



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC DETERMINANTS OF SPOUSAL
PSYCHOLOGICAL VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN MATHARE
SLUMS, NAIROBI**

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(RURAL SOCIOLOGY AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT)**

DECLARATION

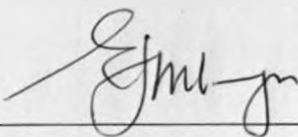
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DEDICATION

To my husband Joseph and my two lovely daughters Silvia and Abby for standing with me during this work, and my late parents who taught me the value of education.

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ABSTRACT

Violence against women is a major human rights, development and public health problem world over. There are different forms of violence against women which include spousal abuse or intimate partner violence also called domestic violence; sexual violence and cultural forms of violence. This study has focused on spousal abuse with reference to psychological violence.

It is estimated that globally, at least one in three women and girls has experienced violence in her lifetime. These statistics vary from region to region and from country to country with the highest levels of violence reported in Sub-Saharan African and some Asian countries. Kenya Health and Demographic health survey (2003) established that 44% of women aged 15-49 had been physically or sexually abused by their male partner/s.

Most studies focusing on violence touch on physical and sexual forms of violence. There is very limited information regarding psychological violence. Information from organizations working with abused women in Nairobi shows that the greater majority of abused women come from slum areas. Indeed 80% of clients who seek shelter services from Women's Rights Awareness Program come from Mathare Slums. Beyond the statistics available, there is no information explaining why this is the case, at least from these organizations, much less information on psychological violence

This study has attempted to fill this knowledge gap. The objectives of the study are; to identifying specific socio –economic factors and determine their relationship to the occurrence of psychological violence in Mathare; determine the nature of psychological violence experienced and the response to these forms of violence.

Only specific social and economic factors were included in the study some of which include; alcohol intake, number of children and their paternity, occupation and contribution to household expenditure among others. Specific behavior patterns were considered to constitute psychological violence. Some of those considered

include; insults, infidelity, denial of economic support and denial of social interaction among others.

Existing literature on domestic violence was examined with regard to definition and scope of violence, society perspectives of domestic violence, psychological violence, domestic violence in urban areas, factors influencing domestic violence and its impacts. This research is grounded on the macro theory of conflict and two micro theories namely feminist theory and Frustration- Aggression theory.

Primary data for the study was obtained using questionnaires, FGD guides and Key Informant interviews. A total of 80 respondents were interviewed in Mathare. In addition, two Focus Group Discussions were carried out and four key Informant interviews were interviewed. The findings were analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences. Content analysis was done for the qualitative data.

The findings indicate that there is a relationship between alcohol intake and some of the psychological forms of violence experienced. This seems to agree with the findings of the KDHS (2003) which concluded that alcohol and drug abuse are the factors most strongly associated with marital abuse. The relationship between number of children, their paternity and the occurrence of psychological violence is not apparent centrally to expectations. Denial of economic support is the most frequent form of psychological violence experienced by the respondents. The findings further indicate that a significant number of women (88.8%) keep quiet when faced with violence.

Key recommendations arising from the study include the need to target young people in awareness on domestic violence, the need to review micro- finance policies in view of the fact women are denied social interaction with others. Further research is recommended on a larger scale to specifically establish the extent to which Kenyan women experience psychological violence and whether this could account for the rising cases of stress related health problems among women.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Violence against women is a major human rights, development and public health problem world over and has particular implications for HIV and AIDS (WHO 2003). Violence against women cuts across class, culture and religion. This is manifested in physical, psychological and sexual abuse of women. It occurs both within and outside the family and could take various forms. The UN declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993) defines 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 the women including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty whether in private or in public life”

There are different forms of violence against women which include: Intimate partner or spousal abuse, also commonly referred to as domestic violence, which includes physical and psychological forms of violence that a woman suffers from an intimate male partner; Sexual violence which includes rape, sexual harassment, sexual exploitation and other forms of violence that is of a sexual nature and; Cultural violence such as forced wife inheritance, Female Genital Mutilation, Forced and early marriage and other forms of violence that are justified as cultural practices. This study is focused on Intimate partner violence or spousal violence.

Intimate partner violence also called domestic violence, battery or spousal abuse is violence committed by a spouse, ex- spouse, current or former girlfriend or boyfriend; and it can occur in heterosexual or same sex couples (DePaul University Counseling Services, 2003). Intimate partner violence can take the form of physical assault or psychological harm to the victim. Report on the National Crime and Justice (1983) estimates that 95% of the victims of domestic violence are women. A

WHO 2003 world report on violence and health notes that “one of the most common forms of violence against women is performed by a husband or a male partner. This type of violence is frequently invisible, since it happens behind closed doors and effectively legal systems and cultural norms do not treat it as a crime but rather as a ‘private family matter’ or a normal part of life. There are situations in which women experience sexual forms of violence from their intimate male partners such as the case of marital and date rape.

Domestic violence is therefore a serious public health concern. While the full extent of the violence is not known, current research indicates that intimate partner violence ranges anywhere between 10-69 percent, and that in some countries, one in four women may experience sexual violence by an intimate partner in her life (WHO 2003). The UN Commission on the Status of Women report (2000) estimates that globally, at least one in three women and girls is beaten or sexually abused in her lifetime. Although this is the global picture, statistics vary from region to region and from country to country, with the highest levels of violence being reported in sub-Saharan Africa and some Asian countries.

In Britain, it is estimated that there were about 6.6 million cases of domestic physical assault in 1995. Of the total, 2.9 million involved injury while the rest were cases of frightening threats. Twenty three percent of women in Britain said they had been physically assaulted by a current or former male partner at some point (Black, 1999). 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 and that 40% to 60% of all police night calls were domestic disputes (Oyekanmi, 1997). A population survey carried out in Turkey in 1998 indicates that 58% of women aged 14-75 had ever been physically assaulted by a male intimate partner in their life time compared to 30% reported in United Kingdom (Haider 2007). In Illinois, USA, four women each day and more than 1000 women each year are killed by their partners (IDPH report to the General Assembly 1996).

The statistics obtained from some countries in the Asian continent paint a different picture. A 2005 WHO multi country study carried out in different countries found

that 23% of ever partnered women in Thailand reported physical violence at some point in their lifetime compared to 13% in Japan. However in India, the levels of violence reported by population based studies (1999) indicate that 45% of women aged 15-39 had been physically assaulted by a male partner in their current relationship compared to 42% of women in Bangladesh. In Papua New Guinea, about 67% of women from low income areas had ever been assaulted by an intimate male partner at some point in their lifetime. This indicates that even within the same region, levels of violence differ from one country to another and this could possibly be attributed to the different socio cultural factors evident in each country.

In Africa, most countries report at least 40% of prevalence of domestic violence. In Zimbabwe, domestic violence accounts for more than 60% of murder cases that go to court in Harare (UNIFEM 2006). The WHO multi country study established that 49% of ever partnered women in Ethiopia experienced physical violence by a partner at some point in their lives and 29% during the past 12 months preceding the study. In the same study, 36% of women reported physical violence by an intimate partner in Namibia while Dar-salaam in Tanzania reported a rate of 41%. A study done in Tanzania found that HIV positive women were over two and half times more likely to have experienced violence from their male partner than HIV negative women (WHO 2003). In Uganda, 41% of the women had been assaulted in their current relationship (Population studies 1999)

In Kenya, the Kenya Demographic and Health Survey (KDHS) of 2003 established that 44% of married, separated and divorced women aged 15-49 reported that they had ever been physically or sexually violated by their husband or partners. A survey carried out by Women's Rights Awareness Program (WRAP) in 1997 revealed that 70% of those interviewed said they knew neighbors who beat their wives. In a research done in Kenya in 2002 on domestic violence 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 (Gichangi et. al 2002). This is an indication that domestic violence is prevalent and widespread in Kenya and requires research attention. However it is

worth noting that although many studies have been conducted on the subject of domestic violence, there is very limited literature that provides information on domestic violence in urban slums. Similarly, a lot of research has focused on the physical and sexual components of domestic violence and psychological violence has to a large extent not been documented. This study is an attempt to fill this research gap.

1.2 Problem Statement

KDHS 2003 notes that in recent years, there has been increasing concern about violence against women in general and in domestic violence in particular in both developed and developing countries. Reports by World Health Organization 2002 stated that domestic violence is a serious cause of death and ill health among couples.

Machera (1997) observes that Kenya was reported as having the highest rate of wife battering in Africa by UNIFEM in 1992. This is a shocking revelation and although over time this may have changed due to the human rights and gender equality awareness programs, it is not clear what the current status is. The most recent national statistics as obtained from KDHS 2003 indicate that 44% of married, separated and divorced women aged 15-49 reported that they had ever been physically or sexually violated by their husband or male partners. This is obviously a higher rate than the global figure of about 30% as estimated by the UN Commission on the Status of Women in 2000. In a research done in Kenya in 2002 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 (Gichangi 2002). In Nairobi, the incidence of violence may be higher in slum areas but these studies did not delve into this.

In a study carried out in 2001, out of a total of 1664 women aged 17-77 surveyed, only 6.3% of Kenyan women reported a lifetime without gender abuse of any kind-physical, sexual, verbal or emotional. Forty four percent were totally abused meaning that they experience all types of gender violence and 73% reported abuse both in childhood and in adulthood. Fifty nine percent of those who reported suffering all

forms of abuse said that they suffered this abuse everyday while 55% said they experience violence on pay day (Johnston, 2003).

Newspaper reports have occasionally reflected the problem of domestic violence. Some of the cases reported in the media have been shockingly severe causing serious harm to the victims and in some cases, resulting to death. Some of those excerpts include;

An elderly blind woman was fighting for her life in hospital after her husband burnt her. The woman, a retired receptionist was doused in paraffin and then set ablaze after a dispute over her retirement money which her husband wanted to withdraw from a local bank (Daily Nation, April 2003)

Kiambu police are looking for a husband who had confined his wife in his home for months, claiming that she had been unfaithful. The mother of three said that she had been locked up every day, emotionally deprived from seeing her children, and physically deprived of the freedom of movement (Daily Nation, September 2002).

Following an analysis of domestic violence cases reported in the Kenya dailies from January to June 1997, Machera (1997) observes that; "Going by newspaper reports, it is apparent that there is an escalating trend in reporting of gender based domestic violence in the last 20 years and this is threatening the stability of the highly valued family life and women's contribution to development. Only severe cases of domestic violence are reported in newspapers and the less severe ones which are more common are rarely reported. An Average of 12 cases was reported in the local dailies per month between January 1997 and June 1997. All the reported cases were severe in nature, thus confirming that only the most serious cases of domestic violence are reported in the media". It is possible that most of the cases reported in the media are related to severe physical forms of domestic violence that result in injury thus attracting media attention and perhaps very few if any relate to psychological violence.

A survey carried out in Kenya established that 55% of married respondents had at least one marital problem. The most prevalent problems mentioned were decision making, finances, drinking and beating (Mburugu and Adams 2005)

Between April 2006 and March 2007, a total of 244 women survivors of domestic violence received comprehensive medical examination and treatment at the Nairobi Women's Hospital Gender Violence Recovery Centre (GVRC). Of these survivors, 53% came from the slum areas in Nairobi such as Kibera, Mathare, Mukuru and Korogocho, compared to 28% who came from middle class and up market areas of Nairobi (GVRC 2007).

The differences in percentage between middle to up market areas and the slum areas could however be related to the fact that most women of higher income groups hardly report violence. It could also be that these women seek help from other hospitals because they can afford to pay for the services. The Gender Violence Recovery Centre offers free services which could explain why most of the women seeking its services are from low income areas such as the slums. This view can be supported by the findings of a study carried out in the US on violence in marriage which concluded that "abused women with more financial resources may have more private sources of help" (Frieze and Brown 1989).

Organizations working with survivors of violence such as the Women's Rights Awareness Program (WRAP), Coalition on Violence against Women (COVAW) and FIDA note that the greater majority of their clients come from the slum areas of Nairobi (Odhiambo 2005). Indeed, reports from the Women's Rights Awareness Program (WRAP) indicate that 80% of the cases who receive services from the shelter are from Mathare slums. This is perhaps an indication that there is more violence happening in the slums. However, besides the statistics available from these organizations, there is hardly any other information that has explored the problem of domestic violence in the slums of Nairobi by way of scientific enquiry.

Not much research attention has been focused on the subject of domestic violence in Kenya much less in the urban slums. In fact it is only in 2003, that questions touching on domestic violence were included in the Kenya Demographic and Health Survey, an indication that this subject is only recently receiving research attention. Although the KDHS was a national wide survey, the analysis of Nairobi province is

not disaggregated according to the different population groups in the province and as such, fails to provide insights on the problem as it is in the slum areas. The Study has given the differences in prevalence rates between urban and rural areas but that is all with regard to urban areas. It is therefore imperative that specific research is carried out to examine the subject of domestic violence among different population groups within an urban setting. Given the fact that available information indicates that there are high incidences of violence reported from the slums, it is important to interrogate factors that could be related to the high incidences.

This study wishes to examine the socio- economic factors related to domestic violence in a slum setting with a focus on Mathare slums. Some of the socio-economic factors to be examined include age of partners, education level of partners, number of children, alcohol intake, occupation and level of income, as well as contribution to household expenditure. This is in an attempt to fill the knowledge gap that exists with regard to understanding facts behind the domestic violence statistics from the slums.

Most of the studies carried out in Kenya confirm that indeed Kenyan women are faced with physical violence from their intimate male partners. A lot of studies other have also focused on the question of sexual violence exposing the extent to which this is a problem in intimate partner relationships. However, these studies have not exposed the extent to which Kenyan women suffer psychological violence much less in the urban slums. It is therefore not clear what the extent of psychological violence is and the various forms it takes and this study wishes to explore this further with a focus on the informal settlements.

In a survey carried out in 2002 on the status and progress of women in Kenya established that over 60% of Kenyan women and girls who have been abused or violated did not report this event to anyone. Only about 12% of Kenyan women who reported physical or sexual abuse and violence claimed to have done so to someone in authority such as village elders or police. Recent national wide surveys have suggested that in Kenya less than 10% of domestically abused women 'officially' reported their abuse. This strongly suggests female 'acceptance' of male dominance

and power and failure to understand and demand human rights (Johnston et al 2003:97). These studies seem to suggest that a great majority of abused women will remain silent about the abuse.

