

**WOMEN'S PERCEPTION ON MARITAL VIOLENCE AND ITS INFLUENCE ON
WIVES STAYING IN VIOLENT MARRIAGES: A STUDY OF NAIROBI COUNTY,
KENYA**

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Award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Counseling
Psychology of Egerton University**

EGERTON UNIVERSITY

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DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION

Declaration

I declare that this research thesis is my original work and has not been submitted for any award of a degree in this or any other University.

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Recommendation

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to all women and wives who are suffering violence of whatever form from their partners. And to my parents, Nyokabi and Gachoka, who sacrificed to see me through education. To my mother who taught me to recognize the importance and power of truth.

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ABSTRACT

Violence against women in its various forms is endemic in communities around the world cutting across class, age, religion and national boundaries. It is one of the most pervasive human rights violations. It denies women equality, security, dignity, self worth and their right to enjoy fundamental freedoms. It destroys a woman's sense of self, and undermines healthy families and communities. Violence poses serious mental and physical health risks on the victims. This has far-reaching consequences on the stability of the family, wellbeing of the children and society by extension. Despite the consequences of violence, some women have opted to stay in marriages in which violence exists. This study explored women's perception on marital violence and its influence on wives staying in violent marriages. It was conducted in Kileleshwa and Kawangware locations within Nairobi County, Kenya. It was a descriptive survey employing *ex post facto* causal comparative research design. The accessible population constituted thirty two thousand seven hundred and thirty one (32731) women from Kawangware location and fourteen thousand nine hundred and ninety five (14995) women from Kileleshwa location. A sample of nine hundred and eighty (980) women was used in the study. Purposive and systematic random sampling methods were used to select respondents for the study. The validity and reliability of the instruments were determined before the instruments were used to collect data. A Pilot study was carried out with a sample from Dik Dik and Kongo areas in Nairobi. Cronbach's alpha was used to establish the reliability of the instruments. A reliability coefficient of 0.77 was obtained. Data were collected using questionnaires, interviews and Focus Group Discussions. Data collected were analyzed using descriptive and inferential statistics with the aid of statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) computer program. The study found out that psychological violence was the most prevalent type of violence in Kileleshwa and Kawangware locations; that the women's perception on marital violence was negative and therefore the women did not think that violence from a spouse is a crime against their rights; that lack of economic independence was the major factor that contributes to women staying in violent marriages in the two locations and that cultural practices and religion influences women's perception on marital violence. The researcher recommends that government and Non Governmental Organizations involve men in awareness campaigns and public education programs. This will help to challenge misconceptions on marital violence. There is also need for creation of a strategy aimed at perceptions and behavior change towards marital violence.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BBC	Behaviour Change Communication
COVAW	Coalition on Violence Against Women- Kenya
CREAW	Centre for Rehabilitation of Abused Women
ECSA	Eastern, Central and Southern Africa
FGM/C	Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting
FIDA KENYA	Federation of Women Lawyers- Kenya Chapter
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GVRC	Gender Violence Recovery Centre
HIV	Human Immuno-deficiency Virus
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IDWG	Interagency Gender Working Group
IELRC	International Environmental Law Research Centre
IFPP	International Family Planning Perspectives
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
KDHS	Kenya Demographic & Health Survey
LVCT	Liverpool Voluntary Counseling and Testing
MAP	Men as Partners
NCFV	National Clearing house on Family Violence, Canada
NFVS	National Family Violence Survey
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NVAW	National Violence against Women
PEP	Post Exposure Prophylaxis
RADAR	Rural AIDS and Development Action Research
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-Based Violence
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infection
TVEP	Thohoyandou Victim Empowerment Trust
UDFW	United Development Fund for Women
UNDVW	United Nations Declaration on Violence against Women
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
USA	United States of America
VEP	Victim Empowerment Programme
WHO	World Health Organization

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background Information

Violence against women and girls continues to be a global epidemic that kills, tortures, and maims its victims. It includes physical, psychological, and sexual violation, as well as acts of economic repression (Quebec Secretariat, 1995). It is one of the most pervasive of human rights violations denying women and girls' equality, security, dignity, self worth and their right to enjoy fundamental freedoms. Women of all ages are subject to violence be they wives or girlfriends. Violence is characterized by series of repeated actions, the intensity of which generally increases over time. According to United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, General Assembly Resolution (1993), the universal phenomenon of violence against women is the result of historically unequal power relations between men and women, which have led to discrimination against women by patriarchal structure and to the prevention of women's full advancement.

The United Development Fund for Women (1992) produced a fact sheet on gender violence summarizing statistical evidence on the incidents of wife abuse worldwide. This revealed that wife battering is common in Bangladesh, Barbados, Chile, Colombo, Costa Rica, Guatemala, India, Kenya, Norway and Sri Lanka, (Davies, 1994). The actual extent of violence in the home may never be accurately known but it is clear that such violence is part of the dynamics of most family situations in both the developed and developing world. The research that does exist on violence against women globally reveals that women are murdered, physically and sexually assaulted, threatened and humiliated within their own homes by their spouses with whom they should enjoy the greatest trust.

According to Matlin (2004), violence against women is present in every country, cutting across boundaries of culture, class, education, income, ethnicity and age. Even though most societies proscribe violence against women, the reality is that violations against women rights are often sanctioned under the guise of cultural practices and norms, or through misinterpretation of religious tenets. Moreover when the violation takes place, within the home, as is often the case, the abuse is effectively condoned by the tacit silence and the passivity displayed by the state and the law enforcing machinery. No society can claim to be free of such violence; the only variation is in the patterns and trends that exist in countries and regions.

Davies (1994) further states that violence against women 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 20th Century industrial capitalism. Men had the right to use physical force against women. Early British researchers on the subject found: “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, was jealous, was lazy and unwilling to work in the fields, became drunkard, spent too much money or neglected the house” Dobash (1979).

According to Matlin (2004) in most cultures today, many men have a sense of entitlement and believe that they have a right to certain privileges and rewards from women (Baumester, Catanese & Wallace, 2002). Some even believe they are entitled to select their companion’s meals and activities and to batter them if they fail to agree with them (Shawn & Lee, 2001). Women have therefore been forced to accept violence, unwanted sexual advances and their rights have been violated. Furthermore, lack of economic independence may force many women to stay in violent relationships, unable to divorce and maintain custody of children. Furthermore, society often blames victims of violence. It is usually claimed that a woman is battered because “she probably did something to make her spouse angry”. In contrast, the aggressor is often perceived as behaving “like any normal male” and receives little blame for the violence Matlin (2004). Violence has its origin in the customary gender role socialization since childhood. Men are supposed to be aggressive, dominant and controlling. Women are supposed to be unaggressive, submissive and yielding. Early in life children absorb the message about entitlement and unequal power in male - female relationships. In a sense, violence against women represents a tragic unequal exaggeration of traditional gender roles.

In findings from a research by the National Violence against Women Survey (2000) conducted in USA, 25% of surveyed women and 7.6% of surveyed men said they were raped and/or physically assaulted by a current or former spouse, cohabiting partner or date at some time in their lifetime. According to the estimates, approximately 4.8 million women and approximately 2.9 million men are physically assaulted by an intimate partner in the USA yearly. These findings suggest that spousal violence is a serious criminal justice and public health concern.

The National Clearing house on family violence (1995), suggests that Canada-wide, one in ten women is physically abused by the husband or partner. A Manitoba Survey of 57 villages in Canada in 1995 found that 69% of the people recognized that violence against women was a major or serious problem in their community (Statistics Canada, 1999). It also suggests that violence occurs because historically, women have not been valued as equal partners in society. Women are taught these lessons through the process of socialization and through sex-role stereotyping. Negative messages about women also reinforce the theme of inequality (NFVS, Canada, 1995).

In Latin American countries, the image of the macho man continues and violence against women is perpetrated within the cultural context. Dobash and Dobash (1992) state that in Quito, Ecuador, over 80% of women interviewed in a study had been beaten by their partners, and such incidents make up 70% of all crimes reported to the Police. From 1986-1987, eighteen thousand (18,000) cases of women abuse were reported to Police in Sao Paulo, Brazil. In Israel, with its emphasis on the importance of the family and the belief that violence has no place in Jewish Society wives are also beaten by husbands.

In Kenya, as is the case with other parts of the world, violence against women is prevalent. Violence come in various forms, occurs in all communities and remains an issue of great concern. According to Kenya Police statistics rape was one of the most prevalent crimes in 2005. Furthermore, report by the Chamber of Justice and Care Kenya showed further evidence of escalating violence towards females. Cases of rape had gone up from 1,675 cases in 2000 to 3,509 cases in 2007 while cases of assault and battery against women rose from 6,255 to 9,169 cases during the same period Oxfam (2007). Moreover, the Kenyan society is highly patriarchal and the culture and traditions of the more than forty ethnic groups that make up the nation – state of Kenya, are decidedly tilted against women at every stage and across every age, (Mbote, 2001). Almost every day, the Kenyan media and reports from women Organizations report on various forms of gender based violence. The dominance of the male and the concomitant subservience of the female are foundational to the socio-economic set up of the society and find expression in numerous ways that are diminutive of the dignity and worth of women. According to Davies (1994), it is difficult to estimate the actual incidence of violence in the household. Communities deny the problem, fearing that admission of its existence is an assault of the integrity of the family and few official statistics are kept. Women seldom regain power by reporting the violence committed against them.

Legal procedures are often embarrassing and humiliating: they invade a woman's right to privacy even further. This encourages women to become more silent.

According to the Kenya Demographic Health Survey of 2008-2009 released in 2010, violence against women is an issue of concern. From a population of six thousand women almost half (45%) of the respondents aged 15 to 49 years had experienced various forms of violence, physical, emotional or sexual violence. This indicated that marital violence is not restricted to physical violence alone. Verbal abuse, restrictions in freedom of movement and withholding of funds also constitute violent behavior. Results of the Demographic survey showed that 49% of the women had experienced controlling behaviors from their husbands (for example being jealous or angry when the woman talks to other men). More than 37% reported that their husbands insist on knowing where they are at all times, and 21% said their husband do not trust them with money. Overall, half of the ever married women (47%) have experienced some kind of violence by a husband or live-in partner in Kenya between 2008 and 2009.

Nairobi County is one of the 47 Counties making up the Republic of Kenya. It is entirely urban and cosmopolitan. According to the Institute of Economic Affairs-Kenya (2009), Nairobi has the highest prevalence of reported gender violence cases in the country despite NGO's, lobbyists, civil society groups involved in the fight against GBV. It was the first Province in the country to set up a fully fledged gender desk at one of the police stations, in particular, Kilimani Police Station, to address issues of GBV. The County is actively involved in campaigns against gender violence as a major concern that creates fear, insecurity and lack of participation in development. According to a Baseline Survey on GBV in Kenya (2010), between January and July 2010, two hundred and sixty nine (269) cases of GBV were reported in Kenyatta Hospital alone. This indicates that GBV is still an issue of major concern in the County. This study looks in to women's perception on marital violence and its influence on their decision to stay in violent marriages in Kileleshwa and Kawangware locations within Nairobi County.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In recent years, there has been concern about violence against women in general and about marital violence in particular. Not only is marital violence a violation of the basic human rights of women but an increasing amount of research highlights the health burdens and consequences of such violence. In many societies, women are socialized to accept, tolerate, and even rationalize marital violence and to remain silent about such experiences. Violence against wives undermines healthy families and poses serious mental and physical health risks to the women and other family members. There are long-term effects from living in a dysfunctional family. The effects are often repeated through generations. Children often grow up believing this dysfunctional unit is normal and they may gravitate towards people and situations that mimic the dysfunction they are accustomed to. Violence is often repeated through learned behavior. In spite of the dangers and consequences of violence, some women have opted to stay in relationships in which violence occur. Nairobi has the highest prevalence of reported gender violence cases among the Counties in Kenya Institute of Economic Affairs –Kenya (2009). Data from Gender violence recovery centers in Nairobi show that cases of gender violence have increased steadily over the last four years. In Kenyatta hospital alone 269 cases were reported between January and July 2010. In spite of this, there are several NGO's, lobbyists and civil society groups operating within Nairobi. The researcher therefore finds a gap as why in spite of the presence of several groups creating awareness on gender based violence in Nairobi; it is still the county with the highest figures on GBV. This study therefore looks in to women's perceptions on marital violence to find out how women view violence from their spouses and why some women put up with the violence. These women bear the brunt of marital violence and the health and psychological burdens that come with the violence. The women are often in great danger in the place where they should be safest: within their families. For the women, "home" is where they face a regime of terror and violence at the hands of somebody close to them- somebody they should be able to trust. They suffer physically and psychologically in what should be a secure environment. They are unable to make their own decisions, voice their opinions or protect themselves and their children for fear of further repercussions. Their human rights are denied and their lives are stolen from them by the ever present threat of violence. Yet they are silent about it. It is thus critical to understand why the women remain silent and how they perceive the violence. The family is often equated with sanctuary - a place where individuals seek love, safety, security, and shelter. But, this has become a place that imperils lives, and breeds

some of the most drastic forms of violence perpetrated against women and girls. This study thus explored the Nairobi women's perceptions on marital violence to facilitate design of effective programs to eliminate violence against wives and to empower women to fight the culture of silence surrounding marital violence.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore women's perception on marital violence and its influence on wives staying in violent marriages in Nairobi County.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The following were the objectives of the study:

- i. To establish the types of violence perpetrated against married women in Nairobi County.
- ii. To explore the women perceptions on marital violence in Nairobi County.
- iii. To identify the factors that contribute to women staying in marriages in which violence occurs.
- iv. To find out the extent to which cultural beliefs and practices influence women's perception on marital violence in Nairobi County.
- v. To explore the extent to which religion influences women's perception on marital violence based on religious commitment in Nairobi County.
- vi. To establish if there is any significant difference in the extent of violence perpetrated on women based on selected demographic characteristics including social-economic status, level of education and age.

