

**CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST MEN IN
MUKURWE - INI CONSTITUENCY, KENYA**

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DECLARATION

This my original work and has not been presented for the award of degree in any other university.

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This research Project has been submitted with my approval as the university Supervisor.

Sign _____ Date: _____

Dr. Tom G. Ondicho

DEDICATION

To my parents, thank you for your unconditional support with my studies. I am honored to have you as my parents. Thanks for giving me a chance to prove and improve myself through all my walks of life. Please do not ever doubt my dedication and love for you.

To my brothers Edward and John, my dearest sister Mary, hoping that with this research I have proven to you that there is no mountain higher as long as God is on our side.

To my best friend, Monicah Muita, thank you for your endless support, encouragement and believing in me.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

DVAM:	Domestic violence against men
KDHS:	Kenya Demographic Health Survey
DCC:	Deputy County Commissioner
OCPD:	Officer Commanding Police Division
WHO:	World Health Organization

ABSTRACT

This research project describes the work undertaken in Mukurwe-ini concerning Domestic Violence Against Men (DVM). The research was carried out in October 2014. The research question explored the causes of physical violence against men in Mukurwe-ini and investigated the consequences of violence against men in the study area from the victims of female perpetrated domestic violence with the focus on understanding the surrounding issues of society, local authority and masculinity. From the in depth qualitative interviews conducted, the findings conclude that the help and support available for male victims is virtually nonexistent and that which exist is of poor quality.

The study randomly selected a sample of 22 men from the study population for the survey. In addition, the study interviewed Key informants who were the Deputy County commissioner and the OCPD in Mukurwe-ini. Qualitative data collected from open ended questions and from the key informants was analyzed through thematic analysis while Quantitative data collected from closed ended questions was analyzed by the use Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS Version 21) and the data presented by use of descriptive statistics such as percentages, means, standard deviations and frequencies.

The findings and literature in this area suggest the underlying reason for why men are battered, due to patriarchal society and the relevant authorities' not actively recognizing domestic violence to be a male issue as well as a female issue, their only focus is towards female victims. Therefore male victims remain invisible. This societal repression has created stereotypes that impact upon the way authorities deal with domestic violence cases, in that they tend to discriminate against male victims. These stereotypes and discrimination cause male victims to feel reluctant to seek help. So, in turn, it seems domestic violence towards men is not a widespread problem hence there is no pressure for change. However this is not the case. This research piece develops these arguments fully to provide insight into the taboo subject of domestic violence against males.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In recent year, concern has been expressed about the rising incidence of domestic violence perpetrated by women and targeting men in Kenya. Though domestic violence against men (DVAM) in all its forms is not new by any chance, what is of great concern is the fact that in the last few years there has been a rapid increase of cases involving women beating their husbands. The most common forms of violence are physical battering and psychological abuse. It has also become apparent that thousands of men regardless of their colour, age, marital status, creed, socio-economic status and/or place of residence live with the constant threat of domestic violence whether battery or emotional abuse. Despite concerted efforts to curb the problem, DVAM still continues unhindered and controlled. This has generated serious debate and provoked many questions from perceptive observers, researchers and academicians about the causes and consequences of the ever-increasing cases of DVAM in Kenya in general and Nyeri County in particular.

There are strong opinions that alcohol consumption and drug use resulting in men's failure to provide for their families and to fulfill their conjugal obligations are the main causes and reasons behind reasons behind DVAM. Recently, media reports have also alluded to suspicion over unfaithfulness and quarrels over money as the other contributing factors. However, a review of the existing literature suggests that these are not the universal causes of DVAM. The causes of DVAM are generally not susceptible to easy identification and generalization across different geographical and social settings. This is because DVAM is a product of a multiplicity of complex and multifaceted factors operating at different levels. Despite causing untold suffering to a large number of men, the consequences of DVAM especially in Nyeri County have not adequately been catalogued and documented. The prevailing circumstances therefore underscore the primacy of looking at each case from its own experience to unearth the specific causes of the problem, thus providing the departure for this study.

This study is an attempt to obtain a more accurate view of DVAM to fill the gaps in our understanding of the causes and consequences of violence against men (VAM) by women with whom they live. The study focused on battered men themselves. It investigated their experiences and perceptions of the violence, what they view as the causes and consequences of such abuse in their lives. While many studies have looked at female victims of domestic violence, little has been done concerning domestic violence committed by women against men. There appear to be several reasons for this. First, there is no universally accepted definition of what constitutes domestic violence against men. Second, there is concern that the acknowledgment that some women may be violent against their male partners will be used to defend male violence (Ganley, 1995).

Domestic violence against men, has been a controversial area in the study of domestic violence. There has been considerable debate on the topic, but very little scientific data exists (Gelles & Cornell, 1986:79). Dobash and Dobash (in Pagelow, 1983:189) insist that marital violence can only be understood by taking into consideration events surrounding violent episodes and the social, historical and institutional processes, as well as cultural beliefs and ideals of the environment in which they occur.

This study seeks investigate causes and consequences of domestic violence committed against men. It aims at exploring the perceptions of abused men, taking into account their experience. Social learning theory was put into use in exploring why and how violence is perpetuated against men in Mukurwe-ini constituency, Kenya.

1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The problem in conducting studies that seek to describe violence in terms of gender is the amount of silence, fear and shame that results from abuse within families and relationships. This is why domestic violence against men remains largely unreported. Even though there is mounting disagreement and debate about the magnitude of domestic violence against men (DVAM) in Kenya, there is an underlying consensus that incidents and cases of husband beating by wives are increasing at very alarming rate. Each and every passing day the Kenyan media is awash with stories of men who have been battered by the women in their lives. Given that only a few incidents capture media

attention because of the high status of the victim or the perpetrator or because the battering was horrific in other respects, then the magnitude of the problem DVAM in Kenya could be much higher than it was imagined before. Arguably, our understanding of the problem of DVAM in Kenya remains limited.

The causes of DVAM are not susceptible to ease identification. However, there is a common perception that men's alcohol consumption and the resultant inability to provide for their families and fulfill their conjugal obligations is one of the main underlying factors that trigger women into abusing the men in their lives. The reality however is that very little, if any, research has been conducted in the Kenya to unearth the causes, contributing factors and its consequences of DVAM in Kenya. This study therefore seeks to explore the causes and consequences of DVAM in Mukurweini Constituency where the problem is increasingly becoming rampant. The study specifically focused on physical violence which is the most common and visible form of DVAM in the study area.

In African tradition, it is unheard of for a woman to batter the husband physically whether stronger than him or not. Most communities deem this a taboo for a woman to raise their hands on their husbands (Nahunja, 2012).

The old adage when the hunter becomes the hunted, has in the recent past become alive in Kenya following cases of husband battering that have been reported in the Kenyan media. The media in Kenya has prominently highlighted cases of men who had been battered by their wives. Men were brutally battered, for example the case of a Nyeri man who currently has several knife cuts on his face. The other prominent case is that of a man who was burnt on his back. These incidences have caused a backlash in society with some men deciding to boycott meals prepared by their wives as a sign of solidarity with the battered men (Femnet, 2012).

Another example of female brutality against men is the sorry story where in February 2012, husband battering in Nyeri became a major media story. The debate took on a

fairly virulent course especially in social media where radical views were often expressed. These incidents clearly show that this is a problem of great magnitude than it was imagined there before.

When violation takes place within the home, as is very often the case, the abuse is effectively condoned by the tacit silence and the passivity displayed by the state and the law enforcing machinery. Specific groups of men are more vulnerable, including minority groups, indigenous and migrant men, men with disabilities, male children, and elderly men.

