, Nigerian victims are subjected to physical and emotional abuse, and are trafficked for purposes of forced prostitution as well as household labor both within Nigeria as well as to international destinations in Northern Africa and Europe (Morka 2006). The economic, social, and individual psychological impacts of both domestic violence and human trafficking are of great concern to policymakers as both decrease human capital, hinder economic growth, and create an environment which fosters criminal activity (Naim 2005; Zimmerman 2006). The international community has recently begun to channel more funding into combating human trafficking, and individual countries have implemented policies ranging from legalizing prostitution to enforcing stricter laws on traffickers in attempt to curb human trafficking (Bamgbose 2002; Economist 2004). As international donors evaluate prevention strategies for trafficking victims, it is particularly useful to examine what makes victims most vulnerable. It is the intent of this specific research to both shed light upon the root causes of domestic violence and human trafficking in Nigeria, and to raise awareness for the need of effective policies to address these root causes and take more action to help victims such as the ones mentioned above.

I conducted personal interviews with human trafficking survivors in Nigeria and collected data from victim case files from the Nigerian National Agency for Prohibition

of Trafficking in Persons and Other Related Matters (NAPTIP). Both empirical and anecdotal evidence suggest that the majority of trafficking victims come from abusive family environments before being trafficked. Table A1 details the data describing the backgrounds of trafficking survivors. Most survivors responded that they wished to return to their families, despite having reported it to be an abusive environment or having been driven out of the house. The choice for many victims is between an abusive environment within the home or outside the home, and few options exist that provide vulnerable and dependent populations with a safe environment.

Since little data is available on trafficking itself, this paper uses data available from DHS to predict whether or not a woman will experience abuse in a household, which may identify households that should be targeted for prevention and awareness campaigns. The primary data source are be DHS, which I use to analyze root causes of attitudes towards domestic violence, and the secondary source is field data collected from Nigerian human trafficking victims on the root causes of trafficking. Data on trafficking victims collected by NAPTIP suggest that poverty is not the only, or primary, indicator that makes a victim vulnerable to human trafficking. Instead, NAPTIP data suggest that family relationships combined with economic indicators such as income, education, and skills training can make a person more susceptible to being trafficked (NAPTIP 2006). Almost all human trafficking victims that have gone through a NAPTIP shelter come from homes where there was physical or psychological abuse (NAPTIP 2006). Furthermore, they reveal regional trafficking patterns that identify certain regions of Nigeria as key transit points. Although trafficking victims come from all regions of Nigeria, the states of Edo, Akwa Ibom, Delta, and Cross River in the southern most

region of Nigeria emerge as the primary sources of young girls in the supply of human trafficking victims to larger cities in Nigeria and abroad (NAPTIP 2006).

The hidden and illegal nature of trafficking practices make a victim's entry into the human trafficking industry tremendously difficult to predict; to date no data exist that would allow persons vulnerable to trafficking victims to be identified through empirical analysis. Survey data, however, can be utilized to predict factors contributing to vulnerability, such as familial relationships, domestic violence, and regional factors. Through analyzing household dynamics of this region, trends in attitudes, culture, and beliefs may provide an insight into what makes individuals vulnerable to human trafficking. Factors included in the DHS data set such as education, literacy, region, number of family members, attitudes towards domestic violence, female genital mutilation (FGM), religion, age, and authority in the household is included in the model.

This research paper asks whether female marginalization or power over household decisions has an effect on her attitudes towards domestic violence. In answering this question, I expect to find a correlation between female marginalization and general attitudes towards accepted violence towards women and children. Literature on human trafficking and interviews with trafficking victims have shown that accepted violence within a household may increase an individual's susceptibility towards other forms of exploitation such as human trafficking. With this information governments and organizations dedicated to decreasing or eradicating human trafficking on an international level may dedicate limited resources more effectively to target specific areas of policy in prevention, awareness, and rehabilitation programs. Ultimately, I predict that the presence of female marginalization in making decisions impacting her own life and the

general well-being of the household will increase the likelihood of children in the household experiencing domestic violence, which will in turn increase the likelihood of them falling victim to human trafficking and other forms of exploitation.

In the next section I summarize the literature on the effects of household dynamics, including the absence of a mother, on attitudes towards domestic violence and other factors contributing to the acceptance of domestic violence. I also summarize the small literature on the root causes of human trafficking, and the link between violence experienced in the home and vulnerabilities to exploitation both in general and in Nigeria specifically. This section is followed by an explanation of the theoretical model I use to test my hypothesis, my plan of analysis, and the description of my data. Finally, I conclude with the results I expect to extract from my analysis and the policy implications of these results.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

Policies to date have focused primarily on legal solutions to domestic violence and human trafficking with a need to integrate social services and educational components. Some researchers have suggested that targeting corruption at all levels of Nigerian government through stricter laws is the key to deterring criminal activity that leads to human trafficking (Agbu 2003). Others suggest that legal policy recommendations are not enough to solve the problem of human trafficking as it only addresses the demand side of the equation, leaving a gap needed for policies that address the supply side of trafficking with rehabilitation and prevention strategies (Van Impe 2000; Carling 2006; Zimmerman 2006).

The importance of supply-side factors is supported by research, which shows that young Nigerians are vulnerable to prostitution and human trafficking due to socio-economics and deteriorating household structures as one of many contributors (Bamgbose 2002; Carling 2006). This literature review integrates other works on the relationship between family dynamics, domestic violence, and vulnerability to exploitation in Nigeria. Although supported anecdotally, existing studies do not provide us with a clear picture of how domestic violence and household structure may be linked to human trafficking, nor does previous research provide a solid theoretical model to measure vulnerabilities to domestic violence and human trafficking.

Research has been conducted to evaluate both the supply and demand of human trafficking and its root causes. On the supply-side of trafficking, root causes include economic factors such as poverty, inequality, and the perceived financial gains from prostitution, while sociological factors include rapid urbanization, high unemployment, and deep-rooted gender discrimination (Bamgbose 2002; Economist 2004; Olateru-Olagbegi 2004; Carling 2006; Skogseth 2006; Zimmerman 2006). On the demand-side, research has pointed to lax legal enforcement of local, national, and international laws, corruption and inefficiencies in legal bodies regulating existing laws, and non-existent or ineffective penalties for traffickers (Agbu 2003; Fitzgibbon 2003; Olateru-Olagbegi 2004; Carling 2006).

Populations that have experienced domestic violence are more susceptible to exploitation (Bamgbose 2002; Fitzgibbon 2003). A broad literature dedicated to the psychological impact that domestic violence has on an individual identifies severe trauma, decreased sense of self-worth, and deteriorating self-esteem and confidence,

which fosters an environment ripe for exploitation (Bunch 1997; Blanc 2001; Warrington 2001; Pereira 2002). Thus, it is reasonable to expect that in a home where the child's mother, or the main female authority-figure, is marginalized or has an accepting attitude towards wives being beaten by their husbands, that this may contribute to an increased probability of children in the household experiencing domestic violence (Bamgbose 2002; Case 2004; Olateru-Olagbegi 2004).

In this paper, I follow this line of reasoning and hypothesize that the marginalization of the female figure-head in a household will increase the likelihood that a child will live in an abusive environment, which can lead to domestic violence and vulnerability to exploitation in the form of human trafficking. Research has identified family structure and traditional gender roles as contributing towards the vulnerability of women and children which make them susceptible to domestic violence (Blanc 2001; Carling 2006).