1.5 Hypotheses of the Study:

The following were the hypotheses of the study;

Ho₁. There is no statistically significant difference in the perception of women towards the influence of cultural beliefs and practices on marital violence.

Ho₂. There is no statistically significant difference in the perception of women towards marital violence based on their religious commitment.

Ho₃. There is no statistically significant difference in the extent of marital violence on women based on socio-economic status, level of education and age.

1.6 Significance of the Study

Women have emerged as the most significant agents of change in the struggle against gender-based violence. The collective strength and courage of individual women and women's organizations have played a critical role in fighting many forms of violence. A woman is capable of mobilizing hundreds of other women to revise laws and policies. Through this study, the researcher hoped to generate knowledge that will contribute to awareness by women regarding perceptions on marital violence and sensitize them to reject the violence.

This study was expected to highlight the women perceptions on marital violence in Nairobi County to enable religious leaders, scholars, and community leaders to re-examine interpretation of religious texts and doctrines from the perspective of promoting equality and dignity for women. Many men who abuse women justify such behaviors on a religious basis, and many cultural practices that abuse and violate women are justified in the name of religion. It was thus hoped that this study will assist the religious leaders at all levels and other community members ensure that religious and cultural interpretations are not used to oppress women. This is hoped to create attitudinal and behaviour change to secure a shift from society to shun GBV.

The study was expected to generate more understanding on the factors that contribute to women staying in relationships where they experience violence in Kileleshwa and Kawangware locations and the need to address the issue. This will go a long way in bringing out issues that will help the government fulfill her mandate to guarantee protection of rights of all regardless of their gender. The study outlined various intervention strategies to be implemented by the Nairobi county government, National government and other stakeholders to overcome gender-based violence. This study was also expected to make theoretical contribution and intervention strategies including counseling and other interventions that can be used to address marital violence. The need for theoretical development in the violence against women area has been a long-standing recommendation among scholars (Crowell & Burgess, 1996; Kruttschnitt, Gartner, & Ferraro, 2002).

The results of this study were intended to provide valuable insights to the government and other stakeholders especially nongovernmental organizations on ways of empowering women to stand up against gender based violence. The study hoped to be able to accomplish this by

sensitizing policy makers and other stakeholders on the need to design policies and programmes that eliminates all forms of gender based violence.

1.7 Scope of the Study

This study explored women perceptions on marital violence and its influence on wives staying in violent marriages. The study looked at the types of violence perpetrated on married women in Kileleshwa and Kawangware locations within Nairobi County; the women perceptions on violence; factors that contribute to some women staying in violent marriages and the extent to which cultural practices and religion influence women's perception on marital violence. The study looked at the violence directed against married women and those in relationships. However, it only covers violence that occurs within the household and against females only. The study was limited to Kileleshwa and Kawangware locations only.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

- i. The study touched on a very personal and private domain. Some respondents were uncomfortable in participating in the study especially those who claimed to have experienced violence at the time of data collection and others may have failed to give sincere responses since the issue of spousal violence was regarded by many as a 'private matter'. However, most respondents cooperated since they were assured of confidentiality of their information.
- ii. There is a culture of silence surrounding Gender Based Violence that made collection of data on this sensitive topic particularly challenging. Even women who wanted to speak about their experiences of violence found doing so difficult because of feelings of shame and fear. The women were assured of the anonymity of their responses, which were to be used for academic exercise and not to expose them.
- iii. Collecting data especially in households where the woman had experienced violence or abuse from the spouse prior to the visit by the researcher was another challenge faced. Some women were concerned that they would encounter more violence if the spouse would know that they had participated in such a study so failed to respond due to fear. The researcher assured such women of the privacy of their information and ensured there was no intrusion by non-interviewees. This was possible by conducting the interviews away from the household.

- iv. Most of the women who faced violence expected the researcher and the research assistants to help solve their problems while others wanted to be paid for their participation. There were also cases of rape reported to the researcher for assistance, which was not possible to give. The members also received numbers from battered women and their relatives seeking for help. The researcher referred those affected to Fida Kenya and encouraged them to seek counseling from qualified counselors and for safety they were advised to seek protection from the local chief or sub chief.

1.9 Assumptions of the Study

This study assumed:-

- i. That there was existence of violence between spouses living in a marriage context within Nairobi County.
- ii. That there were some married women who have opted to stay in their marriages in spite of violence being meted out against them by their spouses.
- iii. That most respondents gave honest answers to questions asked in the study.
- iv. That there was no relationship between women's perception on marital violence and their staying in violent marriages.

1.10 Definition of Terms

The following are the operational definition of terms as used in the study:

Counseling

This term is used to refer to assistance or help that is offered or given to victims of marital violence in marriages or relationships.

Counseling Interventions

This term has been used in the study to refer to the type of programmes that can be put in place to assist victims of violence overcome their situations.

Culture

This has been used to refer to the beliefs, way of life or customs that are shared and accepted by people in a particular society.

Domestic Violence

This is term is used in the study to refer to past or present abuse or violation that has been caused by a partner in a marriage or relationship. The abuse may be physical including kicking, beating, injuring or verbal abuse.

Empowerment

The term has been used to refer to the process of enabling women to take appropriate action to improve their status in order to realize their abilities to the full.

Gender Based Violence/ Abuse

This term has been used in this study to refer to any intentional acts that injure a partner in a marriage particularly the woman; these acts may be physical, psychological, verbal or sexual. This term was used interchangeably with the term violence against women.

Gender Stereotyping

This term has been used to refer to the ways in which society assign roles, and responsibilities to men and women on the basis on their sex; that is whether male or female.

Gender Typing

Gender typing has been used to refer to ways in which parents often encourage their children to develop gender typed interests by providing different activities for boys and girls.

Heterosexual Relationship

This term has been used to refer to relationships or marriages comprising of male and female partners who are recognized as husband and wife

Influence

The term has been used in the study to refer to the force, motivator or drive that makes someone behave or act in the way they do in their circumstances.

Intimate Partner Violence

This refers to acts of violence that are perpetrated by a husband to a wife within a marriage such as beatings, psychological and verbal aggression among other forms of violence

Marital Violence

For the purpose of this study, the term "marital violence" includes violence against women by a partner, including a cohabiting partner. This does not cover violence inflicted on women by strangers outside the home - in public places such as streets, workplaces or in custody, or in situations of civil conflict or war but violence by a partner

Perception

The term perception is used to refer to women's opinion or views on violence against them by their spouses. This refers to their thoughts and beliefs on violence from their husbands or partners. How they conceive violence from their partners

Spousal Abuse

This term has been used to refer to any type of violence that is meted out against a partner in a marriage context. The violence may be directed to the male or female spouse.

Spousal Violence:

In this study spousal violence has been used to refer to all types of injuries perpetrated on women from a partner in a marriage relationship.

Socio-Economic Status

The term has been used to refer to the wealth status of women based on their income level or their financial stability. It means how stable a woman is financially and if they are dependent on their partner for their financial needs or not.

Violent Marriages

This term has been used to refer to marriages or relationships where a woman suffers various forms of violence from the partner. This violence may injure the woman physically, or psychologically.

Wife Abuse/ Wife Battering/ Women Abuse

These terms have been used in the study to refer to any type of violence against a female partner or spouse in a marriage context.

Women

This term was used in the study to refer women who were married or single but who were in a marriage or relationship with a man at the time of the study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of literature relevant to the study. The review focused on several issues on violence against women. Among the issues covered include: typology of violence against women, causes of violence against women, the consequences of spousal violence, factors that contribute to women staying in marriages in which violence occur, violence against women in Kenya, psychology of violence, theoretical and conceptual framework of the study.

2.2 Typology and Prevalence of Violence Against Women

Violence against women and girls continues to be a global epidemic that kills, tortures, and maims - physically, psychologically, sexually and economically. It is one of the most pervasive of human rights violations, denying women and girls' equality, security, dignity, self-worth, and their right to enjoy fundamental freedoms.

According to Matlin (2004), violence against women is present in every country, cutting across boundaries of culture, class, education, income, ethnicity and age. Even though most societies proscribe violence against women, the reality is that violations against women's human rights are often sanctioned under the garb of cultural practices and norms, or through misinterpretation of religious tenets. Moreover, when the violation takes place within the home, as is very often the case, the abuse is effectively condoned by the tacit silence and the passivity displayed by the state and the law-enforcing machinery. No society can claim to be free of such violence; the only variation is in the patterns and trends that exist in countries and regions. Specific groups of women are more vulnerable, including minority groups, indigenous and migrant women, refugee women and those in situations of armed conflict, women in institutions and detention, women with disabilities, female children, and elderly women.

Although the terms 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 abuse 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). Violence against women is one of the many types of violence

likely to occur in a domestic setting. Straus and Gelles (1986) caution that one of the major problems that confront investigators who attempt to study marital violence has been the quagmire of conceptual dilemmas encountered. For example, scholars who study domestic violence often use the terms violence and abuse interchangeably. These concepts, however, are not conceptually equivalent. Moreover, there is considerable variation in how each of the concepts is nominally defined.

Violence against women occurs both within and outside the family and could take various forms. It could be physical violation of the woman's body through such acts as hitting, kicking, burning, pushing, choking, and could result in minor bruising or death (Matlin 2004). It may also constitute sexual violation such as rape or psychological tormenting through verbal abuse, harassment, deprivation of resources or denial of access to various facilities. Emotional abuse may include humiliation, name calling, degradation, intimidation, extreme jealousy, and refusal to speak, (Alexander, LaRosa, & Bader, 2001, Wallace, 1999). Spousal violence is committed by both males and females in relationships, although studies prove that the majority of spousal violence is perpetrated by men towards women, (Dobash & Dobash, 1992). Davies (1994) posits that this is an extension of the role society expects men to play in their domestic sphere.

In Canada, according to police reports for 1999, 523 women suffered major physical injuries or died at the hands of their husbands or Common Law partners. This figure is five times higher than the number of men (100) who experienced major physical injuries or death at the hands of their spouse in the same period (National Clearing House on Family Violence, 1995). It is difficult to estimate how many women experience violence in the home. According to traditional taboos, women must not let others know that they have been abused; this silence prevents those wishing to carry out research from obtaining accurate data about violence in intimate relationships (Jiwani 2000). According to estimates, however, about 25% of women in the United States experience violence during their lifetime (Alexander, LaRosa, & Bader, 2001; Christopher & Lloyd, 2000). The data for Canada is similar; about 25% to 30% of married or formerly married women reported that they had been abused (statistics Canada, 1993, 2000; Taylor, 1995). Straus and Gelles, (1986) found that in couples reporting spousal violence, 27% of the time the man struck the first blow; the woman did it in 24% of the time. The rest of the time, the violence was mutual, with both partners brawling.

Violence is also common in dating relationships. For example, DeKeseredy and Schwartz (1998) reported the results of large-scale survey of Canadian university students. The survey revealed that 31% of the women had been pushed, grabbed, or shoved by someone they were dating. Psychological abuse was even more common: 65% of the women said they had been degraded in front of friends or family and 65% had received insults or swearing. Data gathered in Asia, Latin America, and Africa reveal even higher rates of abuse, (Dobash & Dobash, 1980). In many countries, more than half of the adult women reported that they had been assaulted by a partner. For example, an interviewer asked a man in South Korea if he had beaten his wife. He replied: "I was married at 28, and am 52 now. How could I have been married all these years and not beaten my wife? For me it's better to release that anger and get over with. Otherwise, I just get sick inside" (Kristof, 1996). Violence against women is an outcome of the belief, fostered in most cultures, that women with whom men live with are their possessions to be treated as men consider appropriate (Matlin 2004).