In many parts of the continent however, violence perpetrated is kept secret (Abrahams et al, 2002). Literature of violence against men is therefore scarce. The health consequences of violence, especially sexual abuse, can be significant. Victims suffer physical injuries, psychological disturbances, emotional and social maladjustments. Violence against men is a serious and widespread problem in Kenya. This is mainly due to traditional culture permitting a man to discipline his wife. The majority of the cases remain unreported or at least unpunished. This study focused on physical violence perpetrated by women to men in Mukurwe-ini.

1.2 Research Questions

- i. What are the causes of violence against men in Mukurwe-ini Constituency?
- ii. What are the consequences of violence against men in Mukurwe-ini Constituency?

1.3 Objectives of the study

The main objective of the study

The main objective of the study was explore the causes and consequences of domestic violence against men in Mukurwe-ini Constituency.

1.4 Specific objective of the study

- i. To examine the causes of physical violence against men in the study area.
- ii. To investigate the consequences of violence against men in the study area.

1.5 Assumptions

The study will be based on the assumption that men suffer from physical violence perpetrated by women but majority end up suffering in silence due patriarchal nature of our society to avoid shame.

The study will also assume that violence perpetrated women are has significant consequences on men.

1.6 Significance of the Study

Domestic violence has emerged has a serious and widespread problem in Kenya. There is, however, a double standard operating in today's society. Incidents of domestic violence are largely ignored when they are perpetrated by women but are taken seriously when they are perpetrated by men. Unless the causes and consequences of such DVAM by women are clearly understood and addressed men's contribution to development will be adversely affected. This underscores the primacy of this study.

While there has been mounting concern over the rising incidents of DVAM in Kenya, there has been little or no research carried out so far on this subject and more so from a gender and development perspective. There are therefore serious gaps in our understanding and knowledge about DVAM. The proposed study seeks to address this gap and enable interested parties to gain a better understanding of the causes and consequences of DVAM. The findings from this study could be of great interest to policy makers, organizations such as Maendeleo ya Wanaume, the police and other law enforcement agents, researchers and academicians whose work is geared towards meeting the specific needs of battered men and/or ending such violence. Conducting this kind of research at a localized contributed to highlighting the phenomenon of violence against men in Mukurwe-ini hence offering suggestions on how to solve the plight of men being battered here and elsewhere in Kenya by their spouses or partners.

1.7 Scope and limitations of the study

The proposed study covered Mukurwe - ini constituency, Nyeri County. The area was ideal in answering the main research questions that the study seeks to address. It focused on 20 direct respondents who were the study population of this research study focusing mainly on married men. The study was guided by social learning theory. This research study was carried out in November 2014. This study suffered from certain challenges such as the following. The community is a patriarchal society and may be shielded away from freely disclosing information regarding violence against men by women. To address this, the researcher packaged the research in such a way that the respondents were helped to understand that it was meant for academic purposes only.

1.7 Definition of key terms

Violence: An act carried out with the intention, or perceived intention, of causing physical injury or pain to another person

Domestic violence against men: Refers to abuse against men or boys in an intimate relationship such as marriage, cohabitation, dating, or within a family

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

In this part, the literature review provide explanation of the theoretical rationale of the problem being studied as well as what research has already been done and how the findings relate to the problem at hand. The literature is being reviewed from working papers, journals, books, reports, periodicals and internet sources. The past studies, theoretical review, critical analysis and research gaps are discussed.

2.1 Magnitude of Domestic Violence against men

Domestic violence against men in Kenya manifests itself mainly in the form of physical and emotional abuse perpetrated by women within the domestic setting. Such violence is often viewed as a personal and private affair. While domestic violence against men in Kenya has been widely identified as persistent and glaring social, legal, and health problem manifested in several ways and at several fronts, the magnitude of the problem is largely unknown. However, cases such as those of Nyeri where there have been many cases of men battered by their wives are vivid illustrations of how far domestic violence against men goes in the country. This has sparked a heated debate among women from the Mt. Kenya region, who have found themselves on the receiving end of a lot of criticism.

Many cases of violence against men however do not catch public attention because the concerned parties, usually the men, do not know what to do about it or are afraid to speak out. The few cases that capture media or public attention are often horrific in one way or another. When such cases are reported to the relevant authorities or raised in public, victims often face social stigma as well as possibilities of retaliation and other dilemmas. Cultural norms about the treatment of men by women as well as of women by men have varied greatly depending on geographic region and sub-region, even area by area sometimes, and physically abusive behavior of partners against each other is regarded varyingly from being a crime to being a personal matter

2.2 Causes

The contemporary understanding of domestic violence against men is a man being subjected to an ongoing pattern of abusive behavior by an intimate partner; this is motivated by the desire to dominate, control or oppress man and cause fear.

It can be noted that many societies focus only on men as perpetrators of violence towards women and do not believe or want to recognize that men can suffer from domestic violence in the same way as women. Steinmatz (1977) discussed the 'Battered Husband Syndrome' back in the late 1970's and still today it is a taboo subject amongst patriarchal societies. This lack of recognition for male victims of domestic violence means they have to cope without any help, support and guidance. Pagelow (1985) recognizes that women can be violent and create a fearful environment for their husbands but argues there is no sufficient evidence that this is a large syndrome as it is with women.

The primary motive for violence is to establish and maintain power and control over a partner. The violated partner may resist the attempts to control him. In turn, the abusive woman takes additional steps to regain control over her partner. Violence in intimate relationships is not typically an isolated incident. Abuse happens over time. Typically, if violence is allowed to continue, it becomes more frequent and more severe. Violence is always a choice. Whatever people's background or experience, they must take responsibility for their actions. No one has the right to violate someone else, and no one deserves violence.

It has been proposed that violence inflicted on a husband or partner by their wife or girlfriend is only carried out in self-defense. For the majority of people in society it is an implausible idea that a woman would hit a man for any other reason than in self-defense (Fontes, 1999:40).

When faced with a violent domestic situation, men are placed in a difficult situation. They have to make the decision whether or not to stand up for themselves and confront the situation like a 'real man' in their traditional, stereotypical role or reject that role and allow themselves to become a victim of domestic violence and be rendered powerless, (Sniechowski & Sherven, 1995:69-73).

Using severe violence or even weapons can be justified with the argument that women have no other way of defending themselves from their male attacker. Previous studies of domestic violence (Gelles, 1974; Steinmetz, 1977; Straus, 1980; Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz, 1980), argued that because of this, women should remain the principal focus of intervention because men were found to use violence more often, were likely to do more damage due to size differences. It is also argued that women are economically trapped in a marriage and many women only use violence to defend themselves.

2.2.1 Alcoholism and drug abuse

Alcohol, drugs and abuse is a major contributor of violence against men since men cannot contribute to the economy and socially. Excessive drinking by male partner can exacerbate financial difficulties, child care problems and infidelity. Strong links have been found between alcoholism and occurrence of intimate partner violence in many countries. Evidence suggest that alcohol use by male partners increases the occurrence and severity of domestic violence (Dienye, 2009:34)

Alcohol is thought to reduce inhibitions, cloud judgment, and impair ability to interpret social cues. However, biological links between alcohol and violence are complex. Research on the social anthropology of alcohol drinking suggests that connections between violence and drinking and drunkenness are socially learnt and not universal. Some researchers have noted that alcohol may act as a cultural “time out” for antisocial behaviour. Thus, men are more likely to act violently when drunk because they do not feel they will be held accountable for their behavior and in response their partners respond out of anger. In some settings, men have described using alcohol in a premeditated manner to enable them to beat their partner because they feel that this is socially expected of them. It seems likely that drugs that reduce inhibition, such as cocaine, will have similar relations to those of alcohol with intimate partner violence, but there has been little population-based research on this subject, (Cook, 2009: 89)

Alcoholism and drug abuse is more common among men in Kenya than among women. Drinking of lethal illicit brews known by various names such as *Kumi Kumi* and *changaa* is quite common particularly in the villages. This has become a major problem to an extent that it is being blamed for the low rate of population growth in central province in

the last ten years. These brews make men to become zombie or irresponsible. Such men may be physically present but they do not contribute to household income. In fact they are a liability to the family because they might sell family property to fund alcohol and drug abuse. This immensely leads to violence against men by women, (Adenyeri & Aderonke, 2012)

2.3 Family or Emotional Terrorism

As with violence against women, domestic violence against men is by no means limited to simply physical assaults. In her work with family violence, Erin Pizzey (1982, 1998) has long recognized that there are women involved in emotionally and/or physically violent relationships who express and enact disturbance beyond the expected (and acceptable) scope of distress. Such individuals, spurred on by deep feelings of vengefulness, vindictiveness, and animosity, behave in a manner that is singularly destructive; destructive to themselves as well as to some or all of the other family members, making an already bad family situation worse. These women have been described as ‘family terrorists’.” Such women often become even more violent as their partner tries to break away. Pizzey (1998) notes that for family terrorists: “While the family remains together, however miserable that ‘togetherness’ might be the terrorist maintains her power.”