However most of the studies have focused on how women respond to physical violence and hardly is there data that is specific on how women respond to psychological violence. In fact, reports from the Gender Recovery and Monitoring Unit (GRMU) in Nairobi Women's Hospital only contain information on sexual and physical forms of violence. This then is an indication that reports of psychological violence are missing unless of course a woman narrates the psychological violence in the course of reporting physical violence and this data is not captured. If a woman has not suffered physical violence that does not necessitate the need to seek medical attention say from Nairobi Women's Hospital, and that such a woman has only suffered psychological violence, what is her response towards this type of abuse and what action does she take? This information is not available in existing literature and it would be important to find out more on how women respond to psychological forms of violence in the urban slums. This study attempts to establish the ways in which women in Mathare respond to psychological violence.

In conclusion this study seeks to explore the following research questions.

1. What is the nature of the relationship between certain socio economic factors and the occurrence of psychological violence in Mathare?
2. What is the nature of psychological violence in Mathare?
3. How do women in Mathare respond to psychological violence?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 Overall objective

The general aim of the study is to undertake an analysis of domestic violence in Mathare slums.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

The specific objectives are:

1. To identify specific Socio- economic factors and determine their relationship to the occurrence of psychological violence in Mathare.
2. To determine the nature of psychological violence that women in Mathare experience
3. To establish mechanisms of response to psychological violence by women in Mathare.

1.4 Justification of Proposed Research

Violence against women in all its manifestations has emerged over the last decade as a matter requiring priority attention, with evidence from all over the world revealing that violence in the home, sexual assaults and sexual harassment are risks common among women and that it is a global problem (Cannors 1994, in Oyekanmi 1997). Violence against women is an issue of great concern in Kenya. The problem continues unabated despite the interventions by various governmental and non – governmental agencies. In spite of the lack of a national wide data on the extent of the problem, available data captured by the Kenya police show that in the last decade, the number of reported cases has increased significantly (The National Action Plan on Violence against Women in Kenya, 2001).

Machera (1997) contends that “..... It is crucial that detailed scientific research be conducted to establish reasons behind increasing family violence as well as to investigate possible strategies which can be adopted to stop the problem”. This study is in response to this call and recognizes the importance of domestic violence in development. Violence against women impoverishes a society economically, politically and culturally. The direct costs of violence against women are enormous in terms of the working time, lost earnings and medical expenditure. The indirect cost of limiting the active role that women can play in the development of their community is unquantifiable (KDHS 2003)

While a lot of research work on domestic violence has focused mainly in the US, gaps in academic research on domestic violence in Kenya are evident. Most of the journal articles are mainly focused on the United States; very few have focused in

Africa and Kenya in particular. In fact there is nothing much that has been documented with regard to domestic violence in urban slums yet a significant number of the urban population lives in slum areas where poverty levels are high. Indeed, Mburugu and Adams (2005) contends that; 'other than occasional features on family issues (often concerning domestic violence) in newspapers and magazines, few major studies have been carried out on family problems in Kenya.

Although many studies have been carried out on the subject of domestic violence, these studies appear to be general in character, and information specifically touching on intimate partner violence in slum settings is missing. Some statistics may be available that is indicative of the prevalence of the problem in the slums especially from the organizations that work with affected populations, but beyond the statistics, it is not clear what the dynamics of violence are in the urban slums. There is hardly any literature that is available beyond the statistics and which has examined in detail the question of domestic violence in urban slums, and particularly the psychological form of intimate partner violence. This study is an attempt to bridge this knowledge gap.

Hamby and Sugarman (1999) contend that psychological aggression has been an understudied component of partner violence. Numerous clinical analyses however indicate that psychological aggression, which includes verbal and other attacks that do not directly involve assaulting another's body, is an important component of wife battering and may be even more damaging than physical assault in the long run.

Nonetheless, there are only a few studies that have quantitatively examined psychological aggression. Most studies seem to focus on physical and sexual forms of violence in intimate partner relations and as such data on psychological violence is largely missing.

The study will be carried out in a slum environment owing to the fact that over 50% of domestic violence cases treated in Nairobi Women's Hospital between April 2006 and March 2007 were from the slum areas. Further, reports from the Women's Rights Awareness Program (WRAP) indicate that 80% of the cases who receive services from the shelter are from Mathare. Yet despite the awareness of the

statistics of domestic violence in urban slums, there is hardly any detailed literature interrogating the reasons behind the statistics.

The study will shed light into the specific factors influencing psychological violence, its nature and how women respond to this form of violence that is rarely reported. The results of this study will be instrumental to organizations that work in the area of domestic violence because they can inform their program strategies and interventions. Similarly, this work will contribute to building knowledge and information on domestic violence for purposes of policy and legislative work on issues of domestic violence such as the stalled Family Protection Bill (2001). This study is an attempt to not only answer the specific research questions identified but hopefully it should stimulate further academic research on the subject of domestic violence.

This study should be instrumental in informing policy interventions around the subject of domestic violence. For instance the work that has been pending on the Family Protection Bill (2000) can benefit from this research. It is further estimated that this work should inform the work and interventions of service providers who work with abused women and children.

1.5 Scope and Limitations

The study has examined socio economic factors and their relationship to domestic violence. Not all social or economic factors have been explored in this study. The scope of social factors has been limited to age, level of education, alcohol intake, and number of children and their paternity. The economic factors examined in the study include the occupation, level of income and contribution of spouses to household expenditure.

The study focused on interviewing female respondents who are currently in a relationship with a male partner which they consider as marriage, and where the relationship has lasted for at least one year. This study has also limited itself to interviewing women who are aged 18-49 years.

Some schools of thought postulate that domestic violence can either take the form of physical violence, psychological violence, and sexual violence. This study has limited itself to psychological forms of domestic violence. In examining the psychological violence, specific behavior patterns considered by the researcher to be representative of psychological violence were tested. The behavior patterns considered in the study include insults and embarrassment in the presence of others, threats of harm, infidelity, lack of or withdrawal of economic support, denial of opportunity to work, and control of social interaction by the male partner.

One key limitation of this study is the fact that domestic violence is a confidential matter, often shrouded with secrecy and sometimes even stigma for the victims. There is likelihood that respondents may not share all their experiences owing to the confidential nature of the subject under investigation.

1.6 Definition of terms

Certain terms have been used and for the purposes of this study these terms have been defined as follows:

Intimate partner:

An intimate partner refers to a male with whom a woman has a romantic relationship that has resulted into marriage, or living together in the same dwelling for at least one year.

Violence

Violence shall mean any harm inflicted on a woman that results in feelings of hurt, suffering or pain that is not of a physical nature but of a psychological nature.

Abused woman/ Survivor

An abused woman or survivor shall be the woman who has experienced psychological violence from her intimate male partner.

Intimate Partner Violence/ Spousal abuse/Domestic violence

These terms have been used interchangeably in the study and they refer to violence inflicted by a male partner on a female partner as long as the two are in an intimate relationship that has resulted into a union that they regard as marriage.

Psychological violence

Psychological pain means any harm inflicted by the male partner on the woman that leads to psychological suffering, bitterness and feelings of being hurt, or generally suffering that leads to deep thoughts and loss of self esteem. This includes insults and embarrassing remarks in the presence of others, being threatened with harm either for self, children or relatives, refusing to provide support, being denied the opportunity to work, social interaction being controlled for example controlling who a woman can associate with, being bashed when seen speaking to other women and so on, as well as male partner's infidelity. These set of behaviors have also been treated as forms of psychological violence in the study.

Frequency of violence

This refers to how often violence occurs. The frequency has been determined by whether violence occurs almost daily, all the time, weekly, monthly or within such other defined period.

Socio economic factors

These are those factors which are of a social or economic nature as defined in the scope and limitations section, whose effect on nature of psychological violence will be examined. These factors shall include age, level of education, number of children and their paternity, occupation, level of income and contribution to household expenditure

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction.

This section examines literature on domestic violence in general with regard to definition and scope, society perspectives, psychological violence, domestic violence in urban areas, factors influencing domestic violence and its impacts. Some of the theories that can be used to explain domestic violence have been examined in the theoretical framework. The conceptual model has drawn from the theories explored in this chapter.

2.2 Definition and Scope of Domestic Violence

American Psychiatric Association (2005) defines domestic violence as control by one partner over another in dating, marital or live-in relationship. The means of control include physical, sexual, emotional, economic abuse, threats and isolation. Domestic violence affects people from all socio economic, educational and religious backgrounds and takes place in same sex as well as heterosexual relationship. Domestic violence is not limited to married couples, a survey among Arizona State University juniors and seniors found that 60% of the students said that they had experienced some form of violence during dating (Zanden 1987).

Zanden (1987: 330) notes that the problem of family violence has long been neglected by both society and the academic community. The view that the family is and ought to be a warm setting has contributed to a perceptual blackout of family violence. Yet the family is the single most frequent location for violence of all types including homicide.

2.3 Society Perspectives on Domestic Violence

Violence or the threat of violence is one determinant of the existence and perpetuation of male dominance in the family, for men, on the whole, are physically

stronger than women and thus usually capable of imposing their wills by force if they choose. In many societies, women are treated as the property of men and crude physical coercion is a much used sanction for keeping women in subjection (Farmer 1979:65).

Demographic and Health Survey for Turkey in 2003 revealed that 39% of Turkish women surveyed believed that wife beating can be justified for at least one of the following reasons; spoiling food, spending money excessively, rejecting sexual intercourse, reacting negatively to her spouse or neglecting her children. Indeed, 63% of women aged 15-19 years in Turkey said that wife beating could be justified (UNFPA 2007). This is an indication that despite its serious impacts, domestic violence is condoned, justified and even encouraged in some societies across the world.

In Ghana, wife beating is a man's way of teaching the wife a lesson and even women have shown less sympathy for victims of wife beating; who according to custom they should learn to be cautious and calm (Ofei-Aboagye 1994)

Many Yoruba wives are beaten by their husbands although there are no statistical figures to prove it. In Yoruba land, men are socialized into roles that spell aggression, power, and masculinity, and use of force while women are socialized to have feeble feelings, kindness, and tenderness and there is institutional support in the family to underscore these roles. Family matters are private and they should not be open to the public eye. Welfare officers remind wives that Yoruba culture allows men to beat their women. The welfare officer asks if the women are submissive to their husbands or if they think their husbands are in a position to reprove them. When answers to these questions are not straight forward or forthcoming, they ask the couple to settle their differences 'in bed'. This is their approach to bridging communication gaps between couples. The social workers work from the premise that a wife is her husband's property and he can use his property as he likes. If beating occurs, it is an attempt to sharpen her life and should not be misconstrued as cruelty or ill treatment. Interestingly, some women justify beating when they think it

is 'well deserved' blaming themselves for 'overstepping their bounds' (Antinmo 1997).

In Nigeria, wife beating is both prevalent and persistent because the society subscribes to twin philosophies, first that the wife is subordinate to her husband and secondly, owing to the acceptance of a private/public dichotomy which renders people's homes and family life relatively immune to social controls, interventions and sanctions (Okagbue 1996). Indeed domestic violence is treated as a private affair.

In Cambodia, common advice given to victims of domestic violence is; be a good wife, speak softly, care for the house, serve your husband, don't say bad things when he comes home from work, you must be patient, cook food better, don't burn the food, the man is very strong, don't refuse him, give him what he wants (Nelson and Zimmerman 1996 cited in Pickup 2001: 24). This obviously perpetuates the notion of women being subservient to men and strengthens male dominance in society with violence being the outcome when this is challenged.

In Kenya, some communities for example the Kisii believe that wife beating is a sign of love while for others; it serves to discipline the woman who may otherwise not respect the husband in the event that such discipline is not instilled. Mburugu and Adams (2005) observe that; "Kenyan women largely agree with their husbands that wives should be obedient, mindful and careful of their duties. The woman's perception of the role of an ideal wife are that she should be loyal and obedient to her husband ..., thus Kenyan men see themselves as masters, protectors and providers for their family. Concerning culture and tradition, there are very significant differences in physical, sexual abuse and violence rates from different provinces in Kenya". KDHS (2003) notes that violence is highest in Eastern and Central provinces. It is thought that differences in physical and sexual abuse are due in major part to varying cultural and traditional practices (Mburugu and Adams 2005). The cultural attitudes that put women in a subordinate position relative to men are evidenced even in a society's oral literature. Agaya (1996) discusses the issue of violence against women in African oral literature with reference to some African proverbs. For example the Kikuyu say; *aka matiri cia ndiro no cianyinuko* meaning that

women have no upright words only crooked ones. Many of these proverbs serve to reinforce the society's view of women and this perpetuates violence in different ways.

2.4 Psychological Violence

Psychological violence refers to behaviors which are mostly verbal but which could also include other forms of aggression that do not involve the direct assault on another's body (Humby and Sugarman 1999)

Hamby and Sugarman (Ibid) observe that; "Although there is no existing theoretical analyses of different forms of psychological aggression, a variety of theoretical viewpoints agree on what kinds of interpersonal interactions are most damaging. Humanist theory emphasizes the need for respect and positive regard in interpersonal relationships and emphasizes treating others as persons with inherent worth and dignity"

Although humanists often focus on subtle, non verbal aspects of communication, certainly name calling and insulting in front of others could be seen as devaluing. Characteristic forms of oral aggressiveness are insults and humiliating comments. In family systems theory, an important construct is expressed emotion which posits that hostile criticism and emotional over involvement are risk factors for a number of problems including marital relations (Hooley and Licht; 1997 in Humby and Sugarman)

In a study carried out in India, forms of psychological violence that were found to exist include abuse, sarcastic remarks in the presence of outsiders, imposing severe restrictions on the freedom of movement, totally ignoring the wife in decision making processes, making frequent complaints against her to her parents, friends, neighbors and kins, much to the embarrassment of the wife (Saravanan 2000). In the research, nearly 60% of the respondents reported psychological abuse characterized by demeaning and threatening behavior. There is hardly any literature available that has documented the extent to which Kenyan women and in particular women from urban slums experience psychological violence. Most of the literature has focused on physical and sexual forms of violence. Indeed, even reports from the Gender

Violence Recovery Centre in Nairobi Women's Hospital, a centre that caters for the treatment needs of survivors of domestic and sexual violence have not indicated anything on psychological forms of violence. In their reports, only physical and sexual violence details have been reported.