Domestic violence and negative attitudes towards women are particularly prevalent in Nigeria's southern states of Delta, Edo, Cross River, and Akwa Ibom (Wiwa 1997; Bamgbose 2002; Economist 2004; Carling 2006; Skogseth 2006). Many studies have cited a culture of families sending daughters to travel to Europe to work in order to escape extreme poverty and achieve higher social status for economic gains, relying particularly on young teenage girls to bear the burden of the family's income (Economist 2004; Olateru-Olagbegi 2004; Carling 2006). The breakdown of family structures, the death of one or both parents, and greed may provide incentive to send a child away or put him or her in a vulnerable and exploitive position (Olateru-Olagbegi 2004; Economist 2004; Fitzgibbon 2003; Carling 2006).

A burgeoning literature exists on the root causes of domestic violence. These causes include economic factors such as poverty, inequality, and large household structures that stretch family resources thin (Wiwa 1997). In addition, cultural and sociological factors such as attitudes towards women (Warrington 2001), greed and lack of altruism on the part of parents particularly of orphans or foster children (Case 2004), practices of female genital cutting, and lack of awareness effects attitudes towards domestic violence (Blanc 2001; Pereira 2002; Carling 2006).

In an effort to redress the causes and effects of both human trafficking and domestic violence, researchers have looked past policy solutions to implementation and enforcement of women's rights in Nigeria including marriage and divorce, control of fertility, education, legal contracts, and land-ownership and inheritance (Bunch 1997; Bamgbose 2002; Olateru-Olagbegi 2004; Zimmerman 2006).

Although extensive qualitative research exists on human trafficking there is a paucity of quantitative work, robust data sets, or models that evaluate its causes and effects, limiting the extent to which literature can effectively and appropriately influence policy. Domestic violence is also a taboo subject that in many countries has been either ignored or condoned by laws or government authorities (Bunch 1997; Warrington 2001; Pereira 2002) and left to the household to choose what is acceptable. In Nigeria's case, due to a general cultural acceptance of domestic violence as an effective tool in maintaining authority in a household, researchers have been able to draw some conclusions about its causes and effects (Bunch 1997; Van Impe 2000; Blanc 2001).

Since most literature in these two distinct, yet correlated, areas in Nigeria deal solely with the subject of domestic violence and family structure (Warrington 2001;

Pereira 2002; Case 2004) or solely with the subject of human trafficking (Olateru-Olagbegi 2004; Skogseth 2006), my thesis attempts to build a bridge. There is often brief mention of one or the other, but there is no comprehensive literature detailing the connection between family dynamics and domestic violence and vulnerability to human trafficking.

Chapter 3. Theoretical Models

Through this study I seek to contribute to the greater understanding of violent households, with the ultimate goal of determining determinants and consequences of domestic violence for children. This paper supports that goal by studying the relationship between women's domestic power and her attitudes towards domestic violence. Both women and children in such households are generally more vulnerable members, and it is likely that a child in a household with little domestic power and acceptance of domestic violence will also experience domestic violence.

I collected data from 232 victim case files from the Nigerian National Agency for Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons and Other Related Matters (NAPTIP) at the Lagos shelter for human trafficking victims. The information gathered from NAPTIP regarding the family backgrounds of victims was used to formulate my hypothesis that children coming from homes experiencing domestic violence are more likely to be vulnerable to exploitation in the form of human trafficking. Table A1 summarizes the descriptive statistics of the 232 victims that were assisted by NAPTIP 2003-2006.

The victims ranged from ages 5 to 35, and were trafficked primarily for the purposes of commercial sex, forced street hawking, domestic servitude, mine work, or

hard labor. Eighty-five percent of all victims came from "bad" or "difficult" households before being trafficked. Eighty-two percent of the respondents had no formal education or only completed primary school and came from bad or difficult households. Fifty-nine percent of the victims came from poor households that were also bad or difficult homes. Despite a fairly small sample size, the stories of these trafficking victims produce a clear pattern of abusive backgrounds, and broken or unstable family environments.

Figure A1 graphically represents how household characteristics (region in Nigeria, rural vs. urban residence, household size, family income) and attitudes (women's participation in decision-making, attitudes towards female genital mutilation, and religion) interact to influence the probability of domestic violence in Nigerian households. Individual characteristics of female respondents in the household (age, education level, literacy, and employment status) also play a role in attitudes towards domestic violence due to the access of information and bargaining power a woman more may not have.

The primary factor of interest is the marginalization or authority of the female figure-head in the house. One study has demonstrated that a mother has the more altruism towards her children then any other person, and furthers the children's education and nutrition status more then does anyone else (Case 2004). If we use this model of a mother being more altruistic towards her children, it is clear that if a female-figure head has more authority over household decisions, she will not only make decisions in the best interest of the children, but will also better protect them from a violent environment. The incidence of domestic violence and vulnerability to various forms of exploitation are expected to be higher in the case of a child living in a household with a mother who is

marginalized and has little to no authority over household decision-making.

Lower levels of income and larger family sizes, in addition to beliefs within the household, such as the mother figure's participation in decision-making, attitudes towards domestic violence, and religious beliefs, may all affect acceptance of domestic violence. A child in a household may also be more likely to be in a household that accepts domestic violence if the family size is larger and economic resources are spread thin, adding to the stress of the household environment. The impact of all of these factors on the probability of accepting domestic violence is influenced by the culture of the region and attitudes towards women and children (Bunch 1997; Macro 2004).

A female's ability to assert her power in a household will likely be affected by her role in the family and access to information (Warrington 2001). With higher levels of education, literacy, skills training, and employment, the female has both the tools necessary to seek out assistance, as well as the economic independence necessary to leave the household and support herself and dependents. Proximity to an urban center may influence an individual's ability to access information and assistance to escape from a situation of domestic violence.

In summary, many factors at the community, household, and individual level affect the probability that a child living with a marginalized female figure-head will live in a household that accepts domestic violence. I hypothesize that the marginalization of the female figure-head in a household decreases altruism towards the children and increases the probability that the child will experience domestic violence in a household. This indicates vulnerability to exploitation on a greater scale, and may be used as an indicator of increased susceptibility to exploitation in the form of human trafficking.

Plan of Analysis

My primary data source is the 2003 Nigeria Demographic Health Survey (2003 DHS). The survey provides a national representation of women age 15-49 and men age 15-54. A sample of 7,620 women and 2,346 men in these age groups were interviewed with six DHS surveys: a Household Questionnaire, Household Member Questionnaire, Child Questionnaire, Couple Questionnaire, Individual Questionnaire, and a Male questionnaire, which contain information on attitudes towards domestic violence, family structure, household resources, and socioeconomic indicators that are included in my regression model (Macro 2004).

The survey questions are appropriately detailed, allowing for quantitative specification in attitudes towards the role of women and attitudes of society as a whole towards domestic violence, an indicator of populations vulnerable to exploitation and human trafficking. Although the survey does not specifically provide data on actual abuse or domestic violence experienced in a household, it does ask detailed questions of both men and women about what they believe to be acceptable reasons for beating the wife in the household. However, it is not without limitations. It solely considers individual, household, and community factors and does not include external environmental factors such as creation and enforcement of national and international laws regarding domestic violence and human trafficking, or the presence and efficacy of organizations that assist vulnerable populations in escaping situations of domestic violence.

Within the household, the survey does not record the actual presence, frequency or the degree of domestic violence. It does ask both men and women whether wife

beating is justified across five different categories: if she neglects the children, argues with her husband, goes out without her husband's permission, refuses sex with her husband, or burns the food. The responses to such questions could be biased as subjects may have different perspectives of what domestic violence is, may lie about their attitudes towards domestic violence in their household, or give the "correct" attitudes towards domestic violence which is not necessarily an accurate reflection of true attitudes towards domestic violence.