“The terrorist, and the terrorist’s actions, know no bounds. Intent only to achieve the goal the terrorist will take such measures as: stalking a spouse or ex-spouse, physically assaulting the spouse or the spouse’s new partners, telephoning all mutual friends and business associates of the spouse in an effort to ruin the spouse’s reputation, pressing fabricated criminal charges against the spouse (including alleged battery and child molestation), staging intentionally unsuccessful suicide attempts for the purpose of manipulation, snatching children from the spouse’s care and custody, vandalizing the spouse’s property, murdering the spouse and/or the children as an act of revenge.”

2.3.2 Suspicion of infidelity

Infidelity contributes largely to violence against men. Some men allegedly cheat on the wives with their wives friends and even house girls, who makes wives bitter and when

chance presents they are beaten with anger. Some men just run away from their responsibility like paying school fees for their children and upkeep having spent money elsewhere (Fowler, 2002: 96).

Out of suspicion, a woman may become angry if he so much as speaks to another woman. Conversely, she may begin flirtations with every male around her, and business trips, or mini-vacations with her girlfriends may become a new feature of her life, (Stanko 1997, cited in Atmore 2001: 13)

2.3.3 Family background

White and Kowalski (1994) present arguments for the application of social learning theory and the different behaviours in men and women. They refer from the work of Bandura who considered that: “as role expectations of women and men become more similar, female and male patterns of aggressive behavior will become more similar” They propose three possible causes of female violence: masculinization, where the female takes on a more masculine role as they play a more masculine role in society.

Secondly, as an opportunity based crime is described as where offenders “typically behave like criminals only in certain settings, that is, slices of time and space within which relevant people and things are assembled”. White and Kowalski (1994) also draw from social learning theory to consider that as females move into the male workplace they experience role strain which will increase the likelihood of them taking out anger and frustration on their male partner.

Thirdly they consider the opposite tendency, where there is frustration at not being able to participate in a male work environment that leads to aggressive behaviour to obtain money and power from the male partner, (Felson 1998 in Cope 2008:420).

2.4 Consequences

This part discusses the consequences of abuse against men with a primary focus on psychological and emotional distress, physical injuries, death and social consequences.

It is worth noting at this point that although the prevalence and consequences of male violence directed towards women in intimate relationships has been well established, (Lawson 2003), the research on violent women is far less developed. The primary reason for this situation is the highly charged and frequently acrimonious debate about whether “husband battering” actually exists, (Pagelow, 1992: 199).

2.5 Psychological and Emotional Distress

In a study that specifically addressed the issue of abuse against men, Simonelli and Ingram (1998) assessed psychological distress and depression among college men experiencing emotional or physical abuse in their present or most recent relationships. They found that 90% of their sample reported experiencing emotional abuse, 40% reported experiencing physical abuse, and 29% reported experiencing severe physical abuse. Psychological distress and depression were significantly greater in men who reported being the recipient of either physical or emotional abuse than in men reporting no abuse. In addition, being physically abused predicted 37% of the variance in depression, whereas being emotionally abused predicted 14%-33% of the variance in depression (depending on the emotional abuse scale used). Being emotionally abused predicted 15%-16% of the variance in psychological distress. Thus, abused men appear to be at substantial risk for experiencing depression and psychological distress (Ingram, 1998).

The consequences include behavioral problems, which are often associated with child management problems, school problems, and lack of positive peer relations (Jaffe et al, 1990). Children exposed to partner abuse also have a number of school adjustment difficulties, including dropping out of school. Campbell (2002), reports the results of a study by Hughes of children residing in shelters, which showed that 55% of the sample of children studied, were characterized as withdrawn and 10% were described as having made suicidal gestures. Other reports refer to a high degree of anxiety, with children biting fingernails, pulling their hair, and having somatic complaints of headaches and tight stomachs. Studies have also found that children who witnessed higher frequencies and intensities of partner abuse, performed significantly less well on a measure of

interpersonal sensitivity (the ability to understand social situations and the thoughts and feelings of persons involved in those situations) than did those children exposed to less frequent and intense partner abuse behaviors (Jaffe et al, 1990: 85).

2.6 Physical Injuries and death

In his research, Cascardi et al. (1992) found that 2% of the men who reported experiencing minor or severe abuse reported suffering broken bones, broken teeth, or injury to a sensory organ. Similarly, Makepeace (1986) found that 2.2% of the males in his sample of 2,338 students reported sustaining a moderate or severe physical injury as a result of the dating violence they experienced. In an analysis of the results from the 1985 National Family Violence Survey, Stets and Straus (1990) found that 1% of the men who reported being severely assaulted needed medical attention.

The results of these studies are logical, considering the relative size of the average man compared with the average woman. Obviously, men can inflict more harm with their fists than women can, and they are more able to restrain an abusive partner than women are. Some researchers, however, have pointed out that sometimes women may even score by throwing things that could hurt their partners (e.g., dishes, boiling water, or a frying pan) or by brandishing a weapon (Langley & Levy, 1977). Perhaps this explanation is a reason why Morse (1995) and Makepeace (1986) compared with the injury rates in the previously mentioned studies, found even higher rates of injury among men. Specifically, depending on the time period, 10.4%-19.6% of the abused men in Morse's study sustained some type of injury at the hands of their wives (Morse, 1995: 440).

Similarly, Makepeace (1986) found that 17.9% of the abused men in his sample sustained a mild or moderate injury. These rates of injury for abused men are noteworthy because they confirm that men can be injured by women. The consequences of violence against men is far reaching. It impacts on all aspects of family, their health and that of their children.

2.7 Social Consequences

Data from the 2003 KDHS imply that domestic violence may contribute to separation and divorce. Almost two-thirds (64 percent) of divorced or separated men report having experienced violence, compared with 53 percent of married men and 30 percent of those widowed. A surprisingly high proportion (40 percent) of men who have never been married report having experienced physical violence. Violence in the 12 months preceding the survey was high among currently married women, with three in ten reporting violence in the past year.

Although the prevalence and consequences of male violence directed towards women in intimate relationships has been well established, (Lawson 2003), the research on violent women is far less developed. The primary reason for this situation is the highly charged and frequently acrimonious debate about whether “husband battering” actually exists, (Pagelow, 1992: 326).

Despite the picture of domestic violence perpetration that emerges from the empirical literature, male victimization is not taken seriously, in part because of a cultural belief that men should be able to defend themselves or a disbelief in female violence.

2.8 Theoretical Framework

This study was guided by Social Learning Theory. This theory was developed by Albert Bandura in 1963. It integrates behavioral and cognitive theories of learning in order to provide a comprehensive model that could account for the wide range of learning experiences that occur in the real world (Bandura, 1963: 36).

The social learning theory stresses the nature versus nurture debate (Viano, 1992:8). It states that aggression and violence are learned behaviors that can be passed on from one generation to the next. This aggression and violence manifests within particular social contexts, such as households where alcohol and/or drug abuse is prevalent.

