INTER-SPOUSAL VIOLENCE: A STUDY OF KENYAN WOMEN EXPERIENCES

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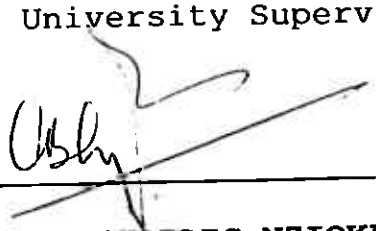
DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

EUDIAS MUMBI MACHERA

This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as University Supervisors



PROFESSOR CHARLES NZIOKA

PROFESSOR ENOS NJERU

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my parents Heshbon Nyaga Machera and Madres Muthanje Machera. Thank you for laying a strong foundation in my life

E.M.M.
2006

Unless the past and the future were made part of the present by memory and intention, there was, in human terms, no road, nowhere to go.
Ursula Le Guin, ***The Disposed***

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AGI	Africa Gender Institute
ANPPCAN	African Network for Prevention and Protection of Child Abuse
CEDAW	Coalition on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CODESSRIA	Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa
COVAW (K)	Coalition on Violence against Women
CTS	Conflict Tactic Scales
DAAD	German Academic Exchange Programme
DVIRC	Domestic Violence and Incest Resource Centre
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
FIDA (K)	Federation of Kenya Women Lawyers
HIV/AIDS	Human immunodeficiency virus/ Acquired immune deficiency syndrome
ICRW	International Centre for Research on Women
NGO	Local Non-Governmental Organization
UN	United Nations
UNIFEM	United Nations Fund for Women
WILDAF	Women in Law and Development in Africa
OSSREA	Organization of Social Science Research in East Africa
AFROL	Africa Gender Profiles
GNP	Gross National Product
USA	United States of America
UK	United Kingdom
VAW	Violence Against Women

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ABSTRACT

This study is on the subject of inter-spousal physical violence with specific reference to women's experiences of physical violence within heterosexual relationships. Physical violence in domestic relationships is one of the many forms of violence played out in domestic spaces. The practice of inter-spousal physical violence is therefore examined in the context of domestic[1] violence. Narrowing the focus of this study to inter-spousal physical violence was determined by the need to theoretically and practically differentiate acts of physical violence between spouses in the domestic space from other forms of domestic violence. Physical violence is qualitatively different from other forms of domestic violence.

The study further recognizes that either spouse in a heterosexual relationship has the potential of becoming a victim or perpetrator of physical violence. Nevertheless, overwhelming evidence from around the world shows that women are usually majority of victims where inter-spousal violence is concerned (Dobash and Dobash 1979; Counts, Brown and Campbell 1992; Davies 1994).

[1] The term domestic relates to the private sphere. The term domestic can trivialize violence, placing it as a private matter that does not warrant outside intervention. The terminology has historically been associated with a dismissive attitude towards the seriousness of violence in the home thus leaving too many victims especially women unassisted in dangerous and demoralizing circumstances (DVIRC 1998).

The main objective of the study was to examine the nature and extent of inter-spousal physical violence and conflict management among spouses. The study adopted inter-methods and intra-methods triangulation approaches to data collection. Data was collected from women and men in two residential estates, i.e. Kangemi and Huruma both located in Nairobi Province. A total sample of 200 women was selected through systematic sampling. Focus Group Discussions (FGD) and In-depth Interviews were conducted to complement survey data. The study sites and sample sizes were purposively selected. Findings show that inter-spousal physical violence is prevalent with majority of the respondents reporting having experienced at least one form of minor physical violence in the 12 months prior to the study. A smaller proportion reported having experienced a severe form of violence in the twelve months prior to the study. Consequently, results show that respondents experience minor forms of violence more than severe forms of violence. Some respondents reported having received severe injuries after severe acts of violence.

Several recommendations have been made on the basis of resultant findings. The government needs to quicken the adoption of the domestic violence bill, which would materialize in passage of laws designed to protect individuals from spousal violence. The government should also play its role in making law enforcement officers and the criminal justice system more accessible, especially to women and more responsive to their complaints. Supportive services such as shelter homes, childcare services, special women's courts,

medical and psychological service referrals, educational facilities and assistance in accessing financial maintenance are possible intervention strategies. In addition, public awareness campaigns; gender justice and sensitization seminars; concentrated outreach efforts such as public rallies; legal and health literacy camps directed to men and women would serve to desensitize individuals to the use of violence. In an effort to reinforce the criminalization of domestic violence police stations should be made more approachable and less intimidating to individuals reporting cases of spousal violence. The police should be trained to be more sensitive to gender-related crimes. To strengthen research in this area, a database on spousal violence should be developed and maintained.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background Information

This study focuses on the subject of physical violence between spouses living in heterosexual relationships with specific reference to women's experiences. Physical violence in domestic relationships is one of the many forms of violence played out in domestic spaces. In this study physical violence is examined in the context of domestic violence. The subject of domestic violence is broad and complex, since it encompasses all types and forms of violence that take place in the domestic space between individuals in various kin relationships. The term "domestic violence", is used to describe actions and omissions that occur in varying relationships in a domestic unit[2] (Davies 1994). The term is used narrowly to cover incidents of physical attack, when it may take the forms of physical violations such as pushing, pinching, spitting, choking, kicking, hitting, punching, burning, clubbing, stabbing, throwing hot water at or acid or setting on fire. The result of such physical violence may range from bruising to killing and what may often start out as apparently minor attacks can escalate both in intensity and frequency (United Nations 1993).

[2] The domestic unit is both a physical and social setting. It should therefore be understood that the violence that takes place there could involve any relationships within the home not just the relationship between a couple who are sexually intimate with each other.

Domestic violence may also take place in the form of emotional/psychological, verbal, social, financial, and spiritual. According to the DVIRC 1998, Emotional/psychological abuse refers to having to live in constant fear of physical violence; Psychological violence refers to systematic brainwashing (e.g. systematically nagging and sarcasm over one's roles as a mother, wife/husband; and regular accusations of being ugly, useless, dumb, stupid or incompetent).

Emotional abuse often consists of threats concerning access to the perpetrators money, their children and other resources; Verbal abuse has been defined as consisting derogatory comments, such as constant put-downs and comments about being inferior, unattractive or incompetent and includes threats of physical violence and violent verbal outbursts; Social abuse refers to the victim being confined by the perpetrator with systematic denial of freedom of movement and association; Economic abuse refers to the inequitable control over shared resources while Spiritual abuse entails alienating the victim from her cultural and religious beliefs. The perpetrator may destroy the victim's religious symbols and or forbid her to pray or worship in an effort to isolating her (Davies 1994, Domestic Violence Resource Centre (DVIRC 1998). Globally, evidence indicates that domestic violence takes many forms such as female spouse/male spouse battering, physical/sexual of children, and incest, spousal rape, elder abuse, homicide,

financial, social, spiritual and emotional abuse. The forms of violations may vary from one society to another and from one domestic relationship to another. The term domestic relates to the private sphere and some scholars have argued that the term domestic can trivialize violence, placing it as a private matter that does not warrant outside intervention (Fineman and Mykitiuk 1994). The terminology has historically been associated with a dismissive attitude towards the seriousness of violence in the home thus leaving too many victims especially women unassisted in dangerous and demoralizing circumstances (Fineman and Mykitiuk 1994; Domestic Violence Resource Centre (DVIRC) 1998). The domestic unit is both a physical and social setting. It should therefore be understood that the violence that takes place there could involve any relationships within the home not just the relationship between couples who are sexually intimate with each other.

The historical roots of domestic violence contribute to its persistence as a contemporary social problem; it is a hidden social problem. The only evidence of historical analysis of domestic violence is based on evidence gathered in Western countries (including Britain, Europe and Australia) in the last thirty years. An increasing number of studies are now being undertaken in the developing world. For example, comprehensive and systematic studies of domestic violence (defined in this case to include violence against women and men in the domestic space) have been undertaken in Papua New Guinea (Toft, 1985). In addition, the United Nations Fund for

Women (UNIFEM) published a collection of essays in the early nineties which summarizes the research into domestic violence that has been undertaken in various regions of the developing world (Schuler 1992). More recently, the International Centre for Research on Women (ICRW) concluded various studies in India on domestic violence (ICRW 2002).

Sociologists Rebecca Dobash and Russell Dobash (1979) claim that in order to understand female spouse beating in contemporary society, one must understand and recognize the century old legacy of women as appropriate victims of domestic violence(see also Levinson 1989). Originally, domestic violence was recognized as a problem affecting women in Western countries and thus, the tendency to conduct "violence against women studies" thereof.

According to Davidson (1977), domestic violence has occurred for centuries. From the days of ancient Babylon to the rise and fall of the Roman Empire, to the middle ages and its feudal economy, to the twentieth century industrial capitalism, men's rights to use physical force against women was lawful and expected. Early British researchers on the subject found that

> "In the British society, men always had the right to use physical force against their female spouses for just anything. For example, a woman could be beaten if she behaved shamelessly, caused jealousy, was lazy and

> unwilling to work in the fields, became drunk, spent too much money or neglected the house (Dobash and Dobash 1979:56)

Further, evidence shows that English Common Law, upon which American Law and Commonwealth Countries Laws are based, gave male spouses the right to chastise their female spouses. This right was modified by the nineteenth century "Rule of Thumb", which meant that a male spouse could beat his female spouse with a rod no thicker than his thumb (Davidson 1977; Langley and Levy 1977; Walker 1979). It was not until the 1870s that female spouse beating became illegal in most Western countries.

By the 1970s, the women's movement[3] highlighted domestic violence as an issue warranting global public awareness and action. There are two notable reasons for the sudden concern

[3] The Women's Liberation Movement is the social struggle which aims to eliminate forms of oppression based on gender and to gain for women equal economic, social status and rights to determine their own lives as are enjoyed by men. The Women's Liberation Movement is generally seen as having developed in four waves: The Enlightenment stage towards the end of the 18th century, the Second International and the growing organisation of the working class in Europe and America represented the second stage. This stage began in the Marxist movement reached its zenith in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The Third Wave of Women's Liberation had its origins in the entry of women into the industrial labour force during World War Two, the changing requirements for labour power in modern industry creating new jobs for women, the development of manufacturing, service industries and food processing which opened up women's domestic labour for "socialisation", making domestic appliances and processing food for sale on the Market, rather than depending on women's domestic servitude for this work. The fourth and current wave began with the onset of the women's decade which culminated in the 1st International Conference on Women which took place in 1985 in Nairobi. The Platform for action developed during this conference provided a global blue print for states to address issues affecting women. The women's movement became a global movement.

with domestic violence. These are society's intrusion into the affairs of the family institution through academic investigation, legal and policy response and secondly the concerns of the feminist movement regarding the injustices meted against certain members of the family (especially women) within the family space (Moore 1979; Straus and Gelles 1999; Stets 1988). Prior to this time, the home was viewed as an enduring, loving haven, a protective place from the evils of the world. Furthermore, Western social scientists have observed that through out history, "keeping wives in their place" was expected to be a task carried out by male spouses in the privacy of their homes. Even where wife beating continued to prevail, it was not a public matter and lawmakers preferred not to interfere in domestic matters (Stets 1988). It is notable that the 1970s challenged the re-emergence of the feminist movement. Feminists challenged the patriarchal order and women's second-class status. The feminist movement argued that egalitarianism and androgyny should replace the old system of values and social order where men were socialized to be aggressive and dominant while women were taught to be obedient and submissive (Stets 1988)

As a result of the efforts of the feminist movement, domestic violence was brought to the forefront as a global issue that demanded attention (United Nations 1993). Because violence in the home is regarded a private matter, even researchers in the West found it difficult to study until in the early 1970s when the shelter movement arose and women seeking refuge began to tell their stories in an uninhibited manner (Stets 1988;

Dobash and Dobash 1979) thus, becoming a source of information for domestic violence studies. The movement against female spouse-beating began on an international level in England, in 1971, through the pioneering efforts of Erin Pizzey[45] who set up the first refuge for battered women, i.e. the Chiswick Women's Aid Centre (Pizzey 1977). Several years later in 1985 and 1995 female spouse beating received official recognition as a social problem at the two conferences held to culminate the women's decades in Nairobi, (Kenya) in 1985 and Beijing (China) in 1995.

While in the Western world domestic violence has been a topic of increasing attention (by public and researchers alike) since the early eighties, in the developing world, especially in African countries, data on domestic violence is still quite scarce. However available evidence indicates that in African countries, women are triply abused within domestic relationships, the economy and the state; by male spouses who beat them (domestic violence), by the ravages of war and as exploited workers who make up most of the farm labourers in agricultural economies (Kenyatta 1978; Boserup 1980; Dobash and Dobash 1992). The Dobashes (1992) also noted that "in Latin American Countries, the image of the macho man continues and violence against women is perpetuated within that cultural context.

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[4] The discovery of female spouse abuse was a traditional grassroots effort. Attention to the problem of female spouse-battering came from women themselves. A women's center in Chiswick London founded by Erin Pizzey became a refuge for victims of battering

[5] Pizzey wrote a thought provoking book on wife abuse entitled "Scream Quietly or the Neighbors will Hear" and produced a documentary movie of the same name. Both captured the attention of women in Europe and the United States of America. This was the beginning of the women's movement to spread end spousal violence and has since spread all over the world

It is widely acknowledged that domestic violence is historically rooted in almost all societies and in most cases women are victims while men are aggressors (Daly and Wilson 1988; Ellis and DeKeseredy 1996; Dobash and Dobash 1992; Kurz 1993a; Loseke 1992; Saunders 1988; Stanko 1987; Yllo and Bograd 1988; Yllo 1993). In some societies however, women are more dominant and aggressive than men as Margaret Mead (1949) found out in her study of three New Guinea tribes of the Pacific[6] (see also Martin 1990). As noted earlier, in Africa, a serious limitation on domestic violence related literature exists. Nevertheless, lack of evidence does not mean that violence is not played out in domestic relationships in the continent. Several anthropological works make indirect reference to the existence of domestic violence in pre-colonial societies. In Facing Mt Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta (1978:185) notes that;

"..when a wife is ill-treated by her male spouse, she has the right to return to her father for protection. If the ill- treatment is proved, the father may keep his daughter in his homestead until such a time that the male spouse pays a fine"

[6] In her study of three New Guinea peoples in the Pacific, Margaret Mead described three distinct alternatives to the chiefly male dominated mode of culture that is characteristic of patriarchy. Among the Arapesh culture, men and women both displayed personality traits which, are maternal and feminine. Among the Arapesh, men and women are trained to be cooperative, non-aggressive and responsive to the needs of others. Among the Mundgumor people, Mead found that both men and women developed ruthless and aggressive personality traits. Among the Tchambuli, the woman is the dominant, independent, managing partner while the man was less responsible and more dependent emotionally.

Although Kenyatta's work does not deliberately outline nor discuss the subject of domestic violence it is quite clear from his research findings that female spouses were often beaten in the traditional Kikuyu society. No mention is made of male spouse beating or abuse in this book. This evidence supports the patriarchal ideology and the accompanying hierarchical social order that characterizes most pre and post-industrial societies where men have more power economically, legally and religiously and women are expected to be submissive subjects. It is no wonder that men's entitlement to domination in social institutions in the wider society also infiltrates the private realms, i.e. in their interactions in the family domain.

Local lobby and activist civil society groups such as the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA-Kenya) and the Coalition on Violence against Women have made tremendous efforts in highlighting the seriousness of domestic violence as a growing problem in our society. Academic institutions such as the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) and the Organization for Social Science Research in East Africa (OSSREA) have further made initiatives to encourage African scholars to make a contribution towards the study of gender based violence. Overall, although African social scientists have made tremendous efforts in the study of societies and families (Mbiti 1973; Kayongo-Male and Onyango 1984; Bloom and Ottong 1987; Oyeneye and Peil 1998), domestic violence is not addressed as a significant social issue.

1.1.1 Violence against Women or Inter-spousal Violence: Current Debates and Future Directions.

Demie Kurtz (1993) observes that in recent years, due to the efforts of the battered women's movement[7] and other reformers, much more public attention has been focused on the physical abuse of women at the hands of male partners (see also Dobash and Dobash 1992:25-33). The problems of 'woman abuse' or 'wife abuse' are now recognized as widespread and as having serious consequences (Davies 1994). In the developed countries, advocates of battered women in many professions and organizations have worked to make legal, medical and social service agencies more responsive to battered women (American Medical Association 1992; Jones 1980; Koss 1994). In the developing countries such efforts are just gaining momentum (Machera 1997; Toft et. al 1985; Shaheed 1994; Dorkenoo and Elworthy 1994; Bradley 1994).

[7] The battered women's movement (i.e shelter or refuge movement) is a direct product of the women's movement which began in the 18th century (See earlier footnote). The movement began in Britain in the early 1970's in a rather unexpected manner. It began with a campaign to protest against the elimination of free school milk and ending with a refuge for battered women. The story begins with five hundred women and children and one cow marching through an English town in support of their claim. The cow served as a symbol for their cause and the spectacle brought considerable attention. While not a direct success, the march brought about solidarity among the women and led to the setting up of a community meeting place for women. It was there that women began to share horrific stories of violence they had received at the hands of their male partners. For the first time in England women found a refuge and founded a movement. In the USA the battered women's movement had its beginnings in 1973 and 1974 (See Dobash and Dobash 1992:25-26). The movement became global through sharing of ideas and experiences by women in local and international forums such as the International Women's Conferences of 1975, 1985 and 1995.

Despite increased recognition of the problem of male violence toward women, however, much of the research on violence in intimate relationships focuses not on woman abuse but on 'spouse abuse' or 'partner abuse'. Many researchers have argued that we should focus our attention on 'family violence' and that adult family members are equally violent to each other (Straus 1993). Thus, much data on spouse abuse claims that men are victims of violence equally with women (Kurz 1993b). Evidently, one group of social scientists has been called 'Violence against Women (VAW) Researchers [8]' (see Dobash and Dobash 1992) and argues that women are the victims of violence in relationships with men (Daly and Wilson 1988; Ellis and DeKeseredy 1996; Dobash and Dobash 1992; Kurz 1993; Loseke 1992; Saunders 1988a; Stanko 1987; Yllo and Bograd 1988; Yllo 1993). Amongst these researchers, those who identify with the feminist tradition claim that, historically, the law has promoted women's subordination and condoned husband's use of force in conjugal relationships. On the other hand, 'Family Violence (FV) Researchers' (Brinkerhoff and Lupri 1988; Gelles 1993; Gelles and Cornell 1985; Gelles and Straus 1988; Mcneely and Mann 1990; Shupe, Stacey and Hazelwood 1987; Stets 1990; Straus 1993) argue that the real problem is ' spouse abuse' and 'family violence'. These researchers believe that women, as well as men, are violent, and some claim that women 'initiate and carry out physical assaults on their partner as often as men' (Straus 1993:67).

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8 VAW researchers fear that framing the problem as 'spouse abuse' will lead to decreased funding for shelters, a diversion of resources to 'battered men' and increased arrest of men in 'domestic disputes' under mandatory arrest policies. Further the 'spouse abuse' discourse is blamed for obscuring the real cause of violence against women i.e. inequality and dominance.

A study by Robert Gelles (1974) carried out in the U.S. found that wives were almost as violent as their husbands. Other studies have since reinforced these notions. For example Shupe, Stacey, and Hazelwood observe that;

> "..everything we have found points to a parallel process that lead women and men to become violent. Women may be more likely than men to use kitchen utensils and scissors when they commit assault, but their frustrations, motives and lack of control over these feelings of anger predictably resemble men's (1987:56)".

In the late 1970's FV researchers proclaimed a 'battered husband syndrome' although no equivalent 'battered woman syndrome' was reported (Steimetz 1977). According to some of these studies, men are more likely to suffer injuries within the family (Mcleod 1987). In light of evidence and claims such as these, the leading proponent of FV position proclaimed that 'the marriage license' is "a hitting license", and asserted that;

> "...violence between husband and wife is far from one way street. The old cartoons of a wife chasing her husband with a rolling pin or throwing pots and pots are closer to reality than most (and especially those with feminist sympathies) realize" (Straus and Gelles 1990:488).

Reacting to the FV position, Dobash and Dobash consider the questions in the tools used in this perspective as 'narrow' and methods 'restricted' (1992:264). The Dobashes claim that the VAW researchers have gone beyond the narrow questions and restricted methods of the FV traditions to consider the dynamic nature of violence between men and women and to analyze the wider cultural and institutional context within which the problem emerged and continues (1992:264). VAW research has been especially important in documenting the dynamic nature of the violent event, the predicament of victims, and legal, medical and social service responses.

Basing their arguments on available statistics, VAW researchers to a large extent have relied on criminal justice records to show that men are much more likely than women to commit violent crimes whether in public or in private (Daly and Wilson 1988). For assaults in the home, evidence from police and court records also demonstrate that men are disproportionately the perpetrators and women the victims. FV researchers do not accept this evidence maintaining that official reports are subject to reporting bias and that the results of crime surveys are suspect because they explore violence in the context of asking about the 'crime'. Their strongest criticism is based on the assumption that men will not simply come forward to report their victimization at the hands of women. Steinmetz maintains that 'husband beating' is

a camouflaged social problem because men who report their violent partners would face extraordinary stigma.

This study takes a mid-way position between the two perspectives. While recognizing that violence against women (VAW) is widespread in Kenya (Machera 1997), a need was found to accommodate some of the emerging perspectives on women's violence against men in the family unit. This necessitated an investigation into the inter-spousal nature of domestic violence but nevertheless paying particular attention to women's experiences. The researcher is aware that men's and women's use of violence has significant consequences for the popular and academic conceptions of battered women, as well as for social policy. The study also acknowledges the fact that how a problem is framed determines the amount of concern that is generated and the solutions that are proposed for that problem.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Spousal violence is a major problem around the world. Typically, international organizations such as the United Nations, which mobilize countries to address specific problems, recognize the broader issue of domestic violence, which as earlier stated is all- encompassing. Nevertheless, one of the major concerns in domestic violence is spousal physical violence. During the International Women's Decade (1975-1985) intensified efforts were made globally to highlight spousal physical violence as a growing social

problem deserving international attention and action[9]. It is evident that spousal physical violence existed way before the birth of the women's movement (Pizzey 1977); however it was largely hidden and confined within the private domain of families. Typically, family life is thought to be warm, intimate, stress reducing and a place where family members can be safe. The society's desire to idealize family life is partly responsible for the tendency to ignore/deny the problem.

To date, spousal physical violence has been placed on the global and national agenda for most countries in the world. Civil societies and media houses in Kenya, for example have continued to highlight it as an issue affecting families. For example, an analysis of newspaper reports indicate that in 1976, a gory incidence took place in which a man gouged out his female spouse's eyes for failing to bear male children (Machera 1997). Since then, through media sensitisation and acts of civil society groups, spousal physical violence has been highlighted as a social problem deserving attention. With the passing of the domestic violence bill in 2001 through an Act of parliament, the government committed itself to ending domestic violence/ spousal physical violence in the country.

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[9] Domestic violence (understood to be Violence against women) in the home remains the most pervasive form of human rights abuse. Domestic Violence was declared a Human Rights issue for the first time at a United Nations Conference in 1994. It was a major focus for the Fourth UN Conference on Women and Development, in Bejing, China, September 1995

In spite of all these preceding factors, there are serious gaps that exist around the spousal physical violence problem. First, whereas we know that spousal physical violence is reported frequently in the media, its causes and effects are not clearly understood. Until the precipitating factors are identified and dealt with, eradicating the problem will prove extremely evasive even in the face of existing laws. Lack of knowledge on the root causes of the problem provides a possible explanation as to why the problem has continued to persist, as evidenced by frequent reports appearing in the local newspapers. Secondly, since spousal physical violence results in various forms of conflicts, it is imperative to identify ways in which conflict is resolved or managed, these facts are not known so far. For example, in the case of physical assault of female spouse by male spouse, how do spouses resolve such conflicts? This study aims at identifying internal and external conflict management strategies in situations where domestic violence arises.

The other factor that is problematized here is the current dearth of reliable data and academic information on domestic violence in Kenya. Facts and figures about the extent of spousal physical violence are necessary to convince policy makers and funding agencies to take an interest in the problem, to propose and support strategies to confront it. How then can we explain the fact that most African anthropologists and sociologists conducting research and writing books in the

area of Family studies cite domestic violence in a sentence as if it's nothing of importance in the study of the family?[10]. Further, it is notable that some early scholars (e.g. Gelles 1974; Davidson 1977; Levinson 1989; Straus 1994) presented the use of violence in the family in a condoning manner, as being a necessary and important part of raising children, relating to spouses and conducting other family transactions.

It is apparent that the theoretical stance, which has dominated Sociology, that of functionalist, consensus and integration theories has also desensitised and averted attention away from family conflict (which uses physical force). This might explain why most social researchers, especially in Africa, largely overlook the study of domestic violence. Professor Murray Strauss of the Family Research Laboratory, University of New Hampshire, in his foreword to the study by Gelles (1974) refers to this apparent discrepancy as "Selective inattention" a useful way of characterizing research on violence in the family, especially male spouse-female spouse violence. This study was conceived with an aim of filling some of these gaps by questioning the seemingly patriarchal cum "avertive lenses" through which most past researchers used to focus on spousal physical violence.

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[10] Reference is made here to the following popular texts:
Mbiti J. 1973. Love and Marriage in Africa. London: Longman
Kenyatta, J. 1978. Facing Mount Kenya. Nairobi. Heinemann
Kayongo, M. and P. Onyango. 1984. *The Sociology of the African Family*. New York: Longman.

Another factor identified as a problem for this investigation is the need to fill gaps on knowledge of types of spousal physical violence and conflict management strategies. Previously studies done in both developed and developing countries show that people are more likely to be killed, physically assaulted, hit, beaten up, slapped, or spanked in their own homes by other family members than anywhere else, or by anyone else, in the society (Davies 1994; Borkowski, and Walker 1983; Toft 1985; Gelles and Cornell 1990; Straus and Gelles 1999). Women and children have been identified as the most likely victims and men are almost always the perpetrators. Some studies indicate that spousal violence occurs in some communities in as many as one in three conjugal relationships (Davies 1994; Borkowski, and Walker 1983; Toft 1985; Gelles and Harrop 1989; Straus and Gelles 1999). This study was designed to utilize a variety of methods in order to identify all the types of violence that take place in the family domain. On the other hand, while it can be stated that women are the usual victims globally (Davies 1994; Silberschmidt 1999; FIDA-Kenya 2002; COVAW-Kenya 2002) in Kenya, it remains unclear which particular women are likely to be physically assaulted. It is also not clear which type of men are likely to be assaulted by their female spouses and are likely to assault their spouses.

The study is exploratory in nature and the findings seek to enhance the understanding of spousal physical violence in Kenya. This study comes at a time when the phenomenon of spousal physical violence appears to be on the increase, but

when hard data on the subject is lacking. Currently, there is little research on the types, incidence and causes of violent attacks between heterosexual conjugal partners. Although newspaper reports are replete with shocking stories about domestic violence, reliable facts are hard to come by. Many cases of domestic violence also go unreported except where it results in death or a serious injury (Machera 1997).

This study aims at generating research interest and a search for new strategies and relevant models that will encourage peaceful co-existence among members of the family unit which ought to be the pre-occupation of individuals, scholars, policy makers, organisations and governments seeking alternatives to domestic violence and management of resultant conflicts. Such models can only be based on factual data gathered through research.

1.3 The Objectives of the Study

The broad objective of the study is to examine the nature of spousal physical violence in Kenya with particular reference to women's experiences. More specifically, the study seeks to:

1. Examine the nature and extent of spousal physical violence
2. Identify the causes associated with the use of physical violence between spouses
3. Identify modes of conflict management (at the interpersonal, intra-familial and extra familial levels) in response to spousal physical violence.

4. Determine the potential for practical intervention strategies by the government and other stakeholders, and make recommendations for further policy-making and implementation in this field.

By focusing on these objectives, the study sought answers to the following questions:

a) What are the forms of physical violence practiced in heterosexual relationships?
b) What conflict resolution tactics do spouses in heterosexual relationships utilize to resolve spousal violence?
c) How often do spouses engage in physical violence?
d) What are the major causes of physical violence between spouses?
e) How do spouses perceive and respond to acts of physical violence?
f) What are the policy and programmatic interventions that could be put in place to address the problem of physical violence between spouses?

1.4 The Scope of the study

Since an in-depth analysis of the structure of family lie beyond the scope of this thesis, the study focuses only on analysing the dynamics of physical violence between spouses in heterosexual relationships. Narrowing the focus of this study

to inter-spousal physical violence in heterosexual relationships was determined by several factors. First of all, the overall phenomenon of domestic violence is quite broad to be covered in a study of this nature. After a detailed review of existing literature on domestic violence, it became imperative to theoretically and practically to differentiate acts of physical violence between spouses in the domestic space from other forms of violence. We established that physical violence is qualitatively different from other forms of domestic violence. Although physical violence amounts to abuse of the victim like all other forms, the nature of intended harm through physical violence (physical pain and suffering) is unique.

This study also recognizes that either spouse in a heterosexual relationship can become a victim of physical violence; however there is overwhelming evidence from around the world that women are majority of the victims especially through female spouse beating (Davies 1994; Dobash and Dobash 1979; Counts et al 1992). Anthropologist David Levinson (1989) examined records containing descriptive and statistical information on a wide range of societies over time around the world. The findings indicated that female spouse beating is the most common and frequent form of family violence-thus confirming the theory that women are generally considered the "most appropriate" victims of spousal violence. This evidence provided an appropriate background to this study in the sense that although the focus is on spousal violence; specific reference was made to capturing women's voices.

1.5 Justification of the study

This study was conceived at the conclusion of the International Women's Decade (1995). During the Fourth World Conference on Women (4-15 September 1995), it was strongly noted, "domestic violence is an obstacle to the achievement of objectives of equality, development and peace. Violence against women particularly both violates and nullifies the enjoyment by women and their human rights and fundamental freedoms". Since the International Women's Decade domestic violence has become increasingly recognised as deserving international concern and action.

The study was designed to make theoretical contributions in the area of spousal physical violence studies and also generate recommendations on measures that can be adopted to deal with domestic violence. Efforts to gain recognition of spousal physical violence as an issue warranting international concern has been hampered by lack of population based data on abuse and its social and economic consequences. And even where statistics exist, this does not guarantee that they have made the general population aware of the scope of the problem and of the need for action (Richters 1994; Machera 1997).