International Centre for Research on Women (2001) notes that few studies have attempted to study both physical and psychological abuse. A part of the problem has been that psychological violence is less amenable to quantification, difficult to standardize and may have different meanings across cultures. Some women may see abuse to have occurred only if it involves physical harm while for others, they do not see the need to report psychological abuse because it is considered 'normal'.

2.5 Domestic Violence in Urban areas

Urban environments appear to offer greater anonymity to perpetrators of violence against women and girls. There is a casual link between domestic violence and urban violence attributed to changes in social controls, in particular the breakdown of social bonds at neighborhood level (UNFPA 2007).

Research in Philippines found out that poverty and urban residence are associated with a higher likelihood of intimate partner violence (Homman 2007). Domestic violence rates in South Asia vary from community to community. In Pakistan, a survey of 1000 women indicated that 55% of women from urban areas and 35% from the rural areas stated that they were victims of domestic violence. In Sri Lanka, one survey put the figures at 60% for urban areas and 32% for rural areas (Coomaraswamy 2005). In Papua New Guinea, 67% of rural and 56% of urban women have been victims of wife abuse (Sen 1996).

In Kenya, women who reported to have experienced violence since they were 15 years of age constitute 48.1% for urban areas and 48.9% for rural areas (KDHS 2003). Besides indicating the difference in prevalence rates between rural and urban areas, these studies have not examined the dynamics of violence for different urban population groups. In Kenya, there is hardly any literature that has information on domestic violence in the urban slums and specifically the manifestation of psychological violence in the slum settings.

2.5 Factors Influencing Domestic Violence

Sociologist Richard Gelles (1980) carried out in depth interviews with forty one families in which women had been beaten by their husbands. Three major factors emerged from this research; On the whole the less severe and the less frequent the violence, the more likely that a woman will remain with the husband. The more the wife was struck as a child by her parents and witnessed violence in her childhood home, the more likely she is to remain with her abusive husband. Presumably, experience with violence as a victim and observer teaches a person to tolerate and even approve of use of violence. The fewer the resources the wife has and the less power she enjoys in the marriage, the more likely she is to stay with her violent husband (Zanden 1987:331).

Many abused women believe that their husbands will reform. Zanden (Ibid) notes that much official acceptance exists regarding family violence and is encompassed in the belief that such matters are a 'private affair'. Additionally, many women fear exposing their circumstances to public attention lest the myth of a peaceful family life be exploded and many of the women point to the futility of entering official complaints with the law. The husbands are seldom detained by the police, consequently the men are free to return and inflict even greater suffering on the women.

Stress and role frustration occasioned by economic and social disadvantages and underdevelopment also influence violence. Social and occupational stresses 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 (Odhiambo 2005:19). Straus et al (1990); uses data from a 1975 survey on risk factors of violence in American families and he says that assault is directly related to stress for both husbands and wives but especially wives. Furthermore, he says the "theory and findings of the study support the idea that it is not stress alone but other mitigating factors that result in more violent behavior – included in these factors are that the most violent men are under stress:.....have lower income and occupational status".

Economic dependence is a major contributing factor to violence against women (National Action Plan on violence against women 2001). The more resources a woman has in the way of education or job skills, the better able she is to support herself and her children and the less is her willingness to acquiesce in violence and the more likely she is to reach out for assistance (Zanden 1987). However, Kurz (1989) note that; a woman's employment may increase, rather than lower her risk of abuse if her husband is unemployed. In such relationships, her employment status has critical symbolic importance. It signifies a challenge to the culturally prescribed norm of male dominance and female dependence. Where a man lacks this sign of male dominance, violence may be a means of reinstating authority over his wife. In contrast to Kurz (1989) observation, Brinkerhoff and Lupri 1988; and Kennedy and Dutton 1989; as cited in Social Science Perspectives on wife abuse note that "some studies have found that female unemployment raises the risk of violence". It is probable that this observation could hold true for women in slums because most of them are unemployed and the reliance on the male partner may accelerate stress and therefore violence.

McCloskey et al (1996); in a study on social economic and coercive power within the family in which 365 battered and non battered women in the US were studied, found that battered women had less education. Using data that came from a national survey of Canadian women in 1993, Gelles et al (1974) concluded that "violence is more likely when women's educational and occupational attainment is greater than their husbands. Another study carried out in California to test a model on domestic violence on women who had been physically abused by their partners concluded that increases in a woman's income serves to increase the violence (Tanchen et.al 1991). It is therefore not clear whether indeed wife's economic independence; education status and general socio economic status lowers or increases the risk of violence. This study will shed more light on this contradiction.

In a research on labor force participation and the risk of spousal violence against women in America carried out in 1999, Macmillan and Gartner (1999) established that employment for men significantly lowers wife's risk of abuse. Also the husband's education lowers wife's risk of abuse and that higher incomes lower the risk of

abuse. The study further concluded that the lower the social status of the family, the more frequent and escalated the wife abuse.

Okemgbo et al (2001); in a study carried out on 308 Igbo women, 78.8% reported having been battered by their male partners. The study further established that “the level of education of respondent’s husband could positively influence their decision not to beat their wives. Those whose husbands had no formal education reported having been beaten more than those whose husbands attended at least primary education”

In a study carried out in Bangkok, Thailand on 2017 households, Hoffman et al (1994) found that socio economic status is significantly and negatively related to the occurrence of physical wife abuse. Neither occupational prestige nor differences in educational attainment are significantly related to the incidence of wife abuse. They however note that the lack of direct relationship between educational attainment differences and wife abuse could be a function of the overall low level of education attainment (8 years) in the study sample. Forty two percent of the spouses had the same level of education, clearly identifying a gap that future research should investigate spouses who are more discrepant on educational attainment. This finding seems to differ sharply with findings from researchers in western societies particularly the US and the authors observe “that it would be important to monitor whether urbanization and industrialization of developing countries lead to a greater emphasis on monetary resources and social economic status as measures of success for men. Should this occur, we may expect increases in husband’s stress, marital tension, family conflict and wife abuse”. The Asian and American experience in as far as the relationship between violence and education level is concerned seems to contrast as indicated by this study.

In a slum setting such as Mathare, it is expected that the levels of husband’s stress are higher given the high poverty levels evident in slum settings. It is therefore probable that marital tension would be high but the extent to which this is true or not in the Kenyan context has not been established. Given that the US and Asian

experiences are different, it is important to establish what the position is in an African context with specific emphasis on urban slums as proposed in this research.

A study carried out to examine the effects of different household economic indicators as the risk of violence toward women in intimate partnerships in the US found that the number of children, age of male partner and educational attainment have a significant association with violence. The same study found that women's educational attainment did not have association with violence (Fox et.al 2002)

Boys who witness their fathers' violence are 10 times more likely to engage in spouse abuse in later adulthood than boys from non violent home (Family Violence Justice System 1993). A study carried out in which 543 children were followed over 20 years found that exposure to domestic violence was a strong predictor of perpetrating partner violence and also conferred the highest risk of receiving intimate partner violence (Ehrensaft, et.al 2003).

With regard to alcohol, many psychologists say that alcohol is not so much a causative factor as another expression of the tension underlying the relationship (Goodstein 1981 in Zanden 1987). This suggests that alcohol may just be an effect of frustrations which may be responsible for violence.

Farmer (1979) suggests that a large body of research has shown that there is an inverse association between the amount of education and amount of violence. Similarly with income; high income correlates with low records of violence and vice versa. Violence is a resource which can be used to compensate for lack of money and respect. These studies seem to suggest that the influence of socio economic factors on domestic violence differs from one study setting to another. This study seeks to understand how different socio economic factors influence domestic violence in a slum setting in Kenya.

Farmer (ibid) goes on to note that violence occurs between couples of all ages but there is some evidence it reaches a peak in the forty to fifty age group, a time when wives are loosing their attractions and may well begin to seem boring also. Farmer

says that it appears however that there may be less likelihood of violence occurring at whatever age when the wife is older than the husband. This argument would need to be validated through research especially considering that this phenomenon of older women having intimate relations with younger men is becoming more and more prevalent in recent times.

2.6 Impacts of Domestic Violence

The impacts of wife battering on the nuclear family are adverse and appear in many faces namely physical, medical, social, economic and even legal. Pathologically, abuse may render some women completely unable to regain their ability to function (Odhiambo 2005:4). This is because a continually battered woman develops low self esteem which results in low or negative self concept. She views herself as hopeless, helpless and a 'good for nothing' human being (Wallace 1994 cited in Odhiambo 2005). Odhiambo (ibid) goes on to observe that wife battering causes the victim to develop outbursts of 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 as a wife, mother or career woman. Children exposed to domestic violence are at risk of developmental problems, psychiatric disorders, schooling difficulties, aggressive behavior and low self esteem. (American Psychiatric Association 2005)

Wife battering has many social influences to the victim. It may lead to broken homes in form of divorce and separation which have great psychological effects on the victim and all the members of the nuclear family (Ondicho 1993)

Violence against women impoverishes society economically, politically and culturally. The direct economic costs of violence against women are enormous in terms of working time, lost earnings and medical expenditure (WHO 2003). Indeed, KDHS (2003:250) found out that among the women who reported having ever experienced violence, 32% reported having aches and bruises, 9% injury or broken bone and 15 % reported having visited a health facility because of something that the husband or partner did to them. This means that a lot of hours that would otherwise be engaged

in productive work are lost as violated women seek medical attention and recuperate. The fact that the harm caused forces women to seek medical attention means that domestic violence is putting a strain on the already overstretched health services.

Chicago American Medical Association (1991) estimated that in the US, every year, domestic violence results in almost 100,000 days of hospitalization, almost 30,000 emergency department visits and almost 40,000 visits to a physician. Twenty to thirty percent of the women in the emergency room in California hospital are there due to abuse (Salber, et.al 1993). The cost of intimate partner violence against women in the United States exceeds an estimated US \$ 5.8 billion. These costs include nearly US \$ 4 billion indirect cost of medical care and mental health care and nearly US \$ 1.8 billion in the indirect costs of lost productivity and present value of lifetime earnings (CDC 2003).

In Kenya, the Gender Violence Monitoring Unit report of 2002-2005 indicates that on average, to care for an out patient who has experienced domestic violence without admission costs Ksh 4690. This amount varies depending on whether the patient is admitted or requires specialized care. The costs are higher, if the patient goes through a theatre procedure. Counseling per session costs Ksh 1000. The report further indicates that these costs are calculated on direct costs and the Nairobi Women' Hospital passes them on to GVRC without a profit margin. This means that the costs would be higher for survivors seeking support in private institutions.

One pervasive characteristic of violent families is that the bonds attaching them to society and their social group are fragile or non existent, more over they tend to be cut off from their neighbors and without friends. On the other hand, it may be that violence begets isolation, perhaps as a consequence of pride and an attempt to conceal the situation by social withdrawal; or it may be that neighbors and friends shy off social contacts because they do not want to become involved. Whatever the reasons the social isolation intensifies with possibilities of violence (Farmer 1979)

Approximately 3.3 million children witness abuse between their parents each year based on estimates of partner abuse (Schester and Ganley 1995). This means that the development process of many of these children is likely to be affected as a result of their experiences with violence.

Violence causes great physical harm, death, psychological abuse, separation, divorce and a host of other social ills (KDHS 2003:245). Domestic violence severely impacts women's physical and mental health, relationships, self esteem and sense of security. Women whose self esteem has been negatively affected cannot productively engage in economic production and this in turn leads to high poverty levels as evident in Mathare slums.

Women over forty years develop psychological problems caused by domestic violence. (Kimani 2005:10). Steele 1994, in Kimani 2005:23 argues that the rates of depression among violated women have been found to double that of general population and violated women have been found in substantial numbers among cases of attempted suicide and alcoholism. World Health Organization has reported that up to 70% of female murder victims are killed by their male partners. The consequences of violence against women go far beyond immediate physical damage to the victim. Psychological damage and the threat of further violence erode a woman's self esteem, inhibiting her ability to defend herself or to take action against her abuser.

In conclusion, it is clear that much of the literature highlighted relates to physical abuse and there is very limited information on psychological violence and how women respond to it. To a great extent, the studies cited in this section have been general in orientation and not much exists with regard to explaining the dynamics of violence in low income groups such as the slums. This study is an attempt to contribute towards filling this knowledge gap.

2.7 Theoretical Framework

A number of theories have been advanced and can be used to explain domestic violence. This section examines some of those theories. However, this research is grounded on one macro theory and two micro theories. The conflict theory

represents the macro theory in which this work is grounded while the two micro theories that have informed the research are feminist theory and the frustration-aggression theories.

2.7.1 Conflict theory

The conflict theory of violence assumes that conflict is an inevitable part of all associations which are characterized by super-ordinate and subordinate relations as well as competing goals. The family is viewed as an arena of competition and conflicting interests and violence is a likely outcome (Abane 1997). Sociologists arguing from a conflict perspective claim that gender roles simply are a reflection of male dominance. Through their control over the economic and political spheres of society, men have been able to protect their dominant position, and in so doing, men have blocked women's access to power (Winston et. al 1995).

Winston, Rinehart and Hold (1995) have observed that, according to conflict theory of social change, most social change is the result of conflict between groups with opposing interests. Conflict theory is rooted in Carl Marx's theory of class conflict. Ralf Dahrendorf like all conflict theorists agrees with Marx's belief that conflict is a central feature of all societies. He disagrees however with Marx's ideas that class conflict is the moving force in human history. Dahrendorf holds that social conflict can take many forms. Conflict can occur between racial or ethnic groups. It can also occur between religious or political groups or between males and females; young and old; and people with differing opinions and self interests.

From a Marxist point of view, conflict theory explains the source of violence from an economic and political perspective. Women are an oppressed economic class deprived of economic control, political power and status. They are victimized by the patriarchal capitalist system which fosters control of the oppressed class by the oppressors. Mies (1996) says that violence then is employed as the male's mechanism of controlling females.

Both Marx's and Dahrendorf's conflict perspectives can be used to explain domestic violence because this is a social phenomenon in which conflict is a central feature. A

man and a woman in an intimate relationship are faced with various conflict situations. Take the case of social change in which the contemporary family finds itself in today. The changing role of the career woman who constantly demands that the male partner shares in family responsibility like child care is a constant source of conflict where the traditional gender roles as understood in society are challenged. Other sources of conflict could relate to women's constant search for freedom and independence, a position that challenges the status quo thus resulting to conflict. The differing opinions that a couple have on things like finances, the number of children to have, the kind of house or car to have and so on is a constant source of conflict; and therefore the conclusion that the family and by extension any intimate relationship is an arena of conflict is well supported by the conflict theory.

