“WIFE BATTERING AND ITS IMPACT ON THE NUCLEAR FAMILY:
A CASE STUDY OF NAIROBI PROVINCE.”

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of a Master of Arts Degree in Sociology with a specialization in Counselling.

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Wednesday, 22 / 6 / 2005.
DECLARATION

I hereby certify that this project paper is my original work and has not been presented in any other University for an award of a degree.

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DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to my late father and friend Mr. Gilbert Ongoro Midiwo, who educated and instilled in me the value of hard work and whose dream was to see me get a Masters Degree.

To my late Mama, Esther Oloo Ongoro who was battered but assertively chose to be a survivor rather than a victim.

To my four daughters and my only children, I pray that when you are of marriageable age and you choose to marry, God shall give you husbands who love Him and who will be delivered from acts of violence so that your marriages will be violent-free for the glory of God.

To all the daughters of the earth
I say that, "Men build houses BUT women build homes."
Strive to work at your marriages so as to make them happy
Work in partnership with your spouses
Enhance communication in your marriages
Respectfully negotiate for your rights within marriage in a God honouring manner
Divorce is not the best solution to problems in marriage.
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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AACC</td>
<td>All Africa Conference of Churches.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACFDAHRS</td>
<td>African Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACIS</td>
<td>Africa Church Information Service.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immuno-deficiency Syndrome.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APA</td>
<td>American Psychological Association.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COVAW</td>
<td>Coalition of Violence Against Women in Kenya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CREAM</td>
<td>The Centre for Rehabilitation And Education Of Abused Women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIDA (K)</td>
<td>International Federation of Women Lawyers (Kenya Chapter).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GVRC</td>
<td>Gender Violence Recovery Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KHRC</td>
<td>Kenya Human Rights Commission.</td>
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<tr>
<td>KSFRC</td>
<td>Kayole Street Families Rehabilitation Centre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.A.</td>
<td>Master Of Arts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MCO</td>
<td>Mathare Community Outreach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOEST</td>
<td>Ministry of Education, Science and Technology.</td>
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</table>
MOH  Ministry of Health

NGOs  Non-Governmental Organizations.

UN  United Nations.

UNDP  United Nations Development Programme.


UNIFEM  United Nations International Fund for the Educationally Marginalized.

UoN  University of Nairobi.

US  United States.

USIU  United States International University.

ECA-WIDNET  Eastern and Central Africa Women in Development Network.

WRAP  Women's Rights awareness Programme.

WHO  World Health Organization.

WOFAK  Women Fighting Aids in Kenya
ABSTRACT

This study sought to explore, "Wife battering and its impact on the Nuclear Family: A case study of Nairobi Province." The interest to carry out this research was prompted by the fact that domestic violence, specifically wife battering, has always been rampant in Kenya. Although wife battering adversely affects the lives of the individual members in the nuclear family and society as a whole, the practice has been to a large extent condoned in most African societies as a way of disciplining a wife or showing love. Despite a lot of global efforts put in to deal with the menace, the issue has alarmingly become more complicated day by day. Because of these reasons, therefore, there was need to carry out a study of this magnitude:

i. To explore factors that lead to wife battering in the nuclear family.
ii. To examine the broad impact that wife battering has on the nuclear family.
iii. To explore the survival techniques used by battered women in the management of wife battering in Kenya.
iv. To establish intervention strategies that can help deal with the menace.

Several psychological and sociological theories were used to give meanings and explanations to the research findings. The study however, engaged three main theories namely the Feminist Theory (Approach), the Social Learning Theory and the Survivor Theory. Most of the theories that deal with wife battering are related and complement or supplement one another thus although the three theories were used as the main theories of study, a lot more were mentioned in passing such as the theory of wife assault, the structural theory, Family Systems theory, the Frustration-aggression theory, the Learned Helplessness theory as well as the Cycle theory of violence.

This study concluded that wife battering had adversely socially, psychologically, physically or medically affected all the individual members of the nuclear family as well as the society as a whole and so should be curbed at any cost.

In order to curb wife battering the study recommended that the Government, the Non-Governmental Organizations that deal with domestic violence, the community as a whole,
the nuclear family as a unit and the individual members of the nuclear family join hands so as to bring peace in families; this can be done by creating public awareness, education, counselling and empowering women all round so as to equip them with the necessary skills needed to fight the vice. In order to achieve violence-free families, dialogue was seen as a very important tool that must be employed at all levels in society. Part played by each member of the nuclear family especially the husband was seen to be very crucial in stopping domestic violence.

At the end of the study, four hypotheses were analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. The quantitative analysis was done using frequencies, cross tabulations, Chi-square tests ($\chi^2$) and Karl Pearson’s ($r$) tests. The qualitative analysis was done by analyzing the views and opinions of the respondents backed up by the ideas of the key informants as well as the participants of the focus group discussions. In summary the results of the hypotheses were as follows:

i. The hypothesis was rejected. There was no relationship between socio-cultural beliefs of the victim and her awareness of being in a relationship where she was being battered.

ii. The second hypothesis was accepted when the study revealed how adversely wife battering had affected the functioning of each individual member of the nuclear family as well as the whole nuclear family as a unit.

iii. The hypothesis was rejected. There was generally no relationship between survival techniques sought by battered women as a result of wife battering and the socio-economic status of the victim. There was however, a negative relationship between monthly income and battered women’s decision to seek help from friends e.g. neighbours and colleagues. As monthly income increased, the number of women who sought counseling from friends decreased.

iv. The fourth hypothesis was accepted by all the respondents backed up by the key informants as well as all the women who participated in the focus group discussions that more women would seek help if they were aware of the existing intervention strategies of redressing wife battering.
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1: Background of study

Most human beings all over the world are born, grow up and get attracted to people of the opposite sex. They then might get married. In some cases though, it is never really love that propels people to get married especially in cases where marriages are arranged. In cases where a marriage is arranged, love somehow develops within the marriage.

The institution of marriage; the very cradle of our human existence is threatened and characterized by conflicts. Man is at loggerheads with his own wife (Daily Nation, May 2000) who according to God’s plan is supposed to be a helper and a companion. Spouses hate, hurl abuses at each other and even kill each other. Home is no longer the safest place to be in and specifically the bedroom no longer the place for finding love, understanding and comfort but a battle field where fighting takes place as well as killings! The bedroom has indeed become the most dangerous place in the home. Marriage is hell! (Perutz in Mace, 1974).

Wife battering is a type of violence divided into three main categories namely physical, psychological and sexual abuse. Wife battering is the most prevalent of all the violence against women not only in Kenya (FIDA, 1997) but also worldwide. Women are battered everywhere, anytime and in any manner (International Women’s Tribune, 1991). Wife battering is violence directed towards women because they are women. It happens to all kinds of women, old or young, white or black, literate or illiterate, married or unmarried, living in the rural or in the urban areas, unbelievers or believers. In my rural village just like any other part of Kenya and the world, women are thoroughly beaten by their husbands as a way of disciplining and “showing love” to them. A man has to prove his manhood by thoroughly abusing his wife so that she would never dominate over him. A man who does not beat his wife is mocked and has no voice among his peer group. In many African societies men were socialized to be aggressive and in some cases even violent while women were socialized to be submissive, humble and passive.

Male dominance was further enhanced by a culture that considered a woman property of man and as such, a man was at liberty to do whatever he wanted with a wife. In many
societies, negative attitudes such as those below, were expressed by different people. It was not shocking to hear such phrases as:

"Wife battering is an acceptable practice... we are wasting time debating the issue."

This was a comment made by a parliamentarian during floor debates on wife battering in Papua New Guinea in 1987 (Ogawa, 1995). It is disappointing to hear how a leader who is supposed to be concerned about the welfare of his constituents would reason like that concerning his female constituents. One would be left wondering whether such a parliamentarian knows that anything that affects the well being of the woman also affects the well being of the family as well as the whole nation in many ways too.

"A wife married is like a pony bought; I will ride her and whip her as I like."

This is a Chinese proverb (Croll, 1980 in Ogawa, 1995).

"Mind your own business. She is mine and I will do with her as I like."

This sentiment was echoed by a husband to a police officer, when the latter intervened to stop him from beating his wife. (Bourlet, 1990). This is yet another very unfortunate statement in that nothing can be compared to the worth of a human being and so likewise, not even dowry warrants a man the ownership of a woman. Furthermore, a woman cannot be compared to an animal like a pony! This is degradation of the highest order but regrettably is what has gone on in many societies all over the world rooted in the English common law that gave men power to chastise their wives not to mention the three dominant religions of the world: Christianity, Islam and Judaism.

Wife Battering is very rampant in Kenya even today; men beat, torture, verbally attack, burn, sexually assault and even murder their spouses. Statistics given by the Kenya Human Rights Commission revealed that in 1998, 37 women died in Kenya, as a result of domestic violence having been killed by those supposed to be closest and dearest to them as well as those supposed to provide security; precisely the husbands (KHRC in the Daily Nation, 1999). This figure stands despite the fact that there is always under
reporting, under recording and under estimation of domestic violence (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1992; FIDA, 1999). On the average, 12 severe cases of domestic cases were being reported in the newspapers in a month in Kenya in 1997 (Machera in Oyekanmi, 1997). This figure indicates the existence of a serious yet largely ignored problem in society.

When talking about cases of serious injuries that have occurred in Kenya, we cannot forget the much publicized case of Piah Njoki in 1983, in which her husband gouged out both her eyes for bearing him only female children (Kiboi, 1984 in Ondicho, 2000). The bruised, swollen face of Betty Kavata groaning in pain in a bed at the Kenyatta National Hospital was carried in print and electronic media in 1998. Her husband, who was an officer in the police force, had battered her. She later died of the injuries. Mary Akinyi was slashed on the head, face and hands for singing along a “Ndobolo” to the radio in front of a guest (Anonymous person in Ondicho, 2000). “Ndobolo” is a Zairean dance style in which women grate hips in a sexually provocative manner.

The three cases brought public attention and focus not only on marital violence but also to the justice system that had failed to stop family violence. When these cases came to light, the public seemed to care much about the battered women and wondered why men battered women and what could be done to stop them. However, public concern faded before any justice was done and thus, the perpetrators went largely unpunished. The state laws seem to condone the violence as the government does not take any action until, perhaps, when somebody is seriously injured or killed (Ondicho, 2000).

The society is to be blamed for condoning such inhuman, heinous and brutal acts since we are limited as human beings and as in the case of Piah Njoki who only gave birth to female children; the situation was beyond her. The power to create a human being is not in our hands and if it were, according to biological explanations, then the man should be held responsible not being able to give birth to boys not the woman. In that case, a very serious punishment should have been administered to Piah Njoki’s husband so as to be a lesson to other men who might be tempted to do the same to their wives who find themselves in Piah Njoki’s situation. Mary Akinyi’s batterer must have been driven by jealousy, a feeling of insecurity or a feeling that his rights had been violated. But which right? Perhaps because Akinyi was his lover so according to his understanding, he
possessed and owned her physically, emotionally, sexually and in every sense, such that, Akinyi could not even talk to anyone else. This is an irrational thinking that should have been out rightly and severely punished for no one has a right to beat or harm another person for any reason. When analyzing the whole thing, the reason why Akinyi did what she did should have been thoroughly investigated then an appropriate action taken against the batterer.

The shocking truth is that, despite efforts put in globally by the UN agencies and locally by agencies such as FIDA (K), COVAW, WRAP, CREA, AACC as well as Maendeleo ya Wanawake; wife battering is not only very rampant in Kenya but is on an upward trend. According to a report by Machera (1997) Kenya was reported as having the highest rate of wife battering in Africa. This statement contradicts our expectations and one is left wondering why wife battering has persistently been escalating despite all the intervention strategies that have been put in place. Is it the intervention strategies that are not effective? Is it the culture or the attitudes of people towards wife Battering that is negative? Is it that people do not know the serious effects that wife Battering has on the people involved as well as on the wider society and so some awareness need to be done? Is it that people lack knowledge as to what causes wife battering and so do not try to avoid them? (Machera in Oyekanmi (1997); Ondicho (2000).

No one in a violent nuclear family escapes harm when spouse abuse occurs. The impact of wife battering on the nuclear family are adverse and appear in many faces namely physical, medical, social, economic or even legal. Pathologically, abuse may render some women completely unable to regain their ability to function. This is because a continually battered woman develops low self-esteem, which results from low or negative self-concept. She views herself as useless, hopeless, helpless and a "good for nothing" human being.

Quite a number of abused women would abuse substances such as drugs, alcohol or sedatives as a way of coping with violence. This may in turn result to loss of productivity (output) since the victim is fatigued and so lacks energy to do more than minimal home chores and child-care. Wife battering causes the victim to develop outbursts of anger or makes them tend to be irrational by anger and could even entertain suicidal ideations, destroy family property and also develop stress related diseases such as anxiety, ulcers,
high blood pressure, mental illnesses such as depression or even persistent headaches. Faced with all these conditions, a battered woman becomes dysfunctional and cannot carry out her duties effectively as a wife or mother. Consequently, there is a spill over to the community as children are not properly socialized to take up their positions and become responsible citizens and leaders in society since they pick up every bad character from their dysfunctional parent who is their role model. It is also economically and socially very costly since the patients have to seek expensive treatment, which eats on to the family resources leaving them poor. It is in the light of this background that this paper endeavours to explore more on the impact that wife battering has on the nuclear family.

1.2: Statement of problem

Domestic violence has a long history and could be as old as mankind. Biblically the claim that domestic violence is as old as mankind is well supported by the violence which Sarah showed her co-wife Hagar and her step-son, Ishmael (Genesis 16: 1-16, in the Holy Bible, 1984). Though old, domestic violence only received attention as a serious social problem in the 1970's because earlier on, it had been considered private domain (Gillan, 1995). Today domestic violence is a significant public health problem worldwide (FIDA, 2002). Serious cases of wife battering have been reported from many areas around the world such as France, United States of America, Sweden, Germany, Pakistan, Denmark, Uganda and Kenya just to mention but a few.

In the USA alone, a few years ago, over two million women used to get battered every year but alarmingly, this figure rose to four million in the year 2000. Violence is said to occur in at least once in two thirds of all marriages. Out of every eight couples admitted that there had been an act of violence between them that caused serious injuries and that between 40% and 60% of all police night calls were domestic disputes (Oyékanmi, 1997).

In Kenya, wife battering is prevalent and is causing great worry. In a research done by FIDA in Kenya covering Kajiado and Nairobi, it was revealed that in Nairobi, 91.6% of the women interviewed were being battered by their husbands, despite the fact that they
were educated and most of them were working. The case of women being battered by their husbands was even higher in Kajiado (FIDA, 1997). It is very disturbing that despite serious scientific studies and attention laid on spousal abuse since 1970 as a serious social problem, the problem is still on the increase in many parts of the world. The few statistics available around the world reveal gruesome nature of the act.

Violence within the nuclear family is associated with many factors such as breakdown in traditional social structures, practices, values, norms and rules which consequently result into divorce, murders, physical chastisement of a spouse and in some cases even suicides. Stark & Flitcraft (in Ammerman and Hersen, 1989) even contend that battering counts for every four suicide attempts by all women and half of all suicide attempts by black women in America. Researchers have found that suicide has seriously been considered by almost half of their samples. Many victims admit that they made at least one attempt to commit suicide at some point during the abuse history.

A battered woman’s social life becomes diminished due to lack of freedom, isolation and fear. This isolation and withdrawal (due to restriction by her husband) may make her lose her friends as well as social support and make her develop anti social personalities. As a result of her distorted personality, she may have difficulty with parenting and non-specific marital problems, which may lead to broken homes in form of divorce and separations, which have great effects on the nuclear family. As a result of the negative impact, children may involve in delinquent behaviour and may be forced to leave home at a tender age to become street children, involve in prostitution or get into early marriages that may get them into trouble. Some children may even commit suicide so as to get out of the problem. By witnessing violence at home, children may learn violence and take it to other settings like to schoolmates, other siblings and to neighbours. They become constant fighters as they try to copy and imitate their fathers who are their role models (Bourlet, 1999). It was in view of this background that this topic was studied under the objectives stated.
1.3: Justification of the study

A lot of effort has been put in to help curb wife battering worldwide but the problem is still a global challenge and a pandemic throughout Africa (Ogawa, 1995). Wife battering affects the wider society, the abuser, the victim, the children, community and the nation as a whole. There was need, therefore, to carry out a study of this magnitude so as to analyze, explore and reexamine survival strategies that have been used by the battered women. This will help us establish whether there is need to change our approaches to wife battering or strengthen the very strategies in order to make them more effective.

This study rests on a strong belief that it is everyone’s responsibility to bring justice and peace in our families and gear towards promoting values of love, sharing, tolerance, fidelity, compassion and prayer. The result will be harmony, which consequently creates an enabling and conducive environment for each member of the nuclear family to grow and become a responsibly functioning member of the wider society. The study is thus justified on the grounds that it will generate information that will act as an eye opener to the serious and grievous effects of wife battering on the functioning of the nuclear families.

Machera in (Oyekanmi (1997) said “...it is crucial that detailed scientific research be conducted to establish the reasons behind increasing family violence as well as to investigate possible strategies, which can be adopted to stop the problem.” This study is thus justified in that, it is a response to Machera’s call (in Oyekanmi, 1997) and is therefore, a contribution of scientific research to the understanding of wife battering particularly the causes of wife battering as well as possible interventions that could be adopted to stop the problem.

A lot of effort has been put in both globally and locally to help curb wife battering. There are many UN agencies that deal with violence against women such as UNIFEM, UNDP, UNFPA, An International bill of rights for women and the Convention on the Elimination of All Focus of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) which was adopted by the United Nations as long ago as 1979; it recognizes that any form of gender based violence is a violation of women’s human rights (AACC, 2002; Oyekanmi, 1997). Countries that sign the treaty are obligated to pursue policies and laws towards ending all
forms of discrimination on the basis of sex or gender. All state signatories are required to take positive action to eliminate all forms of violence against women. This convention entered into force in 1981 and had 169 states by 10\textsuperscript{th} of May, 2002. (Oyekanmi, 1997; AACC, 2002). In addition, women are protected by the Convention Against and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1975). Yet at grassroots the problem is getting worse throughout the world. This escalation of violence against women is a basis for justifying this study. It is hoped that this research paper will, to a large extent, make known to victims of wife battering and all, the rights of every woman as a human being as well as the options available in redressing the issue.

In Kenya too, a lot of work has been done by agencies such as FIDA (K), COVAW, WRAP, CREA and Maendeleo ya Wanawake. These agencies generally, provide legal aid based on women’s rights. They also collaborate for law reforms on women’s rights. WRAP in particular has even established a rescue house or shelters at a secret place in the country so as to provide shelter for victims of violence for the period their cases are being looked into.

Quite a number of lecturers at the University of Nairobi have also contributed towards the topic of wife battering by writing many papers for different organizations on domestic violence. This study is justified on the grounds that it is yet, another effort and a contribution in support of the efforts being put globally and locally to help curb the menace of wife battering. It is also filling a knowledge gap in that, very little research, if any, has been done concerning the effects of wife battering on the members of the nuclear family in Kenya.

This study is also justified on the grounds that it is filling a theoretical gap. A lot of scientific research done on wife battering has tended to overly use the theory of socialization only. The theory of socialization is one that cannot be ignored while discussing wife battering because it is socialization that gives us our identity. At the same time, there are many recent theories that have emerged to explain wife battering such as Frustration-aggression theory, social learning theory, family systems theory, feminist theories, the conflict theory, Marxist theory, the cycle theory of learned helplessness and the survivor theory. This study briefly applied three of these new
theories: The Feminist theory, the Social Learning Theory and the Survivor theory and tried to see their relevance to the study.

1.4: Objectives of the study

The broad objective of the study was to understand the impact that wife battering might have had on the nuclear family. Specific objectives did however include:

i. To explore factors that lead to wife battering in the nuclear family.
ii. To examine the broad impact that wife battering has on the nuclear family.
iii. To explore the survival techniques used by battered women in the management of wife battering in Kenya.
iv. To establish intervention strategies that can help deal with the menace.

1.5: Scope of the study

This was an exploratory study that focussed primarily on battered women in Nairobi Province. Nairobi is a cosmopolitan city with people from all walks of life. This research focussed on the factors that necessitate wife battering within the nuclear family, the reasons why women stay in abusive marriages, some survival techniques used by battered women in the management of wife battering, the impact that wife battering has on the nuclear family and conclusively reviewed some intervention strategies that may help deal with the menace. The study targetted women who had been or who were victims of physical wife battering. The researcher got these respondents by visiting organizations where women go to seek help of some kind. The study looked at wife battering from the perspective of women.

1.6: Limitations of the study

The topic of wife battering is very wide and so it was not possible to study everything in depth in this particular paper. This apparently meant that, issues outside the objectives were strictly not dealt with. The study did also not go into depth to study the many types of wife battering but only mentioned them and then concentrated on the physical wife battering which most of the times result into psychological battering as well. It is important to say that it is not easy to separate physical (specifically wife beating) and
psychological battering since the two are very closely interrelated; one causes the other and also one is a consequence of the other.

Due to lack of availability of funds to carry out research in all the cities and towns in Kenya, this research concentrated on the city of Nairobi, which was then used as representative city/town to all the urban areas in Kenya.

Due to lack of availability of funds again, this study only interviewed one hundred and three respondents (battered women) who were consequently used as a representative sample to all the women involved in incidences of wife battering within the nuclear family.
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0: Introduction

Literature review in this study focused on the following themes:

a) The family and wife battering.
b) Impact of wife battering on the nuclear family.
c) Some survival techniques used by victims of wife battering in Kenya.
d) Some corresponding strategies to wife battering.

2.1: Definitions and functions of the nuclear family

The nuclear family is sometimes referred to as conjugal family and consists of husband, wife and their immediate children (Leslie, 1973). Haralambos (1985) asserts that the nuclear family is the universal human social grouping; it exists as a distinct and strongly functional group and is the basic unit from which more complex forms are compounded.

Murdock (In Haralambos, 1985) argues that the family forms four basic universal functions in all societies. Leslie (1973) in agreement with Murdock sees these functions of the nuclear family as paralleling very closely the functional requisites for societal survival. The nuclear family everywhere is characterized by sexual reproductive, residential, economic co-operation and socialization functions.

a) Meeting sexual needs of the adult members of society

Sex is exceedingly powerful impulse that is nowhere permitted expression without regulation; unregulated sexual expression would threaten the co-operative relationships necessary within the family and within the society. The sex relationship between husband and wife is expected to result in the production of children. The fact that all societies place high value upon children testifies to the necessity of children to society's survival. In all societies, the reproductive function of the nuclear family is emphasized.
b) **Unit of common residence**

The nuclear family is the unit of common residence where both parents and unmarried siblings may reside in separate apartments and share common facilities such as cooking space, dining space and space for relaxation. Each nuclear family ordinarily has some private quarters.

c) **Economic co-operation**

The economic co-operation within the nuclear family along with the sex relationship between the father and the mother serves to bind it tightly together. This co-operation is rooted in biological differences between the sexes and is reinforced by the culturally defined division of labour whereby neither the man nor the woman can function at full efficiency without the services of the other.

d) **Socialization**

Even in the most highly specialized societies, the nuclear family has the basic responsibility for the care and socialization of children during their early years. Training a child is more complex than taking care of the child physically and so it requires combined efforts of both parents and frequently siblings to prepare the child for each subsequent stage in life. Only the father can transmit to his sons the skills required of adult males in the society. It is also only the mother who can provide comparable training for her daughters. Boys learn partly from their fathers and partly from their mothers how to interact with members of the opposite sex and it takes a father as well as a mother to teach a girl how to become a woman. The more elaborate the society is the more agencies are likely to share in this socialization process; but the nuclear family everywhere plays an important role in it.

### 2.2: Definitions of wife-battering

Many researchers like Ogawa (1995) and Kross (1994) have attempted to define wife battering but it is evident that there are disagreements both over definition and measurement of domestic violence. Some researchers include only acts that were intended to cause physical harm or injury. Researchers in such fields as Sociology and Criminology tend to prefer definitions that can be operationalized. Researchers in fields such as Psychology, mental health and social work frequently consider violence to cover a wide range of behaviours.
Amidst these disagreements, the UN in 1992, came up with an official definition of gender based violence as, "Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life." (United Nations Population Fund. 1998.)

### 2.2.1: Forms/types of wife battering

Many researchers in the field of violence against women agree that there are three main categories of wife-battering namely physical abuse, sexual and psychological which is at times referred to as emotional abuse.

#### a) Physical abuse

Moe (1999) defined physical abuse as, "Any action that hurts another's body." He gave examples of such actions as hitting, pinching, kicking, spitting at and beating.

After an interview with pregnant women, Bourlet (1990) gave further examples of physical battering as slapping, pushing, kneeing, striking, strangling, running over a pregnant woman, cutting finger, nose or any part of the body, breaking ribs, black eyes, burning, forcing a woman to become pregnant or have an abortion, refusing to help with work when the woman is pregnant, abandoning the woman in dangerous places, stabbing, throwing acid or boiling water at her and driving carelessly when she is in the car.

Walker (1994) gave further examples of such actions as shaking, using hot objects as weapons, throwing bodily, pulling hair, head banging, chaining to bedposts, locking in houses with windows and doors nailed, keeping inside coffin-like boxes, holding, under surveillance at gunpoint, holding hostage with no means of communication or transportation, monitoring the woman's calls and recording the woman's mileage daily.

Ogawa (1995) added to this list, other actions as dragging through the house, throwing chairs at, bending fingers backward, poking, twisting the woman's arm, tripping her, raping, holding her down, suffocating her, kidnapping and killing which is a very common one around the world.
b) Psychological/ Emotional Abuse/ Mental Abuse

Moe (1999) defined psychological or emotional abuse as, "Anything that hurts another's feelings." It is a systematic attempt to control another person's thinking and behaviour. Men achieve this by threat of physical abuse with occasional violent acts as a means of keeping his partner constantly intimidated. This type of abuse is normally aimed at damaging the victim's sense of self worth, to make her feel powerless. She has to give up her own values, her point of view in order to keep him from being out of control. He may also try breaking down her self-esteem, degrading her through name calling, humiliating her in public or private or forcing her to wait in a car while her spouse is visiting a mistress. The man may even demand that the woman always puts him first. Because of this extreme jealousy or insecurity he may dictate her every move and accuse her of things she could not have possibly done. This may get to the point of trying to isolate her at home with minimal or no outside social contacts.

Psychological abuse also includes sarcasm, constant verbal abuse, depriving the woman of economic, physical and personal resources, denying access to the family income, taunting her with threats of divorce, harassment, any action which is designed to frighten the woman, ignoring the woman's feelings, withholding approval, manipulating the woman with lies, keeping her awake at night by long harangues designed to tell her what to do or suddenly waking her up to receive trivial, aversive or frightening demands (Common wealth Secretariat, 1992).

c) Sexual Abuse.

Sexual abuse can be defined as, "Any kind of sexual interaction that makes a person uncomfortable and is against that person's will, whether or not the person resists. This form of abuse includes sexual harassment (verbal or physical), rape and incest. Other examples include varieties of coerced sexual activities, with or without accompanying physical abuse for example the abuser may demand forced oral, anal or genital sex, inserting objects into the woman's vagina or anus, tie her up or/ and demand sex involving ropes, handcuffs etc. Abusive partners could initiate sex contacts to which the women must respond positively or face heightened risk of further physical, sexual or psychological abuse. Battered women give in to the batterers' unwanted sexual demands as a way to calm them down and protect themselves from further abuse. The coercion and violence that accompanies sex may include forced shaving of pubic hair, mutilating
the genitals, stabbing the breasts, holding the woman's head down on the man's erect penis to force oral sex, punching her pregnant abdomen, kicking at the vagina and other vulnerable areas. In some cases women are coerced into sex with other people and children, the batterer participating and filming these sexual activities.

2.3: History of wife-battering

Colonial Heritage

Marital violence is not a new phenomenon. From the medieval times, codes like the Napoleonic code required husbands to punish their wives physically for "correction". Women were considered the property of men and were subject to a variety of abuses including physical punishment for their misbehaviour. (Bourlet, 1990).

The British common law, which has been the historical basis for many parts of the world Kenya included, allowed men to "chastise" their wives with "any reasonable instrument" as long as the instrument used was not thicker than his thumb. The Romans experienced marital violence and indeed there were even serious cases like that of Silvio Fiorillo who murdered both his child and his wife in the seventeenth century (Ali & Oates, 1998).

In 1641, the Puritans enacted the first laws that explicitly forbade wife abuse. In 1672, the Pilgrims of Plymouth colony passed a similar law. These laws like the ones that preceded them were largely symbolic. Puritans and Pilgrims allowed for the use of moderate physical violence against one's wife for the greater good of society or to provide direction to a wayward wife who had temporarily lost her way from the path of salvation. Hence although wife abuse was forbidden by statute, social norms left anti wife abuse legislation virtually unendorsed (Ali & Oates, 1998).