Empirical Methods

The dependent variable is a dichotomous variable measuring the acceptance of domestic violence in a household. Both male and female household heads were asked in the DHS survey whether beating of the wife was justified in four different instances (she neglects the children, she goes out without the husband's permission, she burns the food, refuses sex with her husband, or she argues with her husband). I created two index variables with more or less restrictive definitions of acceptance of domestic violence. Less restrictive acceptance of domestic violence is defined as 1= a woman answers "yes" in at least one of five questions regarding the acceptability of female violence and 0= she did not answer "yes" in one more instances. The more restrictive definition is complete acceptance of domestic violence by the female respondent where 1= the respondent answered "yes" in all five instances), and 0= incomplete acceptance of domestic violence (where the respondent answered "no" in at least one of the five instances).

A probit model is the most useful to measure the impact of female marginalization on the probability that a household indicates acceptance of domestic

violence, holding all other variables constant. My basic specification is:

$$Prob\ (DV\ Acceptance=1) = \Phi(\beta_0 + \beta_1\ Woman\ House\ Power + \beta_2\ Believe\ FGM\ Continue + \beta_3\ Household\ Size + \beta_4\ Religion + \beta_5 Household\ Poverty + \beta_6\ South\text{-}South\ Rural\ Residence + \beta_7\ Respondent\ Age + \beta_8\ Respondent\ Literacy\ and\ Education + \beta_9\ Respondent\ Employment\ Status)$$

I test my hypothesis that children living in a household with a marginalized female-head are more likely to live in a violent environment. The coefficient β_1 is an indicator for whether the female survey respondent is marginalized or has authority in the household, and is my primary variable of interest in determining attitudes towards domestic violence in a household. I created a dummy variable using five questions that female survey respondents answered: who makes money decisions in the house, who has the final say over her health, who has final say over large purchases, who has final say over household purchases, who has say over what will be cooked for dinner. Like the dependent variable, I create two different definitions of female marginalization, or relative power within a household, variable to test for sensitivity. The less restrictive definition of female household power is 1= some female authority where in at least one out of five instances the female has complete authority or input into the decision being made, and 0= the female has no input or authority over any of the five decisions being made. The more restrictive definition of female household power is 1= complete female authority or input where in all instances the female had complete or partial control over decisions, and 0= female marginalization where in all instances the female had no say.

Research indicates that both parents may not be equally altruistic towards their children, and that mothers are generally more altruistic. Thus, I expect to find that households in which mothers are marginalized will experience more domestic violence. The coefficient measuring beliefs towards FGM will also serve as an indicator, as the cutting/ mutilation of female genital parts is considered to be gender-based violence and practiced widely in many regions in Africa, including the regions of interest in Nigeria. I expect to find that women who believe female genital mutilation should continue will also believe that domestic violence in a household is acceptable.

I find some degree of statistical error in running my regression model, including endogeneity, multicollinearity, heteroskedasticity, and measurement error. Endogeneity may be inherent within the data, as a woman may have little power in a household due to experiencing domestic violence. In this case there is a downward bias on the female authority coefficient. Several variables may be collinear, such as education and age, wealth and education, and education and literacy. To correct for mulitcollinearity I calculated the correlation matrix of all independent variables, and variables that have high degrees of correlation are dropped from the regression. Heteroskedasticity occurs when the error term changes across a cross-section of the data, resulting in an inefficient least squares estimator. Lastly, it is likely that there is some degree of measurement error in the variables, particularly due to the fact that many of the variables in the regression are self-reported and may be subjective. This may result in degrees of bias depending on the variance of the measurement error.

Anticipated Results

This research paper specifically asks whether the marginalization of the female household head in Nigeria has an effect on attitudes towards and prevalence of domestic violence. In answering this question, I expect to find a correlation between female marginalization and general attitudes towards accepted violence towards women. With this information governments and organizations dedicated to decreasing or eradicating human trafficking on an international level may dedicate limited resources more effectively to target specific areas of policy in prevention, awareness, and rehabilitation programs toward male, female, and child populations that are at-risk.

I interviewed numerous victims of human trafficking that had been recovered and were receiving services at NAPTIP in Nigeria. One twelve-year old boy had been recovered in Denmark where he stayed in a detention camp for one month. He thought that he had been on his way to meet his mother in Germany, who had left one year prior. Upon return to Nigeria, his only existing family member was an ill grandmother. Essentially an orphan without a family and limited resources available to support him, he is extremely vulnerable to future exploitation and at great risk for being trafficked again in the future (NAPTIP 2006). In another instance, a sixteen-year old girl was forced out of her home because her step-mother insisted that she leave. When an acquaintance approached her with an opportunity to travel abroad to Europe to work as a waitress and support herself, she did not anticipate being transported through the desert and sexually assaulted by her facilitator and told she would be forced into prostitution. Although not all victims interviewed came from violent homes, many came from troubled homes. The existing support agencies in Nigeria are barely able to cope with the idea of human

trafficking, let alone successfully prevent and rehabilitate the tens of thousands of human trafficking victims being exploited.

It is the intent of this specific research to both shed light upon the root causes of domestic violence and human trafficking in Nigeria, and to raise awareness for the need of effective policies to address these root causes and take more action to help victims such as the ones mentioned above.

Chapter 4. Statistical Results

Descriptive Statistics

My model predicts the impact of female decision making power within a household on women's attitudes or tolerance of domestic violence. The Demographic Health Survey asked women respondents whether or not they agree that a husband is justified to beat his wife in certain instances, namely if she argued with him, goes out without his permission, burns the food, refuses sex, or neglects the children. Tables A2-7 in the appendix exemplify that out of approximately 7,500 respondents that answered each question, 42% believe a man is justified in beating his wife if she argues with him, 54% believe he is justified if she goes out without his permission, 32% believe he is justified if she burns the food, 38% believes he is justified if she refuses sex, and 51% believe he is justified if she neglects the children. Tables A8 provides the statistical means and standard deviations for all variables of interest within the sample subset.

The main variable of interest, how much power a woman has in her household over her own well-being and that of the household in its entirety, was created by combining the responses to several questions which asked female survey respondents

who has the final say in making household decisions. The women were asked who has the final say over her health, over large purchases, over general household decisions, over leaving to visit family members, who makes money decisions, and who decides what will be cooked for dinner. Research on the allocation of household resources and the education of children indicates that both parents may not be equally altruistic towards their children, and that mothers are generally more altruistic. Thus, I expect to find that children living households in which mothers are marginalized will experience more domestic violence.

Probit Results

I estimate the determinants of women's acceptance of domestic violence using the least restrictive probit model described in Chapter 3 utilizing the full sample. My main variable of interest is how much a woman's power in a household affects her attitudes towards accepting domestic violence. I control for decision making power in two ways: (1) using an aggregate indicator of a woman's overall decision making authority and (2) using a series of indicators measuring her decision making power over specific tasks and issues. Estimates were made using Stata, and robust SE were calculated for each marginal effect. The probit results confirmed my hypothesis that a woman who has more decision-making power over her own state of being and that of her household will be less tolerant of domestic violence.

Table A9 displays marginal effects of a woman's acceptance of a husband beating his wife, looking particularly at the main variable of interest of the level of marginalization a woman experiences in making household decisions. In this case a

woman's acceptance of domestic violence is defined by a woman accepting domestic violence in at least one instance out of five. Woman's household power is defined as a woman that has a say in one of the five areas of household decision-making. Tables B1-B3 contain the results of the probit model using more and less restrictive definitions of acceptance of domestic violence as well as female marginalization strictly as a sensitivity test which produced. The results will only report the marginal effects of the less restrictive model found in A9. I find a statistically significant and robust relationship between tolerance of domestic violence and the following factors: the marginalization of females in a household (or the power she holds within a household), her religion, and the poverty level of the household in which she lives. I also produce probit results by education and income reported in Tables A10 and A11 and discussed below by each variable. I selected to run the probit by education and income as these are also used as poverty and low education are found to be statistically significant indicators of increased vulnerability to violence and human trafficking.