It is evident that efforts to protect human welfare need to be strengthened and expanded at the local, national and

international levels. However, any strategy to combat domestic violence must attack the root causes of the problem in addition to treating its symptoms. This means establishing the causes and patterns of violence in each unique circumstances and contexts to enable individuals and other relevant bodies to lay out strategies for intervention.

Social scientists therefore need to engage in spousal physical violence discourse from new perspectives. Current generalizations on domestic violence based on western models may be contested with new findings from developing countries. This may involve looking at people-centred definitions of those issues that emerging trends characterise as socially and morally unacceptable. Coming from this direction, one can then assume that probably the reason why violence in the family has not emerged as a social problem is because a large number of people have not defined it as a problem.

Recent emergence of domestic violence as a focus of research must be examined in terms of the same cultural and social forces, which caused its former neglect. The social meaning of violent acts between male spouses and female spouses is an area that is worth studying. The study was confined to physical violence because it is important, theoretically and practically, to differentiate acts of physical violence from other harmful but nonviolent coercive acts. Further, physical violence is qualitatively different from other means of injuring people. This means that although physical violence

shares with other harm producing acts, the central characteristics of malevolence and harm doing intent, the nature of the intended harm, physical pain and suffering is unique. For example physical violence is more likely to lead to scarring, physical impairment and loss of life through death. However this justification does not make other forms of domestic violence less volatile. Secondly unless physical violence is treated separately from other acts, it may be difficult to determine both the causes and the solutions to it.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter contains an analysis of literature on inter spousal physical violence in heterosexual relationships. The chapter is organized into three sections. Section one features the definitions related to the concept of violence in general and domestic inter-spousal violence in particularly; section two, presents the history, causes and consequences of spousal violence; while section three looks at the patterns and trends of domestic/inter-spousal violence within global, African and Kenyan contexts.

2.0 Definitions

2.1. The Scope of 'Violence'

In trying to define heterosexual inter-spousal physical violence, we need to examine the meanings attributed to the term violence by a variety of sources. Robert Litke (1992) notes that, etymologically, 'violence' means to 'carry force towards' something. However, because there are endless ways in which force is carried towards something or someone (Virtually every human action could be described in such a way) it is important to define the concept more narrowly. Litke's reference to *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language* bring to light three distinct elements that

describe the term violence in greater depth (1) the idea of intensity (as in a storm); (2) the idea of injury (3) the idea of physical force (Litke 1992:173). This dictionary does not commit itself to the view that the injury must always result from physical force for 'violence' to be the appropriate word. Robert Audi (1971) makes use of the first two elements and proposes that violence is a vigorous attack or abuse of persons in physical or psychological ways. He supports his proposal by showing that we carry force against people in a variety of physically and psychologically devastating ways. More common in the philosophical literature, however, are narrower views of violence requiring all the three elements: violence is causing injury through the use of vigorous force (Betz 1977) and sometimes it is proposed that a fourth element should be required, namely, that the injury be intended or foreseen (Miller 1989).

In an article entitled *Ethical theory and Social Issues* David Goldberg distinguishes between interpersonal, social and political violence and also includes the notion of psychological attack upon persons (1989:456-455). John Swomley (1972:36) distinguishes between 'overt' and 'covert' violence. In the overt category he includes 'crime, riots, war, revolution and counter-revolution' which he asserts usually involves the use of weapons to injure or kill human beings. The covert type is violence that has been institutionalized in various systems and structures e.g. the family, military, schools etc to keep people from being free. Taking the expansion of the meaning of violence a step further, Newton

Garver (1968) contrasts overt violence to what he calls 'the quiet forms', which do not necessarily involve any overt physical assault on anybody's person or property. The quiet forms of violence may be classified as psychological/emotional, verbal, economic, spiritual and social. There are, however, shifts occurring between the nature and effects of violence as well shifts from perpetrator to victim, thus making the definitional debate more complex.

Perhaps the most comprehensive definition to date has been conjured by the World Health Organization defines violence(2002) as the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation. The definition used by the World Health Organization associates intention with the committing of the act itself, irrespective of the outcome it produces. Excluded from the definition are unintentional incidents - such as most road traffic injuries and burns. The inclusion of the word 'power' in addition to the phrase ''use of physical force'', broadens the nature of a violent act and expands the conventional understanding of violence to include those acts that result from a power relationship, including threats and intimidation. The ''use of power'' also serves to include neglect or acts of omission, in addition to the more obvious violent acts of commission. Thus, 'the use of physical force or power'' should be understood to include neglect and all types of physical, sexual and psychological abuse, as well

as suicide and other self-abusive acts. This definition covers a broad range of outcomes - including psychological harm, deprivation and maldevelopment. This reflects a growing recognition among researchers and practitioners of the need to include violence that does not necessarily result in injury or death, but that nonetheless poses a substantial burden on individuals, families, communities and health care systems worldwide. Many forms of violence against women, children and the elderly, for instance, can result in physical, psychological and social problems that do not necessarily lead to injury, disability or death. These consequences can be immediate, as well as latent, and can last for years after the initial abuse. Defining outcomes solely in terms of injury or death thus limits the understanding of the full impact of violence on individuals, communities and society at large.

The WHO definition of violence puts emphasis to the matter of intentionality where acts of violence occur. Two important points about this should be noted. First, even though violence is distinguished from unintended events that result in injuries, the presence of intent to use force does not necessarily mean that there was intent to cause damage. Indeed, there may be a considerable disparity between intended behavior and intended consequence. A perpetrator may intentionally commit an act that, by objective standards, is judged to be dangerous and highly likely to result in adverse health effects, but the perpetrator may not perceive it as such. As examples, a youth may be involved in a physical fight with another youth. The use of a fist against the head or the

use of a weapon in the dispute certainly increases the risk of serious injury or death, though neither outcome may be intended. A parent may vigorously shake a crying infant with the intent to make the child stop crying. Such an action, however, may instead cause brain damage. Force was clearly used, but without the intention of causing an injury.

A second point related to intentionality lies in the distinction between the intent to injure and the intent to 'use violence'. Violence, according to Walters and Parke (1964), is culturally determined. Some people mean to harm others but based on their cultural backgrounds and beliefs, do not perceive their acts as violent. Goode (1971) tried to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate acts of violence. Distinguishing the two motives for violence has always proved problematic. Usually, offenders, victims, bystanders and agents of social control often accept and tolerate many acts between family members that would be considered illegitimate if committed by strangers (Gelles 1974; Gelles and Straus 1979). The definition used by the World Health Organization, however, defines violence as it relates to the health or well-being of individuals. Certain behaviors - such as hitting a spouse - may be regarded by some people as acceptable cultural practices, but are considered violent acts with important health implications for the individual. Other aspects of violence, though not explicitly stated, are also included in the definition. For example, the definition implicitly includes all acts of violence, whether they are public or private, whether they are reactive (in

response to previous events such as provocation) or proactive (instrumental for or anticipating more self-serving outcomes or whether they are criminal or non-criminal. Each of these aspects is important in understanding the causes of violence and in designing prevention programmes.

In its 1997 declaring violence a leading public health problem, the World Health Assembly called on the World Health Organization to develop a typology of violence that characterized the different types of violence and the links between them. Few typologies exist already and none is very comprehensive. The typology proposed by WHO divides violence into three broad categories according to characteristics of those committing the violent act: self-directed violence; interpersonal violence; collective violence. Self-directed violence is subdivided into suicidal behaviour and self-abuse. The former includes suicidal thoughts, attempted suicides - also called ''parasuicide'' or ''deliberate self-injury'' in some countries - and completed suicides. Self-abuse, in contrast, includes acts such as self-mutilation. Interpersonal violence is divided into two subcategories: Family and intimate partner violence - that is, violence largely between family members and intimate partners, usually, though not exclusively, taking place in the home.

Community violence is violence between individuals who are unrelated, and who may or may not know each other, generally taking place outside the home. The former group includes

forms of violence such as child abuse, intimate partner violence and abuse of the elderly. The latter includes youth violence, random acts of violence, rape or sexual assault by strangers, and violence in institutional settings such as schools, workplaces, prisons and nursing homes. Collective violence is subdivided into social, political and economic violence. Unlike the other two broad categories, the subcategories of collective violence suggest possible motives for violence committed by larger groups of individuals or by states. Collective violence that is committed to advance a particular social agenda includes, for example, crimes of hate committed by organized groups, terrorist acts and mob violence. Political violence includes war and related violent conflicts, state violence and similar acts carried out by larger groups. Economic violence includes attacks by larger groups motivated by economic gain - such as attacks carried out with the purpose of disrupting economic activity, denying access to essential services, or creating economic division and fragmentation. Clearly, acts committed by larger groups can have multiple motives.

WHO observes that the violent acts can be: physical; sexual; psychological or involving deprivation or neglect. These four types of violent acts occur in each of the broad categories and their subcategories described above - with the exception of self-directed violence. For instance, violence against children committed within the home can include physical, sexual and psychological abuse, as well as neglect. Community violence can include physical assaults between young people,

sexual violence in the workplace and neglect of older people in long-term care facilities. Political violence can include such acts as rape during conflicts, and physical and psychological warfare. This typology, while imperfect and far from being universally accepted, does provide a useful framework for understanding the complex patterns of violence taking place around the world, as well as violence in the everyday lives of individuals, families and communities. It also overcomes many of the limitations of other typologies by capturing the nature of violent acts, the relevance of the setting, the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim, and - in the case of collective violence - possible motivations for the violence. However, in both research and practice, the dividing lines between the different types of violence are not always so clear.

More recently, focus has been centred on the gendered nature of 'violence'. O'Toole and Schiffman urge analysts to think about the most consuming events of the last two decades, those that grabbed the attention of the public through news headlines and court television and dominated daily conversation. They offer a few examples " a famed American sports hero is tried for the brutal murder of his ex-spouse and a companion, the suspect is also a former wife beater; Armies bent on 'ethnic cleansing' during the devastating civil war in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda slaughter rival men and use savage serial rapes to subdue and dehumanize women. Three American servicemen are convicted of raping a twelve-year-old school girl on the Japanese island of Okinawa,

showing that military rape is not merely a strategy of war. A US sitting president is accused of raping an intern. Thousands of female children are sold into sexual slavery by impoverished families or kidnapped for sale in lucrative, government sanctioned sex industries around the globe (1997:xi). These diverse events have a common link: male perpetrators, acting alone or in groups, for whom violence and violation are rational solutions to perceived problems ranging from the need to inflate one's sexual self-esteem to denigrating rivals in war to boosting a country's Gross National Product (GNP). They also demonstrate the real harm that women face on a daily basis in a world that views them sometimes as property, often as pawns and usually as secondary citizens in need of control by men. This categorically brings a gender dimension to violence. They thus define gender violence as any interpersonal, organisational, or politically oriented violation perpetrated against people because of their gender identity, sexual orientation, or location in the hierarchy of male-dominated social systems such as families, military organisations, educational institutions or the labour force (O'Toole and Schiffman 1997: xii). This all encompassing definition of violence seeks to understand violence in the context of power and control dimensions in regard to perpetrators and their victims.

It is outside the scope of this study to take up the matter of which is the best definition of the term 'violence' rather, the challenge is to define 'violence' narrowly enough for it to be useful to the purposes of the study. Thus 'violence'

will be defined in the context of the 'domestic' or 'family' space as outlined below.

2.1.1 Domestic Violence

The term domestic violence is used to describe actions and omissions that occur in varying relationships in a family unit. The term is used narrowly to cover incidents of physical attack, when it may take the forms of physical violations such as pushing, pinching, spitting, choking, kicking, hitting, punching, burning, clubbing, stabbing, throwing hot water at or acid or setting on fire. The result of such physical violence may range from bruising to killing and what may often start out as apparently minor attacks can escalate both in intensity and frequency (United Nations 1993). Domestic violence may also be in the form of psychological and mental violence, which can consist of repeated verbal abuse, harassment, confinement and deprivation of physical, financial and personal resources. In addition, contact with family members and friends may be controlled.

Although the forms of violation may vary from one society and culture to another, globally, evidence indicates that violence in families takes many forms such as female spouse/male spouse battering, physical/sexual of children, incest, spousal rape, and elder abuse, and family homicide, financial, social, spiritual and emotional abuse among other forms (Davies 1994, United Nations 1993). Inter spousal violence is one of the

many types of violence likely to occur in a domestic setting. Straus and Gelles cautions that one of the major problems that confront investigators who attempt to study domestic violence has been the quagmire of conceptual dilemmas encountered. For example, the terms *violence* and *abuse*[11] are often used interchangeably by those who study domestic violence. These concepts, however, are not conceptually equivalent. Moreover, there is considerable variation in how each of the concepts is nominally defined.

2.1.2 Spousal Violence

"Spousal violence" refers to the violence or mistreatment that a woman or a man may experience at the hands of a marital, common-law or same-sex partner. Spousal violence may happen at any time during a relationship, including while it is breaking down, or after it has ended. There are many different forms of spousal abuse, and a person may be subjected to more than one form (Department of Justice Canada, 2006).

In this study, the term spousal violence is used interchangeably with inter-spousal violence. In addition, the term "wife beating or female spouse abuse" is used to refer to violence towards females by their male spouses. Any

[11] The term abuse is not only applied to physical assault, but also to malnutrition, failure to thrive, sexual exploitation, educational and mental neglect as well as emotional violations Straus and Gelles (1999:20).

comprehensive analysis of violence should begin by defining the various forms of violence in such a way as to facilitate their scientific measurement. Below are definitions of varied forms of violence interpersonal and community violence.

Physical Violence may consist of just one incident or it may happen repeatedly. It includes using physical force in a way that injures someone - or puts them at risk of being injured- including beating, hitting, shaking, pushing, choking, biting, burning, kicking, or assaulting with a weapon. Other forms of physical abuse may include, for example, rough handling, confinement, or any dangerous or harmful use of force or restraint. **Sexual abuse and exploitation** includes all forms of sexual assault, sexual harassment or sexual exploitation. Forcing someone to participate in unwanted, unsafe or degrading sexual activity, or using ridicule or other tactics to try to denigrate, control or limit their sexuality or reproductive choices is sexual abuse. **Emotional abuse** includes verbal attacks, such as yelling, screaming and name-calling. Using criticism, verbal threats, social isolation, intimidation or exploitation to dominate another person are other forms of emotional abuse. Criminal harassment or "stalking" may include threatening a person or their loved ones, damaging their possessions, or harming their pets. **Economic or financial abuse** includes stealing from or defrauding a partner. Withholding money that is necessary to buy food or medical treatment, manipulating or exploiting a person for financial gain, denying them access to financial resources, or preventing them from working (or controlling

their choice of occupation) are also forms of economic abuse. **Spiritual abuse** includes using a person's religious or spiritual beliefs to manipulate, dominate or control them. It may include preventing someone from engaging in spiritual or religious practices, or ridiculing their beliefs (United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women 1993: Article 2)

2.2 Domestic Violence in Historical Perspective

According to Davidson (1977), domestic violence has occurred for centuries. From the days of ancient Babylon to the rise and fall of the Roman Empire, to the middle ages and its feudal economy, to the twentieth century industrial capitalism, men's rights to use physical force against women was lawful and expected. Although most global societies no longer give men the right to control their wives, remnants of the nineteenth-century patriarchal view of society still exist. According to Virginia Winstanley, historians point out that there are four fundamental concepts that shaped the subordination of women to men. These are patriarchy[12], hierarchy[13], misogyny[14] and polarity[15]. Despite women's growing

[12] Is a system of authority that inserts gender into the hierarchy by insisting that only higher class males are born to be able to control basic resources. This system does not allow women to gain access to control of any basic resources or to have any rights or privileges, including custody of their own children.

[13] Refers to a system of authority in which a relatively few individuals or groups are at the top of the hierarchy and rule others by controlling basic resources such as food, property, shelter, medicine, transportation, education, money, and jobs. Since these people at the top of the hierarchy control these needed resources, they also control people who need access to them. How do people get into this powerful, controlling group in a hierarchical society? They are usually born into

liberation in modern day, nuclear family ideals still keep some women subordinate to men in the household. Some men today, just as they did during the Victorian period, believe that this idea of superiority over their wives gives them the right to control her actions through violence. Although Victorian and modern domestic abuse survivors share similar reasons for becoming trapped in their violent situations, contemporary laws have greatly shifted toward protecting the victim. Domestic violence has plagued marriages since before the nineteenth century. In a time when slave cruelty was a controversial issue, several Northern abolitionists who were strongly opposed to such brutality had no problem using violence against their own wives. Forty percent of divorces granted during the Victorian period were the result of "marital cruelty," showing that women and society were starting to become intolerant of such acts (Glenn 1984). However, even in the present day when women have gained mileage towards equality, and violence in households is strongly looked down upon, spousal abuse is still a growing problem in many countries around the world (Straus and Gelles 1999; FIDA -Kenya 2002; Department of Justice Canada, 2006). Spousal violence is prevalent even in developed countries where the women's liberation movement has covered more ground.

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the ruling social class. Very few people are able to ascend from lower or middle classes into this higher social class group on their own merits.

[14]A belief that gender attributes necessitate the subordination of women based on their negative character traits such as being untrustworthy, illogical, wicked, irresponsible, gullible, or childlike.

[15] A belief that men and women are opposites to one another. In this view, if men are strong and just, then women must be weak and evil.

For example, domestic assault affects 6 million women in the United States each year (Raphael 2000). Most of these abuse victims are between the ages of 16 and 24 (Hoffman 1994). Since the Victorian period, domestic violence has shifted from a problem resulting from social standards to one based on personal values of human rights.

Evidently, nineteenth-century religious beliefs encouraged women's subordination in the household and, therefore, contributed to domestic assault. These principles often led husbands to justify their "right" to use violence to control their wives. For instance early British researchers on the subject found that

> "In the British society, men always had the right to use physical force against their female spouses for just anything. For example, a woman could be beaten if she behaved shamelessly, caused jealousy, was lazy and unwilling to work in the fields, became drunk, spent too much money or neglected the house (Dobash and Dobash 1979: 56)

These ideals created social tolerance of domestic assault (Hammerton 1992). The Victorian period was a time of great religious following. People during the nineteenth-century believed that the Bible supported women's submission and often used biblical quotes to defend such claims (Glenn 1984). This emphasis of religious based subordination suggested that, for a woman to be virtuous and serve God, she must follow the lead

of her husband. In addition this gave men the impression that they had a God given right to control their wives, even if this meant through use of physical correction. In "*Beating the Devil out of them*" Murray Straus observes that "almost all contemporary American parents believe that spanking is sometimes necessary for the child's own good" (1994:4).

During the nineteenth century, domestic principles were based on a patriarchal system. The husband was seen as the superior being in the house. The wife was viewed as being property of her husband, just as one of his slaves or children. As owner of his wife, a man could do as he pleased with and to his spouse because she lacked the power to control her own actions. It was considered a husband's duty to protect his wife, and he was given the right to control and limit her behavior. This authority also allowed for him to use violence, if necessary, in order to keep her in line (Glenn 1984). By these standards a man's domination over his wife created social acceptance of moderate martial cruelty (Hammerton 1992).

2.3 Extent of inter-spousal violence

2.3.1 Global Overview

According to the World Health Organization (2000) one of the most common forms of violence against women is that performed by a husband or an intimate male partner. This is in stark contrast to the situation for men, who in general are much

more likely to be attacked by a stranger or acquaintance than by someone within their close circle of relationships (Crowell and Burgess, 1996; Heise et al, 1994; Koss 1994; Butchart and Brown 1991; Tjaden and Thoennes 2000). The fact that women are often emotionally involved with and economically dependent on those who victimize them has major implications for both the dynamics of abuse and the approaches to dealing with it. Intimate partner violence occurs in all countries, irrespective of social, economic, religious or cultural group. Although women can be violent in relationships with men, and violence is also sometimes found in same-sex partnerships, the overwhelming burden of partner violence is borne by women at the hands of men (Heise et al, 1999; WHO 1997). For that reason, this study deals with the question *of inter-spousal physical violence in heterosexual relationships with specific reference to women's* experiences. Initially viewed largely as a human rights issue, partner violence is increasingly seen as an important public health as well as a social problem.

2.3.2 The Extent of Domestic and Inter-spousal Violence in Africa

The actual extent of inter-spousal violence in the African region may never be accurately known. To date, there are no comprehensive studies on this topic to permit comparability of spousal violence trends in the region. The dearth of literature in the area of domestic violence in Africa was realized as a major gap during the review of literature for this study. However, it is clear that such violence is part

of the dynamics of many family situations. Although African social scientists have made tremendous effort in the study of African societies and families (Kayongo-Male and Onyango 1984; Mbiti 1973; Kenyatta 1978) domestic violence is rarely dealt with as a significant social issue demanding scholarly attention. For example Kayongo-Male and Onyango (1984) in their book *"The Sociology of the African Family"* have outlined numerous problems facing the family institution in Africa today. However, domestic violence does not feature as a major problem in their writing.

Several studies done in parts of Africa however do point out to the prevalence of violence against women in the family. Ofei-Aboagye (1994) writes about the invisibility of domestic violence in Ghana. She notes that Ghana lacks comprehensive studies to support the existence of violence against women in the country. In addition, the invisibility is caused by definitions of 'wife beating' because a large proportion of Ghanaian women consider wife beating as discipline not crime. She notes; 'This is the situation in Ghana. Most women will not talk about their experiences at the hands of abusive partners, nor will they question the existence of domestic violence in their lives or in their communities. This could be the result of traditional precedents of remaining at home, the inability of living an independent life, and, to some extent, may be attributable to religion. Because a Ghanaian wife is not beaten merely for the sake of *beating, rather, as a way of instilling discipline,* most Ghanaian women would deny they are abused(1994:262:266).

Other small scale studies on wife abuse carried out in Ghana show that wife battering is on the increase (Abane, 2000) and that the judicial system as well as the police is insensitive in handling of cases related to wife abuse. Victims who seek redress through these avenues become ridiculed and frustrated as they are encouraged to make out of court settlements. A study among the Yoruba speaking people of in Ibadan, Nigeria shows that wife abuse is prevalent as a result of male dominance and lack of communication between spouses. The social acceptability of violence against wives is evident (Atsenuwa 1995). Accordingly this social tolerance results in a general apathy to domestic violence incidents in the community. In Egypt reports on divorce petitions to the Cairo Personnel Status Court reveal that a number of women suffer from physical violence and ill-treatment. Evidence from Uganda indicates that there is rampant criminal violence against women and children in the home. This has led to the establishment of Uganda, Child & Family Protection Unit in the Uganda Police. Finding from a research conducted by the Uganda police department between January - August/2003 in Northern Uganda, shows that about 1826 women came up to police and reported repeated beatings by their male spouses. Some had broken legs or arms (Alyek 2003). The report notes that in Kapchorwa district, majority of women victims are not aware of their rights because many of them are illiterate and not sensitised on their fundamental human rights. Further evidence indicates that in 1997, women demonstrated in Kampala city in Commemoration of victims of Domestic violence (The Monitor

28/January/1997). Because of the gaps in the law and in the Uganda Constitution of 1995, women Parliamentarians and women NGOs are now working on the Domestic Relation Bills, which is to be tabled in Uganda Parliament for laws on domestic violence to be passed as law, because there is no specific law on domestic violence and harmful culture against women and girls such as female genital mutilation.

2.3.3 The Extent of Inter-spousal Violence in Kenya

In Kenya, violence against women is a serious and widespread problem. According to police records 1,329 cases of rape were reported during the first 9 months of the year 1998, compared to 903 in all of 1997 (Commissioner of Police Report 1998). The available statistics probably underreport the number of incidents, as social mores deter women from going outside their families to report sexual abuse (Machera 1997).

Several NGO's provide counseling and education programs on women's rights problems, particularly sexual harassment and molestation in Kenya. The law carries penalties of up to life imprisonment for rape, but actual sentences are usually no more than 10 years. The rate of prosecution also remains low because of cultural inhibitions against publicly discussing sex, fear of retribution, disinclination of police to intervene in domestic disputes, and unavailability of doctors who otherwise might provide the necessary evidence for conviction (FIDA-K 2002). Female spouse beating is also

prevalent and largely condoned by much of society. Traditional culture permits a man to discipline his female spouse by physical means and is ambivalent about the seriousness of spousal rape. There is no law specifically prohibiting spousal rape. Throughout the year, the media reported a steady stream of cases of violence against women, including widespread spousal abuse (COVAW 2002). ***The Nation,*** a leading Nairobi daily, for several months reserved a full page in each issue for coverage of domestic violence.

Like in most parts of the world, it is difficult to obtain an accurate estimate of the frequency of domestic violence in Kenya because it is under-recognized, under-reported and often occurs within the privacy of the home. Generally, victims of domestic violence do not report the abuse for fear of retaliation and shame, with some women considering physical abuse as part of conjugal relationships life. Even where victims are determined to report to the police, police are not only insensitive, but most stations lack private reporting facilities, with victims often being asked to give personal details in the presence of other people (Machera 1997; FIDA-K 2002). However, to date several groups and institutions have successfully gathered data from small samples, which can adequately inform the situation of domestic violence in Kenya. Secondary and qualitative sources of data from the media, narration of personal experiences to workers in social welfare agencies, the police and organizational reports reflect the adversity of domestic violence in the country. The *1998 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Police did not* reflect the

number of domestic violence cases reported during the period covered by the report, but there was evidence of other gender-based crimes, albeit with conspicuous gaps. The report, for instance provided rape statistics for seven out of the eight provinces in Kenya. In the case of Eastern Province these were subsumed under the broad umbrella of Penal Code offences. Further, only nine incidences of rape were reported in the entire North Eastern Province during this period - a province that is notorious for incidences of banditry and general lawlessness. For the seven provinces reported in 1998 however, there were a total of 1,124 rape cases, an increase nearly 20% from the previous year. Rift Valley Province was notable for the dramatic increase of 69% in the reported incidences. Recent statistics from the police indicate that the number of reported rape cases is on the increase. In the first six months of 1999 alone, 756 cases were reported to the police countrywide. In 2000, 1 675 rape cases were reported to the police countrywide.

A study by Machera (1997) shows that domestic violence in Kenya is prevalent and violence against children is the most frequently reported form of violence, followed by violence against women. Children's violence against parents was the least reported form of violence. The most entrenched type of violence is the one that happens in the home perpetrated by intimate partners (COVAW, 2002 and ANPPCAN, 1994. A recent study by FIDA- Kenya (2002) observed that domestic violence is quite prevalent. Over half of all women respondents had

experienced one form of abuse or another from male spouses, boyfriends, and relatives.

In response to increased calls for attention towards curbing domestic violence, the Government of Kenya has to date published "The Family Protection Bill (2001) and the Children Act (2001). The Family Protection Bill (2001) defines domestic violence as that which includes physical, sexual and mental abuse, as well as harassment. It calls upon the government to set up a special Domestic Violence Family Protection Fund to support victims of domestic violence. The Fund will be used to provide victims with medical treatment, basic necessities, counseling and legal assistance. The family protection bill was debated in parliament but has not been translated into law to date.

Existing research reveals that women and to a certain extent, children and in a few cases men as well, are murdered, physically assaulted, threatened and humiliated within their own homes by partners, parents and siblings, respectively, with whom they should enjoy the greatest trust.

2.3.4 The Dynamics of Inter-spousal Violence

Recent research from industrialized countries suggests that the forms of partner violence that occur are not the same for all couples who experience violent conflict. There would seem

to be at least two patterns (Johnson 1995; Johnson and, Ferraro 2000). A severe and escalating form of violence characterized by multiple forms of abuse, terrorization and threats, and increasingly possessive and controlling behaviour on the part of the abuser and a more moderate form of relationship violence, where continuing frustration and anger occasionally erupt into physical aggression. Although there is evidence from industrialized countries that women engage in common couple violence, there are few indications that women subject men to the same type of severe and escalating violence frequently seen in clinical samples of battered women (Kantor and Jasinski 1998; Johnson and Ferraro 2000). Similarly, research suggests that the consequences of partner violence differ between men and women, and so do the motivations for perpetrating it.

Studies in Canada and the United States have shown that women are far more likely to be injured during assaults by intimate partners than are men, and that women suffer more severe forms of violence (Tjaden and Thoennes 2000; Morse 1995; Brush 1990; Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. 2000). In Canada, female victims of partner violence are three times more likely to suffer injury, five times more likely to receive medical attention and five times more likely to fear for their lives than are male victims (Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. 2000). Where violence by women occurs it is more likely to be in the form of self-defence (Johnson and Ferraro 2000, Saunders 1986; DeKeseredy 1997). In more traditional societies, wife beating is largely regarded as a

consequence of a man's right to inflict physical punishment on his wife - something indicated by studies from countries as diverse as Bangladesh, Cambodia, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zimbabwe (Schuler 1996; Zimmerman 1995; Michau 1998; Armstrong 1998; Gonzalez Montes 1998; Osakue and Hilber 1998; Hassan 1995; Bradley 1985; Jejeebhoy 1998). Cultural justifications for violence usually follow from traditional notions of the proper roles of men and women.

In many settings women are expected to look after their homes and children, and show their husbands obedience and respect. If a man feels that his wife has failed in her role or overstepped her limits - even, for instance, by asking for household money or stressing the needs of the children - then violence may be his response. As the author of the study from Pakistan notes, ''beating a wife to chastise or to discipline her is seen as culturally and religiously justified. Because men are perceived as the 'owners' of their wives, it is necessary to show them who is boss so that future transgressions are discouraged.'' A wide range of studies from both industrialized and developing countries have produced a remarkably consistent list of events that are said to trigger partner violence (Schuler 1996; Zimmerman 1995; Michau 1998; Armstrong 1998; Gonzalez Montes 1998; Osakue and Hilber 1998). These include: not obeying the man; arguing back; not having food ready on time; not caring adequately for the children or home; questioning the man about money or girlfriends; going

somewhere without the man's permission; refusing the man sex; the man suspecting the woman of infidelity.

In many developing countries, women often agree with the idea that men have the right to discipline their wives, if necessary by force. In Egypt, over 80% of rural women share the view that beatings are justified in certain circumstances (El-Zanaty 1995). Significantly, one of the reasons that women cite most often as just cause for beatings is refusing a man sex (El-Zanaty 1995; Rosales 1998; David and Chin 1998; Bawah 1999). Not surprisingly, denying sex is also one of the reasons women cite most often as a trigger for beatings (Zimmerman K. 1995; Wood and Jewkes 1997; Khan 1996; Jenkins 1994). WHO (2002) notes that such tendencies have implications for the ability of women to protect themselves from unwanted pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections.