Social learning theory put forward that violence is learned through observation; the basic premise of this view is that physical aggression between family members provides a likely model for the learning of aggressive behavior, as well as for the appropriateness of

such behavior within the family (Bandura, 1973). Thus, intergenerational transmission of violence stems primarily from principles of modeling (Doumas et al., 1994: 49).

This theory also proposes that a violent background may reinforce early signs of violent behavior not only by exposing individuals to violence, but by teaching approval for the use of violence (Gelles, 1972). As a result, children may grow up concluding that violence is sometimes a necessary and effective strategy for achieving behavioral change in family and intimate relationships (Simons et al., 1998). Reinforcement plays a role in learning but is not entirely responsible for learning.

This theory was relevant to the study since it attempted to explain the presence of integration transmission of violence. Children who grow up in a violent and abusive set up may learn violent/abusive behavior, imitate those behaviors and then repeat them in future relationships.

In a nutshell, when applied to domestic violence, social learning theory states that we model behavior that we have been exposed to as children. Violence is learned, through role models provided by the family, either directly or indirectly, and reinforced in childhood and continued in adulthood as a coping response to stress or a method of conflict resolution (Bandura, 1973).

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a detailed description of the study site, research design, study population and unit of analysis, sample size and sampling procedure, data analysis and presentation. The chapter finally presents the ethical considerations that guided the study.

3.1 Research site

The study was carried out in Mukurwe-ini constituency located in Nyeri County which is located about 138 Km from Nairobi. It borders Ndia division (Kirinyaga District) to the south-east, Mathira and Tetu districts to the North, Othaya district to the west and Kiharu and Mathioya districts to the south. It has a population size 44,392 males while that of women is 48,092 (County Statistics Office-Nyeri).

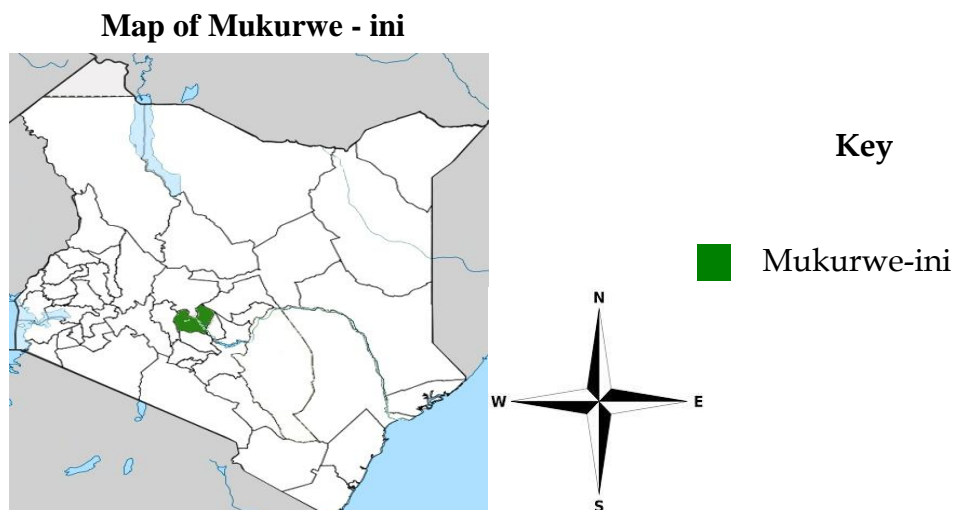


Figure 3.1 Map: Map of Kenya showing the location of Mukurwe-ini where the study site is located

Land in Mukurwe-ini is mainly owned by men, however women are actively engaged in its utilization. On the other hand, a small number of women own and utilize land on their own. People of Mukurwe-ini are mainly farmers and whereas coffee is the main cash crop in the area, most of them practice subsistence farming due to the small size of family

holdings. There is also an upcoming trade in the clay soil that is being used in manufacture of ceramic products. With the establishment of dairy processing factory, milk production has also become the major source of income in the area.

3.2 Research Design

The study adopted a cross-sectional descriptive research design, which is the application and combination of both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods including a review of secondary sources of data.

3.3 Study Population and unit analysis

The study targeted married men in Mukurwe – ini who at one time had experienced violence from their wives. The unit of analysis was victims of domestic violence that is, the individual men who have faced violence from their wives or female partners.

3.4 Sampling population and Procedure

The researcher collected data from a sample of 22 men using a semi-structured questionnaire. The inclusion criteria for this group of respondents was as follows. First, respondents had to be residents of Mukurwe-ini and secondly, respondents had to be married or at one point in their life were in a marital relationship. Two Key informants were interviewed via an interview guide. These two were chosen based on their first-hand knowledge about the community, its residents, and issue under study, that is, domestic violence against men in Mukurwe-ini. Key Informants included the Deputy County Commissioner (DCC) and the Officer Commanding Police Division (OCPD).

3.5 Data Collection Methods

Different data collection methods were employed in order to look at the topic under investigation from all different points of view. The methods included the following.

3.5.1 Survey Method

A survey was conducted using a structured questionnaire (Appendix A) to collect data which was administered to a sample 22 respondents of the study population on their opinions and perceptions of violence against men, causes and consequences. It had a

combination of close and open ended questions which the interviewer administered himself.

3.5.2 Key informant interview

The study used key informant interviews. The researcher identified two key informants who had first-hand knowledge about the community, its residents, and issues under investigation.

An interview schedule (Appendix B) was used to obtain information from the two informants. They helped the researcher understand the causes and consequences of domestic violence against men in Mukurwe-ini.

3.6 Data Processing and Analysis

The qualitative analysis emerging from the case narratives and key informant interviews was transcribed, coded and analyzed according to the themes and emerging issues. The quantitative data from the questionnaire was analyzed using descriptive statistics. Descriptive statistics are in the form of frequencies, percentages, tables and bar graphs. The Special Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to aid in analysis of this data.

3.7 Ethical Consideration

Research permit was sought from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). Clearance was sought from institute of Anthropology Gender and African Studies (IAGAS). The local administration was informed about the research.

The researcher preserved anonymity and confidentiality for respondents. The informants were made aware of the research and its purpose. Consent was sought from the informants on getting involved in the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST MEN IN MUKURWE - INI CONSTITUENCY, KENYA

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents findings of the study. It is divided in three sections; social demographic characteristics of respondents which include their age marital status and level of education. Section two deals with the respondents' perception of domestic violence against men. Section three focuses on their general opinion in relation to domestic violence against men in Mukurwe-ini constituency.

4.2 Social Demographic characteristics of the respondents

4.2.1 Age

Majority of the respondents were below the age of 50. The table below show the age distribution of the respondents.

Age bracket	Frequency	Percent
20-29	8	36.4
30-39	7	31.8
40-49	4	18.2
over 50	3	13.6
Total	22	100

Table 4.2 Age of respondents

4.2.2 Marital Status of the respondents

The table below shows the marital status of the respondents. Majority were married while other were either divorced or living in separation.

Status	Frequency	Percent
Married	13	59.1
Separated	4	18.2
Divorced	1	4.5
Total	18	81.8
Missing System	4	18.2
Total	22	100

Table 4.3: Marital Status or respondents

4.2.3 Education Level of respondents

Majority of the respondents' highest level of education was primary school level followed by secondary and only one who had attained university level.

Level of Education	Frequency	Percent
primary school level	10	45.5
secondary school level	8	36.4
college	3	13.6
University	1	4.5
Total	22	100

Table 4.4: Education Level of respondents

4.2.4 Respondents Duration in Mukurwe-ini

The table below indicates the number of years respondents have resided in the area. A big number of respondents were born and raised from this area.