Variable of Interest: Women's Power or Marginalization within a Household

Some to all control of at least one household decisions decreases acceptance of domestic violence by 5 percentage points at a 1% level. Decision-making authority over money, health, household purchases, and food to be cooked for dinner decreases acceptance of domestic violence. I also run the model to include marginal effects by each of the five individual household decisions. Higher decision making authority over a woman and her children's health decreases the acceptance of domestic violence by six percentage at a 1% level. Similarly, complete or partial say over household purchases

decreases acceptance of domestic violence by seven percentage points at the 1% level. One result that is inconsistent with expectations is that partial or complete say in visiting family increases acceptance of domestic violence by seven percentage points. We would expect that this would decrease acceptance of domestic violence. The probit model run by education indicates that even with low education, complete or partial household power decreases acceptance of domestic violence by seven percentage points at the 1% level. The probit model run by wealth indicates that even with relative poverty partial to complete household power decreases acceptance of domestic violence by eight percentage points at the 5% level.

Female Respondent Characteristics

One additional year in a woman's age decreases acceptance of domestic violence by .2 percentage points. This indicates that older women are less likely to accept domestic violence then younger women, which may be due to higher levels of education, experience, or learned balance of power within a marriage. Even with low education one additional year in age decreases acceptance of domestic violence by .3 percentage points at a 1% level.

Another highly statistically significant variable at the 1% level is religion. Belonging to the Islamic faith decreases acceptance of domestic violence by 11 percentage points. This strong correlation could reflect cultural values, regional attitudes, and family structure. Low education and belonging to Islam decreases the acceptance of domestic violence by 15 percentage points at the 1% level. Being relatively less poor and

belonging to the Islamic religion decreases acceptance of domestic violence by seven percentage points at the 1% level.

Being uneducated increases acceptance of domestic violence by five percentage points. This particular variable could be a statistical significance for two reasons. First, it is possible that education serves a proxy for family attitudes towards women or relative wealth; that is, women who come from families that value education for girls may be less tolerant of domestic violence. Another reason education may be significant is that females who have more access to information and communication may be less tolerant of domestic violence or may know where and how to seek help. Being uneducated, even with relative more wealth, increases acceptance of domestic violence by five percentage points at the 1% level. This indicates that lack of education increases acceptance of domestic violence despite income status.

Being a household head or otherwise the primary female-figure reduces the probability of a woman accepting domestic violence by three percentage points, relative to other female household members surveyed. This may be a reflection of relative power in the household. Whereas a woman with more relative authority in the household may have more power and less likely to accept domestic violence, a female such as a daughter, sister, or daughter-in-law may be more submissive and more willing to have attitudes accepting domestic violence. Being a household head whom is relatively more wealthy reduces acceptance violence by four percentage points at the 5% level.

Believing female genital mutilation should be discontinued decreases acceptance of domestic violence by one percentage point at the 5% level. This may be a reflection or religious, cultural, and societal beliefs, as well as a reflection of traditional customs and

attitudes that play a role in family structure and household attitudes. Being uneducated and believing that FGM needs to be discontinued decreases acceptance of domestic violence by one percentage point. Being poor and believing that FGM needs to be discontinued decreases acceptance of domestic violence by one percentage point.

Household Characteristics

One additional house member increases acceptance of domestic violence by .3 percentage points at the 10% level. One additional house member from relatively less poor households also increases acceptance of domestic violence by .3 percentage points at the 10% level. This indicates that females from larger households are more likely to accept domestic violence then females from smaller households, which may be caused by strained resources.

Poverty increases acceptance of domestic violence by nine percentage points at the 1% level. This indicates that women from impoverished households are more likely to accept domestic violence then women from households that are relatively wealthier. There is a high level of correlation between acceptance of domestic violence and poverty, which also may reflect higher economic stressors on family where resources are stretched thin. Being from a poor household and having low education increases acceptance of domestic violence by nine percentage points, while being from a poor household and being relatively more educated increases acceptance of domestic violence by eight percentage points.

Being relatively more educated and from a rural area in the South-South region of Nigeria increases acceptance of domestic violence by three percentage points at the 5%

level. Being from a relatively less poor household in the rural South-South region increases acceptance of domestic violence by six percentage points at the 1% level. This indicates that women living in the geographical area of interest of Nigeria, specifically in rural areas of the South-South region (which includes the states of Edo, Akwa Ibom, Delta, and Cross-River), are more likely to accept domestic violence then women in any other geographic or urban area in Nigeria. However, attitudes towards domestic violence are found to be accepted in all six regions of Nigeria.

Limitations to Analysis

Although the results of my data model confirmed my hypothesis that homes in which females are marginalized will have accepting attitudes toward domestic violence, the work is not without limitations. First, as always one would hope to have as large as a sample size as possible. DHS is well respected for its data collection methodologies, but of course it is difficult to capture the tastes and descriptions of families that live on the fringes of societies that perhaps do not have a home, those that are unwilling to speak to surveyors, and those that may be under-represented.

The key variable that I am attempting to measure is how vulnerable an individual may be to exploitation in the form of human trafficking. Ideally I would use a large sample of data collected from human trafficking survivors to accurately reflect their backgrounds and identify main factors influencing susceptibility to such exploitation. However, the nature of human trafficking being both illegal and damaging psychologically and emotionally to victims prevents adequate and accurate collection of data. Further, even if data was collected from human trafficking survivors, as I have

done with a small sample of 232 case files from NAPTIP shelters, this data may be biased as it discounts the thousands of victims that are still trapped in situations of exploitation and those that have died; in essence it only measures characteristics of survivors.

Further, the indicator variable I am using as my dependent variable is also troublesome as it measures attitudes females have towards domestic violence, and not actual domestic violence towards herself or her children. On one hand, it may actually more accurately reflect the true presence of domestic violence in the household as it asks the female her general opinion of a husband being justified in beating his wife and depersonalizes the question. If she is embarrassed or afraid to answer the question honestly about herself, it may more accurately reflect her attitudes. On the other hand, a woman may be so afraid of expressing her true situation that reports that is not acceptable to be beat when in fact she is regularly beat. She could also strongly believe that a man should not beat his wife under any circumstance, but could still experience domestic violence nonetheless. Also, as we are attempting to measure the vulnerability of children in the household, domestic violence towards a wife does not necessarily indicate that a child is being abused, as well. However, a child may experience the same effects of being abused if he or she witnesses violence against its mother, and may also experience violence from another family member beside the male household head.

Omitted variable bias is difficult to avoid when working with a limited data set, particularly looking at data on illegal or potentially embarrassing or threatening subject matter such as human trafficking or domestic violence. For example, bias may occur due to lack of information specifically on the presence of domestic violence towards a mother

or her children. In addition, we do not have information regarding household composition. For example, mothers may be altruistic towards their own children, but if she is caring for a child that is adopted, foster, or a step-child, she may not treat him or her with the same altruism with which she treats her own children, and may actually be a negative force in that child's life as opposed to a positive one. In addition, if our assumption that a mother is generally altruistic does not hold true in all cases and we lack variables to indicate how well a mother is caring for her child, our results may be biased. In addition, we do not have macro-level variables that may play a role in the acceptance of domestic violence in a household. For example, national policies, engendered curriculums, and sensitization program efficacy of legal officials and community leaders is not measured, but surely has an effect on the presence of domestic violence in households if programs have been effective. It also does not measure the "demand" for domestic violence, including factors such as alcoholism in the family, family history of domestic violence, or general propensity towards violence by the perpetrator.