Societies often distinguish between ''just'' and ''unjust'' reasons for abuse and between ''acceptable'' and ''unacceptable'' levels of violence. In this way, certain individuals - usually husbands or older family members - are given the right to punish a woman physically, within limits, for certain transgressions. Only if a man oversteps these bounds - for example, by becoming too violent or for beating a woman without an accepted cause - will others intervene (Schuler 1996, Gonzalez Montes 1998, Heise 1998). This notion of ''just cause'' is found in much qualitative data on violence from the developing world. One indigenous woman in

Mexico observed, ''I think that if the wife is guilty, the husband has the right to hit her . . . If I have done something wrong . . . nobody should defend me. But if I have not done something wrong, I have a right to be defended'' (Gonzalez 1998). Similar sentiments are found among focus group participants in north and south India (Jejeebhoy 1998). Even where culture itself grants men substantial control over female behaviour, abusive men generally exceed the norm (Rosales 1999, Johnson 1996; Romero 1994).

In general, the current research base is highly skewed towards investigating individual factors rather than community or societal factors that may affect the likelihood of abuse. Indeed, while there is an emerging consensus that an interplay of personal, situational, social and cultural factors combine to cause abuse (Heise 1998, Dutton 1995).

2.3.4.1 Individual factors

Recent reviews on social science literature from North America on risk factors for physically assaulting an intimate partner reveal a number of demographic, personal history and personality factors as consistently linked to a man's likelihood of physically assaulting an intimate partner (Black 1999). Among the demographic factors, young age and low income were consistently found to be factors linked to the likelihood of a man committing physical violence against a partner. Some studies have found a relationship between physical assault and

composite measures of socioeconomic status and educational level, although the data are not fully consistent. The Health and Development Study in Dunedin, New Zealand -one of the few longitudinal, birth cohort studies to explore partner violence - found that family poverty in childhood and adolescence, low academic achievement and aggressive delinquency at the age of 15 years all strongly predicted physical abuse of partners by men at the age of 21 years (Moffitt,Caspi 1999). This study was one of the few that evaluated whether the same risk factors predict aggression by both women and men against a partner.

2.3.4.2 History of violence in family

Among personal history factors, violence in the family of origin has emerged as an especially powerful risk factor for partner aggression by men. Studies in Brazil, Cambodia, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Indonesia, Nicaragua, Spain, the United States and Venezuela all found that rates of abuse were higher among women whose husbands had either themselves been beaten as children or had witnessed their mothers being beaten (Ellsberg 1999; Campbell 1999). Although men who physically abuse their wives frequently have violence in their background, not all boys who witness or suffer abuse grow up to become abusive themselves (Caeser 1998). An important theoretical question here is: what distinguishes those men who are able to form healthy, nonviolent relationships despite childhood adversity from those who become abusive?

2.3.4.3 Alcohol use by men

Another risk marker for partner violence that appears especially consistent across different settings is alcohol use by men (Moreno 1999). Population based surveys from Brazil, Cambodia, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, India, Indonesia, Nicaragua, South Africa, Spain and Venezuela also found a relationship between a woman's risk of suffering violence and her partner's drinking habits (Ellsberg 2000; Rodgers 1994; Nelson and Zimmerman 1996; Hakimi 2001; Moreno 1999; International Clinical Epidemiologists Network 2000; Jewkes 2001). There is, however, a considerable debate about the nature of the relationship between alcohol use and violence and whether it is truly causal. Many researchers believe that alcohol operates as a situational factor, increasing the likelihood of violence by reducing inhibitions, clouding judgment and impairing an individual's ability to interpret cues. Excessive drinking may also increase partner violence by providing ready fodder for arguments between couples. Others argue that the link between violence and alcohol is culturally dependent, and exists only in settings where the collective expectation is that drinking causes or excuses certain behaviours (Gelles 1993; MacAndrew and Edgerton 1969). In South Africa, for example, men speak of using alcohol in a premeditated way to gain the courage to give their partners the beatings they feel are socially expected of them (Abrahams, Jewkes and Laubsher 1999). Despite conflicting opinions about the causal role played by alcohol abuse, the evidence is that women who live with heavy

drinkers run a far greater risk of physical partner violence, and that men who have been drinking inflict more serious violence at the time of an assault (Johnson 1996). According to the survey of violence against women in Canada, for example, women who lived with heavy drinkers were five times more likely to be assaulted by their partners than those who lived with non-drinkers (Rodgers 1994).

2.3.4.4 Personality disorders

A number of studies have attempted to identify whether certain personality factors or disorders are consistently related to partner violence. Studies from Canada and the United States show that men who assault their wives are more likely to be emotionally dependent, insecure and low in self-esteem, and are more likely to find it difficult to control their impulses (Kantor and Jasinski 1998). They are also more likely than their non-violent peers to exhibit greater anger and hostility, to be depressed and to score high on certain scales of personality disorder, including antisocial, aggressive and borderline personality disorders ((Black 1999). Although rates of psychopathology generally appear higher among men who abuse their wives, not all physically abusive men show such psychological disorders. The proportion of partner assaults linked to psychopathology is likely to be relatively low in settings where partner violence is common.

2.3.4.5 Relationship factors

WHO (2002) observes that At an interpersonal level, the most consistent marker to emerge for partner violence is marital conflict or discord in the relationship. Marital conflict is moderately to strongly related to partner assault by men in every study reviewed by (Black 1999). Such conflict has also been found to be predictive of partner violence in a population-based study of women and men in South Africa (Jewkes 2001) and a representative sample of married men in Bangkok, Thailand (Hoffman, Demo and Edwards 1994). In the study in Thailand, verbal marital conflict remained significantly related to physical assault of the wife, even after controlling for socioeconomic status, the husband's stress level and other aspects related to the marriage, such as companionship and stability (Hoffman, Demo and Edwards 1994).

2.3.4.6 Community factors

A high socioeconomic status has generally been found to offer some protection against the risk of physical violence against an intimate partner, although exceptions do exist (Schuler 1996). Studies from a wide range of settings show that, while physical violence against partners cuts across all socioeconomic groups, women living in poverty are disproportionately affected (Ellsberg 2000; Rodgers 1994; Rosales 1999; Larrain 1994; Nelson and Zimmerman 1996; Moreno 1999; Hoffman, Demo and Edwards 1994; Martin 1999; Gonzales and Gavilano 1999; Byrne et al. 1999). It is as yet unclear

why poverty increases the risk of violence - whether it is because of low income in itself or because of other factors that accompany poverty, such as overcrowding or hopelessness. For some men, living in poverty is likely to generate stress, frustration and a sense of inadequacy for having failed to live up to their culturally expected role of providers. It may also work by providing ready material for marital disagreements or by making it more difficult for women to leave violent or otherwise unsatisfactory relationships.

Whatever the precise mechanisms, it is probable that poverty acts as a ''marker'' for a variety of social conditions that combine to increase the risk faced by women (Heise 1998). How a community responds to partner violence may affect the overall levels of abuse in that community. In a comparative study of 16 societies with either high or low rates of partner violence, Counts, Brown & Campbell found that societies with the lowest levels of partner violence were those that had community sanctions against partner violence and those where abused women had access to sanctuary, either in the form of shelters or family support (Counts, Brown and Campbell (1992). The community sanctions, or prohibitions, could take the form either of formal legal sanctions or the moral pressure for neighbours to intervene if a woman was beaten. This ''sanctions and sanctuary'' framework suggests the hypothesis that intimate partner violence will be highest in societies where the status of women is in a state of transition. Where women have a very low status, violence is not ''needed'' to enforce male authority. On the other hand, where women have a

high status, they will probably have achieved sufficient power collectively to change traditional gender roles. Partner violence is thus usually highest at the point where women begin to assume non-traditional roles or enter the workforce. Several other community factors have been suggested as possibly affecting the overall incidence of partner violence, but few of these have been tested empirically.

2.3.4.7 Societal factors

Research studies across cultures have come up with a number of societal and cultural factors that might give rise to higher levels of violence. Levinson, for example, used statistical analysis of coded ethnographic data from 90 societies to examine the cultural patterns of wife beating - exploring the factors that consistently distinguish societies where wife beating is common from those where the practice is rare or absent (Levinson 1989). Levinson's analysis suggests that wife beating occurs more often in societies in which men have economic and decision-making power in the household, where women do not have easy access to divorce, and where adults routinely resort to violence to resolve their conflicts. The second strongest predictor in this study of the frequency of wife beating was the absence of all-women workgroups. Levinson advances the hypothesis that the presence of female workgroups offers protection from wife beating because they provide women with a stable source of social support as well as economic independence from their husbands and families.

Various researchers have proposed a number of additional factors that might contribute to higher rates of partner violence. It has been argued, for example, that partner violence is more common in places where war or other conflicts or social upheavals are taking place or have recently taken place. Where violence has become commonplace and individuals have easy access to weapons, social relations - including the roles of men and women -are frequently disrupted. During these times of economic and social disruption, women are often more independent and take on greater economic responsibility, whereas men may be less able to fulfill their culturally expected roles as protectors and providers. Such factors may well increase partner violence, but evidence for this remains largely anecdotal. Others have suggested that structural inequalities between men and women, rigid gender roles and notions of manhood linked to dominance, male honor and aggression, all serve to increase the risk of partner violence (Heise 1998). Again, although these hypotheses seem reasonable, they remain to be proved by firm evidence.

2.4 The consequences of intimate partner violence

The consequences of abuse are profound, extending beyond the health and happiness of individuals to affect the well-being of entire communities. Living in a violent relationship affects a woman's sense of self-esteem and her ability to participate in the world. Studies have shown that abused women are routinely restricted in the way they can gain access to information and services, take part in public life, and

receive emotional support from friends and relatives. Not surprisingly, such women are often unable properly to look after themselves and their children or to pursue jobs and careers.

2.4.1 Impact on health

A growing body of research evidence is revealing that sharing her life with an abusive partner can have a profound impact on a woman's health. Violence has been linked to a host of different health outcomes, both immediate and long-term. Although violence can have direct health consequences, such as injury, being a victim of violence also increases a woman's risk of future ill health. As with the consequences of tobacco and alcohol use, being a victim of violence can be regarded as a risk factor for a variety of diseases and conditions. Studies show that women who have experienced physical or sexual abuse in childhood or adulthood experience ill-health more frequently than other women - with regard to physical functioning, psychological well-being and the adoption of further risk behaviours, including smoking, physical inactivity, and alcohol and drug abuse (McCauley et al. 1995; Golding 1996; Leserman 1996; Koss et al 1991; Walker 1999; Dickinson 1999; Felitti 1998).

A history of being the target of violence puts women at increased risk of: depression; suicide attempts; chronic pain syndromes; psychosomatic disorders; physical injury;

gastrointestinal disorders; irritable bowel syndrome and a variety of reproductive health consequences. Women who live with violent partners have a difficult time protecting themselves from unwanted pregnancy or disease. Violence can lead directly to unwanted pregnancy or sexually transmitted infections, including HIV infection, through coerced sex, or else indirectly by interfering with a woman's ability to use contraceptives, including condoms (Heise, Ellsberg and Gottemoeller 1999; Heise , Moore and Toubia (1995).

Violence during pregnancy has been associated with: miscarriage; late entry into prenatal care; stillbirth; premature labour and birth; fetal injury; low birth weight, a major cause of infant death in the developing world. Intimate partner violence accounts for a substantial but largely unrecognized proportion of maternal mortality (Heise, Ellsberg and Gottemoeller 1999; Curry, Perrin and Wall 1998; Bullock and, McFarlane 1989; Murphy 2001; Parker, McFarlane and, Valdez-Santiago and Sanin-Aguirre 1996; Valladares 1999). A recent study among 400 villages and seven hospitals in Pune, India, found that 16% of all deaths during pregnancy were the result of partner violence (Ganatra, Coyaji and Rao 1998). Partner violence also has many links with the growing AIDS epidemic. In six countries in Africa, for instance, fear of ostracism and consequent violence in the home was an important reason for pregnant women refusing an HIV test, or else not returning for their results (Brown 1998). Similarly, in a recent study of HIV transmission between heterosexuals in rural Uganda, women who reported being forced to have sex

against their will in the previous year had an eightfold increased risk of becoming infected with HIV (Quigley 2000).

2.4.2 Physical and Mental health

Obviously, violence can lead to injuries, ranging from cuts and bruises to permanent disability and death. Population-based studies suggest that 40-72% of all women who have been physically abused by a partner are injured at some point in their life (Tjaden and Thoennes 2000; Ellsberg et al 2000; Rodgers 1994; O'Conner 1995; Nelson and Zimmerman 1996; Romkens 1997). In Canada, 43% of women injured in this way received medical care and 50% of those injured had to take time off from work. Injury, however, is not the most common physical outcome of partner abuse. More common are ''functional disorders'' - a host of ailments that frequently have no identifiable medical cause, such as irritable bowel syndrome, fibromyalgia, gastrointestinal disorders and various chronic pain syndromes (WHO 2002). Studies consistently link such disorders with a history of physical or sexual abuse (Leserman 1996, Walker 1997; Walker 1993; Delvaux, Denis and Allemand 1997). Women who have been abused also experience reduced physical functioning, more physical symptoms and a greater number of days in bed than non-abused women (Golding 1996; Leserman 1996; McCauley 1995; Romkens 1997; Walker 1997; Sutherland, Bybee and Sullivan 1998). Women who are abused by their partners suffer more depression, anxiety and phobias than non-abused women, according to studies in Australia, Nicaragua, Pakistan and the United States (Roberts 1998;

Ellsberg 1999; Fikree and Bhatti 1999; Danielson 1998). Research similarly suggests that women abused by their partners are at heightened risk for suicide and suicide attempts (Bailey 1997; Rosales 1999; Bergman 1991; Kaslow 1998; Abbott 1995; Amaro 1990).

2.4.3 Economic impact of violence

In addition to its human costs, violence places an enormous economic burden on societies in terms of lost productivity and increased use of social services. Among women in a survey in Nagpur, India, for example, 13% had to forgo paid work because of abuse, missing an average of 7 workdays per incident, and 11% had been unable to perform household chores because of an incident of violence (India SAFE Steering Committee. 1999). Although partner violence does not consistently affect a woman's overall probability of being employed, it does appear to influence a woman's earnings and her ability to keep a job (Morrison and Orlando 1999; Browne, Salomon and Bassuk 1999; Lloyd and Taluc 1999). A study in Chicago, IL, United States, found that women with a history of partner violence were more likely to have experienced spells of unemployment, to have had a high turnover of jobs, and to have suffered more physical and mental health problems that could affect job performance. They also had lower personal incomes and were significantly more likely to receive welfare assistance than women who did not report a history of partner violence (Lloyd and Taluc 1999). Similarly, in a study in Managua, Nicaragua, abused women earned 46% less than women who did not report

suffering abuse, even after controlling for other factors that could affect earnings (Morrison and Orlando 1999).

2.4.4 Impact on children

Children are often present during domestic altercations. In a study in Ireland (O'Conner 1995), 64% of abused women said that their children routinely witnessed the violence, as did 50% of abused women in Monterrey, Mexico (Granados 1996). Children who witness marital violence are at a higher risk for a whole range of emotional and behavioral problems, including anxiety, depression, poor school performance, low self-esteem, disobedience, nightmares and physical health complaints (Ellsberg 2000; McCloskey, Figueredo and Koss 1995; Edleson 1999; Jouriles, Murphy and O'Leary 1989). Indeed, studies from North America indicate that children who witness violence between their parents frequently exhibit many of the same behavioral and psychological disturbances as children who are themselves abused (Edleson 1999; Jaffe, Wolfe and Wilson 1990). Recent evidence suggests that violence may also directly or indirectly affect child mortality (Jejeebhoy 1998). Researchers in Leo´n, Nicaragua, found that after controlling for other possible confounding factors, the children of women who were physically and sexually abused by a partner were six times more likely to die before the age of 5 years than children of women who had not been abused. Partner abuse accounted for as much as one-third of deaths among children in this region.

Another study in the Indian states of Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh found that women who had been beaten were significantly more likely than non-abused women to have experienced an infant death or pregnancy loss (abortion, miscarriage or stillbirth), even after controlling for well-established predictors of child mortality such as the woman's age, level of education and the number of previous pregnancies that had resulted in a live birth (Jejeebhoy 1998a).

2.5 The gender basis of inter-spousal violence

Studies that seek to examine incidents of male to female spousal relationships in human societies must incorporate gender as a key variable. Thus social-cultural factors that influence gender construction must be singled out while investigating the subject of violence in spousal relationships The forms that gender violence assumes e.g. rape, battering, child abuse, sexual harassment, and female spouse beating among others comprise some of the most pressing social problems of our times (Pizzey 1977; Dobash and Dobash 1979;Davies 1994).

Given the centrality of gender and the ubiquity of violence it is no wonder that the two are interwoven in our social systems. Gender violence entails serious personal, social as well as economic repercussions. For example, whether violence is enacted in the streets, at home, at the workplace, in institutions of learning etc., it is direct interference with an individuals' right to enjoy life, as it ought to be. For

example, female spouse battering instils a lifelong fear in the victim, female genital mutilation interferes with a woman's natural sexual senses and processes, and rape consumes the victims' dignity and integrity, an equivalent of social murder as Winkler states;

> "Rape is an experience of social death. Rapists want to socially exterminate us. Victims' fear of death is not an imaginary experience. Our fears are a result of the rapist's intentions. I argue for such a definition of rape as a social murder, not just from my hate of the act, but to explain the meaning of rape. If we don't understand these acts of horror, and if we cannot succinctly define them as they really exist and are experienced, then people in this culture from jurors to our family members will continue to support rapists and their acts of horror". (Richter's 1994:13).

To render an accurate definition of gender violence, rationalisation of trends and patterns associated with it is crucial. In this respect, analysis of gender construction is inevitable. Furthermore, conceptualisation of gender identities and stereotypes emerges as a vital link towards understanding why people are violent towards one other. The variability of gender related behaviours and their dependence on specific situational contexts are increasingly recognised by a broad range of social and psychological researchers. According to several theoretical formulations the situational context in which domestic violence occurs is what leads to a clear definition of gender-based violence (Engels 1948,

Kaufman 1997, Sanday 1997, Alder 1992). Like all other historical manifestations, gender violence is produced within caste, class, and patriarchal social relations in which male power dominates. In such relationships, women are seen as lesser beings and are understood only through the functionality of their sexual and gender roles. One explanation, which can be rendered, is that the aggressor who is predominantly male, directs power and violence to the victim who is usually female and sees them as-sex-object or as nurturer or care giver. The argument here is that when men abuse women they do not see them as "equal beings" or natural "individuals" but they perceive them as the "stereotyped beings" they are. When violence occurs in this context, then it can be interpreted as gender-based violence. For example, women who are raped in their conjugal relationships depict the stereotyped "female roles" of attending to the "sexual needs" of men. In most relationships, women who fail to perform their gender-specific roles such as cooking; cleaning, washing, ironing etc. run the risk of being severely punished.

Conceptually, in the power relations of patriarchy, maleness is glorified and femaleness is denigrated. These ideological underpinnings of patriarchal power relations serve as ample justification for men's' use of violence against women because maleness becomes the standard of normality and femaleness is abnormal. A male researcher echoes his view about gender-violence by stating that;

" It is difficult to believe that such widespread violence (against women-whether spouse assault, spousal rape or spousal murder or woman assault, rape and murder outside the sanctity of the home) is the responsibility of a small lunatic fringe of psychopathic men. That sexual violence is so pervasive supports the view that the locus of violence against women rests squarely in the middle of what culture defines as "normal" interactions between women and men" (Johnson 1980: 145, Russell and Howell 1983: 688).

Thus, as Schur (1988) suggests, the definition of female behaviour as somehow non-normative, a neat example of social construction of deviance, sets in motion the process of stigmatisation, which in turn becomes the rationalisation for both gender stratification (patriarchy and sexually based terrorism). Another analysis of gender-based violence lies in a more deep value base of femininity. As much as the broader gendered classification sees all females as opposite of males, in the female is expected a "good" woman and a "bad" woman. And this probably explains why not all men are violent in relationships and not all women become victims of violent relationships simply because a man may be living with a woman who is "good" and similarly a woman can strive to be "good" to avoid chastisement. However, this value base does not in any way explain the reason why in some communities where practices such as wife beating, both good and bad women are affected. Such interplay does imply two important things about the character of men even in the patriarchal context. That, men can dominate without violence so long as the women they are

living with are "good" and on the other hand women can avoid conflict by avoiding being "bad". Both ways, the woman determines her fate.

An objective definition of gender violence must give a well-rounded and clearly focused analysis of the interplay between the construction of masculinity and femininity in the society. Analysis of male violence points out that the social construction of masculinity entails assumptions of power, and that both masculinity and power are linked to aggression and violence. Thus male to male confrontations are also confirmations of masculinity: a means of testing and establishing power in relation to other men (Messerschmidt, 1986, Daly and Wilson, 1988). Morgan (1987) points out those constructions of both masculinity and violence are in fact variable and diffuse; there are different masculinities and some violence is legitimated while some is not. For example, he notes that even within groups that encourage violence, in some circumstances a man who can control his violence may be held in higher regard than one who engages in indiscriminate violence. That is, in some male groups the control of violence is as much an expression of masculinity as engaging in violence. In further analysis of the various constructions of masculinity and their relationships to violent behaviour, Morgan argues that this will facilitate the identification of ways to alter some violent processes. Since at present there is very little research in this area, it is not possible to discuss in detail changes or variations in the construction of masculinity and violence and the relationship between these

across time or space. However, in many cultures masculinity and power are linked to the ability to protect and materially support a family. The relationship between economic status and violence has been the object of extensive research and it is in this arena that the consequences of social and economic changes for violent crimes are almost evident in and outside the family.

On the other hand, recent research has proved that if masculinity denotes power and aggression, femininity does not necessarily imply the opposite (docility and helplessness). For example, Mcneely and Robinson-Simpson (1987) have argued that women are just as violent as men are and that a "battered male spouse syndrome" in America exists. Their basic argument is that in terms of acts of aggression, women perform as many as or more acts of aggression against their partners than vice-versa. Such findings surprisingly by feminist researchers brought in a highly charged controversy that essentially, publicly, completed the cycle of violence in the family. However such scholars have been criticised for ignoring issues of context i.e. what leads a woman to use aggression, the extent of control and women's' lack of power relative to men (Bograd 1990; Saunders 1988). For example, whereas women may be motivated to use aggression largely in self defence and as a way of escaping lifetime battering (Makepeace 1986), men appear to use the most lethal forms of aggression, such as homicide in an attempt to control and dominate women (Bograd 1990, Straus et. al 1980, Straus and Gelles 1990). It certainly does, and though women violent

episode their male abusers, quite often, it is in self-defence. This argument however does not constitute mutual battering.

Gender violence, located in the family, should be seen to include exploitation, discrimination, unequal access to economic and social resources, the creation of an atmosphere of terror (threats and reprisals) to all members of a family unit defined here as nuclear and or extended family (including children) and other forms of religio-cultural violence. The focus of gendered domestic violence is so broad that it encompasses any negative effect for women, men and children and of unequal gender relations in society. The approach to domestic violence from a gender perspective demands a discussion and analysis of social and cultural conditions, which promote and facilitate violence between members of a family unit. In recent years, feminist research in particular has drawn attention to male violence towards women.

One of the most interesting phenomena in the unfolding discourse on domestic violence is the fact that violence is not gender neutral (O'Toole 1997). For example, while in heterosexual relationships women are sometimes violent and in exceptional cases men are injured or killed. In developed and developing societies, studies indicate that between 20 per cent and 67 per cent of women have experienced violence in intimate heterosexual relationships. The very prevalence of female spouse battering unmasks the prevailing concepts of

normalcy and functionality (Schechter 1982, Dobash and Dobash 1979). According to Dobash and Dobash 1992, while many theories have been advanced to explaining domestic violence, gender inequality is the key. Consistent with this view, the United Nations in a report entitled *"Violence against Women in the family"* concludes that:

> "There is no simple explanation for violence against women in the home. Certainly, any explanation must go beyond the individual characteristics of the man, the woman and the family and look to the structure of relationships and the role of society in underpinning that structure. In the end analysis, it is perhaps best to conclude that violence against female spouses is a function of the belief fostered in all cultures that men are superior and that the women they live with are their possessions or chattels that they can treat as they wish and as they consider appropriate". (United Nations 1989:13).

Apart from domestic violence, maleness has been associated with other types of violent crimes in the world. For example, Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) and Daly and Wilson (1988) found that across time and cultures, relatively young, economically marginalized males perpetrate violent crime. Frequently, as indicated in homicide research, most violence is male to male (Polk and Ranson, 1991; Daly and Wilson 1988, Wallace 1986). Research in countries such as Australia and the United States indicates that, somewhat, more than three-quarters of all homicide perpetrators, and two-thirds of all homicide victims, are male (Wallace, 1986; Wolfgang and Ferracuti 1967). These statistics reveal yet another interesting trend of gender

based violence, i.e. domestic violence between men, which, in the family setting has not been given enough attention. But the question here is what has maleness or masculinity got to do with violence?

While violence has been recognized as a predominantly male phenomenon, the maleness or masculinity of the perpetrator has not been a focus of research. Yet masculinity is gendered, it is socially constructed. For example, while a range of social characteristics of violent perpetrators have been analysed (their age, class, education, religion, race), their gender has been virtually ignored (Allen, 1988:16). Recognizing the "maleness" of violent crime, feminist researchers have recently argued that male violence against women is an expression of male power to maintain their relative status and authority over women. Support for this argument is provided by an analysis of the main sources of conflict, which result in male violence towards women. Possessiveness and jealousy, expectations regarding women's domestic work, a sense of right to punish "their" women for wrongdoing and the importance of maintaining or exercising authority have been mentioned among others (Dobash and Dobash 1992:4).

Around the world, activists have broken much of the silence surrounding gender-based violence and forged commitments to end it. Yet, no nation can claim that its family institution is safe and free of domestic violence which in our analysis is gender based. Gender-based violence, whether it occurs on the

streets or in homes, mainly affects women and children of every nation, belief, class, race and ethnic group. It is mainly perpetrated by men, silenced by custom, institutionalized in laws and state systems, and passed from one generation to the next (Carrillo 2002).

While the manifestations of violence against women vary with different economic, social and cultural contexts, there is no doubt that the phenomenon is universal and a major factor in the subordination of women worldwide. In the 1980s, when violence against women first became a major issue for women's movements in every region, the focus was on acts of overt physical and sexual violence. By the 1990s, the definition had been expanded to include more structural forms of gender-based violence. Certain cultural practices, like son-preference, dowry customs, and virginity tests, for example, were highlighted as demeaning to women and fostering conditions that normalize and tolerate abuses of women's rights. In this way, violence against women increasingly has been understood as encompassing all forms of discrimination that create an environment in which such abuses can be perpetrated with impunity and, sometimes, even with social sanction (Reilly 2003).

The relationship between gender based violence and domestic violence is evidenced by the fact that majority of women are victimized within the precincts of the home and majority of the perpetrators happen to be male spouses, boyfriends or

former boyfriends. Domestic violence can happen in families from any class. Given the limitations of existing research, it is difficult to generalize about the social position of victims of domestic violence. However, some research shows an overrepresentation of victims who are economically disadvantaged and from younger age-groups (Marsdsen 1978). Nevertheless, much of the information that is available is based on studies of people who come to the attention of agency officials. These people may be less able to protect their private lives from official scrutiny. For instance, women from the middle and upper classes are less likely to use women's emergency housing. In some countries, public hospitals are used primarily by the economically disadvantaged. The wealthy are able to take advantage of private doctors and clinics whose records are not usually open to researchers. Furthermore, records from social work or welfare agencies, in general, contain information on less privileged groups who must respond to government enquiries in order to get government services and assistance. Wealthy people are more able to insulate themselves from government and police attention (Davies 1994a).

2.6 Domestic Violence from a human rights perspective

It has been observed, "the concept of human rights is one of the few moral visions ascribed to internationally" (Bunch 1992:4). Domestic violence violates the principles that lie at the heart of this moral vision: the inherent dignity and worth of all members of the human family, the inalienable

right to freedom from fear and want and the equal rights of men and women (Universal Declaration 1948). Yet until recently it has been difficult to conceive of domestic violence as a human rights issue under international law. Domestic violence was first brought into the international limelight under the banner of violation of human rights of women during the first International Women's Conference held in Mexico (1975). This was a critical first step in framing abuses of women's rights within the international human rights system. It thereafter took women's organizations decades of constant and concerted effort to attain international recognition of the fact that violence against women, at home or in the public space is a violation of human rights. Today, around the world, much of the silence surrounding domestic violence has been broken and commitments to end it have been forged in most countries (Carrillo 2002, 1992).

However, even though it is acknowledged that the violations of individuals' rights to life, liberty and security with the family are gross and shocking, there are still many opponents to tackling domestic violence as an issue of human rights. It is evident within available literature that domestic violence has not traditionally been analyzed as a human rights issue because it has been understood, both at the domestic and international levels to be a "private" issue and as such, outside the scope of international human rights law. It is worthy noting that the concept of human rights developed largely from ideas in Western political theory about rights of

the individual to autonomy and freedom (Peterson 1990, Fineman and Mykitiuk 1994).

Fineman and Mykitiuk (1994) observed that International human rights law evolved in order to protect those individual rights from limitations that might be imposed on them by states. States are bound by international law to respect the individual rights of each and every person, and are thus accountable for abuses of those rights. The aim of the human rights movement is to enforce states' obligations in this regard by denouncing violations of their duties under international law (Eisler 1987, p.287). Fineman and Mykitiuk 1994) argue that the exclusive focus on the behavior of states confines the operation of international human rights law entirely within the public sphere. To date a number of scholars have made analytical efforts to show the gender-based character of public/private sphere division with an aim of exposing the "public" aspects of "private" violence.