According to a Baseline Survey on GBV in Kenya (2010), women's groups have long pushed for coordinated and integrated responses from governments in order to eliminate violence against women. The groups have placed women's rights firmly on the agenda of international human rights through their advocacy. The 1990s, in particular, witnessed concentrated efforts on the part of the world community to legitimize and mainstream the issue. The World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna (1993) accepted that the rights of women and girls are "an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of universal human rights." The United Nations General Assembly, in December 1993, adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women. It is the first international human rights instrument to deal exclusively with violence against women, a groundbreaking document that became the basis for many other parallel processes.

In 1994, the Commission on Human Rights appointed the first UN Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, entrusting her with the task of analyzing and documenting the phenomenon, and holding governments accountable for violations against women. The Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing (1995) included elimination of all forms of violence against women as one of its twelve strategic objectives, and listed concrete actions to be taken by governments the United Nations, international and nongovernmental organizations. While gender-based violence is not specifically mentioned in the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), in

1992 the Committee overseeing CEDAW implementation adopted General Recommendation 19, which states that it is a form of discrimination that inhibits a woman's ability to enjoy rights and freedoms on a basis of equality with men. It asks that governments take this into consideration when reviewing their laws and policies.

Under the new Optional Protocol to CEDAW, adopted by the UN General Assembly in October 1999, ratifying States recognize the authority of the Committee to receive and consider complaints from individuals or groups within that State's jurisdiction. On the basis of such complaints, the Committee can then conduct confidential investigations and issue urgent requests for a government to take action to protect victims from harm; making the Convention conform to other human rights instruments such as the Convention against Torture. Some regions have also developed their own conventions on violence against women.

According to a Baseline Survey on Gender Based Violence in Kenya (2010), there are various regional instruments promulgated by African states and Heads of Governments. These include Protocol to African Charter on Human and People's Rights on Rights of Women in Africa and Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa. In the Kenyan context, there are policy frameworks for addressing GBV; they include the National Gender and Development policy, Gender Equality and Development, Kenya National HIV/AIDS Plan 2005/2006-2009/10, National Guidelines on the management of Sexual Violence (2009), and National Framework towards Response and Prevention of Gender Based Violence in Kenya December 2009. There is also the New Constitution promulgated in 2010.

This growing momentum has compelled a better understanding of the causes and consequences of violence against women, and positive steps have been taken in some countries, including reforming and changing laws that deal with this issue. However, in spite of the various conventions and steps taken by various governments, GBV has not yet been eliminated. In Kenya, GBV is still rampant despite the measures taken to address the problem. It is evident that there is sufficient framework to combat GBV and the challenge lies with implementation and enforcement of existing laws and policies. This is one of the recommendations made in this study to help address cultural practices and other related factors that promote gender inequality that affects women.

2.3 Historical Perspective on Domestic Violence

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 hierarchy, misogyny and polarity.

Despite women's growing 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. 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.

2.4 Extent of Marital Violence against Women

Violence in the domestic sphere is usually perpetrated by males who are, or who have been, in positions of trust and intimacy and power- husbands, boyfriends, fathers, father's in law, stepfathers, brothers, uncles, sons or other relatives. Marital violence is violence perpetrated against wives by their husbands. Debate surrounding the extent of the problem is clouded by the fact that marital violence is a crime that is under-recorded and under-reported. When women file a report or seek treatment they may have to contend with police and health care officials who have not been trained to respond adequately or to keep consistent records. On the other hand, shame, fear of reprisal, lack of information about legal rights, lack of confidence or fear of, the legal system, and the legal costs involved make wives reluctant to report incidences of violence (UNICEF, 2000). This section highlights the extent of marital violence against women globally, in Africa and in Kenya.

2.4.1 Global Overview

Violence against women is a widespread and socially tolerated human rights violation that takes the forms of domestic violence, sexual and psychological abuse. It is emerging as a serious global health, human rights and development issue and it is a symptom of gender inequalities. It is a serious cause of injury and death among women yet it is accepted by customs and thrives on impunity. 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 & Burgess, 1996, Heise et al, 1995, Koss 1994; Butchart & Brown 1991; Tjaden & 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.

A growing body of research studies confirms that there is prevalence of marital violence in all parts of the world. According to UNICEF (2000), marital violence statistics are grim no matter where in the world one looks. Data from developed and developing countries as well as from transitional countries provide an overview of the global problem. Table 1 further illustrates this situation.

Table 1

Domestic Violence against Women

<p>Industrialized Countries</p> <p>Canada</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 29% of women (a nationally representative sample of 12,300 women) reported being physically assaulted by a current or former partner since the age of 16 <p>Japan</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 59% of 796 women surveyed in 1993 reported being physically abused by their partner <p>New Zealand</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 20% of 314 women survey reported being hit or physically abused by a male partner <p>United Kingdom</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 28% of women (a nationally representative sample of women) reported at least one episode of physical violence from their partner
<p>Asia and the Pacific</p> <p>Cambodia</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 16% of women (a nationally representative sample of women) reported being physically abused by a spouse: 8% report being injured <p>India</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Up to 45% of married men acknowledged physically abusing their wives, according to a 1996 survey of 6,902 men in the state of Uttar Pradesh <p>Korea</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 38% of wives reported being physically abused by their spouse, based on a survey of a random sample of women <p>Thailand</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 20% of husbands (a representative sample of 619 husbands) acknowledged physically abusing their wives at least once in their marriage
<p>Middle East</p> <p>Egypt</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 35% of women (a nationally representative sample of women) reported being beaten by their husbands at some point in their marriage <p>Israel</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 32% of women reported at least one episode of physical abuse by their partner and 30% report sexual coercion by their husbands in the previous year; according to a 1997 survey of 1,826 Arab women
<p>Africa</p> <p>Kenya</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 45% of 612 women surveyed in one district reported having been beaten by a partner; of those 56% reported that they were beaten often or sometimes <p style="text-align: right;">cont'd</p>
<p>Uganda</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 41% of women reported being beaten or physically harmed by a partner, 41% of men reported beating their partner (representative sample of women and their partners in two districts) <p>Zimbabwe</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 32% of 966 women in one province reported physical abuse by a family or household member since the age of 16, according to a 1996 survey
<p>Latin America and the Caribbean</p> <p>Chile</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 26% of women (representative sample of women from Santiago) reported at least one episode of violence by a partner, 11% reported at least one episode of severe violence and 15% of women reported at least one episode of less severe violence <p>Colombia</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 19% of 6,097 women surveyed have been physically assaulted by their partner in their lifetime <p>Mexico</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 30% of 650 women surveyed in Guadalajara reported at least one episode of physical violence by a partner, 13% reported physical violence within the previous year, according to a 1997 report <p>Nicaragua</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 52% of women (representative sample of women in Leon) reported being physically abused by a partner at least once, 27% reported physical abuse in the previous year, according to a 1996 report
<p>Central and Eastern Europe/CIS/Baltic States</p> <p>Estonia</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 29% of women aged 16-24 fear domestic violence, and the share rises with age, affecting 52% of women 65 or older, according to a 1994 survey of 2,315 women <p>Poland</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 60% of divorced women surveyed in 1992 by the Centre for the Examination of Public Opinion reported having been hit at least once by their ex-husbands, an additional 25% reported repeated violence <p>Russia (St. Petersburg)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 25% of girls (and 11% of boys) reported unwanted sexual contact, according to a survey of 174 boys and 172 girls in grade 10 (aged 14-17) <p>Tajikistan</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 23% of 550 women aged 16-40 reported physical abuse according to a survey

(Adapted from "Violence Against Women" WHO FRH/WHO/47/8 "Women in Transition" Regional Monitoring Report, UNICEF 1999 and a Study by Domestic Violence Research Centre, Japan)

Violence against women is often a cycle of abuse that manifests itself in many forms throughout their lives. Even at the very beginning of her life, a girl may be the target of sex-selective abortion or female infanticide in cultures where son-preference is prevalent. During childhood, violence against girls may include enforced malnutrition, lack of access to medical

care and education, incest, female genital mutilation, early marriage, and forced prostitution or bonded labour.

According to Nicolson (2010), women go on to suffer throughout their adult lives - battered, raped and even murdered at the hands of intimate partners. Other crimes of violence against women include forced pregnancy, abortion or sterilization, and harmful traditional practices such as dowry-related violence, (the burning of a widow on the funeral pyre of her husband), and killings in the name of honour. And in later life, widows and elderly women may also experience abuse. While the impact of physical abuse may be more visible than psychological scarring, repeated humiliation and insults, forced isolation, limitations on social mobility, constant threats of violence and injury, and denial of economic resources are more subtle and insidious forms of violence. The intangible nature of psychological abuse makes it harder to define and report, leaving the woman in a situation where she is often made to feel mentally destabilized and powerless (Nicolson 2010).

Jurists and human rights experts and activists have argued that the physical, sexual and psychological abuse, sometimes with fatal outcomes, inflicted on women is comparable to torture in both its nature and severity. It can be perpetrated intentionally, and committed for the specific purposes of punishment, intimidation, and control of the woman's identity and behavior. It takes place in situations where a woman may seem free to leave, but is held prisoner by fear of further violence against herself and her children, or by lack of resources, family, legal or community support (Nicolson 2010). Table 2 shows the types of violence experienced by women throughout their life cycle.

Table 2

Examples of Violence against Women Throughout the Life Cycle

Phase	<i>Type of violence</i>
Pre-birth	Sex-selective abortion; effects of battering during pregnancy on birth outcomes
Infancy	Female infanticide; physical, sexual and psychological abuse.
Girlhood	Child marriage; female genital mutilation; physical, sexual and, psychological abuse; incest; child prostitution and pornography.
Adolescence	Dating and courtship violence (e.g. acid throwing and date rape)
Adulthood	economically coerced sex (e.g. school girls having sex with "sugar daddies" in return for school fees); incest; sexual abuse in the workplace; rape; sexual harassment; forced prostitution and pornography; trafficking in women; partner violence; marital rape; dowry abuse and murders; partner homicide; psychological abuse; abuse of women with disabilities; forced pregnancy.
Elderly	Forced "suicide" or homicide of widows for economic reasons; sexual, physical and psychological abuse.

Source: "Violence against Women".WHO.,FRH/WHD/97.8

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 sometimes found in same-sex partnerships, the overwhelming burden of partner violence is borne by women at the hands of men (Heise et al, 1995, WHO 1997). For that reason, this study deals with the question of marital violence in heterosexual relationships with specific reference to women's perception. Initially viewed largely as a human rights issue, marital violence is increasingly seen as an important public health as well as a social problem.

2.4.2 The Extent of Marital Violence in Africa

The actual extent of marital violence in the African region may never be accurately known. To date, there are no comprehensive studies on this topic to permit comparability of marital 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. Infact, the researcher did not encounter any literature on women perceptions on marital violence and this is the gap that she hopes to fill. Moreover, the existence of current literature on the area is not available. However, it is clear that marital 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), marital 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 African today. However, marital 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 marital 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 deny they are abused (Ofei-Aboagye 1994)”.

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 Ibadan, Nigeria shows that wife abuse is

prevalent because 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 marital 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.

According to Abane (2000), 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 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 sensitized 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 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.

2.4.3 Violence against Women in Kenya

According to Institute of Economic affairs – Kenya (2009), Gender-Based Violence is widespread on Kenya. It is a crime that shocks and traumatizes the survivors and undermines their status in the community. It is estimated that every day, women are physically and sexually abused and raped in all social and ethnic groups in the country. Most of the gender violence cases are not reported to the authorities as survivors often face a lot of obstacles in trying to bring the perpetrators to justice. Many of them are intimidated by cultural attitudes and state inaction while seeking redress.

Research conducted in 2002 by FIDA Kenya revealed that of 1,067 women attending antenatal clinics and emergency care in Nairobi hospitals, 0.4 per cent reported miscarriage caused by domestic violence and 0.7 per cent reported sexually transmitted infections (STIs). 56 per cent of the abused women said that they had not reported the violence to anyone, with

many stating that violence is considered to be a normal part of life. Only 7 percent reported to some authority such as the chief, the police or a doctor. Government statistics in Kenya Demographic and Health Survey (KDHS) in 2003- 2004 demonstrate that at least half of all women had experienced violence since they were aged 15 (CBS 2004b). This is a worrying situation in a country where advocacy groups have continued to raise the profile of gender based violence in policy, media and legal fora.

Statistics by the Kenya Police Crime for 2007 point out that there were 876 cases of rape reported, 1,984 cases of defilement, 181 cases of incest, 198 cases of sodomy, 191 cases of indecent assault and 173 cases of abduction. Whereas it may be easy to document the number of cases of those suffering from violence, the psychological impact is undoubtedly indeterminate. Mental wounds suffered as a result of violence may never really heal and the psychological scars are undoubtedly never erased. Government statistics by the Economic Survey, 2008 (reported in Institute of Economic Affairs- Kenya 2009) shows increase in offences committed against morality and other offences against persons by 6.2 percent and by 3.4 percent respectively in 2007. The increase was mainly noted in offences of defilement and incest with 40 and 37.7 percent respectively. Table 4 summarizes the findings of cases reported to the police in the period 2004-2007.