From the late 18\textsuperscript{th} century and mid 19\textsuperscript{th} century, the Criminal justice system continued to be apathetic toward controlling wife abuse. When a husband was charged with wife abuse, judges commonly dismissed the charge on the grounds that a husband had the right to chastise his wife. The long standing common law right of a husband to strike his wife remained an influential factor in criminal court decision making. In the last decade of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, wife assault became illegal in several New England states under the British common law. It took another eight years from this period for social science to recognize wife assault as a behavior syndrome requiring explication and social policy
makers realized that wife assault was widespread despite being illegal (Ali & Oates, 1998).

In the United States of America (US) in the late 19th century, a call was made to question the long held belief that what a husband did to correct his wife in private was beyond jurisdiction of government authorities.

In place of this common law, protection arose to demand for increased (criminal justice) intervention into the private lives of the US citizens to establish social order and create a sense of safety and security. Today in the US, a network of legal and social service agencies with the express purpose of dealing with abuse has developed. Wife abuse is now viewed as a civil rights problem of significant proportions. Many legal institutions funded by public monies have been instituted to assist victims of wife abuse. The passage of the violence against women Act of 1993 has promoted policies and established programmes to combat domestic violence and protect victims; this signals the federal government’s commitment to making wife abuse a national priority.

**Patriarchy**

The Greek culture which the Bible is based and rooted in, recognizes the Pater familias; Patriarchy presupposes that, the dominance and superiority of power over all God’s creatures is in the hands of men.

In African traditional culture like any other culture around the world, the family is maintained by patriarchy; a deeply entrenched ideology that is integral to men’s control over women and women’s subordination to men. This idea defines women primarily as objects rather than subjects of their own experience by virtue of their subordinate relationships to the men in their families. Woman is almost a slave; she has no rights, she is overburdened by her heavy tasks, she is exploited by a man and can be bought by him. As such women are considered as little children, immature, have little brains and who must constantly be under the supervision of men. (Mercier, 1962).

In Kenya just like in the rest of the world, women have been charged as caretakers of morality, wives, mothers, and guardians as well as socializers of children. It is the woman’s duty to ensure that her family is comfortable and happy. She pays particular
attention to her husband whom she must serve, obey, please, love and respect. Women are normally socialized to be passive, silent and submissive (Hayanga in Wamue, G. & Getui, M. 1996). As young girls, females are socialized to accept shame as their lot in life. Shame is a self-enforcing mechanism and is a way of social control upon females (Green, 1999).

**Religious Influence**

Even the world's major religions such as Christianity, Judaism and Islam have tracks of violation both in teaching and practice. A good example is in the Old Testament (Matthew 5:31 & Matthew 19:8 in the Holy Bible, 1984) where a man was allowed to marry many wives while a woman was supposed to keep only one husband. In cases where a woman was found to be unfaithful, she was to be stoned to death while the Bible is silent about the kind of punishment that was to be given to an unfaithful husband. Judaism has survived over 5000 years and the ancient ideology of the dominance of men over women still remains. In such cultures, physical violence is but one form of abuse. Women as members of the underprivileged class are also abused through economic deprivation, sexual exploitation and various forms of intimidation such as that achieved through stalking or isolation. In patriarchal families, domestic violence is simply a reflection of male dominated societies where physical abuse is justified on religious grounds as the duties of husbands. Such gender inequality leaves women essentially powerless in the family unit and society at large (Ali & Oates, 1998).

**Conclusion**

This background no doubt helps to explain why wife battering is very rampant in Kenya. One, Kenya being an African country with an African culture is deeply rooted in the patriarchal family system. Two, Kenya was a British colony for a very long time so the British common law definitely had strong effect on all the systems of governance. Three, statistics reveal that 80% of Kenyans are Christians, the rest are Muslims and other religions. Influenced by colonial and traditional gender ideologies, customary law in Kenya does not consider the moderate beating of ones wife wrong or actionable but ironically and unfortunately intended, in some cases, this beating has been extremely severe and physical injuries have been caused (Hazel in Wamue, G. & Getui, M.1996).
The Kenyan constitution is, to a large extent silent on many issues affecting women. Over the years this has provided much room for discriminatory laws and practices against women. The silence of the constitution on issues relating to women and the rampant bias in the handling of cases of women has partly contributed to gender violence. Wife battering is not specifically recognized in the Penal Code as an offence. In isolated cases where a husband is taken to court for battering his wife, it is usually under section 251 of the Penal Code which makes it a misdemeanor for any one to commit an assault occasioning actual bodily harm (FIDA, 1999).

In Kenya today, some women especially in the urban areas are seeking for equal regard for one another and mutual respect that does not leave room for considering one section inferior and another superior (Musimbi Kanyoro in Wamue, G. & Getui, M.1996). Musimbi continues to say that some women still accept subservient roles that have been in place for centuries. Some husbands and family members get scared, feel threatened and embarrassed when they see a woman interested in contesting for rights for women; this threat becomes even more intensified when that woman activist is in the Church. Churches are simply frightened about the issue because of the long established traditions and practices. They do not even preach against wife battering from the pulpit as injustice instead they are quick and adamant to preach about submission of woman to man and that God hates divorce. They press that fact further by preaching that a husband has a right over his wife’s body and this gives a lieu or permission for husbands to violate wives physically as well as sexually.

2.4: Some factors that lead to wife battering

Research on the causes of violence against women has consisted of two lines of inquiry: Examination of characteristics that influence the behaviour of offenders and the consideration of whether some women have a heightened vulnerability. Research on violence against women has sought causal factors at various levels of analysis including individual, dyadic and/or feminist perspective(s) and societal/social perspectives. Studies of offending and victimization remain conceptually distinct except in sociocultural analysis in which joint consideration is often given to two complimentary processes: Those that influence men to be aggressive and channel their expressions of violence toward women and those that position women for receipt of violence and operate to silence afterwards. Current understanding suggests that violent behaviour is
not caused by any single factor, much of the research has focused on single causes. Kantor and Asdigian (1993) in Hampton, 1999) identified three pathways linking violence and abuse in the family of origin to current woman abuse: The direct effect of observing parental violence and a low level of education, multigenerational heavy drinking. This research suggests that violent socialization in the family of origin increases the risk of alcohol abuse, which in turn increases the risk of woman abuse.

There is a continuum of thought regarding batterer pathology. On one end of this continuum are those who believe a focus on psychopathology is unrelated to the criminal act of woman abuse. From this perspective, a focus on psychopathology is at best, irrelevant, and at worst, dangerous. Overall research findings suggest that batterers who come to the attention of law enforcement officials and batterers programs exhibit substantially greater levels of pathology than non-batterers do. To date, however, there is no evidence that psychopathology plays a direct, causal role in woman abuse.

Although many times alcohol has been given a strong reputation as having a strong influence on domestic violence, Hampton refutes and up to date research does not support the belief that men who batter are “out of control” when they do so. Despite the impairment in men’s lives caused by alcohol, woman abuse remains a matter of choice and “guided doing.”

Stress and role frustration occasioned by economic and social advantages and underdevelopment through subsistence living also cause violence. Strauss et. al. (1980) theorized that violence is a learned behaviour and cyclical. Sonkin ET. al. (1994) say that men batter because it works! He further continues to explain that violence puts a quick stop to an emotional argument or a situation that is getting out of control for frustration which may come from home situation or from outside the home.

Men also batterer as a result of influence they get from media. We live in a violent culture. We see this in news, stories, TV programmes, movies and sports. Violence gets our attention, sells us cars or cigarettes and has an emotional impact upon us. We learn that violence is effective and men have to live up to an image that includes violence. So men never think of alternatives because they have been taught violence.
The other cause is about power and control relationships. In the world today, people feel powerless. So it has been found out as Sonkin and Durphy (1994) record that most men turn to their homes where they can “feel in control.” That is where the man exercises the expression, “A man’s home is his castle” implying that, is where the man is in control. However, as much as men still want to live by this creed fewer and fewer women are willing to do so. From experience, it has been shown that men who are most traditional in values regarding their home and power, tend to hook up with women who are much more “liberated” than one would expect. What does this mean? It means that on some level these men want more liberated women. They like what they see that is different in these women’s behaviour but they are not sure what to do with this woman who behaves differently from their traditional expectations.

When faced with the discomfort of unknown, men do what they have learned from their fathers and other male-models; they fight for control. Men are taught that only through control can they reign over the mountain. Violence is a very good method of controlling another person; violence weakens the victim, renders her powerless and puts her in a state of shock. Like physical assaults, men use sexual assault to establish control in a relationship. Sexual violence may not only include physically forced sexual acts as we have seen from the types under sexual violence. Threats are also very effective way of controlling. Men threaten to steal children, kill a woman or her family, kill other men, or kill themselves. Psychological violence in general is a way of controlling and intimidating another person.

In addition to these traditional attitudes that men have learned, some men have had the unfortunate experience of growing up in homes where there is violence. Growing up in this kind of an environment can be very traumatizing for a child and leaves ‘deep wounds’ that follow him throughout his life.

There are very many other factors that cause wife battering that the list cannot be exhausted. The few that will be mentioned include misunderstandings resulting from issues to do with money, matters to do with children, pregnancy, food, women having low opinion of themselves and therefore encouraging men to beat them, women lacking economic power and therefore depending on men for their upkeep, women being widowed or being barren; the problem of a woman not getting a baby would always be
blamed on the woman, drug abuse, lack of respect for men, refusal by women to give in to sexual demands, jealousy or screaming at men when quarrelling.

2.4.1: The Societal Perspective
This perspective is grounded in family-oriented and sociologically based theories. The societal perspective places the psychological factors addressed by individual perspective into broader framework that includes institutions and societal structures (Gelles, 1993). The central tenet of this perspective is that ideally, society in general and the family in particular help suppress violent tendencies through a network of support systems such as friends and extended family members. With today’s nuclear family and the relative ease with which families are able to move from one geographical region to another, however, such support systems, that is, inhibitors of violence tend to be lacking. Therefore, the extent to which such inhibitors are absent from today’s families appears to be proportionate with the level of violence within a family unit.

Social and occupational stress, have been found to be correlated with domestic violence. Social stressors such as poverty, economic hardships and frustrations owing to hard times and failed marriages contribute to family violence. Occupational stressors, primarily a function of job tasks such as those associated with police work are also predictive of family violence.

Overall, it is considered that up bringing or socialization is the main ‘basis’ for discrimination against women and therefore, the social foundation for violence. This gives rise to a general perception that women are physically and intellectually weaker than men are. Women themselves as mothers perform part of this socialization. Through socialization often, boys are favoured, pampered and even assigned to look after their ‘fragile’ sisters. Some communities like the Luo community of Kenya, see violence against women as normal. The community considers it ‘discipline’ as opposed to ‘violence against women’ since women are equated to children who should be disciplined through beating. If a woman is injured or dies, it is just unfortunate. Infact, in Luo traditional culture, a woman has to be ‘beaten’ by her husband during her married life, her husband has to slap her body before she is buried should she die before him. For cultural reason such as this, most men as well as women tolerate violence against women.
Generally the society does not consider women to have any control of their own bodies, domestic violence is also considered to be a personal affair and talking about domestic issues in public means washing one’s dirty linen in public. This explains why, in most cases when a wife is being battered, neighbours never intervene. Most people think that this violence is right and so other people should just mind their own business. People tend to view violence against women as a crime only when severe cases are brought to the attention of the public. This is only after a catastrophe has occurred and it is very soon forgotten. Surprisingly, even many women think it is right for them to be beaten if they have done something wrong.

According to Miranda (1994), some women are battered because they are argumentative and assertive. These are the women who have a clear picture of what they want and are able to state it categorically. The man may feel threatened by the wife’s strong points therefore to reinforce his power, he may use battering.

Some women have been battered because they have high status than their husbands in terms of education and paying jobs which make their husbands feel threatened and so have to remind the wives by beating them that they are the ‘heads’ and therefore, in control.

In-laws can be very difficult people to deal with as they, most of the times, make life very difficult for spouses married to their male relatives, sisters, sons, daughters and others. Lantz & Snyder (1969) say that the in-law involvement may focus on issues such as: What type of place the couple resides, how the home is furnished, how the couple spends-time, how they spend their money, what style of clothes each wears, how often they visit their parents, how long they stay at their parents’ place and many others. In a study conducted by Lantz ET. Al. (1969) on the in-law difficulty, mothers-in-law were reported by majority (36.8 %) of the respondents as the most difficult in-laws. Other in-laws mentioned in order of their difficulty were female relatives 21.9 %, male relatives 5.5 %, fathers-in-law 5.0 % and the list went on. While 25.8 % of the respondents never had any difficult in-laws at all in that study, 1.5 % of the respondents had difficulties with all the in-laws. A similar study conducted by the Ministry of Health, Kenya (MOH, 2004), confirmed that although mothers in-law were still among the difficult in-laws, they were not the most difficult in-laws. Out of the 2,863 respondents, 2.6 % named male relatives as the most difficult in-
laws, followed by female relatives (0.9%). Mothers-in-law ranked third at only 0.2 % while fathers-in-law were reported to be less difficult.

How mothers-in-law cause conflicts in husband-wife relationship
The kind of in-law relationship discussed here is a case where a man has married and his mother causes problems to the wife (Daughter-in-law). According to the findings of Lantz and Snyder (1969: 329-332), a mother could cause problems to the daughter-in-law for many reasons:

(i) Interpersonal problems between parents and children for example the parent might be overprotective and so when the child marries, the parent does not ‘let go’. Mothers or fathers who are immature and are fearful about relating to people often lead to very sheltered lives. Such parents become emotionally attached to a son or daughter and find it very painful to sever the psychic ties with their children; unable to make such a break, they often regard the marriage of their child with utmost anxiety. Indeed if they are unable to prevent the marriage, they tend to keep a critical eye on the marriage and frequently make excessive demands on their daughters-in-law to ensure that all the wishes of their son or daughter continue to be fulfilled as adequately as in the past.

(ii) Secondly, the parent-child involvement that interferes with marriage would be more in a case where the child has not achieved emancipation from his parents a tendency very common among young wives since they are found to be less emancipated from their mothers than their husbands are.

(iii) A parent who has been frustrated in his professional ambitions may make excessive demands on his child whom he has come to regard as a means of vicariously fulfilling his own ambitions. When the child marries, there may be a good deal of berating of the son-in-law or daughter-in-law by the parent and tendency to constantly remind the son or daughter about the spouse’s shortcomings.
2.4.2: Reasons why women stay in abusive marriages

There are many reasons why women stay in abusive marriages but most researchers seem to agree that lack of economic independence ranks top on the list. Lack of economic independence makes women be financially dependent on men for everything so a battered woman is ready to stay in an abusive marriage at any cost. She fears leaving her batterer since leaving him means forfeiting the benefits that go along with it.

Lenore Walker (1994) found that battered women, do not select abusive situations because of some personality deficit but develop certain distortions as a result of battering. Applying her theory of 'learned helplessness' to the behaviour of battered women, Walker posits that the process of victimization entraps an abused wife creating a 'psychological paralysis' that inhibits her from leaving the relationship.

The coercive control of the abusive husband has been compared to the 'Brainwashing' situations of hostage victims or those in religious cults. The long-term effect of the repeated and unpredictable situations of terror to which battered women are subjected is that they become afraid of staying in their marriages and yet are terrified of leaving.

In their study of battered women, researchers Don and Susan Lee Painter (in Walker, 1994) discovered that the reason why women stayed with their abusers was because the 'beatings' leave the women exhausted, emotionally and physically hurt and drained, and thus in more than usual need of human warmth and comfort. In this particularly needy state, the men who have abused them are often still there and sometimes even feeling guilty. Thus whatever warmth or affection these men offer tends to be accepted by the women, simply because they are in need. It is not the abusive side of their abusers to which these women bond rather to the warmer, affectionate side that meets their needs to be loved and cared for.

Some women stay in their abusive marriages because they believe it is biblical that only death should separate them once married. Secondly, they also believe that God hates divorce and so calls for an everlasting submission in marriage at whatever cost. In cases of violence in marriage, therefore, they opt to pray for change in their husbands or for ability to be able to endure the abuse while they remain passive and submissive. Beating ones mate is a gross sin in God's eyes and is a brazen violation of the Bible principles.
according to the New Testament (Ephesians 4:29, 31 in the Holy Bible, New International Version, 1984). No husband who follows Christ can really say he loves his wife if he abuses her. If he were to mistreat his wife, of what value would all his other works be? A 'smiter' does not qualify for a special privilege in the Christian congregation according to 1 Timothy 3:3 and 1 Corinthians 13:1-13 (Holy Bible, New International Version, 1984). The Bible does not treat marital separation lightly, at the same time; it does not oblige a battered wife to stay with a man who jeopardizes her health and perhaps her very life. The Christian apostle Paul wrote, "If she should actually depart, let her remain unmarried or else make up again with her husband."

Most women especially in most African communities stay in abusive marriages because they never have anywhere to go to since in most cultures once a woman is married off by her family of origin, she is never expected to go back nor welcome back to her original family; not even battering warrants such a move unless very severe. A woman who went back to her family of origin was considered a big shame to her family; she was scorned, scandalized and stigmatized (Green, 1999). In fact in most African societies like among the Luo, Luhyias, Kisii, Kikuyu etc a special name was given to her. In the Luo community she would be called "Odhi Odwogo" meaning the one who went and came back. The family members would always put pressure that the woman saves her marriage at whatever cost. Among the Kikuyu community of Kenya, a young bride was given a bed on her wedding day to signify that she was married once and for all and that there was no bed for her anymore in her family of origin.

In some cases even when the abused woman contemplated leaving, the family of origin never had dowry to refund back to the husband’s family and so the battered woman just had to stay in her abusive marriage by learning to accept beating as part of marriage and a way of life. In this case the women just minimize and dismiss the violence in order to remain with or return to violent men.

Last but not least, most women persevered in abusive marriages because of the children simply so that their children could have a father figure in the house and be spared from the embarrassment of being asked where their fathers were.
Wife battering has many social as well as economic costs. The individual family becomes socially stigmatized and loses friends resulting to lack of social support. Marital discord, separations, divorces and parental use of corporal punishment, which may increase the children’s vulnerability to violence exposure and subsequent maladaptive behaviour, are most likely consequences.

The economic or financial implications of wife-battering are numerous in that huge sums of money are spent on healthcare and hospitalization and on frequent doctor attendances with minor or major psychological problems such as stress, ulcers, high blood pressure, asthma, depression, anxiety etc. A lot of money could also be spent on police, court services and secret shelters. The cost of all these facilities is very expensive and so it means that the finances of a family are seriously affected such that the money that is supposed to be for the upkeep of the family is diverted to these services (Hyden, 1994).

A fighting family does not have economic cooperation thus cannot produce enough money to take care of all the family needs; this is because of the victims’ absence from work, frustration, depression, worry, anxiety and fear that surround her life. Under the mentioned circumstances, the nuclear family cannot achieve most if not all its functions. It simply becomes a dysfunctional family where members share a roof for reasons best known to them. The dysfunctional state could even go further when the couple decides to separate; it means that the family cannot meet its sexual needs and that is why the fulfillment of that need will be sought from elsewhere by way of unfaithfulness of the spouses. In some cases, a wife might hate her husband to the point of refusing to have a baby with him. In those cases then, the function of procreating is never achieved (Murdock in Haralambos, 1985).

Though stated as a function, the nuclear family is never a unit of common residence where wife battering has led the couple to separate, divorce or children have taken off to the streets in order to avoid violence at home. The worst influence to the nuclear family is when it negatively socializes young people not to be responsible citizens, but to be deviant, aggressive, and irresponsible. This happens when children witness violence and model the same.
The primary victim of course, is the wife who is beaten or terrified. Regardless of age, the children who share residence with such a couple are also victims as well as the community they live in. Finally the abuser himself is harmed by what he is doing to those nearest and usually dearest to him. In this respect, all those involved become victims in some way or another (Gillan, 1995).

2.5.1: Influence on the Batterer

The batterer experiences physical, psychological, social as well as economic consequences which may be in form of a behaviour such as staying out of the house more in order to avoid tension at home and this may result into many other negative consequences such as lack of companionship to the wife and family (Miranda, 1994).

There might also be a breakdown in communication that might again result into antisocial behaviour like extra marital affairs because of the frustrations the wife goes through. In some cases, the abusers might resort to abuse of substances such as drugs and alcohol in an effort to escape the reality. If this is the case, then the substance abuse has a lot of financial implications to the family income, life and even to the health of the batterer.

Socially, the abuser might also lose their friends in case his wife decides to leave. He suffers shame and embarrassment and this, in many cases, makes the batterer feel useless, hopeless and a failure in life causing his self-esteem to be eroded and he becomes ineffective in many ways. Wife-abusers become very restrictive on the wife's movements in order to isolate the battered woman from her family members and friends so as not to reveal his bad character. He also becomes excessively too 'good' to the outsiders unlike at home. This extreme 'goodness' is just an outside mask to hide the animosity in him and make people believe that he is very good (Alsdurf, 1989).

2.5.2: Influence on the victim

Wife battering has many social influences to the victim. It may lead to broken homes in form of divorce and separations which have great psychological effects on the victim and all the members of the nuclear family (Ondicho, 1997).
Wife battering causes the victim to develop outbursts of anger, which make her be very aggressive, violent and very easily irritated. With the outbursts of anger one tends to be irrational when overcome by anger and could even entertain suicidal ideations, destroy family property and also develop stress related diseases such as anxiety, ulcers, high blood pressure, mental illnesses, depression, constant headaches and the list could go on and on. All these conditions have economic implications in that a lot of money is spent in treating the victim and buying her medicine; expenses that could be avoided and that money spent on the welfare of the family.

A continually battered woman develops low self-esteem, which results from low self or negative self-concept. She views herself as useless, hopeless, very helpless and a good for nothing and constantly feels that she has been trapped and cannot escape (Walker, 1994). Her state indeed becomes very desperate (FIDA, 1999). This desperation results to the victim developing female social constructed dependency and violence to men as a result of various layers of discrimination. Much of the woman’s work is unpaid labour at home and in the fields, and is not valued by society nor calculated as part of the productive of a nation (GNP). Those women who work in paid jobs often work long hours in lower status jobs with fewer benefits and less security than men do. Female dependency extends to other areas as well, psychologically, socially and culturally. Women are trained to believe that their value is attached to the men in their lives e.g. fathers, brothers, husbands and sons and are often ostracized if they disobey these men. Women are educated to see their self-esteem as attached to the satisfaction of the needs and the desires of others and thus are encouraged to blame themselves as inadequate or bad when men beat them (Ondicho, 1993).

Quite a good number of the abused women would abuse substances such as drugs, alcohol or even sedatives and anxiolytics as a way of coping with violence. This may in turn result to loss of work productivity (output) since the victim is psychologically fatigued and so lacks energy to do more than minimal house chores and childcare. Low productivity may lead to lose of job as a direct result violence which manifests itself in form of self absenteeism from the embarrassment of going to work with a black eye, and some afraid that their batterers will embarrass them at the work place. In these circumstances, the battered woman is unable to take care of her children.
A battered woman's social life becomes diminished due to lack of freedom, isolation and fear. This isolation and withdrawal (due to restriction by her husband) may make her lose her friends as well as social support and make her develop anti social personalities (Jacobson, 1994). As a result of her distorted personality, she may have difficulty with parenting and non-specific marital problems e.g. Things are not going on well at home or I am under a lot of stress at home recently.

Majority of battered women prefer not to discuss their predicament so as to avoid the social stigma "the battered wife" so they keep their problems to themselves causing even more damage to themselves and to those who care for them.

2.5.3: Influence on the children

The influence of wife battering to the children is numerous. Children in families where the wife is being abused run the risk of being injured or killed by the abuser if they become involved in an accident of violence. They become socially isolated and withdrawn because of the stigmatization by those who know that their mother is battered (Miranda, 1994).

Children from violent families become psychologically fearful, worried, helpless, frustrated, feel valueless, powerless, attention seeking, clingy or dependent, develop low self-esteem and even get confused (Sonkin & Durphy, 1994). This is because of the terrorism they witness in the family and whose occurrence they never can predict. Repeated exposure to aggression may lead to heightened sensitivity and greater likelihood of interpreting cues as aggressive (Eros in Hansen & Harway, 1993).

Witnessing violence in the home normally has negative impact on the children (Delinquent behaviour). The children may be forced to leave home at a tender age and get into trouble e.g. Street children, early marriages, suicides etc.). Children may also learn violence and take it to other settings like to schoolmates, neighbours or even to younger siblings. They become constant fighters. If boys, they might originally hate the violence but might finally become violent to their sisters, girlfriends or even mothers when they grow older and stronger. They become violent as they try to model, copy and imitate the father who is their role model. If they are girls, they might develop tantrums
(anger) against the mothers because the mothers are not protecting them (Bourlet, 1990). They also have poor impulse control like bedwetting and also low empathy.

These feelings become a barrier to getting close to the father or mother and will interfere with their getting close to their partners when they become adults. Boys would find it difficult to relate with girls and even be reluctant to marry because they have learned to be distrustful. Their love for father changes to hatred and if girls could hate men forever.

Children from violent families lack competent behaviour strategies to solve interpersonal problems. This and other research by Eron (1987, Ibid.) suggest that the experience of physical harm can lead a child to conceptualize the world in deviant ways and thus develop a victimizer identity. At school children may be unwilling to do school work and even rebel against authority, get involved in substance abuse (e.g. alcohol or drug abuse), girls may get into prostitution and have verbal language deficit. Children from a family where a mother is battered lack or have low levels of concentration or memory span as a result of which they might have low academic achievement. This is so because the children might be tired thinking about violence at night or because of keeping awake long hours in the night because of fear of violence (Hyper vigilance). Some of the children might actually have school phobia or just completely refuse to go to school (Truancy) in an effort to stay home and protect their mothers from being battered (Pizzey & Shapiro in Bourlet, 1990).

**Conclusion**

Whether the child is directly victimized, witnessed the violence or only heard about it from his room, the experience is terrifying, confusing and potentially damaging to his or her health, emotional or her intellectual development (Sonkin & Durphy, 1994). Through seeing the negative effects of violence on family members, children can make conscious decisions that their own future family lives will be different. While negative outcomes occur, a research done by Kalmuss and Zigler (1984) (in Hansen & Harway, 1993) revealed that many children from violent homes become non-abusive mates and parents.

Contemporary research also suggests that the effects of family and community violence are intertwined. There is some evidence that one might beget the other (Hampton, 1999).
Violence in nuclear families creates violence in society as children learn from observing their fathers as role models.

2.6: Some survival techniques used by victims of wife battering.
There are two main types of survival techniques that will be addressed in this study: The psychological techniques and management of suffering techniques.

a) The psychological coping mechanisms
Walker describes denial and other forms of psychological sequelae that constitute the battered woman syndrome as survival techniques in situations that are filled with violence (Walker in Hansen, 1993). The victim denies the injury which she has experienced and attributes blame to forces outside the control of both the batterer and the recipient. The victim also blames herself for not being able to modify the occurrence of the abuse or for tolerating the abuse.

Finally, the victim denies emotional and practical options and this allows her to maintain the illusion that she is still in control of her life and to believe that “A just world exists” in which people get what they deserve and bad things happen to bad people. Unfortunately her perception of control often serves to keep her in her abusive situation frustrating the efforts of those who would encourage her to leave.

Psychological control
Battered women protect themselves against more beatings by developing heightened sensitivity to the batterer’s emotional cues and placating them to forestall more violent episodes (Walker, 1994). This form of psychological control is of benefit to the batterer who simultaneously views the woman as being suggestible to outside influence. The batterer thus fears the outside person who might minimize the batterer’s influence and control over the woman’s life. For this reason, he keeps her socially isolated as much as he can; his psychological control over her is powerful.

To survive violence, most women repress their anger, that is, turn their anger inward rather than direct it outward to the batterer causing more violence (Walker, 1984). The anger turned inward results into depression, grossly disturbed self-image, alcoholism and suicidality.
b) The second type of techniques: the management of suffering

In the management of suffering, women may use a variety of seemingly contradictory ways to assert more control over their lives. They may conceal distrust with passivity and aggressiveness with servility (Green, 1999). The survival strategies under management of suffering are often preferred because they are not likely to put women in direct confrontation with men. Women may not accept men’s authority but choose not to confront it either; they may prefer instead to simply evade it. According to the analysts of the management of suffering strategies, women may change their situation through the use of seemingly non-confrontational and non-threatening approaches. Under this approach, there are many several techniques:

1) Transactional manipulation

This is a type of management of suffering that evolved out of traditions of women’s autonomy and the performance of sex roles. In Cameroon women use their effective power over reproduction and food production to gain an upper hand or force compliance from men not only through the use of pressure or coercion but also by praising the virtues and powers of motherhood and food production. Mothers and widows’ movements in Kenya, Mauritania and other countries around the world have used the same strategies. As a strategy of disengagement, transactional manipulation involves an orchestration of traditional values. A good example is Uganda where women have engaged in this process of the obedient woman to their benefit. While not always successful, women are able to capitalize on the traditional virtues of submission and service because it allows men to think that they are in control. It works because it allows men to save face. Through such manipulation a woman may be exercising power as long as she allows the man to play the dominant role in public (Obbo in Green, 1999).