Chapter 5. Policy Implications

Key Findings and Policy Implications

Marginalized women are more likely to accept domestic violence

The statistical outcomes from this sample indicate that Nigerian women that lack decision-making authority within households are more likely to accept domestic violence then women with some or all decision-making authority in a household. This has several policy implications that deserve careful consideration. First, a contributing factor to women having little power in a household in the first place could be cultural or

behavioral. If desired policy outcomes are to decrease domestic violence through increased empowerment of women at the household level, there will need to be significant community buy-in. This is a long-term goal that necessitates grass-roots campaigns to empower women with the buy-in of elected officials, local leaders, and all members of the community including men. A woman's personality could affect both the power she has in a household and her attitudes towards domestic violence; a very shy or submissive woman may inherently answer these questions differently then an outspoken dominant woman. Awareness programs that incorporate confidence-building into young girls' education can help foster healthy assertiveness in the household.

Second, policy interventions that wish to mobilize and build capacity for such grass-roots campaigns should target areas in which women tend to be marginalized or have less of a say in household decision-making processes. The national and international policy-making community at large can implement programs to provide increased incentives to households where women are primary decision-makers. Such programs may include female-targeted micro-credit programs to impoverished rural households, cash-transfers to mothers for enrolling children in school, and skills training and school-to-work transition programs for women and girls. This is a small sample of the types of interventions that can increase women's bargaining power within a household, transferring economic resources directly to her control with the end goal of increasing the emotional and economic well-being of her and her children and decreasing vulnerability to forms of domestic violence and exploitation such as human trafficking.

Third, these types of interventions would be most effective as part of a holistic national program to incorporate gender into all areas of policy-making to increase female

political participation, education and literacy, health and nutrition, and sensitize the community with awareness and education campaigns on gender issues. Many countries are beginning to incorporate gender strategies into poverty-reduction strategies, and Nigeria has many grass-roots NGO's focused on reducing domestic violence, increasing female political participation, and increasing girls' education. Nigeria would be an ideal case-study to measure the impacts of engendering national budgets and incorporating nation-wide interventions targeted towards vulnerable populations of women and children on the decline of domestic violence and incidence of human trafficking victims.

Poor, uneducated women from large households are more likely to accept domestic violence

My empirical results suggest that women coming from poor households are more likely to accept domestic violence then women coming from relatively wealthier households. The results also indicate that larger families are more likely to have female respondents that accept domestic violence. This may be due to several different factors including resources, attitudes, and the presence of non-related family members. 55% of the households surveyed were considered "poor" or "poorest," indicating that for the majority of households there is economic stress and possible competition between family members for scarce resources in the form of shelter, food, and education. Along these lines, the bigger a family is, there may be a possibility of combined families with remarriages, step-parents, or polygamy. The presence of non-biological family members may compound this effect and cause further divide between family members in households with scarce resources and power vs. non-biological household members who

lack power. Similarly, large family size could be a product of cultural beliefs and values, such as polygamy or religious faith that encourages large families. In addition, it identified women with low literacy rates and less than primary education as more likely to accept domestic violence then women with relatively higher literacy rates and above primary education. The clear policy implication from this result is that policy programs and interventions to reduce domestic violence, and ultimately human trafficking, should target impoverished areas with little access to education. We know that poor households also tend be less able to afford education, and so programs mentioned above that include micro-credit programs to females, cash-transfers to women for children's school enrollment, and other creative solutions such as energy subsidies for female-headed households, can serve to increase the empowerment of females and children in households, increase the economic well-being of households, and increase access to information regarding female empowerment and gender equity. In fact, policy interventions may be highly effective if offered as packages to impoverished households which include cash-transfers to mothers for education, skills training for the mother, subsidies to assist with household expenditures such as energy and nutrition, and community centers in impoverished areas where gender sensitization and workshops may be conducted.

Poor areas should be identified not as problem areas, but rather as key areas of opportunity for social mobilization towards women's empowerment in order to reduce domestic violence and human trafficking. Often the will to educate children and to learn is present, but schools, infrastructure, and human-capacity is lacking to deliver needed services to a receptive populous. Although domestic violence can happen, and does

happen, in every social and economic class, the data does indicate that households that have more economic stressors and less access to information are more likely to approve domestic violence , and policy programs should target these households with economic incentive to empower female family members.

Women from South-South rural Nigeria are more likely to accept domestic violence

The data results show that a woman that comes from rural areas of the South-South region are more likely to accept domestic violence then women in any other geographic or urban area in Nigeria. The South-South region consists of the states of Edo, Akwa Ibom, Delta, and Cross River, which have emerged as the primary sources of young girls in the Nigerian commercial sex human trafficking trade. Both the collected NAPTIP data and anecdotal evidence from Nigerian trafficking experts tell us that this South-South region is the main source of victims, yet few people and no solid research has pointed towards a direct cause for this region being the main one.

One policy implication of women from the South-South region being more likely to accept domestic violence is that the government, grass-roots organizations, and the international community should focus on channeling funds into this specific region for education and community-awareness campaigns, and specifically target homes that are in rural areas, impoverished, lack access to education, and lack female power within households. Some NGO's already operate in areas in Benin City such as Girl Power Initiative. They are Nigerian-run and target young girls from 13-18 from impoverished homes in the area to do education, skills-training, HIV and sexual awareness campaigns, confidence-building, and community sensitization programs for the dangers of human

trafficking. Many education campaigns seem to have been effective in the South-South region of making girls aware of the dangers of human trafficking, yet the problem is increasing. A possible explanation for this is that despite knowledge of the dangers of trafficking, vulnerable populations lack better alternatives to escape. Without education, adequate and relevant skills training, or a market in which skills may be successfully used, vulnerable populations looking for better alternatives coming from unstable or violent home environments are easy targets for exploitation.

Although this region has been identified through this data analysis and anecdotally in Nigeria as the region most rampant with human trafficking victims, it would be foolish to neglect other parts of the country. Some areas in the North that serve as gateways to trafficking routes to Northern Africa and Europe are also becoming sources of trafficking victims. The victims in the North tend to be Islamic girls attracted by traffickers promising to take them on a religious homage to Mecca, only to discover later that they are being trafficked for purposes of sexual exploitation. These Northern regions also deserve attention, research, and funding as well, and it is dangerous to focus all efforts on one area or demographic while letting the problem fester in another region. Targeted rural community intervention programs in the South-South program should serve as a compliment to national strategies to fight human trafficking, and not as a replacement of nation-wide sensitization programs for communities and law enforcement.

Younger women are more likely to accept domestic violence

The statistical results from my probit model indicate that younger women are more likely to accept domestic violence then their older counterparts. This may be the

case for several reasons. A younger female under the age of 19 who is not married may hold certain beliefs about traditional roles that may later change when she herself is married. Similarly, women that have been in marital relationships for longer periods of time may have learned to have more bargaining power. However, we may also expect that through awareness campaigns, higher education and literacy rates, younger female populations may be more resistant to traditional gender roles and acceptance of domestic violence, but cultural changes in attitudes and beliefs often takes many generations to change.

One policy implication could be targeting women empowerment education campaigns and gender sensitizing programs towards both young teenage boys and girls, particularly if they are from large impoverished households. It is not only important to provide young girls with confidence-building, emotional and psychological strength, and skills in bargaining for power within a household. It is also essential that their future husbands are sensitized to gender and learn to respect a higher level of female power and the emotional, physical, and psychological well-being of his wife. Without buy-in of both husband and wife the power within the household, and thus attitudes towards domestic violence, will be difficult to balance. Therefore, an emphasis on integrating gender sensitization and equity throughout primary and secondary school is integral in fostering attitudes of equity towards women. In order to this, large-scale sensitization programs targeting community leaders, school administration, and teachers would be essential. In addition, research should be conducted to look at the effects of girls' education and female literacy rates on female marginalization or empowerment within households, and look at successful and strategies in empowering girls.