Number of year in Mukurweini	Frequency	Percent
1-2 yrs	2	9.1
5-10yrs	3	13.6
over 10 yrs	17	77.3
Total	22	100

Table 4.5 Duration in Mukurweini

4.3 Respondents' perception of domestic violence against men

This section sought to establish the opinions of respondents towards violence against men in Mukurwe-ini constituency. The results are shown on table 4.4 below.

4.3.1 Respondents' level of awareness that men suffer from domestic Violence

95% of the total respondents strongly agreed that they were aware that men suffer from domestic violence perpetrated by women.

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	21	95.5
Agree	1	4.5
Total	22	100

Table 4.6: level of awareness that men suffer from domestic Violence

4.3.2 Respondents' knowledge of men who have been battered in the past

72% of the total respondents strongly agreed that they knew men who had been battered by women. However 4.5 % strongly disagreed that they don't know of men who have been battered by women.

Level of Agreement	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	16	72.7
Agree	4	18.2
Disagree	1	4.5
Strongly disagree	1	4.5
Total	22	100

Table 4.7: Respondents' knowledge of battered men

4.3.3 Likelihood of Married men to be battered by their wives

Majority of the respondents represented by 59.1% strongly agreed that there is a likelihood of married men to be battered by their wives. 40.9% of the respondents disagreed. Their views are tabulated in the table below

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percent
strongly agree	13	59.1
Disagree	9	40.9
Total	22	100

Table 4.8: Likelihood of Married men to be battered by their wives

4.3.4 Level to which Alcoholism predisposes men to domestic violence

72.7% of the respondents strongly agreed that alcoholism predisposes men to domestic violence. 22.7% of the respondents disagreed.

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	16	72.7
Agree	1	4.6
Disagree	5	22.7
Total	22	100

Table 4.9: Level to which Alcoholism predisposes men to domestic violence

4.3.5 Level to which Suspicion of infidelity influences women to batter men

50% of the respondents strongly agreed that suspicion of infidelity influences women to batter their husbands, however 40.9% disagreed that infidelity influences women to batter their men.

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	11	50.0
Agree	2	9.1
Disagree	9	40.9
Total	22	100

Table 4.10: Level to which Suspicion of infidelity influences women to batter men

4.3.6 Level to which Patriarchal structures makes men shy away from reporting incidences of violence

Popular number of the respondents represented by 81.8%, were of the feeling that patriarchal system makes men shy away from reporting cases of domestic violence perpetrated by women. 18.2% agreed but not strongly.

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	18	81.8
Agree	4	18.2
Total	22	100

Table 4.11: Level to which patriarchal structures makes men shy away from reporting

4.3.7 Domestic violence against men predisposes them to physical injuries

45.5% of the respondents strongly agreed that DVAM predisposes them to physical injuries, however 13.6% disagreed that DVAM predisposes men to physical injuries.

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	10	45.5
Agree	9	40.9
Disagree	3	13.6
Total	22	100

Table 4.12: Level to which domestic violence predisposes men to physical injuries

4.3.8 Likelihood of battered men to report DVM cases to family and friends

While 4.5% of the respondents strongly disagreed, 59.1% strongly agreed that battered men are unlikely to report cases of violation to family or friends.

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percent
strongly agree	13	59.1
Agree	8	36.4
Strongly disagree	1	4.5
Total	22	100

Table 4.13: Likelihood of battered men to report DVM cases to family and friends

4.3.11 likelihood of battered men suffering from psychological and emotional distress

90.9% strongly agreed that that battered men are likely to suffer from psychological and emotional distress while 9.1% of the respondents thought otherwise.

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	20	90.9
Agree	2	9.1
Total	22	100

Table 4.14: likelihood of battered men suffering from psychological and emotional distress

4.3.12 likelihood of husband battering to lead to negative social consequences

63.6% strongly agreed that domestic violence against men leads negative social consequences like divorce. There was however a small number of respondents represented by 9.1% which strongly disagreed.

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	14	63.6
Agree	4	18.2
Disagree	2	9.1
Strongly disagree	2	9.1
Total	22	100

Table 4.15: likelihood of husband battering to lead to negative social consequences

4.4 General information about Domestic violence against men

Domestic Violence against men has been a serious problem in Mukurwe-ini throughout history. Physical violence in particular is very common among intimate partners. Physical violence has been common, it is the intentional use of physical force with the potential for causing death, disability, injury or harm. Physical violence includes but it is not limited to punching or use of weapons.

Even though there have been so much cries about domestic violence against women across the globe, domestic violence against men in Mukurwe-ini is a reality. It occurs in the society in varying degrees. The problem in conducting studies that seek to describe violence in terms of gender is the amount of silence, fear and shame that results from abuse within families and relationships. This is why domestic violence against men in Mukurweini remains largely unreported. Gender differences in reporting violence was cited as another explanation for mixed results.

The results of this study were drawn from 22 respondents and two key informants interviewed. Their mean age was 30-39 years. About 2/3 of them (45.5%) had primary education or less, this is represented in the figure below. Majority of the respondents (59.1%) were married while the rest were either divorced or living in separation out of violence against men, this information is represented by the figure below.

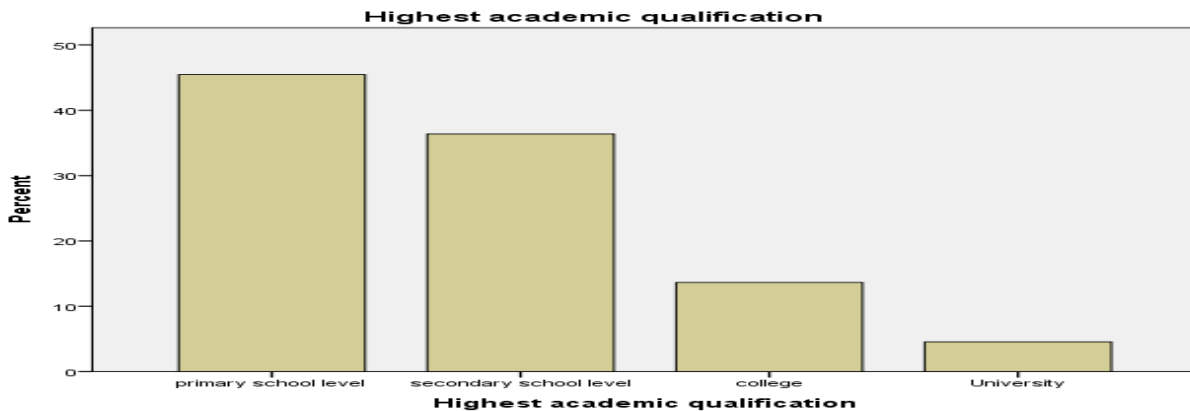


Figure 4.1: Highest academic qualification

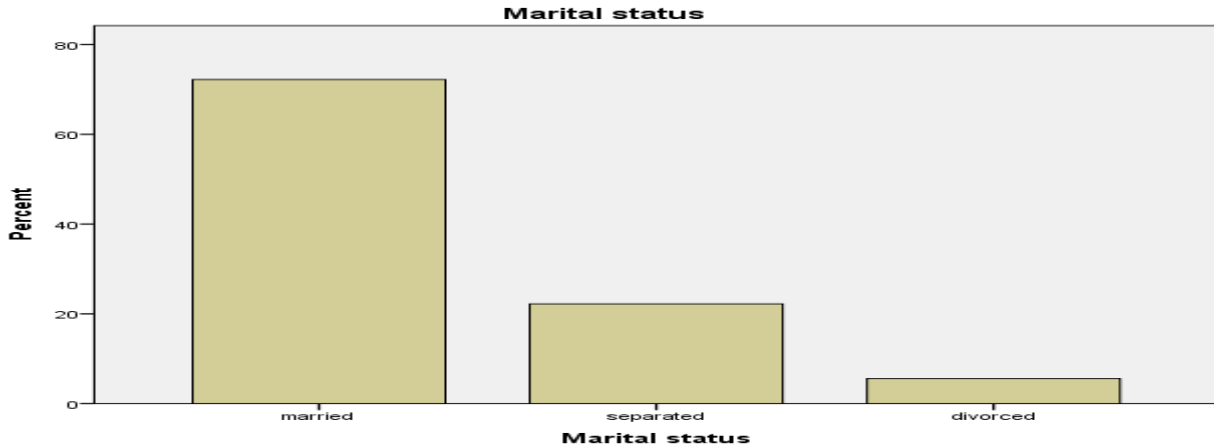


Figure 4.2: Respondents marital status

The 22 respondents reported of being aware of men who have been battered by their wives in the past and some who are still being battered to date. 95% of the respondents were familiar with cases where men have been brutally battered by their wives. They testified that such cases are not unfamiliar. Figure 4.3 below indicates the level of men's awareness of domestic violence against men.