2) The use of irony, satire and humour

This strategy centres on the management of information as a source of informal power. In societies where a predominant set of values, patriarchy, is more or less imposed by those in power, a conflict set of values; femaleness, often serves as a counterpoint forming a basis of consensus among repressed groups.

Another form of management of information is “scheming” or “gossip” or a “a nagging argument.” “Gossip” is a way of informing the group what offences have been
committed. It is often communicated in ways that are meant to raise emotion and cause action. This is a technique used very frequently in Kenya by the Pokots as a corrective measure to male behaviour. A nagging argument is basically a tongue-lashing that may be administered face-to-face or indirectly by means of gossip. The nagging argument allows women to pass complaints about a husband to neighbours and friends. By the time the accusations are finally heard by the husband himself, the original complaint is often vividly and maliciously distorted. This is an effective instrument because through it women are able to exercise a good deal of influence over men’s decisions through the subtle manipulation of opinion and by creating rumours that will damage reputations or cause men to ‘lose face’ (Lamphere, 1994 in Green, 1999).

3) Negative activity
This is a form of management of suffering accessible to even the most subordinate groups. It is an apparent passivity or feigned “laziness.” It is a form of resistance where all other forms of protest are blocked by severe sanctions like non-participation, withdrawal or simply “Not doing things” and may include refusing to cook, refusing sexual intercourse or withdrawing domestic labour. This form of resistance is documented in societies in every region of the world. To be successful as a strategy, negative activity must be carefully calibrated to avoid confrontation and total breakdown.

4) Insulation
When a woman pursues a strategy of insulation she turns inward to family or friends as an alternative way of regaining recognition, power and resources. Other ways in which women insulate themselves and avoid utilizing the ‘modern’ legal system is through their reliance on traditional arbitration, secret societies and kin supports.

(a) Traditional arbitration
In order to create and maintain peaceful relationships between kin groups African societies have developed norms and practices concerning issues such as marriage, age at marriage, possible partners, status of married women, family membership of children, rape, legitimate use of force within the family and many others (Green, 1995).

(b) Another form of insulation involves turning away from formal governmental structures and utilizing the traditional protections offered by support systems and networks. Both kin and non-kin networks serve this purpose. The kin systems would
include mother-in-law, sisters-in-law, close family relatives or generally the extended family.

5) Non kin networks
Another way in which many women have improved their status especially in West Africa has been to create extensive networks outside the conjugal unit and across kin groups. Formal organizations give women experience and allow their participation in decision making. One such good example in Kenya is the organization known as Maendeleo ya Wanawake.

6) Collective action
Another strategy of collective action occurs when women work as a group to confront authority. Women may confront authority to resist its growth or to demand adherence to norms of behaviour. Through collective action many associations facilitate the use and magnify the effectiveness of not only "ordinary weapons" of every day living but some extra ordinary ones as well. Often women's organizations as a whole define appropriate gender relations based on understanding of a desired social order. Women's organizations have at their service variety of sanctioning procedures. Collective action is highly effective political weapon that can take a number of forms. These sanctions are not taken lightly by the community; they are undertaken to protect not only women's interests but to promote the social order.

7) Escape
This is perhaps the most extreme form of resistance; examples include women committing suicide, spousal murder, divorce and others. For a variety of reasons suicide is considered a terrible act that shames the surviving spouse and his relatives. Rather than bear this burden, husbands are often willing to alter their behaviour when threatened with suicide by their wives (Edgerton & Conant (1964) in Green, 1995).

8) Run aways
Running away is often dismissed as a limited form of resistance. Running away has a long history in much of Africa. Colonial histories record cases of women who took flight from forced marriages, child betrothals, physical violence and mistreatment. Wife beating was commonly claimed as a motivating factor for run aways and divorce in
colonial Africa. For many women, running away had to be and continues to be preferable to divorce.

Another type of run away is the wife who wishes to express her dissatisfaction with the marriage by threatening to leave temporarily or by initiating separation. Much remains to be learned, but research reveals that where escape or divorce is recognized as a feasible alternative to wifehood, there has been some impact on husband’s treatment of their wives.

**Conclusion**

Some of the points of resistance described here are more successful than others. Some of them have traditional roots while others exist as alternatives to the formal legal systems: Civil, religious or customary that too often offer little recourse for women.

Many of the approaches described here are invisible in that they are based on informal sources of power. Many of the coping mechanisms described here embrace the traditionally defined female role. Whether it involves physical struggle, verbal challenge or a refusal to be controlled, resistance is a strategy that denies the abusive man certain forms of power over the woman.

**2.7: Some corresponding strategies to deal with wife battering today**

Several authors in the area of domestic violence have come up with many intervention strategies that can be used to help curb wife battering in the world today. These strategies exist at family, community, media, clinical/medical and legal levels (Lee, 1990).

(a) **Community or national level**

Community level encompasses many areas like the church, the government bodies as well as Ministry of Culture, Social Services and Home Affairs. The greatest need at community level is a Cultural Revolution of attitudes and values to eradicate wife abuse and to create awareness through innovative public education. It is necessary to help the offender to understand present and socio-historical context and its impact on the family after which it is important to help him with conflict resolution. Efforts need to be put to examine and change related belief systems concerning power and control. Education may clearly communicate the criminal nature of domestic assault (Daughters of St. Paul, 1997).
Violence begins with nuclear families, that is why first and far most, interventions to the problem need to address the family; this confirms the saying that charity begins at home. If all our families would be violence free our nation would be violence free too. Education about the needs of the woman should be learnt and practiced at family level, community level and at societal level. This is easily done when children vicariously learn from the way their parents live by loving and appreciating each without violence in their relationship. Parents should settle their differences outside the presence of their children and without violence and start educating their sons to live in partnership with their sisters; if they grow up in a home full of respect for their sisters, they later treat their wives and other women with respect (ECA-WIDNET, 1997).

Writing on the issue of strategies to deal with wife battering, the women theologians (Daughters of St. Paul, 1997) suggested that families need to be made aware of situations that promote violence and how to avoid them. All efforts would then be geared towards promoting family values of love, sharing, tolerance, peace, honesty, fidelity, justice, compassion and prayer. Every member of the family must take it upon him/herself to bring peace and justice in the family for peace is a group effort.

Dutton (1992) strongly felt that in order to heal the battered woman there is need to use mature and experienced consultants and resource persons to help families in need during family therapy sessions; in these sessions open dialogue and negotiation are encouraged among the members of the family. In that kind of an atmosphere, couples talk to understand and empathize with each other. She further observed that, dialogue becomes easier when a couple or a family shares leisure time activities and pools their resources together in managing their households. In those sessions, clarification and acceptance of differences are made, ways to promote mutual growth and ways to end unhealthy relationships discussed. Couple therapy is in general a more powerful form of intervention than individual therapy for relationship-based problems cannot be undertaken unless the batterer makes a significant individual change first since it is normally the men who batter most and they also dominate in most societies.
Creating Public awareness through innovative public education

1) Education within the religious circles

In their discussion concerning the Church theology, the women theologians (Daughters of St. Paul, 1997) observed that some of the historical context of Pauline position on women only applied to their times and not modern society. The church must therefore update its theology on marriage and the recommendation is that divorce must enter canonical law in cases of severe abuse or life threatening abuse.

The theologians also felt that the Church needs to address the issue of domestic violence by talking about the taboo in prayer meetings, sermons, seminars and even during Sunday school lessons. Pastors should pray for homes where women and children are abused at the end of every service. Praying about this issue makes the church members be familiar with the word 'battered women' and stop being afraid of it. It also makes the victim think that the pastor is aware of it and so she can go and talk to the pastor about it. These small steps help raise the level of awareness of the issue in the congregation and may be impetus for a practical ministry to abused women and their families.

Announcements can be made from the pulpit about agencies, Non-governmental organizations, hospitals that deal with domestic violence and even the battered women shelters that are available for the abusers and victims.

Alsduf (1989) expressed the need for pastors to have the compassion of looking for the tell tale signs of abuse among churchgoers and be aware of 'Too good to be couples'. Chances are that they are simply not true! Other indicators could be like frequent church hoping, intermittent attendance, inappropriate outbursts of anger by the husband, very 'private' couples who keep to themselves and rarely socialize or interact individually with church, friends or even relatives. They limit visits or even phone calls with close friends or even relatives. Because of her husband's jealousy she may be prohibited from entertaining visitors in her home. Networks are such that wife and children cannot even have friends; even the batterer himself is an 'Island'.

The Church needs to acknowledge wife beating as sin (Psalms 73: 6-9 in the Holy Bible, NIV 1984). To do this often requires appropriation of church discipline e.g. The abuser should be dismissed from church or even any leadership of church like teaching Sunday
school or even participating in the holy communion (1 Timothy 3:3 in the Holy Bible, NIV 1984).

Alsdurf (1989) felt that pastors need to have professional counselling skills to counsel with the abused women and also have knowledge of local laws or awareness of social resources required to effectively deal with abused women. This would enable pastors acquire psychological training which they need to counsel the battered women. Pastors need to also know that the 'normal' marriage counselling is not going to do the trick! Because of sin and lack of inner healing, there are going to be marriages that do not go by the book.

The courses in pastoral counselling need to deal with assault, incest and rape. Since fewer cases than 10% of the counselling problems are spiritual in nature, the clergy need to refer some of the cases to specialized Mental Health resources.

Some pastors shy off from the topic simply because the batterer will turn violent and intimidate them. The church should acknowledge, identify and speak out about the problem of violence against women and by all means enter the fight for equality. It should also denounce all forms of violence against women as injustice and human rights abuse. The modern church has a responsibility to challenge the theology of 'sacrifice and suffering' presented to women. It should help women become aware of their human and Christian dignity; help them to be confident and hopeful. It needs also to identify with all existing programmes that fight injustices against women and open centres for support and counselling. The church should also start its own structures to help women and also remind the followers about issues of morality so that sexual abuse may be minimized and stopped.

2) Counselling

Alvin Rosenfield and Eli Newberger (1977) (in Schuler, 1992) advocated for a compassionate intervention that focuses on mediation, education, training and treatment. The agent of social control who applies a compassionate intervention is directed to approach each case with understanding and non-punitive outlook. Outcomes of intervention are thought to be change of attitude, improved skills for coping with stress and ultimately, the cessation of wife battering. The underlying philosophy is humane
towards both victim and the abuser (Hampton, 1999). In counselling with the battered women, it is probably wise to heed to compassionate model and combine both compassion and control for effective treatment resulting from the fact that a survivor can take control of her life.

Experts who have knowledge in domestic violence should be the only ones allowed to counsel in domestic violence. The counsellors should understand the dynamics of domestic violence and so should not blame the victim for the abuse but rather put the responsibility for violence solely where it belongs; with the batterer. The counsellor should clearly give the victim a clear message that she does not deserve to be battered no matter what. Physical battering is a crime that should be reported to the police.

a) Court counselling
This should focus on the education of the batterer to help him recognize his abusive behaviour, recognize his own emotional responses and connection to the abusive behaviour and learn new behaviour.

b) Church counselling
There should be education within the church about the problem of wife abuse, which is preventive in nature. This can be done in form of youth counselling; as the youth form their attitudes towards the structure of male-female relationships. The content should include who makes decisions, how they are made, what rights they have within relationships and what is allowed by each sex within a relationship. Sunday school classes should include patterns of communication within male-female relationships, conflict resolutions and challenge them to define what assumptions are about interactions. In particular, girls need to be encouraged to trust their decisions and value their own perceptions (AACC, 2003)

Early intervention for relationship violence could be carried out within counselling programmes whereby earlier on in the relationship, there is more potential for conjoint efforts to interrupt coercive cycles, improve communication patterns, increase mutual trust and promote equality.
Premarital programmes should be set up to improve communication and problem solving, clarifying expectations and promote satisfying activities that can significantly affect the quality of marriage several years later (Kaplan & Sandra, 1995).

3) **Government Bodies**

In Kenya, four departments of central government are the main institutions which deal with violence against women: The provincial administration through the chiefs' office, Ministry of Health through the various health service providers, the Kenya police force in various police stations and posts and the judicial system through the courts. These institutions are weak and hardly satisfy the tasks they are charged with. It is necessary therefore, that all those handling cases on violence against women (Policemen & women, provincial administration personnel, probation officers, social workers and medical officers) be trained on gender issues and how to handle cases of violence (FIDA, 1999).

The government in collaboration with Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) focusing on gender should conduct education in schools, churches, public barazas among others; this will not only expose the issue but will also encourage women to report violence and do follow up cases of violence.

The content of education would be on Socio-cultural education and the role of boys and girls, re-education of parents to facilitate upbringing of knowledgeable and gender sensitive children, empowerment of women in all aspects of social life, proper training on the rights of each gender within society and establishment of family courts to help settle domestic violence disputes. The staff in these specialized agencies and organizations should receive specialized training on the dynamics of gender violence.

Through the Ministry of Sports, Culture and Social services, the government can effectively address the social problems and the consequences of family violence substantially and realistically, however, efforts toward a social structural assessment of the problem and toward increase in the battered woman’s social status and power are necessary. The social structural constrains like obtaining adequate housing, childcare, economic sufficiency, protection, employment and support must be relaxed; the attitudes, thinking, actions and resources of the social system must be mobilized to alter the position many women find themselves in. The government together with the NGOs
should establish drop-in centres for women victims of domestic violence as well as encourage women to set up income generating projects or informal self-help groups (merry-go-rounds) to facilitate income generating activities or take care of any dire needs. They could also help victims of wife battering to start support groups after training them to understand that wife abuse is not a private issue. In order to do this the government would have to pump in a lot of money towards women affairs.

4) Media
The All Africa Congress of Churches (2003) found out that media plays a major role in breaking down stereotypes and negative attitudes towards women and need therefore give appropriate coverage to domestic violence and other forms of violence perpetrated against women. Efforts need to be made to examine and change related belief systems concerning power and control. Education may clearly communicate the criminal nature of domestic assault. Media campaigns can greatly increase public awareness. Other activities that would help promote public awareness are like producing posters, brochures, T-shirts, leaflets, newsletters, and other publicity materials with information on domestic violence, speaking about domestic violence on every available forum, observing regular events or activities to promote a non violent culture and using domestic violence survivors in campaigns to overcome domestic violence. The survivors would be requested to share their experiences.

5) Medical
Intense family violence nearly always involves serious and strong emotional reactions. Long standing battering situations often produce clinical levels of depression, low self-esteem concept, anger and other underlying problems that require the understanding and the skills of capable clinicians. Clinical intervention when coupled with systematic intervention often can move individuals swiftly towards regaining stability.

Hospitals and medical personnel play an important role in recognizing, reporting and treating victims. Although health care professionals frequently see cases of family violence, it is widely known that the abuse is often ignored or minimized, especially for women; the victims are normally made into scapegoats and never believed. Depending on perception and medical specialty, many medical personnel tend to focus on the injury itself while ignoring the process and circumstances that produced it. Healthcare
personnel should learn to identify battered women and intervene on their behalf. We cannot, however, automatically assume that the presentation of information to health care personnel will lead to completed interventions. Health care personnel, like other professionals in the field, often give conditional responses to victims. Staff members are less responsive to women with discrediting attributes than other patients. Sometimes they do not respond because they feel they do not have the time for interventions and often prefer to give priority to other cases. Occasionally too, they do not regard responding to battered women as a central part of their medical role. Women should however be open to doctors instead of lying about their injuries like most of them do. Doctors should routinely screen all women for domestic violence so as to identify them for intervention (Salber & Taliaferro, 1995).

6) Legal

Under legal interventions we have enforcement of law which is mainly carried out by police judiciary as well as agencies that deal with domestic violence and human rights. Police under control is a model based on the assumption that deviant behaviour is controlled when punishment is both certain and severe. Individuals in effect are coerced, threatened and sanctioned into conformity both formally and informally. The control model involves aggressive use of intervention to limit and if, necessary, punish the perpetrator. Abusers are held accountable for their actions; arrest, sentencing and criminal prosecution of the aggressor are among the preferred options. Thus threat of arrest and public exposure as a wife beater might deter potentially violent men from abusing their wives.

Police need to recognize battering as a criminal activity and become actively involved in punishing perpetrators of domestic violence. In general, police respond to domestic violence reluctantly often fearing that the violence will be redirected toward them. Although arresting the perpetrator was the response preferred by many law enforcing agencies in the early 1980s, recent evidence sheds new light on this type of intervention; arrests lead to subsequent assaults among unemployed suspects; it appears to have a deterrent effect among employed suspects though. Arrest as an intervention does not give uniform results. In some cases it can produce unintended negative consequences for victims. Consequently, this intervention is conditional and limited as in the case of medical professionals.
If friendly special private desks were created within police stations as well as police posts they would allow women to report violence in privacy and without fear. These desks would be charged with directly linking victims of violence to the right medical personnel and subsequent follow up and would not attempt to arbitrate. Cases of violence would properly be investigated before being filed and once filed would not be withdrawn. All these work could be made much easier if police were retrained to also look at their roles as counsellors do (FIDA, 1999) so as to provide legal counselling to survivors of domestic violence as well as letting them know legal options that are available for them.

When a husband beats or threatens the wife, he commits a criminal offence. Under the penal code, wife beating is outlawed in all forms, from subtle molestation to serious mutilation. For instance section 238 of the code states that, “Any person who intimidates or molests any other person is guilty of an offence and is liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three years.” The provisions of sections 238 are of particular relevance in many matrimonial circumstances. It is with intimidation and molestation that chronic gender violence begins. A common assault like a shove, a slap or tempered blow could be punished with life and corporal punishment. This can be done through civic actions which require that victims of domestic violence obtain either temporary or permanent protective orders which prohibit contact by the perpetrator and the victim and sometimes even the children as well as other family members. All the agencies that deal with violence against women can help victims deal with the process of obtaining the orders. It must be emphasized however, that, if a perpetrator is determined to harm the victim, the restraining orders may not offer any protection (Salber et. al. 1995).

What the victims need to do is report the matter to the police. Sometimes the police may decline to intervene arguing that they should stay out of family quarrels or trivializing the injuries. The law says that the police must help. Police must arrest the abuser and charge them in court. If the husband is the abuser, the wife has to be ready to stand in court as a witness and if she declines, the case will be dismissed.

It may be worthwhile for the wife to leave the house pending the finalization of the case. If the two parties in domestic violence reconcile, it is possible for the criminal charges to be withdrawn. Should the case proceed, it is up to the magistrate to decide if the abuser is
guilty or not guilty to determine the punishment. The options available for the battered woman are:

i. Seek a restraining order
The survivor may go to a magistrate court and seek a binding order directing the abuser to stop beatings or threats. The survivor will be required to sign an affidavit stating what has happened and the basis of fear of subsequent beatings. Summons will be issued, to the abuser to go to court on a particular day. The magistrate will listen to both before issuing a restraining order. If the husband beats the wife after the restraining order has been issued, he commits an offence and he can be jailed.

ii. Obtaining judicial separation
The survivor can obtain this whether marriage is customary or statutory. A judicial separation means that the court gives the survivor permission to live away from her spouse. Where the abuser is the husband, the court can order him to pay maintenance money to the survivor and the children and order him to leave the house. It is possible to separate from the abuser informally but a judicial separation is better because the abusers become legally precluded from the spouse’s house.

iii. Obtain Divorce
In customary and statutory marriages, divorce is not allowed on the grounds of violence. The reason for seeking divorce has to be given and proved. At the time of granting divorce, issues of the custody of children and division of property should be raised.

For any of these interventions, there is a prize to pay! There are consequences that impact negatively on the nuclear family. If an abuser is arrested by police, charged, tried, convicted and imprisoned, the family suffers in way of surviving. If survivor decides to go for divorce, then her social status as a woman is negatively affected. Yet survivors of domestic violence must take a step if violence is to be eradicated. This study takes the stand that, other alternative intervention strategies should be engaged other than the legal options. Legal options should only be used as a last resort when everything else fails because such actions normally breed fear, hatred and wounds that never heal in a marriage. Women should not feel guilty though, when they decide to take such actions
for no one has the right to beat or threaten another. The survivors should feel they have control of their lives (KHRC, 1999).

7) **Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) / Agencies**

There are many non-governmental bodies that deal with gender and the rights of women as human beings. Just to mention but a few, we have: UNIFEM, UNDP, UNFPA, Kenya Anti Rape Organization, Women’s Rights Awareness Programme (WRAP), Coalition of violence Against Women, Maendeleo ya Wanawake, CREAW etc. All these agencies focus on violence against women, law reforms and human rights, advocacy etc.; they carry out political lobbying by making allies with influential figures in the government. Other agencies and politics should shift control measures from victims to exploiters. They also carry out education programmes to educate women on their rights and sensitizing the women to voice their plight and make the issue of wife battering public and not private. These agencies also offer legal services to victims of domestic violence and help the victims follow up their cases in court concerning criminal actions such as assault, battery, aggravated assault, harassment, intimidation, stalking or attempted murder.
2.8: The Theoretical Framework

Several psychosocial and sociological theories have attempted to explain the violent family. Sociological theories describe violence as occurring because of cultural norms that permit, and, in some sub-groups, encourage violent behaviour and because of the very nature of the family itself, which is conflict ridden and has high potential for violence (Hansen & Harway, 1993). This study will apply three of those theories namely: The Feminist Approach (Theory), the Social Learning Theory and Survivor Theory.

2.8.1: The Feminist Approach

The Feminist Approach suggests that male striving for control and dominance, coupled with a need to demonstrate power is seen as the root cause of wife-battering (Campbell in Ammerman et. al. 1989). He has also proposed that in times of social change (which result to social stress such as joblessness), when sex roles are not clear, men are more likely to use violence to keep women in their place i.e. in submission and subordination of male authority. As the family systems theorists would argue, men find this violence needful so as to reestablish the equilibrium in the relationship; a need that results from the partner’s complimentary needs to maintain homeostatic patterns. This view by the Feminist theorists is well supported by the Structural theorists who stated the source of violence as stress, frustration and deprivation resulting from economic crises.

The structural theorists further explain that people with fewer resources relative to other members of society are known to experience higher levels of frustration and stress. They also have fewer materials, emotional, psychological and social resources to cope adequately. Frustration from material deprivation may result in physical wife abuse because the husband is limited in his ability to provide for his family and meet normative expectations with poverty or unemployment. Hence one would expect greater prevalence among the poor, in large families and in crowded suburbs.

The second view held by the Feminist theorists is that, the patriarchal nature of our society leads men to expect to dominate and control women. Historically women have often been treated as if they were property of men; for men to do whatever they pleased with them. For centuries wife battering was not illegal. In support of feminist approach, research indicates that battering is likely to occur when men’s power or dominance in the family is threatened. The research findings show that battered women often come from
higher social class and educational backgrounds than their husbands. This may often lead to frustration and aggression on the part of the husbands since they fail to achieve a goal that should actually be within their grasp; this is more so when husbands interprete these differences in relative status as a ticket to their dominance or superiority. As a result tension builds up and finds a vent in form of violence, that is, anger, verbal abuse etc. Also the extreme sexual jealousy of abusive husbands suggests that they think of their wives as possessions.

The third important view held by Feminist theorists is that traditional gender role socialization encouraging aggressiveness, competitiveness and male superiority promotes wife battering. By the time boys enter school, they have learned to use direct, often physically aggressive means of solving their problems. Girls have learned that such displays will not be tolerated. As a result, girls have to learn more subtle, indirect ways of coping with aversive situations. Girls are more likely than boys to be taught empathy, or putting oneself into the other person’s place and imagining how he or she might feel.

2.8.2: The Social Learning theory

The Social Learning theory placed greater emphasis on external environmental cues, responses and rewards as elicitors of aggression than it did on drive factors; in addition to or instead of innate or primary drives. Bandura (1973) proposed that aggressive behavior is learned and maintained through environmental experiences either directly or vicariously, and that, learning of aggression is controlled by reinforcement contingencies and punishments in a fashion similar to the learning of any new behavior. For instance, these behaviours may be acquired when an individual attempts a new behavior and is rewarded with positive outcome.

New behaviours will be avoided in the future if those behaviours are punished. This is a view that is well supported by social exchange theorists as well as the theorists of socialization. Together they agree that; parents as socialization agents can encourage appropriate behavior or discourage an unacceptable behavior; this they do by suggesting through remarks, that aggression is an effective and an acceptable way to behave.

Social Learning theory holds that new behaviours may also be acquired vicariously by watching an influential role-model engage in an action which has positive consequences.
and imitate and model the same. Research done by Bandura and Ross in 1973 suggests that parents who beat their children or spouses may be "training" aggression in the children. They provide an aversive, distressing environment. They also show the child that physical violence is a normal, acceptable way of dealing with life's inevitable problems. Bandura (1973) points out that, according to social learning model, aggression is usually seen as being controlled by positive reinforcement in contrast from a drive model perspective which sees aggression as usually mediated by negative reinforcement or the escape from an aversive situation. Gelles (1979) in Hansen & Harway, 1993) reported that women who grow up in violent homes learn to accept or tolerate violence and to expect it in their own adult relationships. In fact, findings of extreme violence in the parental homes of battered women are common. The stand taken by Gelles(1979) is arguable since this is not always the case. The battering at the parental home has left a scar on some children that they never allow their spouses to batter them in their adult life thus breaking the cycle of violence.

2.8.3: The survivor Theory
Contrary to the learned helplessness hypothesis (Walker, 1994) is the view of women as survivors who actively work to protect their safety and the safety of their families. This hypothesis (Bowker, 1993 in Hampton, 1999) views the battered woman as an active survivor rather than a helpless victim. Many battered women remain in abusive situations due to not to passivity but to repeated unsuccessful attempts to escape. These women increase their help-seeking efforts in face of increased violence. They try in a logical, consistent way to assure themselves and their children protection and survival. Such efforts supersede fear, giving up, depression, or the passivity of the learned helplessness state. The surviving battered woman is heroic, assertive, and persistent (Gondolf & Fisher, 1988 in Walker, 1994). She fails at these attempts not because she is unsuccessful, but because the systems fail her.

The fact that battered women seek help is well supported by many researchers among them FIDA (K), (2002). In a report of a Baseline survey on domestic violence in Kenya, out of 1,067 women interviewed, the survey revealed that generally victims of domestic violence do not report the violence. Of the women who reported current or lifetime positive history of violence, only 44 percent reported the matter to someone, with majority, 51 percent reporting the violence to relatives. Other people to whom the
violence was reported included friends, the chief, the police and the doctor in that order. An overwhelming 60 percent of those who reported did it simply to share the problem with someone else. Those who reported because they needed protection, counselling or because they wanted their partner punished were 18, 13 and 5 percent respectively. Several reasons were given for not reporting the violence: 19% said it was part of marriage, 16% said it was accepted in their community, 16% felt that they would not get help even if they reported, 13% said it was a minor problem, 8% said they deserved it because they were wrong, 8% said they did not want to complicate the problem, 8% said they had solved the problem, 7% did not indicate reasons, 5% said there was no need, 4% said they feared that they might get more abuse, 2% feared the shame and 1% forgave their abusers.

Despite having a history of continued domestic violence, 75% of the women were still staying with the abusive partners; with over a third of them hoping that their partners would change at some point. Little did these women know that violence in marriage rarely stops once it starts. After talking with many women concerning relationships between men and women, Lenore Walker found out that there is a distinct cycle of violence that many couples experience. Understanding the cycle theory of violence helps us understand why battered women behave the way they do when confronted with a partner's violence. This cycle has three phases (Sonkin & Durphy, 1994).

**Phase 1: The tension Building Stage**

During this stage there is tension which may be a result of constant arguing or giving each other the silent treatment, or a combination of both. Sometimes there is minor violence. This stage can last anywhere from days to years. A woman is usually aware when tension is building up between her and her partner.

When a woman has been battered, she may be even more sensitive to this tension because she is afraid of “doing the wrong thing.” She will try to control the environment so that he does not become violent. Her fear of his violence may make her more quiet than usual, or more compliant. She may even become more nervous and agitated herself. This tension builds and builds to the point of explosion.
Phase 2: Acute Battering Stage

This stage is what we read about in newspapers or police reports. The violence may be punching, kicking, slapping, biting, choking, pushing, broken arms and noses, black eyes or assaults with weapons. The stage can last anywhere from a few minutes to days. The violence stops either because the woman leaves, the police are called, the man realizes what he is doing is wrong or someone needs to be taken to hospital. After the violence the woman might be feeling any number of intense feelings. She may also initially be in shock and feel numb. Later as she comes to her senses she is aware of her fear, anger and feelings of helplessness. Many women think about leaving, and some do leave. Some women feel so helpless about escaping the batterer’s violence that they may protect themselves by using deadly force. Fortunately, more and more women find relief through criminal courts and by using separation and divorce, rather than risking their own freedom by taking law into their hands.