Females that believe in FGM are more likely to accept domestic violence

The statistical results indicate that a woman who believes that the practice of female genital mutilation should continue is more likely to accept domestic violence then a woman who believes that it should not continue. This issue has been hotly debated, as human rights activists from Western organizations working to end this perceived gender-based act of violence have often been met by practicing cultures, particularly the women, with great animosity. Females from societies that defend the continuation of female genital mutilation believe that it is a way of preserving cultural tradition and heritage, and the attempt by some to ban the practice is an infringement upon their cultural identity. Without making judgments upon whether or not the practice should be continued, I will only draw conclusions based on the statistical findings that there is a correlation between attitudes towards FGM and domestic violence.

The policy implication is that females that desire the continuation of female genital mutilation may serve as an indicator of a household or individual that accepts domestic violence as well. Thus, communities which practice FGM should be targeted as identifiers of at-risk homes in which domestic violence may be occurring. Awareness programs, micro-credit programs, education, and skills training should all be targeted in these communities. Attitudes towards both domestic violence and female genital mutilation are often ingrained in cultural beliefs and attitudes and require change from the bottom-up led by respected leaders from within the community.

Nigerian Christian and traditionalist women are more likely to accept domestic violence

The results of the data report that Islamic women in Nigeria are less likely to accept domestic violence then Christian and traditionalist women in Nigeria. This variable attempts to identify possible cultural attitudes or beliefs towards women that may be an inherent part of religion. This assists us to target certain populations that may be more accepting of domestic violence and implement education programs and awareness campaigns through church services or communities with specific religious affiliations. Nigeria has a strong public sense of religiosity, most families attending some form of religious service weekly or daily. It is a very diverse religious make-up mostly of Christian and Islamic religions divided into various sects, and the importance in which the church or mosque play in individuals' and families' lives can be an integral policy implication and strategy.

As Christian women in Nigeria have been identified in this sample to be more likely to accept domestic violence, policy-makers and grass-roots organizations should target Christian churches in areas identified as vulnerable to work with and through church pastors and priests to send messages of female empowerment through church service and workshops. I attended one Christian service and was given a pamphlet stating the evils of women and the responsibility of women to be obedient to their husbands. I also received a pamphlet written by a prominent preacher about the necessity of female genital mutilation to preserve the piety and purity of Nigerian Christian society. Religious influence on society should not be underestimated as both a cause and sustaining force of ingrained cultural attitudes and beliefs. It should also not be underestimated as a potential partner and vehicle in fostering growth and positive change

towards gender-sensitive practices and policies. Policy-makers should focus intervention-strategies on utilizing churches and religious community-gathering circles to provide female literacy programs, education initiatives, and sensitize local leaders, men, and women to gender issues.

Room for Further Research

Future research in both the areas of domestic violence and human trafficking is needed to expound upon root causes on both the supply and demand side. To begin, NGO's and governments that serve human trafficking survivors should submit anonymous data on key indicators to an international organization, such as the UN, that could then keep consistent data files at least on human trafficking survivors with the end goal of targeting vulnerabilities and susceptibilities to being trafficked in order to prevent and reduce the incidence of human trafficking in the future. Similarly, survey questionnaires by organizations such as DHS should be designed to sensitively ask whether any females or children in the household experience domestic violence. Although data on such issues will never be complete or perfect, more accurate data will produce more accurate research analysis, which can better inform our policy makers on populations to target and best courses of action.

Future research should explore the dynamics of household structure in relation to children in homes with step-parents. Research done by Case on parental altruism would be particularly applicable to further research on the household structure dynamic in Nigeria. Anecdotal evidence from interviews of victims in Nigeria laid claim to children living in households with a step-parent is more likely to be abused. One twelve-year old

boy I interviewed was a survivor of human trafficking. He met his trafficker after running away from home because his step-mother beat him with a stick, withdrew him from school, and forced him to serve as a domestic servant for the household. Further research would be useful to explain and understand the relationship between children and step-parents and identify this vulnerable population for policy and action programs.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

The objectives of this thesis were two-fold: analyze the root causes of vulnerability to domestic violence and ultimately to human trafficking in Nigeria, and propose tangible interventions to mitigate occurrences of both violence and trafficking. My model predicted that marginalized females within a household are more likely to accept domestic violence then females that have some to total control of household resources and decisions that are made. I also measured the impacts of other predictors such as education, poverty, work status, age, size of the household, religion, beliefs in female genital mutilation and regional effects. I found that not only does the marginalization of females within a household increase the probability of a woman accepting domestic violence, but younger females from larger households with low education and income also increases the probability of a woman accepting domestic violence.

The probit models I used to predict the probability of a woman accepting domestic violence produced statistically significant and robust results. The results add richness to previous research on domestic violence and human trafficking by adding a quantitative element to focus research and interventions on target populations identified

as at-risk. My research also bridges a gap between research on human trafficking and domestic violence. The marginalization particularly of females in large households, compounded with poverty, and low education impacts the psychological and emotional well-being not only of the victim but of boys and girls within the household that experience her abuse.

Ultimately, the goal of this thesis is to better inform policy makers of the root causes of human trafficking in order to more effectively target interventions and reduce the number of victims. Despite the imperfections of data availability, it is clear that interventions need to focus on female empowerment within households through education of both males and females of the economic and social consequences of marginalization and violence.

Appendix A:

Figure 1: Theoretical Model

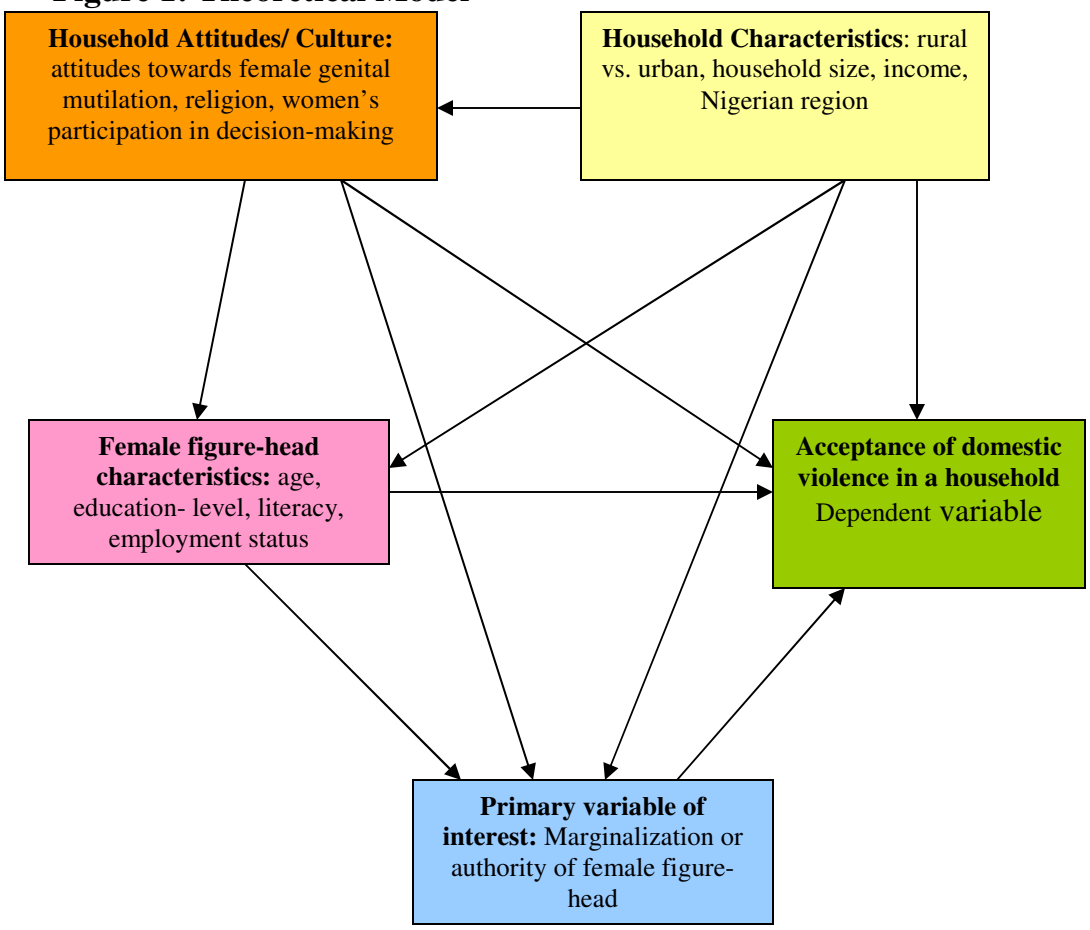

Table A1: Descriptive Statistics of Human Trafficking Survivors at NAPTIP

	Bad	Difficult	Normal	Good
Age group				
5 to 12	10	14	0	0
13 to 17	35	32	3	2
18 to 24	62	21	16	9
25 to 35	17	6	5	0
Education				
No	64	57	6	7
Primary	60	10	16	3
Secondary	0	5	0	1
College	0	1	2	0
Family				
Poor	87	49	17	8
Standard	37	24	6	3
Well off	0	0	1	0
Sample:	124	73	24	11
Missing: 0				

NOTES:

(1) Sample is taken from NAPTIP victim case files 2003-2006

(2) The assignment of type of familial relationship is determined by both the victim

(3) There is some variation on the interpretation of what constitutes "bad" or

Table A2: Wife beating justified if wife argues with husband

Frequency	Percent
4,216	55.44
3,172	41.71
216	2.84

Observations: 7,604

Table A3: Wife beating justified if wife goes out without husband's permission

Frequency	Percent
3,429	45.03
4124	54.16
62	0.81

Observations: 7,615

Table A4: Wife beating justified if wife burns food

Frequency	Percent
5,116	67.19
2,415	31.72
83	1.09

Observations: 7,614

Table A5: Wife beating justified if wife refuses sex

Frequency	Percent
4,597	60.43
2885	37.93
125	1.64

Observations: 7,607

Table A6: Wife beating is justified if wife neglects children

Frequency	Percent
3,677	48.29
3867	50.78
71	0.93

Observations: 7,615

Table A7: Wife beating justified if she answers yes in all five categories

Frequency	Percent
6,429	84.65
1166	15.35

Observations: 7,595

Table A8: Summary descriptive statistics of key variables of interest

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Husband justified in beating wife sometimes	0.2132132	0.4101934	0	1
Woman has some power in household	0..5225225	0.5002442	0	1
Woman has a say in her health	.5645646	.49656	0	1
Woman has a say in large purchases	.5645646	.49656	0	1
Woman has a say in household purchases	.5645646	.49656	0	1
Woman has a say in visiting family	.5645646	.49656	0	1
Woman has a say in dinner plans	.5645646	.49656	0	1
Religion	.4204204	.4943693	0	1
Location of residence	.03003	.1709268	0	1
Female position in household	.1051051	.3071503	0	1
Woman's education level	0.6808399	0.4661818	0	1
Regional residence	0.1965879	0.3974441	0	1
Woman's economic status	.3693694	.4833604	0	1
Woman's age	30.47147	6.370342	17	48
Woman's beliefs in FGM	2.534535	1.954954	1	8
Number of household members	6.91596	3.786328	1	25

** Number of observations: 3,330*

Table A9: Probit Results of Marginal Effects of Some Degree of Woman's Bargaining Power Within a Household on the Woman's Attitudes Towards Answering that a Husband is Justified in Beating his Wife in at least One of Five Instances

Independent variable	By Total Power		By Separated Power	
Woman's Household Power	-0.0447217	*		
	(0.0164567)			
Woman's Say in Health of Her and Children			-0.0580848	*
			(0.0174029)	
Woman's Say in Large Purchases			0.0227574	
			(0.0249865)	
Woman's Say in Household Purchases			-0.0710403	*
			(0.0211162)	
Woman's Say in Visiting Family			0.070403	*
			(0.017887)	
Woman's Control Over Money			-0.0227927	
			(0.0184827)	
Household Size	0.002873	^	0.004038	*
	(0.0016139)		(0.0017192)	
FGM Belief	-0.0085149	**	-0.0068736	**
	(0.0035888)		(0.0036303)	
Respondent's Age	-0.0020885	**	-0.0010126	
	(0.0008986)		(0.0010079)	
Islamic Religion	-0.1058355	*	-0.0724872	*
	(0.016455)		(0.0197316)	
Household Wealth	0.0845946	*	0.0569654	*
	(0.0154029)		(0.0184018)	
South-South Region	0.0264821		0.0543295	**
	(0.0232915)		(0.030868)	
Woman's Low Education	0.0545173	*	0.0471241	**
	(0.0313154)		(0.0203632)	
Rural/ Urban Household	-0.025498	^	-0.0128391	
	(0.0155171)		(0.0171344)	
Female Household Head	-0.0317869	**	-0.0359928	
	(0.0185671)		(0.0190927)	
Woman's Employment Status	-0.020444			
	(0.0137158)			
Woman's Low Literacy	0.0181775		0.0200952	
	(0.0184811)		(0.0202577)	
Chi-Square	149.29			
Sample Size	2735			

(1) Dependent variable= 1 the respondent has some or all control over decisions in the house

(2) Sample is based on female respondents' responses regarding her attitudes

(3) * Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level

(4) **Indicates statistical significance at the 5% level

(5) ^ Indicates statistical significance at the 10% level

(6) The robust standard error of each marginal effect is given in the parenthesis under each estimate

Table A10 : Probit Results of Marginal Effects of Some Degree of Woman's Bargaining Power Within a Household on the Woman's Attitudes Towards Answering that a Husband is Justified in Beating his Wife in at Least One Instance by Education

Independent variable	By Low Education		By Higher Education	
Woman's Household Power	-0.0704744	*	-0.0129803	^
	0.0245124		0.0151854	
Household Size	0.0034331		0.0006599	
	0.0022552		0.0019138	
FGM Belief	-0.0132843	*	-0.0025979	
	0.0049987		0.0035186	
Respondent's Age	-0.0025959	*	-0.001559	
	0.0012329		0.0012476	
Islamic Religion	-0.1470121	*	-0.0154111	
	0.0203395		0.0201262	
Household Wealth	0.093998	*	0.0751727	*
	0.0188627		0.0323678	
South-South Region	-0.0165781		0.0310463	**
	0.0365414		0.0184838	
Rural/ Urban Household	-0.0387173	^	-0.0161605	
	0.0230057		0.0145511	
Female Household Head	-0.0388103		-0.0205582	
	0.0282076		0.0164206	
Woman's Low Literacy	0.0177618			
	0.023693			
Chi-Square	116.89		31.94	
Sample Size	1828		906	

(1) Dependent variable= 1 the respondent has some or all control over decisions in the house

(2) Sample is based on female respondents' responses regarding her attitudes

(3) * Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level

(4) **Indicates statistical significance at the 5% level

(5) ^ Indicates statistical significance at the 10% level

(6) The robust standard error of each marginal effect is given in the parenthesis under each estimate

Table A11: Probit Results of Marginal Effects of Some Degree of Woman's Bargaining Power Within a Household on the Woman's Attitudes Towards Answering that a Husband is Justified in Beating his Wife in at Least One Instance by Wealth