2.7.2 Feminist theory

Feminist theory has been examined here as a micro theory and informs the study in a number of ways. According to Einstein 1979 cited in Were 2003, feminist theory emphasizes male power and privilege as the basis of social relations. Anderson 1997 cited in Were 2003:27 observes that radical feminist theory analyses patriarchy as the primary cause of women's oppression. The theory looks at the devaluation of women in all patriarchal societies as evidence of the centrality of patriarchy in determining women's status. This theory can be used to explain the universality of male dominance because through patriarchy, the status of women is determined. Radical feminists argue that patriarchy emerged by men's control of female sexuality and this explains men's violence against women and many cultural practices designed to control female sexuality.

Okagbue (1996) says that feminists argue that the use for violence for control in marriage is perpetuated not only through the norms about a man's rights in marriage but through women's continued economic dependence on their husbands. Walker (1979) supports this view by explaining that battered women develop a mentality of helplessness which increases because of financial dependency and responsibility for children. Socio- economic and psychological dependency makes it difficult for them to leave situations of domestic violence.

Abane (1997) says that feminist theory highlights the oppressive character of structural inequality based on gender. For feminists, gender itself is a social construct of male and female identified with unequal social value. The institution of patriarchy, a system of male dominance, conditions women psychologically into accepting a secondary status by embracing a process of sex stereotyping. Feminist theory criticizes male- female relationships as gendered constructions. 'Marital violence is seen as the most overt and effective means of husbands social control of wives in that it is used when other more subtle methods of control do not elicit submission (Hoffman et.al;1994)

Violence denotes the element of power as possessed by the oppressor or abuser and a situation of powerlessness for the oppressed or the abused. It would appear that feminism attributes the male power and dominance to patriarchy, an institution that would be seen to be responsible for the perpetuation of male dominance and by extension male power and dominance in intimate relations. This power is then expressed in form of violence against the victim. When this power and position is challenged, violence is bound to occur.

The theory has also provided insights into the emergent psychological conditioning of women as having accepted a secondary status relative to men by embracing the process of sex stereotyping. This would perhaps explain why abused women remain in abusive relationships even if they are able to support themselves. In social circles, it is common to hear the expression of *'what is she still doing with this abusive man and she has a good job with which she can support herself, is she chained to him?'* Indeed the very theory of feminism has also to some extent been held responsible for violence in the sense that those who advocate for women's rights are branded feminists leading to a conflict situation between those who support and perpetuate male dominance and those against. It is common to hear phrases like *'that one is a feminist to the core; she can not live with a man.'* The very idea that feminism challenges male dominance and its perpetuation results in conflict and by extension violence in intimate relations.

2.7.3 Frustration- Aggression theory

This theory has also been treated as a micro theory within the broad framework of conflict theory which represents the macro perspective. Frustration- aggression theory views the expression of aggression either as a response to the emotion that an individual feels when some goal is blocked and as a response to frustration being the product of learning (Steinmetze 1988; Abraham 1995 in Oyekanmi 1997). Violence is seen to be highly related to social stress such as poverty and job loss. As marriage declines in satisfaction, a growing sense of anger and frustration emerges that increases the potential for violence.

Odhiambo (2005) notes that frustration aggression theory states that violence is seen to be highly related to social stresses such as poverty and joblessness, a fact that makes violence very rampant in slums. The frustration aggression theory was supported by structural theories which explained that people with fewer resources relative to other members of society are known to experience high levels of frustration and stress.

Structural theory identifies the source of violence as stress, frustration and deprivation resulting from economic crisis. People with fewer resources relative to other members of society are known to experience higher levels of frustration and stress. They also have less material, 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 to meet normative expectations, with poverty, unemployment and the stress and frustration may result in his use of violence. Hence one would expect a greater prevalence of family violence among the poor, large families and in crowded suburbs (Glenn 1987; Steinmetze 1988; Abraham 1995 in Oyekanmi 1997)

Zanden (1987) notes that 'for over forty years, the frustration- aggression hypothesis has been a popular explanation for aggression behavior. According to the original version of the theory, frustration produces aggression; aggression never occurs without prior frustration. Frustration refers to the interference with, or blocking of the attainment of some goal. According to frustration aggression

theorists, frustration activates an aggressive drive. Presumably, frustration remains a motivating force until it is discharged in aggressive behavior.

But critics quickly point out that frustration need not result in aggression. Miller 1941 in Zanden 1987 amended the theory to say that frustration may produce other kinds of behavior besides aggression. Critics of frustration aggression theory have pointed out that whether or not an individual displays aggression depends in large measure to the extent to which his or her culture permits aggression. In some societies like the Kwakiutl Indians of the Pacific North West, aggression behavior is viewed as the mark of a 'real man' and hence encouraged and rewarded. Elsewhere among Zuni Indians of the American South West, aggression is viewed as an evil force that disrupts group harmony. This would seem to support the view that even in Kenya; different regions exhibit different levels of domestic violence.

The KDHS (2003) found that 67% of women from Western province reported having ever experienced violence compared to 23% of women in Coast province and this would seem to support the fact that culture does have a role to play in determining aggressive behavior.

2.8 Conceptual Model

From a conflict perspective, different socio-economic factors are likely to result in conflict. For instance it is likely that, decisions on household expenditure and who contributes what, and how the income is spent is likely to result in conflict. Women who have no income are likely to experience higher levels of violence and are likely to take no action.

Feminist theory emphasizes how batterers use techniques both physical and non physical to establish control over, generate fear or intimidate their partners. Destroying a partner's belongings, threatening to cause harm or insulting a partner in the presence of others are examples of psychological aggression that might be used to demonstrate male power. Since patriarchy is a structure in society that acknowledges and supports male dominance, society in general and abused women in particular often justify violence and their non action against it as part of an accepted way of life, hence it is likely that most women who suffer psychological violence will remain silent.

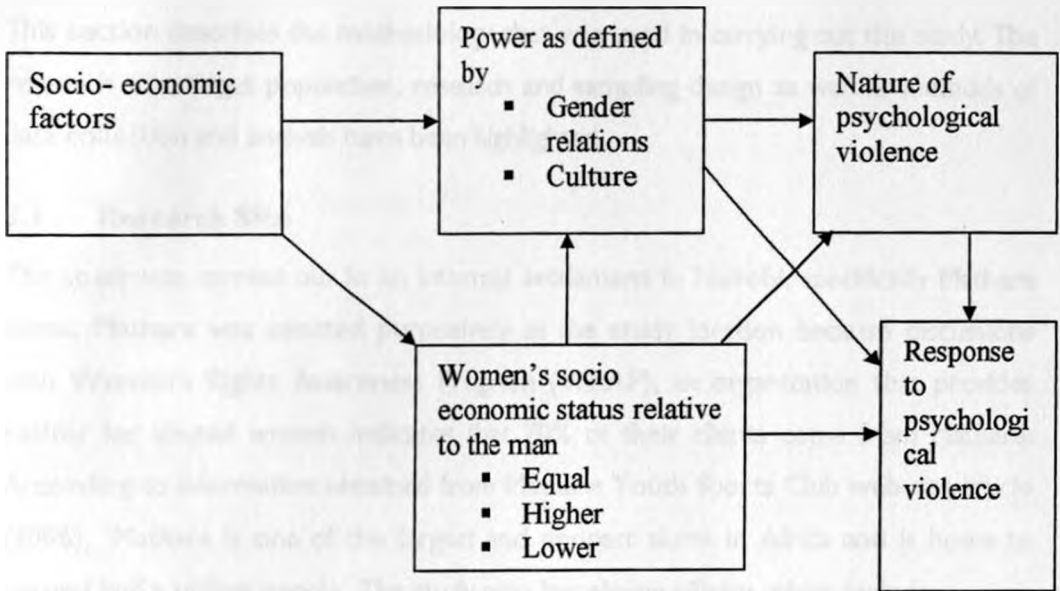
Gender relations are characterized by differentials in power as defined by culture. As a result of the culturally determined and gendered social relations between men and women, women have less power relative to men. However, socio-economic factors may have a part to play in defining women's status relative to men as to be equal, higher or lower to that of men. Similarly socio-economic factors may also play a part in challenging women's powerlessness as defined by gender relations or by culture. Women's status relative to men could also influence the gender relations of power and culture. Where women's status is lower to that of men, they are less likely to challenge the gender relations and will most likely conform to the cultural orientation that views women as less powerful and men as holding greater power over them. Women's level of power and status determine the nature of psychological abuse she is likely to suffer and the actions she will take when faced with violence. Women with low power and with low status relative to men in terms of social economic factors are likely to suffer more frequent forms of psychological violence and are less likely to take any action.

The frustration – aggression theory holds that violence is seen to be highly related to social stresses such as poverty and joblessness, a fact that makes violence very rampant in slums. The socio-economic factors that correspond with higher poverty levels such as low incomes and larger family size are likely to result in higher levels of frustration resulting in aggressive behavior. Higher levels of frustration may occasion more frequent levels of psychological violence where insults and threats become a daily phenomenon in an intimate relationship. Similarly, continued victimization is likely to lead to situations of hopelessness and a feeling of helplessness and inability to take action and therefore the more frequent and severe the violence is, the more likely that a woman will take no action.

In conclusion, socio-economic factors determine the forms of psychological violence that a woman is likely to experience as well as the action she is likely to take when faced with violence. Socio-economic factors also play a part in determining women's status relative to men and where the woman's status is lower, she is not likely to challenge the notion of power as defined by culture and by gender relations and as a

result she is likely to be a victim of more frequent forms of psychological violence and view herself as helpless in terms of taking any action. Similarly, the action that an abused woman takes is dependent on the form that psychological violence takes. The nature and frequency of violence determines the action that an abused woman takes. Below is a diagrammatic representation of this conceptual model.

Figure 1: Conceptual Model



CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This section describes the methodology that was used in carrying out the study. The research site, target population, research and sampling design as well as methods of data collection and analysis have been highlighted.

3.1 Research Site

The study was carried out in an informal settlement in Nairobi, specifically Mathare slums. Mathare was selected purposively as the study location because discussions with Women's Rights Awareness Program (WRAP), an organization that provides shelter for abused women indicates that 70% of their clients come from Mathare. According to information obtained from Mathare Youth Sports Club web site article (2006), 'Mathare is one of the largest and poorest slums in Africa and is home to around half a million people. The study area has eleven villages which include;

1. Mlango area, also called Village 1 or Kyamutisya
2. Mbondeni area
3. Mabatini
4. No. 10
5. 4A
6. 4B
7. Kosovo
8. Mathare North area
9. Village 3C
10. Village 2
11. Gitathuru

3.2 Target Population

Mathare has an estimated population of half a million people. The study considered a sample of women from Mathare who are known to have or are still experiencing violence from an intimate partner.

3.3 Research design

Research design refers to the scheme, outline or plan that is used to generate answers to research problems (Kombo and Tromp 2006). This study was an exploration of the issues under investigation.

The researcher used both primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained using questionnaires, FGD guides, and Key Informant interviews. Secondary data was obtained from books, journals and internet sources.

3.4 Sampling Design

Non probability sampling was used. Specifically, the researcher employed purposive sampling and snowballing. Only those women who are known to have experienced or are currently experiencing violence were included in the study. For purposes of recording some typical testimonies, typical case sampling was employed. Typical case sampling uses one or more typical cases (individuals, families or households) to provide a local profile. Typical cases are carefully selected with the cooperation of the local people or extension workers (Kombo and Tromp 2006).

Domestic violence is a sensitive issue and it is treated with a lot of secrecy, as such many women may not wish to discuss the subject even if they are victims. That is why only those who are known to have experienced or are experiencing and have reported or shared with someone were interviewed. In order to ensure that both typical (well known or established victims of violence) and atypical (victims that are not well known), are interviewed, the researcher relied on the good will and existing rapport between the social workers and the community. Since the social workers who were instrumental in the identification of respondents are well known in the community, they were able to cultivate the trust needed for the atypical cases to participate in the research.

In identifying women who have experienced or are currently experiencing violence, sampling did not just focus on women who have been or are victims of psychological violence. The study assumes that any woman who has experienced physical violence from an intimate partner has most likely experienced psychological violence. This is because it is estimated or assumed that in most cases, psychological violence precedes physical violence and the two are very closely linked.

3.5 Methods of Data Collection

The following methods were employed in collecting and assembling data for the study.

3.5.1 Review of secondary data

Existing literature on the subject of domestic violence were reviewed. The researcher reviewed books, journals, magazines, research reports, newspapers and articles and information from internet sources in order to gain a broad understanding of domestic violence, and to take account of what has been documented by other researchers and authors.

3.5.2 Primary data

The researcher collected primary data by carrying out interviews. The following set of interviews was carried out.

Structured Interviews

One on one interviews were carried out with respondents purposively sampled. A questionnaire was used (see annex1) for the one on one interview. As mentioned elsewhere, only women who have experienced or are currently experiencing violence were interviewed. Some questions regarding the socio economic factors of the male partner were included in the questionnaire but these were answered by the female respondent sampled for the interview. This was aimed at ensuring that the analysis of effects of socio economic factors is comprehensive and the difference for male and female partners is obtained and their relationships and associations are examined during the analysis. A total of 80 respondents were interviewed. The 80

respondents were purposively selected from 9 out of the 11 villages in Mathare. The following shows the number of respondents interviewed from the nine villages.

1. Mlango area – 11 respondents
2. Mbondeni – 12 respondents
3. Mabatini- 8 respondents
4. Village No. 10- 8 respondents
5. Kosovo-13 respondents
6. 4A- 8 respondents
7. 4B- 7 respondents
8. Mathare North area- 6 respondents
9. Village 3C- 7 respondents

The distribution of the numbers was based on the size of the villages. Kosovo is the biggest village while Mlango area is the oldest but Mbondeni is bigger than Mlango area. The other two villages were left out because it was felt that the numbers of respondents would be too thinly spread out if they were considered. Also, the area occupied by Village 2 has been converted into private ownership by a mosque. This information was obtained from the social workers who helped in the identification of the respondents and no attempt was made to cross check this information from the local administration.

Focus Group Discussions

As a way of obtaining detailed community perspectives on domestic violence, FGDs were carried out with a sample of abused women. The respondents who participated in the FGD were drawn from typical cases or well known victims of violence carefully selected with the help of the social workers working in Mathare. An FGD guide was used (see annex 2).