Phase 3: Honeymoon or Sorrow (The Calm/ Loving/ Respite or contrition Stage)

During this stage, the man is usually sorry for what he has done. He is very apologetic. He will buy her flowers and presents, promise her it will not happen again sometimes even beg for forgiveness. The woman usually does forgive because she wants to believe that it will never happen again but she knows it will. Understanding the cycle of violence helps us to answer the question—" Why do women stay?" It is this third stage that keeps women from leaving. It is during this time that she feels his love most intensely. There is a very thin line between love and guilt! The man can be very convincing that he will change and never hit her again. This is the man she married and the man she loves to experience. This occasional reinforcement can be a powerful pull for a woman who is afraid of being by herself, admitting failure in her relationship, who fears she does not have employable skills etc. This stage eventually fades and the tension slowly builds again.

There are three important characteristics of this cycle. First, the more times it is completed, the less time it takes to complete. For example, early in the relationship it may have taken a year or two to go through all three stages; now, ten years later, it takes only a month to complete all three phases. It increases in frequency. Second, the longer the cycle goes uninterrupted, the worse the violence gets. For example, early in the relationship the violence consisted of slapping and pushing; now, ten years later, it has
become broken bones or assault with weapons. Third, the longer the cycle goes uninterrupted, the shorter the third stage becomes.

2.8.4: Research Hypotheses
This study was guided by the following hypotheses:

i. There is a significant relationship between socio-cultural beliefs of the victim and her awareness of being in a relationship where she is being battered.

ii. Wife-battering adversely affects the functioning of a nuclear family.

iii. The nature of survival techniques sought as a result of wife battering is likely to be influenced by the socio-economic status of the victim.

iv. More battered women would seek help if they were aware of the existing intervention strategies of redressing wife battering.
2.8.5: Operationalization of study variables and measurement of indicators

This section will deal with common terms as used according to relevance in this study; these terms and concepts are as follows:

**Wife battering** will refer to wife beating and any other bodily harm that may be caused to the victims physically. This will be measured by the batterer throwing things at the victim, pushing, shoving, grabbing, slapping with an open hand, kicking or biting, hitting with closed fists, attempted strangulation or just beating up.

**Nuclear family** will mean men (husbands), any women (wives) or any children who might have suffered as a consequence of physical wife abuse/ wife battering in their original nuclear families. They need not be staying in their nuclear families currently perhaps because of separations, death or divorce. The point of emphasis here is that, the study will not focus on individual nuclear families but any member who originates from a nuclear family.

**Survival techniques** are ways, methods or strategies that battered women employ in order to deter or lessen the battering; they are coping mechanisms. This will be measured by any attempt by the victim to seek help from community, friends, church, relatives, colleagues, neighbours, professionals like doctors or counsellors etc. in redressing her situation. It will also be measured by how the victim reacts to incidences of battering like whether she hits back or passively accepts the beating.

**Functioning of a nuclear family** means that a family grows and develops together physically, emotionally, spiritually, socially and materially in an environment of peace, love, respect and unity. The parents are also able to bring up responsible children who in turn become responsible citizens.

This variable will be well indicated if the nuclear family shares same residence as well as resources, love and communication among family members, children are disciplined and well behaved, reproduction and socialization of new members take place as far as is agreeable to both the husband and wife, members of the nuclear family are independent thinkers who can make independent decisions, consultation exists on all matters that affect every member in the nuclear family, the family has time to be together e.g. during
family alters, outings and finally if no beating or any kind of abuse takes place in the nuclear family.

**Socio-cultural beliefs** include both the traditional and current beliefs and practices related to way of life, religion, marriage and socially instituted values. The following indicators will prove the existence of socio-cultural factors: If customarily people believe and accept wife battering in the community, if a wife is regarded as property of man, the belief that a woman should endure all things in marriage and not leave her husband at any cost, if women are held responsible for family break ups, if women are considered inferior to men thus expected to always be passive and submissive. The study takes into consideration that most of these beliefs are commonly held by most ethnic groups in Kenya.

**Awareness of being in a relationship where she is being battered:**
This means the victim having knowledge that she is being abused but she has a right not to be abused but to be respected. It is also the awareness that she can protect herself against being battered and if battered knowing the options available for her in redressing the issue. The following indicators will help determine the victims’ awareness of violence: Whether she knows her rights, first as a human being and then as a woman, whether she knows that no one has a right to beat her and that wife beating is a punishable crime, whether she knows that she has to voice her plight as a woman in order to get help and whether she knows that there is help available all round in the church, at the hospitals when talking to a doctor who treats her as result of injuries resulting from wife beating, with the Chiefs and also with many agencies and Non-governmental organizations set up to deal with domestic violence.

**Socio-economic status** means the social position or rank determined by material resources in relation to others. This will be indicated by lack of income or too little income on either side of the woman or man, whether victim is free to spend her money the way she wants, whether the victim has a bank account of her own, whether both the husband and the wife contribute to the running of the house etc. It will include level of education, religious affiliation and marital status.
Victim/Battered woman will mean any wife that has either been physically abused or threatened with harm in her present or past marriage.

Level of education will be measured by highest level of education achieved.

Religious affiliation will be indicated by the denomination one belongs to.

Marital status will be indicated by whether one is married, divorced, widowed or separated.
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1: Introduction

This chapter specifically deals with the methodological aspects of the study. It outlines the areas where research was conducted, how data was collected, analyzed and presented. In this study, both quantitative and qualitative data were used. Research instruments in this study comprised of questionnaires comprising of both structured and unstructured questions, in-depth interview schedules, two focus group discussions and direct observation to observe how people react to wife battering.

3.2: Research site description

Field research was done in Nairobi; the capital city of Kenya and one of the eight administrative provinces in Kenya. As a capital city, Nairobi is highly cosmopolitan. It was purposively selected because it hosts and is also the headquarters of the many agencies and organizations that deal with domestic violence. Just to mention but a few, the agencies are: The UN with its many branches like UNIFEM, FIDA (K) WRAP, CREA W, GVRC and Maendeleo ya Wanawake.

Nairobi was also selected because it is also the home of most media stations that are very valuable when it comes to sensitization of women on violence against women namely KBC, KTN, Nation TV, Radio Citizen, Kiss 100, Family TV, Kameme etc. Generally all the electronic media together with the newspapers have their headquarters in Nairobi. It therefore becomes very advantageous in the sense that public awareness can easily be created in Nairobi than from any other place in the country.

The third reason for choosing Nairobi was that the researcher lives and works in Nairobi. It was obviously very convenient to visit the areas to be covered in terms of time, cost as well as accessibility while yielding very representative data at the same time.

The mentioned factors were of great benefit to this study that craved to establish the extent of the impact that wife battering might have had on the nuclear family. Since Nairobi is very big, it was not possible for the researcher to go to every part but only to areas where battered women could be found seeking help of some kind. Such places
were Kayole Street Families' Rehabilitation Centre (KSFRC), Women Fighting Aids in Kenya (WOFAK)-(Kayole Drop-in Centre), Federation of Women Lawyers; the Kenya Chapter (FIDA (K), Women's Rights Awareness Program (WRAP), Coalition On Violence Against Women-Kenya (COVAW (K), Centre for the Rehabilitation & Education of Abused Women (CREAW), Gender Violence Recovery Centre (GVRC), Mathare Community Outreach (MCO), Jamii Bora Society (Mathare) and a few women were just found 'outside there'; they were not from any institution. For a detailed description of the agencies where research was carried out, please refer to appendix 6 attached at the back of this paper.

3.3: Target population
This consisted of women who had experienced or were still experiencing physical battering in their marriages. As mentioned earlier under the scope of the study, the focus of this study was women and so these experiences were derived from the women's point of view.

The study area and locations provided an ideal setting since they were places where women went to seek help of some kind. The researcher had to introduce herself, the topic and the purpose of the study to the key informants. She then made a request to the key informants to help her identify the respondents through their files based on the previous cases of physical wife battering dealt with. The identified women went to the interview room to meet the researcher. The researcher however had to seek consent from a respondent before interviewing her. This implied that all the women interviewed were willing to participate in the survey. A respondent had the right to accept or decline from being interviewed. In case a respondent declined, the researcher was courteous enough to say 'thank you' then let go. Simply put for a woman to qualify to be interviewed, she had to:

i. Be married or had been married at one time.
ii. Have been beaten by her husband during marriage.
iii. Have had children in her marriage.

The researcher got these women through centres that cater for battered women and their children, centres where women go to seek help of some kind and through friends who
knew women who were being battered and who did not mind being interviewed. It should be noted that due to the very sensitive and private nature of the topic, it was not very easy to get women who were readily willing to be interviewed.

3.4: Sampling design

This study employed non-probability sampling specifically purposive sampling. Purposive sampling allows the researcher to use all cases that have the required information with respect to the objectives of the study (Singleton, 1988). The researcher visited five Non-Governmental Organizations known to deal with issues of women’s rights such as FIDA (K), WRAP, COVAW, CREA_W and GVRC. Other centres visited included WOFAK, Mathare Community Outreach (MCO) and Jamii Bora Society (Mathare). A few women were found in the neighbourhood through convenience sampling.

Reasons for choosing purposive method

a) The topic of wife battering has been difficult to pursue given the sensitivity and privacy attached to it and due to the fact that traditionally, it is improper for one to wash his/her dirty linen in public. This reason made purposive sampling most appropriate because the participants were already in an environment that allowed them to open up.

b) According to Khasiani and Mugenda (1991), in purposive sampling, cases of subjects are handpicked because they are informative or they possess the required characteristics.

In this study, purposive sampling allowed the researcher to select centres that deal with women which in turn allowed for an effective coverage of the effects of wife battering on the nuclear family. This is an element that would have been lost if random sampling were done.

A total number of 103 battered women were purposively drawn and a questionnaire was administered to them. The respondents were identified by the key informants who had dealt with their cases of domestic violence. A sample size of 103 battered women was
felt to be a realistic sample for the required validity by the study. The questionnaire used has been attached as Appendix 1.

In order to get further in-depth information about the topic of study, 10 key informants were interviewed using an in-depth interview guide. The key informants were purposively selected because of their involvement with the battered women. The in-depth interview guide used has been attached at the end of the study as appendix 2.

Two different focus group discussions were conducted at Kayole Street Families’ Rehabilitation Centre and Women’s Rights Awareness (WRAP). The participants of the discussion groups were identified by the key informants who knew them as a result of having dealt with their cases concerning domestic violence.

The information got from the key informants and the focus group discussions was mainly used to either strengthen or refute the arguments and information given by the 103 general respondents.

3.5: Methods of Data Collection

Primary Data

3.5.1: Standardized Interview Schedules

The study employed both primary and secondary sources of data collection. As a primary source method, questionnaires were used as the main instrument of collecting data; other methods used were supplementary to the questionnaires.

Face to face interviews were conducted. There were three sets of instruments used namely Appendix 1 (The questionnaire that was administered to the battered women), Appendix 2 consisted of an in-depth interview guide administered to the key informants of the study. A discussion guide comprising structured and unstructured questions was the key instrument used in the focus groups discussions. The interview guide is attached as Appendix 3. The questionnaire was designed to facilitate collection of quantitative data while both the in-depth interview guide and the focus group discussion guide were designed to yield qualitative data on the questions raised in the problem statement such as the causes of wife battering, the impact it might have on the nuclear family, survival
and intervention strategies etc. The researcher read out the questions to the respondents and then the researcher wrote down the responses herself; this method enabled the researcher to clarify and elaborate questions thus allowing both literate as well as illiterate respondents to speak freely, elaborate answers and bring out other topics that are relevant and important to the study. The questionnaire contained open and closed questions on information as well as rating and ranking views, attitudes and opinions. This was expected to yield information that would capture variations that were used for making generalizations so as to give the desired statistics. Each of the interviews took about one hour depending on many factors that will be discussed later as the challenges of this study.

The questionnaire and the focus group discussion guide were both in English. The questionnaire was however administered in Kiswahili and/ or in Dholuo for the battered women who had limited knowledge of English language. The focus group discussion guide was strictly administered in Kiswahili since the two groups consisted of women from different ethnic groups. The in-depth interview guides were administered to the key informants in English.

**Reasons for administering personal interviews.**

a) Personal interviews elicit the most valid and reliable responses since they give respondents' courage, confidence and the confidentiality that they need.

b) They also build rapport and may reduce the power imbalance inherent in an interview situation. This technique encourages interaction and collaboration between the interviewer and the respondent (Hammer and Saunders, 1994; Holf, 1990 in Oyekanmi, 1997).

c) To capture the feelings or expressions with which various issues were raised, a few quotes of the in-depth discussions and views were incorporated in the study where deemed appropriate.

d) Wife battering being a complex matter, greater depth of knowledge on the topic is desirable. This knowledge can only be obtained through the key informants by talking to them face to face.
3.5.2: In depth interviews

Interview schedules comprising both structured and unstructured questions were administered to the respondents. In-depth interviews were administered on 10 carefully purposively selected key informants. An interview guide with outlined areas of study was used. These key informants were purposively selected based on their personal and professional knowledge in the area of study; they included Counsellors, Social Workers, Church Ministers and Legal Service providers. This method allowed for greater depth of meaning and was used to support other methods used in the study by permitting a better interpretation of data obtained in appendixes 1 and 3 of the study. The interview guide was in English language and is attached as Appendix 2.

3.5.3: Direct observations (Non-participant observation)

Direct observation consists of systematically observing a phenomenon, event, process and physical object in its natural setting (Rudavist, 1991). In this study, the researcher observed the presence or absence of friendliness, self confidence, withdrawal, verbal deficit, level of mental ability (whether the respondent was sharp or not), concentration span during the discussions and scars on the body. This was an important tool in providing qualitative data. A checklist was used as a guide. The observation checklist is attached as appendix 4.

3.5.4: Focus group discussions (FGDs)

The researcher conducted two focus group discussions each consisting of twelve respondents at two centres of study. The participants of the group discussions were women who had been or were still victims of wife battering. A group of twelve members was thought to be manageable and did allow the participants to express their points of agreements and disagreements on study variables as well as allowing for personal opinions. This facilitated capturing of additional information.

A discussion guide was used to facilitate focus group discussions at Kayole Street Families Rehabilitation Centre and at WRAP. The discussions were centred around the attitude of people about wife battering, rights of women in society, what women can do in order to change their cultural and economic circumstances in society and the battered women’s feelings towards the efforts being put by the government, the NGOs, the church, the media, the victims themselves and the general public.
Secondary Data

This was a major source of data that the study used. It was primarily done to supplement the primary data. A review of literature was extensively done in the institutional libraries such as Jomo Kenyatta library (UoN), Department of Sociology library (UoN), Lillian Beam library (USIU), FIDA library in Nairobi, The Nation Media library, The Birtha Homes- Jesuits library etc. Materials reviewed included published books, journals, newspapers, periodicals, Bulletins, Newsletters, M.A. Theses, magazines etc.

Though stated in the proposal, it was not possible to analyze records of respondents available at the centres. This is because the existing files were government documents and were strictly treated as such by the Legal Service providers, the Counsellors as well as the Social workers.

Secondary data is important because it reveals the nature of the problem at hand and identifies the problem areas to be tackled. Desk research captured the other aspects of study not captured in primary data collection.

3.6: Data Analysis.

Two types of data were collected: The Quantitative and qualitative data.

The Quantitative data was analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Inferential statistics are concerned with whether relationships exist or not within the variables of interest.

The study used inferential statistics to analyze and present quantitative data, which contained numerical information. These statistical methods deal with making generalizations from a sample data to effect the entire population. Data was coded for the open-ended questions, quantitative data was then entered into a computer spreadsheet and then transferred to a statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) programme. Analysis was done using frequency and cross tabulations to show emerging relationships, data was then formally analyzed mostly using the measures of central tendency and finally the analyzed data was presented in tables.
3.6.1: Descriptive Statistics

For the Qualitative data, content analysis was undertaken to reduce the data to a more manageable and intelligible set of observations which was then categorized and appropriately coded. An analysis of the emerging patterns, themes and relations was then done trying to deduce information and meaning that they conveyed in a more proper and organized manner.

Focus group discussion notes and other qualitative data from the key informants were also subjected to various types of content analysis aimed at understanding the adverse impact that wife battering had on the nuclear family and whether the women were aware of the existing intervention strategies of dealing with wife battering.

3.7: Challenges encountered in the field

There were many challenges encountered when carrying out this research; these challenges have been discussed here below under four categories namely identifying the right respondents, response from the respondents, financial constrains and challenges incurred in terms of time.

1. Identifying the right respondents

Due to the sensitive nature of the topic it was not very easy to get respondents for this study. Most organizations such as COVAW, GVRC and CREA W that deal with women concerning domestic violence, were unwilling to reveal neither the files nor avail the battered women for interviews. The key informants gave two reasons for not allowing their clients to be interviewed directly: One, according to their work ethics matters of domestic violence were confidential and so were handled as such. Secondly, direct interviews on the clients would make them relieve their past experiences and traumatize them; a situation which the key informants did not want. For these reasons, it was only FIDA and WRAP that allowed for direct interviews on their clients and the researcher was indeed very grateful to the two organizations.
2. The response of the respondents

The fact that some women were available for interviews made the research just a little easier. There were still a lot of hurdles to be overcome since most women feared disclosing their lives to someone they did not quite know. They appeared fearful, suspicious and not trusting the researcher. This fear confirmed Walker’s findings (1994) in her research of battered women that battered women learn never to trust anyone.

The respondents were also worried about where the information would be taken to after being collected. The researcher, therefore, had to allay these fears by assuring the respondents that the information was purely for academic purposes and could only be used later, if need be, for policy implementation on issues pertaining to domestic violence. In order to build confidence in the respondents, the researcher told the respondents that their names would not be recorded. With this assurance quite a number of women were then willing to participate in the survey but only after the researcher assuring them that they would be reimbursed their transport ranging between 100 Kshs. and 200 Kshs.

The study had questionnaires that took about one hour to administer. In this particular study however, the researcher was NEVER definite about the length of time that one respondent would take since this depended on many factors such as:

(a) Some respondents would relieve their past traumatizing experiences and breakdown and not talk. Since the researcher is well grounded in counselling, she would then have to attend and empathize with such respondents by listening to them, touching and just silently being there to help the respondents deal with their emotions. After sometime majority of the respondents were able to continue while a few others could just not go on; in such cases the interviews had to be terminated prematurely. One incident when a respondent broke down was when she was narrating how her husband killed her second born son accusing him of taking sides with the mother because the 23 years old boy would always try to separate the two parents when the father was beating the mother. This respondent was devastated because the incident of knifing the boy happened before her eyes. She cried in anguish for a long time. Another respondent broke down when narrating how her violent husband had always made her live in fear of being killed. The day the researcher interviewed her, she had not slept. Her husband had fought her the
whole night wanting to kill her. Her case was very horrifying! She reported how her husband would make her lie down, facing up, hands straight as if she was in a coffin. He would then take a sword and imitate killing her; she called it ‘drawing’ her all over the body. The children would get frightened and even encourage her to leave the abusive marriage but she persevered believing that it was God’s will for her to be in that marriage for the glory of God and for the sake of her children. On the day the researcher interviewed this woman, she was at FIDA seeking for legal help to divorce her husband; she had decided that enough was enough.

(b) The interviews also took longer than scheduled because of difficult respondents in the sense that they talked too much, endlessly and at times not really answering the questions asked. This was due to the fact that quite a number of battered women never disclose their problems due to the confidential and private nature of it. Battered women have learnt from experience that sharing their problems with friends, relatives or neighbours did not help much instead they would be made the talk and laughter of the estate. Culture had taught the battered women never to wash their dirty linen in public. A case was reported of a man who repeatedly beat his wife because she kept on talking about their family life in public. Two cases were reported of two women: One a church elder’s wife as well as a Sunday school teacher and another of a Women’s leader. Both women had had experienced severe physical battering but could never talk about it because they wanted to be role models in their churches by keeping their marriages. Because of the position they held in the Church, they would never share their problems with any one lest they were thought not to be serious confessing Christians. But when enough was enough, these two women found themselves at FIDA trying to pursue divorce.

(c) About 14 respondents (13.6%) looked absent minded, day dreaming, forgetful, slow in understanding and lacked concentration; they appeared not quite connected in mind. They seemed also to have had problems with hearing such that the researcher had to repeat every question twice before these respondents could understand. This required a lot of patience on the side of the researcher since the questionnaire was quite long. The study did however, discover that, this kind of behaviour in the 13.6% respondents was as a result of physical wife battering. This is an explanation that was given by quite a number of respondents (especially on hearing) and confirmed by the
study. When the respondents were asked which parts of their bodies were beaten by their husbands, 22.3% of the women said they were specifically beaten on the heads while 71 out of 103 women interviewed (68.9%) said they were beaten anywhere on the body. The most common way of beating was blows, kicks, slaps and pinching.

3. Financial constraints
The questionnaire, the in-depth interview guide and the discussion guide were quite long. This meant that a lot of money was spent in typing and photocopying them so as to make them available for the interviews.

This study covered a large area in Nairobi Province. Financially this meant that a lot of money was spent in fuelling the researcher's car not only to reach the areas of interview in time but also to conduct interviews in the car. Some organizations (WOFAK and WRAP) were willing to give women for the interviews but they did not have rooms where confidential interviews could be conducted so in such cases, the questionnaires had to be conducted in the car and it was quite okay.

The key informants in all the organizations where this research was done were willing to mobilize the women for interviews only on one condition that the women were reimbursed their transport after the interviews. Transport meant 100, 150 or even 200 KShs. for each respondent. This made the research very expensive considering the fact that this research was not funded by any organization since the researcher is a self-sponsored student. But somehow, a sacrifice had to be made by the researcher that allowed for that large number of respondents to be interviewed. The researcher was however, very grateful to the key informants who showed a lot of cooperation without asking or expecting even a cent for their transport. Some of them (Catherine Ruoro-KSFRC; Lucy-GVRC; Florence-COVAW) were even willing to go beyond the interviews by helping identify people and other places where more help could be sought. Indeed, they were very helpful to me.

4. Time
Fieldwork in this study was officially started on the 29/8/2004 and ended on 9/11/2004. This gives a total of 73 days constituting 10 weeks in the field. The researcher though fully employed, worked tirelessly on a daily basis during her free times as well as
weekends. It was however, unfortunate that most organizations (FIDA, COVAW and even WOFAK) felt that most women could be found in the morning; a time that was not possible with the researcher who could only be available in the afternoons. The organizations visited worked between 8.00 o’clock and 5.00 o’clock and not beyond. So the issue of time was really a big problem. The only solution that would have helped solve this problem would have been the researcher training an assistant who would be available during morning hours. The researcher however, wanted to be very thorough by doing the work herself and so did not favour this idea. Secondly funds were not available to enable employ an assistant.

At times it was sad, devastating, discouraging that time was available but respondents were nowhere to be found. Many times, the researcher went to FIDA in the afternoons, spent long hours but went away having not interviewed any respondent. One time, when time was available for research, the researcher went to FIDA and stayed from 9.00 o’clock to 3.00 o’clock without interviewing any respondent. That was, however, the day she decided never to go back to FIDA. After consultations with her Supervisor (Dr. Wairire), the researcher decided to go back to Kayole. The researcher is indeed most grateful for the encouragement given by Dr. Wairire and Lillian that kept the study going to its completion.
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND FINDINGS

4.1: Background characteristics of respondents in the study

The focus of this study was battered women who were married or had been married at one time and were at the time of research divorced, separated or widowed. The study interviewed a total of 103 battered women.

The 103 respondents in the study had different personal characteristics such as age, marital status, type of marriage, number of years spent in marriage, religious affiliations, level of education of both the direct respondents as well as their spouses', occupation of both the respondents as well as their spouses' and the average monthly income of both the respondents and their spouses' among others.

A total of 10 key informants were interviewed in the study; these included 3 Counsellors, 3 Legal service providers, 2 Social Workers and 2 church Ministers. The key informants did not have to be females or women who had been battered. Their qualification was determined by the fact that they possessed education and training on how to deal with battered women and were actively involved with women who had been battered in area of domestic violence specifically wife battering.
4.1.2: Distribution of respondents by places they had gone to seek help after battering

The study interviewed women from centres and organizations that deal with women by giving them one kind of service or another.

Table 1: Distribution of respondents by where they were interviewed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WOFAK</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>44.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WRAP</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KSFRC</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIDA</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MCC</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamii Bora Society</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other places</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>103</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Majority of women (44.7 %) who were interviewed were from WOFAK (Kayole). Women at WOFAK did not have a problem with disclosing very personal and sensitive issues in their lives. All the 500 women at the centre were HIV/AIDS positive and had gone through counselling and learnt to survive the pandemic by disclosing even the most sensitive issues in their lives through opening up to one another during their group therapy. To them, therefore, opening up about wife battering was not as sensitive as opening up about HIV/AIDS.

The second reason for interviewing many women at WOFAK was that women at WOFAK were used to research being done on them and so they did not have any problem in participating in this particular survey as long as they could be reimbursed their transport. Since the women were available in big numbers, the researcher interviewed as many women as she felt were enough from the centre ensuring that the number interviewed did not exceed 50 % of the total number of battered women interviewed in the study.

The key informants were interviewed as follows: 2 from Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA), 1 from Government of Kenya, Kariokor Chief's Camp, 1 from Coalition on
Violence Against Women (COVAW), 1 from Women Fighting Aids in Kenya (WOFAK), 1 from Centre for Rehabilitation And Education Of Abused Women (CREAW), 1 from Kayole Street Families Rehabilitation Centre (KSFRC), 1 from Gender Violence Recovery Centre (GVRC), 1 from Nairobi Pentecostal Church, Ngong’ Road (NPC Ngong’ Road) and 1 from St. Teresa’s Church (Eastleigh).

4.2: Distribution of respondents by age

The study was interested in establishing the age distribution of the respondents.

Table 2: Distribution of respondents by age.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 - 19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 29</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>33.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 34</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 - 39</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 and above</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>103</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The women interviewed ranged from 19 years of age to 62 years thus giving a range of 43 years. The modal age bracket of the respondents was 25 – 29 years with a frequency of 34 representing 33.0 %. A woman of 20 years is young and when married at this age, women are likely to have conflicts that might possibly cause them to be battered by their husbands. Most of the women aged between 25 – 29 years had gone to school, at least up to primary level. They were open minded, questioned things and did not just accept the notion that a woman should be passive and submissive even when she is wronged.

The mean age of the 10 key informants was 31 years. The range was 21 years with the youngest aged 27 years and the oldest 48 years. The mode was 31-years with a frequency of 2. The mean age of the 24 participants in the focus discussion group was 34 years with a mode of 30 years and a range of 39 years. The youngest member in the group was aged 23 years while the oldest was 62 years.
4.2.1: Distribution of respondents by religion

The study attempted to establish the religion of the respondents so as to have an insight into some decisions taken by battered women as concerns wife battering.

Out of the 103 women interviewed, 99 % were Christians while only 1.0 % was a Muslim. This disparity can be attributed to the fact that Kenya is predominantly a Christian nation with women comprising the majority in churches. Second reason could be that, Muslim women tend to be silent about many issues such that they could not be easily found at places like FIDA, WRAP, WOFAK, COVAW or CREAW trying to look for solutions to their problems. They tend to settle disputes amongst themselves through the Kadhi Courts which handle matters such as divorce, inheritance etc.

4.2.2: Distribution of respondents by level of education

The study was interested in finding out whether any relationship existed between education of the respondents and wife battering.

Table 3: Distribution of respondents by level of education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of education</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower primary education</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper primary education</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>39.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary education</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>33.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary level</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>103</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Experience of violence does not vary consistently with education (MOH, 2004). Research has revealed that women with low education or high education could experience severe battering depending on the level of education of their husbands. Women with very low levels of education are normally not able to secure good jobs that can earn them good money. With little or no money at all to meet both personal and basic needs for the family, most women ended up fully depending on men in many ways. Some men took advantage of this dependency to mistreat women knowing very well that
however much they mistreated them, they had nowhere to go. A case in point came up during field research when one of the respondents narrated how her husband used to starve her with her children telling her that she was a parasite and a big liability since she ate without providing.

In the study, women were represented at all levels of education. It was not shocking to find that majority of the husbands to women in the sample had received more education than their wives had. Whereas 8.7% of women had no education at all, all their husbands had received some level of education except 1%. While almost half (49.5%) of women had attained education only up to primary level, only 33% of husbands had done the same. Majority of husbands (51.4%) had received education up to form four while only 33.0% of women had achieved a form four level of education. Husbands still scored higher (14.4%) than wives (8.7%) at higher levels of education.