The first set of issues that have been dealt with is the gender-neutral nature of and gender-neutral application of international human rights law (Richters 1994, Fineman and Mykitiuk 1994, Bunch 1992, Charlesworth 1991). The rights embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are defined as belonging to "all human beings", not just men. However although international law is gender neutral in theory, in practice it interacts with gender-biased domestic laws and social structures that relegate women and men to

separate spheres of existence: private and public (Fineman and Mykitiuk 1994). Charlesworth (1990) observes that "men exist as public, legal entities in all countries, and, barring an overt abuse by the state, participate in public life and enjoy the full extent of whatever civil and political rights exist. Women, however, even when not explicitly excluded from protection by law, are in every country socially and economically disadvantaged in practice and in fact. Therefore, women's capacity to participate in public life is routinely circumscribed". Fineman and Mykitiuk (1994) further elucidate that this gender bias, if unchallenged, becomes so embedded in the social structure that it often assumes the form of a social or cultural norm seemingly beyond the purview of state's responsibility, rather than a violation of women's human rights for which the state is accountable. In some cases even civil and political rights violations against women committed directly by state actors have been shrugged off as acceptable.

When gender-neutral international human rights law is applied in these gender-biased contexts, those making the application do not necessarily challenge the gender bias embedded in the social structure or in the state's determination of its responsibilities. This is also because traditional human rights theory primarily focuses on violation perpetrated by the state against individuals e.g. torture, wrongful imprisonment and arbitrary executions. Under this framework, mainstream theorists did not recognize domestic violence as human rights issues because individuals, not the state,

perpetrate violent acts in the home. This attitude has since been re-conceptualised through the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Previously human rights practice, human rights organizations often did not challenged the relegation of women and what happened to them in the private sphere and thus allowed social cultural justifications to deter them from denouncing restrictions on women's capacity to participate in public life (Blatt 1992). In most cases, with the absence of a challenge to states' consistent relegation of women to the private sphere, international law's application can have the effect of reinforcing, even, replicating, the exclusion of women's rights abuses including domestic violence, from the public sphere and, therefore, from the state's international obligations. Fineman and Mykitiuk have observed that;

> "nowhere is the effect on international human rights practice of the public/private split more evident than in the case of domestic violence- which literally happens 'in private'- for example often, murder, rape and physical abuse of women in the home are dismissed by states as private, family matters and routinely escape government action" (1994:325-326).

In their analysis, at least four factors are identified as having caused the exclusion of domestic violence, in particular, from international human rights practice. These are i) traditional concepts of state responsibility under international law and practice ii) misconceptions about the

nature and extent of domestic violence and state's responses to it iii) the neglect of equality before and equal protection of the law without regard to sex as a governing human rights principle and lastly iv) the failure by states to recognize their affirmative obligation to provide remedies for domestic violence crimes. It is evident however, that, these factors, independently and in relation to one another are beginning to change and, with them, so is the treatment of domestic violence under international law. The United Nations bodies started addressing the problem of violence in the 1980s, but neither women nor human rights were first mentioned (Tomasevski 1993). The collective power of women's organizations was demonstrated when a United Nations treaty body declared that gender-based violence is an "abrogation of women's human rights". In January 1992 the Committee on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which monitors implementation of the women's human rights treaty, adopted a general recommendation and comments stating exactly how the Women's Convention covers violence against women (in public and in private) and what governments should do to stop the violence in both public and private spaces.

The recognition of violence against women as a human rights violation, and the implementation of legal and policy measures to make this recognition a reality have been pivotal goals of the international movement for women's human rights. For example, the Vienna Tribunal on Violations of Women's Human Rights (1993) - a major event at the NGO forum of the second

World Conference on Human Rights -- highlighted violence against women as a global human rights emergency and called on governments and the UN to take actions commensurate with the scale and gravity of the problem. As a result of the extensive efforts of women's human rights advocates, especially around the UN World Conference on Human Rights (Vienna, 1993), many concrete commitments to tackle violence against women as a human rights abuse now exist at the international level. For example, the 1994 appointment by the UN Commission on Human Rights of the Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, its Causes and Consequences, and the ongoing renewal of the Rapporteur's mandate to the present day, can be viewed as an indicator of the commitment to this issue on the part of the women's movements globally, as well as on the part of the international community.

In societies (like ours-Kenya), where conservative thinking around gender issues is still strongly rooted, one must bank on the human rights approach as presented in the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) to effectively tackle the domestic violence issue. Many times in the course of this study have a number of people asked me, "why study domestic violence? Is it a problem? If it is a problem, why has it been condoned by communities for centuries? ". It is true that violence against women has continued through out history unreported and unchallenged. Many opponents of tackling violence against women claim that it even has nothing to do with human rights. According to such views, "only relations between the state and the

individual pertain to human rights, what people do to each other is excluded, in other words governments do not have to act to protect women from being beaten, raped or killed". The International movement against violence has to date proved, through word and deed, how erroneous such views are.

2.7 Feminism and domestic violence

In recent years feminist research in particular, has drawn attention to male violence towards women, a lot more attention had been given to the study of child abuse earlier on. One of the most interesting phenomena in the unfolding discourse on domestic violence is the fact that domestic violence is not gender neutral. For example, while in heterosexual relationships women sometimes-violent episode back and in exceptional cases men are injured or killed, severe repeated domestic violence is overwhelmingly initiated on women. Nor is this violence isolated, random or explicable by the abnormal characteristics of the abuser or victim or by family dysfunction.

In developed and developing societies, studies indicate that between 20 per cent and 67 per cent of women have experienced violence in intimate heterosexual relationships. The very prevalence of female spouse battering unmasks the prevailing concepts of normalcy and functionality (Schechter, 1982, Dobash and Dobash 1980). According to Dobash and Dobash,

while many theories have been advanced to explaining domestic violence, gender inequality is the key.

2.8 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This section highlights theories that were adopted to provide a bearing for this study.

2.8.1 Study's Guiding Theoretical Framework

Three theories have been utilized to provide a bearing to this study. These are the social situational theory, which comes under the psychopathological model; the cultural norm theory, which emerges from the feminist model; and lastly the social exchange theory, which emerges from the family model. The components of each of these theories and their relevance to this study are explained below;

2.8.2 Social structural theory

The structural approach to violence begins with the assumption that deviance is unevenly distributed in the social structure (Durkheim, 1951; Merton 1938), with violence being more common among those occupying lower social economic positions. Second, it is postulated that people in certain structural positions (e.g. low social economic status) suffer greater frustrations. This theory further construes that personality problems tend to arise from social antecedents such as domestic conflict, unemployment, isolation, unwanted

pregnancies, stress, extra-spousal infidelity and from many other factors within the family. Accordingly, a frequent response to these frustrations and deprivations is to react with violence (Coser 1967:59). Such reaction is further institutionalized through differential socialization which leads to those reared in different segments of the society to use different modes of dealing with stress and frustration (Steimetz and Straus 1974).

Adherents of the social situational theory argue that domestic violence is caused by two main factors. The first refers to structural stresses within the family. The primary focus is upon the determination of characteristics of the family structure that lead to high levels of domestic violence. The family is therefore viewed as a unique social grouping with a high potential for frustration and violence (Gelles and Straus 1979). Societal trends on family structure have also been cited as contributing to domestic violence. For example, the increased social isolation of families in today's society is said to neutralize those inhibitive and supportive agents that might otherwise counteract violent tendencies. Therefore, those families that most lack close personal friendships, typifying a stable relationship, are considered at greater risk of domestic violence (Steinmetz, 1980). Secondly, this model indicates that such structural stresses such as low income, unemployment, limited educational resources, and illness are unevenly distributed in society and whereas all groups are expected to be parents, male spouses, and caring female spouses, only some groups get sufficient resources to

meet these demands. Others, fall considerably short of being able to have the psychological, social and economic resources to meet the expectations of the society, friends, neighbours, relatives, loved ones and themselves, thus creating a fertile pre-requisite for personality disorders. An advantage of the structural approach to violence is that it already integrates much of the current thinking about interpersonal violence. It includes in it references to frustrations, learning experience and sub-cultural modes of adapting to stress.

The social situational theory is suitable in the explanation of the prevalence of severe forms of violence that are frequently reported in the Kenya media (Machera 1997). Some of the forms of violation are so severe that one would think of an increase in people with mental problems in the society. The social situational model goes a step further to explain why personality disorders would increase in the society. According to this model exogenous factor are likely to contribute to personality maladjustment than endogenous factors. In review, the social situational theory presupposes that families who suffer frustrations because of unachieved goals are likely have more experiences of interpersonal violence. Thus, families occupying lower social positions are more prone to violence than those in the higher rungs of the social ladder (Gelles 1974). A review of media reporting on family violence in Kenya, found close association between violence such as homicide, amputation of limps and scalding with hot water with poverty in the society (Machera, 1997).

This theory further proposes that spousal social factors such as age, level of education, occupational status and religion are loosely associated with incidences of violence. The contribution of these factors to inter-spousal violence is investigated in this study.

2.8.3 Cultural norm theory

The cultural norm theory is also referred to as *Culture-of-Violence Theory* (Straus et al 1979). The theory falls in place with the feminist model on domestic violence. In this approach domestic violence is seen as a part of a total social context that tolerates the subordination of women and the use of violence against them as a solution to frustration and conflict. Female spouse abuse is seen as the product of an interrelated and complex set of values wherein women are regarded as inferior to men, suffering discrimination in employment and education and being grossly under represented in all areas of social and political life. This inferiority is confirmed particularly within intimate relationships wherein men are assumed to be dominant and women are more dependent on men. The analysis further suggests the subordination of women within relationships and therefore, domestic violence, is condoned by cultural values that emphasise the privacy and autonomy of the family, rendering outside agencies loath to interfere, or if they do so, to stress reconciliation. (Dobash and Dobash 1980:216) summarises this theoretical framework is as follows:

"We propose the correct interpretation of violence between male spouses and female spouses which conceptualizes such violence as extension of the domination and control of male spouses over their female spouses. This control is historically and socially constructed. The beginning of an adequate analysis of violence between male spouses and female spouses is the consideration of the history of the family, of the status of women therein and of violence directed against them. This analysis will substantiate our claim that violence in the family should be understood primarily as coercive control".

That is what is seen as culturally normal though in real sense it amounts to abuse and violence. This explanation goes beyond an analysis on psychological or social causes, noting the pervasiveness and acceptability of violence against women in the home and roots its cause in the structure of society itself. It suggests that female spouse battery is neither a private nor a family problem, but rather a reflection of the broad gendered structures of sexual and economic inequality in the society. Indeed, it suggests that violence by male spouses against female spouses is not a breakdown of the social order at all, not an aberration, but rather, "an affirmation of a particular social order"(Freeman 1984), i.e. arising out of the socio-cultural belief that women are less important and less valuable than men and so are not entitled to equal respect. The *Culture-of-Violence Theory* proposes that differential distribution of violence is a function of differential cultural norms and values concerning violence

(Wolfgang and Ferracuti 1967). Violence therefore is viewed as a learned response. The learning comes as a result of membership in a cultural or sub-cultural group and reflects effective socialization into that sub-culture's value system and norms. In applying culture-of-violence theory to the family, the family is viewed as a training ground for violence, since it is a major institution in transmitting the subculture (Steimetz and Straus 1974). Thus, through associations, family members may learn that violence towards spouses is acceptable, and that to be an affiliated member of the sub-culture, a husband is expected to use force and violence on his family or at least condone its use.

While other theories have been advanced to explain domestic violence, most locate themselves along this broad spectrum. For example, most post modernist theories that tend to explain how sexuality and gender are constructed tend to link this process very closely with domestic violence. Theories of representations of sexuality which focus more on how post modernist thinking can be appropriated to enhance our understanding of the causation and existence of domestic violence, suggest that explanations of male violence towards women can fall into the trap of constructing monolithic and universalistic concepts of masculinity. In this respect, male dominance is effected through actual physical violence. However, different cultures may project different representations of masculinity. Some of these include cultural beliefs such as; men are clever, stronger, brave, etc. On the other hand femininity is represented as weak,

ignorant, stupid, complacent etc. Such cultural representation on the basis of sexuality can be varied and conflicting. Violence can thus be seen as a possibility that derives from a context in which power differences usually with a material basis in the sexual division of labour are implicit and explicit in the cultural construction of gender, which gives to certain representations of masculinity a dominant status. In view of domestic violence, it must be recognized that such representations of masculinity are paradoxical. Man, who supposedly is strong, braver and aggressive is expected to care for and support his female spouse and family- with love. When (man) becomes violent because of the demands of his masculinity, the protector turns predator and this enhances the paradoxical situation of the family model that tends to generate conflict and violence while being at least theoretically designed to maximize love and support.

As White (1985) notes for the West Indies, "constructing a powerful or strong masculinity depends largely on achieving a balance between these two sets of values." Does such a thesis see the solution to domestic violence in men's ability to control their male dominance without necessarily abandoning emotions that represent it. On the contrary Moore (1994), in support of Connell (1987) views, notes that there is no single femininity or masculinity for individual women and men to identify with in many social settings, but a variety of possible femininities and masculinities which are provided by the contradictory and competing discourses which exist and which produce and are reproduced by social practices and

institutions. For example what Moore (1994) calls *gender difference* can stand for other forms of hierarchically organized differences as, for example, in contexts where people who are deemed inferior for whatever reason are represented as feminised, controlled or subordinate. Bob Connell (1987) argues for the existence of a number of femininities and masculinities within the "same social settings". Connell's' argument is that in western societies, and perhaps globally, a particular type of hegemonic masculinity orders the structural relationship between alternative femininities and masculinities. Thus hegemonic masculinity penetrates political and economic relationships in a way that guarantees that domination itself is gendered and what is dominated is thus feminised.

The cultural norm theory is particularly relevant to this study because the study population is situated in communities that are governed by the patriarchal ideology of male dominance. Further, right from conception, this study was geared towards understanding domestic violence through feminist lenses; therefore, it is inevitable that a feminist based theory would seem quite practical. And finally, it is clear that, current domestic violence studies, especially in developing societies are in response to the women's movement's call to question the existing status quo where men tend to have more socio-economic and political power than women both in the public as well as in the private domain. This study falls in that category and this theory serve to clearly

delineate the variables, most of which are subject to observation in the study.

2.8.4 Exchange theory

The exchange theory so far is perhaps the most integrated theory of domestic violence. Gelles et al (1990) referred to it as a "middle range" theory, borrowing the terminology used by Merton (1945) whose framework best integrates the key elements of the diverse theories. Moreover, exchange theory has the virtue of providing a suitable perspective to explain and answer a variety of questions and issues in the study of domestic violence such as "why do battered women remain with violent men?" An assumption of the exchange theory that is relevant in explaining domestic violence is that human interaction is guided by the pursuits of rewards and the avoidance of punishments and costs. In addition, an individual who supplies reward services to another obliges him or her to fulfil an obligation and the second individual must furnish benefits to the first (Blau 1964). If reciprocal exchange of rewards is not received the interaction will be broken off. Gelles and Straus also suggest that satisfaction-dissatisfaction within relationships is also influenced by the alternatives that are available to individuals. Thus although a husband or wife may receive fewer rewards than they would like, they remain in the interaction because they have fewer other alternatives to gain rewards from (1979:563-564). The second reason for continued interaction in the face of a seeming imbalance of costs and rewards is highlighted by Homan's concept of "distributive justice". According to

Homan's, it is not maximizing rewards minus costs in the absolute which the individual seeks, but 'justice' in the distribution of outcomes. This is essentially a social comparison process. It comes about when, relative to others, a person perceives rewards proportional to his or her individual investment. 'Justice' prevails if those who invest more in terms of effort, skill, status, etc, receive more, and those investing less, receive less. When the principle of distributive justice is violated, there can be increased anger, resentment, conflict and violence which in this case are rewarding to the perpetrator. Gelles and Cornell (1990) noted that an exchange theoretical approach to domestic violence can be extremely helpful in explaining some of the patterns of domestic violence that have been uncovered in recent empirical literature.

Exchange theorists note that to inflict "costs" on someone who has just injured you may be rewarding. The idea of "revenge being sweet" can be used to explain why female spouses resort to severe forms of violence in response to being punched or hit by their male spouses. Also children who assault parents who are violent and middle-age women who assault their elderly mothers (who may have been violent while younger) are perhaps the best examples of this principle of exchange theory. Ivan F. Nye (1979), has applied exchange theory to domestic violence and developed a number of theoretical propositions. He proposes that violence in the family is more frequent in societies that have no legal or other normative structure prohibiting it. In societies that prohibit violence against

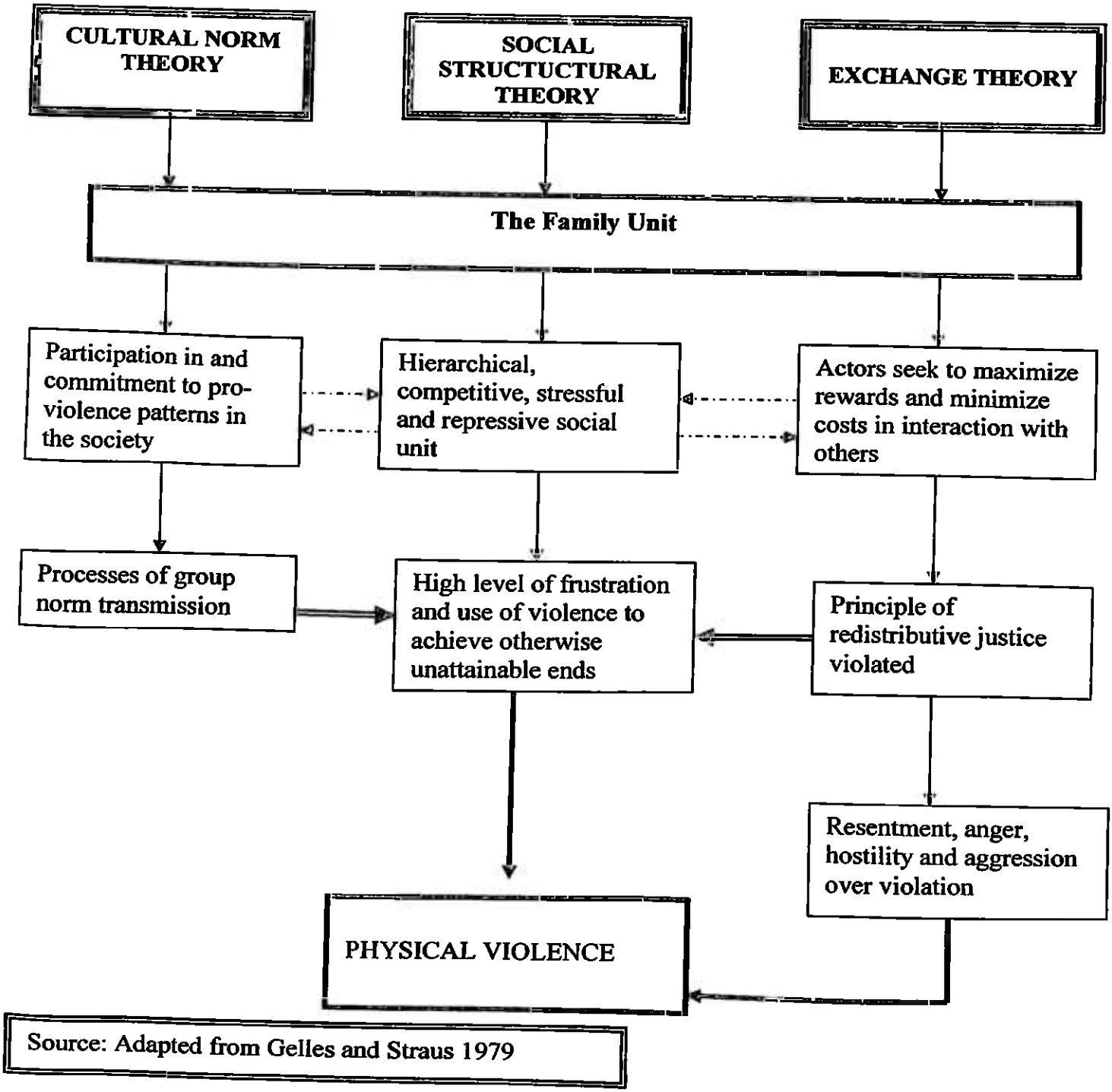
some members (female spouses) but permit it against others (children), violence will be less frequent towards those members against whom it is prohibited than toward those against whom it is allowed. Nye further proposes that female spouse and child beating are less common in single parent than in two parent families where politics of rewards and punishment are less likely to occur. Nye's contributions help to strengthen the view that violence usually is used as a last resort or final alternative to an imbalance of investment and rewards in family relations.

The three theories have been utilized in this study as an integrated theoretical framework. Though the theories are presented separately, their contributions to the explanation of inter-spousal violence is interrelated in many respects. In other words the theories are complimentary rather than competitive with each other. For example, although the social structural theory explains the nature of variations of violence patterns on the basis of the level of stressful factors in a domestic sphere, the use or non-use of violence and the magnitude of the violent act meted out may solely depend on the cultural orientation of the perpetrator to violence. Further, a strong relationship is notable between the structural theory and the exchange theory whereby reciprocity may lessen stress levels while lack of reciprocity may heighten stress levels, thus, leading to violence. Actually, the person who feels that their rewards have not been adequately awarded must first feel constrained in the relationship thus experiencing stress. In situations where

families experience low incomes, unemployment, retrenchment or job loss, adequate reciprocity may not take place. Overall, cultural norms determine to a large extent, how individuals react to stressful situations as well as reciprocity The interrelationship between concepts derived from these models is presented on the Figure 2.1.

2.9 Theoretical model

Figure 2.1 An Integrated Theoretical Framework of Inter-spousal Physical Violence



Source: Adapted from Gelles and Straus 1979

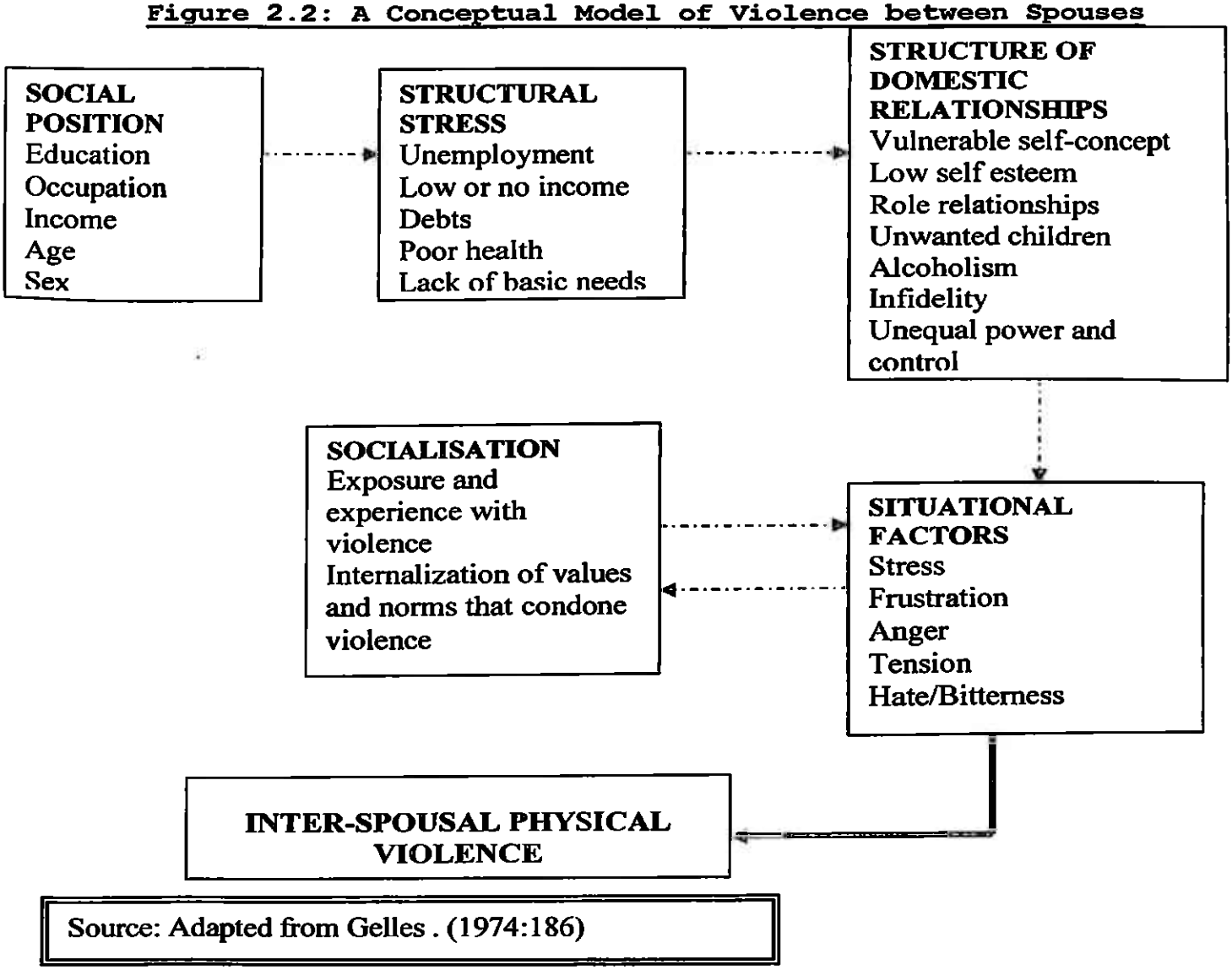
2.10 Conceptual model

Clearly, there are multiple factors involved in inter-spousal violence. The integrated theoretical framework developed for this study demonstrates that violent acts between spouses arise out of multiple and interrelated causal factors. In order to provide a systematic overview of variables that are captured in this relationship, a conceptual model (see Figure 2.2 below) has been developed as well. The diagram includes only those aspects of inter-spousal violence that have been dealt with in this study.

The model assumes that family violence is a function of two major conditions. First, violence is an adaptation of response to structural stress. Structural stress is likely to produce frustration which in turn is often followed by violence. Gelles (1974) refers to this kind of violence as "expressive violence". The model also assumes that structural stress also produces role expectation for either spouse (in the context of specific cultural norms), which, because of lack of resources, can only be carried out by means of violence (referred to as instrumental violence). The second major precondition for violence is socialization (learning through adapting) to social and cultural norms that condone violence. Thus if individuals in a certain community respond to stressful events through violence, the behavior, would certainly be internalized by those born and bred in those communities. The social situational context which encompasses

variables such as anger, frustration, alcohol consumption among other are presented as intervening variables.

Figure 2.2: A Conceptual Model of Violence between Spouses



Source: Adapted from Gelles . (1974:186)

The model demonstrates that there are a multiple of factors involved on spousal violence. Drawing from the three theories guiding the study (social-structural, cultural norm and exchange) theories, spousal violence is presented as a product of multiple but interrelated factors. It is also evident that violence between spouses may in turn generate structural stresses, influence socialization patterns and subsequently re-shape family norms and values concerning violence (this relationship is shown using dotted lines). It is from this model that we generate the independent and dependent variables as well as the study hypothesis as outlined below.

2.11 Operationalisation of Study Variables

Operationalization is an extension of the conceptualization process. In operationalization, concrete empirical procedures are specified that will result in the measurement of variables. Operationalization is the final specification of how we would recognize the different attributes of a given variable in the real world (Babbie, E.1995). It is important to provide further definitions on the meanings of certain terms that have been used (in the measurements) of spousal physical violence in the course of the study. The operational definitions provide meanings of certain terms as used in the data collection tools for this study. Some of these operational definitions are presented below:-

Survivor

Person who has already been victimized but survived the violent incident

Perpetrator

Person who inflicts the violence or abuse or causes the violence or abuse to be inflicted on the victim.

Spouses

Includes: current spouses (including common-law spouses), former spousal partners, divorced spouses, former common-law spouses, separated spouses

Physical Violence

The deliberate use of physical force to cause death, disability, injury, or harm. Physical violence includes, but is not limited to: scratching, pushing, shoving, throwing, grabbing, biting, choking, shaking, poking, hair-pulling, slapping, punching, hitting, burning, use of a weapon (gun, knife, or other object), and use of restraints or one's body, size, or strength against another person. Physical violence also includes coercing other people to commit any of the above acts

Conjugal violence

Conjugal violence is the intentional attempt by one party in a private relationship to control or intimidate the other party; brutality or oppression is used to bully the spouse. Men as well as women can be victims.

Violent Episode/act

A single act or series of acts of violence that are connected to each other and that may persist over a period of minutes, hours, or days. A violent episode may involve single or multiple types of violence (e.g., physical violence, sexual violence, and threat of physical or sexual violence, psychological/emotional abuse).

Frequency of violent act

Refers to the number of times an act of violence is experienced. For example, in this study experience of a violent act (0-5 times) in the past 12 months is considered frequent, (5-10 times) in the past 12 months is considered more frequent, and (10-20 times) in the past 12 months is considered very frequent

Pattern of Violence

The way that violence is distributed over time in terms of frequency, severity, or type of violent episode (i.e., physical violence, sexual violence, threat of physical or sexual violence, psychological/emotional abuse).

Physical Injury

Any physical damage occurring to the body resulting from exposure to thermal, mechanical, electrical, or chemical energy interacting with the body in amounts or rates that exceed the threshold of physiological tolerance, or from the absence of such essentials as oxygen or heat. Based on the CTS scale utilized in this study, Physical Violence is classified into minor and severe categories. 'Minor'

violence includes acts such as (throwing something at the spouse; pushing, grabbing, shoving, slapping, or spanking with the intention of hurting or inflicting pain. 'Severe violence items' includes acts such as (kicking, biting, punching, hitting or trying to hit with an object, threatening with a knife or other weapon and using a knife or other weapon on a spouse.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This chapter looks into the study design and also presents the study limitations.

3.1 Description of Study Sites

The research was carried out in two low-income informal residential estates, located in Nairobi City, namely Kangemi and Huruma. The sites were purposively selected. Nairobi is the capital of Kenya and has the highest urban population in East Africa, estimated at between 3 and 4 million (according to the 1999 Population Census). The city is located at 1°16'S 36°48'E and occupies around 150 km². It is situated about 1660 metres (5450 ft) above sea level. Nairobi is divided into five administrative divisions (Dagoretti, Langata, Westlands, Kasarani and Embakasi). See appendix III and IV (Maps showing the location of Nairobi in Kenya as well as the location of study sites).