Table 3

Gender-Based Violence Reported Cases to Police

Type of offence	2004	2005	2006	2007
Rape	1,388	1,286	1,295	1,151
Defilement	1,410	982	1,273	1,782
Incest	145	170	122	168
Sodomy	122	258	128	147
Bestiality	31	70	15	11
Indecent assault	330	219	289	138
Abduction	236	205	186	112
Bigamy	10	0	5	8
Assault	15,621	13,402	13,840	1,316
TOTAL	19,293	16,592	17,153	4,833

Source: Kenya Police Department (Economic Survey, 2008)

Though there is existence of official statistics highlighting the magnitude of Gender Based Violence in Kenya, funding for gender based violence rehabilitation and legal redress remains limited and demand for services far outstrips supply. The services are often left to the hands of NGOs such as Liverpool VCT, Nairobi Women's Hospital, and Kenyatta National Hospital. In addition, comprehensive post rape services are only available in hospitals which cannot be reached by the poor and vulnerable especially those who live in slum areas and require them most (Institute of Economic Affairs- Kenya 2009).

Statistics from cases handled by Fida Kenya between July to November 2011 indicate that 52 women reported experiencing domestic violence from their partners, 25 had been assaulted, and 22 sexually abused (Ibid). According to a study by FIDA K (2006), 49% of Kenyan women interviewed reported experiencing violence in their marriages or relationships; one in every four had experienced violence in the previous 12 months. 83% of women reported one or more episodes of physical abuse in childhood; 46% reported one or more episodes of sexual abuse in childhood. Over 60% of these women did not report the event to anyone. Only 12% who had been physically or sexually abused reported to someone in authority such as the village elder or the police. Going by the FIDA K findings as illustrated overleaf, 60% of the women who suffered violence in the hands of their partners did not report the violence. This conforms to a survey conducted in 2010 by National Commission on Gender and Development on women's perceptions towards gender Based Violence. Results in the survey showed that perceptions differ from place to place but that generally, many communities in Kenya do not regard GBV as a serious crime. For this reason majority of the women do not report and it is no wonder then that some of the women do remain in violent marriages because for them violence from their spouses is not a crime or a violation of the women's rights.

According to IRIN report in October 2005, violence against women is increasing in Kenya and police statistics show that more than 2,800 cases of rape were reported in 2004. A demographic health survey carried out by the Ministry of Planning in 2003 revealed that at least half of all Kenyan women had experienced violence since the age of 15, with close family members among the perpetrators. According to police records 1,329 cases of rape were also 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).

The executive director of the Centre for Rehabilitation of Abused Women (CREAW), which provides legal aid to abused women, posits that, "We need to sensitize the population about the criminal nature of violence against women." She further states that many of the Kenyan cultures do not view violence as crime. That is why Kenya has "such a high prevalence of domestic and sexual violence against women". Moreover, Kenya has no law that specifically prohibits spousal rape, and wife beating is commonplace - and often condoned - in many cultures (IELRC, WP, 2000-2001). In a disturbing new trend, there has been an increase in incidents of abuse by men who target minors for sex in the belief that it will make them immune from contracting HIV. Some men already infected with HIV/AIDS, reportedly rape young girls believing that sex with a virgin will cure them. Nowhere to turn to Women who have been sexually or domestically violated are often too scared by the stigma attached to the crime to tell their families, let alone report their attacks to the relevant authorities.

Several NGOs 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 and 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 1998 Annual report of the commissioner of police, 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.

Amnesty International, in a 2002 report entitled, "Rape - The Invisible Crime", said victims of rape in Kenya had an enormous problem to persuade the police and prosecuting authorities that they had actually been raped. The victim must prove that she did not consent to the act, or that her agreement was obtained through threats. Amnesty quoted a case in Kiambu, central Kenya, in which a magistrate reportedly freed a church leader accused of defiling a six-year-old girl on the grounds that he was a "married man with children and, therefore, incapable of committing such an offence". Although the situation of women and girls in Kenya who suffer sexual or domestic violence remains dire, there are glimmers of hope. In April 2005, the National Assembly passed a motion by nominated Member of Parliament, Njoki Ndun'gu, allowing the introduction of the Sexual Offences Bill, which proposes reforming the law and enforcing harsher punishments for sex offenders. The bill seeks to reform our existing laws, which are archaic. The sexual offences bill has since been passed

into law (sexual offences act of 2006) with the primary basis of ensuring complaints of sexual offences get justice commensurate to the harm caused to them (A Baseline Survey on Gender Based Violence in Kenya 2010).

However, even though the Sexual offences act of 2006 has become law and makes provisions for sexual offences prevention and protection of all persons from unlawful sexual acts, there are still cases of sexual violence that are going scot free to date. This is as reported by the various television stations in Kenya. In May 2014, the Citizen Television carried a story of a Kitui girl who had been raped by the mother's lover who was still at large. The same station also reported the story of ten girls in Baringo County who have been impregnated by their teacher and the girls have had to drop out of school while the teacher is yet to be prosecuted. These stories were also carried by other media houses and newspapers. This shows that there is need for full implementation the sexual offences bill to protect women and girls.

The police, in an effort to crack down on sexual and domestic violence against women and children, converted one of the city's oldest police stations, Kilimani, into an all-female station in 2004, exclusively handling cases of sexual assault on women and girls (Institute of Economic Affairs-Kenya 2009). The idea is to have the station manned by female police officers with special training in dealing with gender-based violence. The establishment of the Nairobi Women's Hospital is another step towards assisting women who have been subjected to untold violence by strangers or people close to them. While the hospital provides medical and psychological support, a few other organizations deal with other aspects of gender-based violence. It is important to note the steps that are being made by African governments to address the issues of GBV. However, no literature exists to show how the African governments are trying to address issues affecting the women's perceptions towards marital violence. These issues will need to be addressed so as to help eradicate GBV affecting the African Nations.

2.5 Global Perceptions of Domestic Violence

Researchers and therapists working with perpetrators and survivors of domestic violence are engaged in a complex task that involves not only the analysis of gender power relations but an acknowledgment of meanings from 'moral', legal, social and psychological perspectives (Vetere & Cooper, 2003). Women advocates and activists have been highly successful in

raising political and academic awareness of domestic abuse, bringing about key legal changes, particularly in North America and Europe (Sully, 2002; Gillis et al., 2006) where domestic violence is now an indictable offence. This case applies also to the Kenyan context. Kenya government is a state party to most global and regional conventions relating to the human rights of women. The Kenya Constitution (2010) contains various sections that seek to protect women against violence. Customary laws that have been in the past discriminating against women have been outlawed. In addition, the Marriage Bill 2014 has also been signed into law and outlines measures to safeguard women against economic discrimination of their spouses (Survey Report, 2010). Even so, recent studies have identified a gap between policy and evidence-based knowledge particularly about public perceptions of prevalence and seriousness of domestic violence (Markowitz 2001: Muhlbauer, 2006; Worden & Carlson, 2005).

It is apparent, anecdotally, that there is a ‘morality’ implicit in lay thinking about domestic violence and abuse which is present in the press coverage which frequently implicates survivors as well as perpetrators (McConaghy & Cottone, 1998; Kurri & Wahlstrom 2001). There seems to be everyday understanding of domestic violence and abuse that does not mesh with the messages that have emerged from the campaigners and women advocates about gender-power relations.

Klein et. al. (1997), considered that in the USA domestic violence had become increasingly a matter of public concern, which represented a shift from the view that it was a ‘private matter’ which persisted till 1980s. The change was a result of public awareness and education campaigns which have had a tremendous impact in changing behavior, particularly in areas where individuals need to be given permission and encouragement to challenge other people’s actions that were once thought to be “none of their business” (Klein et. al, 1997). Klein and colleagues asked participants if they would intervene to stop a friend from hitting his wife, (even though she had been behaving badly towards him). Results indicated that 83 percent would intervene. Similarly a British Home Office Survey for England and Wales (2009) identified that 87% of public believed they could take action if a female friend or female family member (93 percent) were to be a victim of violent abuse from a partner. This suggests that campaigns have established that domestic violence is socially unacceptable. Most members of the public consider that domestic violence is wrong and that individual incidents can be stopped or even prevented, (Worden & Carlson, 2005). For Kenyan

situation, the results could be different. Even though the constitution outlaws gender-based violence, this has not helped the Kenyan communities to change their thinking about domestic violence. Though the constitutions outlaws some cultural practices that discriminate against women, things have not changed much among the men folk. In a baseline survey conducted by National Commission on Gender Development in 2010, the Commission noted that gender-based violence is still rampant. It also noted that there is sufficient legislative framework to combat gender-based violence but there is little enforcement of the existing laws and policies – therefore this has affected the way Kenyans perceive domestic violence. The commission therefore is convinced that there is need to have a combination of attitudinal and behavior change to secure a shift from the society to shun gender-based violence and have greater respect for women, girls, men and boys. This is what this study hopes will be achieved.

In various surveys conducted across Europe, Bettman (2009), states that violence is widely condemned (although not exclusively), and constraining women’s lives is condemned but not considered to be the worst thing that could happen to women. Generally, speaking, domestic violence is in the public domain in terms of consciousness and condemnation. But relatively significant proportions of onlookers do not loudly condemn the male protagonist, and the women’s behavior is “take into account” when judgments are made. The implication of this include the possibility that misogyny remains live (including female misogyny), which is a consequence of patriarchy in which women are still the forgotten “second” sex (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Bettman, 2009). This seems to be the scenario even in the Kenyan context as indicated by findings of this study where patriarchy seems to continue propagating women as “second sex”.

2.5.1 Communities’ Attitude and Perception towards Gender Based Violence in Kenya

According to a baseline survey on gender based violence in Kenya (2010), communities’ perceptions of gender based violence differ from place to place but generally, many communities do not regard gender based violence as a serious crime. In some instances, such as Kilifi and Migori Districts, the police are often seen as meddling in the ordinary lives of citizens, whenever they carry out investigations and make arrests in relation to gender based violence. The survey further states that in urban communities, cases of gender based violence, especially sexual violence, are increasingly regarded as serious crimes that warrant police arrests and intervention of judicial process.

A survey on perception on gender based violence in the rural areas (Baseline survey 2010) revealed that gender based violence is not regarded as a serious crime. The survey indicated that Kenya as a country tolerates the culture of violence against women, and that the country values and positions women much lower than men. Violating a girl or a woman becomes a casual activity. Children are oriented and socialized in a violence prone environment. When children are grown up they become elders, chefs, police and security officers, nurses and doctors; pastors, priests and sheikhs, lawyers, magistrates and judges; who collectively deal with violence against women in the course of their work. Therefore, their actions towards abused women are informed by their upbringing. While it may appear that the mandate of their office may require certain basic actions to be taken, their culture will play a critical role in their subconscious, allowing them to bend rules without feeling a touch of guilt, especially, if they have been socialized that gender based violence is not really a very serious offence.

Furthermore, according to findings of the National Commission on Gender and Development, (2010), 72% of those interviewed from four districts (Migori, Naivasha, Kilifi and Nairobi) were convinced that gender based violence is not a serious crime. Only 28% of the respondents agreed that gender based violence is a serious crime. These findings are in line with the findings of this study that indicated that some of the women do not take violence from the spouse as a crime. This may help to explain why some women choose to remain in violent marriages

The establishment of perception on gender based violence is important since it shapes the course of actions that follow an act of gender violence of those who do not perceive gender based violence as a serious crime. Majority are influenced by culture which tends to position women lower than men. Some forms of gender based violence are entrenched in cultural practices and therefore socially acceptable. This may include wife battery, forced wife inheritance among other cultural practices. The perception of gender based violence not as a serious crime creates obstacles for survivors as they attempt to seek treatment, protection, justice and dignity.

Worden & Carlson's (2005) survey of public perceptions in the USA concluded that most people saw domestic violence in the context of relationships and family problems rather than seeing it as caused by social or structural issues (Cody, 1996, Featherson & Trinder, 1997); Johnson & Fenaro 2000; McQuarroll et. al., 2008). The majority of their respondents explanations indicated that financial stress, alcohol and anger were major exacerbating factors, (Gelders, 1980; Rosenbaum & Leising, 2001). The public perceptions still holds to more complex and differentiated explanations although there has been major success in raising levels of awareness and approbation for the services that challenge domestic abuse (Carlson, 2005).

Public perceptions of domestic violence demonstrate a set of underlying moral values that are complex influenced by a sense of justice applied to individual circumstances (Kearney 2001; Nienhuis, 2005). A publicized finding from the Home Office (2009), survey of attitudes was that 20 per cent of men and women believed that it was acceptable (6 percent) or acceptable in some circumstances (14 percent) for a man to hit or slap his female partner if she dressed in sexy or revealing clothes in public, although 8 percent believed that such violence was acceptable if she was having an affair. Across the same home office survey, a significant minority still thought nagging (16 per cent) or flirting with other men (13%) might justify hitting or slapping. It would seem therefore that an undercurrent of misogyny and the view that men have a right to control women, particularly their sexuality but also their rights within relationships remains. Domestic violence and abuse are firmly in the public domain as unresolved 'problems' which means there is still a mismatch between feminist – campaigners and lay understandings (Erlick Robinson, 2003; Worden & Carlson, 2005). There is also a disparity between the views of many professionals working in the area of domestic abuse such as therapists, social workers and healthcare workers and campaigners and advocates (Goldner, 1999; Vetere & Cooper, 2003).