A planning meeting was held with the social workers at WRAP who were to help in identification of respondents. The social workers from WRAP were instrumental in identifying typical cases that they have come across in the course of their work to

provide testimonies that would enrich the data. These typical cases were particularly useful as participants in the Focus Group Discussions.

A total of 20 women who are known to WRAP as having repeatedly experienced violence were identified. These were considered to be typical cases that would participate in the Focus Group Discussions. Their identification was based on their previous interaction with the WRAP social workers. Those purposively identified fell in two categories; one group comprising of women above 18 years and below 30 years. This was taken as an FGD for young women. The other group comprised of women above 30 years but below 49 years. Age was considered important in constituting the two groups in order to help participants feel at ease while discussing the subject matter. Each of the two groups had 10 women who participated in the FGDs.

Key Informant Interviews

Key Informant interviews specifically targeting counselors, lawyers and social workers who work with abused women were carried out. This process provided an insight into understanding the phenomenon of domestic violence further. A key informant interview guide was used (see annex 3). Four key informants were interviewed, who include a counselor, two social workers and a lawyer, all of who have interacted with abused women from mathare.

3.6 Data Analysis

Quantitative data was analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Frequency tables, chart, graphs were used for analysis. Cross tabulations of different variables was done to determine emerging relationships and associations between the variables.

For qualitative data, content analysis was undertaken to reduce the data to a more manageable set of observation, which was then categorized appropriately. Emerging patterns and relations were analyzed in order to generate meanings and understanding of the subject under investigation.

3.7 Challenges

The following are some of the challenges encountered:

1. During the Focus Group Discussions with the young women, they constantly used *sheng* and other commonly used phrases in Mathare and the researcher had to constantly enquire what some of the words meant.
2. There were delays in assembling the expected participants for the FGD and this meant that those who came early had to wait for the others to arrive.
3. The FGDs had participants from different ethnic groups. However, some of the women made some of the expressions in mother tongue especially in Kikuyu and this meant that somebody had to translate what was expressed in mother tongue for the others who could not speak or understand the language. However it is the view of the researcher that the expressions in mother tongue have enriched the data because they communicated meanings in a very special way when said in mother tongue as opposed to if they were said in Kiswahili.
4. Some of the women came with their young children to the FGD and they kept on distracting them.
5. During the one on one interviews, there were occasions when respondents broke down when narrating their experiences and this meant the interviews had to be delayed as the respondents were given time to bring out their emotional pain. However, the researcher's experience in working with survivors of violence in the past was instrumental in helping the respondents narrate their experiences with much ease. For some of the clients, the interviews provided a good opportunity to refer them for further counseling in WRAP.
6. For some of the respondents, they took the opportunity to narrate in detail their experiences in violence and this meant that some of the interviews took much longer than expected.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This section of the report provides information on the study findings. The section is divided into two main parts. Part one includes the presentation of the data in form of tables, charts and graphs. The presentation of this information sheds light on the socio- economic and demographic characteristics of the respondents and their male partners; nature of psychological violence experienced as well as the different actions that women take in responding to the psychological violence experienced. Part two reflects the analysis and interpretation of the findings in accordance with the objectives of the study. Part two also attempts to reflect the voices of the respondents as obtained from the Focus Group Discussions and the Key Informant Interviews.

A4. PART A: DATA PRESENTATION

A4.1 Socio-Economic and Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents and Their Male Partners.

A4.1.1 *Type of marital union*

Almost all (98.9%) respondents are engaged in cohabiting type of marital union. Only one respondent reported to have been in a customary type of marital union. Interestingly none of the respondents reported to have either been in a civil, Christian or Muslim type of marriage.

A4.1.2 *Respondent and Male partner level of education*

Data reflected in Figure 2 and 3 shows that 81% of the respondents had primary level education compared to 76% of their male counterparts who had the same level of education. With regards to secondary level education, 22% of male partners had

this level of education while only 11% of the respondents have this level of education.

None of the male partners have a college level of education while only one of the respondents reported that she had attended a catering college.

Figure 2: Partner level of Education

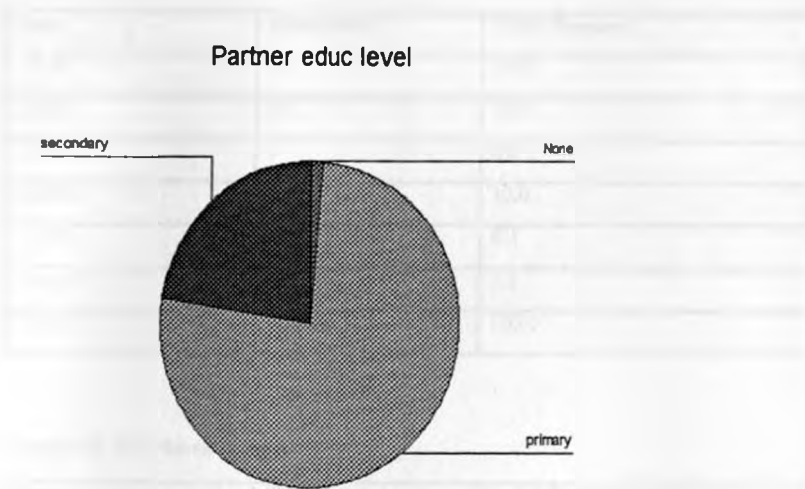
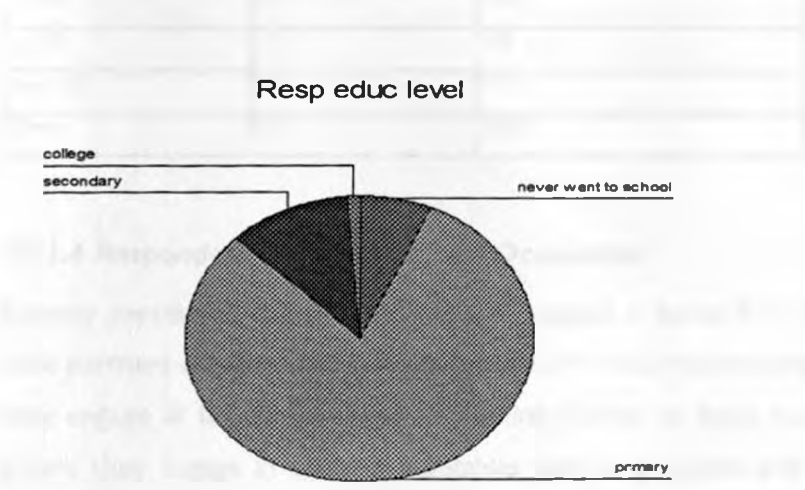


Figure 3: Respondent's level of Education



A4.1.3 Respondent and male partner age

About 73% of the respondents were between the age of 18 and 30 years compared to 48% of male partners who were in the same age bracket. Tables 1 and 2 shows the age distribution of respondents and their male partners respectively.

Table 1: Age of respondents

Age	Frequency	Valid Percent
18-24	31	38.8
25-30	28	35.0
31-35	7	8.8
36-40	8	10.0
41-45	5	6.3
over 45	1	1.3
Total	80	100.0

Table 2: Partner's age

Age	Frequency	Valid Percent
18-24	11	13.8
25-30	28	35.0
31-35	18	22.5
36-40	7	8.8
41-45	7	8.8
over 45	9	11.3
Total	80	100.0

A4.1.4 Respondent and Male partner Occupation

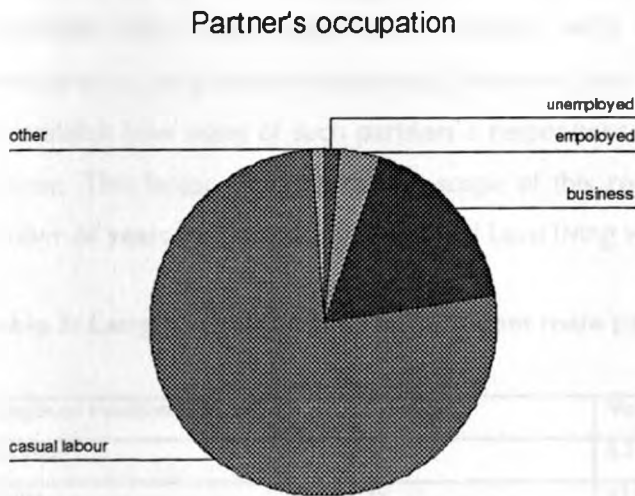
Seventy percent of the respondents are engaged in casual labor while 76% of the male partners engage in the same occupation. For the respondents, the casual labour they engage in is mainly related to washing clothes or going to City Park market where they engage in washing vegetables such as potatoes and tomatoes for the business people. Their male partners largely provide casual labor in construction sites or carry goods for people at the *Marikiti* market. Almost similar number of respondents and male partners (16.3% and 17.5% respectively) engage in business. The types of business engaged in range from hawking for the male partners, brewing

local brews such as *chang'aa* while the respondents are involved in vegetable vending, selling cooked food stuff such as Githeri, chips, *Micugi* (cooked chicken heads) and selling clothes. Of the 80 respondents, only ten of them said they were housewives and only one male partner was said to be unemployed. One respondent said that the partner engaged in stealing as his main occupation. Figure 4 and 5 shows the occupation of respondents and their male partners.

Figure 4: Respondent's occupation



Figure 5: Partners occupation



A4.1.5 Respondent and Male partner monthly income

The findings indicate that 82.5% of the respondents earn a monthly income that is below Ksh 5000 compared to 63.8% of their male partners who fall in this income level. None of the respondents had an income of over 10,000 while only 2 of the male partners were said to earn a monthly income of between Ksh10,000 and Ksh15,000. About 18% of the respondents do not know what their male partners earn.

A4.1.6 Length of relationship with male partner

This question sought to determine the number of years that the respondent had been living with the current male partner. The findings indicate that majority of those interviewed (43.8%) have been in the relation for a period of 2-5 years, followed by 27.5% who have lived in the relationship for a period of 6-10 years. Only five respondents reported to have lived with their current male partner for over 20 years. This question was related to measuring the length of the relationship that a respondent has with their current male partner. During the discussions, some of the respondents indicated that this was not their first relationship and that for some of them, their current partner was either the second or third male partner after having separated with their former male partners with whom they had what they considered to be a marital relationship. However, the questionnaire did not attempt to establish how many of such partners a respondent had prior to the current male partner. This factor was outside the scope of this research. Table 3 indicates the number of years that the respondents had been living with their male partners.

Table 3: Length of relationship with current male partner

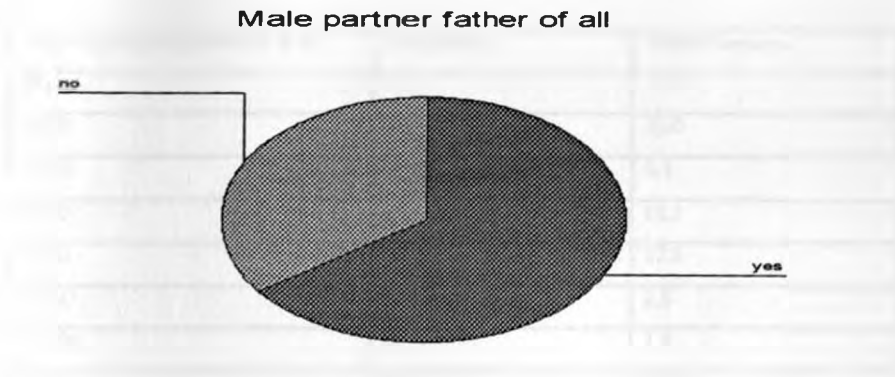
Length of relationship	Frequency	Valid Percent
one year	5	6.3
2-5 yrs	35	43.8
6-10 yrs	22	27.5
11-15 yrs	10	12.5
16-20 yrs	3	3.8
over 20 yrs	5	6.3
Total	80	100.0

A4.1.7 Number of Children and their Paternity

Almost all the respondents (98.8%) said that they had children with only one reporting that she was expectant at the time of the interview. When asked how many children the respondents had, majority (41.3%) said they had two children while 21.3% had either one or three children obtaining a mean of 2.5.

With regards to the paternity of the children, Figure 6 shows that 65% of the respondents said that their children were all fathered by their current male partner while the rest said that that some of their children were fathered by other male partners prior to the current relationship.

Figure 6: Paternity of respondent's children.



As a follow up to the question seeking to establish if the current partner was the father of all the children, respondents were asked to state how many of their children were fathered by the current male partner. Table 4 shows that 21.3% and 6% of the respondents had one and two of their children fathered by other male partners respectively.

Table 4: Number fathered by current partner

Number fathered by current partner	Frequency	Valid Percent
all	52	65.0
one	17	21.3
two	5	6.3
three	3	3.8
none	3	3.8
Total	80	100.0

A4.1.8 Household monthly expenditure and respondent and male partner contributions

The question on monthly household expenditure sought to establish an estimated figure of how much families spend on a monthly basis. In responding to this question, respondents took into consideration their house rent and their daily expenditure on food. Respondents did not include expenditure on health and education. Results indicate that majority (35%) of the households spend about Ksh 4000 every month with only 3% spending about Ksh 10000 per month. Table 5 shows the results with regard to household monthly expenditure.

Table 5: Household monthly expenditure

Monthly expenditure in Ksh	Frequency	Valid Percent
3000	11	13.8
4000	28	35.0
5000	5	6.3
6000	13	16.3
7000	18	22.5
8000	2	2.5
10000	3	3.8
Total	80	100.0

Respondents were asked to estimate to what extent they and their male partners contributed to the household expenditure. As shown in Figure 7 and 8, more male partners (21%) contribute to less than 25% of the budget compared to 17% of the respondents who contribute a similar figure. About 40% of both respondents and their male partners contribute 25%-50% of the household expenditure. However, 5% of the male partners and 15% of the respondents do not make any financial contribution to the household expenditure.