4.2.3: Distribution of husbands to the respondents by level of education

The study was interested in comparing the levels of the respondents and that of their spouses so as to establish whether the income of both the wife and the husband were enough for the family upkeep in Nairobi. Lack of enough income was interpreted to mean that the husbands would be financially and emotionally stressed to the point of battering the wives physically when they could not carry out their roles effectively as the providers in their nuclear families.

Table 4: Distribution of husbands to the respondents by level of education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of education</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower primary level</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper primary level</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary level</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>51.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary level</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>103</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The disparity in the statistics concerning levels of education for men and women was expected since men tend to marry below their status.

The fact that women's representation of battering at higher levels of education was low (8.7%) does not mean that women are battered any lesser at that level. It simply means that, most women would not tolerate beatings after acquiring that level of education. The kind of violence that most of these women experience is more psychological than physical. In the field, the researcher encountered a lot of well educated women who requested to be interviewed though they were honest enough to report that they had, "Never been touched! Not even a slap." The study could, however, not interview them since psychological battering was not the focus of the study.

Second reason for high and middle class women missing in the study was well articulated by a key informant at COVAW who told the researcher that most upper and middle class women 'hang in' their abusive marriages. This statement was confirmed later by the Director of WRAP who told the researcher that, the middle class women were not willing to participate in the study. It was only at FIDA that there was little success with 2 (1.9%) of that category of women presenting themselves for the interview.

It was disappointing that the educated women in society, choose silence in the face of violence that has continually hit our community. How then are women going to untie the chains that bind them to violence of any kind, wife battering included?
4.2.4: Distribution of respondents by marital status

This study was interested in establishing the percentage of battered women who persevered in their marriages and the percentage that had separated or divorced as a result of wife battering.

Table 5: Distribution of respondents by marital status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital status</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>33.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>103</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Out of the 103 respondents 27.2% of them were in abusive marriages but persevered for various reasons: That their children may have a father figure, fear of shame and stigmatization that accompanies separation or divorce, for the sake of respect since the African communities peg the worth of women to men; a married woman would most of the times be respected more than the unmarried woman especially if the married woman carries herself well and keeps a stable family. Majority (60.2%) of the respondents had either separated or divorced mainly as a result of extreme physical wife abuse in their former marriages. Most women mentioned that they made a decision to leave their abusive marriages when their husbands threatened them with death, inflicted serious bodily harm on them or abandoned the family. In some cases, husbands became as violent as to strip naked before their children, destroy household property and even beat their wives together with the children. A case was cited where children in a family slept on trees, outside on cold verandahs and even in the bathrooms in order to escape the wrath of their father. The widowed respondents were 12.6%.
4.2.5: Distribution of respondents by the type of marriage they were in

The interest here was simply to establish the kind of marriages that the respondents had been in.

Table 6: Distribution of respondents by the type of marriage they were in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of family</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monogamous</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>73.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polygamous</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 clearly shows that 73.8% of the respondents had been in monogamous marriages while 26.2% had been in polygamous marriages. Out of the 73.8% of women who had been in monogamous marriages, 59.2% had either divorced or separated while 53.8% of the women who had been in polygamous marriages had either separated or divorced. One would wonder whether there would be more marital problems in monogamous or polygamous marriages. It suffices to say that the magnitude of the problem is almost the same since the difference is insignificant as revealed in the study. The argument of which type of marriage has more problems is relative and depends on the people involved in the marriages. From gathered experience of the researcher though, women in polygamous families tend to accept the fact that they share a husband and are therefore not very possessive or petty about issues as long as the husband can exercise fairness in marriage. The women also tend to compete for the attention of the husband by wanting to be good and so avoid situations that can make them not be loved more than their co-wife/wives. Thirdly husbands, relatives and even people tend to compare wives in a polygamous marriage a fact that makes all the women want to be the pacesetters or yardsticks for their co-wives.
4.2.6: Distribution of respondents by number of years spent in marriage

The respondents were asked to state the number of years they had spent in marriage.

Table 7: Distribution of respondents by number of years spent in marriage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years spent in marriage</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-5</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>39.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>103</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The respondent who had stayed for the shortest time in her marriage had stayed for 1 year and the one who had stayed for the longest time had stayed for 38 years thus giving a range of 37 years. Majority (71.9 %) of the respondents had been married for ten or less years while 18.4 % had been married for a period of between 11 – 20 years and another 9.7 % had been married for a period of over 20 years. The researcher was further interested in establishing the period that each of the separated or divorced battered women had spent in marriage; table 9 below shows that distribution:

Table 8: Distribution of divorced/separated respondents by number of years spent in marriage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of years spent in marriage</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-5</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>43.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>41.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>62</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table above shows that 85.5 % of women divorced or separated at 10 or less years of marriage. These statistics point out to the fact that a lot of battering occurs during the
first 10 years of marriage. This could be explained by the fact that, at 10 years or less of marriage, both partners in marriage are still very young, energetic and are also still vulnerable to peer pressure that might want them to conform to things that are not in line with the married people. The young married people are strangers to each other, they learn and experiment on each other and even establish new truths about the character of their spouses. After some time, it dawns on them that much as they might not like many things in their spouses, they just have to accept them the way they are since ‘it is not easy to teach an old dog new tricks.’ Before this hard truth is accepted, violence is bound to erupt. It takes time to build trust in marriage; therefore ten years in marriage, in most cases, might not even be enough for the couples to know each other. So the marriage is likely to shake for lack of trust, suspicion and jealousy that can reign to the extent of even breaking up marriages like was the case in this study. Again, the married people might not have learnt one another as concerns lines of thought, likes, ways of doing things etc. so disagreements are common. Researchers in the field of marriage call this stage the “Power stage” and hypothesize that most marriages are likely to break between three and ten years of marriage (Murunga, November 2002). Murunga explains that it is at that stage that couples begin to see flaws and faults in each other. Things that were attractive become a source of irritation. This stage of disillusionment varies in intensity from one couple to another but some couples become so discouraged that they believe there is something quite wrong with the marriage or they married the wrong person. The fact that men view communication as unsafe further compounds issues.

As the marriage advances between a period of 11 years and above, there is calm in most marriages as spouses have either learnt to accept each other the way they are or have opted to ‘exit’ in way of separation, divorce or in extreme cases even suicide. Children have also come and are growing up making their mother very preoccupied that all she wants to do is to live for her children not really her husband who batters her. The woman is also very determined to keep her marriage at any cost and would not want to think of leaving a marriage in which she has so much invested, after all, she reasons to herself that no one would want to take her for a wife with the ‘staircase’ of children she might probably have. By this time, most women might have lost shape and the youthful attraction they previously had and if in a battering marriage, might have been made to believe by their batterers that they are no longer beautiful. This is the stage where quite a
good number of women would assertively tell their husbands when threatened with divorce that,

"I am not going anywhere. I am here to stay."

As research has revealed (Murunga, 2002), in the final stages which come after ten years, couples begin to accept and co-operate with each other. There is a realization that no matter who you are with; there will be problems so one might as well stay in the relationship and work things out. Couples begin to practice to be proactive and choose certain skills that work towards improving their relationship. The final stage in the relationship is the reality love stage where all the struggles seem worthwhile and a sense of having grown together gives satisfaction and new dimension to the marriage. Although most women settle down in their marriages by the tenth year, some women or couples take much longer time to settle down and could even divorce after a decade or more after marriage as was the case with 14.5% of women in the study.

The study surprisingly revealed that while most women stay in abusive marriages for the sake of children, some women leave their abusive marriages also for the same reason. The women who left their abusive marriages reasoned that, it is better to bring up children without a father than bring them up with a violent father, in a violent environment and have that father impact negatively on the children's lives. One battered woman whose children had been adversely affected by the life of a violent father and who had persevered because of the very children but was at the time of interview contemplating to leave had this to say,

"I regret that I waited for this long. The damage has already been done but what I would like to advise other women is to never wait until it is too late! The damage is big."

The study also revealed that separations or divorce were very minimal after 20 years and above of marriage. This fact was supported by a marginal percentage of only 3.2% of respondents who had either separated or divorced after 22 and 23 years respectively. Reasons behind this are the same as discussed above. The most shocking thing and worth noting is that as the wives settle down, most husbands become unsettled and start looking for intimacy outside marriage for reasons well articulated by members of one focus group discussion,
"They have by this time acquired a lot of wealth and are established in life in many ways and so they get busy running up and down after younger women to just have affairs with them or even marry them. Luo and Luhyia men are very good at this! After buying themselves good cars, they marry before even buying neither a house nor a shamba of their own in Nairobi. As if that is not enough, they also go to the extent of abandoning their first wives and turn the household property that they have acquired with the first wife to possession of the second wife."

A respondent sadly narrated that this had happened to her. Unfortunately when she went to the Chief to report and to request that the Chief helps her get her share of property back, the Chief rudely said,

"A woman does not have any property of her own. Whatever she buys when she is with her husband, belongs to her husband after all, even her, she belongs to her husband."

This statement is rather disturbing and shows the extent of violence directed towards women in a patriarchal society. The fact that, a man has paid bride price does not mean that the woman becomes his property. A human being can never be a property and even if she were to be bought, what would her worth anyway? Considering a woman's contribution in a family what would be her price? If women knew some of the rights like article 17 of the universal Human Rights which states that, "Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others" they would pursue such cases to the end. Chiefs as Law enforcing agents in society should ensure that justice is administered to everyone without discrimination.

4.2.7: Distribution of respondents by their occupation

This study attempted to establish whether there was any relationship between occupation and income of both spouses and wife battering.

Majority of the respondents (34 %) engaged in small businesses while 19.4 % were housewives who involved in unpaid labour, 8.7 % were hairdressers or tailors while 6.8
% were househelps. The other occupations included Manager, Secretary, farmer, teacher, casual labourers, social workers, beggars, church ministers, clerks and sales executives.

The husbands were more or less in the same occupations but with the majority of them (10.7 %) in managerial positions followed by 7.1 % in small businesses. Other occupations included touts, farmers, teachers, casual labourers, beggars, social workers, clerks and others.

4.2.8: Distribution of respondents by the average monthly income

Main interest here was to establish whether lack of income contributed to wife battering in any way.

Table 9: Distribution of respondents by the average monthly income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average monthly income</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>31.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below KShs. 2000</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between KShs 2000 - 4000</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between KShs 4000 - 10,000</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above KShs 10,000</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most respondents and their husbands were in very humble occupations that could not earn them enough money to enable them meet the daily basic needs of their families. The study revealed that 31.0 % of women did not have any earnings at all against only 8.8 % of their husbands. The women who were employed but only earned 4,000 KShs. or less were 43.7 % while only 18.7 % of the husbands were employed and earned that much. Another 17.5 % of women respondents earned between 4,000 – 10,000 while more men (25.5%) earned that much. Only 7.8 % of women earned above 10,000 while 17.6 % of their husbands earned that much. It was surprising to learn that 29.7 % did not have the least idea of how much their husbands earned. The fact that men were better paid made women depend on them for almost everything; even when a woman was employed, she was paid very little any way. Financial constraints made the women very vulnerable to violence perpetrated by their husbands. This statement is well supported by the fact that
money issues ranked first as the most common cause of wife battering at such an alarming percentage of 36.9% among many other causes. One respondent narrated an occasion when she asked her husband for money and instead of her husband giving her money; he stripped naked before the children then asked her,

"Do you want me to cut my penis so that I give it to you to cook? I said I don't have money!"

On the same issue about money, a husband told a respondent this,

"Go and sell your vagina so that you can have the money you want."

These very unfortunate and obscene statements came because of frustration of low income that resulted in inability to provide for families especially on the part of men who are supposed to be the heads of families as well as the breadwinners. They also confirm a hypothesis in the Frustration – Aggression theory that stated that violence is seen to be highly related to social stress such as poverty and joblessness, a fact that makes violence very rampant in slums. The Frustration-Aggression theory was supported by the structural theories, which explained that people with fewer resources relative to other members of society are known to experience higher levels of frustration and stress. They further stated that those people have fewer materials, emotional, psychological and social resources to cope adequately and that frustration from material deprivation may result in physical wife abuse because expectations cannot be met due to poverty and unemployment. Hence one would expect greater prevalence among the poor, in large families and in suburbs. Coincidentally, most women in this study lived in slum areas of Nairobi. Majority of women interviewed at KSFRC and WOFAK lived in Kayole while a few of them came from surrounding areas like Kariobangi, Umoja, Dandora, South B and others. Women interviewed at MCO and Jamii Bora Centre came from Mathare Valley, Huruma and Kariobangi. Majority of women who visit COVAW and WRAP come from Kibera while FIDA has a good mixture of women in terms of social class but with a good majority who come from Kawangware.

This study revealed that when women share their emotional problems with persons of the opposite sex, they tend to emotionally get attached to those men who eventually take advantage to exploit them sexually. For this reason, most women choose to go to FIDA so as to have their issues addressed by women who understand those issues without the
risk of being taken advantage of. So, the fact that FIDA has only women lawyers and big membership made it a place of preference to the researcher.

4.3: History of wife battering

This study established that wife battering can start at any time during the relationship and once it begins it rarely stops but only escalates in both frequency and intensity. The tables below show responses of the respondents when asked the time they first experienced violence in their relationships and whether it increased or stopped:

Table 10: Responses of women on whether they experienced any kind of violence when they were dating their husbands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Experienced violence</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>75.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not date</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>103</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10 above shows that 20.4% of respondents had experienced physical battering when they were still dating their husbands and it continued into their marriages.

Table 11: Responses of women on whether spouses (husbands) continued or stopped being violent after the first incident

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spouse continued or stopped beating</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Continued</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>92.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stopped</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>103</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11 clearly shows and confirms that beating did not stop in 92.2% of marriages after the first incident but only intensified as shown in table 14 below:
Table 12: Intensity of violence with time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensity of violence with time</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>83.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The continuity of violence in this study confirmed the three main characteristics of Lenore Walker’s Cycle Theory of violence which stated that the more times the cycle is completed, the less it takes to complete. Secondly, the less longer the cycle goes uninterrupted, the worse the violence gets. The longer the cycle goes uninterrupted, the shorter the third stage becomes.

These three tables (10, 11 and 12) have very serious implications for women who intend to get married or who are already married but have started experiencing physical battering from their spouses. There is no excuse for domestic violence and so women should never think that their partners will change for the better once they start beating them. Issues concerning how a couple should handle conflicts in marriage, should be seriously discussed during courtship and agreements made on non-violent ways of settling disputes. If the batterer is not ready to change and leave his violent behaviour, then he might not be the right man to marry. In a case where violence erupts in marriage, the issue should be settled once and for all through dialogue immediately after the first incident of battering.

In the study 20.6 % of women reported that what started as occasional beatings turned into daily beatings. The respondents who were being beaten once a week were 34.3 %. These respondents reported that they were mostly beaten on Sundays when husbands returned home from their weekend sleep-outs and just picked quarrels for very flimsy reasons or just when the wives demanded to know where their husbands had been. Another 12.7 of the women reported that they were beaten once a month, that is, at the end of the month when financial needs were many since bills had to be paid yet in some cases, the man had spent all the money drinking and left the family without food. It was sad to learn from 10.8 % of the women in the study that they were beaten so often that
they had lost count. They further explained that the beatings were too much, could erupt at any time, anywhere and so there was no pattern to it in their marriage.

As concerns the time of the day when women were beaten, this research learned that majority of women were beaten at night or evening when their husbands had come from work or from drinking sprees. The second reason for being beaten at night was that the children were asleep and could not witness the violence. Thirdly, some husbands made sure they beat at night when no one could come to the rescue of the women meaning that the husbands would have time to thoroughly deal with the women. A respondent told the researcher how she decided to always have supper at 4.00 p.m. as a result of her husband who would go home from work at 5.00 p.m. and start beating her and her children; a case which most of the times led to the family sleeping hungry.

4.4: Forms of physical wife battering

The presence of physical wife battering in the study was evident in many ways in that 47.5 % of the respondents reported that their husbands beat them using blows, slaps, kicks and even pinching while 29.5 % reported that their husbands beat them using blunt objects such as furniture, sticks, cane or whip. A further 9.5 % of respondents reported that their husbands used sharp objects such as knives, swords and spears. Other forms of physical battering reported by women in the study were 5.0 % were pushed here and there, 3.5 % of women were strangled, 1.0 % were violated by biting yet another 1.0 % of women reported that their braided hair were pulled. A respondent was at pain to explain that despite the fact that she loved long hair very much she had to make sure her hair was short so that when her husband was pulling them during the beatings she would not feel a lot of pain. Another 3.0 % of the women said that they would never predict how their husbands would beat them since the beatings would always take any form depending on how angry the husbands were and the husbands would use whatever was around them at the time of the beating to beat them.

In their state of anger, most batterers would hit everywhere or anywhere on the body as reported by 71 % of the respondents. A good number of 23 % reported that their husbands beat them around the head or face only; this was mostly in cases where the husbands had suspected that wives were unfaithful to them. The reason for beating around the face was to destroy the women's beautiful faces so that they would never
attract other men. The second reason was to hit the women's "big mouths" that the women used to answer them back or talk to other people. A further 3.0% were beaten on the back, 1.0% on the neck, 1.0% on the legs and 1.0% on the abdomen.

4.5: Some factors that lead to wife battering in the nuclear family

Someone is bound to wonder what can cause violence to this extent. When asked about the reasons that their batterers gave for beating them, majority (18.1%) of the respondents reported that they were beaten when they asked for money. 12.9% were beaten when they inquired about the husband's extra marital affairs. The women beaten when they expressed their views and their husbands felt that they were being disrespectful were 10.5%. This reaction by the husbands support the theory of wife assault that was propounded by Stuart Oskamp (1987) which premises that if a male is with a strong need of dominance or control of others but lacking the verbal skills through which to realize such control in his marital relationship, the likelihood of wife assault increases. If the content of the conflict involves intimacy of other issues that are essential to the form of the relationship, attempts by the male to gain control through increased pressure on the female to submit to his demands will increase and that is why batterers are possessive and controlling. A few women (7.1%) were beaten when they talked to friends or other people be it men or women. If women talked to men some husbands accused them of being unfaithful and if they talked to women some men would accuse them of gossiping about them with those women and so would beat them for that.

When women were asked to give reasons how they thought they had contributed to being beaten, 31.0% of the respondents said that they were beaten because they expressed their views and opinions on issues. These findings support Miranda's findings (1994) that some women are battered because they are argumentative and assertive. Miranda further described those women as women who have a clear picture of what they want and are able to state it categorically. According to Miranda's observations, some men might feel threatened by the wife's strong points, therefore, reinforce his power by battering the woman. In the study, expressing opinions by a woman was interpreted by their husbands as an act of rudeness and disrespect to them. This reason also ranked third at 21.4% as one of the causes of wife battering after marriage. It was however surprising to learn that a woman expressing her views still came up as a reason to physical wife battering even during courtship. These statistics however, suggest that women are slowly breaking away
from a culture of silence which socialized women to be passive, silent and submissive; today, women are becoming more assertive by speaking out and letting their points of view be known (Hayanga in Wamue & Getui, 1996). Most men, who are still engulfed in the patriarchal family system that enhances male dominance, resist this kind of women; they find them very controlling and so accuse them of ‘wanting to be men.’ This finding is supported by Sonkin and Durphy’s findings (1989) that experience has shown that men who are most traditional in values regarding their home and power, tend to hook up with women who are much more “liberated” than one would expect. This means that these men like what they see that is different in those women’s behaviour but they are not sure what to do with those women who behave differently from their traditional expectations.

This study revealed that wife battering is still very rampant in Kenya even today. Out of the 103 women interviewed, 86.3 % of them reported that they knew other women who were also being physically abused. The respondents reported that men felt that they had a right to beat women since they had paid dowry for them and so could do whatever they liked with them. Most women persevered and never took any actions against their batterers because they had also internalized the notion that they were their husbands property and so did not need to make a fuss because of just a “little thing that was normal and acceptable to all women- beating.” A respondent told the researcher that in their Taita culture, a woman would never be accepted back to her parents’ home because she had been beaten but would instead be turned back to her husband and told to go and behave. In cases where women complained about a man’s unfaithfulness, they later on came to blame themselves after being reminded that, “A woman belongs to one man but a man belongs to all women” so there was completely no room for a woman to accuse a man of being unfaithful in marriage. It was surprising to learn that 23.8 % of the women who had been severely battered and even threatened with death never reported the problems they were experiencing in marriage to anyone but only prayed. Failure to share problems was because these women believed it was their lot. Some of the women reported that they had seen their own mothers being beaten but their mothers survived so they did not find anything wrong with their husbands beating them as long as no bodily harm was caused to them. These women felt it was right to be disciplined through beating when they made mistakes. These women played their traditional roles and accepted to be takers of what Ansley (1973) (in Oskamp, 1987) called ‘shit’ and absorb
their husband's legitimate anger and frustration at their own powerlessness and oppression.

It was very surprising for the researcher to learn from 8.7% respondents that men did not only dislike their wives' relatives but even their own. Because of this reason, some respondents were beaten for entertaining relatives in their houses against the husbands' wishes while others were beaten for refusing to give birth. The reason most women gave for their refusal to give birth was that, their husbands did not allow them to use contraceptives in order to plan their families yet those husbands were irresponsible and never provided for the children they already had. So the women did not want to be overburdened and stressed with the responsibility they could not manage. The study also found out that 1.4% of women in the sample refused sex with their husbands as a way of protesting against their husband's misbehaviour and this made them be really beaten. Women also refused sex when their husbands chose to be silent on issues the women felt should have been discussed with the spouses through dialogue. The motive behind refusing sex was to frustrate the husbands by exerting pressure on them that would force them to talk. As intended by the women, when denied sex men reacted differently; all of them got angry, frustrated and some would demand sex by force, some men sought extra marital sex which in turn, in some cases, resulted into diseases, getting children out of wedlock, polygamy and other things.

Women need therefore to think very seriously about the consequences of using sex as a weapon to settle disputes in marriage. Men also need to know how much psychological torture and hurt they expose women to when they decide to be silent on issues they should talk about. Unless there is a very good reason, refusing to have sex with a husband is a real risky game for a woman to play if she cares for her marriage since there are many risks involved not to mention even contracting HIV/AIDS.

One respondent told the researcher that her husband beat her saying she was not beautiful in fact the husband had nicknamed her 'Sura Mbaya'. Because of continuous battering, this woman had believed and internalized this statement from her husband and this really eroded her self-esteem, she felt worthless, useless and was finally hopeless in life that she was very shocked when a fellow woman complimented her one time about something beautiful about her. She believed that she was a good for nothing woman.
This study takes the stand that it is the husband's responsibility to make his wife look nice and beautiful; every woman is beautiful! The Waswahili of Coastal Kenya knew this very well when they coined a proverb that says, "Ukiona vyaelea jua vimeundwa" (If you see anything good know that someone has worked to make it what it is) and, "Mke ni nguo mgomba kupalilia" (A woman is like a banana tree, which you have to keep on weeding/ nurturing).

Some men have been known to neglect their wives then run to other women who look attractive. This is not right and it is also not fair; men should be able to communicate with their wives concerning how they feel the women should dress or look like and if the way they feel is acceptable to the wife, then the wife should adopt it as her mode of dressing so that the woman continually looks attractive in the eyes of her husband. The feelings expressed by the husband as concerns dressing should however be sincere and honest. Some men have been known to want their wives to dress in a manner that is not befitting just because they are jealous that if their wives dress very attractively they attract other men. For example a respondent told the researcher how her husband had confined her in the house by never letting her go anywhere. At times they would both agree to go visiting. The woman would then prepare herself and join her husband in the sitting room ready to leave. Whenever the husband saw that his wife was very smart, the journey would end there. This husband was simply obsessed by jealousy and the fact that other men would be attracted to his wife; something he did not want at all. This kind of extreme jealousy and control is what the Feminist Theorists explained as being brought about by the patriarchal nature of our society that leads men to expect to dominate, control and even possess women. This behaviour disturbed the concerned woman a lot and she finally had to leave that marriage; she found it bondage.

While some men are to blame for neglecting their wives, some women are to blame too for contributing a lot to their husbands 'looking elsewhere' (running after other women). Women do this unknowingly by neglecting themselves after getting married reasoning that after securing husbands for themselves they need not bother themselves much about their looks. At times women turn their attention to children ignoring their husbands; a fact that makes husbands seek for that attention outside marriage. Women should be well informed that men love, appreciate and are proud of smart women. This means that a woman always has to keep herself clean and attractive by practicing proper personal
grooming and by being beautiful in character so as to keep her husband constantly attracted to her.

The in-law problem featured as a cause of wife battering in this study. Parents in-law especially mothers-in-law were reported to have a habit of interfering with their daughters-in-law then inciting their sons against their wives. Mothers-in-law were also accused of competing with their daughters-in-law for the attention of their sons. A woman narrated how her mother in-law insisted that her daughter in-law stays with her in the rural home so as to help her with work while her son; the husband to the woman stayed in town. Whenever her son went back home to visit, the mother and son would spend long hours together after which the son would pick up quarrels and beat his wife. Mothers-in-law were also reported to have a tendency of being biased when mediating between their sons and daughters-in-law. It was very sad during one of the interviews when one respondent narrated the kind of a biased reaction she got from her own mother as well as her mother-in-law when she had a problem with her unfaithful husband. The husband kept on disappearing and reappearing from home for weeks whenever he felt like. The wife protested against this behaviour by going back to her parents' home. After sometime, her husband followed her together with his parents to settle the dispute. During the discussion to settle the dispute, both her mother as well as her mother-in-law heaped blames on her; they accused her of being big headed and wanting to control her husband which should never be the case. This is what her own mother said,

"Your mouth! Your big mouth! You think you can build a home with a big mouth? Can you shut up your big mouth and do to him what he wants!"

"Wiyi tek ka kidi! Idwaro chiko dichwo! Dichwo ok chiki. Wene kore."

(Your head is as hard as a stone! You want to control your husband! You cannot control a man. Let him do what he wants.)

Her mother-in-law told her in defence of her son. One of her brothers had this to say to her,

"You better think seriously about your marriage. We, here, do not have a storehouse to keep you. All our stores are full."
These comments clearly point out to the fact that, as long as women tolerate wife battering and keep silent about it, women will never really come out of this menace. Women have to be united in mind and purpose so as to stop domestic violence at all costs. A woman should not just defend a man when he is on the wrong just because he is a son or because of fear and shame of a daughter breaking away from a marriage and returning to her parental home.

In some cases, physical wife battering had a long history as far back as during courtship and continued into marriage and in some cases even after divorce; some men would still beat the divorced wives whenever and wherever they met them. Based on the reports of 50% of respondents, in some cases history of battering went way back to the families of origin where children had witnessed their fathers beating their mothers and were therefore simply imitating their role models. One young man; a son to a divorced woman would beat the mother and his siblings calling them all sorts of names. When he was asked the reason for behaving that way, the young man would retort back,

"Like father like son."

This example proves what Bandura (1973) said in the Social Learning Theory that, aggressive behaviour is learned and maintained through environmental experiences either directly or vicariously and by watching an influential role-model engage in an action which has positive consequences and imitate and model the same. In short Bandura’s research suggested that parents who beat their children or spouses may be “training” aggression in their children. The researcher strongly feels that the reported figure of 50% of the children not having witnessed violence in their homes where they were born could be misleading for two reasons. One, a few respondents came from single families where their mothers had either chosen not to marry or the father had passed away and so they never had the opportunity to witness the battering. Second reason is that, in some homes couples were very careful not to show the children that they had differences and so the beating was done in the bedrooms when children were completely asleep. In a case where women did not scream nor cry the issue never got to be known.
Other causes of battering cited in this study were substance abuse e.g. alcohol, bhang’ or drugs, childlessness, communication breakdown, husband evading family responsibilities, husband accusing wife of aborting when she had a miscarriage, when some women insisted that their spouses go for HIV/AIDS test, women going out of the house without permission from their husbands even if to visit their parents, when women came home late, women not being able to do both house and/ or farm work, cooking late, women beating children or when women went to work against their husbands’ wishes.

4.6: Results of Hypotheses Testing

In testing the four hypotheses, the study used Pearson’s Chi-Square ($x^2$) test, the Karl Pearson’s (r) Correlation Coefficient tests as well as the content analysis. The Karl Pearson’s (r) test was the main method used against the Chi-square ($x^2$) tests. The Chi-Square ($x^2$) becomes inaccurate if when calculating the expected cell values, the expected frequency is less than 5. In most cases in the areas tested in the study, cell values were less than 5 and that is why Pearson’s Correlation Coefficient (r) tests were used. For Chi-Square ($x^2$) the study took 0.05 or 95% as its acceptable level of confidence. In the case of Pearson’s Correlation Coefficient (r) tests, the following were the values of acceptance in degrees of coefficient:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coefficient Value</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-0.1 to 0.1</td>
<td>No relationship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.15 to 0.25</td>
<td>Low degree of correlation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.25 to 0.75</td>
<td>Moderate correlation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.6.1: Results of Hypothesis 1 Testing

It was hypothesized that there is a significant relationship between socio-cultural beliefs of the victim and her awareness of being in a relationship where she is being battered. The indicators for these variables were if customarily people believe and accept wife battering in the community, if a wife is regarded as property of man, the belief that a woman should endure all things in marriage and not leave her husband at any cost, if women are held responsible for family break ups, if women are considered inferior to men thus expected to always be passive and submissive.