Social learning theorists (such as Bandura, 1997) have shown that girls and boys are influenced by the behaviours of role models in their understanding of what is good and what is bad behavior, and role models are mostly the same sex as themselves. Boys/men and girls/women have very different experiences in their embodiment, and the two gender make different sense of their worlds.

According to Nicolson (2009), popular discourses of gender relations shape the construction of public moralities. However, constructions of domestic abuse change overtime with growing awareness of its prevalence and its nature. Initial feminists led successes in bringing domestic abuse into public awareness secured its place on the public social care, health and human rights agendas. As awareness grows, it is becoming a criminal offence across the world, but this has meant that debates have moved closer towards an individualized case model.

As Ferraro (1997), points out, the feminist politics of the 1970s supporting women's freedom from male violence as a gender issue evolved into criminalization of domestic abuse, making it a law enforcement matter. Thus women became positioned as victims of individual male crimes and the onus was on them to seek legal redress if they suffered violence at the hands of a partner or ex-partner. What seems to be at stake now is the discourse of the agency of women – individually and collectively. Are women victims with all the implications of “deservedness” including interrogation of their conduct, motives and efforts to protect themselves and their children (Ferraro, 1996), or have victims' rights movement ‘breached the wall of patriarchy in the 1980s and eroded male authority’ so that they myth that domestic violence is exceptional has evaporated, (Wolfe, 1994).

2.6 Need for Police Gender Desks

According to Institute of Economic Affairs- Kenya (2009), there is need to establish more police gender desks in Kenya. Literature review shows that gender based police stations or women police stations have been established in a number of countries across the world such as India, Liberia, Nicaragua, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, and the United Kingdom. Qualified officers staff the stations in order to provide an environment where survivors of violence may feel more comfortable in reporting and be assured that their reports will be properly handled. The stations have combined a number of specialized police officers with health workers, social workers and legal and other specialists to form a team that can respond to cases of gender violence. In Kenya, there are only few police gender desks which are mainly based in Nairobi County. Police gender desks are established to ensure that cases of gender-based violence are reported to the police and to assist victims to have access to support services. For instance, the personnel manning the desk would be responsible for incidenting and investigating cases reported to the police by the victims. They are also expected to liaise with other stakeholders to provide the victims with such services as

counseling, medical attention, legal assistance and transit shelter for cases requiring accommodation. The desk is also expected to make information available for the victims and link them up with relevant stakeholders that could provide service that would help their case (Institute of Economic affairs-Kenya 2009).

The idea of establishing gender desks in police stations in Kenya was mooted in 2004 by women groups and lobbyists with a view to enabling gender violence survivors to report violence and rape related matters to police stations. In response, the government has established gender desks in police headquarters and police stations where gender based violence survivors are served. An example of police gender desk in Nairobi is in Kilimani police station and at the police head quarters. However these gender desks are few and there is need to increase their number to cover not only Nairobi but the entire country. According to Institute of Economic Affairs-Kenya (2009), a number of opportunities exist in establishing police gender desks as follows:

- Increase community awareness on gender based violence as a human rights development issue and services offered by the police. This will encourage more victims to report cases of violence to the police gender desks.
- Ensures that 30 percent of Kenyan police personnel will be women and this will create trust and conducive environment to report their cases.
- Increase awareness for police, judiciary and local leaders on gender based violence and human rights.
- Increase legal support and counseling services access through partnership with women's lobby groups, NGOs and civil society.
- Improve access for rape victims to medical expertise for evidence in court and treatment of acquired diseases.
- Providing relevant information for development of the gender based violence strategies and plans in collaboration with stakeholders.

In establishing police gender desks there are a number of challenges that may need to be overcome. Some of these challenges are as follows:

- Fighting gender based violence is a process that requires participation by both men and women and calls for effective community participation.

- Prevention and response to gender based violence requires a multi-sectoral approach as the problem is multi- dimensional.
- Gender based violence is a human rights issue and a national and international development issue.
- Strong advocacy and awareness on existing laws and support services for women is critical.
- Gender based violence is closely linked to cultural perception and unequal power relation between men and women in terms of community perceptions on the value of women, women's limited access and control over resources, women's limited skills for income generation and these needs, to be addressed for sustainable elimination of gender based violence.
- Increased skills of police and other legal staff, social workers are critical for improved survivors support and response.
- Gender programmes and budgets are required in different sectors for prevention and victim support resulting to limited resources. (Institute of Economic Affairs-Kenya 2009).

The problem with most gender desks at Police Stations is that they are not functional, partly due to lack of budgetary allocation rendering them inefficient and ineffective. The police are overwhelmed by crimes, and other related cases due to shortage of staff, resulting in delays and inefficiency. Corruption among officers has also been named as a derailing factor.

2.6.1 Referral Linkages between Police and Health Facilities for Sexual Abuse Survivors

Comprehensive post- abuse services should be provided for sexual abuse survivors. There is therefore need for inter-sectoral collaboration to enable provision of the quality post-abuse services. Lack of basic information on rights inhibits many survivors from seeking support from institutions, let alone persevering with medical services (including prophylaxis and counseling) and legal procedures. The scarcity of referral linkages acts as a barrier to receiving appropriate care and support. Confusion over protocols and procedures causes delays and often unnecessary expenses and trauma to survivors. The 72-hour 'window of opportunity' for forensic examination and medical management signifies the importance of quick and efficient referrals. Effective referral mechanisms need to be established simultaneously with strengthening the component services.

According to Pelcer et al., (2005), research in Malawi found that only 43% of the women who reported to the police were informed of their right to a medical examination. Conversely, survivors who initially seek help from health facilities, and who wish to seek legal justice, may not be assisted to report the abuse to the police.

Referral linkages between health and police facilities, and between other legal and social services, are more advanced in urban areas. There is lack of referral services in rural and marginalized areas and this poses a major challenge to securing even basic services for abuse survivors. The process of seeking help is also complicated and this increases the vulnerability of the survivor: the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) observes that in certain countries it is not safe for a physician to advise a woman to file a complaint alone at the police station (Bott et al., 2004). Health facilities should gather information on the quality and location of governmental services and use this opportunity to create or reinforce working relationships with these services (Bott et al., 2004).

WHO observes that linkages between health and police systems can create a barrier to access to medico-legal services due to survivors' concerns about involving police and the potential consequences to themselves, or occasionally to their assailant (WHO, 2004a). WHO cites the example of a medico-legal centre in Hamburg (The Hamburg medico-legal competence centre) that avails forensic and medical services to the survivor without the obligation to make an official police complaint. Forensic and biological evidence is stored for two years pending a decision to pursue or abandon the case (WHO, 2004a.). This approach may not prove feasible or cost-effective in resource-poor settings, but the principles of confidentiality and forensic integrity are universally applicable. Formal referral linkages between police and health facilities are rare in the existing literature. Where the links exist, they tend to be informal relationships with no or unclear protocols for referrals. There is evident need for clear guidelines on the mechanics of referrals, including advice on the timeframe, referral companions and the requisite skills of involved personnel.

In Nairobi, Liverpool Voluntary Counseling and Testing (LVCT) centre has established strong links between health centers and police, social, forensic and legal support services to enable referrals so that, if desired, a prosecution can be initiated. The 'chain of evidence' is an integral component of this process. LVCT respects the right of the survivor to decide on whether or not to report sexual abuse, and provides information and support to clients

undergoing the litigation process (Speight et al., 2006, Kilonzo & Taegtmeier, 2005). The Gender Violence Recovery Centre (GVRC) in Nairobi Women's Hospital benefits from relationships with local police centers and legal aid NGOs, which together constitute the main sources of referrals. On the other hand, the GVRC refers eligible clients to long-term shelters and for legal support and counseling.

Sexual abuse survivors cannot access the justice system unless they first obtain information about their rights, about how to report cases to the police and/or how to find legal aid services. Consequently, non-governmental organizations worldwide have integrated basic referral services and legal services into community-based health programs, social services, and economic development programs. Increasing women's access to social services enables the police and courts to enforce laws. In South Africa, the availability of community services to assist women and children with emergency shelter, long-term housing and economic enabled police to enforce orders of protection, prosecuting cases, and imposing jail sentences (Paranee, 2001). It is important for the government and Non-governmental organizations to emphasize on the development of community-based networks for coordinating services to sexual abuse survivors, improving access to justice and promoting violence prevention (World Bank, 2006c; UN-GA, 2006). Multi-sectoral initiatives have pioneered services that include telephone hotlines, emergency shelters, police intervention, legal assistance, psychological and other counseling, psychological care, support groups, income-generation programs, and programs for batterers, women police stations and child welfare services (World Bank 2006c; UN-GA, 2006.). Rapidly expanding communication networks provide the potential for emergency phone services offering free and confidential advice (UN-GA, 2006). A telecommunications provider in Kenya currently sponsors a helpline for abused children, with links to referral services. Research indicates a positive impact of comprehensive services on awareness and access, but the evidence is as yet inconclusive on whether these services reduce the probability of recurring abuse.

2.7 Consequences of Marital Violence on Women and other Family Members

According to UNICEF (2000), the consequences of abuse are profound, extending beyond the health and happiness of individuals to affect the well-being of entire communities. Due to the consequences of violence some women opt to stay in their marriages. This is because 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 to properly look after themselves and their children or to pursue job and careers. Being abused may undermine virtually every aspect of a woman's life, her physical and mental health, her ability to work, her relationships with children, family members and friends, her self-efficacy and her fundamental sense of self-worth. Sometimes her attempts to cope with abuse, for example, through the use of drugs or alcohol, create additional problems. In some cases, women are eventually killed by their abusive partners Matlin (2004). For these reasons some women therefore remain in the violent relationships. Among the major consequences are:

2.7.1 Physical Health Effects of Violence

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 (UNICEF 2000). 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. According to KDHS (2008-9), the effects of violence includes broken bones, bruises, burns, cuts, stabs and firearm wounds, abrasions, bites, lacerations, sprains, concussions, skull fractures, scarring, perforated eardrums, detached retina, injuries to the voice box, chipped or lost teeth, hair loss, chronic gastro-intestinal pain, irritable bowel syndrome, chronic neck, back or other musculoskeletal pain, chronic headache, hypertension, palpitations, hyperventilation, and substance abuse problems. Pregnant women experience direct and indirect impacts which can result in serious complications for the mother, fetus and, later, infant. In the worst cases death may occur or the victim may commit suicide. Love for husband changes for fear of him, and what might happen: suffers confusion (because she does not know what really brings out the violence); losses confidence in herself (because the husband is always telling her it is her fault he hits her).

There are also feelings of helplessness (because her husband controls her through his violence). The woman suffers inability to make decisions on her own (in case he doesn't approve and punishes her). Because of these a beaten wife finds it hard to help herself: for example she may lay charges and then drop them, or leave and then go back to him. Her work performance suffers; she may be absent a lot and lose her job. She becomes isolated, as the

husband controls whom she sees and where she goes (UNICEF 2000). Sexual health effects are also prevalent and include sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV, chronic pelvic, genital or uterine pain, chronic vaginal or urinary infection, bruising or tearing of the vagina or anus, frequent pregnancy (when unwanted or contraindicated), infertility or early hysterectomy, and sexually addictive behavior.

2.7.2 Psychological Effects of Violence

According to Matlin (2004), violence against women causes psychological effects. These include low self-esteem, self-degradation, self-abuse, difficulty with relationships, acute anxiety, frequent crying, unusual or pronounced fear responses, uncontrolled or rapid anger responses, chronic stress, phobias, flashbacks, insomnia, sleep disturbances, nightmares, lack of appropriate boundaries, arrested development, passivity, memory loss, loss of concentration and productivity. This may lead to psychiatric effects such as depression, suicidal thoughts, dissociation, Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, eating disorders, adjustment disorder with depressed mood and Obsessive Compulsive Disorder. This usually have devastating effects on women. Many professionals and service providers who work with women now recognize that they have a responsibility to educate themselves about potential indicators of abuse, and to routinely ask all women about their experiences of abuse.

2.7.3 Effects of Violence on Children

There are also serious Consequences for Children Exposed to Violence. According to Davies (1994), Children who are exposed to violence against their mothers, may be seriously affected. The exposure to violence against their mothers can undermine children's emotional development, and cause serious behavior problems and difficulties in school. The emotional and behavioral effects may be similar to those experienced by children who are themselves being physically abused. Children may also get hurt, even killed during fights between parents; they may be neglected because the mother is upset and may not take such good care of them. Unborn babies may die if the mother miscarries because of being hit. Some babies are born already injured because the mother was beaten when close to giving birth.