3.1.1 Rationale for selection of study Site

The selection of the study sites was motivated by two main reasons; First, the availability of study subjects, bearing in mind that domestic violence is a sensitive issue, and the possibility of hostility from respondents and secondly, the study was particularly targeting subjects who had prior experience of spousal violence within a current or former

relationship, a group that would require the researcher to do background investigations of places where willing respondents would be found. As a result of these two factors, it would not have been possible for the study to achieve a wider geographical representation through a random selection of study sites. The nature of the study necessitated an initial visit to social service agencies (churches, religious centers) and women's' groups to introduce the study and recruit interviewees. The highest response was received from Kangemi and Huruma. A combination of all these factors led to the selection of study sites because the study did not set out to make any comparative analysis on the social economic status indicator, the similarities, (i.e. being low income estates) between the two estates was of no consequence to the study.

3.2 Methods of Data Collection and Rationale for Sampling

The methodological challenge in the study of spousal physical violence must be understood in the context of domestic violence. A concern for methodological challenges in domestic violence research is instituted by the complex nature of the phenomena. This implies that the sensitive nature of "domestic violence" has implications for the choice of a suitable research methods and how much that these methods can achieve. In this respect, any researcher who attempts to investigate domestic violence is confronted by three main impediments: identifying people involved in the behavior or phenomena in question; getting such people to talk about their behaviors and experiences; the need to believe that the truth

was told. To address these constraints we opted for inter-methods and intra methods triangulation in order to guarantee reliability and validity. Triangulation of data collection methods was found relevant since the strategy would facilitate comparison and integration of data derived through the varied methods, thus the choice of survey, focus group discussions (FGDs), in-depth interviews and documentary research methods. It was anticipated that combining these techniques of data collection, the findings would encompass a comprehensive picture on the phenomenon of domestic violence/spousal violence.

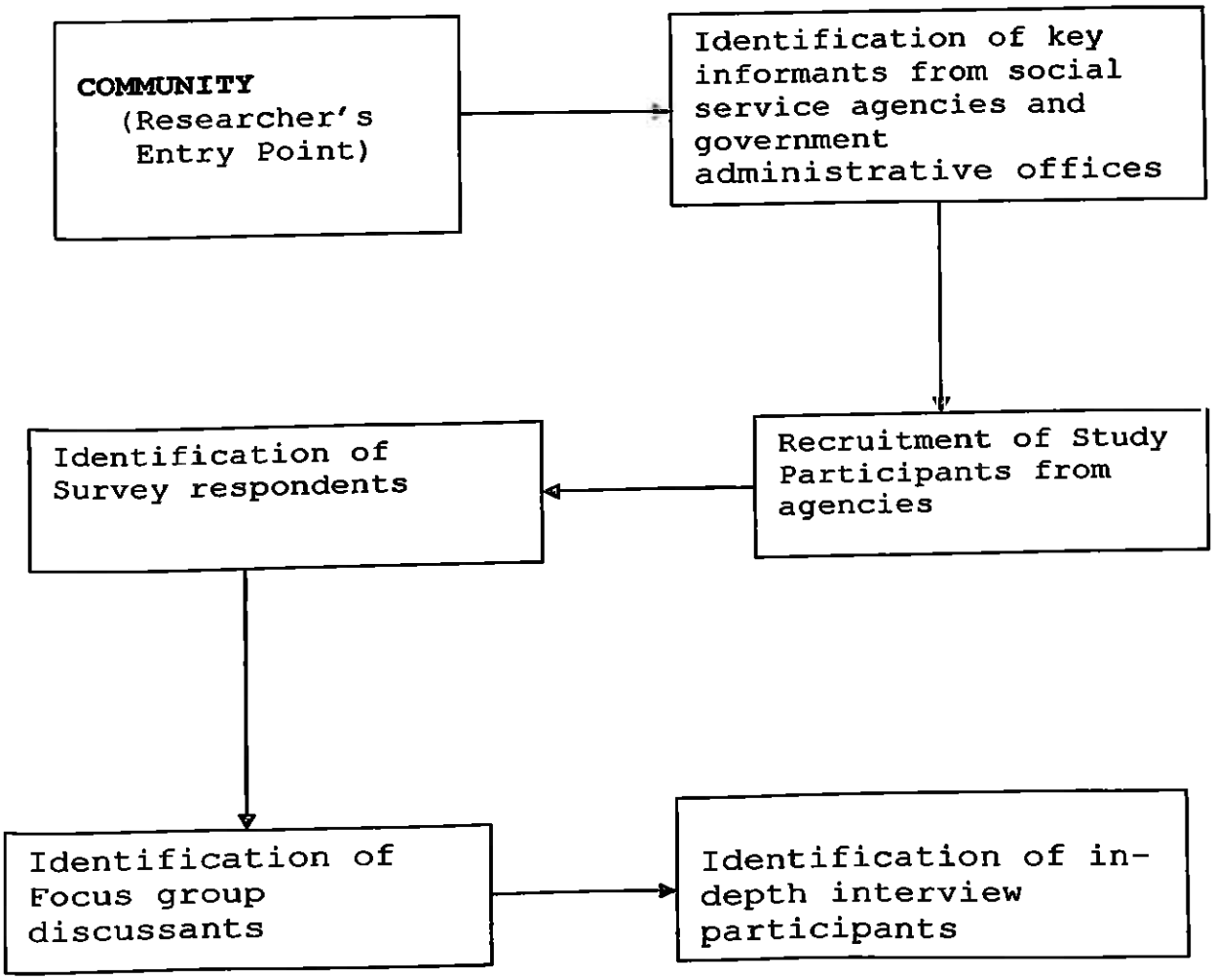
Triangulation efforts flow from a pragmatic approach to mixed methods analysis that assumes potential compatibility and seeks to discover the degree and nature of such compatibility (Patton 2002). Through triangulation, the varying strengths and weaknesses of both qualitative and quantitative approaches were taken care of in order to improve the quality of data in the study. In the following section, we present the methods utilized and the rationale for selecting them. With specific reference to the qualitative research methods (key informant, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews) triangulated, this was done to facilitate comparison and cross-checking the consistency of information derived from different respondents and by the different means. For example, because the public nature of focus group discussions (FGDs) is likely to limit information sharing, the same information was exhaustively sourced through in-depth interviews and key informants, which provided a more private forum.

Purposive sampling was used in the identification of key informants from who qualitative data was obtained. There is a general consensus that there are no rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry. Sample size depends on what the researcher wants to know, the purpose of the inquiry, time and resources (Patton 2002). This logic formed the basis of sampling in this study. Further we considered the trade-offs between depth and breadth and settled on interviewing a limited number of information-rich interviewees (depth) through the FGDs and in-depth interviews, which would provide depth of all information sought. This justified the small sample sizes were preferred in this study. This kind of sampling is referred to as intensity sampling (Patton 2002)

In all, four methods of data collection were utilized. These are key informant interviews (KIIs), survey (interviewer-administered interviews), FGDs and in-depth interviews. All the methods applied in the data collection process were interlinked. The methods were sequenced in such a way that each data set from a particular method complemented, augmented or supplemented data obtained using another method. The process started off with the identification of key informants (qualitative) who then facilitated the identification of survey respondents (quantitative). Focus group discussants were drawn from those who were not included in the survey while in-depth interviewees were identified in the course of the focus group discussions and also during the survey.

Figure 3.1 presents a diagrammatic depiction of the sequencing of the methods used. A more detailed profiling of each method is presented shortly hereafter.

Figure 3.1 Sequencing of Methods Used for Data Collection



3.2.1 In-depth interviews

At the beginning of the data collection process, the researcher visited and interviewed well known and established individuals who had long experience and knowledge of the community in the study sites. The interviews with these key informants were meant to break the ground into identifying possible research sample and also with a view to exploring crucial details regarding the study issue in the selected locations. A total of eight key informants were interviewed, four in each location. The key informants provided useful information that led to the identification of survey respondents.

3.2.2 The Survey

This was the second method of data collection to be used. A survey was administered to a total sample of 200 women, 100 from each study site. An interviewer administered questionnaire facilitated collection of information from the selected sample of respondents. This questionnaire was adapted from the Conflict Tactic Scales. The Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS) (see Straus 1979; Straus and Gelles 1990), measures both the extent to which partners in a dating, cohabiting or spousal relationship engage in psychological and physical attacks on each other and also their use of reasoning, negotiation and aggression to deal with conflicts. The most frequent application of the CTS has been to obtain data on physical assaults on a partner. The revised CTS has

two versions, one for use with married, cohabiting, or dating partners (called the CTS2), and the other to obtain information about the behavior of parents towards a child called the Conflict Tactic Scales - Parent to Child (CTSPC). The original CTS has three scales: Reasoning, Verbal/Symbolic Aggression, and Physical Violence. The (CTS2) has improved versions of the three original scales (renamed as Negotiation, Psychological Aggression, and Physical Assault), and new scales to measure Sexual Coercion and Injury. The CTSPC has improved versions of these scales (now named Non-Violent Discipline, Psychological Aggression, and Physical Assault) and new supplemental scales to measures weekly discipline, neglect, and sexual abuse.

In this study we adapted CTS2 because the survey was administered strictly to respondents who were living together in marriage or cohabiting. However due to cultural variations that made some items in the original CTS2 irrelevant, we designed an instrument that was largely adapted from the CTS2 and sensitive to the social-cultural environment of our research sites. The CTS2 measures behaviors and tactics used in response to a conflict or anger situation during the previous 12 months, rather than the substantive issue giving rise to the anger or conflict. Although there may have been conflicts over a number of issues, the CTS2 asks respondents to recall the times "in the past year" when they and their partner "had disagreed on major decisions, got annoyed about something the other person did, or just had spats or violent episodes because they were in a bad mood or tired or for some

other reason. The instructions go on to say: " I'm going to read a list of some things that you and your partner might have done when you had a dispute and would like you to tell me for each one how often you did it in the past year". The list begins with **items** from three types of scales. That is, the reasoning scale such as "Discussed the issue calmly"; the verbal aggression scale such as "insulted or swore at each other" and ends with the physical aggression scale such as "threw an object at partner".

The violence items are further sub-divided into "minor" and "severe" violence. The minor violence items are such as "threw something at the other family member; pushed, grabbed, shoved, slapped and spanked. The severe violence items are such as kicked, bit or punched; hit or tried to hit with an object; beat up or chocked". Included in this category are "threatened with a knife or gun and use a knife or gun". In this study, violence will be described as minor or severe based on these two definitions. The CTS2 has several advantages. The first has to do with presentation of rates of violent acts. Through the CTS, it is easy to calculate annual incidence rate of spousal violence which provide unambiguous meaning and ease of understanding by the general public (Straus and Gelles 1999). In addition, since incidence rates are so frequently used in criminology and epidemiology, expressing domestic violence as incidence rates permits comparisons with other related phenomena. For that matter most of CTS resultant statistics are usually in the form of rates as presented in the results of the survey in this study.

Secondly, The CTS provides an opportunity to analyze "how much" violence has (occurred) between spouses in a certain time period, usually (last 12 months) prior to the study. The "how much" issue is relevant to clinical samples such as abusive family members in treatment programs and also in general analyses of violent individuals as outlined in the CTS itself (Straus and Gelles 1999).

The CTS2 further allows for distinguishing the magnitude of violence. Specifically, it enables the researcher to distinguish between assaults that are "minor" (in the sense that they are less dangerous and less the focus of moral condemnation) and "severe" violence, which are acts that have a greater likelihood of causing an injury and which make up what the public thinks of as (spouse abuse) mainly female spouse-beating. Finally the CTS2 allows the researcher to capture gender specific norms. It makes it possible to identify differences between women's and men's experiences during violent situations. For example some studies that have utilized the CTS show that women reported substantially higher rates of male spouse to female spouse assault than did male respondents

3.2.3 Selection of Survey Sample

A total sample of 200 women, 100 from each study site was selected to participate in the study. These were selected using the systematic sampling process. In order to obtain a

random sample for the study, it became imperative to create a sampling frame. Existing population statistics in Kenya do not have a listing of victims of domestic violence, thus it was necessary to create one as a first step to sampling. A process comprising of six steps was followed to arrive at the sample as follows:-

Step 1

Based on the researchers judgment, a decision was made to source willing participants from residential estates located in Nairobi's four geographical zones; Eastlands, Westlands, Southlands and Nairobi North. As a starting point, the researcher made visits to the administrative chiefs based in Huruma (Eastlands), Kangemi (Westlands), Kibera (Southlands) and Kasarani (North). These administrative regions were selected purposively. The Chiefs, who were also key informants, were notified of the study and their assistance sought in explaining to the local populace (residents) about the importance in having them (both men and women) participate in the study.

Step 2

The chiefs agreed to provide their support and directed the researcher to grassroots agencies (focal points), which were regarded to be more appropriate and effective in sourcing these types of study subjects (subjects who had prior experience of spousal violence within a current or former relationship). The chiefs introduced the researcher to

contact persons in the grassroots agencies. The contact persons were instrumental in sourcing the study participants.

Step 3

The focal point agencies registered all those individuals who were willing to be interviewed during the study. Among the four agencies, those located in Kangemi and Huruma registered the largest number of volunteers. Table 3.1 presents the number of volunteers from each estate by focal point agencies. A decision based on the responsiveness of willing participants was made to exclude Kibera and Kasarani from the sampling frame. Hence, a sampling frame comprising of 400 women. It should be noted that when agencies sent out the information requesting both men and women to participate in the study, only women responded. This was not perceived as an obstacle to the study because the tool was designed in such a way that either spouse could volunteer required information.

Table 3.1 Total Number of Persons Willing to Participate in the Study

Region	Estate	Agency	Number Responding
Westlands	Kangemi	Anarda Marga Missions	200
North	Kasarani	Kasarani women's group	45
Eastlands	Huruma	Huruma Pentecostal church	200
Southlands	Kibera	Kibera Nubian women's group	33

Step 4

Out of the available pool of possible respondents, half the number (i.e. 50% of 400) was selected through systematic random sampling for inclusion in the study sample. First all the 200 women from each site were assigned random numbers (i.e. the numbers 1-200 were written on pieces of paper, the papers were folded and each person asked to pick a number. Using their individual numbers a list was created. This was done to avoid biases while selecting the final sample). Between the two sites, two frames were listed, each with 200 randomly listed numbers and from each, 100 respondents were randomly selected as explained below.

Step 5

In order to obtain 50% of the total, we proceeded to select 100 respondents from each of the site specific frames by selecting every second person from the list. Thus a sampling interval of two, that is:

$$\text{Sampling Interval (S.I)} = \frac{\text{Population Size}}{\text{Sample size}}$$

$$\square\ldots\ (\text{S.I}) = \frac{400}{200}$$

$$(\text{S.I}) = 2$$

To guarantee against any possible human bias in using this method, the first number was picked randomly. The researcher folded two papers and an assistant was asked to pick only one with her eyes closed. Every second number was picked from the randomized sampling frames. The persons whose names corresponded with the systematically picked numbers were included in the study sample.

Step 6

The final list of respondents was compiled and with the help of agencies involved, we were able to administer an interviewer-administered questionnaire by making appointments with small numbers of interviewees each day until the process was completed.

A sample is representative of the population from which it is selected if the aggregate characteristics of the sample

closely approximate those same aggregate characteristics in the population (Babbie 1995; Patton 2002). A 50% sample size for this study was considered to meet this criterion. The study population, being the aggregate of all the persons who volunteered to participate was defined on the basis of their prior experience of spousal violence. Thus all the elements in the study population shared this kind of homogeneity (prior experience of spousal violence). The units of observation (50% half of the study population) therefore were considered representative of the study population. This is the logic of sampling that was applied in this study.

3.2.4 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

Focus groups were the third method utilized to collect information required for the study. Each focus group was held with 8-12 people at the same time in the same group. FGDs were preferred for collection of qualitative data because they could generate more information especially if participants have gone through similar experiences (Patton 2002). In all, discussions were held with four groups in each study site, bringing the total number of FGDs to eight (8) and a total sample of 64 - 96 partcipants. The groups in each site included two (constituted by men only and two constituted by women only).

3.3 Ethical concerns

The topic of gender violence is highly sensitive and obtaining information of the topic could be intrusive. Research ethics require that researchers protect the rights of their research participants. In an attempt to protect the rights of our participants, we first applied the principle of ***voluntary participation*** which requires that people not be coerced into participating in research. All our interviewees were recruited on a voluntary basis without promises of any inducements such as a fee for participation. However, we did compensate them for their travel expenses after the interviews. We did also obtain ***informed consent*** from each of the participants. Essentially, all prospective research participants must be fully informed about the procedures and risks involved in research and must give their consent to participate. Ethical standards also require that researchers not put participants in a situation where they might be at ***risk of harm*** as a result of their participation. Harm can be defined as both physical and psychological. In this study, we guaranteed our participants ***confidentiality*** by ensuring that no data was made available to anyone else who was not directly involved in the study. We also tried to apply the principle of ***anonymity*** to ensure participants remained anonymous throughout the study. The participants were not required to give their full names, but were encouraged to use only their first names or acronyms.

In the course of data collection process we acted in accordance to the ethics of domestic violence research so as to avoid putting subjects in violent relationships at substantial risk. Main concerns included ensuring safety of respondents in a context in which many live with their abuser, protecting confidentiality because breaches could provoke an attack, and ensuring the interview process was affirming to minimize distress. Thus interviews were held far away from home, and in women group situations to avert suspicions on the part of husbands and other sexual partners.

3.4 Study Limitations

Though the study is timely, a number of limitations were anticipated at the on set of the study. Because domestic violence is under-researched in Kenya, several impeding factors in its study might pose a threat to the success of the project. With the emerging wave of feminism and gender sensitisation in the latter part of the twentieth century, studies targeting "women's rights issues" are likely to be treated with suspicion. This possibly accounts for the current dearth of data. In a patriarchal society, it is normal that systems would fear that more information on the subject of spousal physical violence might encourage women to protest traditional gender roles in conjugal relationships, including men's right to beat their female spouses and that as a consequence the institution of conjugal relationships itself could be destabilised so that family life would suffer.

Secondly, the subject is largely treated as "western" and "feminist", researchers' activities in Kenya regarding gender based violence are looked upon with an eye of suspicion, to the extent of being socially stigmatised (See the experiences of FIDA-Kenya, COVAW-Kenya, Anti-Rape Organization among others). As a result, many a researchers' may shy away from venturing into this particular area of social investigation. In Kenya, feminist re-conceptualisation of private and public realms has been taking place at a very slow pace, and discussions surrounding the issue of domestic violence are considered too private to be made public. However, spousal physical violence has emerged as a violation of human rights, which cries for attention and external intervention. It is widely accepted that its existence contradicts the idealised image of the family as a safe and loving environment and therefore people may not be willing to avail information about their personal experiences. This, we anticipated could greatly hamper the data collection process.

Another limitation was envisaged in the fact that the exact statistics on any form of domestic violence in Kenya are difficult to obtain, mainly due to the large number of cases that go unreported as a result of the social stigma and psychological trauma which the process (of reporting and court hearings) entail for the victim. Lack of a strong database became an impediment in the process of this study.

A few limitations must be cited here in regard to this method of data collection. Newspapers are a useful information source but most of this information lacks scientific clarity due to severe biases, which determine what is to be reported and what is to be left out. For example, in reporting domestic violence, only the most severe cases of domestic violence are reported and the "milder forms" which happen more regularly are never reported, thus creating a case of gross under reporting. Newspapers, unlike scientific journals publish issues that are sensational and which are likely to sell quickly. Therefore, research findings based on reporting from newspapers are usually an underestimation of the actual situation. During the initial phase of this study the media provided substantial information on trends of domestic violence in Kenya, information that did not exist anywhere else at that time. Secondly, due to the variability in the forms of domestic violence, it was envisaged that media data (though unconventional) would provide a broader picture on the forms and causes of domestic violence in spite of the underlying science based challenges.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS: NATURE AND EXTENT OF INTERSPOUSAL VIOLENCE

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into two sections; Section one contains the findings based on quantitative data, complemented by results of the FGDs and in-depth interviews while section two contains the results derived from a review of secondary data coupled with reports from key informants.

4.1.1 Social- Demographic Characteristics of survey respondents

All the survey respondents were female aged between 15-49 years. Stratification by ethnicity shows that the sample consisted of 56(28%) Kikuyu, Luhya 50(25%), Kamba 30(15%) and 20(10%) Luo. Slightly more than half 104 (52%) were married while 66 (33%) were separated. The rest were either divorced 20(10%) or widowed 20(10%) as outlined on table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Percent distribution of respondents by ethnicity and marital status

Background	Attributes	N	%
Ethnicity	Kikuyu	56	28
	Luyha	50	25
	Kamba	30	15
	Kisii	24	12
	Luo	20	10
	Meru	20	10
Total		**200**	**100**
Marital status	Single	0	0
	Married	104	52
	Separated	66	33
	Widowed	20	10
	Divorced	10	5
Total		**200**	**100**

(n=200)

In order to find out whether the respondents had been in other conjugal union(s) before the study, they were asked general questions focusing on various issues including the length of time they had been living together with current spouse and any involvement in previous conjugal relationships. Overall, 26(13%) reported that they had been had been living with their partners in the last 5 years before the study, 30(15%) had been married or living with their partners for the last 10 years, while 144(72%) had been living with their partners for more than 10 years before the study. Asked whether they had

ever been married or lived with someone else before their current relationship, 30(15%) of the respondents had been in previous conjugal relationships while the rest 170 (85%) indicated that they had never been married or lived with someone else other than their current partners. Asked whether their partners were in relationships before the current one, 84 (42%) of the respondents responded in the affirmative while 116 (58%) indicated that their partners had not been in any relationships before the current one. See table 4.2 for more details on the history of conjugal relationships

With regard to education, 72(36%) of the respondents reported having attained some primary level education. Cumulatively 130 (65%) of them had attained some or complete primary school education. Only 22(11%) had no formal education. Overall, 116 (58%) of their partners had attained some or complete primary education. More partners had higher levels of education than the respondents as shown on table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Percent distribution of respondent's history of conjugal relationships

length of respondent's current relationship	**N**	**%**
Living with partner (last 5 years)	26	13
Living with partner (last 10 years)	30	15
More than 10 years	144	72
Total	**200**	**100**
Whether respondent was in previous relationships	**N**	**Percent**
Had lived with someone else before current relationship	30	15
Never lived with someone else before current relationship	170	85
Total	**200**	**85**
Whether partner was in previous relationship	**N**	**Percent**
Partner was in a previous relationship	84	42
Partner was not in a previous relationship	116	58
Total	**200**	**100**

(n=200)

Table 4.3 Percent distribution of respondents by level of education

Attribute	N		%	
	Respondent	Partner	Respondent	Partner
No education	22	10	11	5
Some primary	72	60	36	30
Primary	58	56	29	28
Some secondary	30	28	15	14
Secondary	18	42	9	21
Secondary plus	0	4	0	2
Total	200	200	100	100

(n=200)

In respect to occupation, majority 140 (70%) of the respondents reported that they were service workers while 60 (30%) were businesswomen. On their mode of employment, about half 98 (49%) were on part-time employment, 40 (20%) were on full time employment while 62 (31%) were unemployed. Considering the number of hours spent at work 50 (25%) of the respondents indicated that they spent up to 6 hours at their place of employment daily whereas 150 (75%), spent up to 8 hours. Generally, majority spent less than 5 active hours at home. See table 4.3. An examination of respondents' monthly earnings showed some variations. Majority (59%) earned less than Ksh. 2000 (US Dollars 26[16]) a month, 64 (32%) earned between Ksh. 2000 and Kshs. 4000 (US Dollars 25-52), while 18 (9%) earned more than Ksh 4000 (US Dollars 52 and above).

[16] Exchange rate for the US Dollar at the time of the study was Ksh. 76 per dollar

Respondents were then asked to indicate whether they were satisfied with their monthly income.

Table 4.4 Percent distribution of respondents by occupation

Occupation	**Type of occupation**	**N**	**%**
	Service workers	140	70
	Business workers	60	30
Total		**200**	**100**
Employment	Employed part time	98	49
	Employed full time	40	20
	Unemployed	62	31
Total		**200**	**100**
Time spent in employment	Up to 6 hours	50	25
	Up to 8 hours	150	75
Total		**200**	**200**
Time spent on house work	Less than 5 hours	132	66
	Between 5 - 6 hours	68	34
Total		**200**	**100**

(n=200)

At least 104 (52%) of the respondents reported some or total dissatisfaction with their income. A similar assessment of partners' occupation and earnings indicates those majorities are either craftsmen/foremen, service workers, or in technical occupations while 7% were in religious occupations. Concerning their employment status, majority 104 (52%) indicated that their partners were employed on a full time

basis while 98 (48%) were employed on a full time basis at the time of the study. See table 4.4. A similar proportion reported that their partners are unsatisfied with their current monthly salary. See table 4.5 for a breakdown of respondents' satisfaction levels.

4.1.2 Percent distribution of respondents' perception on the effect of employment on inter-spousal relationship

We sought to establish whether involvement in full or part-time employment resulted in spouses spending less quality time together among other issues. Majority, 120(60%), felt that quality time was lost between them and their partners because of their involvement in employment. Other areas affected include respondents' ability to perform reproductive gender roles. While determining whether having a job increased a family's financial comfort, fuelled jealousy from the male spouse as a result of perceived financial freedom or increased role strain for respondent, the study generated varying perceptions as shown on table 4.6.

Table 4.5 Percent distribution of respondents by partners' occupation and monthly earnings

Occupation	**Type of occupation**	**N**	**%**
	Craftsmanship/foremanship	78	39
	Service workers	56	28
	Technical	30	15
	Evangelist	22	11
	Other(hawking, brokers, job seeking, disabled)	14	7
Total		**200**	**100**
Time spent in employment	Full time	104	52
	Part time	96	48
Total		**200**	**100**
Income	Less than Kshs.2000	118	59
	Kshs.2000 - 4000	64	32
	More than Kshs. 4000	18	9
Total		**200**	**100**
Satisfaction	Very satisfied	30	15
	Satisfied	66	33
	Unsatisfied	86	43
	Very unsatisfied	18	9
Total		**200**	**100**

(n=200)

Table 4.6 Percent distribution of respondents' by perceived effect of employment on relationship

Effect of employment on relationship	N	%
Increased family comfort	56	28
Jealousy due to financial independence	64	34
More role strain	58	79
Less time together	120	60

(n=200)

On spousal domestic responsibility, respondents were asked to provide their perceptions on how much responsibility they had had over a number of domestic issues in the three months before the study. These issues included managing money, cooking/cleaning and repair work, social activities as well as supervising children. Multiple analysis across all variables revealed that, concerning supervising and disciplining children, social activities, cooking and repair work and managing money, 82(41%) of the respondents had had all the responsibility while about a quarter 48(24%) of the respondents indicated that they had a lot of responsibility. Overall 68(34%) of the respondents had no responsibility in the current relationships on decision making over money issues. For those respondents who indicated that they had no responsibility in respect to managing money, they were asked to state the level of desired responsibility. About three fifths 116(58%) of the respondents reported that they would prefer more responsibility when it came to managing money.

Table 4.7 Percent distribution of respondents by perception on level of responsibility in the last three months

	All		Very much		A little		None	
Issue	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Managing money	38	19	36	18	60	30	68	34
Cooking/cleaning or repair work	144	72	44	22	6	3	8	4
Social activities	38	19	44	22	46	23	72	36
Supervising & disciplining children	114	57	68	34	16	8	2	1

(n=200)

A significant proportion of respondents want a little responsibility when it comes to social activities while almost half the respondents want very much responsibility when it comes to supervising and disciplining children. Cumulatively, about half 92(46%) of the respondents required more responsibility than they currently had in matters of managing money, cooking, social activities, supervising and disciplining children.

4.1.3 Respondents' perception on level of involvement in making family decisions

Respondents were asked various questions to gauge their level of involvement in decision-making on various domestic issues such as having children, buying land and other property, and spending money among others. Findings show that in most instances the husband makes most of the decisions alone. However there are issues (e.g. on when to have a child) when both spouses are involved. A significant proportion 70(35%) named the husband as the sole decision maker in matters related to how much money the couple should spend on food, clothing and other household items. Table 4.8 outlines respondents' perception on decision making issues by person responsible.

Table 4.8 Percent distribution of respondents' perception on person responsible for making decisions on key issues

	Wife only		Both		Husband only	
Decision issues	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
How much to spend on food/clothing	30	15	18	9	70	35
Whether to take on a job	30	15	32	16	52	26
Kind of job wife should take	32	16	26	23	46	23
Having children	10	5	72	36	34	17
Buying land/car/home	14	7	34	17	88	44

The study sought to establish whether couples agree or disagree over various issues such as cooking and repair, affection and sex, issues affecting children and managing money. Cumulatively affection and sex relations was mentioned as issues most couples agree upon 176(88%), followed by things to do with children 162(81%) respectively. Overall, 72(36%) of the respondents reported that they never agreed with their partners on issues to do with managing money, 66(33%) never agreed on social activities while 42(21%) never agreed on cleaning and repair work. See table 4.9.

Table 4.9 Percent distribution of respondents' perception on contentious issues between couples

Issue	Always agree		Usually agree		Sometimes agree		Never agree	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Things about children	34	13	56	28	70	35	38	19
Affection and sex	42	21	80	40	54	27	24	12
Social activities	36	18	44	22	56	28	66	33
Managing money	32	16	52	26	48	24	72	36

(n=200)

Multiple analysis of respondents perceptions on contentious issues revealed that 58(29%) agreed on them sometimes while 54

(27%) indicated that they usually agreed on them. Notably 48 (24%) of the respondents reported that they never agreed on any of the issues mentioned on table 4.9.

4.1.4 Respondents' perception on issues likely to occur in the event of a break up

The study set to identify ways in which spouses would be affected if the current relationship were to break up. First, respondents were asked whether they had ever thought of discontinuing the relationship, majority 168(84%) stated that such thoughts occurred to them quite often. Rating the frequency at which they such thoughts had occurred to them, majority 142(71%) reported that such thoughts had occurred to them more than 20 times in the 12 months prior to the study. Asked whether such thoughts led to separation at any one time, majority 126(63%) indicated that they had done so but for a short period. Regarding who would be most affected if the conjugal relationship were to break-up, majority of the respondents reported that they be hurt more than their partners. Table 4.10 contains distribution of respondents by areas they think would be affected in the event of a break up.