In order to measure the association that existed between the two variables, Pearson’s Chi-Square ($x^2$) was done and a value of .480$^b$ and 1 degree of freedom was obtained.
This was far much below the acceptance level of 0.05 and so there was need of carrying out a further test using Karl Pearson’s Correlation Coefficient (r) tests. In order to measure these two variables, the researcher cross-tabulated the opinions of the respondents on whether the husband had a right to beat them and whether they were aware of their human rights as women. The results from cross tabulations are shown in the table 13 below:

Table 13: Respondents’ awareness of basic human rights/ opinion on whether husband has a right to beat a wife

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In your opinion, do you think your husband has a right to beat you?</th>
<th>Are you aware of your basic human rights as a woman?</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Count</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>5.9 %</td>
<td>17.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Count</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>24.8 %</td>
<td>51.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Count</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>30.7 %</td>
<td>69.3 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Majority of the women who had indicated that husbands did not have the right to beat wives indicated that they were not aware of their basic human rights as women. This was surprising in that, one would expect women who say that their husbands have no right to beat them to be aware of their human rights in reference to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights article 1 which states that,

"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood."

Article 3 of the same document states that,

"Every one has the right to life, liberty and security of person."
And article 5, which states that, "No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment." (AACC, 2002)

These results show that it is not so much the awareness of the basic human rights that matters. There must be other factors that make women know that they should not be beaten though they do not know their human rights. Such factors could be like the influence of both the local and international media in society where extreme cases of battering are publicly shown on media and campaigns against domestic violence conducted by organizations that deal with women's rights. The organizations that deal with domestic violence have done a commendable job in creating public awareness by coming up with some of the best stickers against domestic violence such as, "Real men do not beat women" and "There is no room for domestic violence."

When the same women were asked whether they thought that wife battering is a crime that should be punishable by law 88.8 % answered yes. The interesting thing was that a good percentage (17.6 %) of women felt that wife battering is a crime that should be punishable by law but at the same time also felt that their husbands had the right to beat them since they had paid dowry for them. Some women even said that they had seen their mothers being beaten and had been brought up believing that wife battering was not a reason that would make a wife leave a husband, they therefore did not see anything wrong with them being beaten too. The table that follows shows responses of the respondents:
### Table 14: Views on whether wife beating should be punishable by law/ Opinions on whether husband has a right to beat a wife.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In your opinion, do you think your husband has any right to beat you?</th>
<th>Do you think that wife beating is a crime that should be punishable by law?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>% of total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>17.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>70.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>88.2 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.7: Introduction: The broad impact of wife battering on the nuclear family and results of hypothesis 2 testing

It was hypothesized that wife battering adversely affects the functioning of a nuclear family. The indicators for these variables were whether family shares same residence as well as resources, children are disciplined and well behaved, reproduction and socialization of new members takes place as far as is agreeable to both husband and wife, there is warmth and communication in the family etc.

Based on the qualitative analysis, the study established that wife battering affects all the members of the nuclear family as well as the functioning of the nuclear family as a whole. Researchers in this field have however documented that wife battering mostly affects women and children a fact that this study has confirmed. Findings of this study show that the impact of wife battering on the nuclear family varies from physical, psychological, medical and social. In some cases, it is not quite easy to clearly separate...
social and psychological causes since they overlap thus giving what would be psychosocial or social-psychological causes.

4.7.1: Impact of wife battering on the victim.

The findings of this study show that the social impact of wife battering outweighed all other types. About 63.3% of the respondents suffered social costs, 29.3% suffered psychological consequences while 6.9% suffered both physical/medical consequences. These statistics were based on the respondents' own perception of how wife battering had affected them and translated to the fact that most women only reported the effects they could see with their naked eyes but lacked the insight into the psychological factors.

(a) Social costs

Majority (63.3%) of the respondents interviewed in this study had suffered different types of social costs such as 18.2% were affected financially, 6.6% of the respondents suffered divorce or separation, 13% of women reported that they had to face the challenges of bringing up children without fathers which was no mean task, 6.2% suffered ill health generally and were unable to carry on with their social lives effectively. A few women (4.1%) suffered stigmatization, another 4.1% suffered loss of intimate relationships and companionship, 4.1% suffered from loss of self-esteem, and 7% became homeless.

1) Divorce

As was mentioned earlier when discussing the marital status of the respondents, 60.2% of the respondents were separated or divorced. These were the wives who were not willing to play the traditional role as 'takers of shit' and so had to bear the full brunt of their husbands' anger and frustration (Ansley, 1973). The prize was as always, too dear. Divorce is something that is not condoned in the Bible neither does culture condone it, this means that any woman who divorces or separates from her husband always has to pay a prize for the same by facing shame and embarrassment, scorn and loss of respect in her community. In fact in most communities, divorcees acquire a new name that stigmatizes them; denoting their irresponsible behaviour of not being able to stay in a marriage. With divorce came loss of an intimate relationship which most of the respondents said hit them really hard especially in this era of HIV/AIDS when one would not want to change sexual partners. Some respondents had to face very hard situations of
bringing up children single handedly while some children demanded to know and stay with their fathers. Some divorced or separated women somehow coped by cheating their children that their fathers had passed away or telling the children never to talk to them again about their fathers.

Having separated, some women took in different men from time to time and were bad role models to the children who after a while got into immature male relationships and dropped out of school, became pregnant or kept on also cohabiting with different men.

2) Financial impact on the victim

Financially, the respondents had to pay for divorce very dearly in the sense that by leaving the husbands they were automatically forgoing financial help from them. To respondents who did not have jobs this meant that they had to totally depend on relatives or friends who soon got tired of taking care of them and either threw them out of their homes or started mistreating them. Left on their own, these respondents found themselves completely lost; not knowing where to begin because they had previously depended on their spouses who would do everything for them. This extreme dependency is what Lenore Walker called “The learned helplessness” or “The battered woman syndrome.”

Some women in the sample had lost their jobs because of the instability in marriage. A few cases were cited where husbands literally went to places of work inciting the employers against their wives and insisting that the women be sacked since they (husbands) did not want them (their wives) to work.

This study found out that after continuous battering, some women were not able to productively perform their work. This was due to frequent absenteeism from work at times for long periods of time when the battered women were nursing their wounds at home or had swollen faces that they were hiding away from everybody. At times the battered women who had escaped from home and were scared that their husbands would look for them and embarrass them at their places of work simply decided to keep off work.
The financial state of women was made worse by the fact that when parting most women went away with their children. So when the husbands abandoned them all together, responsibilities just overwhelmed the women: Children dropped out of school, their mothers could not provide for their basic needs and this drove some children to the streets to beg while others turned to prostitution so as to find something to eat.

As a result of wife battering a lot of family finances were lost when violent husbands destroyed family property or when money was spent in paying hospital bills while treating the injured woman.

(b) Psychological impact

The women who suffered psychological consequences such as mental trauma, poor health, fear and tension, lack of sleep, stress, suicidal feelings etc. were 29.8 %. In some cases, these psychological effects went deeper and turned to be medical cases.

(c) Medical Impact

A few (6.9 %) of the women interviewed had encountered grievous medical impact such as trauma, poor health, permanent pains and contracting HIV/AIDS as a result of unfaithfulness in their relationships. Most battered women were very traumatized and would break down when they relived incidences of battering, death threats by a sword or how their children were battered and even killed for siding with them.

When asked about the worst thing that their husbands had done to them during the beatings, 26.4 % reported that their batterers had inflicted disabling injuries all over their bodies. Most women reported that they had difficulties with hearing, vision, persistent headaches, problems with teeth and pains around the jaw, pains all over the body especially the back, neck, lower abdomen and hands. One respondent lamented that the injuries affected her to the extent that she could not bend to wash or even wring clothes yet washing clothes was the job she did to earn a living. Lack of proper co-ordination of the brain which was as a result of mental trauma suffered during physical battering was reported by 14.0 % of the respondents while another 7.8 % of the respondents who were beaten while pregnant had miscarriages. Quite a good number of women complained of stress related illnesses such as hypertension, ulcers, lack of sleep and 0.8 % confessed
that they had attempted suicide. These findings are supported by the works of Ondicho (1993), Ondicho, (1997), FIDA, (1999).

4.7.2: Impact of wife battering on the children

In order to capture this variable the study asked the respondents to state the kind of behaviour that they had seen in their children which they thought was as a result of wife battering. It was reported that wife battering had impacted negatively on most of the children and only positively to a few. In summary 50% of the women reported that their children had experienced social impact of wife battering, 40% psychological and about 10% of the women had not noticed any effect on their children.

(a) Social impact

Majority of the women (34%) stated that out of the 50% of the children (who were negatively affected) were reported to be aggressive, violent upon little provocation as a result of anger, bitterness and resentment harboured against their mothers. This resentment against the mothers came as a result of some children feeling that their mothers had denied them fathers and exposed them to stigmatization in society. Some children had been incited against their mothers previously by their fathers while a few children hated their mothers after seeing the kind of misbehaviour that their mothers engaged in after divorcing their fathers e.g. prostitution. A few (7.0%) of children were reported to have developed hatred for women generally that is, against mothers, sisters or female friends while 18.4% of the women reported that their children specifically had extreme dislike or fear for fathers. A minority of 0.5% of the children were reported to have general fear for men to the extent of resisting their mothers getting into male relationships. One respondent reported about her three year old child who would literally run away from the father when the father wanted to carry him. This child would tell the father that he (the boy) was scared that the father would beat him the way he (the father) did to the mother. This fear came as a result of the mistreatment the children had received from their fathers. When the women were asked whether their husbands were violent to the children, 36.9% of the respondents reported that their husbands had misplaced their anger and beat their children along with them (wives). Another 9.3% of the respondents reported that their husbands denied their children food while another 2.3% would verbally abuse their children and be very unkind to them especially when they intervened to separate the two parents during a fight. This study also found out
fathers were quite violent towards their adopted children especially when they were boys. The children who resembled their mothers were more violated by the fathers who had great hatred for them. Likewise, the children who resembled their fathers were also hated and mistreated by the mothers especially in the absence of their fathers. Violence towards children who were boys could be attributed to the fact that sons normally tend to have a stronger bond with their mothers and so they would intervene to protect their mothers during fights. When this happened in violent families, fathers did not like it and so accused the women of inciting the sons against them. In order to punish both mother and son the fathers became unreasonably very violent towards them. Violence of fathers towards their children was not very common though as reported by 61.5% of the respondents.

Indiscipline, big headedness and specifically verbal deficit in children were reported by 4.2% of the respondents. A few (1.1%) of the children were reported by their mothers to have turned to promiscuous behaviour. Though the study did not carry out a research to establish the level of ability of children at school before battering began in their families, some respondents were very sure beyond any reasonable doubt that, they started noticing a drop in their children’s performance after incidences of violence in their families. Cases were reported where teachers noticed the change immediately and called the parents at school to find out whether there was a problem at home. It is at that time that it was discovered that some children never slept at night because of fear of their mothers being beaten by their fathers. While at school the children would keep on daydreaming or being absent minded. Some children never wanted to go to school at all, other children would go to school but snick out and go back home so as to be sure that their mothers were safe. As a result of all these, the children lacked concentration at school which consequently made their performance go down. When the children failed to perform well at school, they were exposed to humiliation, shame and embarrassment and this caused them to have low self-esteem, which in turn, made them develop feelings of helplessness, hopelessness or uselessness. This situation overwhelmed most children; 0.5% turned to God in order to cope while majority of them could just not cope. As a result of the unbearable situation at home, 0.5% of the respondents reported that their children had run away from home to stay in the streets, 3.2% of the children abused substances such as alcohol and drugs, 0.5% of the children dropped out of school, 2.7% of the children had become very attached to each other in the family while a few girls took to
early marriages so as to escape from the violent environment. There were a few cases where fathers killed their sons because of defending their mothers. Other children had become selfish and withdrawn. The findings of this section agree with the findings of Miranda (1994), Sonkin & Durphy (1994), Eros in (Hansen et.al. 1993), Bourlet (1990) and Hampton (1983).

Since the focus of study was on battered women, the study tried to capture the children's general character in their violent environment through the mothers who were battered. In responding on the general character of their children, 48.3% of the respondents reported that their children were normal, friendly and calm. Over half (51%) of the respondents reported that their children had been affected negatively both socially and psychologically. Table 15 below shows the responses of the respondents:

Table 15: Children’s general character in their violent families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>% of responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Normal, friendly, calm</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>48.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggressive and violent</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thieving, delinquent, truant</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socially maladjusted, loners, withdrawn</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not independent, confident nor secure</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rude, disrespectful, arrogant, indisciplined</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scared and frightenened by appearance of the father</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug takers, school drop outs</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selfish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>120</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From these statistics, we can safely conclude that, though wife battering gives rise to potential batterers, it is not always the case, some children who grow up in violent homes hate violence and avoid it at all costs.

This study reminds parents and emphasizes the fact that children feel loved, secure and emotionally fulfilled when they see and know that their parents love each other.
The best thing that a father can do to his children is to love their mother likewise the best thing that a mother can do to her children is to love their father.

4.7.3: Impact of wife battering on the batterer
This study revealed that wife battering did have an impact on the batterer but the impact on the batterer was not great as compared to the impact it had on the battered woman and the children. The women who reported that their husbands looked psychologically disturbed, isolated and self-withdrawn were 17.8%. The withdrawal could be attributed to lack of confidence as a result of failing to meet the social-cultural expectations that a mature man should marry and maintain a stable family. A further 12.5% of the respondents reported that their husbands had become irresponsible and unstable while 11.8% of the women reported that their husbands had become womanizers and were even keeping concubines. Strangely 13.2% of the women had not noticed anything wrong with their husbands since they separated and were staying apart. Another 11.8% of respondents reported that their husbands abused substances e.g. alcohol and drugs. The rest (32.9%) of the husbands were reported to have had social impact such as suicidal ideas, others were shy among women, lost friends, settled with other women, had their personal progress retarded, loss of jobs, lost respect from family and neighbours, hated by children etc.

4.7.4: Impact of wife battering on the nuclear family as a whole
The violent families in this study were dysfunctional since according to Murdock (in Haralambos, 1985), they in one way or another, did not effectively meet the requirements of the four basic universal functions of the nuclear family namely sexual reproduction, residential, economic co-operation and socialization functions thus posing a big threat to the survival of society.

1) Meeting sexual needs of adult members of society
To a large extent, this function was fulfilled though not out of love but out of duty. Most respondents in the study confessed that they never had love for their batterers meaning that even when they involved in the sexual act, they did so to fulfill cultural or marital expectations and so did not get emotionally involved most of the times. The respondents who refused sex with their husbands were 1.4% while a further 1.0% refused to bear children with their husbands. Refusal to bear children is a great threat to the survival and
continuity of the society; it also gives room to unfaithfulness in marriage. It is important for couples to know that 'sex begins in the morning' meaning that every action or word sets mood for good or bad sex depending on whether the action is good or bad. This therefore means that if a couple is to enjoy sex to its fullest in their marriage, they both have to treat each other kindly throughout so as to set the mood for good love making. A husband who is unkind to the wife, beats her, calls her names should not expect the battered wife to be at her best sexually. On the same issue, a respondent reported how she could cook for her whole family but never talked to any of them. There was never any communication in those families except when the husbands and wives were in bed and the husband demanded sex. This respondent reported that she would never refuse sex since she had been taught by her mother never to refuse her husband sex but she would never be an active participant.

2) Unit of common residence

Though not always, at times wife battering ends up in divorce, as was the case in this study where 60.2% of the women separated or divorced. Divorce immediately renders the divorced woman homeless and since most of the times, it is the woman who stays in the man’s house, when it comes to separation or divorce, the woman is the one who leaves.

As mentioned earlier, because of the love for their children most women leave their abusive marriages with their children making their cases very burden-some as the woman has to struggle to provide for the family single handedly. In order to cope with the financial pressure, some women turned to prostitution, unfortunately in some cases, they only made matters worse by getting more children with different men, contracting HIV/AIDS as some women turned to brothels, Rehabilitation Centres and streets for accommodation for families that had broken off from their original nuclear families. The husbands who were left behind stayed in their houses exchanging women while others left the family houses to go and stay with concubines. In conclusion, most nuclear families in the study did not achieve this function because they did not share common residence.
3) Economic co-operation
This function of the nuclear family was also not achieved in the study since most respondents lacked open and free communication with their spouses concerning money. A good number (29.7%) of the respondents reported that they did not know how much their husbands earned and because of this many quarrels in the families were caused by money issues. Transparency concerning money issues is important in marriage so that each partner knows the exact position of the family financially and is able to consequently understand why they have to forgo some comforts that they think they should enjoy.

The study revealed that most husbands exploited wives by abdicating their family responsibilities to them; ensuring that the wives spent up to the last coin while them (husbands) spent their money drinking, keeping concubines and generally retarding progress in families. In some cases, women who worked in family businesses were not paid and had to depend on their other relatives or ‘steal’ to get money for their personal up keep.

4) Socialization
The fourth basic universal function of the nuclear family is to care and socialize children during their early years. Where the nuclear family unit is functioning well, there is normally love, peace, respect, discipline, unity, communication and an all-round growth of every member i.e. physically, psychologically, spiritually and socially; this kind of an environment gives rise to responsible and emotionally stable persons who in turn become responsible citizens who can be depended on to lead a nation to greatness. Unfortunately, in this study, most families did not achieve this goal but instead impacted on the children negatively. After witnessing their mothers being battered by their fathers most children became maladjusted in their personality and developed low self-esteem, aggression, violence, anger and bitterness, hatred, verbal deficit, withdrawal, selfishness and non cooperation attitude. Quite a good number of children became irresponsible and got into trouble as a result of early pregnancies which in some cases, led to abortions, children being abandoned or early marriages. Other children were reported to have involved in delinquent behaviour such as school truancy, drug abuse and prostitution. The saddest thing however, is that most children copied, imitated and modelled their violent parent
(s) to become potential violent and irresponsible parents doing everything bad they saw their parent(s) do.

**Conclusion**

Peace is a group effort. For a family to stand strong it must be united in mind and purpose and it all begins with the mother and father who create an atmosphere of love around the home. An environment of love allows for the full growth of every member in the family while an environment full of violence destroys all that is good in people. Violence should therefore be avoided by all means.

**4.8: Some survival techniques used by battered women in the management of wife battering and results of hypothesis 3 testing**

Battered women in this study coped with physical battering by mostly engaging in what Green (1999) termed as the management of suffering techniques. In these techniques women conceal distrust with passivity and aggressiveness with servility. These techniques are often preferred because they are not likely to put women in direct confrontation with men. Majority (46.3%) reported that after being beaten they ran away temporarily to their families and relatives, 26.2% coped by being passive, submissive and persevered with their batterers, 6.0% sought some kind of escape in way of separation or divorce, some attempted suicide, 0.6% hired thugs to kill their batterers while 8.7% reported to the legal authorities. The women who screamed for help were 4.0%, 0.6% of the respondents fought back, 0.7% prayed with church members, some sought counselling through social networks and 0.7% stopped working. Other respondents simply turned their anger inside and resorted to silence. A moving incident was narrated by a respondent, who said that for ten years she never talked to her husband because,

"Whatever I said was bad, nonsense and rubbish."

Whenever her husband came home she would cook and put the food on the table for him but would never eat with him. She would then, most of the times, leave to go to her bedroom especially if it was at night or go to her neighbour’s house if it was during the day. This woman resorted to silence as a way of avoiding arguments and fighting. Coping with wife battering by turning anger inside is psychologically extremely very
dangerous because inhibited or pent-up anger always finds its vent out through stress related illnesses such as hypertension and mental trauma (Depression). These illnesses can, to a certain extent, be avoided if women went to the organizations that deal with domestic violence, joined the support groups, talked and shared their problems with the others during group therapy. Battered women would also be assisted to follow their cases legally for the good of all involved in the dispute. Talking and sharing problems is very therapeutic and confirms the proverb that says that *a problem shared is half solved*. Some women in the estates (slums) where wife battering is rampant cope by gossiping about their husbands and just laughing it off during their free time in the afternoon.

(a) The Runaways

The study revealed that unlike long time ago when women would automatically run away to their parents or relatives' homes, women who had separated, divorced or ran away for sometime in this study decided to stay with their friends in town, on their own, at the rehabilitation centres or with other men; a fact that pointed to the fact that marriage ties and commitments are slowly dying away and that women are gaining more autonomy over their lives to be able to decide who to stay with. Running away temporarily was however found not to be very effective in some cases since few women who left for a few days just went back to care for the children without the husband even bothering to follow them and sort out the issue with their parents or relatives. As the Survivor theory states, these women remain in abusive marriages due not to passivity but to repeated unsuccessful attempts to escape (Gondolf & Fisher, 1988).

Based on the arguments from the key informants, this study established that most women are never willing to leave their marriages but are only forced to do so by circumstances; for this reason anything that makes a woman leave her marriage should seriously be looked into.

(b) Submission

The Bible in the book of Ephesians 5:22-24 commands wives to submit to their husbands, likewise husbands are commanded to love their wives in Ephesians 6: 25. When a man loves his wife, he feeds and cares for her (Ephesians 6: 29). Submission comes easily and automatically when a man loves and expresses his love to his wife but it becomes difficult when a husband is violent, unkind and belittles the wife calling her
all sorts of names. Most men expect women to follow this biblical principle of submission while they themselves go contrary to their command of love. The subject of submission caused a heated debate among members of one focus group discussion when one respondent said that women should submit to men at whatever cost,

"Hata akikuita mjinga ama mbwa, wewe nyamaza ili uepukane na kupigwa na pia kelele nyingi mkileta aibu ndogo ndogo kwa majirani."

(Even when he calls you a fool or a dog; you keep quiet so as to escape from being beaten and also from noise that causes shame and embarrassment in the neighbourhood.)

Majority of the participants of the discussion group did not agree with her; they felt that couples should enter marriage because of love and if love exists, partners should operate as helpmates and equal partners who respect, love and complement each other. It is not right for a man to treat his wife as his doormat since the woman was not created from man’s foot. A woman should also not want to dominate a man since she was not created from the man’s head. As concerns the place of woman in relation to man in marriage, this study compliments one of Kenya’s renowned Cabinet Minister Honourable Raila Amolo Odinga when responding to someone who had said that, “Behind every successful man there is a woman.” Raila was responding to this statement in support of empowerment of women, the Minister said,

"What would my wife be doing behind my back? I want my wife by my side."

This phrase simply implies that women can do and achieve much more in society if they have the support of their husbands who give them room to grow as different individuals who are able to realize their full potential in life. Women and men need to work together so as to build firm families that will in turn build a firm nation. Each single family in a nation is like one building block; if all the blocks are firm, whatever is built out of them becomes firm.

It is unfortunate that some men have misunderstood the meaning of submission and subjected their wives to situations that appear enslaving. Though it is not a Kenyan culture to kneel for men and wash their feet, two women in the study reported that after many years of struggle with their husbands, they had decided to change their tactics. One respondent said this,
"When my husband comes home, I meet him at the door, take his bag and whatever else he is carrying then welcome him to his seat. After sitting, I remove his coat, his socks and his shoes. I then wash and massage his feet. After this I let him rest for a few minutes then ask him about how his day was. I say 'pole' and then give him something to drink. I let him rest again for about half an hour before I kindly ask him for what we need in the house."

This respondent was really amazed at how the trick had worked on the man; he stopped drinking, would come home early and cared for the family more.

To confirm this, another respondent who is a professional counsellor said that to her, the person that matters most in the world is her husband. She does exactly as above but adds that,

"This seems to be a long ceremony but I do it out of love and because I am propelled by love, I do not feel enslaved nor do I feel that it is a duty. I do it whether there are visitors in the house or not. I can do everything and anything for my husband. When my husband comes to the house and finds me with visitors, I excuse myself and let them know that I have to attend to my husband for about half an hour before I can get back to them."

The shocking rendition from this respondent was that they would even leave visitors in the sitting room, go to the bedroom, have sex then go back to attend to their visitors. The most interesting part of this discussion was that this couple had coined a special word for sex. The husband would therefore just mention the word (which was unknown to anybody else apart from the two) and both would leave for the bedroom immediately. This respondent, like the previous one, also confessed that the trick had worked and that,

"There is nothing that, that man cannot do for me."

This technique is what was discussed in the literature review section as transactional manipulation where women get what they want by carrying out their traditional roles. 1.3% of women had learnt the secret of apologizing or taking responsibility for mistakes they did not even do so as to end what would otherwise be an endless argument. A widowed woman said that she realized very late after her husband had passed away that it is very important for a woman to be able to apologize in marriage so as to bring peace.
(b) Shouting and screaming

Most men hate embarrassment and shame; because of this reason, most women in the sample reported that their husbands did not want them to scream during the battering. The husbands threatened the respondents with severe beatings or death if they screamed. Most respondents obeyed the fact that they were not supposed to scream while 4.0 % of the women screamed. Screaming worked quite well to deter husbands from beating their wives since they feared shame, embarrassment and stigmatization in the neighbourhood. A respondent narrated how she used to scream loud enough to wake up people in the neighbourhood, she would wake up all the children so that the children would witness what their father was doing to her. This respondent reported that screaming finally helped her when one time, after crying out for help for a long time, one of her male neighbours gathered up courage, entered the house through the roof and rescued her from the beatings. It was that same man who later on advised her to take up her case to WRAP where she found help. This study did find out however that, most people are never willing to separate a husband and wife while fighting; this is because the batterer would always brand the one separating them the lover to the wife if he is a man or the spoiler if she is a woman. Another reason is that, after making up with their husbands, most women turn against those who help them using them as scapegoats for inciting them to be at war with their husbands.

Some women never cried at all. One widowed respondent told the researcher how she would harden her muscles so as not to feel pain when she was beaten. She said this,

"Wakati wa kupigwa nilikuwa ninakaza misuli yangu ili nisihisi maumivu na kwa hakika sikuwa nikhishi maumivu. Hivo n diyo maana unaona sina alama ny ingi mwilini."

(When I was being beaten I used to harden my muscles so that I did not feel pain and for sure, I never used to feel pain. That is why you see that I do not have many scars on my body.)

This study found out that, in most cases, when women screamed they enraged their batterers who beat them even more. At the height of being beaten, some 4.0 % of women in the sample fought back fiercely calling their husbands all sorts of names such as,
Many women were badly hurt and left for dead in this kind of scenario because of what their spouses called ‘Big mouths.’

(c) Reporting to authorities

Only 8.7% reported to the legal authorities such as chiefs, police, village elders and agencies that deal with domestic violence. Most of the respondents did however complain of not getting much help since those who were supposed to help them were men who colluded with husbands to sabotage every move and effort made by the women so that the women go back to their homes (where they were married). As concerns this issue, Gondolf & Fisher (Alsurf, 1989) in their Survivor theory see the battered woman failing not because she is unsuccessful but because of the systems that fail her.

The researcher learnt that, as a way of coping with wife battering, 0.7% of the respondents decided only to pray with fellow church members. Praying is not a bad idea but it does not make much sense to pray without involving the couple in a discussion to establish what the problem is, the cause of it and how the couple thinks the problem can be solved. Praying only is a way of running away from problems which should be faced head on before finishing up with prayers. The study also showed that after being silent on such issues, some men involved in a lot of sex believing that as long as sex was going on between a couple, issues would just sought out themselves. This style of problem solving is very temporary, leaves wounds unhealed and erodes confidence from the woman towards her husband since the woman starts feeling that her husband does not respect her but only minimizes her feelings.
The study found out that some women had survived wife battering by seeking some kind of counselling such as Professional Counselling, Biblical or Legal Counselling. Only 9.7% of the respondents had sought Professional Counselling. This number is very low compared to the number of cases that occur daily in this country. Failure by 90.3% of the respondents to seek Professional Counselling could be attributed to the fact that not many women are aware of the existence of Professional Counselling in Kenya today and so those women do not seek those services.

The second reason could be that, most Professional Counsellors discharge their services at a fee which was not affordable to majority of the women in the sample since they had very little income.

(c) Biblical Counselling

As reflected in the table above, 51.5% of the respondents sought Biblical Counselling while 48.5% did not. The fact that 48.5% of the respondents did not seek help does not mean they were not being battered. Most people pretend to be angels in church while there is normally a lot of battering going on within their families. Couples rarely open up to let other people know that they have problems because they imagine that
Christians should never have such problems. The other reason is that, the African culture has always blamed women for breakage of marriages and even when a woman is beaten it is normally assumed that the woman must be the one on the wrong. Women have come to accept to take responsibility of keeping their marriages at any cost and also accept blames. The internalization of these social-cultural expectations makes women feel guilty and blame themselves when their marriages fail to work. Culture also expects a wife to cover up for the husband’s shortcomings at any cost and not cause him any embarrassment; it is for this reason that women keep silent and never wash their dirty linen in public. Unfortunately, there are problems in all marriages be they Christian marriages or not. To deny problems in marriage is like denying that we are human beings who are uniquely created and who therefore have differences in likes, dislikes and generally in character. Research has revealed that because of silence as concerns battering in Christian homes, Christian wives are severely battered into submission.