UNICEF (2000) further states that psychologically, the children feel upset, and worried about what might happen; their love for the father changes to fear or even hatred. They do not work well in school, are unable to concentrate and they may develop behavior problems, becoming either aggressive and troublesome, or quiet and withdrawn. They may leave home early and

get into trouble. When older, they repeat the pattern in their parents' marriages (unless they seek help to change their behavior).

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 Leon, 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 1998).

2.7.4 Effects of Violence on the Perpetrators of Abuse

For the abusers, the husband may be injured or even killed if the wife retaliates. Psychologically he feels alienated and insecure as he loses the love and respect of his wife and children. He tends to stay out more because of tension at home and may become involved in drinking or affairs with other women. Professionals note that men who abuse their partners may experience anger, denial, emotional problems, rejection and isolation. Factors such as abuse during childhood, witnessing abuse as children, the use of drugs or alcohol,

involvement in the criminal justice system or other negative experiences, compound the abuse. Abusers are responsible for their behavior, and for the devastating effects it has on their partners and children. Abusers are also responsible for the harm they do to themselves. Some abusive partners eventually kill their partners and children and commit suicide (Davies 1994).

2.7.5 Economic Impact on Health

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, in 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).

2.7.6 Denial of Women's fundamental Rights

According to UNICEF (2000), the most crucial consequence of violence against women and girls is the denial of fundamental human rights to women and girls. International human rights instruments such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), adopted in 1948, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), adopted in 1979, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), adopted in 1989, affirm the principles of fundamental rights and freedoms of every human being. Both CEDAW and the CRC are guided by a broad concept of human rights that stretches beyond civil and political rights to the core issues of economic survival, health, and

education that affect the quality of daily life for most women and children. The two Conventions call for the right to protection from gender-based abuse and neglect.

The strength of these treaties rests on an international consensus, and the assumption that all practices that harm women and girls, no matter how deeply they are embedded in culture, must be eradicated. Legally binding under international law for governments that have ratified them, these treaties oblige governments not only to protect women from crimes of violence, but also investigate violations when they occur and to bring the perpetrators to justice.

WHO (2005), further posits that there is also growing recognition that countries cannot reach their full potential as long as women's potential to participate fully in their society is denied. Data on costs of violence leave no doubt that violence against women undermines progress towards human and economic development. Women's participation has become important in the social development programs, be they environmental, for poverty alleviation, or for good governance. By hampering the full involvement and participation of women, countries are eroding the human capital of half their populations. True indicators of a country's commitment to gender equality lie in its actions to eliminate violence against women all its forms and in all areas of life.

2.8 Factors that Contribute to Women Staying in Marriages in which Violence Occur

According to Weiss (2000), the result of violence against women is degradation, humiliation, and belittling of women. This engenders a sense of fear and insecurity in women victims. Violence prevents women from leading independent lives, curtails their movement, and increases their vulnerability and dependence. Their potential remains unrealized and their energies are stifled as violence prevents them from participating fully in the lives of the family and the community and society at large. In spite of such grave consequences some women still continue to stay in the violent marriages. The following could be some of the factors that lead women to stay in violent marriages.

2.8.1 Emotional Attachment to the Abuser

Bornstein (2006) asserts that an abused woman may love the abuser and hope that the relationship will improve. She may minimize or deny that the abuse is happening. She may believe she is at fault and is the one who should change. She may feel some love for the

abusing man, because he is often decent. Many abusers become generous and kind in the days following a violent episode. An abused woman may sincerely believe that her husband is basically a good man who can be reformed. She may believe abuse is normal because she grew up watching her mother being abused or was abused herself. She may have strong beliefs about the importance of keeping her relationship and family together, which may prevent her from leaving. She may not want to take her children away from their other parent or their home. She may be pressured by family, friends or others in the community to stay with the abuser. She may feel ashamed of her abuser and of herself. Matlin (2004) states that women's strategy for handling the abuse depends on their family background. She further says that some families emphasize on persevering in unpleasant situations and hiding domestic problems (Ho, 1997). These women may therefore be less likely to try to escape from an abusive relationship.

According to Oxfam (2007), women fear to become destitute because of cultural practices that deny women from inheritance especially after they have been married off. In most Kenyan communities, domestic principles are based on a patriarchal system. Among the Kikuyu, the husband is seen as the superior in the house. The wife was viewed as the property of the husband. There was also the cutting of the shoulder ceremony that signified that the wife could never return to her parent's home. This meant that even where the husband was violent, the fear by the wife to become destitute as she had no place to go back to, contributes to some women remaining in violent marriages. There is also weak legal system and stigma that contributes to this situation. However, with the implementation of the new constitution and the recently passed marriage bill 2014 by parliament, there is a glimmer of hope that things could work out better with regard to distribution of matrimonial property. This in turn will reduce the dependency that has afflicted some women and prevented them from taking action in the face of violence by the spouse.

2.8.2 Fear by Women of Becoming Destitute

While people may be perplexed by a battered woman's reluctance to leave, this decision is often prompted by fear (Turner 2002). For instance, the woman may want to leave with her children, but will not if she cannot support them. There is also the fear of being destitute if she's dependent on her husband. Many women also feel ashamed and fear being blamed for walking out. While this may be paradoxical, there are documented cases of men threatening, or even killing women who dared leave. Indeed some of the family members and friends see

the victim as “asking for it” (Daily Nation newspaper July, 2010). The abuser may have threatened to kill the woman, her children or members of her family, or to commit suicide if she tells anyone about the violence or tries to leave. The abuser may have threatened to take away her children, or harm her in other ways. She may fear that she will not be understood, believed or respected by people in authority. When she is an immigrant or refugee, she may fear that she will be deported. Many abused women may have no place to go, and no way of escaping. (McHugh, Frieze, & Browne, 1993). Furthermore an abusing husband becomes even more violent once a woman decides to leave (Birns, 1999; Jacob & Gottman, 1998).

2.8.3 Patriarchal Society Increases Violence

The woman may feel powerless and lacking in control over her life as a result of the abuse. Her self-esteem may be damaged. She may experience fatigue or depression from the stress of being abused. She may feel unable to escape her abuser’s control. She may not know that she has rights. According to Matlin, (2004), women who have been subjected to violence are left feeling less powerless after the violence. She further asserts that unfortunately, women seldom regain power by reporting the violence committed against them. Legal procedures are often embarrassing and humiliating; they invade a woman’s right to privacy even further. All these acts of violence encourage women to remain more silent and more invisible. Women are also blamed for the violation. People often blame the victim. For example if sexually harassed, she’s told “those tight pants invite it”, if raped, “she asked for it by her seductive behavior”, if she’s beaten,” she probably did something to make her husband angry” (White, 2001). In contrast, the aggressor is often perceived as behaving “like any normal male”. This abuse of women represents a tragic exaggeration of traditional gender roles. Men are “supposed to be” aggressive, dominant, and controlling. Women are “supposed to be” unaggressive, submissive, and yielding (O’Neil & Nadeau, 1999).

2.8.4 Lack of Safety after Leaving the Marriage

A woman who has been abused may fear retaliation from her abusers if she leaves the abusive environment or makes efforts to improve the situation (Turner 2002). The abuser in the situation may have made specific threats, stating that if the abused partner leaves, he will hurt or kill her, her children or himself (Mathews 2004). Statistically, the most dangerous time for a woman in an abusive relationship is just prior to leaving that relationship (Turner, 2002); Salber & Taliaferro, 1995). Infact, women who are divorced or separated are 14 times more likely to report being the victims of violence by a spouse or ex-spouse.

Separated or divorced women make up 10 percent of the American women, yet they report 75 per cent of intimate partner violence (US Dept of justice 1989, McCue 2008). It is possible that women who are separated or divorced are more likely to report violence from their partner, when in fact it could have occurred while they were married as well. Regardless, these statistics speak to the danger that comes with leaving a violent relationship, and why some women may choose to stay and survive day to day rather than make an escape (McCue, 2008).

Women who have limited support from friends, family or their communities may find it more difficult to leave abusive relationships (Sullivan, et al, 1994). Women who have received help and support from family and friends report it as being very important in allowing them to leave their abusers (Bowker, 1983). Close friends and family can provide emotional support in stressful times, which can help reduce the risk of falling ill due to great amounts of stress (Sullivan et al, 1994). These friends and family can also provide safe places for women and children to stay, store belongings, and be available to assist abused women in rebuilding their lives after leaving an abuser (Bowker, 1983). Women who do not have support face even greater obstacles than those who do. Social isolation has been shown to be associated with domestic violence. Severely abused women tend to be extremely socially isolated and have no one in their limited social network who can provide the types of support listed above (Levendonsky, Bogat, Theran, Trotter, Voy, Eye & Davidson, 2004). Additionally, women who are educated are less likely than those who are not to return to an abusive partner.

In abusive relationships the abuser will often slowly work to isolate the abused partner socially by not allowing her to work, not allowing her to have a car, or not allowing her to leave the home (Mathews 2004). Abusers may also prevent their partners from maintaining relationships with friends and family, via phones, letters, and internet or community activities, such as church services as a way of maintaining control (Turner, 2002, Levendonsky et al, 2004). This may explain part of the correlation between lack of social support and severe abuse. This also limits the women's access to all resources, both practical and social, which makes her less likely to eventually leave the abusive partner.

McCue (2008) asserts that the social isolation component can also be intensified for women living in rural areas. There is a belief that domestic violence occurs more often in urban areas than rural, and the reasons for this is that violence among rural women is vastly

underreported. There are fewer resources, such as shelters and social service programs, available. Access to everyday resources can be limited too. There may be fewer jobs opportunities, quality child care, housing opportunities and health care, and access to what resources are available can be confounded by distance or poor roads. Response to domestic violence by law enforcement and medical services can be as low or inadequate (McCue, 2008). Most women experiencing domestic violence deal with isolation across all areas, but for men in rural areas being isolated geographically makes it even worse. They may not have neighbors for miles, which means there is no chance of a neighbor or passerby suspecting trouble and calling for help. It may be more difficult for a rural abused woman to reach safety, than a shelter or the homes of a friend or a family member. McCue (2008) specifically mentions Native American Women as potentially lacking phone service or access to any sort of transportation. For example, in many areas of Navajo Nation, located in the four corners region of United States, there is no cell phone service. A woman isolated by domestic violence then can be further isolated by geography, lack of resources, and lack of communication with people outside her household (McCue, 2008).

Shame and guilt may represent another reason abused women do not have adequate social support, and thus may indirectly influence their inability to leave their abusers (Levendosky, et al., 2004). This shame may come from a lack of public awareness about the causes and effects of domestic violence (Mathews 2004, Turner 2002, Sullivan, 1994). For example, around half of abused women seek help from their religious leaders (Gordon, 1996). However, members of the clergy may also know the abuser in the relationship and may be sympathetic to him. Additionally, the clergy may be committed to maintaining a marriage, even an abusive one and advise the women against leaving their abusive partners. About 15% of women who confided in their religious leader reported it to be helpful (Gordon, 1996).

This scenario where women seek the help from the religious leaders may be true especially in recent past in Kenya. There has been increase in cases of the clergy taking advantage of women who are in problems with their partners. This is due to the perception that the religious could help mediate marital issues. Between 2013 and April 2014, there have been news items in the broadcasting stations and newspapers where the clergy were caught red handed with married women. The women confessed to having had marital issues and on seeking help from their pastors, they were instead taken out by the same pastors. So these are gaps that should be filled by creating awareness amongst women.

Some women are raised to believe that their husbands or male partners are in charge, and so are hesitant to report abuse (Weiss, 2000; Mathews, 2004). A woman's abuser may also be her main source of affection when he is not being abusive, which is particularly dangerous when she is socially isolated (Salber & Taliaferro 1995). Many women quoted in Weiss (2000) mentioned growing up in households where divorce was not only frowned upon, it was absolutely not an option. These particular women tended to be the ones who mentioned the belief that they were the ones at fault for their partners abuse, believing that if they were better wives to them, the abuse would stop. Reporting domestic violence has the potential to cut the abused women off from her community completely (McCue, 2008). Abusive partners may also use a woman's children to coerce her into staying in the relationship. The abusive partner may threaten to harm the children, take them away, or physically hurt the children in front of their mother in order to maintain control of her (Salber & Taliaferro, 1995).