Figure 7: Respondent's contribution to household expenditure

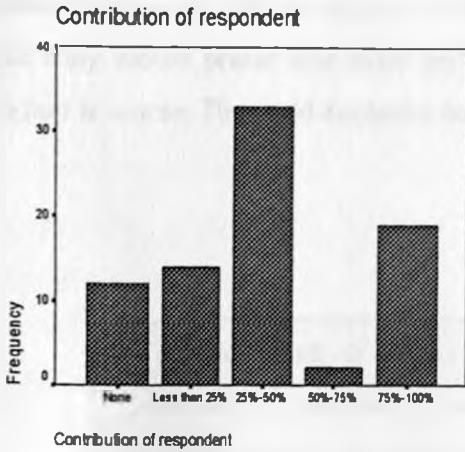
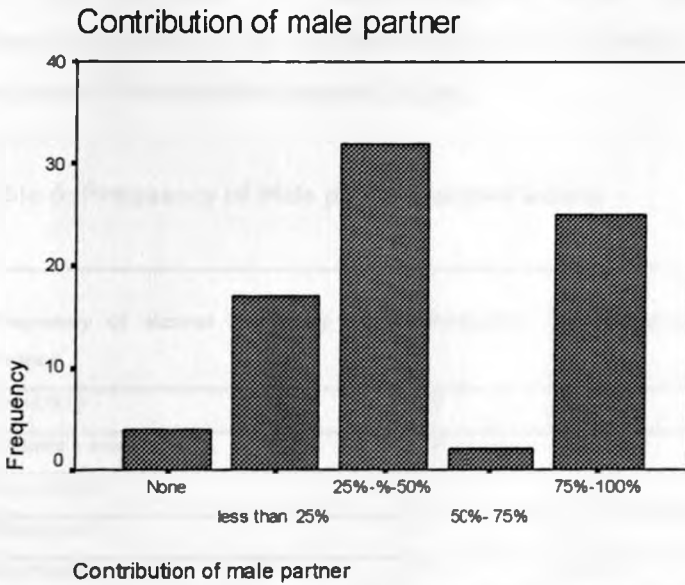


Figure 8: Partner's contribution to household expenditure



A4.1.9 Male Partner alcohol intake

A significant number of respondents (73.8%) said that their male partners take alcohol, while the rest said they do not take alcohol. However, some of those who do not take alcohol were said to be consuming other substances such as *Bhang*, cocaine and heroine. Respondents who said their male partners take other

substances other than alcohol constantly made reference to *Kachuri* which is the name they use to refer to cocaine. Those who said their male partners take *Kachuri* said they would prefer that their partners take *bhang* because according to them, *kachuri* is worse. They said *Kachuri* is bad because it is more expensive than *bhang*.

"A small pinch of Kachuri costs Ksh 150 while at least you can get bhang for ten bob. Kachuri makes him sell everything in the house including his own clothes"

Almost half (48.8%) of the respondents said that their male partners take alcohol almost daily while 21.3% said they take alcohol 2-3 times a week. Table 6 shows the frequency of male partner alcohol intake.

Table 6: Frequency of Male partner alcohol intake

Frequency of alcohol intake by male partner	Frequency	Valid Percent
almost daily	39	48.8
2-3 times a week	17	21.3
once a month	2	2.5
Occasionally	1	1.3
doesn't take	21	26.3
Total	80	100.0

A4.2 Psychological Violence

A4.2.1 Nature of Psychological violence

The nature of psychological violence was measured by asking if the respondents have experienced some specific actions in the last 6 months and how often they experienced these actions. Table 7 shows that 70% of the respondents had been insulted in the presence of others in the last 6 months. Denial of economic support ranked highest being experienced by 88.8% of the respondents followed by the male partner being unfaithful (82.5%). Other forms of violence occurring among over 70% of the respondents were male partner threatening to kill or harm as well as being chased from the house.

Table 7: Psychological forms of violence experienced in the last 6 months

Form of Violence	Experienced the form of violence in the last six months		Did not experience the form of violence in the last six months		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Partner insulted me in presence of others	56	70.0%	24	30.0%	80	100.0
Partner threatened to kill or harm me	58	72.5%	22	27.5%	80	100.0
Partner chased me from the house	59	73.8%	21	26.3%	80	100.0
partner threatened to harm people close to me	29	36.3%	51	63.8%	80	100.0
Partner denied economic support	71	88.8%	9	11.3%	80	100.0
Partner denied me the opportunity to work	41	51.3%	39	48.8%	80	100.0
male partner was unfaithful	66	82.5%	14	17.5%	80	100.0
Partner denied social interaction with others	60	75.0%	20	25.0%	80	100.0

With regards to frequency of violence, close to half (48.8%) of the respondent reported that they were denied economic support at least 2-3 times a week. During the discussions, respondents said that for some of their partners, they give Ksh 100 and will not give anything else for the next three days and will still demand to know how the money was spent. One woman said **“Huyu mtu sijui ako aje, anasema niandike kila kitu hata kitunguu ya shilling moja”** this means **“I don’t know what is wrong with this man, he wants me to account for everything in writing including the onion that costs one shilling”**.

Slightly more than forty percent of the respondents were chased from the house at least 2-3 times a week while 38.8% were violated through threats of being killed or harmed. Close to one quarter (22.5%) of the women said that they were insulted in the presence of others almost every day while 35% said they experienced similar abuse 2-3 times a week. It appears that most male partners do not threaten people close to the respondents with harm because 63.8% said they had not experienced such actions in the last 6 months.

Table 8: Frequency of violence by type of psychological violence

Type of psychological Violence	Frequency of Violence										Total	
	almost daily		2-3 times a week		occasionally		very rarely		Not done in last 6 months			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	count	%
How often insults in presence of others	18	22.5%	28	35.0%	10	12.5%			24	30.0%	80	100.0
How often threatened to kill or harm	9	11.3%	31	38.8%	18	22.5%			22	27.5%	80	100.0
How often chased from house	2	2.5%	34	42.5%	23	28.8%			21	26.3%	80	100.0
How often threatened to harm people close	1	1.3%	10	12.5%	17	21.3%	1	1.3%	51	63.8%	80	100.0
How often economic support denied	13	16.3%	39	48.8%	19	23.8%			9	11.3%	80	100.0

Male Partner's unfaithfulness was said to occur sometimes for 71.3% of the respondents as shown in figure 9. About 30% of the respondents said that they are denied an opportunity to work all the time as shown in figure 10. In fact, most of the women said that they go to provide casual labor without the knowledge of their male partners. With regard to social interaction, Table 9 shows that 40% of the respondents are denied social interaction all the time while 10% reported being denied an opportunity to interact most of the times.

Figure 9: Frequency of male partner's unfaithfulness

how often male partner unfaithful

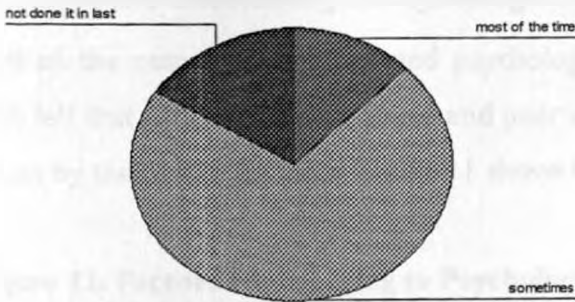


Figure 10: Frequency of Partner denying the opportunity to work

How often denied opp to work

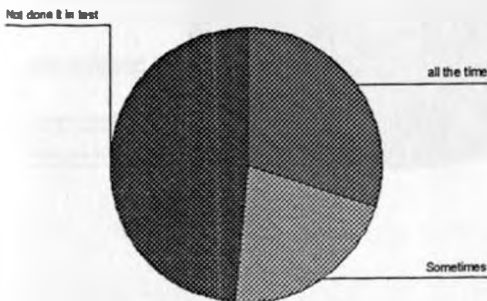


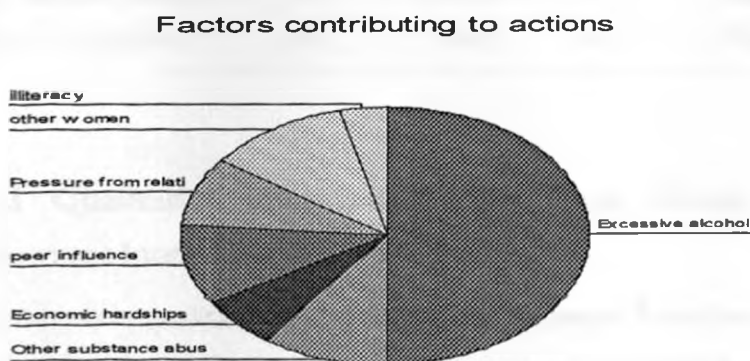
Table 9: Frequency by which male partner denies social interaction with others bb

Number of times denied social interaction with others	Frequency	Valid percent
all the time	32	40.0
most of the times	8	10.0
occasionaly	20	25.0
not done it in last 6 months	20	25.0
Total	80	100.0

A4.2.2 Factors contributing to Psychological violence

Half of the respondents attributed psychological violence to excessive alcohol, while 10% felt that other substance abuse and peer influence were factors that contributed to abuse by their male partners. Figure 11 shows the results obtained

Figure 11: Factors contributing to Psychological violence



A4.2.3 Actions taken when faced with violence

A significant number of respondents (88.8%) kept quiet when faced with violence. These respondents said they preferred to keep quiet to prevent their male partners from turning violent and beating them while for others they kept quiet for the sake of the

children. More than half (60%) reported to parents and the extended family members while 80% left their houses temporarily for fear that their partners may turn violent.

Table 10 shows the results obtained with regards to actions taken when respondents are faced with violence.

Table 10: Response to type of actions taken when faced with violence

Type of action taken when faced with violence	Yes to type of action		No to type of action		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
keep quiet	71	88.8%	9	11.3%	80	100.0
report to the chief	7	8.8%	73	91.3%	80	100.0
report to parents and ext family	48	60.0%	32	40.0%	80	100.0
report to village elders	1	1.3%	79	98.8%	80	100.0
report to an organization			80	100.0%	80	100.0
report to religious leaders	2	2.5%	78	97.5%	80	100.0
report to police	1	1.3%	79	98.8%	80	100.0
seek counselling			80	100.0%	80	100.0
report to friends and neighbours	12	15.0%	68	85.0%	80	100.0
seek dialogue with him	9	11.3%	71	88.8%	80	100.0
leave him temporarily	64	80.0%	16	20.0%	80	100.0

A4.3 Qualitative information from Focus Group Discussions and Key Informant Interviews

Considerable qualitative information was gathered from the FGDs and Key Informant interviews. These techniques were instrumental in helping the researcher to deepen her understanding of the issues under study. The analysis section that follows has made use of the information gathered to aid in the interpretation. Verbatim quotations from the respondents have also been used extensively to strengthen the analysis and interpretation of the study findings.

B4.0 PART B: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

The analysis and interpretation of the study findings has been done in accordance with the study objectives which are;

1. To identify specific Socio- economic factors and determine their relationship to the occurrence of psychological violence in Mathare.
2. To determine the nature of psychological violence that women in Mathare experience
3. To establish mechanisms of response to psychological violence by women in Mathare.

4.1. Relationship between specific socio- economic factors and occurrence of psychological violence in Mathare

To determine the relationship between certain socio- economic factors and the occurrence of psychological violence, the researcher used cross tabulations to establish the emerging relationships and associations of some of the socio-economic factors included in the study and some of the psychological forms of violence reported. Only relationships between some key factors and some key forms of psychological violence have been examined. It is critical to point out the fact that for some of the factors, the variations among and between respondents and their partners were very minimal and therefore attempts to determine their associations would not guarantee significant observable differences. Some of these factors include;

1. Level of education where a significant number of respondents (81%) and their male partners (76%) had attained a similar level of education; that of primary school level.
2. A significant number of respondents (70%) and their male partners (76%) engage in similar occupation; that of casual labor.

3. Almost all the respondents (98.8%) were in similar type of marital union.
4. About 82% of the respondents earn incomes of below 5000.

Some of the socio- economic factors considered in this discussion include alcohol consumption by male partner, number of children and their paternity, length of relationship with male partner, age of respondent and male partner and respondent's and male partner's contribution to the household expenditure. Similarly not all the forms of psychological violence have been examined.

Cross tabulations between frequency of alcohol consumption and how often one is denied economic support indicates that the highest number of women who said they were denied economic support at least 2-3 times a week have partners who take alcohol almost daily. Further, nearly half (33) of the respondents who said that their partners insult them in the presence of others almost daily also take alcohol almost every day. Sixty seven respondents reported that their partners were unfaithful, and out of this number, fifty of them said that their partners also take alcohol. About 28% of those who are denied social interaction all the time also have partners who take alcohol. Half of the male partners who take alcohol almost daily also threaten to kill or harm their wives 2-3 times a week.

It can be concluded that there is a relationship between alcohol and some of the psychological forms of violence experienced. However Goodstein (1981) in Zanden (1987) observes that "psychologists say that alcohol is not so much a causative factor as another expression of the tension underlying the relationship". For respondents however, 50% of them attribute psychological abuse to excessive alcohol consumption. During the discussions, they constantly repeated "when he is not drunk, he has no problem". My conclusion is that there is a strong association and relationship between alcohol consumption and the occurrence of psychological abuse. This seems to agree with the findings of the KDHS (2003) which concluded that the factor most strongly associated with marital violence is husband's alcohol and drug use.

Respondents who had two children who also happen to be the majority in the sample said that they were denied economic support at least 2-3 times a week. Interestingly, 22 of the unions in which all the children were fathered by the current partner were denied economic support 2-3 times a week compared to 17 unions in which some of the children were fathered by other male partners prior to the current relationship. Perhaps this is due to the fact that a good number (43.8%) of the respondents have been living in the current relationship for a period of 2-5 years, which could further mean that the relationships are still young and also the children are still young with fewer demands. Also, the respondents said that in situations where they have a child from another relationship; they don't "just sit". They make an effort to ease the burden that would be seen to be caused by this other child or children who are not fathered by the current male partner. They are conscious of the fact that these child or children can be a source of tension.