Table 4.10 Respondents' perception on areas that spouses would be hurt most in the event of a break up

	Both hurt		Respondent		Same		Partner		Neither	
Issues	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
In relation to children	18	9	156	78	16	8	12	6	2	1
Relatives become angry and disappointed	14	7	92	46	26	13	58	29	12	6
Sexually	8	4	142	71	24	12	26	13	4	2
Loss of friends	14	7	110	55	38	19	22	11	18	9
Financially	10	5	162	81	8	4	18	9	4	2

(n=200)

Most respondents think they would get more hurt in case of a break-up than their partners. In addition 142(71%) indicated they would be hurt sexually (break would leave a gap in conjugal satisfaction), 154 (77%) would suffer loneliness while 156(78%) would get hurt in matters regarding children such as provision of basic needs (school fees, food, clothing and house rent).

4.1.5 Respondents' perception on inter-spousal communication

Asked whether they maintain "an open door communication policy" with their spouses, findings show that majority of the respondents 82(41%) communicate with their spouses

occasionally. Couples relate in many different ways and this contributes greatly to how they feel about their conjugal relationships. Findings indicate that 80(40%) of the respondents reported that they felt very negatively about their relationships, 136(68%) had some negative feelings while only 32(16%) felt positive about their relationship with spouse. About 28(14%) respondents were undecided about their feelings. It was revealed that negative feelings are likely to affect cordial communication between spouses.

Table 4.11 Respondents' perception on the frequency of inter-spousal communication

Rate of communication	N	%
Communicate often	76	38
Communicate occasionally	82	41
Does not communicate	42	21

(n=200)

Where communication is minimal, violence appeared to be a preferable means of venting anger and solving problems as reported during FGDs. A participant stated that

"when I raise an issue affecting the family, my partner does not want to talk about, instead he becomes violent and hits me. This makes me not

talk to him as often" *(Female, Age 42, Maid, Kangemi site, Kamba)*

Such reports, reflecting communication failure between spouses were frequently made during the study. The analysis of tactics used by partners after a violent act shows that the least applied tactic is that of "discussing the issue calmly", implying that partners preferred to use physical acts of violence than verbal communication.

4.1.6 Social-demographic characteristics of FGDs, and in-depth interviews participants

Over all 96 men and women participated in the Focus group discussions while eight respondents, 4 females and 4 males participated in the In-depth Interviews. The female participants were all aged between 18 and 49 years, while all male participants were aged between 18 and 50 years. All participants had been in a conjugal relationship in the 12 months prior to the study. A cross cutting analysis show that they came from different ethnic backgrounds including (Kikuyu, Luhya, Kamba, Meru, Kalenjin, and Luo). Majority had completed primary education while a few had attained some secondary education.

4.2 Forms and prevalence of spousal physical violence

One of the major objectives of the study was to determine the nature and extent of physical violence between spouses. While

pursuing this aim, we sought to identify the forms of physical violence and categorized them on the basis of their severity and prevalence. These findings are listed below

4.2.1 Prevalence of spousal physical violence

Overall, spousal physical violence is prevalent. Analysis of all acts of physical violence indicates that 164 (82%) respondents had experienced some form of physical violence while still living together with their spouses during the 12 months preceding the study. Analysis of both minor and severe forms of physical violence revealed that majority 174 (87%) of the respondents had experienced the eight forms of violence classified as minor, while 154 (77%) had experienced the ten forms of violence classified as severe. Rating the frequency of occurrence, 84 (42%) of the respondents indicate that they experienced minor forms of violence more than 20 times in the 12 months prior to the study while a similar proportion 86(43%) of the respondents reported having experienced severe forms of violence less than 5 times in the 12 months prior to the study (See table 4.12).

Table 4.12 Respondents' perception on the frequency of inter-spousal violence

Form of violence	Less than 5 times		5 to 20 times		More than 20 times	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Minor	58	29	56	28	86	43
Severe	86	43	60	30	54	27

(n=200)

4.2.1.1 Severe forms of physical violence

Severe violence in this study refers to acts that have a greater likelihood of causing an injury and which make up what the public think of as (spouse abuse). 'Severe violence items' on the study tool were (kicked, bit, punched,; hit or tried to hit with an object,; threatened with a knife or other weapon; used a knife or other weapon on spouse as outlined on table 4.13 below. Beating is the most common form with 188(94%) respondents reporting that this had taken place in the 12 months prior to the study. Other severe forms like pushing, shoving, grabbing, slapping and spanking were reported by over 186(93%) of the respondents. Those who reported threatening with a knife occurring in their relationships were 110(55%), while actual use of a knife or other weapon was reported by 72(36%).

Table 4.13: Percent distribution of respondent experiencing a form of severe violence in the 12 months prior to the study

Reaction	N	%
Kicked, bit or hit with fist	150	75
Hit or tried to hit with something	156	78
Beat up the other one	188	94
Threatened with a knife	110	55
Used a knife or any other weapon	72	36

(n=200)

During the FGDs, some discussants narrated experiences they had which confirm that very severe forms of physical violence do take place in the communities where the study took place. A discussant told of what happened to a close friend:

> "…..a friend of mine was slaughtered by the partner, knife to her neck, she bled to death, she had eight children, she used to walk for about 8 km everyday, from Kangemi to her place of work in Westland's, where she worked as a domestic servant for an Indian family. She had a lot of problems - her parner did not have a job - he had another woman at home - he wanted her to support the other family - if my friend failed to give some money for the other woman, she would be beaten badly - finally he ended up killing her….." *(Female, Age 42, Vendor, Kangemi site, Kikuyu)*

Another female discussant explained her own experience:-

> "My spouse threw a sharp object at me last year, it hit my mouth and I got a deep cut which resulted into the scar you now see on my lower lip. Previously he had poured battery water on my clothes. He was arrested by the area police but he was back by evening, I believe he bribed his way out …I saw him trying to break into the house through the window - I raised an alarm - screaming, my neighbours came to my rescue and - that's when he grabbed the object and smashed it on my face." *(Female, Age 29, houseworker,, Kangemi site, Luhya)*

Such narratives represent real life experiences of severe physical violence.

4.2.1.2 Extent of severe physical violence

The extent of violence varies between couples and across different forms. For example, whereas beating and shoving occurred more frequently (more than 20 times) in the 12 months prior to the study, the more severe forms occurred less frequently (less than 20 times) in the same period. For example 168 (84 %) of the respondents reported use of a knife taking place during an act of violence less that twenty times in the 12 months prior to the study while 14 (7%) reported use of a knife or other weapon more than 20 times in the 12 months prior to the study. See table 4.14 below. In addition, 176 (88 %) of the respondents reported threats to use a knife

occurring during an act of violence less that 20 times, in the 12 months prior to the study while 18 (9%) reported threats to use a knife occurring during an act of violence more than 20 times in the 12 months prior to the study. See table 4.14 for other occurrences.

During FGDs respondents reported use of dangerous objects during acts of violence. A female participant for example, reported that her partner had hit her on the back with a digging fork, sustaining severe injuries after which she developed a hunch back. Another participant showed us a scar on her ear where her partner had attempted to bite it off while another showed several scars on her face sustained after her partner had thrown sharp objects at her on several occasions.

Table 4.14 Percent distribution of respondents reporting on the number of times an act of severe physical violence occurred in the 12 months prior to the study

Severe form of physical Violence	No. of times an act occurred in the 12 months prior to the study			
	Less than 20 times		More than 20 times	
	N	%	N	%
Kicked, bit or hit with a fist	120	60	72	36
Hit or tried to it with something	154	77	40	20
Beat p one another	130	65	70	35
Threatened with a knife or any other weapon	176	88	18	9
Used knife or any other weapon	168	84	14	7

(n=200)

Although none of the male discussants showed evidence of injury, some confessed that their partners hit back at them during an act of violence. In the survey, 20(10%) of the respondents reported hitting back when the spouse perpetrated a violent act against them. Whenever such confessions were made by a male discussant, other male participants would laugh

with disbelief, clearly stating that it is unacceptable for a woman to hit at her husband. A male discussant observed,

> "…nowadays things have changed, when you beat your spouse she tries to hit back…I would kill my female spouse if she hit me..." *(Male, Age 34, Mason, Kangemi site, Luhya)*

The few incidents of female partners who hit back should be seen against the 180(90%) of the respondents who stated that they never at any time hit back at their spouses. In addition, female discussants did categorically state that women hit back at their partners in self-defence.

4.2.1.3 Extent of minor forms of physical violence

Minor violence in this study refers to acts that are less dangerous and less the focus of moral condemnation. Minor violence items include (threatening to throw something at partner, throwing something at the spouse; pushing, grabbing, shoving, slapping, or spanking with the intention of hurting or inflicting pain). Findings show that spouses engage in minor forms of violence with over 177(87%) of the respondents reporting that threats to throw something at the other, pushing, shoving and actual throwing of an object had occurred in the 12 months prior to the study.

Table 4.15: Percent distribution of respondent experiencing a form of minor violence in the 12 months prior to the study

Form of minor physical harm	N	%
Threatened to hit or throw something at the other	177	87
Threw or smashed or hit or kicked something	152	76
Threw something	142	71
Pushing or grabbing or shoving	188	94
Slapping or spanking	184	92

(n=200)

In determining the frequency of occurrence, more than a quarter of the respondents, reported minor forms of violence taking place more than 20 times in the 12 months prior to the study. See table 4.16

Table 4.16: Percent distribution of respondents reporting on the number of times an act of minor physical violence occurred in the 12 months prior to the study

Severe form of physical Violence	No. of times act occurred in the last 12 months prior to the study			
	Less than 20 times		More than 20 times	
	N	%	N	%
Threatened to hit or throw something	134	67	64	32
Threw or smashed or hit or kicked something	156	78	38	19
Threw something at the other	164	82	24	12
Pushed, grabbed or shove one another	118	59	82	41
Slapped or spanked one another	122	61	80	40

(n=200)

Comparing the frequency of occurrence in severe and minor forms of violence, findings show that proportions of respondents reporting a rate of more than 20 times in occurrence are almost equal for both minor and severe violence (see data on tables 4.14 and 4.16).

4.3 Initiator of violent acts

While establishing the nature and extent of physical violence, the study sought to establish whom in the relationship initiates acts of physical violence. Further we sought to assess when in the relationship spouses are likely to engage in violent acts. Overall, the study established that male spouses initiate violent acts more often. Findings indicate that 182 (91%) respondents reported that their spouses initiate violent acts more often in the relationship. Only (9%) reported that they (respondents) had initiated an act of violence in the twelve months prior to the study. In addition respondents reported that there are times when their spouses are more likely to initiate a violent act. For example, 148 (74%) reported that their spouses were more likely to initiate an act of violence while drank on alcohol, more than 20 times in the 12 months before the study, while 176 (88%) reported that their spouses are more likely to initiate a violent act when angry, more than 20 times in the 12 months before the study. Other triggers of violence by male partner are listed on table 4.17.

Table 4.17 Percent distribution of respondents' perception on (when partner is likely to initiate a violent act)

When partner is likely to initiate a violent act	Yes	
	N	%
When drunk	148	74
When angry	176	88
When provoked	164	82
When stressed	148	74

(n=200)

In addition, violence may take place as a result of continued frustration in meeting family and societal expectations as revealed by some male discussants below: -

> " When I come home feeling so stressed and she adds on to my pressure through nagging… I just slap her a few times, then I feel relaxed." *(Male, Age 46, Clerk, Kangemi site, Meru)*

and

> " … nowadays things have changed, my female spouse stays at home without a paid job and yet after struggling the whole day … I come home and find an unhappy and disgruntled person …so I beat her…-especially when I remember how difficult things have been the whole day." *(Male, Age 38, Factory worker, Huruma site, Luhya)*

These views sought to clarify why men are more likely to initiate an act of violence. As noted earlier, the sentiments expressed here clearly indicate how often acts of violence substitute dialogue. In addition, social cultural norms related to male dominance and aggression provide a platform on which men justify their violence against women.

4.4 Factors precipitating violence exacerbate spousal physical violence

In order to establish factors that are likely to lead to an act of violence, a broad range of questions were asked. Overall, 180 (90%) of the respondents cited lack of money to meet the family's basic needs as a major causative factor. This implies that lack of finances to meet basic necessities such as food, clothing and shelter would most likely instigate a single or a series of physical acts of violence.

Table 4.18 Percent distribution of respondent's perception on cause of physical violence

Cause	N	%
Money	180	90
Food	170	85
Children	130	65
Housework	30	15
Other property	4	20

(n=200)

Other factors mentioned included problems to do with children (eg lack of clothes, books, school fees and indiscipline). It can also be concluded that money issues with regard to access and control are pertinent to whether violence between spouses occurs or not. For example, cumulatively, majority of the respondents 150 (75%) indicated not knowing how much their spouse's earn monthly, and a similar proportion did not have control over managing money in their relationship, in the three months prior to the study. Further, a significant proportion indicated that they would desire more responsibility when it came to managing money. Through the FGDs and In-depth interviews, female participants frequently attributed acts of violence against them to several proximate causes. For example it was noted that some male partners become violent when their spouses ask for financial provision as indicated by this statement by a discussant;

"…..when I ask my male spouse for money, he gets very angry, when I insist he hits me" (Female, Age 27, Vendor, Kangemi site, Kikuyu)

In the event where the male spouse controls all the money including the partners income, resistance may call for a reprisal as noted by a discussant:-

"…my partner demands that I give him all my salary, when I comply, he uses all the money on beer and women, the children are left with nothing to eat, when I refuse he beats me so hard…."(Female, Age 37 Vendor, Huruma site, Luhya)

Such cases were cited often during group discussions. Some male discussants tended to defend their role in making most decisions for the family by arguing that socially a man should have power and control over the female spouse and this includes all the their income. Most men indicated that use of force is a legitimate means of controlling a woman who challenges this position. One male discussant was categorical about this view as expressed in the quote below:-

"… I own my spouse, therefore even the money she earns belongs to me, if she refuses to give it to me, I will get it by force." (Male, Age 44, Welder, Huruma site, Luo)

A number of other factors mentioned include complaints by

respondents 152 (76%), complaints by spouse 134 (67%), problems with extended family 72 (36%) and loss of job by partner 34 (17%) among others. A summary of these and other precipitating factors is presented on table 4.19. Reports of unaccomplished roles such as 'not keeping the house clean and cooking' reported as precipitating factors during discussions. These are also indicative of the many demands on women's time, conscience and self-control. The pressure of completing these tasks "properly" becomes an excuse for violence against a female partner as reported by an interviewee,

> "...when I tell him that we have no food, he insults me , in the evening he comes home and demands for food, when I tell him that we have not eaten the whole day, he beats me.....he says children and food are my responsibility, yet I have no job". *(Female, 30, Kangemi).*

Such reports are indicative of the fact when basic necessities are lacking in the domestic space, there is a tendency to have a cycle of violence that targets women physically. The act of asking or complaining by the female spouse is likely to elicit an act of violence from the partner. Thus there is evidence of a relationship between women's economic dependency and violence by male spouses. Discussions revealed that some female respondents' experience of violence was directly related to their economic dependency on their male spouses. One male respondent noted that:

"… I don't just beat my female spouse for nothing, it matters what she has done to me …you see nowadays things are hard (economically) and sometimes my female spouse misuses things in the house … this will definitely bring in conflict."*(Male, Age 40, Mason, Huruma site, Kikuyu).*

Sentiments linking acts of violence to economic issues in the family were frequently mentioned through out the group discussion. These serve to compliment findings from the survey presented earlier in this chapter. Table 4.19 contains a list of issues that respondents perceived as possible triggers of violence between them and their partners.

Table 4.19 Percent distribution of respondents' perception of significant social event preceding violence

Significant social event	N	%
Loss of job by partner	34	17
Loss of job by respondent	14	7
New job of husband	14	7
New job of respondent	1	1
Birth of a child	80	40
Discovery of pregnancy	30	15
Death in the family	30	15
Illness/injury in the family	52	26
Move to different estate/house	40	20
Move to different town	20	10
Complaints by respondent	152	76
Complaints by husband	134	67
Problems with extended family	72	36
Problems with children	76	38

(n=200)

Another issue that was linked to financial problems and increase in spousal violence is alcohol consumption. Results shows that 140(70%) of the respondents indicated that their spouses commit a violent act while drank on alcohol. This is corroborated by further indications that, although alcohol consumption may not be the cause of a violent act, in most cases the perpetrators commit an act of violence while drank. Secondly, in situations where a female spouse complains over their spouse's spending family income on alcohol, a direct

link between alcohol consumption and a violent act is visible. Similarly, it is evident that a violent act is likely to take place in a situation whereby a male spouse opposes his female spouse's alcohol consumption habit. Consistent with this view, 122 (61%) of the respondents indicated that their partners got drank on alcohol at least more than eight times in a week, with majority citing this trend as responsible for the high rate of violence in their relationships.

FGDs however show different dimensions in which alcohol is linked to violence. Some female participants indicated that their spouses were likely to force them to have sex when they (spouses) were drank. Those who protested or resisted having sex were more likely to be beaten. A respondent noted that:-

> "...my partner drinks a lot and I know he is unfaithful, when I insist that we have sex using a condom, he says under his dead body...that he bought my body when he paid bride price...should I refuse to have sex, he beats me, then he rapes me" *(Female, Age 38, Vendor, Kangemi site, ,Luo)*

Suspicions, lack of understanding and unfair accusations were cited as leading to violence against women. A male participant noted that his partner "nagged" when he got home drunk, clearly showing that alcohol is not directly linked to violence. He noted:

"... I don't intend to drink alcohol because I have no money, but you see when you get into these clubs, friends can buy me beer, so when I go home drunk, my female spouse thinks I have been hiding some money. She starts shouting at me, she accuses me of having adulterous affairs and then I beat her ..." *(Male, Age 39,Factory worker, Huruma site, Luhya)*

Complaints over misuse of money on alcohol and 'nagging' are the factors linked directly to violence. Alcohol appears to be a proximate determinant. Other direct factors include complaints over real or imagined infidelity by either spouse appears to be a major trigger of violence. Both male and female participants affirmed that this factor was pertinent to the presence or absence of conflicts between spouses. It is evident that when a woman complained over a spouse's infidelity, she was likely to be intimidated through beating; on the other hand if a male spouse complained of a spouse's infidelity, the end result would be the same. Notably, for women, "it is a loose-loose" situation while for men it is a "win-win". A male discussant reiterated that,

"...my spouse had an affair with a neighbor...she said that she decided to do so to hurt me because someone had told her I was seeing another woman, this is completely unacceptable...you see a man is allowed...but a woman cannot marry two men..." *(Male, Age 44, Mason, Huruma site, Meru)*

Such patriarchal notions demand absolute fidelity and submission from a female spouse; the female spouse must be under the male spouse's control. These are indications towards widely held beliefs that society does not condone the actions of 'unfaithful women' and must be disciplined or disowned if need be. Some of the men interviewed felt that an unfaithful male spouse is just a 'player in the game'.

4.5 Inter-spousal conflict resolution strategies

The study sought to identify behaviors or tactics used in response to a conflict/violent act in the one year prior to the study. The tactics reported show that sometimes spouses result to both non-violent and violent means of resolving the issues leading to an act of violence. Overall, 148(69%) of the respondents indicated that they discussed matters leading to violence calmly with the spouse after the violent act. Discussion seems to be the least practiced among the tactics adopted by spouses. Majority 192 (96%) reported insulting, swearing and shouting (verbal reactions) as a tactic they use after an act of violence.

Table 4.20 Percent distribution of respondent's by reaction to an act of violence

Act of Violence	N	%
Discussed the issue casually	138	69
Got information to back up side of things	146	73
Brought in or tried to someone to help	176	88
Insulted, swore or shouted at one another	192	96
Sulked or refused to talk about it	182	91
Stomped out of the room or house	178	89
Cried	188	94
Did something to spite the other one	186	93

(n=200)

Investigations into how often the non-violent tactics are utilized, the most commonly reported tactics include; crying 146 (73%), sulking/refusing to talk 116 (58%), doing something to spite the other 94 (47%) and insulting/swearing. Discussing the issue calmly was the least mentioned. See details on other tactics on table 4.20. An investigation into the frequency in which these tactics are utilized shows a similar pattern where most respondents reported crying, sulking and insulting more that 20 times in the 12 months before the study. See details on the reported frequency of other tactics on table 4.21.

Reporting on tactics not included in the CTS, a significant number shows that 68(34%) of the respondents asked for

forgiveness from the spouse after a violent act, another 120(60 %) reported that sources internal to the families of either spouse came in to intervene while 90 (45 %) of the respondents reported that sources external to the families of either spouse came in to intervene after an act of violence. On the other hand 82(41%) had left the shared dwelling after an act of violence thus separating from spouse sometimes in the 12 months before the study while at least 74(37%) reported that their spouse left the shared dwelling after an act of violence thus separating from spouse sometimes in the 12 months before the study. Other responses are listed on table 4.22.

Table 4.21: Percent distribution of respondents reporting on the number of times a tactic was used in the 12 months prior to the study

Act of Violence	No. of times an act occurs in the last 12 months prior to the study			
	Less than 20 times		More than 20 times	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
Discussed the issue casually	164	82	34	17
Got information to back up side of things	154	77	42	21
Brought in or tried to someone to help	180	90	20	10
Insulted, swore or shouted at one another	78	39	122	61
Sulked or refused to talk about it	84	42	116	58
Stomped out of the room or house	126	63	72	36
Cried	54	27	146	73
Did something to spite the other one	106	53	94	47

(n=200)

Table 4.22 Percent distribution of respondents reporting on the action taken by either partner after an act of violence in the 12 months prior to the study

Reaction	N	%
Partner left house	74	37
Respondent left house	82	41
Partner asked for forgiveness	72	36
Respondent asked for forgiveness	68	34
Partner became more violent	104	52
Respondent became more violent	2	1
Called police	18	9
Partner sought help from other sources	38	19
Respondent sought help from other sources	140	70
Someone outside the family intervened	90	45
Someone inside the family intervened	120	60
Returned to normal routine	118	59

(n=200)

Among the least reported tactics are calling in the police 18 (9%) and respondent becoming more violent 2(1%). Specifically, 154(77%) of the respondents sought intervention from parents, 114(57%) from friends and a similar proportion 114(57%) from neighbors. It is also indicative that at least 140(70%) shouted for help, amongst those who did not shout for help i.e. 60(30%), half of them found shouting embarrassing while the others saw no need of doing so. For those respondents who shouted for help, majority 166 (83%) had someone coming to

their help. Cumulatively at least 184 (92%) of the respondents took some kind of action while only 8% took no action at all. The study also sought to determine whether respondents have psychological reactions after an act of violence. Findings reveal that majority of the respondents felt angry with their spouse and a significant proportion also felt angry at other people. See the distribution of psychological reactions on table 4.23.

Table 4.23 Percent distribution of respondents reporting internalized reaction to a violent act

Respondent's internalized reaction	N	%
Felt guilty	82	41
Felt angry at self	82	41
Felt angry at husband	192	96
Felt angry with other people	64	32

(n=200)

4.6 Reported physical, psychological and social consequences of inter-spousal physical violence

Results indicate that respondents received physical injuries after a severe act of violence was perpetrated against them. Overall 140 (70%) reported having received injuries after an act of violence was perpetrated against them. Out of these 70

(35%) sustained severe injuries which include broken limbs, cuts over body parts, loss of teeth, black eye, and soreness over the body. Other consequences mentioned include loss of hair, bruises, scratches and burns. Almost all respondent who had experienced physical violence reported pain as a consequence. At least 124 (62%) of those who received physical injuries sought medical attention either at a private or public medical facility. However 76 (38%) indicated that they did not seek medical attention. Those who did not seek medical attention were asked to provide explanations and 56% of them indicated that the injuries were not severe to warrant the attention of a medical officer while a third indicated that they failed to seek medical attention because they lacked money to pay for medical services at the time the violent act took place. Cumulatively, 73% stated that they were scared of further abuse by the spouse for disclosing the violent act to a medical officer while 74% were embarrassed and 73% were scared of questions likely to be asked by the medical personnel respectively. On psychological consequences, majority reported feeling angry (96%), guilty (41%) while 60% reported feeling embarrassed, humiliated, threatened and fear of further violence.

On social consequences, majority, 160 (80%) indicated that they often contemplated separation and divorce after an act of violence. However, only slightly more than half of these 84 (42%) had actually separated in the 12 months prior to the study. Respondents were asked who would be most affected if the relationship were to break-up and in what ways; findings

show that majority of the respondents would be hurt financially, citing that children would also be hurt as a result of a break up. It is also indicative that either partner would be hurt in different ways.

FGD results indicate that although some participants had contemplated leaving their male spouses by the time of the study because of violence, majority had not consummated the decision because they felt their male spouses might punish them. Some had been dragged out of their hiding place (mothers', relatives' or friends') house and beaten to submission. Majority also choose to stay for the sakes of their children.

Table…4.24: Percent distribution of respondent's perception on areas that spouses would be affected in the event of a break up

	Both hurt		Respondent		Same		Partner		Neither	
Issues	**F**	**%**	**F**	**%**	**F**	**%**	**F**	**%**	**F**	**%**
In relation to children	18	9	156	78	16	8	12	6	2	1
Relatives become angry and disappointed	14	7	92	46	26	13	58	29	12	6
Sexually	8	4	142	71	24	12	26	13	4	2
Loss of friends	14	7	110	55	38	19	22	11	18	9
Financially	10	5	162	81	8	4	18	9	4	2

(n=200)

4.7 Findings based on secondary data and KIIs

The findings presented in this section are based on the data derived from Key informant interviews and secondary data. We aimed identifying strategies existing in Kenya, aimed at addressing inter-spousal physical violence.

4.7.1 Existing State Interventions

During the course of this study the government of Kenya through the Attorney - Generals' Office, drafted the Domestic Violence (Family Protection) Bill dated 20th march 2001. The bill is intended for "an Act of Parliament to provide for the intervention of courts in cases of domestic violence, to provide for the grant, enforcement and variation of court orders for protection from such violence, and for connected purposes."

Parliamentarians with hints of opposition received the family protection bill with mixed reactions. It has not yet been passed into an Act of Parliament. Previously, the government through existing criminal, judicial and legal machinery has treated cases of domestic violence under the general criminal law. No notable amendments have been made to address domestic violence as an independent issue. However, through 'Kituo cha Sheria' a commendable move has been made to make legal

information and services accessible to women for low fees. The law is a powerful force in controlling behavior. The last half of the twentieth century witnessed a parade of causes seeking social justice through legislative change. However, passing laws to prohibit discriminatory practices does not guarantee that these practices will change. Attitudes as expressed in norms and customs may take generations to change. It is no wonder then victims of family violence have suffered a history of being neglected at best and abandonment at worst, by Kenya's legal system. The major problem in Kenya has been lack of legislation to protect victims of spousal violence. Experience points an accusing finger to enforcement problems. Even in situations in which the law provides clear protection to victims, the police have traditionally declined to arrest the perpetrators. The courts have traditionally failed to convict (Lystad 1986)

4.7.2 NGO Interventions

In Kenya, various NGOs are positioned differently on womens' issues. Some organizations have reached out to affected women directly with legal aid (e.g. FIDA - Kenya), alternative shelter, economic programs and education, while others have refrained from tackling the issue of violence head on. There have also been effective partnerships between the state and the NGO sector. For example the legal providers must collaborate with the police to press charges on behalf of their clients, such collaboration is aimed at integrating valuable NGO experience with the states' financial/human

resources to provide more sensitive and professional services to women victims. Though the partnering often limit flexibility in operations, it is advantageous in that it can infuse the conservative state structures with more innovative NGO leadership.

4.8 Summary of findings

Findings indicate that spousal physical violence is prevalent with four out of every five respondents reporting having experienced at least one form of physical violence in the 12 months prior to the study. Analysis of both minor and severe forms of physical violence revealed that majority of the respondents had experienced violence forms classified as minor and severe respectfully. Further majority of the respondents attributed lack of money to meet the family's basic needs as a factor leading to spousal violence. Precisely, lack of finances to meet basic necessities such as food and other survival need related to raising children were identified.

Findings indicate that lack of frequent communication between spouses is related to violent acts in the relationships. Evidence shows that seven out of every ten respondents indicated that their spouses are more likely to initiate a violent act while drank on alcohol. This is corroborated by further indications which show that although alcohol consumption may not be the cause of a violent act, in most cases the perpetrators commit a violent act while drank on alcohol.

Variations were observed in the way victims of violence respondent to a violent act. Overall majority of the respondents sought help from external sources. For example three out of every five respondents indicated that someone outside the family intervened after a violent act. These include people related to them, friends and neighbors. Internal reactions were observed too. For example, At least four out of ten respondents reported feeling angry with the spouse after a violent act.

The study sought to identify behaviors or tactics used in response to a conflict/violent act in the past one year prior to the study. The tactics reported show that sometimes spouses result to both non-violent and violent means of resolving the issues leading to an act of violence. Overall, majority (six out of ten) of the respondents indicated that they discussed matters leading to violence calmly with the spouse after the violent act. At least Eight out of ten respondents reported having been kicked, bit, punched; hit, threatened with a knife or other weapon after spouse became more violent after an act of violence.

The study established that the male spouses initiate violent acts more often with nine out of every ten respondents reporting that their spouses initiate violent acts more often in the relationship. Results indicated that respondents

received both minor and severe injuries after severe acts of violence while pain and psychological trauma were associated with the use of minor forms of violence. Further, Majority, (eight out of ten) of the respondents indicated that they often contemplated separation and divorce after an act of violence.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This study has yielded findings which are useful in filling gaps that previously existed on knowledge regarding the dynamics of spousal violence in Kenya. In this section we present a detailed discussion on the implications research findings. The discussion is divided into themes that are linked to the study findings. Each of the sub-headings depicts a theme and issues related to the study objectives are discussed therein.

5.2 Factors precipitating spousal violence

5.2.1 Provision of basic needs

A central issue in this study was to investigate those factors, which lead to physical violence between spouses. First and foremost, we aimed at understanding how underlying patterns of gender subordination and the use of violence for conflict resolution manifest themselves among spouses. This expression is an indication of some factors, which trigger violence between spouses. Some discussants reported that

their male spouses beat them for "mistakes in running the household" or when they attempted to defend themselves by "hitting or talking back". During the focus group discussions and In-depth interviews, women stated that while these incidents are often the initial catalysts for violence, their male spouses' anger was aggravated further when women resisted abuse by defending themselves physically or using harsh language.