Figure 4.3: Respondents awareness of domestic violence against men

Over 70% of the respondents accepted that alcoholism predisposes men to domestic violence. They were of the opinion that drunkards are nuisance to their wives as well as to the society. The urge for alcohol leads them to misappropriating family finance to an extent of stealing from the family to fulfil their urge for alcohol. This therefore brings

about conflicts where they end up being victims of domestic violence. Respondents' opinion is represented in the figure below.

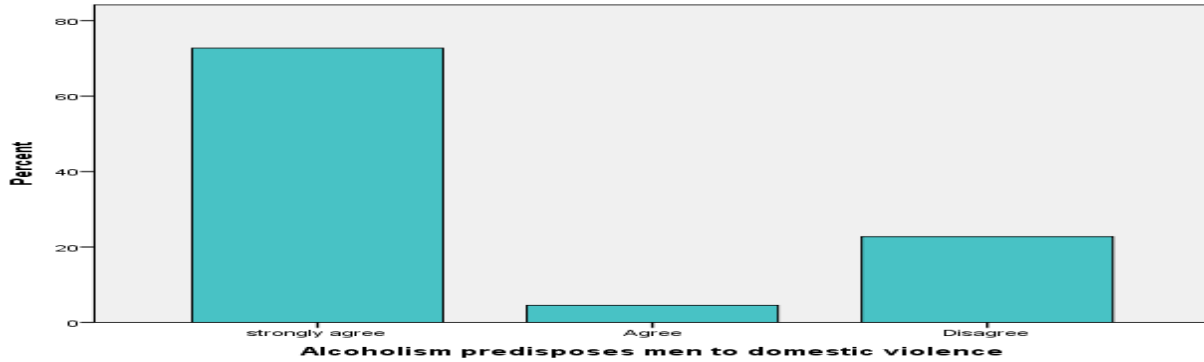


Figure 4.4: Level to which alcohol predisposes men to domestic violence

50% of the respondents were of the view that men who are suspected to be infidels are likely to be battered by their wives. It was however noted that 40% of disagreed and they were of the contrary opinion. 10% agreed though not strongly that women who suspect infidelity from their men are likely to batter them. Their opinion is represented in the figure below.

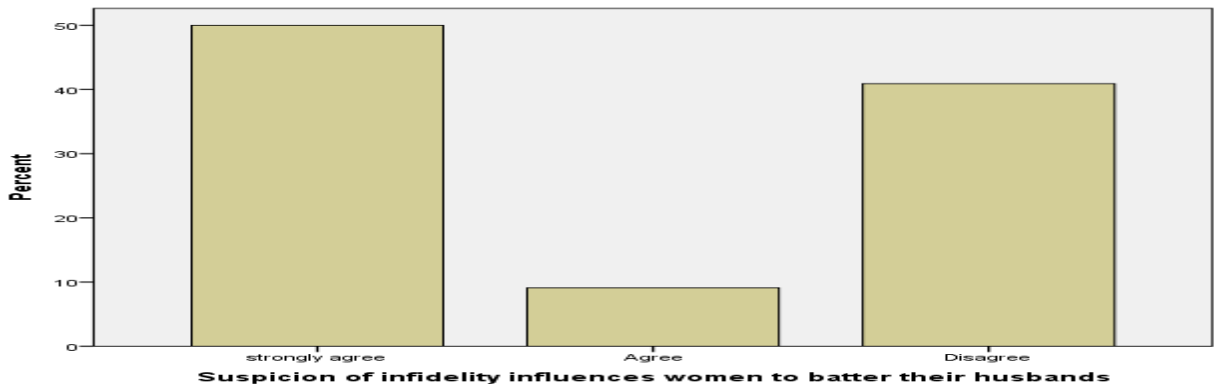


Figure 4.5: Level to which infidelity influences women to batter men

On respondents opinion on whether patriarchal society makes men shy away from from reporting incidences of violence, over 80% of the respondents strongly agreed while a small number of respondents represented by 20% agreed but not strongly.



Figure 4.6: Level to which Patriachal structure makes men shy away from reporting

On issue of physical violence predisposing men to physical violence’ 45% strongly felt that that strongly agreed that that domestic violence predisposes men physical injuries. They have as well had experiences of men who have been injured by women out of domestic conflicts. There were others who were disagreed that violence against men predisposes men to physical injuries. This group of respondents was represented by 15% of the total respondents. They argued that men have the potential to defend themselves in case of such incidences.



Figure 4.7: Level to which domestic violence predisposes men to physical injuries

In terms of reporting, 60% of the respondents strongly agreed that men will always shy away from letting their family members and friends know their situation. This is because they don't want to feel weak or controlled by their wives. Many men will therefore not let their friends and relatives know that they are being battered. the figure below represents respondents opinion.

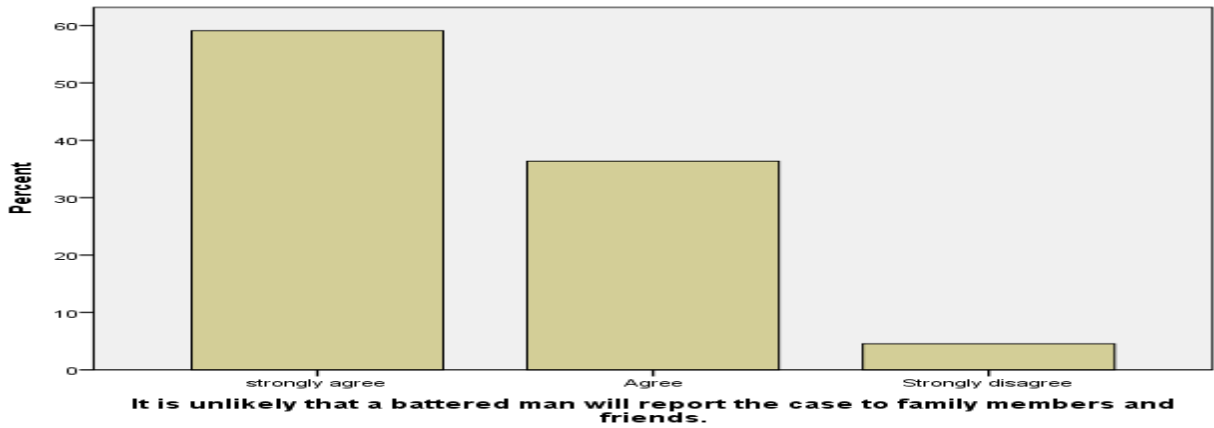


Figure 4.8: Likelihood of battered men reporting to family and friends

On the consequences of violence against men, over 60% strongly agreed that battering of men leads to negative social consequences like divorce and separation.