A minority of 12.9% of the women opted for Biblical Counselling saying that they did so because they wanted to save their marriages so they knew the Pastors and church elders would counsel them and never tell them to divorce since divorce is against the Biblical principles. Others said that they thought they would find help at the church since they were active members of the church and were well known to their pastors.

Table 18: Respondents who sought Legal counselling

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sought Legal Counselling</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>45.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>54.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 45.6% of the respondents who had sought legal counselling did so for various reasons: 14% said they did so as a last resort since they did not know who else to talk to, 4.9% of the respondents said that they thought that reporting to the Chiefs was the only way that could scare and deter the husbands from their bad behaviour since chiefs have authority, 5.8% of the respondents reported to the chiefs because the chiefs were
easily available and their services were free. Contrary to the above respondents, 54.4 % of the respondents chose not to report to the chiefs because of the chiefs’ failure to act in such like cases previously. These respondents accused the police of harassing battered women after colluding and even taking bribes from their husbands.

Table 19: Respondents who sought help from relatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sought help from relatives</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>81.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Out of the 103 respondents, 81.6 % sought help of relatives; majority of them said that they decided to consult relatives because they thought that those relatives had wisdom and influence on their husbands. The reason for majority of women turning to relatives for help could be attributed to the fact that issues to do with domestic violence are still considered by many people to be private issues that should be sorted out within the family. Secondly, relatives are always available, their services are free and they are people well known to and in most cases respected by the batterers.

Table 20: Respondents who sought help from friends, colleagues or neighbours

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sought help from friends, colleagues or neighbours</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>75.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table above indicates that 24.3 % of respondents did not seek help of friends; they said that most friends only laughed at them and went talking to other people about their problems instead of helping them. The 75.7 % who told friends, neighbours and colleagues said they did so because they were the nearest people to them since their parents and generally family members were up country.
The most shocking thing in this section however was that 2.9 % of women in the sample never sought any help at all yet they had a problem. The reason they gave for not seeking help was that they never wanted to leave their abusive marriages so they just did not want to take any chances by telling people who might have told them to do so. A minority of 1.9 % of the women reported that they did not seek help because they did not think that anyone had a solution to their problems.

**Conclusion**

Most married women loved their marriages and rarely wanted to leave except when circumstances forced them like when they were threatened with death. Before they left their marriages however, most women sought help of different people such as relatives, friends, neighbours, work mates, church mates etc. As postulated in the Survivor Theory, battered women increase their help seeking efforts in face of increased violence trying in logical consistent way to assure themselves and their children protection and survival.

**Hypothesis 3 Testing**

The third hypothesis of the study was that, the nature of survival technique sought as a result of wife battering is likely to be influenced by the socio-economic status of the victim. The indicators for these variables were whether victim has an income or not, whether victim has freedom to spend her money the way she wants, whether both the husband and wife contribute to the running of the house, whether victims’ attempt to seek help is determined by her income, level of education, religious affiliation or marital status.

In order to test this hypothesis statistically, the researcher cross-tabulated the level of education and the average monthly income of the respondents against the different survival techniques sought. Karl Pearson’s (r) Correlation Coefficient tests were done and apart from the relationship that existed between monthly income and efforts to seek help from friends, colleagues and neighbours, there was no other significant relationship between income and other strategies.

**Level of education Vs survival technique sought**

In order to establish the relationship that existed between level of education and survival technique sought, interval by interval Karl Pearson’s Correlation Coefficient (r) tests were done.
Analysis of results

It is worth noting that some results in this section might appear weird because it was quite a challenge getting a true picture of level of education and average monthly income against survival techniques used because majority (91.3 %) of the respondents fell in the low levels of both education and income. This meant that the study dealt with almost a homogeneous sample whose findings cannot be used to make any generalizations.

Level of education Vs strategy used

The Karl Pearson’s (r) test results on level of education against professional counselling was -. 479. These results did not give the expected or clear outcome perhaps because of the disparity that existed between the number of women with low level of education (91.3 %) against those with higher level of education (only 8.7%) that were interviewed. Some meaningful analysis was however done based on the cross tabulation as shown below:

Table 21: Level of education of respondents and decision to seek Professional Counselling

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What is your highest Level of education?</th>
<th>Professional Counselling</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Count</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>4.9 %</td>
<td>86.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Count</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>4.9 %</td>
<td>3.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Count of total</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>9.7 %</td>
<td>90.3 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21 above indicates that majority of women with lower level of education did not seek professional counselling (86.4 %) only 4.9 did. As the level of education increased majority (4.9 %) of women with higher levels of education sought professional counselling while only 3.9 % did not. This difference can be attributed to the fact that most women with lower levels of education did not know about the existence of professional counselling. Secondly, the kind of income they earned did not allow them
afford most of their basic needs leave alone the exorbitant fee charged for professional counselling.

Level of education Vs Biblical Counselling

Karl Pearson’s (r) test results were -.088. This meant that there was no relationship between level of education and the probability that women would seek biblical counselling since majority of women with both low and high levels of education sought biblical counselling. This behaviour of women to seek Biblical counselling can be attributed to the fact that all human beings, whether educated or not, would ultimately turn to God in times of trouble. Secondly, Biblical counselling is normally done by the clergy free of charge and so any person who seeks help can always get it. Third reason could be the availability of the Biblical counsellors who are most of the times ready to minister to those in need.

Level of education Vs women’s efforts to seek Legal Counselling

The Karl Pearson’s (r) test results on level of education against efforts to seek legal Counselling were .088. These results meant that majority of women with both lower (46.6 %) and higher levels of education (5.8 %) did not seek legal counselling. This study therefore, concluded that level of education did not determine whether a battered woman would seek legal counselling or not. These results imply that there are other major factors involved that make women seek legal counselling: awareness level that one is in a battering relationship, sensitization and influence from media on domestic violence and the rights of women as well as whether the battered woman has money or not.

Level of education Vs friends e.g. colleagues, neighbours etc.

The Karl Pearson’s (r) test results were .065. These results revealed that there was no relationship between level of education and the decision by battered women to seek help from friends e.g. colleagues, neighbours etc. since majority of women with both low and high levels of education sought help of friends. The possibility of seeking help however depended on how trustworthy a friend was and ability to treat matters as confidential. This finding was also confirmed by the statistical analysis of the same.
Level of education Vs turning to relatives as a survival technique

The Karl Pearson’s (r) results were -.045. These results show that there is no relationship between level of education and the decision by battered women to seek counselling from relatives. The decision to seek help from relatives depends on who the relative is, how close one is to the relative and whether the relative is respected in the area of counselling or not etc. The statistical analysis did however show that most people still turn to relatives on issues pertaining to domestic violence because of the confidential nature of the matter and the belief that ‘dirty linen’ should never be washed in public.

Monthly income Vs the survival strategy sought

In order to establish whether or not a relationship existed between average monthly income and the survival strategy used, interval by interval Karl Pearson’s (r) tests were carried out.

Monthly income Vs Professional Counselling

Karl Pearson’s test results were 0.073. These results revealed that there was no relationship between monthly income of the respondents and the battered women’s decisions to seek professional counselling. The fact that majority (90.3 %) of the women never sought professional counselling can be explained by the fact that 31 % of the respondents never had any earnings, 43.7 % earned 4,000 KShs or less while only 7.8 % of the women earned 10,000 KShs or above. With the little earnings, most women could not even meet their basic needs, others could not spare money for transport to go and access professional counselling from where it was available, still majority could not afford the fee charged by professional counsellors. The issue became more complicated in that even the women who could afford professional counselling did not do so since their husbands took all their money and left them with nothing to spend.

Monthly income Vs Biblical Counselling

The Karl Pearson’s (r) results were -.043. This meant that there was no relationship between monthly income and battered women’s decisions to seek Biblical counselling. This could be explained by the fact that Biblical counselling is provided free of charge and so anyone in need can always benefit from the free services of Biblical counsellors. The only thing that can be pointed out is that, as the monthly income increases, a battered woman has more options available for her (if she wanted) in that, she is in a position to afford both professional as well as legal counselling.
Monthly income Vs women's decision to seek Legal Counselling as a survival strategy

Karl Pearson's (r) test results were - 0.057. This meant that there was no relationship between monthly income and battered women's decisions to seek legal counselling. This finding does not depict what we know to be on the ground since one would expect that as the monthly income increases, the number of women who seek legal counselling also increase. It was, however, not surprising that in this study women's efforts to seek legal counselling did not increase with monthly income since the income that increased was very little with a good majority of women earning less than 4,000 KShs.

Monthly income Vs. battered women's decisions to seek counselling from friends i.e. colleagues, neighbours etc.

The study established that there is a negative relationship between monthly income and battered women’s decision to seek counselling of friends such as colleagues and neighbours. The degree of the correlation was moderate at -. 272 %. This correlation meant that as the monthly income increased, the number of women who sought counseling from friends i.e. colleagues, neighbours etc. decreased. This decrease could be explained by the fact that as people climb up the social ladder, they become more distant and want to lead more private lives. People also become very choosy on who to confide in and the confidant/es are likely to be people not very familiar with them and probably professional counsellors.

Monthly income Vs. battered women's decision to seek counselling from relatives

The Pearson's (r) test results on monthly income and women’s decisions to seek help from relatives were -. 070. These results revealed that there was no relationship between monthly income and the battered women’s decisions to seek counselling from relatives simply because any one can go to their relatives. Secondly, one does not need money in order to receive counselling from relatives. Third reason is that the relatives are also most of the times available as long as they are trusted as people who can offer help when consulted.

4.9: Results of hypothesis 4 testing

The fourth and last hypothesis that was tested in this study was that more battered women would seek help if they were aware of the existing intervention strategies of redressing wife battering. The indicators for this hypothesis were whether respondents knew their rights as women and as human beings, whether they knew that wife beating is a crime that
is punishable by law, whether they knew they have to voice their problem in order to break the silence and whether they knew any organizations that deal with women’s rights.

This hypothesis was qualitatively analyzed and also proved true statistically in that most women did not know the existence of most existing intervention strategies. A good number too neither knew the existence of the many organizations that deal with the rights of women nor the specialized counselling offered for battered women in these organizations. Majority of women knew only FIDA (52.9 %) which they had a bias against as an organization for the rich, WRAP was known to only 13.7 % of the women, GVRC was known to only 3 % while COVAW was known to 7.8 % of the respondents.

This hypothesis was qualitatively tested by capturing it very well in the interview guide for the key informants (Appendix 2, question 15) as well as in the focus group discussion guide (Appendix 3, question 13. In those questions, the key informants and the members of the focus group discussion were asked whether in their opinion, battered women would seek help if they were aware of the existing intervention strategies. All the key informants and the participants of the discussion group agreed that more women would seek help if they were aware of the intervention strategies of redressing wife battering.
CHAPTER FIVE: INTERVENTION STRATEGIES, SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

5.0: INTERVENTION STRATEGIES

1. (a) Education

A total of 22.2% of the respondents felt that there should be better education and counselling for all on human rights. Everyone (with emphasis to women) should be educated and trained specifically on the rights that protect women against violence through both the electronic as well as the print media. If this is done, people will avoid violating one another as is the case currently.

Through education, the government and the agencies that deal with domestic violence should sensitize opinion shapers such as teachers, pastors, politicians, the judiciary and the policy makers on women’s issues so that these leaders influence society against domestic violence. Unless this is done domestic violence will continue.

It is really a high time that the society reviewed its stand concerning many issues in society today. A good example of a case where change is needed is like a case where an unfaithful husband keeps on changing women then goes to the wife and insists on having unprotected sex with her in this era of HIV/AIDS. When the wife refuses to copulate with the man, the society accuses her of neglecting her conjugal duty. If during the time she is refusing sex, the husband rapes her and she takes action against him, the society is quick to point fingers at her that rape does not exist in marriage. In this kind of a scenario, many innocent women contract HIV/AIDS, die and leave children just because of carelessness and selfishness of some men.

(b) The Ministry of Education Science and Technology (MOEST) should design a curriculum that caters for domestic violence. This curriculum should be taught right from nursery school through to the university levels of education. The lessons should be structured in such a way that children get both formal and informal education on the best practices and amicable and non-violent ways of handling disputes in the family. The fact that violence is bad should be emphasized and violent children should be counselled against it and severely punished so that they learn to avoid violence at any cost. The
punishments given to the violent children should serve as examples to deter other violent or potential violent children among them.

(c) Socialization
Both boys and girls should be socialized into a culture where boys see girls as equal partners who have great abilities and people who deserve respect. The society should also socialize girls to feel equal rather than inferior to boys, be assertive in expressing their views and participate fully in decision making as well as to contribute to the well being of society. Both boys and girls should be taught the importance of each sex and the fact that each sex complements the other so as to fulfill the needs of society. The biological differences should not be taken as reasons to pin each other down but rather as facts that prove how much boys and girls, men and women need each other in society.

(d) The NGOs through the Ministry of Education should network so that they have special departments that target and deal with schools. It would be the work of these departments, through the Ministry of Education, to ensure that the topic of domestic violence is covered in the curriculum taught in schools right from nursery school to university, they should also help start clubs in schools as well as identify patrons for those clubs. The main objective of these clubs would be to identify and sensitize students on the negative impact of wife battering, early intervention strategies and to create awareness about human rights in the students. The non-violent ways of conflict resolution would be taught to the members of the club. Little attempt towards this end has been made by COVAW.

(e) The key informants in this study were very highly educated on issues of domestic violence. Likewise the chiefs, the police, the medics and the social workers need to be trained through advocacy departments on how to handle survivors of wife battering with a lot of understanding and empathy. Respondents in this study reported cases where chiefs and/ or police colluded with their husbands to have their cases ignored in court. In one case a chief was bribed by a husband to a respondent to have the respondent go back to her husband’s home. In many instances, the police never wanted to get involved into what they called ‘private matters’ and if they did, they would be biased against the woman. The respondents of this study reported that the policemen at the police stations did not treat domestic violence cases with the respect and the confidentiality they
deserved; the police made it an issue of laughter which embarrassed the victims and discouraged them from seeking further help. The police also condemned the victims and made them feel guilty as the cause of problems in their marriages.

2. Counselling

(a) The kind of counselling given concerning wife battering should be holistic in nature in the sense that it is done at community level to prepare the whole community on how to handle family matters at the local set-ups. It should be geared towards breaking the cycle of violence by training and empowering the law enforcing agents (LEA) such as wazee wa kijiji on how to effectively deal with family disputes in unbiased ways that bring true reconciliation and solutions to families.

(b) The kind of counselling geared towards family should target the whole family during sessions known as family therapy. During these sessions, the batterer, the battered and the children sit down to discuss their problems openly as the counsellor facilitates the discussion. It is important that the three parties be involved since wife battering normally affects them all. Separate sessions should also be arranged for the children and the counsellor, the battered and the counsellor or the batterer and the counsellor.

(c) All the giant NGOs that deal with domestic violence mainly target women. Other NGOs that target men should be started. The said NGOs would work hand in hand with the ones that deal with women so as to identify the batterers. Once identified, a law should be reinforced that makes it mandatory for the batterers to go for counselling and rehabilitation classes. In these classes men who batter their wives would be made to understand the impact that their actions have on the whole family and the necessity of stopping that behaviour. It is very important to target male batterers for counselling since most batterers are men and men are the only people who can stop the cycle of violence if they want.

(d) Pre-Marital Counselling

Pre-Marital counselling should be intensified and strengthened at community level. This will act as an effective early intervention strategy to wife battering. The type of counselling offered should address real practical issues in marriage. Pre-marital counselling sessions should be structured to enlighten both young men and women about
their commitments and responsibilities in marriage. This research revealed that due to economic constraints, quite a good number of husbands neglected their families which should not be the case. Pre-marital counselling should be diversified to include:

i. Mature age to marry
Young people should be encouraged to marry at a mature age. For women, the mature age could be 25 years and for men 27 years and above. This will enable both partners in marriage to make mature decisions concerning their marital life; responsibilities and commitments to each other and to family.

ii. Taking time to know each other before marriage
Young people should also be counselled to take time to know each other well before they decide to settle down in marriage. Knowing each other well means knowing the partner’s values, likes and dislikes, strengths and weaknesses and generally the spouse’s character. If there is a problem foreseen, it should openly be discussed and a compromise reached on how best to handle the differences in marriage.

iii. Type of family
It is important that spouses intending to get married know about each other’s family background such as whether one comes from polygamous or monogamous family, poor or rich, educated or not, single/divorced/separated, the kind of environment that one was brought up in (urban or rural areas) and whether from violent or non-violent family. It is important too to know how big a spouse’s family is and the position of a spouse in the family. All these issues should be discussed openly and at length without concealing any information so that before a spouse commits him/herself in marriage he or she knows exactly what she is committing herself to. In this study, a case was cited where a man really hated his wife and would beat her and follow her everywhere she went. The man in question believed that all women were prostitutes because that is the kind of life he saw his mother live. So to protect his wife from going with other men, this man became over jealous and possessive that he never even allowed his wife, who used to sell vegetables, to talk to her male customers. Whenever she talked to any man he would accuse the man of being his wife’s lover. The respondent narrated that she learnt later on that her husband got married to her out of peer pressure not because he had loved the idea of getting married.
iv. Expectations in marriage

It is important that each spouse knows each other's expectations culturally, socially, economically, religiously etc. The couple intending to get married should discuss how many children they intend to have, how they are to spend their money, how they are to treat and care for their relatives and even friends so that there is no interference from a third party.

v. Challenges in marriage

It is necessary also to instill patience into young people especially the women as they start off their marriages from scratch in life. Some women have been known to push their husbands to the wall; stretching them beyond their financial limits. This is not fair on the men and causes a lot of trouble in marriages. With God, love, patience, understanding and partnership in marriage, a couple can almost achieve anything and everything they want in life, but it all comes with time. When two married people stand and work as a team they are able to face the many challenges that face them in marriage and come out as a winning team.

vi. Communication.

This study revealed that breakdown in communication was one of the major causes of wife battering. There is need therefore, to nurture communication and dialogue in marriage. Couples should be counselled to love and respect each other meaning that they have to cultivate a habit of openness in communicating with each other. They must be encouraged also to be good listeners; listening to each other without making the other spouse feel intimidated. This study revealed that a good number of men never give their wives an opportunity to express their opinions or views. Others never allow their wives to work. This extreme possessiveness and jealousy is not healthy in a marriage because it hinders personal growth of women and prevents them from achieving their full potential in life. A good marriage should be a marriage where all the members of a family have room to grow physically, socially, psychologically and also spiritually. A family is where we should all grow up to be the best that we could ever be in life. People who come from families where there is room for growth develop into all-rounded people, confident, they believe in themselves and also in their abilities, they love themselves and have a lot of self-esteem which equips them to face the many challenges in life.
(3) Empowerment 

(a) Women
Economic empowerment is the most crucial and starts with social or cultural empowerment. If it is understood that the right to work is an inalienable right of all human beings, then men would allow women to work and earn a living. With an income, women would also contribute towards family upkeep and this would lessen the burden of the husband providing for the family consequently minimizing quarrels and battering.

It takes an empowered and an educated woman with a job to be able to report her husband to the legal authorities, be a witness in court and pursue the matter to see to it that the culprit is apprehended. Culturally, this kind of a woman has to go beyond the myth that a married woman cannot stand against the father of her children in court. This is because economically, she will be independent enough to sustain the family even in the absence of the husband. Because of economic dependency, many women stay in abusive marriages just because they have no other way of earning a living for her and her children in the absence of the man. It is high time battered women stood up in one voice to break the silence by letting the whole world know that wife battering is a crime and a dehumanizing act that has a lot of both long term as well as short term impact on the family members involved, the community and society at large.

(b) Empowerment of men
Men need to be empowered too by encouraging them to get good education that enables them get jobs that give them good earnings so that they can take care of their families without much stress; since they are supposed to be the heads and bread winners in the families. 1.3 % out of 103 respondents felt that it is the responsibility of the government to create job opportunities to its citizens so that the citizens can meet their human basic needs. To sum it all up, one key informant said this,

"To curb domestic violence the issue of poverty should seriously be dealt with."

(4) Stiffer legal actions against batterers
(a) All the respondents and all the 24 participants of the two focus group discussions totally recommended stiffer legal actions through agencies like FIDA, WRAP and
COVAW as the best way to curb wife battering. In unison the women in the discussion at WRAP said,

“Eeh! Ehee! WRAP ni mambo yote.”
(WRAP is everything)

To emphasize the same point, one participant of the Discussion group held at Kayole said this,

“Wanaume wameshinda counselling
Wanaume wameshinda machifu
Wanaume wameshinda polisi
Kwa hivyo korti tu ndilo jibu!”

“Men have defeated counselling
Men have defeated the Chiefs
Men have defeated the police
So the court is the only answer”

Though legal action was voted as one of the best interventions, some respondents expressed discontent about the services they had received in court. They complained that cases took too long at the courts and were most of the times not solved in favour of women. The group came to a conclusion that women had to be patient when they present their cases in court. The stiffer punishments recommended were thoroughly caning the batterer so that he also feels what the woman feels when he beats her and castrating the batterer. The respondents were confident that these stiffer measures would deter both current and potential batterers.

Unlike the general respondents, the majority (80%) of the key informants felt that counselling is the best option to curb wife battering. This difference between the key informants and the respondents might have come as a result of the key informants’ lack of knowledge on what is happening on the ground. Counselling is ethically voluntarily done. The client must be willing to be counselled. As reported by the respondents, most batterers are never willing to go for counselling sessions be it in church, with friends, at the Chiefs’ or even with clan elders. For this reason counselling, though a good strategy is limited where a batterer is not cooperative. Speaking in favour of counseling, one key informant said that counselling enables the Counsellors to know the causes and the depth
of problems as they unearth a lot of information that becomes very handy in reconciling both parties thus restoring their relationship. Counsellors generally think that most of the times the punitive kind of approach leaves couples feeling bitter and even guilty. Some couples are never able to forgive each other again and so it becomes very difficult for two married people to keep a healthy relationship that enables them bring up children in an environment that is conducive for their growth.

During couple counselling, the counsellor normally gives room for each partner to talk, discuss the problem, ask for forgiveness and reconcile; there is also room to change. These are real important steps in restoring a relationship especially one where children are also involved. Domestic violence cases should always be solved to the best interests of the three parties involved in the nuclear family.

5. At community level
(i) There is need of training more social workers and encouraging them to go to homes talking to people and trying to identify problems so that problems can be arrested before they get out of hand.
(ii) The Government, Churches and the NGOs that deal with violence should join hands to do away with places that operate illegally like brothels and those that sell drugs or alcohol since these places have been found to contribute largely to wife battering.
(iii) The Government, Churches, NGOs and CBOs should come together to condemn this brutal act by involving the community at large.

6. Medical Intervention
(a) More awareness against wife battering should be created so that women who are battered can open up about violence and report it to the doctors at wherever hospital they go. Women have been known to feign falling on the stairs or in the bathroom so as to cover up for injuries experienced during battering. Doctors everywhere in the republic should be trained and sensitized to identify cases of wife battering and help the victims (battered women) follow up those cases by producing evidence to such from any hospital in the country not only Nairobi Women’s Hospital.

(b) Battered women should be encouraged to make use of free medical treatment available to victims of violence at the Nairobi Women’s Hospital within 72 hours after
violence. This action is necessary because quite a good number of battered women never go to hospital but just sleep in their houses for weeks while nursing their wounds which at times turn out to be real serious or permanent medical problems in life.

5.1: Summary of findings

Despite efforts put to stop wife battering, this study revealed that wife battering is still very rampant in Kenya. Some women were beaten daily, weekly, monthly and a few occasionally. The study further observed that most women were beaten at night while a few others were beaten at any time and anywhere. The study established that once beating began in a marriage, it rarely stopped but instead increased in both frequency and intensity thus supporting the theory cycle of violence. The respondents reported that their husbands beat them using both blunt and sharp objects, strangling, biting, pulling their braided hair and even pinching.

Surprisingly, the study established that most men who were violent to their wives were never violent to their children or to the outsiders. They loved their children very much and tended to be even overprotective towards them. Most of these men were also very nice, jovial, kind and generally very pleasant people to the outsiders that people would never really believe the wives when they said that those men were wife batterers.

Despite its prevalence, the study observed that cases of wife battering were underreported because it was believed that wife battering was a private affair that needed not to be discussed in public. The second reason why some women never reported the issue was the mistreatment they saw their colleagues subjected to when they reported such issues to the police and chiefs. The study further observed that some women never even discussed the issue with friends, neighbours, colleagues, relatives or even church mates because some of these people would only make them laughing stocks.

The women were left feeling helpless, hopeless and useless; a feeling that made quite a number of them stay in the abusive marriages. Other women stayed in abusive marriages so as to avoid stigmatization and shame of being seen as failures in life, for the sake of children and for economic dependence. Despite strategies engaged, it suffices to say that the end of wife battering will start with women themselves; when the women who fall
victims of this menace decide to break the silence and speak about the vice openly and stand out as survivors rather than victims of wife battering.

Concerning the causes of wife battering, most women reported that their husbands had witnessed violence in the families where they were born (families of origin) and so by involving in acts of violence, they were simply imitating and modelling what they had seen and known to be the only way of settling disputes. Other major causes mentioned by the respondents concerned money issues, infidelity or women expressing their views; an issue that made the husbands feel disrespected and so applied violence to end arguments. The in-law problem also featured as a cause of wife battering and the mothers- in-law were reported to be the most difficult in-laws to deal with.

The study found out that wife battering had adverse social, psychological and physical (medical) impact on all members of the nuclear family though women and children were the most affected. The impact on the individual members of the nuclear family resulted into dysfunctional nuclear families that did not meet their requisite functions within society thus posing a great threat to the survival of society as a whole. Briefly, not all spouses were able to perform their conjugal duties by fulfilling the sexual needs of the adult husbands within the nuclear families resulting to a lot of unfaithfulness as spouses looked for both sexual and emotional satisfaction outside marriage. Secondly, nuclear families (60.2 %) were separated or divorced and therefore did not share common residence as is supposed to be in the nuclear family. Thirdly, there was no economic cooperation since quite a good number of husbands were not open about how much money they earned and some went as far as abdicating their responsibilities to the family. Finally, as a result of severe battering some women who left home ended up in brothels, streets and rehabilitation centres and so did not share common residence as is supposed to be the case in the nuclear family. Because of the harsh conditions of living, most children were maladjusted in behaviour. Delinquency is a big threat to the security and well being of a nation since from delinquency springs criminals who involve in acts such as prostitution, rape, substance abuse, murder, robbery with violence etc.
The study observed that although divorce was taken as the best option by majority of the battered women in the study, divorce proved not to be the best way to solve the problem of wife battering within a nuclear family. Divorce as revealed by the study brought more suffering than good to the nuclear family. This study therefore takes the stand that divorce should only be taken as a very last resort when every other strategy fails to address the issue of wife battering and when life is threatened.

There were many survival techniques engaged by respondents as a result of wife battering. Each technique had its own strengths and shortcomings and so there was no best technique that could be used on its own. Seemingly, the two best techniques when combined were Legal Counselling along with legal services offered at the organizations that deal with women's rights. Counselling per se did not work since some of the men who batter would refuse to go for counselling from pastors, relatives, friends and even the chiefs but they did not have a choice when compelled by law to go for legal Counselling. Most respondents reported that when their husbands were summoned by organizations such as FIDA or WRAP they took the matter seriously and appeared for counselling knowing well that if they did not do so they would be thrown into jail. The effectiveness of these organizations was summed up into a slogan by the members of the focus group at WRAP which said, “WRAP ni mambo yote.” (WRAP is everything).

This study also revealed that the organizations that fight for the rights of women do a good job by working to bring reconciliation and restoration to families through justice unlike what is widely known by the public that they incite wives against their husbands. Though these organizations offer legal services, they normally encourage dialogue between couples so as to establish where the problem is. The social workers and counsellors listen carefully to both sides and normally give room for change on the side of the husband who batters. It is only when the batterer continues with acts of violence and is also not willing to cooperate nor change that legal action is brought in through the lawyers at the organizations. The domestic issues are normally solved to the best interest of the three parties involved that is, the woman, children and the father.

The study has discussed about input by NGOs, government, community etc. as some of the early intervention strategies. It is important to know that change of attitude brought through socialization is very important. Parents need to socialize their children into non-
violent ways by being good role models themselves and also by teaching non-violent ways of problem solving. Mothers should empower their daughters to be assertive by letting them know that they have a lot of potential that can be tapped to the best for the good of community.
5.2: Recommendations

Based on the findings on the impact of wife battering on the nuclear family, this study has recommendations for the government, NGOs, religious institutions, family members and society at large.