Economic reasons also contributed to women staying in abusive relationships. If a woman is cut off socially and not allowed to work, her partner may be her only means of financial support (Mathews, 2004, Salber & Taliaferro, 1995). Rural women face unique challenges in accessing resources and leaving their abusers. Rural farm families are often one-income families, most or all their income coming from the farm. A woman whose family finances are tied to land and equipment may face the choice of staying in abusive relationship or leaving with no means of income since she may be a key part of the farming business. She may have strong emotional ties to the farm animals and land and fear that the animals may be neglected or harmed in some way, if she leaves them (McCue, 2008; Salber & Taliaferro, 1999). Additionally, restraining orders against abusers are less viable for women living on rural farms because the abusive partners cannot be kept away from the family farm if it is their only source of income (McCue, 2008). Economic dependency may occur where one person is the sole provider in the family and denies his partner access to resources. It can also occur when one person uses threat or intimidation to take control of resources. Women in low-income occupations are significantly less likely than other women to terminate abusive relationships (Woffordt et al., 1994).

Economic reasons cited by the various authors overleaf are very relevant to the findings of this study. Economic dependency was the major reason cited by Kileleshwa and Kawangware women as the reasons why some women stay in violent marriages. The women felt that they would not be able to adequately provide for their children if they left the marriage. This

means that there is need for the government to fully implement the new constitution as well as the recently passed marriage bill 2014 that provides for equal distribution of property in the event of dissolution of a marriage. This will go a long way in empowering women economically thereby reducing the dependency on the men.

Another reason women may stay in violent relationships is the theory of learned helplessness. This theory is controversial because some researchers' feel it takes a stance of "blaming the victim" (Walker 1989, McCue, 2008), and implying she should be able to somehow control what is happening to her. Walker points out though, that the learned helplessness is not passivity, but rather a sophisticated set of coping skills (Walker, 1989; McCue, 2008). Abused women may use defense mechanisms to cope with what's happening in their relationships, such as minimizing, dissociation, and denial ((Walker, 1989).

Every woman who stays in a violent relationship will have her own reasons to do so. Her abuser could have made threats to her or her children, she could be facing poverty if she left, she may have been out of workforce for years and lack of skills and experience necessary to obtain employment or she may be a rural woman with few resources. She may have reached out to the police or clergy in the past and found them not to be helpful. She may be focused on surviving day to day instead of focusing on escape. She may feel ashamed of what she has endured, or guilty for leaving her partner. Whatever the specific reasons, there is no universal answer for why women stay in abusive relationships, it may well be for multiple reasons, and it is much more complicated than "just leaving" McCue (2008).

2.9 Counseling Needs for Abused Women

Counseling is a critical intervention that can have positive benefit for survivors—including higher physical functioning, lower levels of depression (Tiwari, 2005 cited in Ellsberg, 2006), higher self-esteem and assertiveness, and even decreased exposure to abuse (Laverde,1987, cited in Ramsey, 2005). Providers should be trained to ask women directly about violence. These are women showing some symptoms such as injuries, anxiety symptoms, substance abuse, depression, sexually transmitted infections and gynecological symptoms. Counseling needs for abused women is relevant to this study because this is given as one of the recommendations of the study to help deal with the various types of violence that were identified under this study.

Cognitive-behavioral therapy may be especially useful in reducing mental health problems associated with both intimate partner violence and sexual violence (WHO, 2010a). However, those providing emotional care and support should have adequate counselor training in issues related to the psychological impact of different types of violence against women and girls (Bott et al., 2004). Some interventions, including those for post-traumatic stress disorder require a psychologist or highly trained mental health specialist. Specialist experience and skills in violence against women should include, at minimum, knowledge about the following:

- A gendered analysis of violence against women
- Crisis intervention techniques
- Trauma, coping and survival
- Current understandings of well-being and social inclusion.
- Confidentiality Communication skills and intervention techniques
- An overview of criminal and civil justice systems
- An update and review of relevant laws
- The availability of state and community resources
- Non-discrimination and diversity
- Empowerment (Council of Europe, 2008a)

Establishing counseling services in health facilities can not only improve accessibility for survivors, but can also have secondary benefits, such as raising the profile of the issue among health care providers. However, in many development settings, the Council of Europe standard may be unrealistic, and this standard may not address the needs of women living in hard-to-reach rural areas. It is therefore critical that all health care providers working with survivors have a thorough understanding of supportive techniques for engaging with survivors that are based on guiding principles.

Where professional counselors are not available, and there are barriers to accessing individual psychosocial support or as a complement to existing services, support groups can be created with health personnel serving as trained facilitators. While facilitators do not necessarily need to have advanced degrees in psychology, social work, or a related field, they should have specific training in violence against women issues, as well as in facilitating a support group,

and should understand the process for designing support groups, the stages of group development and the role of the facilitator.

Support groups can also be important to the psychosocial well being of survivors particularly in poor resource settings, where there may be fewer mental health providers. Support groups enable health centers to attend many more individuals than is possible with individual psychological care. Women are also given an opportunity to help each other; to realize they are not the only ones that suffer violence; and to develop common ties, and in some cases, collective action. These often help to overcome violence. Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) has tried to promote support groups through staff training and distribution of staff materials. In Central America, there are several organizations, for example, Centro Feminista de informacion accion (CEFEMINA) in Costa Rica, with extensive experience in self help or support group for violence survivors (Ellsberg, 2001). Support groups are also very relevant to this study. Women in Kawangware and Kileleshwa could offer each other support in dealing with the various forms of violence identified in the study.

2.9.1 Combating Intimate Partner Violence

Combating of gender-based violence rests on changing the gender-related beliefs, attitudes and practices of both men and women, at both the individual and societal level. Advocacy, awareness-raising and community mobilization play important roles in tackling the roots of discrimination and violence. Activities aim to contest the values that accept intimate partner as normal, and to challenge the passive acceptance that contributes towards low reporting and care-seeking rates among abuse survivors, as well as the sub-quality delivery of services. Prevention efforts take many forms, including multimedia campaigns, 'edutainment' and community mobilization and sensitization, among others.

Incidents of intimate partner violence in Eastern, Central, and South African contexts have been linked to specific behaviors and cultural beliefs. For instance, factors that increase the risk of men perpetrating violence include involvement in physical-conflict outside the home, problematic alcohol use, having more than one current partner and abusing partners verbally. Successful prevention-focused initiatives respond to these causal factors: they acknowledge the role of gender relations in violence, and have introduced the concept of non-violent conflict resolution as a pre-emptive measure against IPV (Raising Voices, 2003; IGWG of USAID, 2006). One of the most commonly cited prevention initiatives is the Stepping Stones

programme, active across much of eastern and southern Africa. The programme tackles the gender inequalities that lead to gender-based violence through community-wide meetings, knowledge-building workshops, peer group discussions and drama. Evaluations have noted increased gender equity and communication between partners, and the Gambia programme reduced the social acceptability of wife-beating and an apparent corresponding drop in that behavior (Bott et al,2005, Renton et al.,2000,Gordon &Welbourn,2001). The above programmes that have been implemented in East, Central and Southern Africa could also be applied in our Kenyan context to help address the gender inequalities in the region. This is because findings of this study also revealed that there are cultural beliefs and practices that promote gender based violence and if these programmes have been successfully applied in those parts of Africa, the same could be applied to improve the situation in Kenya.

Countries in East, Central and South Africa have taken various approaches to deal with intimate partner violence. However the most innovative approach to community mobilization has been adopted by Soul City, a health and development communications organization based in South Africa that uses educational entertainment (or "edutainment") to transmit messages to its audience. Prime-time television and radio shows, school-based work, materials and other media all provide channels to address gender, violence, sexuality and rights issues. An extensive population-based impact evaluation of Series 4 of Soul City found that it reached 82% of the South African population and recorded a 10% decrease in beliefs that intimate partner violence is a private affair, and a small increase in viewers' likelihood to report abuse (Scheepers, 2001). This idea is also very relevant to this study. This is because there is need to create more awareness in community mobilization to transmit messages to the communities on need to address gender based violence. This is a recommendation that the researcher suggested as way forward in dealing with the gender based violence.

The rapid evolution of information and communications technologies is increasingly providing new and innovative means to disseminate information and enable interaction between diverse stakeholders. The Tanzanian Media Women's Association ran a multimedia campaign in 1998 to publicize the enactment of the Sexual Offences Special Provision Act, a law criminalizing female genital cutting. Surveys, radio and television programmes and educational materials, have been developed to disseminate information and promote the sharing of best practices (UN-GA, 2006).

Advocates for violence prevention argue that screening enhances healthcare responses and helps women to access available services (WHO, 2004a). Routine screening may improve sexual and reproductive health-related diagnosis, treatment and counseling, by helping providers to understand the underlying cause behind many conditions (Bott et al., 2004). However, others argue that routine screening may have a negative impact on women in environments where providers are unable to respond appropriately, where there is no guarantee of privacy and confidentiality, and where adequate referral services and linkages are lacking. Routine screening may not be feasible in settings where time and resources are typically scarce. Moreover, there is concern that providers, without adequate training and sensitization, may inflict additional trauma on clients who disclose abuse (Kim & Motsei, 2002).

Research indicates a strong association between women's HIV status and partner violence, which supports the theory that violence plays a role in women's risk for HIV infection (Maman et al., 2001). The debate will likely continue until the effectiveness of screening interventions is meticulously evaluated. However, certain principles are understood to be universally applicable: clients who disclose abuse must be afforded privacy and confidentiality, and any screening process must be conducted in a safe and non-judgmental way (WHO, 2004a).

A need assessment conducted prior to the integration of routine screening and referral services into clinics in three South American countries revealed that health provider bias may jeopardize screening. 53% of clinicians interviewed felt that women's inappropriate behaviors provoked their husbands' aggression, while 41% believed that adolescents may provoke sexual assault (Guedes, Bott & Cuca, 2004). Encouragingly, 94% of the clinicians indicated that it is important to ask about sexual violence as other clinical problems (Bott et al. 2004). Sensitization of health providers (and of police, where applicable) is an effective tool to help providers to address underlying attitudes, and to overcome barriers to responding appropriately to abused clients. In conclusion, the International Planned Parenthood Federation strongly recommends that a routine screening policy only be implemented when facilities have the resources to protect women who disclose women and to enable women to benefit from disclosure (Bott et al., 2004).

Where professional counselors are not available, and there are barriers to accessing individual psychosocial support or as a complement to existing services, support groups can be created with health personnel serving as trained facilitators (Ellsburg & Arcas, 2001). While facilitators do not necessarily need to have advanced degrees in psychology, social work, or a related field, they should have specific training in violence against women issues, as well as in facilitating a support group, and should understand the process for designing support groups, the stages of group development and the role of the facilitator. Support groups can be important to the psychosocial well being of survivors, particularly in resource-poor settings, where there may be fewer mental health providers. The support groups enable health centers to attend many more individuals than is possible with individual psychological care. The groups also enable women to help each other; to realize that they are not the only ones that suffer from violence; and to develop common ties, and in some cases, collective action. These are all important elements for overcoming violence.

2.9.2 Counseling Intervention for Marital Violence

Marital violence is extremely complex, and no single strategy or intervention is going to eradicate it. Some of the more effective strategies are interventions for children who have witnessed violence. Children experience violence through actually witnessing the abuse, hearing but not seeing it, being injured in the “cross-fire” of violence, and being manipulated by the abuser (Faller, 2003).

Most children who have witnessed domestic violence display emotional and behavior problems such as cognitive deficits, post traumatic stress disorder, and depression (Kot & Tyndall – Lind, 2005; Faller, 2003). In addition these children, who have witnessed marital violence, are more likely to either be the victim or perpetrator of violence in adult relationships (Faller, 2003; Osofsky, 2003). There are certain protective factors that help lower these risks, such as a stable relationship with an adult. This can be a complicated process for children exposed to violent relationships between one or both parents, but children may have opportunities to receive support from relatives, friends or even a sensitive police officers (Osofsky, 2003).

Further education of mental health professionals, doctors, law enforcement officers, and others who may come into contact with children affected by domestic violence will be helpful in recognizing and stopping the ripple effect that so often occur, and providing support to

children when they need it the most (Faller,2003; Osofsky, 2003). Kot & Tyndall – Lind (2005) outline an emphatically supported play therapy for child witnesses of domestic violence that emphasizes a corrective therapeutic relationship based on trust, safety and mutual respect. There is at this point little research on preventive measures outside of childhood.

Many abused women lack community resource that would make escaping abusive relations possible, such as affordable housing, employment, childcare, legal assistance, and social support. The purpose of the advocate is to assist victims with accessing the resources. In a study by Sullivan in 1994 in the unites states, women who had worked with advocates reported greater effectiveness in obtaining defined resources, increased social support, and higher quality of life compared to women in the control group. Therefore, it is important to expand legal systems, mental health professionals, medical professionals and advocacy services to offer assistance and support to allow women to leave abusive relationships. These services must be part of a larger package designed to work with abused women (Sullivan, 1994). More research should be done on which community resources are effective or not, and why. Medical communication should be educated to dispel myths surrounding domestic violence, such as misconceptions about whom it happens to and why a woman who has been abused may not readily admit to it to a physician.

2.9.3 Community –Based Prevention Programmes

Community based prevention strategies should be set up and these should be linked to medical and police structures. There is also need for research on the effectiveness, quality and impact of programs in developing countries. Police and medical personnel should take part.