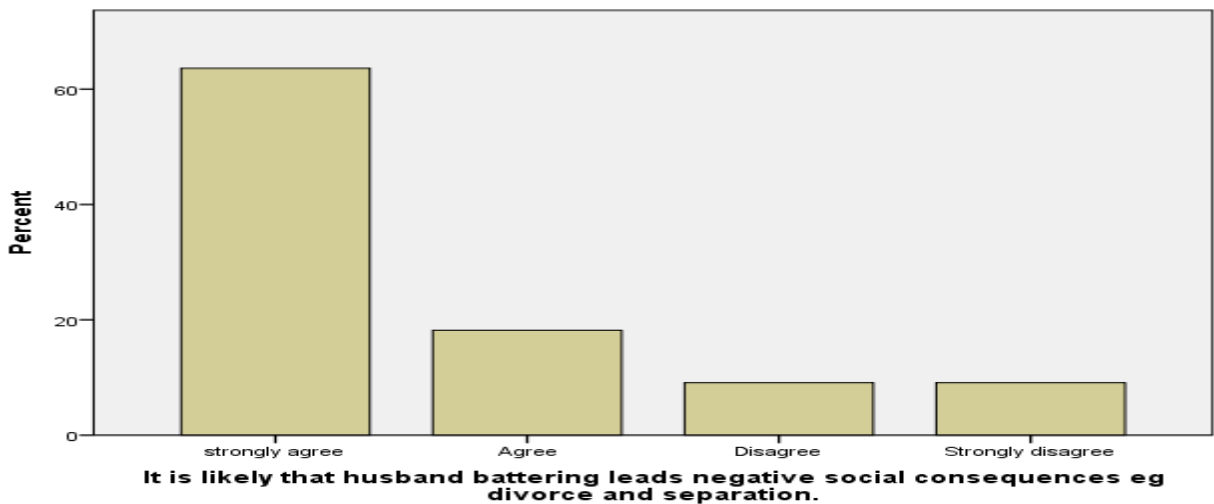


Figure 4.9: Likelihood of DVM causing negative social consequences

Responses from Key Informants

According to the area Deputy County commissioner 60% of the households are headed by women. There are various reasons which date back to the colonial era. First it happens that the area has a lot of western influence and Christianity which promotes women to be independent. Christianity encourages equality and therefore women feel the need to share the same with men.

On the other hand when men went into the forest to fight the colonial powers in the early 1900, women were left to take care of their home, this was the beginning of female headed households. Upon return, men had no say in their homes since women had already taken over and gotten used to surviving without any assistance from men. This marked the beginning women battering their husbands whenever conflicts would arise.

Women from Mukurwe-ini are very aggressive economically, they are the owners of most agribusinesses in the area meaning that they are economically empowered and therefore need no much support of men. On the other hand, they are aware of their rights, this has been through education and awareness raising.

Alcoholism is one of the serious causes of domestic violence against men. Women don't tolerate drunkards simply because they provide nothing to the family but on the contrary, they are a menace. They will always take household items in exchange of alcohol, of which it is the wife who has provided. Alcoholics can't be depended upon so they always depend on their wives and that's why they end up being battered whenever they go wrong.

While it is a fact that women suffer as victims of domestic violence, it is also a fact that men suffer as victims of domestic violence as well. While the majority of domestic violence victims are women, male-oriented abuse occurs more often than many would think. Naturally, men are stronger than women, but that does not necessarily make it easier for them to have their way all the time. The problem is that the man who suffers domestic violence is hardly given a listening ear. He is first of all assumed to be the aggressor even if he has bruises all over him. An abused man faces a shortage of resources, skepticism from the police and other major legal. The various advocacy and sensitization is more or less in favour of women victims, thereby leaving the men victims to suffer in silence, (Area OCPD).

According to the area DCC, *“The tragedy is that men who find themselves in this situation hide and do not talk openly about their experience, as talking about it will bruise their ego and expose them to ridicule in a patriarchal society. I was beaten by my wife is a misnomer! It is unheard of in a male egoistic society like Mukurweini. Hence such men prefer to suffer in silence until it becomes critical to the point of likely death.”*

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the findings of the study, presents the conclusion and the recommendations of the study findings of the Causes and consequences of domestic violence against men in in Mukurwe-ini. The implications of the findings on the objectives are also discussed in details. Recommendations were derived from the responses of the respondents.

5.2 Summary of the findings

The sample size for the research was an ideal one, amounting to 22 respondents, due to the difficulty obtaining informed, willing participants. The nature of this taboo subject created obstacles in terms of locating and contacting male victims of domestic violence.

5.2.1 What are the causes of violence against men in Mukurwe-ini Constituency?

Every respondent was passionate in declaring that alcoholism was the main cause of DVAM in Mukurwe-ini. They felt that whenever men indulge in alcoholism, they fail to sufficiently provide their families with the basic need, their roles are taken up by women. Men who over indulge themselves in alcoholism abscond their family obligations and on the contrary they are taken up by women.

Women in Mukurwe-ini are very entrepreneurial and very hardworking to an extent that they don't rely on men to provide them with any support, they are well up. In this case therefore, they fell that they have sufficient of what they need.

Women in Mukurwe-ini are educated and therefore know their rights and how to defend them. Education has enlightened them making them not slaves of men especially those who don't provide to their families.

5.2.2 What are the consequences of violence against men in Mukurwe-ini Constituency?

All participants agreed that men are extremely reluctant to ask for help for various reasons but most centered on masculinity and male pride. Male victims do not want to be seen as weak and unmanly. These actions and beliefs that men are not victims have been instilled in society therefore societal stereotypes have developed to only view men as abusers, not the abused. The oppression of male victims makes it hard for them to speak out and get help. Some male victims find it hard to comprehend that they are a victim so choose to deny they are being beaten and abused. They make excuses for the violence because they claim they still love her, in this respect ‘sometimes men are their own worst enemy’. Others are worried that if they seek help they may be charged as the perpetrator rather than victim.

Even though male and female victims share similar experiences, men have the added stigma of society to overcome so do not always feel comfortable with female focused policies to deal with their experience of domestic violence. Therefore the participant concludes that the system does not work because there is not a system for it to work.

After completing the interviews the general consensus amongst the participants is that there is a lack of help and support available to male victims of female perpetrated domestic violence, particularly because of the inherent social structures and attitudes within society and the lack of recognition of male victims amongst authorities. This supports the assumption that male victims of domestic violence rarely report cases of violence therefore providing validity to the supporting literature and research into this area.

Respondents were of the idea that the government hasn’t done enough for male victims, stating that government ‘deny’ and turn a ‘blind eye’ to the abused male. Participants believes that government is ‘at the heart of the morals to punish men for [being] victims’ therefore government disapprove and discriminate against men who are victims of domestic violence. Participant described it as institutional sexism with government ignoring the family figures that explicitly show men to be victims.

Another term used by a participant to describe government actions was 'lip service' as they listen and sympathize but never actually aid male victims through funding or awareness.

The beliefs that government hold impact upon the authorities' attitudes and actions towards male victims in particular the police. The police try to be fair and equal when addressing domestic disputes but, regardless, they tend to discriminate against men due to innate societal stereotypes. The findings suggest that the police, for instance, feel comfortable in delivering a service they know which is a female centered service so in reality no matter how hard authorities try they will always tend to favor the female victim

5.3 Conclusions

The study has explored the Causes and consequences of Domestic violence against men in Mukurweini, concluding that the help of men victims is minimal and of a poor quality. The researcher feels the research questions have been answered with insight confirming the preconceptions that the lack of recognition is instilled in societal constructions and governmental beliefs. The aim of gaining an understanding was achieved and has provided information that confirms the thoughts of other literature in this area and added discussion to this under researched debate. The information gained from the research generally supports the notion that society and government are the underlying repressors of the abused male, even relating to the concept that the repression of male victims can cause men to abuse their female partners out of fear of being dominated themselves. If this concept is true to some male perpetrators of violence then in order to reduce their abuse it would seem male victims need to be embraced by society and not repressed.