Independent variable	By Poor		By Less Poor	
Woman's Household Power	-0.0759675	**	-0.0306777	
	0.0320231		0.0159101	
Household Size	0.00101		0.0034054	*
	0.0030994		0.0015465	
FGM Belief	-0.0142454	*	-0.0052809	
	0.0063227		0.0037014	
Respondent's Age	-0.002378		-0.002202	*
	0.0016341		0.000952	
Islamic Religion	-0.1722793	^	-0.0682858	*
	0.0284755		0.0179033	
Woman's Low Education	-0.0021022		0.0539082	*
	0.0530628		0.0183364	
South-South Region	-0.0702212		0.0599589	*
	0.0383883		0.0262517	
Rural/ Urban Household	-0.0400866		-0.0221697	^
	0.0382767		0.0122375	
Female Household Head	-0.0169501		-0.0367532	**
	0.0412624		0.0153855	
Woman's Low Literacy	0.0039168		0.0215777	
	0		0.0191083	
Chi-Square	102.38		88.79	
Sample Size	957		1560	

(1) Dependent variable= 1 the respondent has some or all control over decisions in the house

(2) Sample is based on female respondents' responses regarding her attitudes

(3) * Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level

(4) **Indicates statistical significance at the 5% level

(5) ^ Indicates statistical significance at the 10% level

(6) The robust standard error of each marginal effect is given in the parenthesis under each estimate

Appendix B:

Table B1: Probit Results of Marginal Effects of Some Degree of Woman's Bargaining Power Within a Household on the Woman's Attitudes Towards Answering that a Husband is Justified in Beating his Wife in all Five Instances

Independent variable	By Total Power		By Separated Power	
Woman's Household Power	-0.1577149	*		
	(0.0339392)			
Woman's Say in Health of Her and Children			-0.268276	*
			(0.0473612)	
Woman's Say in Large Purchases			0.0819566	
			(0.040624)	
Woman's Say in Household Purchases			-0.183957	*
			(0.0590255)	
Woman's Say in Visiting Family			0.1702272	*
			(0.0397376)	
Woman's Say in What is Cooked for Dinner			-0.0673283	
			(0.0508086)	
Household Size	0.0108253	*	0.0113374	*
	(0.0040251)		(0.0045897)	
FGM Belief	-0.0199027	**	-0.0210872	*
	(0.0084092)		(0.0091332)	
Respondent's Age	-0.0068991	*	-0.0028611	
	(0.0021796)		(0.0025942)	
Islamic Religion	-0.2633446	*	-0.1741071	*
	(0.0350489)		(0.044534)	
Household Wealth	0.259896	*	0.1976783	*
	(0.0352064)		(0.044534)	
South-South Region	0.1677657	*	0.2122608	*
	(0.0559655)		(0.0807313)	
Woman's Low Education	0.1516741	**	0.1360514	*
	(0.0403958)		(0.0502473)	
Rural/ Urban Household	-0.0650861	^	-0.0410898	
	(0.0357562)		(0.0406534)	
Female Household Head	-0.1095948	**	-0.0945499	^
	(0.0403958)		(0.0438754)	
Woman's Employment Status	-0.0371841			
	(0.0326663)			
Woman's Low Literacy	0.0323695		0.0312828	
	(0.0436142)		(0.0500464)	
Chi-Square	367.41			
Sample Size	1136			

(1) Dependent variable= 1 the respondent has some or all control over decisions in the house

(2) Sample is based on female respondents' responses regarding her attitudes

(3) * Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level

(4) **Indicates statistical significance at the 5% level

(5) ^ Indicates statistical significance at the 10% level

(6) The robust standard error of each marginal effect is given in the parenthesis under each estimate

Table B2: Probit Results of Marginal Effects of High Degree of Woman's Bargaining Power Within a Household on the Woman's Attitudes Towards Answering that a Husband is Justified in Beating his Wife in at least One of Five Instances

Independent variable	By Total Power		By Separated Power	
Woman's Household Power	-0.0764587	*		
	(0.0204886)			
Woman's Say in Health of Her and Children			-0.0580848	*
			(0.0174029)	
Woman's Say in Large Purchases			0.0227574	
			(0.0249865)	
Woman's Say in Household Purchases			-0.0710403	*
			(0.0211162)	
Woman's Say in Visiting Family			0.070403	*
			(0.017887)	
Woman's Control Over Money			-0.0227927	
			(0.0184827)	
Household Size	0.0026724		0.004038	*
	(0.0021638)		(0.0017192)	
FGM Belief	-0.0068759		-0.0068736	**
	(0.0046414)		(0.0036303)	
Respondent's Age	-0.0002424		-0.0010126	
	(0.0012969)		(0.0010079)	
Islamic Religion	-0.093459	*	-0.0724872	*
	(0.0243892)		(0.0197316)	
Household Wealth	0.0994835	*	0.0569654	*
	(0.0215496)		(0.0184018)	
South-South Region	0.0276628		0.0543295	**
	(0.0354279)		(0.030868)	
Woman's Low Education	0.0288459		0.0471241	**
	(0.0313154)		(0.0203632)	
Rural/ Urban Household	-0.0388194	**	-0.0128391	
	(0.0228968)		(0.0171344)	
Female Household Head	-0.0617171	**	-0.0359928	
	(0.0228968)		(0.0190927)	
Woman's Employment Status	-0.0140121			
	(0.0190564)			
Woman's Low Literacy	0.0019909		0.0200952	
	(0.0287067)		(0.0202577)	
Chi-Square	121.28			
Sample Size	1384			

(1) Dependent variable= 1 the respondent has some or all control over decisions in the house

(2) Sample is based on female respondents' responses regarding her attitudes

(3) * Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level

(4) **Indicates statistical significance at the 5% level

(5) ^ Indicates statistical significance at the 10% level

(6) The robust standard error of each marginal effect is given in the parenthesis under each estimate

Table B3: Probit Results of Marginal Effects of a High Degree of Woman's Bargaining Power Within a Household on the Woman's Attitudes Towards Answering that a Husband is Justified in Beating his Wife in all Five Instances

Independent variable	By Total Power		By Separated Power	
Woman's Household Power	-0.2267608	*		
	(0.0441425)			
Woman's Say in Health of Her and Children			-0.268276	*
			(0.0473612)	
Woman's Say in Large Purchases			0.0819566	
			(0.040624)	
Woman's Say in Household Purchases			-0.183957	*
			(0.0590255)	
Woman's Say in Visiting Family			0.1702272	*
			(0.0397376)	
Woman's Say in What is Cooked for Dinner			-0.0673283	
			(0.0508086)	
Household Size	0.0137947	*	0.0113374	*
	(0.0051568)		(0.0045897)	
FGM Belief	-0.022076	**	-0.0210872	*
	(0.0103421)		(0.0091332)	
Respondent's Age	-0.0025716		-0.0028611	
	(0.0030954)		(0.0025942)	
Islamic Religion	-0.2312699	*	-0.1741071	*
	(0.0513714)		(0.044534)	
Household Wealth	0.2647213	*	0.1976783	*
	(0.0461842)		(0.044534)	
South-South Region	0.1428279	**	0.2122608	*
	(0.0848167)		(0.0807313)	
Woman's Low Education	0.0755012		0.1360514	*
	(0.06756344)		(0.0502473)	
Rural/ Urban Household	-0.1031542		-0.0410898	
	(0.0476789)		(0.0406534)	
Female Household Head	-0.1501199		-0.0945499	^
	(0.0572948)		(0.0438754)	
Woman's Employment Status	-0.0283833			
	(0.0427055)			
Woman's Literacy	-0.0209155		0.0312828	
	(0.0617032)		(0.0500464)	
Chi-Square	201.84			
Sample Size	663			

(1) Dependent variable= 1 the respondent has some or all control over decisions in the house

(2) Sample is based on female respondents' responses regarding her attitudes

(3) * Indicates statistical significance at the 1% level

(4) **Indicates statistical significance at the 5% level

(5) ^ Indicates statistical significance at the 10% level

(6) The robust standard error of each marginal effect is given in the parenthesis under each estimate

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