A. The Government

a) The Government: Education/ Awareness/ Sensitization

1) The Government and the NGOs that deal with violence to create public awareness on the causes and impact of wife battering to the nuclear family and community as a whole. This can be done through education of the public on human rights specifically the rights that protect women against violence.

2) Create early intervention strategies to help deal with issues of domestic violence in families.

3) Sensitize opinion shapers on women’s issues so that those leaders can influence the society by condemning domestic violence.

4) Women to sue their perpetrators and be willing to be witnesses in court so as to have their batterers apprehended.

5) Both men and women to be empowered socially, economically and psychologically so as to appreciate one another and strive to live in peace. Economic empowerment would ensure that people meet their basic needs; a situation that would lessen stress and frustration that cause wife battering.

b) Government: Ministry of Education, Science and technology

1) The Ministry of Education Science and Technology (MOEST) to design a curriculum that will allow for the teaching against domestic violence in schools in Kenya right from Nursery school to University. The curriculum designed by the Ministry of Education should target changing attitude of members of society so that children are socialized into a culture that sees and appreciates all the children as equal. The biological differences to be respected and exploited as strengths needed in society other than points of weaknesses and discrimination.

2) The Government through the Ministry of Education Scienté and Technology and the NGOs that deal with domestic violence to start and run clubs in schools that would carry out campaigns against domestic violence.
c) **The Government: Ministry of Justice, Constitution and Home Affairs**

1) Parliament to criminalize wife battering and ensure that laws are strictly followed and implemented.

2) A law should be created to govern marriage in Kenya. This is because people come from different backgrounds so marriage control mechanisms if formulated would uniformly apply to all marriages in Kenya.

3) Private courts already instituted should deal with domestic violence to ensure that laws concerning domestic violence are strictly implemented against the perpetrators.

4) Stiffer legal actions to be taken against batterers i.e. heavy fines, jailing etc.

5) Women to sue their perpetrators and be willing to be witnesses in court so as to have their batterers apprehended.

6) The police, the Chiefs, the Medics, the Social Workers, pastors etc. to be given more specialized training on how to handle and counsel with the victims and survivors of domestic violence.

**B. The Government together with the Non-Governmental Organizations**

1. Nairobi Women’s Hospital does a very good job as far as domestic violence is concerned. The proprietors of the Hospital, the Kenyan Government and the Kenyan community should join hands to build more of such hospitals in many parts of the country so that more women can access these services from almost anywhere in Kenya.

2. More counselling and rescue centres to be opened all over the country so as to deal with the rapidly increasing number of victims and survivors of domestic violence.

3. Counselling to target the whole community and should be done not only when there are problems. It should be done at community level and people generally talked to about family life.

4. This study proposes and encourages women in need of counselling to go to organizations that deal with women where there are special counselling services that are specifically tailored for battered women. The type of counseling provided by the organizations is psychological in nature and is designed to empower the battered women by teaching them coping skills on how to cope in their situation.

5. Organizations to be instituted with an aim of counselling men who batter their wives so and train them on other alternative ways of managing conflict. This training of
men is very important since it is only the man who batters who can break the cycle of violence if he wants.

C. Religious institutions
1. The religious institutions especially the church should reexamine its theology based on rib theory and theology on conjugal rights so as to be relevant to the needs of society today. The religious institutions should condemn violence right from the pulpit as well as in all their programmes and activities.
2. People to embrace faith in God and be obedient to God’s word that delivers from acts of violence. This can be done through more evangelism and discipleship to the religious faiths. This religious approach is more redemptive than punitive; it protects the marriage institution and looks at it as divine act of God.

D. Family or society level
1. Counselling given to victims of domestic violence should be holistic in nature, relevant and geared towards equipping the battered women with skills to survive or better still, end the violence.
2. Battered women to stand up in one voice to break the silence by letting the whole world know that wife battering is a crime and a dehumanizing act that has a lot of both short as well as long term impact on the family members involved, the community and society at large.
3. Women to share their problems with fellow women if possible so as to avoid getting hooked up emotionally and end up being sexually exploited by men.
4. Dialogue to be encouraged in families. It can best be enhanced through family alters or family meetings when the whole family comes together to openly discuss anything and everything of concern to the family without feeling intimidated or belittled in any way. Such sessions should be well concluded with prayers if the family is a praying family.
5. In order to enhance communication and keep talking in marriage:
   i. Couples have to lovingly and energetically nurture their marriage by agreeing to work together. They also have to talk about things that make them uncomfortable.
   ii. Couples should learn also to solve problems not avoid them. This can be done through discussions that make couples stronger and enjoy more relationship intimacy as a result.
iii. Couples need to make commitment to talking through issues when and as they arise but should go further into deep communication and share their fears, dreams disappointments and other intimate experiences.

iv. Finally, couples should jealously guard their couple time and protect it from the everyday demands of life. The couple might need to create an environment with no distractions when they can concentrate on each other. During the discussion they should sit face to face with each other, other than sitting together on a three-seater sofa and trying to communicate while facing straight ahead.

6. People who deal with marital cases should always dig into the causes (the 'why' side) of problems. Discuss them without fearing or favouring any side so as to tackle the problem once and for all. The mediator can do this by talking to wife and husband separately then at a point bring them together so as to allow each one of them to talk and express feelings freely without feeling intimidated by the other. The mediator should be able to have both husband and wife respectfully listen to each other during the discussions.

7. Economic co-operation in marriage is very important and couples need to know that they can have little income but achieve much more if they plan and work together through financial transparency and accountability. There should be no secret about family finances. Through agreement, whatever the couple has should be used for the good of the family.

8. Parents should socialize their children to non-violent ways of conflict resolution. Boys to be socialized to respect women while girls are to be socialized to realize their self worth, have a sense of hard work, to be focussed and be assertive in life so as to be able to negotiate for their rights in life.

9. Pre-marital counselling to be intensified, strengthened and couples counselled against violence in their marriages. The counsellors should let the couple intending to get married know the causes as well as the consequences of domestic violence and ways of avoiding them before and after the violence.

10. In agreement with Lantz and Snyder (1969) findings that there are no simple solutions or remedies for the difficulties that are presented in Mother- Daughter-in-law relationship, this study recommends that:

i. Parents from both sides as well as the young people intending to marry should identify prior to marriage those relationships that are likely to result in a restriction of the young person's marital relationship and put efforts to remove them.
ii. A son, daughter or a daughter-in-law should be considerably understanding, patient, sympathetic and helpful to parents who struggle to "let go" the intimate bond between them and the child.

iii. A son or daughter should strive to emancipate him/herself from their parents and cling to their spouses once married and be able to make independent decisions concerning the two of them without influence from parents.

iv. Parents and their grown up children should realize that far greater stability and personal happiness can be derived from personal autonomy than from endless waste of energies tied to the maintenance of an immature way of life. And this should actually be very rewarding.
5.3: Conclusions

This study concluded that wife battering had adversely affected all the individual members of the nuclear family socially, psychologically, physically or medically as well as the society as a whole and should therefore be curbed at any cost.

In order to curb wife battering, the Government, the Organizations that deal with domestic violence, the community as a whole, the nuclear family as a unit and the individual members of the nuclear family must all join hands so as to bring peace in families by: creating public awareness, education, counselling and empowering women all round so as to equip them with the necessary skills needed to fight the vice. Part played by each member of the nuclear family especially the husband was seen to be very crucial in stopping domestic violence.

5.4: Areas for further research.

I. The focus of this study was the impact that wife battering has on the nuclear family with emphasis on the physical wife battering. A study of this magnitude should be carried out to establish the impact that psychological wife battering has on the nuclear family so as to correlate the two studies.

II. This study was done in Nairobi. The researcher recommends that a comparative case study be done in any rural area in Kenya so as to establish the impact that wife battering has on the nuclear family.

III. A study of this magnitude should be conducted on a more balanced sample of 50 battered women with higher level of education i.e. form 4 and above and 50 respondents with lower level of education i.e. primary level so as to emanate a clear picture of what is on the ground as concerns relationships between education and income of respondents and survival techniques opted for by the battered women.
References


Vera, D. & Vera, M. 1974. *We can have better marriages if we really want them.* Abingdon Press: New York.


APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE 1: FOR WOMEN RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE BEEN VICTIMS OF WIFE BATTERING IN THEIR NUCLEAR FAMILIES.

Date of interview............................

Time:...........................................

Start:.........................................

Stop:...........................................

INTRODUCTION:

Good day friends,

My name is Mrs. Grace Akinyi Ongoro Odhiambo from the University of Nairobi, Department of Sociology. I am conducting a research on wife battering and the impact it has on the nuclear family in Nairobi. I am interviewing women who have been victims of wife battering and trying to establish the impact that wife battering might have had on their nuclear families. I trust that you will assist and so very kindly request you to work with me in this very important study. I would like to assure you that the information you give will be treated with a lot of confidentiality.

Thank you very much in advance for your cooperation.
INSTRUCTIONS:

Please tick whichever is appropriate or fill in the right answers in the blank spaces provided.

Serial number: ...................... Name: (optional) ..........................................................

SECTION A: PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

Q.1 What is your age bracket?

1. 15 -19 [ ]
2. 20 - 25 [ ]
3. 26 -30 [ ]
4. 31 -36 [ ]
5. 37 - 41 [ ]
6. 42 and above [ ]

Q.2 What is your religion?

1. Christian [ ]
2. Muslim [ ]
3. Traditionalist [ ]
4. Other (Please specify) ..........................................................

Q.3 What is your highest level of education?

1. None [ ]
2. Lower primary education [ ]
3. Upper primary education [ ]
4. Secondary education [ ]
5. Tertiary level [ ]
6. University [ ]
Q.4  a) What is your marital status?

1. Married [   ]
2. Widowed [   ]
3. Divorced [   ]
4. Separated [   ]

Q.5  Please indicate here below the number of years you (have) spent as a married couple.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital status</th>
<th>Number of years spent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q.6  What type of a family do/did you have?

1. Monogamous [   ]
2. Polygamous [   ]

Q.7  What is your occupation?

.................................................................

Q.8  What is your average monthly income?

1. Nil [   ]
2. Below KShs. 2000 [   ]
3. Between KShs. 2000 – 4000 [   ]
4. Between KShs. 4000 – 10,000 [   ]
5. Above KShs. 10,000 [   ]

Q.9  If married, what is the occupation of your husband?

.................................................................
Q. 10 What is your husband's monthly income?

1. Nil
2. Below KShs. 2000
4. Between KShs. 4000 – 10,000
5. Above 10,000
6. I do not know

Q. 11 Whether married, separated, divorced or widowed kindly state the highest level of education attained by your spouse.

1. Lower primary level
2. Upper primary level
3. Secondary level
4. Tertiary level
5. University

Q. 12 Please indicate the number of children you have in the following categories:

1. Nursery and pre-unit
2. Primary school
3. Secondary school
4. Tertiary Institutions
5. University

Q. 13 How many of your children are employed?

Q. 14a) How many of your children have dropped out of school?

b) If there are any who have dropped out of school, please give reasons.
SECTION B: HISTORY OF WIFE BATTERING

Q.15 a) Did you witness any kind of violence in the family where you were born?

1. Yes [ ]
2. No [ ]

b) If yes, please explain what kind of violence it was

Q.16 Did your spouse experience any kind of violence in his parents’ home?

1. Yes [ ]
2. No [ ]
3. I do not know [ ]

Q.17a) Did you experience any kind of violence when you were dating your husband?

1. Yes [ ]
2. No [ ]
3. Did not date [ ]

c) If yes, please explain.

Q.18 a) Many women experience some type of physical violence in their marriages. Has this ever happened to you?

1. Yes [ ]
2. No [ ]
Q.19 If your answer for number 18 (a) was YES, Please explain whether your spouse continued or stopped being violent towards you.

1. Continued [   ]
2. Stopped [   ]

Q.20 If your spouse continued being violent towards you:

1. How does he beat you?

2. Where does he beat you?

3. When does he beat you?

4. With what does he beat you?

5. What reasons does he give for beating you?

6. How frequently does he beat you?
Q.21 Did the intensity of violence increase with time?

1. Yes [ ]
2. No [ ]

Q.22 How did you react to the beatings?

..........................................................

..........................................................

Q.23 a) Was/is your husband violent towards your children?

1. Yes [ ]
2. No [ ]

b) If yes, briefly explain the kind of violence directed to children.

..........................................................

..........................................................

Q.24 What is the worst thing that your spouse ever did to you during the beatings?

..........................................................

..........................................................

Q.25 a) Do you think you did, in any way, contribute to the abuse?

1. Yes [ ]
2. No [ ]

b) If yes, explain how?

..........................................................

..........................................................

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Q.26 a) Was/is your husband violent outside your home?

1. Yes [  ]
2. No [  ]
3. Cannot tell [  ]

b) If yes explain...

b) If no, explain...

Q.27 Has your husband ever threatened to kill you?

1. Yes [  ]
2. No [  ]

Q.28 a) If yes, did you believe him?

1. Yes [  ]
2. No [  ]

b) What did you do about it?


SECTION C: AWARENESS LEVEL, SURVIVAL AND INTERVENTION STRATEGIES TO WIFE BATTERING

Q.29 a) In your opinion, do you think your husband has any right to beat you?
   1. Yes [   ]
   2. No [   ]
   b) Please explain your answers.

Q.30 a) Are you aware of your basic human rights as a woman?
   1. Yes [   ]
   2. No [   ]
   b) If so, state those rights that specifically protect women against violence.

Q.31 Do you think that wife beating is a crime that should be punishable by law?
   1. Yes [   ]
   2. No [   ]

Q.32 What legal actions do you know that could be taken against a wife batterer in Kenya today?

Q.33 Apart from legal actions against wife batterers, what other options do you know that are available for redressing wife battering?
Q.34 Kindly name as many agencies or organizations that you know that address wife abuse in Kenya today?

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........................................................................................................................................................................

Q.35a) Please indicate by ticking here below, the type of help you have sought in case you have been in a relationship where you were being battered.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of help</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional Counselling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biblical counselling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal counselling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends e.g. colleagues, neighbours etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any other (specify)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

c) What reason did you have for choosing the particular strategy/strategies you have indicated?

........................................................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................................................

Q.36 a) Do you know other women who are physically abused?

1. Yes [ ]

2. No [ ]

b) If yes, how do they cope with the abuse?

........................................................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................................................

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Q. 37  a) In your opinion, do you think a woman can be, at any given time, justified to seek for a separation or divorce? Please tick appropriately.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Divorce</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) If yes, please indicate such circumstances.

........................................................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................................................

Q.38  What, in your opinion, is the best option to curb wife abuse?

........................................................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................................................

SECTION D: IMPACT OF WIFE BATTERING ON THE NUCLEAR FAMILY.

Q.39  In what ways has the violent relationship between you and your husband affected you?

........................................................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................................................

Q.40. What kind of behaviour have you noticed in your children which you believe is as a result of wife battering?

........................................................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................................................

Q.41. How do you generally describe the character of the majority of your children?

........................................................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................................................
Q.42 How do you generally rate your children's ability at school?

1. Above average [ ]
2. Average [ ]
3. Below average [ ]

Q.43 Kindly explain the impact that wife abuse might have had on your spouse.

..............................................................................................................................................................................

Q.44 How, in your opinion, has wife battering affected the functioning of your nuclear family as a whole?

..............................................................................................................................................................................

Q.45 What recommendations would you give to help curb wife battering?

..............................................................................................................................................................................

Thank you for accepting to be part of this very noble study.

May God bless you.
Good day,

I am Mrs. Grace Akinyi Ongoro Odhiambo from the Department of Sociology, University of Nairobi. I am conducting a research on a study entitled, “Wife battering and its impact on the nuclear family: A case study of Nairobi Province.” I am interviewing professionals who deal with battered women and trying to get detailed information about the topic. Therefore, very kindly request you to participate in this very important study. Thank you in advance.

Section A: Information regarding the key informant.

Name (Optional): ..........................................................................................

Date: ...........................................................................................................

Time: Start: ........................................ Stop: ............................................

Job title: ....................................................................................................

Trained: ...................................................................................................

Not trained: .............................................................................................

If trained, please specify:

1) Kind of training: ....................................................................................

2) Level of training: ..................................................................................

Period in service: .....................................................................................

Education level: ........................................................................................

Age: ...........................................................................................................
Q.1 What do you understand by the term wife battering?

Q.2 From your experience of dealing with battered women, what factors cause wife battering?

Q.3 What reasons do your clients give for choosing to come to your centre?

Q.4 a) Do your clients resort to seek help from your centre as a first preference or as a last alternative to help solve their problem?

1. First [ ]

2. Last [ ]

b) If last, what reason (s) do they give for not giving your centre first preference?

Q.5 Where else do your clients go for help before they come for assistance from your centre?
Q.6 How do you generally assess your clients in the light of the features below:
(Please state by ticking)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Very good</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Below Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self – esteem</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assertiveness</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggressiveness</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dependency</td>
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<tr>
<td>Problem solving ability</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self love</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeling of helplessness/hopelessness/uselessness</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q.7 a) From your interaction with your clients, are most clients normally willing to leave their abusive marriages?

1. Yes [ ]
2. No [ ]

b) Explain.

Q.8 Are your clients normally aware of their human rights?

1. Yes [ ]
2. No [ ]

Q.9 From the cases you have dealt with, what effect has wife battering had on the nuclear family?
Q.10 Briefly explain how you think the factors mentioned below contribute to wife battering.

1) Cultural factors.

2) Economic factors.

Q.11 About how many cases of wife battering have you dealt with in the last three years?

Q.12 a) From the records of the last three years, have you been able to identify a pattern of abuse?

1. Yes [  ]

2. No [  ]

b) If yes, in which months are cases more?

Q.13 At around what time of the month do most cases occur?

1) Beginning of the month [  ]

2) In the middle of the month [  ]

3) End of the month [  ]

Q.14 Please state reasons given for battering occurring at the time it did. (Fill according to your answer in question 13).
Q.15  In your view, do you think that more women would seek help if they were aware of the existing intervention strategies of redressing wife battering?

1. Yes [ ]

2. No [ ]

Q.16  There are many intervention strategies used to deal with wife battering. Which strategy, in your opinion, works best?

Thank you for accepting to respond to this interview. May God bless you.
APPENDIX 3: DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR RESPONDENTS OF FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS.

This guide is for discussions with women who have been victims of wife battering.

A: IDENTIFICATION

Time: Start: ....................................

Stop: ..................................... Date: ......................................

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Marital status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<td>11</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

QUESTIONS.

Q.1 Do people in your community believe that it is right for a husband to beat his wife?

If so, explain reasons given for such an act.
Q.2 Do you personally believe that a woman should be beaten by her husband for any reason?

Q.3 What do you believe is your position or place as a woman in society?

Q.4 What do you think are the causes of wife battering?

Q.5 Do you think it is right for a married woman to:
   1. Own property like land, cars etc. in her name?
   2. Run her own bank account?

Q.6 From your experience, what do women do to escape beating from their spouses?

Q.7 What in your opinion should physically abused women do in order to help themselves out of the problem?

Q.8 Many people believe that, "The underlying problem facing the woman is not woman but her position and her circumstances."

In the light of this statement, what do you think can be done to:
   1. Change the attitude of people about the position of women in society so that men can see and treat them as equal partners?
   2. Change economic circumstances that women find themselves in?

Q.9 Most women who are battered in Kenya never seek help outside their homes. Why do you think this is so?

Q.10 It must have taken a lot of courage for you to come and seek help from this centre:
   1. Are there any problems you have encountered from anyone as a result of your decision?
   2. If so, from whom have you encountered the problem?
   3. Please briefly state the problem.

Q.11 Do you feel that the organizations listed below are doing enough as far as wife battering is concerned?

1. The government (Ministry of Justice, judiciary, police, Ministry of education, Ministry of Health etc.)

   1. Yes [ ]

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Q.12 Please comment on what more you think should be done by the organization/s mentioned above to improve the situation of wife battering in Kenya.

1. The government
2. The Church
3. The NGOs
4. The Media
5. The victims themselves
6. The general public
Q.13 Do you think most women would seek help if they were aware of the existing strategies of redressing wife battering?

1. Yes
2. No

Q.14 In your opinion, what is the best way to help curb wife battering?

Thank you very much for having accepted to participate in this very important project. May God bless you and have a good day.
# APPENDIX 4: OBSERVATION CHECKLIST

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Very good</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Below average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friendliness</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self confidence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal deficit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memory (Ability to recall)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concentration span</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visible scars on the head, face or body etc.</td>
<td>Very many</td>
<td>Many</td>
<td>Few</td>
<td>Not at all</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 5: WHERE WOMEN CAN GET HELP IN CASE OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Coalition on Violence Against Women-Kenya (COVAW (K))
Specialize in: Legal Aid and Counselling
P.O. BOX 10658, GPO (00100) Nairobi
Afya Maisonettes, No. 13, Kamburu Drive, Off Ngong’ Rd. Tel. 574357/8/9, Fax 574253
E-mail: info@covaw.or.ke

Gender Violence Recovery Centre (GVRC) at Nairobi Women’s Hospital
Specialize in: Free medical attention to victims of violence who report within 72 hours of the attack; counselling. P.O.BOX 11552, 00100, Nairobi. Hurlingham Medicare Plaza, Hurlingham. Tel: 2712886/2724802/2726821/4/6

Centre for the Rehabilitation & Education of Abused Women (CREAW)
Specialize in: Support and intervention Strategies against domestic violence; community awareness, advocacy; free legal aid. P.O. Box 11964, 00100, Nairobi. Nyaku Hse, Hse, 1st floor, Hurlingham, off Argwings Kodhek Close. Tel: 2723972, e-mail: attorney@wananch.com

FIDA – Kenya
Specialize in: Offering Legal Aid
P.O. Box 46324, 00100, Nairobi
Amboseli Rd, off Gitanga Rd. Tel: 570444/0722577919/0733835522/0733845003, e-mail: info@fida.co.ke

Women’s Rights Awareness Program (WRAP)
Specialize in: Emergency shelter for battered and violated women and children, legal advice and aid, medical advise, counselling, referrals and information. P.O. Box 38612 00623, Nairobi. Menelik Court, Menelik Rd, off Ngong’ Rd. Tel: 570005/576829/0722252939/0733812013, e-mail: wrap@wananchi.com
APPENDIX 6: DETAILS ON THE ORGANIZATIONS WHERE RESEARCH WAS CARRIED OUT.

Women Fighting Aids In Kenya (WOFAK)

Women Fighting Aids in Kenya is a non-governmental organization, established to support and empower affected and infected women live positively with HIV/AIDS. It was founded in 1993 by a group of women, majority of who were HIV positive. They came together to support one another because they were experiencing rejection, stigmatization and discrimination as a result of being affected and infected by HIV/AIDS. In 1994, WOFAK was registered as a Non-Governmental Organization and began its operations at an office in Haile Selassie Avenue in Nairobi.

Through educational outreach, WOFAK has reached many women in Kenya. However, in order to implement its programmes more effectively, the NGO has concentrated in three geographical areas namely Homa Bay (South Nyanza), Kayole in the Eastlands of Nairobi city and Nairobi city centre with the current office situated on Ngong' Road.

The WOFAK clinic offers treatment for opportunistic infections, houses a resource centre on HIV/AIDS related issues as well as provides a forum for group therapy and individual counselling sessions. WOFAK has recently expanded its services to cater for HIV/AIDS orphaned children as well as men.

Kayole Street Families Rehabilitation Centre (KSFRC)

Kayole Street Families’ Rehabilitation Centre was established as a rehabilitation centre in the year 2003, just after the NARC government came to power in Kenya. NARC’s good intentions then were to provide shelter to all Kenyans, enable the less fortunate people to acquire knowledge and skills that would enable them enter into meaningful labour force, fend for themselves and live morally upright lives in society so as to be able to contribute to the development of this great nation of Kenya. To enable NARC government to achieve its goals towards this end immediately, some of the existing social halls in quite a number of estates in Nairobi were turned into rehabilitation centres. Pumwani Social Hall was used as a Drop-in centre where all the street families were received after being rounded off from the city by social workers.
The street families would then be dispersed to various places like Bahati social hall (Boys), Joseph Kang’ethe social hall (Married men) and Jogoo road (Women) and Kayole social hall for women, girls and their children. Where one was to be placed was determined by sex.

**Mathare Community Outreach (MCO)**

Mathare Community Outreach (MCO) is a Church Ministry that caters for the less fortunate members in society. The Ministry is situated at Mathare Valley slums, Eastlands of Nairobi. Mathare Community Outreach is a Ministry of/within Mathare Community Church.

**Jamii Bora Society of Kenya**

Jamii Bora Society is a society that helps elevate poverty by training small business people in entrepreneurship so as to create economic independence that enables for self-reliance. The society has a few branches in Nairobi. This research was specifically done at the Mathare Valley Branch.

**FIDA/WRAP/COVAW/CREAW/GVRC**

These five institutions are Non-Governmental Organizations that specifically deal with issues concerning women’s rights. The services that are common to all these five agencies are:

(a) Mediation counselling to encourage healing and reconciliation in families affected by domestic violence.

(b) Group therapy services.

(c) Legal services.

(d) Medical advice (services).

(e) Education and making women aware of their human rights and specific rights that protect them against any kind of violence in society.

(f) They also train women on how to represent themselves in court and look for ways to end violence.

In a nutshell, these agencies seek to address all obstacles which hinder women’s progress so as to help alleviate their lives through legal, social and economic empowerment. It is important to note the fact that, though all these agencies offer
these services, they each have particular areas of specialization where they are very well known. Below is a brief discussion of each agency and what it specializes in:

**Federation of Women Lawyers-K (FIDA (K))**

FIDA (K) was founded in 1985 and is the oldest of these Non-Governmental Organizations. FIDA specializes in offering Legal Aid; dealing with succession or inheritance issues. FIDA has created a lot of awareness concerning Human Rights and violence against women throughout the country and currently has three big offices in Nairobi (HQs), Mombasa and Kisumu. FIDA (K) is very popular with women for fearlessly addressing issues concerning violence against women without discrimination of any kind. The fact that FIDA is popular was confirmed by respondents in this study, who out of the 103 women interviewed, 52.9% only knew FIDA and not any other agency that deals with women’s rights. FIDA has a secret shelter where abused women and their children can find accommodation and security from extreme battering while they think about their future lives as well as those of their children.

**Women’s Rights Awareness Program (WRAP)**

Apart from providing the common services discussed above, WRAP specializes in emergency shelter for battered and violated women and children, referrals and information. WRAP came to a realization that, gender violence almost always cuts across cultures and affects women and children most. More often than not, they state, children are the silent sufferers as the violence destroys them psychologically (emotionally), physically and sometimes sexually. For this reason, WRAP has spread out her wings to embrace children victims of domestic violence and abuse in all forms such as physical, psychological (emotional) and age related. To these children, WRAP offers:

(a) Group therapy and Counselling services.
(b) Shelter.
(c) Education.
(d) Good grooming.
(e) Health and Hygiene.
(f) Children’s Rights Education.
(g) Arts and Crafts.
(h) Medical assistance.
(i) Referral services,
(j) Good parenting/ Guardianship.
(k) Reintegration/ Reunification with immediate or extended family.

Coalition on Violence Against Women-Kenya (COVAW (K))

While discharging the common services, COVAW has chosen to specialize in Legal Aid and Counselling. Towards this goal, COVAW has designed Group therapy and Counselling programme for children from violent families too.

COVAW has even gone beyond to train teachers on violence in schools. The teachers trained are supposed to create awareness and sensitize the youth against violence by starting and patronizing clubs in schools. So far 60 teachers have gone through the training programme.

Gender Violence Recovery Centre (GVRC)

GVRC is a healing centre for families, providing for the physical and emotional well being of all the women that have fallen victims of physical, sexual, psychological and economic violence. Based at the Nairobi Women’s Hospital in Hurlingham, the centre provides all the common services mentioned above but goes beyond by providing the following:

(a) Free, urgent medical services to victims of any form of gender violence. These services basically include tests, medication and counselling for survivors of rape.

(b) Free anti-retroviral (ARVs) drugs that reduce risks of contracting HIV/AIDS and emergency contraception drugs within a period of 72 hours.

(c) Should there be need of an overnight stay, accommodation is provided free of charge.
(d) During the medical procedure, the medical personnel at the GVRC collect and preserve samples that are used to give timely and expert testimony in court for those survivors who opt to pursue legal action against their violators.

(e) For survivors requiring legal advice and action, and or accommodation, the GVRC advises and refers to their partner organizations that offer such services such as COVAW, FIDA, CRADLE, WRAP, CREAW etc.

Centre For The Rehabilitation & Education of Abused Women (CREAW)
CREAW specializes in support and intervention Strategies against domestic violence.