Reports of precipitating factors such as 'not keeping the house clean, cooking and talking back' are indicative of the many demands on women's time, conscience and self-control. For example, in addition to work and responsibilities outside the home (for some) most women in the study were also expected to be responsible for economic maintenance of the household, caring for the children and preparing meals. Such gender specific responsibilities like looking for food and other basic necessities are time consuming and labour-intensive. The pressure of completing these tasks "properly" may reinforce these dynamics of gender subordination and become an excuse for violence. It is evident that when basic necessities are lacking in the domestic space, there is a tendency to have a cycle of violence that targets women physically in heterosexual relationships. The act of asking or complaining by the female spouse is likely to elicit an act of violence from the partner. Attempts to hit back in self-defense precipitate into more violence. These findings depict the extent to which the subordination of women is entrenched through actual violence or perceived threats.

5.2.2 Gender Role Reversal and Violence

Urbanization and modernization have seen an emergence of entrepreneuring women. Very few women (even in the lower socio economic classes) feel comfortable just sitting at home as "housewives". In Kangemi and Huruma estates where this study was conducted, most of these women handle one or more casual jobs to boost the family income. In some cases, they have to support their male spouses in instances of their being jobless. For example, 21% of the respondents were living with unemployed male spouses at the time of the study whereas 70% held service work jobs in the neighbouring upper class suburbs. It is apparently conclusive from the study that, this aspect of family structure is associated with spousal violence. Traditionally, men are supposed to be in control of finances and the family, but today that expectation has been reversed by changes taking place in the society. This has made some male spouses retreat into a passive - submissive role which in essence leaves them to use violence to reassert their dominant position. Where gender roles have been reversed, we found that female spouse beaters are passive, indecisive and sexually inadequate while the female spouses are domineering, outspoken and masculine. These findings confirm that men use violence as a way to control their female spouses. All sets of data in this study demonstrate that battering incidents in heterosexual relationships occur when male partners try to make their spouses comply with their wishes. It is also evident that male barterers increasingly

control female spouses through constant intimidation and use of threats. Thus we conclude that physical violence is one way of controlling female spouses which men use to exercise control. Further, interviews with men show that men believe they are justified in their use of violence because of their partners' behaviours and because violence against women is seen as an acceptable gender norm.

5.2.3 Sex, Jealousy and Spousal Violence

The family is the only legitimate outlet for sexual expression in our society (yet changing social realities have led us to redefine sexual intercourse and sexual expression even in a spousal union). The conservative view perceives sex as something automatic, which every couple should give and receive freely. Patriarchal ideology no doubt supports this neanderthal view but the feminist movement has brought in a new realization. Today, as most participants told us, women are threatened not only by unwanted pregnancies and births but also by the deadly HIV/AIDS. Thus, for most couples, sex must be negotiated and this new development has come as a surprise for most men, whose social beliefs lead them to perceive sex with their female spouses as a basic right. Findings show that when one or both partners cannot fulfill the expectations concerning sexual expression and competence in the family, this can lead to a great deal of conflict. Arguments over sex were discussed by respondents in relation to outbreaks of conjugal brawls. Those female spouses who protested or resisted having sex with their (most likely drunken and

adulterous) male spouses faced physical reprisal. Female spouses who suspected their male spouses having adulterous affairs were more likely to resist having sex with them. Others refused to have sex with their male spouses if they went out drinking using money from the family budget. Such resistance, in most cases resulted in violence. Also some male spouses beat their female spouses for suspected or detected infidelity.

Most women felt that the most effective way of punishing their male spouses for irresponsible living (extra-spousal affairs and non-provision of basic needs) was to deny them sex. Thus, men are likely to use violence to punish their female spouses on any suspicions of adultery. The wrathful male spouse is likely to rise up in righteous indignation to strike his unfaithful female spouse - for her own good, for the good of their conjugal relationships or simply because he feels he has the right to express he is hurt and angry in this way. The findings indicate that men interviewed in the study feel they have a right to engage in adulterous affairs without risk of being punished by their female spouses. A more conservative but realistic view is that, when a woman gets involved in an adulterous affair, a male spouse feels that his trust has been betrayed and his territory (home) invaded and his possession (female spouse) handled by an intruder. This is seemingly unforgivable. In reverse, the female spouse should be the one to be honest and trustworthy, the home and her body belongs to the male spouse. During the interviews, most male spouses revealed that a female spouse is 'their possession'. The

principle of ownership applies in the male spouse-female spouse relation. It is cemented further by the cultural transactions of bride price, which in most societies, is paid to the bride's family as a form of purchase.

Previous studies have found a relationship between violence and jealousy. Pizzey (1977) mentions a bizarre aspect of this need to control: "women who marry violent men are rarely allowed to use contraception, because along with the batterers violent nature goes a tormented jealousy that can barely let his woman out of sight and which finds security in keeping her pregnant and thus captured." In this study some respondents revealed some incidents whereby jealousy male spouses beat them whenever they were caught taking contraceptives, yet when they became pregnant they got beaten again because their male spouses felt they were not economically ready for another child. The battered respondents told of being hit or kicked in the stomach while pregnant. One male discussant told of having done this severally to his female spouse. In some of the cases, the beating caused a miscarriage, or premature. We have attempted to answer questions arising herewith: why do female spouse beaters so often express their anger towards the unborn child or towards the woman being pregnant? And why do the same men express ambivalence towards birth control? A man who beats his pregnant female spouse may be expressing jealousy toward the newcomer and resentment against the change it will bring to his life. In the larger sense, he may be reacting directly against the tremendous pressure

(particularly economic) our society places on men to marry, sire and support children. A man is expected by the society to accept his roles as male spouse and father; often his enthusiasm for these roles is a measure of his sense of responsibility.

5.2.4 Patriarchy and Violence Against women

A major focus in this study was to investigate the causal factors associated with physical violence between spouses. This necessitated an examination of the interrelationships between the patriarchal social structure, norms and violence against female spouses. From our findings, the structural element of patriarchy can be seen in the low status women generally hold relative to men in the family. The ideological element is reflected in the values, beliefs and norms regarding the 'legitimacy' of male dominance in all social spheres. The degree to which these elements influence physical violence between spouses was of central concern in this study. The male respondents in the FGDs clearly indicated that 'it is a man's right' to beat a female spouse. This right is accorded men by the societal expectations entrenched in gender norms. Thus a man can beat or brutalize a female spouse but not the reverse. These finding are in line with the feminist analysis of female spouse beating, whose central argument is that "brutalization of an individual female spouse by her male spouse is not an 'individual or family' problem; it is simply one manifestation of the system of male domination of women that has existed historically and cross- culturally". Societal

tolerance for female spouse beating is a reflection of patriarchal norms that, more generally, support male dominance in conjugal relationships.

5.2.5 Violence as a Resource in spousal relationships

During the FGD, men admitted that they are sometimes cruel and violent towards their spouses. Those who admitted having hit their female spouses at some point rarely saw that as a problem and just 'did it' because that was the 'best solution' to the problem at hand, none of them sought for help for their violent behaviour. Therefore, few people outside the immediate family know when a man is a female spouse-beater. The police as reported by some women, may know but to them a female spouse beater is more of a nuisance than a criminal. To unsuspecting friends, he is probably a nice guy. However, to his female spouse, he could be a dangerous man who can fly into a range without warning.

In this study, battering male spouses were described by their female spouses as ***"angry, resentful, suspicious, moody and tense"***. The battering male spouse is likely to be a loser in some basic way. Such a man is probably angry with himself and frustrated by his life. He may put up a good front in public but in the privacy and intimacy of his home, he may not be able to hide either from himself or his female spouse, his feelings of inadequacy and low self-esteem. For example, such

men are likely to have lost their jobs, were broke (without money), had been frustrated at work and they felt compelled to prove that at least they play 'master' in their homes. Thus beating a female spouse is one way of 'winning'.

The women interviewed in this study confirmed that most men use violence to compensate for some inner or visible inadequacies and insecurities. These finding shows that violence-prone persons have the ability to use physical violence as a resource and that a family member can use this resource to compensate for lack of other resources such as money, knowledge and respect. Straus et al (1999) also found that when the male spouse is out of a job, does not make enough money, or is otherwise dissatisfied with his work, he will take out his frustration on his female spouse irrespective of his social class. In this discussion, we argue that it would be a vast oversimplification to characterize female spouse battering as an essentially, lower class phenomenon. There are extensive indications that nearly every spousal relationships experience violence at one time or another. In the low-class families the frequency of violence is a clear indication that the perpetrators are in no way deterred by the existent of external factors such as the law or the police.

Goodes (1971) theoretical work on family violence and O'Briens (1971) empirical data and analysis support the hypothesis that violence is more prevalent in families where the male spouse

fails to possess the achieved skills and status upon which his ascribed superior status as head of the household is based. Goode argues that a man will deploy force when he has few resources at his command. The findings in this study indicate that when the male spouse cannot adequately fulfill his expected role as provider, this becomes a source of frustration. Aggression may follow on the needs of continued frustration in meeting societal expectations. The interviews revealed that elements of both positions are present in families where the male spouse fails to meet the role requirements of worker-provider/male spouse-father. In a number of instances, a violent attack took place after the male spouse's super ordinate position in the family was challenged or undermined. In some cases, the female spouse bought a few items like dresses or clothes for the children without his permission. In this case, we see that even symbolic challenges to ones superior position are likely to set off violent confrontations.

But there are more concrete instances of clashes when the father fails to possess the status and skills expected of his position. When direct challenges are made in these instances they often result in violence. We also noted that sometimes a female spouse challenges her male spouse's decision because she wants more personal freedom and more authority in the family. On the other hand, we also found that some male spouses tried to control their female spouses activities and freedom e.g. access to money and how it is spent. When the female spouse disobeyed it usually meant trouble and violence.

The 'use of violence as a resource' for 'compensatory purposes' is a core finding in this study. We conclude that some male spouses use violence on their spouses as a means of coping with their inferior achieved status, which happens to be an occasional source of frustration in the spousal relationships. This is especially so for low-income/low class male spouses. The social status of male spouses may be a catalytic agent to more violence. In addition, his status makes him sensitive to actual or perceived threats to the dominant position that society prescribes for the patriarch. His reaction to perceived or actual challenges may initiate or escalate intra familial conflict. The dynamics of violence between spouses suggests that violence is a product of a combination of frustrations, lack of resources and the accompanying conflict that arises when male spouses fail to posses the necessary status and skills expected of the male spouse -providers role.

5.2.6 Female spouse's Dependency and Spousal Violence

Historical evidence indicates that women's social status as well as their access to various systems of resources is determined largely by their relationships with men through family and conjugal relationships. For example, Bloom and Ottong (1987) noted that women in Africa could only inherit property through their sons from male spouses. Property, (and women are perceived as property) remains in the male domain. This system of sex stratification typically fosters women's economic and psychological dependency on conjugal

relationships. Within this overall pattern of subordination, however, there are individual differences in the level of women's spousal dependency. In this study, we focused on the relationship between women's dependency in conjugal relationships and violent abuse from their male spouses. We found that majority of the respondents' experience of violent abuse was directly related to their economic dependency on their spouses. Literature on spousal violence suggests a relationship between women's dependency and female spouse abuse. Some previous work in this area provides a basis for expecting dependency to be associated with high levels of abuse (Dobash and Dobash 1979; Marsden 1978; Straus 1976; Walker 1979).

In this study we found a strong positive relationship between women's dependency and violence but we argue that dependency does not directly cause female spouse abuse. Rather we found that this relationship is mediated by women's tolerance for physical abuse from their male spouses. Women high in spousal dependency have few alternatives, which forces them to be more tolerant to mistreatment from their male spouses including physical abuse. Thus, women who have children and rely on their male spouses for financial support cannot easily leave abusive conjugal relationships, nor do they possess sufficient resources to negotiate changes in their male spouse's behaviour. Thus we conclude that spousal dependency traps women in abusive relationships.

5.2.7 When a Female spouse cannot run away

We interviewed some female spouses who had on several occasions contemplated leaving their abusive spouse (84% had contemplated leaving their male spouses by the time of the study). However most could not consummate the decision because they felt their male spouses might punish them. Some had been dragged out of their hiding place (mothers', relatives' or friends') house and beaten to submission. Majority also choose to stay for the sakes of their children. Thus, male spouses have a tendency to deploy violence as a last means of controlling the behaviour of their female spouses. Some female spouses reported that their male spouses threatened to kill the children. This shows that spousal violence occurs not only when the male spouse role is challenged but also when the biological role is challenged. Violence frequently empts when a female spouse berates her male spouse for his poor and irresponsible habits. His shortcomings produce conflict, which in turn leads to violence. From the discussions, we learnt that women in abusive relationships give many reasons or rationalizations for staying, but overall, fear is the common denominator. Fear of further abuse, fear of social stigma and fear of loosing financial support.

5.2.8 Social Stress and Spousal Violence

The definition of social stress used in this study is borrowed from Straus (1980) who suggests that stress should be treated as a function of the interaction of the subjectively defined

demands of a situation and the capabilities of an individual or group to respond to these demands. According to Straus, stress exists when the subjectively experienced demands are inconsistent with response capabilities. This inconsistency can be demands in excess of capabilities or a low level of demand relative to response capabilities. For example, for some people, a new set of job responsibilities is experienced as stress, whereas for others, lack of such new responsibility is a stress. A strong relationship was found between stress and physical assault on a spouse. The relationship between economic stress and assault is evidence that stress per se is associated with violence.

5.2.9 Alcohol consumption and spousal violence

Alcohol was among the social structural factors being investigated in this study. We aimed at finding out whether or not alcohol is a precipitating factor in spousal physical violence. In the 200 cases who were interviewed, 84% indicated that drinking accompanied violence in their relationships and three fifths (60%) of the respondents said that their partners were drunk more than 8 times a week. The high incidence of alcohol present in spousal violence indicates that alcohol and family violence are closely related. We shall refer to this as alcohol-related violence. Previous studies have also found high association between violence and alcohol. Traditionally, this association has been explained as a function of alcohol acting as a causal agent in breaking down inhibition and leading to 'out of character' behaviour. The literature,

which accounts for violence in terms of alcohol acting as a super ego solvent (Guttmacher, 1960:3) and the female spouses who say that their male spouses are mean brutes when they drink, concur in labelling alcohol as a major causal agent in violent acts.

Gelles (1976) points out that there are serious problems in positing alcohol as a primary casual agent in interpersonal violence. Pizzey (1977) notes that "some men who batter female spouses are alcoholics, but stopping them from drinking doesn't stop the violence. Anything can release the trigger of violence in a batterer. It can be alcohol, a child crying, or matters related to food. Although alcohol is one of the several factors that often contribute to the circumstances in which spousal violence occurs, it may be used as an excuse for violence and it may trigger arguments that lead to violence. So, if alcohol is not a direct causal agent in the occurrence of violence, why then, is there such a high incidence of intra family violence where the offender has been drinking. To answer this we shall adopt Gelles (1976) model "disavowal" and "time out". Gelles explains that, first, drinking can serve as a means of neutralizing or disavowing as presented in the works of (Davis 1961, McCaghy 1968) the deviance of hitting a family member. Second, because the conventional wisdom about alcohol is that it causes 'out of character' behaviour the drinker can use the period when he is drunk as a 'time out' (see Mac Andrew and Edgerton 1969), where he is not responsible for his actions.

Thus alcohol often is associated with accounts of spousal violence because it allows the aggressor, the victim and other members of the domestic unit to orchestrate an account that admits the occurrence of the deviant behaviour but maintains the definition of the domestic unit as normal by focusing the blame on the alcohol that caused the deviant act. The family that accounts for violence by using the theory of alcohol as a disinhibitor can disassociate the offender from the stigma of being a female spouse batterer. Drinking is widespread in our society and alcoholism is viewed by some as a sickness and therefore drinking and alcoholism carry fewer stigmas for the aggressor and the family than does violence. Female spouses therefore usually claim that the major problem is drinking rather than violence.

5.2.10 Women as Victims and Perpetrators

To a certain extent, women are not just passive recipients of male violence. Some of the respondents and discussants noted that on many occasions that they tried hitting back physically, but in most cases were overpowered in the process. Others reacted verbally by lashing out their spouses with insults before, during and after the attack. Such acts can be interpreted as precipitating the violence. Most women admitted having played a 'tormenting role'.

Further interviews with battered women gave the impression that the actions of victims that provoke responses from their spouses seem to be varied; ranging from actions that occasionally provoke violent responses to those, which inevitably lead to violence. On one extreme, verbal complaints by a female spouse or a male spouse sometimes can provoke a partner to violence, depending on the context and the amount of stress the partner is under at that particular time. It is imperative to stress in this discussion that the study findings established minimal levels of use of physical violence by women against their partners and even then all the women involved in these acts did so in self-defense. Thus we concur with past feminist researchers who argue against the claim that men and women engage in equal amounts of violence (Pagelow, 1981; Russel, 1982; Stanko, 1987; Stark et al., 1979). The data elicited in this study does not reveal any equivalence of violence between men and women. Results indicate overwhelmingly that men physically assault women. Women's violence towards men is negligible and often in self defense.

5.2.11 Response to spousal violence

Findings from this study show that victims may still be reluctant to the use of Criminal Justice System and the Kenyan Police may still resist arresting men who assault their female spouses. These findings confirm the persistence of the prevailing historical traditions of gender inequality and the belief that the intact family is sacrosanct. The traditions

have obscured public and private perception of the prevalence and criminality of female spouse assault. Findings suggest that majority of the respondents failed to report incidents of assault to the police, for fear of further assault. The few who attempted to record statements with the police stations were either ridiculed or had the spouse arrested and released with no charge. This usually led to further battering or opportunistic reactions.

The findings are within the precincts of feminist analysis on female spouse beating which views the inadequate responses of the criminal justice system, such as police failure to arrest batterers as evidence of the legitimating of coercive control of women (Kaufman, Glenda and O'Brien, 1986). In Kenya, criminal justice categorizations of assaults on female spouses as 'family disputes' and as 'domestic disturbances' have contributed to the ambiguity shared by battered women and police about when a beating is 'serious enough' to warrant police attention.

5.2.12 Women's' immediate response to violence

The findings to a large extent confirm that physical violence perpetrated against women by their partners is largely a matter of silent suffering within the domestic confines. Spousal violence is typically identified as a private concern. Further, girls who later on become women are socialized to acknowledge that violence against them by male partners is acceptable and therefore those who dare let the cat out of the

bag are stigmatized. From this perspective, violence is seen to be a matter of individual responsibility. The women is perceived to be the one responsible for either adjusting more adequately to the violent situation as dictated by cultural norms or developing an acceptable method of suffering silently. This basic understanding of spousal violence as a personal problem in our view, has limited the extent to which legal resolution to the problem can be adequately pursued.

In most global societies spousal violence against women has not traditionally been perceived as a crime. However as a result of feminist advocacy within the arenas of international human rights and development, social responsibility for domestic violence is slowly being acknowledged in many parts of the world including Kenya.

5.2.13 Police apathy towards spousal violence

Findings suggest that police response to domestic violence is inadequate. Victims felt that the police failed to adequately offer useful protection. In some instances what the police did aggravated the situation. Excerpts below avow that seeking protection from the police did more harm than good. Some respondents noted that police consider spousal violence as a private matter. This can be for various reasons; out of respect for the privacy of the family; a misconstrued notion of spousal rights; because they feel the victims deserves it; and because traditionally domestic violence cases are treated

differently from other crimes. In support of these finding is the general agreement among activists for battered women that a shift from the definition of battering as a domestic problem to a criminal activity has taken place in the 20th century. This shift is generally aimed at benefiting victims of abuse. However, in most countries where the criminal and judicial justice systems are lapse on issues of domestic violence, victims are yet to benefit (in terms of protection). It is no wonder that even in those countries where prosecutions mechanisms have been put in place, the process has not been without problems and contradictions. It is apparent from the study that the police do not generally share a gendered analysis of female spouse battering as feminists do. Whereas feminists define battering within the context of patriarchy, focusing on male domination within all major social institutions, criminal justice personnel include the police, view female spouse beating and battering in gender-neutral terms as a problem of pathological family interaction. This difference in perspective results in conceptual conflicts in feminist and police definitions of spousal violence. It is no wonder that police officers are generally unsympathetic towards women who express ambivalence about their spousal relationships and pressing criminal charges. Although the intent of policies and laws mandating arrest is to reduce the impact of discretionary decision making among police, it is not possible to accomplish this goal entirely through rules imposed on street-level officers by administrators or legislators.

Thus in conclusion, we hold that the criminal justice response to female spouse beating/battering in Kenya is flawed because spousal victimization is usually isolated from the larger contexts of women's lives. The fact that police fail to arrest, turn away victims, or even set free the perpetrator without charge, perpetuates abuse and harassment by the perpetrators. Finally, it is vital that spousal violence be viewed not only as a crime but also as a manifestation of structured gender inequalities.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Summary of major findings

This research is both an exploratory as well as explanatory study of spousal physical violence. The findings show that domestic violence is prevalent and that attitude and behaviour are indeed related in the dynamics of family violence. The findings suggest that consistency between attitude and behaviour depends not simply on a person's attitude but also on social structural factors, which reinforce or inhibit violent behaviour e.g. gender socialization and social role. For example male spouses' unemployment makes men not to live up to their role obligations as providers. Their female spouses are therefore less likely to recognize the males as head of the house. When such recognition and other resources are lacking, male spouses may in turn use force to control their female spouses. Thus, lack of resources increases the consistency between attitude and behaviour among those male spouses who have a pro-violent attitude. The study thus confirms that poverty exacerbates violence.

A major objective of the study was to determine the extent to

which stressful life experiences are associated with assault between spousal partners. Violence was measured using a modified violence index of the family Conflict Tactic Scales. Findings show that respondents who experienced no stressors in the index had the lowest rate of assault. The assault rate increased as the number of stresses experienced during a 12-month period increased.

Our findings revealed a strong link between alcohol use and physical abuse of female spouses. We found that male spouses' drinking was mentioned as a major cause of violence. However, respondents did admit that violence also occurred when their spouses were not drunk. Thus, it is evident that alcohol use at the time of violence is far from a necessary or sufficient cause of female spouse abuse despite the stereotype that all drunks hit their female spouses. In the mens' FGDs, majority admitted that they were likely to hit their female spouses when drunk. These findings clearly fit the "drunken bum" theory (Straus 1999). Further findings indicate that women's' whose dependency on their male spouses' income and support is high tend to experience more physical abuse. However, reports were also made of male spouses' curtailing their female spouse's employment chances due to jealousy. Thus, we can justify that the causal dynamics between female spouses' spousal dependency and abuse is not adequately exhausted. We therefore suggest that dependency is only an intermediate rather than a direct causal variable. As already noted, there are many causes that can lead to a male spouse's violence therefore, as reflected in our findings, because of dependency

on a male spouse; a female spouse may be less able to put an end to abuse. This is because of limited opportunities and few alternatives to conjugal relationships. Thus, spousal dependency reinforces the likelihood that women will tolerate physical abuse from their male spouses.

6.2 Conclusions

A strong conclusion emerging from this study is that spousal violence is prevalent in Kenya. By observing the social demographic characteristic of respondents, violence cuts across age, religion, education and social class. Development interventions, therefore, need to address not only individual women's' needs but also general patterns of gender subordination. In addition to depicting the prevalence of violence, the study highlights women's' lack of mechanisms for redress in situations of abuse.

Majority of the women experiencing abuse do not access any form of medical care for either psychological or physical injuries. Some women stay silent about their suffering because of shame and maintenance of family honour. The lack of viable options keeps women trapped in violent situations most of the victims thought about ending their relationship at one point in time during the conjugal relationships. Social and economic constraints further compound women's' sense of isolation. Further, lack of awareness about their rights and how to seek help renders these women more vulnerable to

continued and escalating abuse by their male spouses.

There are number of strengths of this research. First, it is a unique study. The area of spousal violence has remained unrecognised and under-researched aspect of family life in Kenya. Although the sampling method precludes many generalizations, through the findings we are able to gain insight into the dynamics of intra-family violence by concentrating our efforts on interviewing women who have experienced with violence.

The focus group discussions as well as the informal interview techniques produced a wealth of data which are characterized by their richness in detail, we recommend that future research based on larger sample sizes and rigorous analysis be done to confirm the findings arrived at in this work. Otherwise, we note that the data reported in this study are largely consistent with other research done elsewhere on conjugal violence.

This study also proves that it is possible to conduct a research on issues characterized as 'sensitive' in the social sources. This was a major concern in our design stage as we were uncertain whether people would be willing to talk freely about violence in the family. It is hoped that future research on family violence in Kenya will take some of the findings presented in this study and employ them as a basis for more extensive investigations. For example, longitudinal

studies of violence in the family would contribute to an understanding of how violence evolves in the life patterns of families.

The discussion of data and other information from FGDs and in-depth - interviews, given the scholarly and heuristic value this research holds, there is one element of investigation which we strongly feel needs to be investigated further as a matter of urgency. Many women victims of spousal violence were apathetic, of their conditions, at a loss of what step to take. Some pondered running away or making a report to the police but failed to do so for fear of further abuse and abandonment by their spouses. On the other hand, those perpetrators we talked to tried to justify their actions and this definitely leads to the cycle of violence among spouses.

Finally, the extent of spousal violence and the intensity of apathetic caused by such violence indicate that spousal violence is a social problem of major proportions. This problem calls for concentrated effort on the part of social work agencies, legislative bodies and researchers to recognize study and provide appropriate services for families. This type of approach calls for commitment from the government and all stakeholders. It is my sincere hope that this research will provide a springboard toward intervention efforts towards conjugal violence.

6.3 Recommendations for action against Spousal violence

6.3.1 Institute legislation

There should be a comprehensive law that incorporates a broader definition of domestic violence. The definition should encompass all acts of physical, psychological, emotional, sexual, and financial abuse that, in effect, hurt or degrade women or take away their ability to control their live. The legislation should address women of all ages, irrespective of their spousal status.

6.3.2 Improve economic capacities

Improvement of women's access to and control over income and other property should be given consideration as a long-term preventive measure towards curbing conjugal violence. Productive assets and property are critical to strengthening the economic and social status of women, providing income opportunities and improved respect for women outside conjugal relationships and family.

6.3.3 Sensitisation Programs

Programs designed to train, sensitize, and interlink those working at critical entry points to identify and treat abused women should be a priority, with one aim being increased accountability across institutions. Such programs should be organized for medical personnel, legal and enforcement personnel, the Judiciary, counseling, and other support service providers. Among these, programs designed to sensitize health practitioners to the identification and appropriate treatment of abused women are of immediate necessity, given the crucial role this group plays and the current absence of such programs.

6.3.4 Use Media to Build Public Awareness

Mobilizations of communities around campaigns require NGOs and the government advocates working effectively with all forms of media. This requires improved skills and capacity among NGOs to enter new forms of dialogue with journalists and media personnel to heighten awareness of human rights and their significance for addressing domestic violence.

6.3.5 Public Education

Prevention of domestic violence ultimately depends upon changing the norms of society regarding violence as a means of conflict resolution and regarding traditional attitudes

about gender. To achieve this, the concept of gender and human rights must be introduced in the curricula of schools, universities, professional colleges, and other training settings. Along with this, there must be recognition and commitment to the principle of free compulsory primary and secondary education for girls.

6.3.6 Programs for perpetrators

Programs designed for the batterer should be introduced in both the state and voluntary sector. Apart from addressing male violence through the criminal Justice system, it is imperative to design and implement counseling programs that would raise the gender sensitivity of men, explore norms of violent behavior, and provide therapeutic counseling as needed. In order to promote a holistic approach to prevention as well as intervention, the deficiency in programs designed for men needs to be addressed.

6.3.7 Provision of Medical and Psychological Services

Programs should integrate the provision of comprehensive medical and psychological care and support services for survivors of abuse. Immediate medical care is provided to some extent by different organizations but little attention has been paid to mental health services, such as therapeutic counseling, support groups, and family therapy. These are

critical in rebuilding and sustaining the well being of the woman and her family.

6.3.8 Increase Collaboration

Because the ranges of services that need to be offered are extensive, it is not practical for a single agency to deliver all of them. Greater collaboration among state agencies, NGOs, and the corporate sector is essential. Effective networking to build a coordinated public response can result in an expansion of the range of services and a better utilization of existing resources.

6.3.9 Increase Outreach to Rural Areas

Coverage of services and programs needs to be expanded to rural areas. Redress mechanisms for women facing domestic violence in rural areas are absent. In addition, police stations are primarily located in urban areas (distant from the village nuclei).

6.3.10 Strengthen Follow-Up and Monitoring

Few service providers consistently monitor clients or maintain long-term records. Both the state and non-governmental sectors need to develop and prioritize follow-up and tracking mechanisms. Building and managing a systematic database is

critical to regularly assessing and improving the impact of services.

6.4 Suggestions for further research

Though we narrowed the focus of this study to physical violence, it is imperative that future research defines clearly the terms used in their work in order to capture the full scope of family violence. Researchers and policy makers from a wide spectrum of disciplines and fields including the criminal justice system, sociology, social work, psychology, medicine and law, need to ensure that others can understand and use their findings. Through such clarity, issues of definitions and measurement will be catered for. The definitions should take into account the full range of abuse experienced by women, sexual, physical and psychological - and acknowledge the commonalities among as well as unique aspects of those forms of violence. Definitions that take into account the multi-dimensional aspects of violence against women will allow for the assessment of multiple types of violence against women in the same sample. Thus, definitions should also specify severity, duration and frequency of violent acts.

Future research on spousal violence should take into account the context within which home women live their lives and in which the violence occurs. This context should include the broad social and cultural context as well as individual factors - work should also include more qualitative research

such as ethnographic research, as well as qualitative design to cover a confluence of factors such as race, socio-economic status, and age in shaping the context and experience of violence in women's' lives. A consideration of the context in which women experience violence is vital to understanding the nature of the problem as well as to the consequences to the woman and effectiveness of interventions. Currently, there is little understanding of how such factors as race, ethnicity, SES and culture intersect with gender to shape the particular context in which violence occurs. Because the victims' (women's) experiences differ on these dimensions, those differences must be understood and incorporated into the body of knowledge in order to design appropriate intervention strategies.

Future research should look at the indirect costs of spousal violence. Such studies can focus on costs associated with use of service to those associated with reduced productivity and changes quality of life. E.g. what are the costs associated with isolation, fear & lack of freedom which plagues battered women? How many activities and opportunities do women forsake out of fear of sexual assault. Studies that describe current services for victims of violence and evaluate their effectiveness are needed. Studies to investigate the factors associated with victims' and perpetrators' response to available service are also needed. These studies should describe and evaluate innovative and alternative approaches or setting for identifying and providing services to victims of family violence.