5.4 Recommendations

In order to encourage abused men to break their silence and appear visible the authority need to take a stand. They cannot keep ignoring the evidence apparent to them. They need to officially recognize male victims do suffer from domestic violence and aid them with support, counselling, and other social services. There needs to be equality between female and male victims in terms of equal support even if the methods are dissimilar in administering the help. If the authorities were acknowledged to be recognizing and supporting male victims then the societal repression would change gradually to accept men can be abused and have sympathy for them. Thus men would willingly come forward to receive help as they would know they would not be ridiculed and humiliated.

The researcher would urge abused men to come forward and pressurize government so they cannot turn a 'blind eye' any longer. The research provokes the debate concerning whether male victims should be treated within the same system as female victims. It is suggested that abused men should receive the same quality of care but the methods may be different to that of the female victim. At present the system is supposed to provide equal treatment but realistically it is centered towards the female victim, so men feel reluctant to seek help. It would be beneficial for male victims to have a separate system as it would encourage them to seek help and contact authorities as then know they will be treated as men, not women. However, this does go hand in hand with recognition and proactive support from the authority.

Nevertheless, one should note, the findings are subject to limitations within the research. The main limitation of this research is the use of only 22 participants. The researcher found it difficult to find participants willing to take part due to the nature of the study topic. The lack of willing participants confirms that men are not pressurizing society or government to recognize male victims. The system cannot change unless we challenge societal norms and encourage others to realize domestic abuse towards men is a problem which needs attention.

Effective legislations to curb domestic violence against men must be put in place and enforced. Law enforcement agents should also accept that husband battering and other forms of domestic violence against men is a reality, from which men are to be protected. The brutality of a man by his wife should not be seen as a trivial domestic matter. The trials of women who batter or kill their husbands must be given wide publicity in order to serve as deterrence to others who may have such tendencies. There should be greater advocacy to enlighten the public about the existence and reality of the evil of domestic violence against men by government agencies, religious groups and civil rights organizations. This will help in balancing the gender discourse on domestic violence and bring about better families in the Mukurweini. Gender activism must involve a balance of power in relationships in order not to arrogate too much power to the women, who will then turn around to use such power to oppress men.

5.5 Suggestion for further Study

Future research needs to further explore the area of abused men as there is little research available. This links back to the taboo nature of the subject where men do not want to be identified as victims of domestic violence because of the atmosphere of repression. Possible research could focus on how government could administer change and help male victims. Relating to the area of male victims is the issue of female domestic aggression.

Future research could investigate what motivates females to become perpetrators of violence and the subsequent help available for them. If female domestic aggression can be understood then this may help explain the experiences of abused men and provide information for them to help avoid a violent encounter. It may also provide insight into the notion of female perpetrators manipulating the system.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Questionnaire

Introduction

The researcher is a student from the University of Nairobi – Institute of Anthropology, Gender and African Studies. He seeks to establish the causes and consequences of Violence against men.

The respondent is requested to give correct and independent response. The information gathered will strictly be used only for the purposes of this study. Should you have questions or anything you do not understand, kindly ask the researcher and he will be glad to assist you.

The questionnaire is divided into three sections.

Note: (Tick the appropriate box or fill the space provided as the case may be.)

Section I: General information

1. Which Age bracket do you belong (Years)

- | | | |
|---------------|---|---|
| 20-29 | { | } |
| 30 – 39 | { | } |
| 40 – 49 | { | } |
| Over 50 years | { | } |

2. What is your marital status?

- | | | |
|-----------|---|---|
| Married | { | } |
| Separated | { | } |
| Divorced | { | } |

3. What is your highest academic qualification?

- | | | |
|------------------------|---|---|
| Primary School level | { | } |
| Secondary School level | { | } |
| College | { | } |
| University | { | } |

4. For how long have you been living in Mukurwe - ini?

- 0-1 year { }
- 1-2 yrs { }
- 2-5yrs { }
- 5-10yrs { }
- Over 10 years { }

5. Which Sub-location of Mukurwe-ini do you come from?

- Kioo { }
- Gikodi { }
- Rutune { }
- Mukurwe-ini township { }

Respondents views on causes and consequences of domestic violence against men in Mukurwe-ini

Section II

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Statement	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
1	I am aware that men suffer from domestic violence perpetrated by women					
2	I know some men who have been battered in the past by women.					
3	Married men are likely to be battered by their wives.					
4	Alcoholism predisposes men to domestic violence by women					
5	Suspicion of infidelity influences women to batter their husbands					
6	Patriarchal structures in the society make men shy away from reporting incidences of violence.					
7	Domestic violence against men					

	predispose them to physical injuries.					
8	It is unlikely that a battered man will report the case to family members and friends.					
8	It is unlikely that battered men will report the case to the authorities.					
9	It is likely that battered men will suffer from psychological and emotional distress					
10	It is likely that husband battering leads negative social consequences e.g. divorce and separation.					

Section III

1. In your opinion, what do you think is likely to cause domestic violence against men in the community?.....
.....
.....
2. What makes you think that alcoholism and substance abuse exposes men to domestic violence?.....
.....
.....
3. Do you think that women brought up in backgrounds where women batter men are likely to be abusive in future? Explain further.....
.....
.....
4. What is the role of the authority for example the police and the judicial system in protecting men from domestic perpetrated by women?.....
.....
.....

5. Do you think family history on domestic violence against men contributes to tolerance of abuse? Please explain further.....
.....
.....
6. What in your opinion is the role of the family in protecting men from domestic violence?.....
.....
.....
7. How well are chiefs doing in protecting men against domestic violence?.....
.....
.....
8. Do you think women empowerment has a part to play in the domestic violence against men? Please explain briefly.....
.....
.....
9. In your opinion what do you think is the role of behavior change in eradicating violence against men?.....
.....
.....
10. What do you think makes eradication of domestic violence against men a challenge?.....
.....
.....
11. Do you think the family/community is doing enough to protect men from domestic violence?.....
.....
.....

12. Do you think the government administration is doing enough to curb cases of domestic violence against men in the this area?.....

.....
.....

13. Do you think the Non-governmental organizations for example maendeleo ya wanaume are giving the necessary help to the battered men in the area?.....

.....
.....

14. What do you think can be done to improve husband and wife relationship in Mukurwe-in?.....

.....
.....

Thank you

Appendix II: Key Informant interview guide

My name is Joseph Kubai, a master's student at the University of Nairobi, Institute of Anthropology, Gender and African Studies. I am currently conducting a study on **Causes and consequences of domestic violence against men**. This is an effort to establish what makes the men vulnerable to physical battering and if this has a gender dimension. I hope you will be willing to participate in the interview.

Anything you tell me will remain confidential and will be used only for the purpose of this study. The information will be written in a manner that no individual comment will be attributed to a particular person.

Individual introductions

1. What do you think are some of the factors that predispose men to domestic violence?
2. Why do you think women are likely to batter men?
3. Do you think alcoholism and substance abuse exposes men to domestic violence?
4. Do you think that a woman who is brought up in an abusive family is likely to be violent in future?
5. What is the role of the family in protecting men from domestic violence?
6. Do you think family history on abuse contributes to tolerance to abuse? Please explain further.
7. What is the role of police and the judicial system in protecting men against domestic violence perpetrated by women?
8. How well are chiefs doing in protecting domestic violence against men?
9. Do you think women empowerment has a part to play in violence against men?

-Please explain briefly.
10. What makes eradication of violence against men a challenge?
11. What is the role of behavior change in eradicating domestic violence against men?

12. Do you think the family/community is doing enough to protect men from domestic violence?

-Explain further.

13. Do you think maendeleo ya wanaume is doing enough to curb violence against men?

-Explain further.

14. What do you think can be done to improve family relations in Mukurwe - ini?

-List three of them.

Thank you for sharing your time and insight with me.