Close to 25% said they had either one or three children. There was little difference between those with one child or three children in terms of how often they were denied economic support. It is not clear why this is the case because one would expect that the higher the number of the children, the higher the likelihood of economic support being denied. However one could also argue that for a couple who have one child, perhaps the relationship is still very young with few possibilities of tension. Tension then intensifies with the second child and by the third child, the couple has somewhat learned to deal with the problems. Some of the respondents actually said "the more you live with him, the more you devise coping strategies and know what he likes and what he doesn't like". The relationship between number of children, their paternity and the occurrence of psychological violence is not apparent from the findings

Respondents who have been living with the male partner for a period of 2-5 years appear to experience higher levels of threats of death and harm from their male partners compared to those who have been married for more than 10 years. It would appear that aggression levels are higher when the relationship is young, the children are growing up and the demands are higher thus higher levels of frustration and therefore

aggression. As the couple stays together, children are also growing up and becoming independent and sources of tension are minimized. As one woman said “you also learn to live with him as you age, you just look at him anyway”. From the data, it is apparent that most of the people in Mathare terminate their education even before completing primary school level of education. When children discontinue schooling, they do not have a lot of demands on their parents. Discussions also indicated that the girls marry at an age as early as 14 years and when this happens they ease the burden on their parents. It can be concluded that the length of stay in a relationship may interplay with levels of frustration depending on the levels of burden and responsibilities to produce aggressive behavior.

Women aged 18-24 seem to be more socially restricted with half of those in this age bracket saying that they were denied social interaction all the time. Women aged 30 and above were less restricted socially although they make 25% of the sample. This could be interpreted to mean that as they stay in the relationship, they learn to cope and they find ways of concealing their social interactions. For instance, FGD respondents said that for women who know that their partners are against “chama” (merry-go-round), they give their contributions through a friend and never attend meetings and they make the other women in the group understand the reasons for their keeping off. Others said that they have learnt to collude with their children so that they are not reported. As children grow older, they learn not to report their mother’s social interactions.

The respondents who contributed 25%-50% of the household expenditure were insulted more in the presence of others compared to those who contributed less or more. Perhaps their contribution is seen as challenging the traditional male role. For those respondents who contribute more they may have spouses who are totally engaged in other substance abuse. A good number of women who said they meet the expenditure on their own said that their partners were involved in substance abuse and did not care what the wives did or did not do. The findings also indicate that more than half of the respondents who contributed 25%-50% were denied economic support at least 2-3 times a week probably because their partners felt they were able. Half of the

partners who contributed 25%-50% chased their wives from the house at least 2-3 times a week. Interestingly, the male partners who contributed 75%-100% towards meeting the household expenditure had less likelihood of chasing their wives from the house. This further strengthens the proposition that there is a greater likelihood of violence where the traditional male role is challenged.

4.2. Nature of Psychological violence experienced by women in Mathare

The findings indicate that denial of economic support is the most frequent form of psychological violence experienced by women in Mathare. The results of the one on one interview indicate that 88.8% of the women have experienced this form of violence in the last six months prior to the study with 48.8% reporting denial of economic support at least 2-3 times a week. This information was similar to information gathered from the Focus Group Discussions and the Key informant interviews. The WRAP lawyer who was interviewed as one of the key informants said that 60% of her clients were cases related to maintenance for wife and children. Given that WRAP serves an average of 40 clients per month, this would mean that about 25 of the clients that come to WRAP have experienced denial of economic support and their cases end up in court.

The participants in both FGDs carried out were unanimous on the fact that whenever you give a list of the things needed in the house; that is when the male partners turn violent. The following is a reflection of some of the verbatim expressions mentioned by the women with regard to economic support as a form of violence.

No.	Verbatim expressions in Kiswahili and vernacular	Translations of the expressions into English
1	<i>Budget ya Kimunya iliteremka hata nyinyi mteremushe yenu</i>	The finance minister's budget came down, you should bring yours down as well
2	<i>Anakupatia 50 bob ya matumizi yote kwa nyumba, unaigawa pengine unakosa kununua chumvi na ukiomba kwa jirani anasema unamhaibisha na anakupiga imagine!</i>	He gives you 50 shillings for all the household expenditure, you try to divide and sometimes it is not enough to buy everything so if you borrow salt from the neighbor he says you are embarrassing him and he beats you
3	<i>Urecria ni gucimba njimbaga mbeba ngutware kuria njimbaga onawe ugacimbe</i>	You think I excavate money, I should also take you to go and excavate
4	<i>Unafikiri nilikuwa na order ya watoto?</i>	Do you think I had an order for children
5	<i>Ukiuliza pesa kidogo ya salon, unarushiwa 20 bob na unaambiwa uende kwa kinyozi</i>	If you ask for some little money to go to the salon, he throws 20 shillings at you and tells you to go for a haircut.
6	<i>Landlord akija anakwambia umshow hayuko, so unaambia landlord hayuko akujie pesa kesho. Weee!! utaulizwa ni nani alikwambia umshow aje kesho, basi utafute pesa kwenye unajua umpatie</i>	When the landlord comes, tell him that I am not around. So you do as he says but then when you tell the landlord to come the following day, you will be asked why you told him that and you will be told to go and look for the money wherever you know
7	<i>Uranjuria mbeba githi onawe to uthii ukahure umalaya na arume aria aku onaithui tugunikire ohau</i>	Why are you asking me for money, Why can't you go and prostitute around with your men and we shall also benefit?

These statements and others expressed during the FGD indicates that there are high levels of marital tension that arise from any discussion on finances. One woman narrated how her husband does not give her money to buy food at all. “Instead he buys the food himself but makes sure that he comes home at midnight or earliest at 11.00 o'clock in the night and demands that the food must be cooked. He tells the children to wake up and wait for the food including the very small one of three years. He even forces you to cook chapattis or pancakes at night and you have to light the charcoal *jiko*”.

These tensions are not surprising given that about 82.5% earn incomes of below 5000 per month. This would seem to agree with the argument that “the most violent men are under stress and have lower income and occupational status” Strauss et al (1990). The frustration- Aggression theory postulates that frustration produces aggression; aggression never occurs without prior frustration (Zanden 1987). As the respondents in the FGDs said, “*he becomes violent whenever you mention the needs in the house*”. It is therefore probable that the needs in the house coupled with limited incomes and frustrations that come with the infrequent nature of casual labor produce frustrations which are manifested through aggression. The verbatim expressions enumerated earlier are an indication of a frustrated individual who says these words because he is frustrated and further provocation would result to physical violence.

A significant number of women (82.5%) reported that their partners were unfaithful thereby causing them emotional pain. The following captures the experience of one woman who narrated her experience during the FGD.

My husband comes to the house with his girlfriends. He gives you Ksh 1000. First you are shocked because you have never seen that kind of money from him, you are wondering did he steal or where did he get the money from? While you are still shocked and wondering, he tells you to go and buy eggs, blue band and bread to cook for the "visitor". So you rush and come and cook and serve them. In the evening you ask where the visitor is going to sleep and you are told "haria ngomaga" meaning, where your partner sleeps in short on your bed! You are told to sleep on the floor with your children and they sleep on your bed. In the morning you are told to wake up and prepare warm water for the "visitor" and a king's breakfast. You even take the water for this woman to the bathroom! This is the humiliation my husband puts me through.

From a feminist theoretical perspective, the institution of patriarchy, a system of male dominance, conditions women psychologically into accepting a secondary status and perhaps one could argue that the experiences such as what this FGD participant narrated is a function of women's status as determined by patriarchy. Feminist theory further looks at the devaluation of women in all patriarchal societies as evidence of the centrality of patriarchy in determining women's status. I argue here that such experiences as narrated by the women in the Mathare are a true reflection of male dominance as advanced by feminist theory.

Seventy five percent of the respondents reported that their male partners controlled their social interaction with others. FGD participants spoke of how children are enticed with *rolly pops* (A type of a sweet) so that they can give an account of who you spoke to during the day. The child is asked "*ati mami aliongea na nani leo*" (who did your mother speak with today?) and the child reports all the people you spoke to including those you met at the water tap!! This demonstrates the extent to which the male partners go to control who their wives speak to. Indeed, some of the women who have become bold

enough to join a “chama” (merry go round group) against their husband’s wish told of the humiliation they have had to go through.

“ *Unatoa pesa kwa chama na anachunguza mpaka anajua turn yako ya kupokea pesa, anaenda kwa treasurer anasema – nipatie hiyo pesa, bibi ni yangu na pesa yake ni yangu!*” (you contribute money to the merry –go- round group, he gathers information and when he knows it is your turn to receive the money, he goes to the treasurer and demands to be given the money arguing that the wife is his and so is her money!!)

Such actions obviously discourage women from associating with other women and increasingly this leads to social isolation. Another woman narrated how she is monitored and escorted everywhere she goes including the church! “My husband stands at the entrance to the church, if he is asked, he says his wife is inside and instead asks the pastor whether she wants the wife to stay in the church or to be removed all together”. The same woman said that the husband initially used to employ a class 3 boy who she was supposed to send because the rule was that she was not supposed to leave the house. “If there is no salt, I will not cook until the boy comes from school because I was not supposed to leave the house”.

As Famer (1979) argues, one characteristic of violent families is that the bonds attaching them to society and their social group are fragile or non existent, more over they tend to be cut from their neighbors and without friends. This argument would be true for many of the respondents interviewed because most of them have resulted to keeping to themselves to avoid the constant violence that arises if they are discovered to be associating with other women. One woman said that her husband does not allow any woman to come to the house even if she is sick and needs help. Such a woman definitely risks social isolation. Given that a high percentage of women (40%) reported being denied social interaction all the time, it is probable that over time, a good number of women will end up being socially isolated yet social interaction is a basic element of a functioning human society.

Over 70% of the respondents reported to experience actions related to being chased from the house (75%), being threatened that one will be killed or harmed (72.5%) and being insulted in the presence of others (70%). Women in the FGD and during the interview reported that when they are chased from the house, they are normally told to leave with the children. During such times the children are told “Rumirira nyukwa!” (Follow your mother!). This significantly exposes the young children and their mothers not only to the cold weather at night but to other risks of insecurity including rape. Women have learnt to interpret actions that tell them that their male partners will chase them from the house. “yeye hugonga mlango teke na anashout- mtu wa kuongea na mimi leo nitaambuluka na yeye kama.....” (the husband comes and kicks the door and shouts- whoever speaks to me today will be in trouble, I will rise on her like)

Other times when the partner comes he shouts “Kwa ngui ni nja!” (Dogs live outside!), and when he does this, it is another way of telling you to leave the house with your children.

The respondents reported incidences when they have been threatened with knives or other weapons. Some of the respondents even showed scars which they said were inflicted by their partners. One of the respondents reported that whenever the husband is drunk, he tells her “ngukuhura na hure nyukwa ”(I will beat you and your mother).

Women reported that they are insulted in the presence of others including their children. One of the insults that was commonly repeated was “thii, Malaya ino” (Go away you prostitute). One woman said that her husband says that she has stuck to him like a tick and yet he is not interested in him. Other women reported that they are normally told, “You are like your mother! You have no brains” and all these are said in the presence of the children and the neighbors. For women who have children who are fathered by different male partners, they spoke of discrimination and harassment of these children and when the women complain they are asked “aumire miti iguru” (Did the child come from trees?)

About 51% of the respondents reported that they are normally denied the opportunity to work. Indeed, 30% are denied the opportunity to work all the time. Discussions with respondents indicated that most of them hide when going to work and would never let their partners know because they fear the consequences. Their partners accuse them of going to sleep with men whenever they are out working and this has made some of them to stop going to work all together. Others only go for casual labor after their partners have left. Even for those who are not necessarily denied the opportunity to go to work, they said that their partners take advantage of that fact and often deny them economic support arguing that they are also earning. For others, they said that their partners demand that they surrender any money that they earn arguing that a woman has no brains to know how to manage money. When women fail to go to work, they become wholly dependent on their male partners thus aggravating the situation that leads to violence. And as feminists argue, the use of violence for control in marriage is perpetuated not only through the norms about a man's rights in marriage but through women's continued economic dependence on their husbands (Okagbue 1996).

The findings of this study seem to reflect similar experiences with those of a study carried out in India in which; abuse, sarcastic remarks in the presence of outsiders, imposing severe restrictions on the freedom of movement among others were reported (Saravanan 2000).

4.3. Response to Psychological violence by women in Mathare

A significant number of respondents (88.8%) kept quiet when faced with violence. These respondents said they preferred to keep quiet to prevent their male partners from turning violent and beating them while for others, they kept quiet for the sake of the children. Participants in the FGD said that most of them kept quiet because they did not know where to go with their children. Many of them said that their parents were in similar circumstances because "that is the culture in the slums, where else can you go?" They said that their parents were equally being abused and anyway "even when you tell

people *watakusaidia na nini na hata wao wako tu kama wewe?*" (How will they help and they are in similar circumstances like you?).

Walker (1979) argues that battered women develop a mentality of helplessness which increases because of financial dependency and responsibility for children. Socio-economic and psychological dependency makes it difficult for them to leave situations of domestic violence. It would appear that a significant number of those who opt to keep quiet have developed this sense of helplessness. I would argue that when one reaches a certain level of helplessness, they are unable to make decisions that would make their life productive any more. In the end, deep sense of helplessness leads to eroded self esteem leading to continued victimization and violence. One of the women who said she had been married for over 20 years said that she had become used to violence and although she said that she had acquired a form four level of education, one would have thought that she never went to school because she was looking unkept and miserable.

Zanden 1987:331 observes that, the fewer the resources the wife has and the less power she enjoys in the marriage, the more likely she is to stay with her violent husband. These findings seem to further agree with Zanden's (ibid) arguments on victimization when he says that "victimization challenges our conceptions of ourselves as worthy and decent people. It activates negative self images and leads us to see ourselves as weak, helpless, needy, and frightened and out of control" Such is the reality facing many of the respondents when they constantly ask "Now what can someone do other than to just stay?"

More than half (60%) of the respondents reported experiences of violence to parents and the extended family members while 80% left their houses temporarily for fear that their partners may turn violent. Although it would appear like family, friends and neighbors provide support to abused women given that they report to them or seek temporary shelter from them; one gets a different opinion when you listen to the women share their experiences. FGD participants said that family members view one as bringing more problems back home given the poverty level and so you are always

encouraged to go back. Those you report to say “men are like that, and anyway you are not the only one who goes through that even our mothers went through it and every woman goes through it” This seems to confirm Gelles’ (1980) argument when he says that experience with violence as a victim and observer teaches a person to tolerate and even approve the use of violence.

As expected by the researcher, respondents do not report these forms of violence to the police, organizations, chiefs and village elders. The respondents said “*haya ni mambo ya kawaida, kama hajakupiga akakuumiza, kwa nini umpeleke mbele?*” (These are normal experiences if he has not beaten you to the point of injury, why should you report him?). It is probable that women only make such reports where psychological violence is accompanied by physical violence. The social workers indeed confirmed that those who want their cases to be taken to WRAP are those who have experienced physical abuse. Also during the interview process, respondents were asked to mention actions they take as a result of the set of actions that related to psychological violence explored by the research.