Studies are needed which will examine discriminatory processes in the criminal and civil justice systems, including implementation of new laws and reforms, charging and prosecutorial decision-making, jury decision-making and judicial decision-making. Legal research, which supplies the theoretical basis behind legal interpretations and reforms, is also needed.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

NAME OF INTERVIEWER----------
CLUSTER----------
CASE ID----------
SEX----------
SPOUSAL STATUS----------
DATE OF INTERVIEW----------
TIME (Start)----------**(End)**-----

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN THE KENYAN FAMILY

Hallo, my name is_____ and I work for the University of Nairobi. We are conducting a study for doctoral thesis requirements.

About the study

People generally think of the family as a group that usually gets a long together, even though there are lots of exceptions. These days we are finding more and more that the family is also a group that has disagreements and conflicts. The purpose of this study is to find out about those factors precipitating conflict and how conflict is settled. We are especially interested in learning about the way these conflicts are settled or not settled. This is important information that will be helpful in understanding modern Kenyan families and in providing information that may be useful to us all.

You are one of a large cross-section of people we will be talking with people from around the country, and your answers are necessary and representative of other people.

SECTION ONE

Background Information

1.1 Sex of respondent

Female	1
Male	2

1.2 Age of respondent

Years	1
Months	2

1.3 What is your ethnic group?

Kikuyu	1
Luo	2
Luhya	3
Kamba	4
Other (specify)----------	

1.4 Marital status

Married	1
Separated	2
Divorced	3
Widowed	4

1.5 What is the highest level of school you ever attended?

None	1
Some primary	2
Pri complete	3
Some secondary	4
Second. complete	5
Secondary+	6

1.6 How about your (male spouse/partner)? What is the Highest level he completed?

None	1
Some primary	2
Pri complete	3
Some secondary	4
Second. complete	5
Secondary +	6

Now, I would like to ask you some general questions about you and your (male spouse/partner).

1.7 How long have you been married or living together?

If less than one year, record months

Years----------
Months----------

1.8 Have you been married or lived with someone else before?

Yes	1
No	2
No answer	3

1.9 If yes, how did the relationship end?

Separation	1
Divorce	2
Death	3
Desertion	4
No answer	5
Other	

1.10 Has your male spouse/partner been married or lived with someone else before?

Yes	1
No	2
No answer	3

1.11 If yes, how did the relationship end?

Separation	1
Divorce	2
Death	3
Desertion	4
Other: ----------(specify)-5	

1.12 What is your occupation?

Professional and Technical	1
Clerical	2
Craftsmanship/Foremanship	3
Service workers	4
Others (specify)----------	5

1.13 Are you employed at the present time, either full-time or part-time for pay?

Yes, full-time	1
Yes, part-time	2
No	3

1.14 If employed, how many active hours do you spend at?

Work-----
Home-----
Per day?

About how many hours a week (do/did) you work?

What is your monthly income in Kenya Shillings?

0 to 2000	1
2001 to 4000	2
4001 to 6000	3
6001 to 8000	4
8001 to 10000	5
Above 10000	

How satisfied are you with your earnings?
Very satisfied 1
Unsatisfied 2
Satisfied 3
Very satisfied 4

If (1.13) is "no" ask:

1.18 Which of the following best describes what you do? Are you (**READ PRECODES**)

Unemployed 1
Retired 2
Disabled 3
Housewife 4
Self-employed 5

1.19 If unemployed, have you ever held a job for pay?

Yes 1
No 2

1.20 Why did you quit employment?

1.21 Do you/ did you supervise others as part of your job?

Yes 1
No 2

IF "YES," ASK:

1.21.1 How many people (do/did) you supervise?

One or two people 1
Three or four 2
Five to nine 3
Ten to nineteen 4
Twenty or more 5
Don't know 6

1.22 Overall, would you say you (like/liked) your work a lot, (dislike/dislike) your work a lot, or are you somewhere in between?

Like a lot 1
In between 2
Dislike a lot 3

1.23 What is your male spouse/spouses occupation?

Professional and Technical 1
Clerical 2
Craftsmanship/Foremanship 3
Service workers 4
Others (specify)---------- 5

1.24 Is he/she employed at the present time, either full-time or part-time for pay?

Yes, full-time 1
Yes, part-time 2
No 3
No answer 4

1.25 If employed, how many active hours does your partner spend at?

Work-----
Home-----
Per day?

1.26 What is your partners monthly income in Kenya Shillings?
0 to 2000 1
2001 to 4000 2
4001 to 6000 3
6001 to 8000 4
8001 to 10000 5
Above 10000 6
Don't Know 7

1.27 How satisfied is your partner with his work?
Very satisfied 1
Unsatisfied 2
Satisfied 3
Very satisfied 4

1.28 How satisfied are you with your partners' earnings?

Very satisfied 1
Unsatisfied 2
Satisfied 3
Very satisfied 4

1.29 About how many hours a week (does he/she) work?

1.30 How does your partner feel about your work
Very satisfied 1
Unsatisfied 2
Satisfied 3
Very satisfied 4

In most cases, couples experience changes in their relationships as a result of their involvement in employment. Has work affected your relationship in the following ways

1.31.1 Less time together

Yes 1
No 2

1.31.2 More role strain
Yes 1
No 2

1.31.2 Jealousy due to financial independence
Yes 1
No 2

1.31.3 Increased financial comfort

Yes 1
No 2

1.32 If "no" to (1.24) ask:
Which of the following best describes what your partner does?
(READ PRECODES)

Unemployed 1
Retired 2

Disabled 3
Housewife 4
Self-employed 5

1.33 If unemployed, has your partner ever held a job for pay?

Yes 1
No 2

1.34 Why did your partner quit employment?

1.35 Do your partner supervise others as part of his/her job?

Yes 1
No 2

1.36 IF "YES," ASK:

How many people (do/did) you supervise?

One or two people 1
Three or four 2
Five to nine 3
Ten to nineteen 4
Twenty or more 5
Don't know 6

1.37. Overall, would you say your partner (like/liked) his/her work a lot, (dislike/dislike) work a lot, or are you somewhere in between?

Like a lot 1
In between 2
Dislike a lot 3
No answer 4

SECTION TWO

Now I would like to ask you some questions about you and your male spouse/ partner. First, we would like to find out how similar or different you both are in respect to the following things:

2.1 Who is more affectionate, you or your spouse?

Respondent	1
Spouse	2
Both	3
No answer	4

2.2 With respect to managing money, how much responsibility did you have in the last three months?

2.2.1 Managing the money

RESPONSIBILITY HAD	
None	1
A little	2
Very much	3
All	4
Don't know	5

RESPONSIBILITY DESIRED	
None	1
A little	2
Very much	3
All	4
Don't know	5

2.2.2. Cooking cleaning or repair work

RESPONSIBILITY HAD	
None	1
A little	2
Very much	3
All	4
Don't know	5

RESPONSIBILITY DESIRED	
None	1
A little	2
Very much	3
All	4

Don't know 5

2.2.3 Social activities

RESPONSIBILITY HAD
None 1
A little 2
Very much 3
All 4
Don't know 5

RESPONSIBILITY DESIRED
None 1
A little 2
Very much 3
All 4
Don't know 5

2.2.4 Supervising and disciplining the children

RESPONSIBILITY HAD
None 1
A little 2
Very much 3
All 4
Don't know 5

RESPONSIBILITY DESIRED
None 1
A little 2
Very much 3
All 4
Don't know 5

2.3 Every family has decisions to make such as where to live, whether or not to buy property and so on. We would like to find out how you and your male spouse/spouse make some of these kinds of decisions

2.3.1 Buy land, car, house or home

Female spouse only 1
Female spouse more 2
Male spouse and female spouse same 3

Male spouse more 4
Male spouse only 5
Don't know 6

2.3.2 Having children

Female spouse only 1
Female spouse more 2
Male spouse and female spouse same 3
Male spouse more 4
Male spouse only 5
Don't know 6

2.3.3 What job you should take

Female spouse only 1
Female spouse more 2
Male spouse and female spouse same 3
Male spouse more 4
Male spouse only 5
Don't know 6

2.3.4 Whether you should go to work or quit

Female spouse only 1
Female spouse more 2
Male spouse and female spouse same 3
Male spouse more 4
Male spouse only 5
Don't know 6

2.3.5 How much money to spend on food, clothing and other family needs

Female spouse only 1
Female spouse more 2
Male spouse and female spouse same 3
Male spouse more 4
Male spouse only 5
Don't know

2.4. I am going to read to you things that couples do not always agree on. For each of them please tell me how often you and your male spouse/partner agreed during the last past year. Did you always agree, usually agree, sometimes or never agree?

2.4.1 Managing the money

Always	1
Usually	2
Sometimes	3
Never	4
Don't know	5

2.4.2 Cooking cleaning or repair work

Always	1
Usually	2
Sometimes	3
Never	4
Don't know	5

2.4.3 Social activities

Always	1
Usually	2
Sometimes	3
Never	4
Don't know	5

2.4.4. Affection and sex relations

Always	1
Usually	2
Sometimes	3
Never	4
Don't know	5

2.4.5 Things about children

Always	1
Usually	2
Sometimes	3
Never	4

2.5 Every couple has their ups and downs and surveys like this one have shown that at some time or other, most people wonder about whether they should continue their conjugal relationships/relationship. What about in your case? Have you ever thought about this

Yes 1
No 2

2.5.1 If yes, on no.2.5 how much have you thought about it?

Once 1
A few times 2
A lot 3
No answer 4

2.6 When you thought about it, did you actually separate?

Yes 1
No 2

2.7 Suppose your conjugal relationships/relationship were to break up. I am going to read to you things that could be affected by a breakup, and for each, i would like you to tell me who you think would be more affected by it --you or your partner.
First who would be HURT MORE ----

2.7.1 Financially
Both hurt 1
Respondent. 2
Same 3
Partner 4
Neither 5
Don't know 6

2.7.2 By loss of friends
Both hurt 1
Respondent. 2
Same 3
Partner 4
Neither 5
Don't know 6

2.7.3 By being lonely

Both hurt	1
Respondent.	2
Same	3
Partner	4
Neither	5
Don't know	6

2.7.4 Sexually

Both hurt	1
Respondent.	2
Same	3
Partner	4
Neither	5
Don't know	6

2.7.5 By angry and disappointed relatives

Both hurt	1
Respondent.	2
Same	3
Partner	4
Neither	5
Don't know	6

2.7.6 In relations with children

Both hurt	1
Respondent.	2
Same	3
Partner	4
Neither	5
Don't know	6

2.7 Some people tell their male spouses/ partners about their deepest feelings, both happy and sad feelings. But others keep their thoughts and feelings to themselves. What about in your case? Which of these statements describe you?

I never tell what i am feeling	1
I do tell occasionally	2
I tell him often	3
I always tell	4

No opinion 5

2.8 Couples relate to each other in many different ways. Thinking just about this past week, how did you feel about your conjugal relationships/relationship?

Very negative	1
A little negative	2
Neither negative or positive	3
A little positive	4
Very positive	5
No opinion	6

2.9 Now overall, how do you feel about your conjugal relationships/relationship?

Very negative	1
A little negative	2
Neither negative or positive	3
A little positive	4
Very positive	5
No opinion	6

2.10 Please recall the very first time in your relationship that there was any violence (physical).

2.11.1 When was that?
Day ---------- Month--------- Year----------

2.11.2 Were you

Married at the time	1
Living together	2
Neither	3

2.12 What happened during the incident?

2.13 Were there any important events that happened to anyone in the family immediately preceding this incident?

2.13.1 The loss of job of male spouse?
Yes 1
No 2

2.13.2 The loss of job of female spouse?
Yes 1
No 2

2.13.3 New job of male spouse?
Yes 1
No 2

2.13.4 New job of female spouse
Yes 1
No 2

2.13.5 Birth of a child
Yes 1
No 2

2.13.6 Discovery of a pregnancy
Yes 1
No 2

2.13.7 Death in the family
Yes 1
No 2

2.13.8 Illness in the family or injury
Yes 1
No 2

2.13.9 Move to a different house or estate
Yes 1
No 2

2.13.10 Move to a different town
Yes 1
No 2

2.13.11 Complaints by female spouse
Yes 1
No 2

2.13.12 Complaints by male spouse
Yes 1
No 2

2.13.13 Problems with members of the extended family
Yes 1
No 2

2.13.14 Problems with children
Yes 1
No 2

2.13.15 Other (specify)----------

2.14 At the immediate time that it happened, were you

Not at all upset 1
Slightly upset 2
Quite upset 3
Very upset 4

2.15 Did you feel guilty about what happened?
Yes 1
No 2

2.16 Did you feel angry at yourself?

Yes 1
No 2

2.17 Were you angry at your male spouse?

Yes 1
No 2

2.18 Were you angry at other people or things?
Yes 1
No 2

2.19 Were you willing to forgive and forget?
Yes 1
No 2

Who or what do you think was responsible for this incident?

2.20.1 Internal to respondent
Yes 1
No 2

2.20.2 Internal to partner
Yes 1
No 2

2.20.3 Internal to relationship
Yes 1
No 2

2.20.4 External to respondent
Yes 1
No 2

2.20.5 External to partner
Yes 1
No 2

2.20.6 External to relationship
Yes 1
No 2

The very first time did you think the incident was

A normal reaction
Good
Necessary
Bad
Didn't think much about it

What happened immediately after the violent incident?

2.22.1 Partner left the house
Yes 1
No 2

2.22.2 Respondent left the house
Yes 1
No 2

2.22.3 Partner asked for forgiveness

Yes 1
No 2

2.22.4 Respondent asked for forgiveness
Yes 1
No 2

2.22.5 Partner became more violent
Yes 1
No 2

2.22.6 Respondent became more violent
Yes 1
No 2

2.22.7 Called police
Yes 1
No 2

2.22.8 Partner sought help from other sources
Yes 1
No 2

2.22.9 Respondent sought help from other sources
Yes 1
No 2

2.22.10 Someone outside the family intervened
Yes 1
No 2

2.22.11 Someone inside the family intervened
Yes 1
No 2

2.22.12 Returned to normal routine
Yes 1
No 2

Other (specify)

SECTION THREE

3. No matter how well a couple gets along, there are times when they disagree on major decisions, get annoyed about something the other person does, or just have spats or violent episodes because they are in a bad mood or tired or for some other reason. They also use many ways of trying to settle their differences. I am going to read a list of things that you and your partner/male spouse might have done when you had a dispute in the past one year settle things

3.1 Discussed the issue calmly
Yes 1
No 2

3.1.1a If yes, how often
Never to 5 times 1
5 to 20 times 2
More than 20 times 3
Don't Know 4

3.1.2 Got information to back up (your/his/her) side of things
Yes 1
No 2

3.1.2a If yes, how often
Never to 5 times 1
5 to 20 times 2
More than 20 times 3
Don't Know 4

3.1.3 Brought in or tried to bring in someone to help

Yes 1
No 2

3.1.3a If yes, how often
Never to 5 times 1
5 to 20 times 2

More than 20 times 3
Don't Know 4

3.1.4. Insulted, swore , or shouted at the other one
Yes 1
No 2

3.1.4a If yes, how often
Never to 5 times 1
5 to 20 times 2
More than 20 times 3
Don't Know 4

3.1.5 Sulked and/or refused to talk about it
Yes 1
No 2

3.1.5a If yes, how often
Never to 5 times 1
5 to 20 times 2
More than 20 times 3
Don't Know 4

3.1.6 Stomped out of the room or house(or yard)
Yes 1
No 2

3.1.6a If yes, how often

Never to 5 times 1
5 to 20 times 2
More than 20 times 3
Don't Know 4

3.1.7 Cried
Yes 1
No 2

3.1.7a If yes, how often

Never to 5 times	1
5 to 20 times	2
More than 20 times	3
Don't Know	4

3.1.8 Did or said something to spite the other one

Yes	1
No	2

3.1.8a If yes, how often

Never to 5 times	1
5 to 20 times	2
More than 20 times	3
Don't Know	4

3.1.9 Threatened to hit or throw something at the other one

Yes	1
No	2

3.1.9a If yes, how often

Never to 5 times	1
5 to 20 times	2
More than 20 times	3
Don't Know	4

3.1.10 Threw or smashed or hit or kicked something?

Yes	1
No	2

3.1.10a If yes, how often

Never to 5 times	1
5 to 20 times	2
More than 20 times	3
Don't Know	4

3.1.11 Threw something at the other

Yes	1
No	2

3.1.11a If yes, how often

Never to 5 times	1
5 to 20 times	2
More than 20 times	3
Don't Know	4

3.1.12 pushed, grabbed, or shoved the other one

Yes	1
No	2

3.1.12a If yes, how often

Never to 5 times	1
5 to 20 times	2
More than 20 times	3
Don't Know	4

3.1.13 Slapped or spanked the other one

Yes	1
No	2

3.1.13a If yes, how often

Never to 5 times	1
5 to 20 times	2
More than 20 times	3
Don't Know	4

3.1.14 Kicked, bit, or hit with

a fist

Yes	1
No	2

3.1.14a If yes, how often

Never to 5 times	1
5 to 20 times	2
More than 20 times	3
Don't Know	4

3.1.15 Hit or tried to hit with something

Yes	1
No	2

3.1.15a If yes, how often

Never to 5 times	1
5 to 20 times	2
More than 20 times	3
Don't Know	4

3.1.16 Beat up the other one other one

Yes	1
No	2

3.1.16a If yes, how often

Never to 5 times	1
5 to 20 times	2
More than 20 times	3
Don't Know	4

3.1.17. Threatened with a knife or any other weapon

Yes	1
No	2

3.1.17a If yes, how often

Never to 5 times 1
5 to 20 times 2
More than 20 times 3
Don't Know 4

3.1.18 Used a knife or any other weapon
Yes 1
No 2

3.1.18a If yes, how often

Never to 5 times 1
5 to 20 times 2
More than 20 times 3
Don't Know 4

g. Other---(probe)

3.2 Who initiates violent episodes in your relationship?

Respondent 1
Partner 2

3.3 If partner, when is he likely to initiate a violent episode

3.3.1 When drank
Yes 1
No 2

3.3.2 When angry
Yes 1
No 2

3.3.3.When provoked
Yes 1
No 2

3.3.4 When stressed
Yes 1

No 2

3.3.5 Other

3.4 Refer (No 3.3.1) If when drank, how often does he drink in a week?

Less than two times	1
2-4 times	2
4-6 times	3
6-8 times	4
More than 8 times	5

3.5 What would you say is usually the cause of violent episodes in your relationship? (Explain this question)

3.5.1 Money
Yes 1
No 2

3.5.2 Food
Yes 1
No 2

3.5.2 Children
Yes 1
No 2

3.5.3 Other property
Yes 1
No 2

3.5.4 Housework
Yes 1
No 2
3.5.5 Other

3.6 What do you think puts pressure on your partner most?

3.6.1 Work
Yes 1
No 2

3.6.2 School fees

Yes 1
No 2

3.6.3 Providing for basic needs
Yes 1
No 2

3.6.4 Long term projects
Yes 1
No 2

Other

3.7 How do you react when your partner initiates a violent episode?
Yes 1
No 2

3.7.1 Seeks intervention from parents
Yes 1
No 2

3.7.2 Seeks intervention from friends
Yes 1
No 2

3.7.3 Seeks intervention from neighbors
Yes 1
No 2

3.7.4 Seeks intervention from the police
Yes 1
No 2

3.7.5 No action taken
Yes 1
No 2

Other

3.8 Do you ever scream or shout for help?
Yes 1
No 2

3.9 If no, why?

3.10 If yes, does anyone come to your help?
Yes 1
No 2

3.11 Has your male spouse/partner ever inflicted injuries on you?

Yes 1
No 2

3.12 Would you describe the injuries as?

Very Severe 1
Slightly severe 2
Mild 3

3.13 Did you seek medical attention?

Yes 1
No 2

3.14 If no, what prevented you from seeking medical attention?

3.14.1 Embarrassed
Yes 1
No 2

3.14.2 Scared of questions
Yes 1
No 2

3.14.3 Scared of further abuse
Yes 1
No 2

Other (specify)

3.15 Does your partner (male) mention the issue of dowry/bride price when he is abusing you?

Yes 1

No 2

3.16 Do you hit back when he beats you?

Yes 1
No 2

SECTION FOUR

4.1 Does your ethnic group (community) support violence against women?

Yes 1
No 2

4.2 Do people in that group think it is ok for a man to beat his female spouse?
Yes 1
No 2

4.3 If yes, what aspects of violence are not allowed?

4.4 If no, what does the community do when a man beats his female spouse?

4.4.1 Nothing
Yes 1
No 2

4.4.2 Elders summon man
Yes 1
No 2

4.4.3 Woman's family intervenes
Yes 1
No 2

4.4.4 Man is made to give fine
Yes 1
No 2

Other (specify)

4.5 Do you think being shouted at or insulted is violence?

Yes 1
No 2

4.6 Would you report your male spouse to the police for beating you?

Yes 1
No 2

APPENDIX II: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

FGD WITH WOMEN AND MEN (IN SEPARATE GROUPS)

Hallo, my name is_____ and welcome to this meeting. I work for the University of Nairobi. I am a study for doctoral thesis requirements. Now i will tell you a little bit about our study and i wish to thank you for finding time to be with us today. Feel free to respond to any of the issues that we are going to raise right after the introduction.

About the study

People generally think of the family as a group that usually gets a long together, even though there are lots of exceptions. These days we are finding more and more that the family is also a group which has disagreements and conflicts. The purpose of this study is to find out some of these conflicts. We are especially interested in learning about the way these conflicts are settled -- or not settled. This is important information which will be helpful in understanding modern Kenyan families and in providing information which may be useful to us all.

I want to assure you that your name will not appear anywhere on the recorded information (both tape and on paper), so your answers cannot be connected with you in any way. You are one of a large cross-section of people we will be talking with around the country, and your answers are necessary and representative of other people.

PART ONE

1. Parents and children use many different ways of trying to settle differences between them. How do you settle disputes with your children.

2. Do you think it is necessary to beat a child in order to correct him/her.

3. Does your male spouse/ spouse beat the children?
4. Does he think it is ok?

5. Do you have other means of correcting your children other than beating? if yes, what are the other ways of settling problems between you and your child
6 Does your religion condone beating of children?
7 When are you likely to beat your child?
8 How does the child react when you beat him/her?
9 Have you heard of parents who get beaten by their children or even killed?
10 Why do you think this is so?
11 Do you think children learn to be violent from their parents
12 Do children think beating is necessary?
13 Have you ever injured your child?
14 Do you condone child beating in school
15 If not, why
16 Do you allow anyone else to beat your child?
17 Do you think parents should be stopped from beating their children by the law?

A BREAK IS RECOMMENDED AT THIS POINT

Now I would like to ask you some questions about you and your male spouse/ partner. First, we would like to find out how similar or different you both are in respect to the following things:

1 Who is more affectionate, you or your spouse?
2 With respect to managing money, how much responsibility id you have in the last three months?

3 Every family has decisions to make such as where to live, whether or not to buy property and so on. We would like to ind out how you and your male spouse/spouse make some of these kinds of decisions.

4 Every couple has their ups and downs and discussions like this one have shown that at some time or other, most people wonder about whether they should continue their marriage/relationship. What about in your case? Have you ever thought about this?

5 Suppose your marriage/relationship were to break up. Who would be HURT MORE (yourself, male spouse/partner) and in what ways would they (you) be hurt?

6 Some people tell their male spouses/ partners about their deepest feelings, both happy and sad feelings. But others keep their thoughts and feelings to themselves. What about in your case?

7 Couples relate to each other in many different ways. Thinking just about this past week, how did you feel about your marriage/relationship?

8 No matter how well a couple gets along, there are times when they disagree on major decisions, get annoyed about something the other person does, or just have spats or fights because they are in a bad mood or tired or for some other reason. They also use many ways of trying to settle their differences. List things that you and your partner/male spouse might have done when you had a dispute in the past one year

9 Who initiates fights in your relationship?

10 When is your partner likely to initiate a fight

When drank, Angry, provoked, Stressed, Others----------
----

10 What would you say is usually the cause of fights in your relationship?(explain this question)

- Is it Money, Food, children
- Other property, Housework
- Others----------

11. What do you think puts pressure on your partner most?

12 How do you react when your partner initiates a fight?

13 Do you ever scream or shout for help?

14 If yes, does anyone come to your help?

15 Has your male spouse/partner ever inflicted injuries on you?

16 Would you describe the injuries as
-severe

-mild

17 Did you seek medical attention?

18 If no, what prevented you from seeking medical attention?

-Do you feel responsible for violence meted out against you?
- How do these spates of violence affect your children
- How is a woman who has separated from her male spouse regarded in this community?
- Do you have counselors in this community, who are they?

- How does the changing societal norms and values contribute to the intensity in domestic violence

- Do you think it has to do with the empowerment of women

19 Does he mention the issue of dowry/bride price when he is abusing you?

20 Do you hit back or insult him verbally when he beats you?

21 Does your ethnic group (community) support female spouse beating?

22 Do people in that group think it is ok for a man to beat his female spouse?

23 If yes, what aspects of violence are not allowed?

---

24 If no, what does the community do when a man beats his female spouse?

25 Do you think being shouted at or insulted is violence?

26 Would you report your male spouse to the police for beating you?

26a) Do you think violence against women affects development in any way?

27 Has your male spouse ever forced himself on you sexually?

28 Has he ever restrained you from using contraceptive?

29 Has your spouse/male spouse ever beaten you while you were pregnant?

30 Do you know of any woman who was ever forced to have an abortion by the male spouse?

31 Has your male spouse ever infected you with STDs?

32 Do you know of a friend or woman who has been infected with HIV/AIDS by the partner?

33 When you are angry at your spouse/partner, how do you react?

34 Have you ever started a physical confrontation?

35 Have you ever started a verbal attack?

36 When you argue or quarrel with your male spouse do you ever attack the children to release your frustration?

37 Do you sulk, yell or shout at them?

38 How about him? Does he ever attack the children because you have annoyed him?

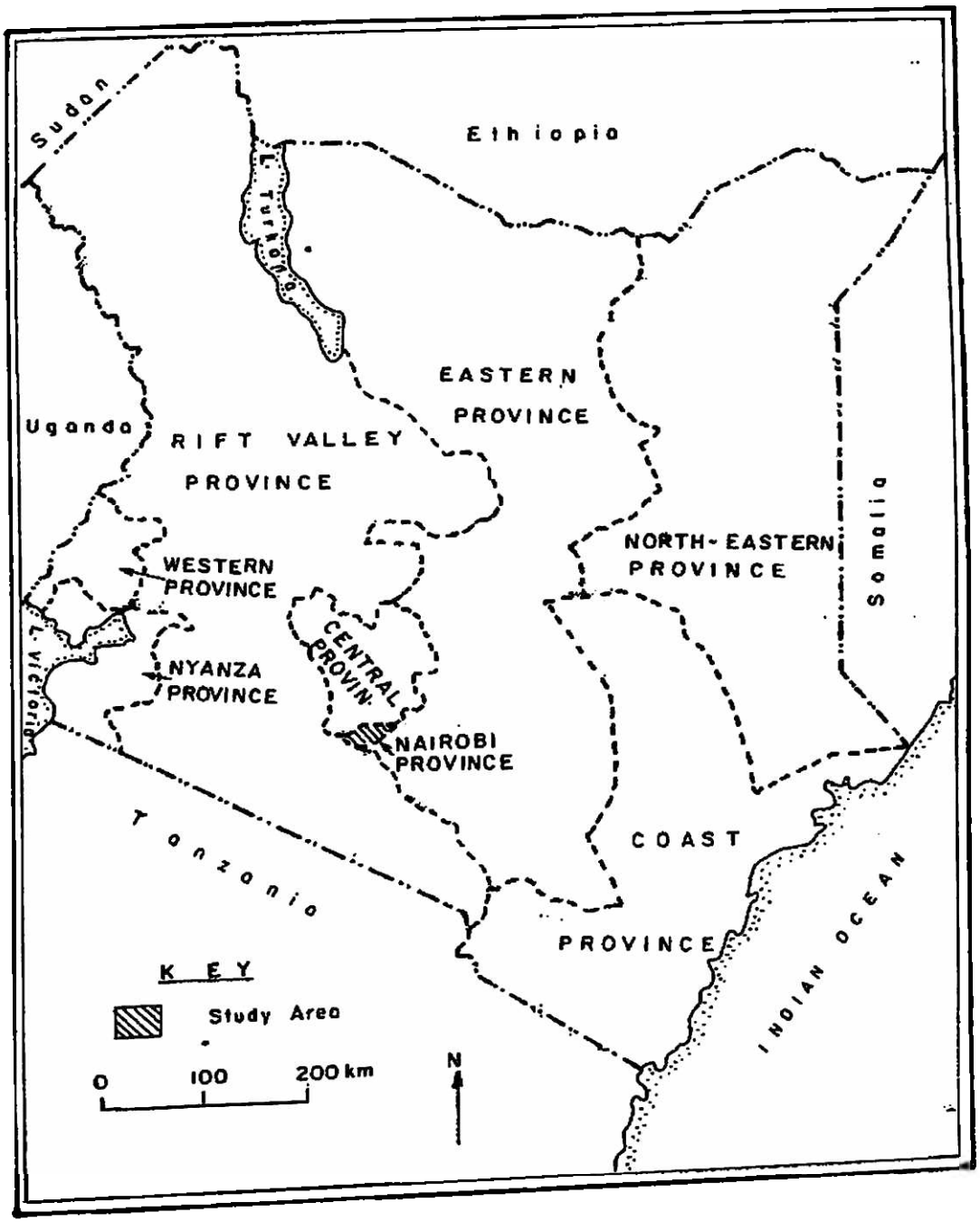
A BREAK IS RECOMMENDED

Now I would like to ask you some questions about you and your mother-in law, sister in law, co-female spouse/female spouses.

1. Have you ever had a dispute between you and the set of people mentioned
2. If yes, what was the cause of this dispute?
3. How long did the dispute last?
4. How did you settle the dispute
5. Why are fights common between in-laws

Ask other related questions….

APPENDIX III: MAP OF KENYA SHOWING THE LOCATION OF NAIROBI



APPENDIX IV:MAP OF NAIROBI SHOWING THE LOCATION OF STUDY (KANGEMI AND HURUMA)