The researcher was also told of other forms of violence that the respondents suffer which were not included in the checklist of psychological abuse. Some of those include being insulted not necessarily in the presence of others, personal property being destroyed; those in business spoke of their customers being frustrated including destruction of business wares. Others said that their male partners often demand for food and that food must always include meat without caring where that food or meat will be obtained. Several respondents said that their partners are fond of pouring the food after it has been prepared forcing the family to sleep hungry. Respondents also said that sometimes their male partner refuse to communicate with them even for two months! “He takes away the blankets and leaves you with nothing to cover yourself” Two of the women who were HIV positive said that their husbands blame them for the infections and they are constantly abused. For other women, they said that their partners constantly threaten to leave them saying that they would gladly go and be

“kept” by an older rich woman after all “*hata wanaume wanaolewa siku hizi*”(even men are being married by women these days)

Faced with all these abuses, the respondents said that they have also adopted strategies to deal with them. With regards to denial of social interaction, they have also learnt to extend some favors to their children so that they do not report who they spoke with during the day. On the other hand, some wait until the children go to school or they send them somewhere if they want to talk to somebody so that the child will not come to report to their partners.

On issues related to denial of economic support, participants in the FGD said that they make sure they go for casual labor, they come back early and cook very quickly and together with the children, they eat and wash utensils to pretend that they had not cooked anything. On such occasions they warn the children to say and pretend that they had not eaten anything. For others, they go and eat at their relative's place and come back home and pretend that they have not had anything.

When an abused woman separates from her husband and probably goes and rents her own house, they said that they do not open for their partners for any dialogue unless he passes money under the door. It is on condition that he passes that money that the door will be opened. For other women, it was reported that they have resulted to having other men friends who support them financially in exchange for sex. This is a desperate attempt to try and support their children where their partner has failed to provide the support. Other times women result to “*Kupelemba mifuko yake*”(searching his pockets) when he comes home drunk and when they are asked, they express shock and say it probably happened wherever he was drinking.

In situations where the man turns violent at night, women said they always shout “fire!” in order to be rescued by neighbors. They said that if you shout that you are being beaten, no one will come to rescue you because they say that those are your domestic affairs.

Perspectives on effects of Psychological violence

During the Focus Group Discussions and the Key Informant Interviews, an attempt was made to explore what the respondents thought were the effects of psychological violence. The respondents said that as a result of the violence, many of them are stressed and they have developed Ulcers, high blood pressure, low self esteem while others have resulted into alcohol and drug abuse. One woman said “*hata unazeeka haraka na bado mtu ni mdogo*” (You even begin to look so old and yet you are very young). One Key informant who works as a counselor said that many of her clients have developed severe depression, on certain occasions; she has had to refer some of her clients to the Mathari Mental hospital. These perspectives seem to agree with what Odhiambo (2005) observes that wife battering causes victims to develop stress related diseases such as anxiety, ulcers high blood pressure, mental illness such as depression or even persistent headaches”.

Social workers interviewed said that as a result of the abuse, children were neglected and some of them end up in the streets, further confirming that “wife battering has great psychological effects on the victim and all members of the nuclear family (Ondicho: 1993). The American Psychiatric Association 2005 observes that children exposed to domestic violence are at risk of developmental problems, psychiatric disorders, schooling difficulties, aggressive behavior and low self esteem. It is therefore likely that most of the children who end up in the streets come from families that have experienced severe levels of domestic violence.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In conclusion, this study has indeed established that there is a relationship between certain socio- economic factors and the occurrence of psychological violence in Mathare. Further, the study has established that women in Mathare have been experiencing different forms of psychological violence which could impact on their ability to participate in community development. It is also clear that over 80% of women who are psychologically abused do not report the abuse to anyone. This means that a good percentage of women are psychologically stressed and this could hinder their ability to engage productively in society.

The findings obtained from this study point to the fact that there is a significant relationship between some socio- economic factors and the occurrence of psychological violence. One of the key factors identified is alcohol and therefore this study has further confirmed that alcohol is a function of domestic violence. It is worth noting that observations indicate that consumption of illicit brew and substance abuse is high in the slums and this means that the environment supports behavior that increases the risk of violence in homes. Attempts to address the problem of alcohol and substance abuse should be strengthened as this continues to expose many women and children to violence.

It is apparent that younger couples have more problems with violence as evidenced by the findings that those who have been married for 2-5 years experience violence more compared to those who have been married for more than 10 years. It is also apparent that a good number of people from the slums marry at an early age. There should be efforts to try and target young couples in awareness creation to educate them on the impacts of violence at home

The findings point to the fact that economic forms of violence are more widespread largely due to the poverty situation evident in slum settings. This level of poverty

obviously results in frustration and ultimately aggressive behavior by male partners. Attempts to implement interventions that address the situation of poverty in slums should be strengthened. For programs that target women's economic empowerment, it is important that such programs be accompanied by thorough analysis to determine factors that may limit access such as what the study has established; one of which is the fact that about 30% of women are denied social interaction all the time. This finding is important given that most community based empowerment programs targeting women insist on working with women in groups including the recently established women fund, youth enterprise fund and a host of other micro – finance programs. The kind of analysis recommended here will ensure that development programs implement interventions based on the realities of the populations that they serve as opposed to blanket policy decisions.

Evidence points to the fact that women experience varying degrees of violence. This study has shed light on the nature of psychological violence experienced by women in the slums. Research should be carried out on other populations to determine the extent to which psychological violence is a problem. Such research should also seek to establish the extent to which psychological violence may be contributing to the different stress related illnesses experienced by women.

The research findings indicate most women do not report incidences of psychological violence. It is no wonder that none of those interviewed ever reported to a chief, police or an organization. It is recommended that organizations and service providers working with abused women find ways of capturing information on psychological violence when dealing with survivors of domestic violence, in order to inform their prevention and response interventions.

Seventy percent of respondents said that their male partners often chase them from the house with the children. This means that women and children are increasingly put at risk when that happens coupled with the fact that the development of children in such

circumstances is affected. Communities should be educated on the importance of ensuring that children and women are protected from harm.

It is apparent that more awareness creation programs targeting men should be encouraged in order to help men understand and appreciate the effects of violence on women. As it were, many of the civil society organizations working on the subject of violence have traditionally targeted women. Men need to be included in such programs.

A large body of research suggests that there is an inverse relationship between education and violence. Although this study was not able to establish to what extent education is a factor of violence, largely because the respondents were of more or less similar education level, education cannot be ignored in as far as it helps to change a person's attitude and way of life. It is clear from the findings that about 80% of the people in Mathare do not go beyond the primary school level. Although the Government has in the last five years been providing Free Primary Education, and recently embarked on paying for tuition in public secondary schools, it is critical that the government finds mechanisms of encouraging and ensuring more people from the poor and marginalized areas such as slums benefit from the scheme and any other incentives that can encourage progression from primary to secondary schools and indeed to attain college education.

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GENERAL BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENT

Age	Gender	Marital Status	Education	Occupation
20-30	Male	Single	High School	Student
31-40	Female	Married	College	Teacher
41-50	Male	Married	College	Engineer
51-60	Female	Married	College	Homemaker
61-70	Male	Married	College	Retired
71-80	Female	Married	College	Retired
81-90	Male	Married	College	Retired
91-100	Female	Married	College	Retired

GENERAL BACKGROUND OF ALL PARTNER

Age	Gender	Marital Status	Education	Occupation
20-30	Male	Single	High School	Student
31-40	Female	Married	College	Teacher
41-50	Male	Married	College	Engineer
51-60	Female	Married	College	Homemaker
61-70	Male	Married	College	Retired
71-80	Female	Married	College	Retired
81-90	Male	Married	College	Retired
91-100	Female	Married	College	Retired

ANNEX 1: STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE.

INTRODUCTION:

My name is Lucy Githaiga, I am carrying out a study on violence against women whose purpose is to provide information that can help in controlling violence in families and relationships. I am requesting for your time so that I can ask you a set of questions that will inform the study. Some questions will touch on some issues related to your relationship with your male partner. I would like to assure you that what we discuss will remain strictly confidential and that your identity will not be revealed. If you agree to the interview, please let us proceed. Thank you.

A. GENERAL BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENT

- Type of Marital union** 1. Civil marriage 2. Christian marriage 3. Customary marriage
4. Cohabiting 5. Muslim marriage 6. Other..... Specify
- Highest Level of Education attained** 1. Primary [] 3.College []
2. Secondary [] 4. University []
5. Other.....Specify
- Age** 1.18-24yrs [] 2. 25- 30 yrs []
3.31-35years [] 4. 36-40 yrs []
5.41-45 years [] 6. Over 45 years []
- Occupation** 1. Housewife [] 2. Employed []
3. Business [] 4. Casual labor []
5. Retired [] 5. Other (specify).....
- Level of income per month** 1. None [] 2. Below 5000 [] 3. 5001- 10,000 []
4. 10,001 -15,000 [] 5. Over 15000 []

B. GENERAL BACKGROUND OF MALE PARTNER

- Highest Level of Education attained** 1. Primary [] 2. Secondary [] 3. College []
4. University [] 5. Other.....Specify
- Age** 1.18-24yrs [] 2. 25- 30 yrs [] 3.31-35years []
4. 36-40 yrs [] 5.41-45 years [] 6. Over 45 years []

- Occupation**
1. Unemployed [] 2. Employed []
 3. Business [] 4. Casual labor []
 5. Retired [] 5. Other (specify).....
- Level of income per month**
1. None [] 2. Below 5000 [] 3. 5001- 10,000 []
 4. 10,001 -15,000 [] 5. Over 15000 [] 6. Don't Know []

1. For how long have you been living with your male partner?

0. One year [] 1. 2-5 yrs [] 2. 6- 10 yrs []
 3. 11- 15 yrs [] 4. 16-20 yrs [] 5. Over 20 yrs []

2. Do you have any children? 1. Yes [] 2. No []

3. If yes, How many? (Specify number.....)

4. Is your current male partner the father of all your children?

1. Yes [] 2. No []

5. If no, how many of your children were fathered by your current male partner?

(Specify number.....).

6. What is the estimated amount of money that you spend in your household per month?

..... (Estimate figure in Ksh.)

7. Of this amount, what percentage of the budget does your male partner meet?

1. None [] 2. Less than 25% [] 3. 25%-50% [] 4. 50%- 75% [] 5. 75% to 100% []

8. What percentage of this household budget do you meet from your income?

1. None [] 2. Less than 25% [] 3. 25%-50% [] 4. 50%- 75% [] 5. 75% to 100% []

9. Does your male partner take alcohol? 1. Yes [] 2. No []

10. **How often does he take alcohol?** 1. Almost daily [] 2. 2-3 times a week []
3. Once a month [] 4. Rarely [] 5. Occasionally []

11. **Have you experienced any of the following in the last 6 months?**

	Actions of psychological abuse	Frequency of occurrence (How often does this happen
1	Male partner insulted you in the presence of others? 1. Yes [] 2. No []	1. Almost daily [] 2. 2-3 times a week [] 3. Occasionally [] 4. Very rarely [] 5. Not done in the last 6 months []
2	Male partner threatened to kill or harm you? 1. Yes [] 2. No []	1. Almost daily [] 2. 2-3 times a week [] 3. Occasionally [] 4. Very rarely [] 5. Not done in the last 6 months []
3	Male partner chased you from the house? 1. Yes [] 2. No []	1. Almost daily [] 2. 2-3 times a week [] 3. Occasionally [] 4. Very rarely [] 5. Not done in the last 6 months []
4	Male partner threatened to harm people close to you? 1. Yes [] 2. No []	1. Almost daily [] 2. 2-3 times a week [] 3. Occasionally [] 4. Very rarely [] 5. Not done in the last 6 months []
5	Male partner refused to provide economic support? 1. Yes [] 2. No []	1. Almost daily [] 2. 2-3 times a week [] 3. Occasionally [] 4. Very rarely [] 5. Not done in the last 6 months []
6	Male partner denied you the opportunity to go and work? 1. Yes [] 2. No []	1. All the time [] 2. Sometimes [] 3. Very rarely [] 4. Not done in the last 6 months []
7	Male partner was unfaithful? 1. Yes [] 2. No []	1. Most of the time [] 2. Sometimes [] 3. 3. Very rarely [] 4. Not done in the last 6 months []
8	Male partner controlled who you should associate with? Yes [] 2. No []	1. All the time [] 2. Most of the time [] 3. Occasionally [] 4. Very rarely [] 5. Not done in the last 6 months []

11. **What can you link these actions from your spouse to?**

1. Excessive alcohol [] 2. Other substance abuse [] 3. Economic hardships []
4. Peer influence [] 5. Pressure from relatives [] 6. Other (specify).....

12. When faced with these kinds of actions from your spouse, what action or actions do you take?

1. I keep quiet [] (probe further on what exactly they mean by keeping quiet).....
2. Report to the chief []
3. Report to parents and extended family []
4. Report to village elders []
5. Report to an organization [] (specify which organization.....)
6. Report to friends and neighbors []
7. Report to the church / mosque leaders []
8. Report to the police []
9. Seek counseling [] (Indicate from who)
10. I seek dialogue with him []
11. I leave him temporarily []
12. Other (specify).....

ANNEX 2: FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW GUIDE

We all know that women experience one form of violence or another. Let us talk about one form of violence, called psychological violence i.e. the violence that does not involve physical pain, or what is commonly referred to as “cold war or *vita ya baridi* in Kiswahili”

1. How do women in Mathare experience this kind of violence?
2. What factors do you think contribute to this type of violence?
3. What do women in Mathare do when faced with these forms of violence?
4. How have these experiences of psychological affected women in Mathare?
5. What do you think can be done to minimize psychological violence?

ANNEX 3: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

We all know that women experience one form of violence or another. Let us talk about one form of violence, called psychological violence i.e. the violence that does not involve physical pain, or what is commonly referred to as “cold war or *vita ya baridi* in Kiswahili”

1. In your work, have you come across women who have reported to have been psychologically abused by their male partners?
2. How does this psychological violence manifest itself for women who come from Mathare slums?
3. What do you think are the factors that contribute to psychological violence in Mathare
4. How do women from Mathare respond when faced with psychological violence
5. How has psychological violence affected women from Mathare
6. What in your view can be done to minimize psychological violence