The role of community initiatives in preventing and managing sexual abuse is especially important in resource-poor settings, where governments may not have the means or inclination to develop formal support networks. Evidence shows that survivors are more likely to confide in family and friends than in formal services, and indicates the need to increase general community capacity to respond in a sensitive and appropriate manner (WHO, 2005a). The involvement of community members in the design of specialized, yet culturally relevant, services is an essential complement to the improvement of service delivery. Health, illness and care-seeking behavior are culturally defined, and local norms and understandings need to be taken into account when designing and implementing services.

Special attention should be paid to planning services for people who face intense social stigma as survivors of particular types of violence, in order to prevent further stigmatization. Existing literature suggests that community-based prevention efforts with links to medical or police structures are in a minority. Many initiatives talk about 'community members' or 'stakeholders', but rarely specify professional personnel. There are exceptions to this rule: the Thohoyandou Victim Empowerment Program (TVEP) in South Africa is strengthening existing community-based prevention strategies that are directly linked to the existing medical and police structures.

Thohoyandou Victim Empowerment Program conducts campaigns in villages, schools and clinics, through the 'zero tolerance village alliance', that aim to raise awareness on where and how to report abuse. An 'Access to Justice' cluster aims to ensure the provision of a multi-sectoral, one-stop service to survivors of sexual assault, child abuse and/or domestic violence, and strategic linkages have been formed with other governmental and civil society organizations to facilitate access to services. TVEP has developed some innovative approaches to supporting abuse survivors. The organization responded to the high number of withdrawals from the trauma centers (currently around 50%) by creating a Case Management team to follow-up and monitors all cases. Issues of financial and physical access have been tackled through a partnership with local bus companies; TVEP prints its own post-dated bus tickets and issues them to destitute survivors, who are then enabled to attend workshops, receive counseling, and return to the hospital for follow-up blood tests. TVEP's Positive Support Services promote access to ART and compliance with the regimen, with particular emphasis on children, through a team of volunteer advisors, counselors and advocacy officers. There are flaws in the system: referral links require strengthening, there is currently no 'chain of evidence' to enable prosecutions and the services are not tailored or marketed to minority groups. However, TVEP has made significant advances in creating a supportive environment for survivors of sexual violence, and in generating an environment where SGBV is culturally unacceptable (Ndhlovu et al., 2006).

A multi-sectoral community-level prevention strategy called "Raising Voices" first piloted in Uganda, has been widely adopted across east and southern Africa. The project has developed a resource guide for use by community-based organizations working in the field of sexual and gender-based violence. The five phases include guidelines for raising awareness and building support within the community and professional sectors, (i.e. police, social and health

services, law enforcement, teachers and religious communities). These steps are followed by efforts to integrate action against violence within institutions and to ensure their sustainability and progress. A preliminary qualitative evaluation observed reduced tolerance to violence by local police, councils and the general community (Michau & Naker, 2003; Bott et al., 2005).

In Rwanda, WE-ACTx (Women's Equity in Access to Care and Treatment) has launched a legal programme that aims to train paralegals and medical personnel on the rights of persons who have experienced sexual violence and those living with HIV/AIDS. Rwanda experienced high levels of ethnically-motivated sexual violence during the 1994 genocide, and the medical, psychological and legal needs of the survivors have been inadequately addressed. The programme includes forensic principles and guidelines on the management of child sexual abuse, as well as support strategies that will enable women to testify against their assailants in local genocide tribunals (GAA, 2006).

Community-based networks are aptly positioned to co-ordinate local services targeted towards abuse survivors and to improve access to medical, psychosocial and legal support (World Bank, 2006c). In South Africa and Uganda the creation of formal or informal networks, coalitions and task forces, at all levels, have contributed towards the development of referral networks and a more comprehensive response to abuse survivors (IGWG, 2006). These networks serve to sustain awareness of SGBV among both the providers and recipients of services, and can help to mobilize public support for survivors while reducing tolerance to incidents of sexual violence.

2.9.4 Psychological Counseling of Sexual Abuse Victims

Psychological counseling should be offered for sexual abuse victims. The emotional consequences expressed especially in the 'rape trauma syndrome' are often longer lasting and more difficult to diagnose and deal with than physical symptoms. They include behavior changes and personality changes that are manifested in a wide range of ways: physical manifestations include pain, nausea, vomiting, and headaches. Behavioral manifestations include eating disorders, sleep disturbances, abuse of drugs and alcohol and changes in normal day-to-day functioning. Self-blame, guilt and humiliation are psychological influences that lower self-esteem (Hanson, 1992). Clinical trials suggest life-long emotional trauma that is often compounded by the prejudice and stigma associated with rape (Rose, 1986).

Psychological counseling is vital for speeding the recovery process that is often individualized and may last many years (Campbell & Self, 2004; Roland et al., 2001). Counseling in rape context requires trauma prevention, HIV pre and post-test counseling, and post exposure prophylaxis adherence counseling as the side effects of PEP may be difficult to distinguish from those of rape trauma (Kim et al., 2003). There is need for counseling to prepare survivors for the justice system, while enabling access to legal counsel and aid increases the likelihood that a survivor will complete the legal process. The need for counseling is not necessarily limited to the survivor: the family and/or partners also undergo trauma and may require support (Kilonzo, 2003).

An experienced general counselor who has received specialized training in trauma counseling and HIV-testing in the context of sexual violence should conduct counseling (Kenya MoH, 2004). Privacy and confidentiality are central to reassuring survivors and securing their long-term safety. There are two categories of counseling, all of which are beneficial to the short- and long-term welfare of sexual abuse survivors: Trauma counseling for crisis prevention aims to reduce immediate rape trauma disorder and long-term post-traumatic stress disorder, and needs to be prioritized for all patients, regardless of their time of presentation. HIV pre and post test counseling is recommended for all patients before he or she is tested for HIV, even if this requires that emergency contraception and post rape care be administered prior to the HIV test (Askew & Kilonzo, 2005; WHO 2003).

Follow-up of patients is also important for their long-term well-being. Appropriate referrals for on-going care should be made and documented in appropriate clinical records. Lists of local support services and telephone numbers would aid referrals. Sick leave recommendation for the survivor should take consideration of psychological impact as well as the physical injuries. WHO recommends that such documentation be non-specific as to the cause of absenteeism (Askew & Kilonzo, 2005, WHO, 2003). WHO emphasizes the need for respect and compassion throughout the medical examination and subsequent treatment. Appropriate and sensitive language and demeanor will reassure the patient, while conversely, insensitive language can contribute towards the re-victimization of the patient. The behavior and attitudes of health providers are a significant influence on the counseling process and outcome. Studies conducted among health providers have indicated that their perceptions towards gender roles and sexual violence can influence the quality of service delivery (Christofides et al., 2005; Bott et al., 2005).

2.9.5 Role of Legal and Judicial Sectors in Curbing Gender Based Violence

In any country, the legal enforcement and justice sectors should play a key role in preventing sexual and gender based violence. The national policy and legislative framework influences institutional perceptions of and responses to sexual violence. Adherence to international conventions and resolutions on human rights both symbolize and enable government commitment to preventing violence (UN-GA, 2006). On the other hand, the individual responses of police or health personnel can exacerbate or ameliorate the negative impact of a coercive experience. Research suggests that justice sector reform can contribute to a reduction in gender-based violence by sanctioning the perpetrators of crimes and sending a clear message to the population that such actions will not be tolerated; by increasing awareness throughout society that physical and sexual violence are criminal acts; by increasing access to the legal system; and by improving institutional responses to the survivors of violence (Bott et al., 2005).

Many countries across East, Central, and Southern Africa do not provide conducive climate that encourages abuse survivors to report abuse to police, let alone pursue a prosecution. A study in Malawi found that only 4% of women sought help from the police, and most received a service that differed significantly from protocol (Pelcer et al., 2005). Creation of a safe and confidential system for reporting violence against women, and protection of complainants from any possible acts of retaliation should be part of effective investigation procedures (UN-GA, 2006). Research in Zambia and South Africa reveals that the overwhelming majority of survivors presenting to the police were children (Keesbury et al., 2006; RADAR, 2006). This may be attributed to social perceptions of child sexual abuse as an unequivocal crime, as opposed to more ambiguous attitudes towards adult sexual violence. Some of the barriers that hinder provision of care and justice include:

- Lack of awareness among survivors of the content and availability of medical and legal services;
- Lack of trust in the legal enforcement and judicial agencies;
- Absence of clear guidelines and protocols relating to sexual and gender based violence for members of the police and judiciary;
- Lack of training and sensitization among the police and judiciary;
- High dismissal rates of cases by police and prosecutors;
- High withdrawal rates of complaints by victims;

- Low prosecution and conviction rates;
- Failure of courts to apply uniform criteria, particularly in relation to measures to protect victims
- Lack of legal aid and high costs of legal representation in courts;
- Practices that deny women legal control over their lives, such as detaining women for their "protection" without their consent;
- Inadequacy of forensic procedures and the "chain of evidence" contribute to the perception that prosecution creates additional trauma without necessarily achieving sanctions (Pelcer, 2005; Bott et al, 2005; Betron & Doggett, 2006; Kilonzo, 2003, UN-GA, 2006b).

The justice system should deviate from the existing norms that emphasizes on punishing the perpetrator, rather than restoring the safety of the survivor. The paucity of legal and psychological support services for abuse survivors may exacerbate the trauma and reduce the likelihood of pursuing conviction. Commentators question whether criminal sanctions are the most appropriate response to situations where the abuse survivors are financially dependent on the perpetrator. Tough sentencing is thought to inhibit survivors from reporting family members for fear of the social and economic consequences (Bott et al., 2005; Keesbury et al., 2006; World Bank, 2006b).

Moreover, research shows that female survivors express more interest in legal tools that will increase their personal and household security, such as divorce, division of marital property, child custody and child support, than in pursuing justice (Guedes et al., 2002; World Bank, 2006b). Sexual abuse survivors need improved access to legal advice and resources, and require counseling and support along the medical and legal continuum. This involves building the capacity of local para-legal and community organizations, improving the range and quality of referrals, and taking steps to ensure sufficient and consistent funding and monitoring (UN-GA, 2006).

Some countries have already started improving their judicial systems to respond to gender abuse cases. In Zambia's Copperbelt region efforts are underway to develop a more responsive, flexible judiciary. While courts in the Copperbelt are adept at prosecuting sexual assault cases there are concerns that high prosecution and conviction rates are deterring

survivors from seeking institutional support. Police, in some cases, have encouraged survivors to resolve cases through other means in order to bypass the excessively punitive system. To help rationalize sentencing in these cases, and make the courtroom a less daunting place for survivors, the Population Council is developing strategies for sensitizing the judiciary on sexual assault issues (Keesbury et al., 2006). Zambia and South Africa have taken steps to clarify legal and judicial responses to sexual and gender based violence by compiling detailed standards for the management of domestic violence and sexual assault cases.

Results of institutional reforms indicate that this approach has a positive impact on the efficacy and responsiveness of legal and judicial systems. In Pakistan, Rozan (an Islamabad-based NGO), conducted 21 trainings for police officers to explore communications skills, anger and stress management, gender stereotypes, issues of violence, and the role of police officers in violence against women. The most significant increase was from 8% to 47% in the participants' sensitivity to gender based violence issues (Rashid, 2001). The training of police and judiciary has been shown to improve attitudes towards abuse survivors although implementing sensitized attitudes requires reformed policies and resources, as well as the commitment and involvement of all personnel levels (Bott, 2005). Women in Law and Development Africa, (an NGO) has compiled legal training kits for judges. Programmes to enhance the gender-sensitivity of judges include 'Towards a Jurisprudence of Equality, developed by the International Association of Women Judges and its partners in Africa and Latin America, which aims to strengthen the capacity of judges and magistrates to apply international and regional human rights law to cases involving violence against women (UN-GA, 2006). A number of countries have introduced closed court hearings for survivors of sexual violence; closed-circuit television testimony, and separate waiting areas for vulnerable witnesses or survivors; and new rules for prosecutorial evidence - such as Tanzania's elimination of testimonial corroboration for rape (World Bank 2006b).

Designated sexual violence units for instance, the Victim Empowerment Program and Family Child Services Units in South Africa and the Victim Support Units in Zambia can facilitate medical and legal procedures and increase survivors' willingness to report abuse. Referral linkages appear to increase the likelihood that survivors will receive services such as forensic exams, counselling, emergency contraception and STI prophylaxis (Betron & Doggett, 2006; Bott et al., 2005; GAA, 2006). The Thohoyandou Victim Empowerment Trust (TVEP) in

Limpopo, South Africa, supports survivors through the judicial process by preparing them for court, stationing chaperones at the courts to provide reassurance and assistance, and by caring for and feeding child witnesses (Ndholovu et al., 2006).

Thutuzela Care Centres in South Africa attribute improved prosecution and conviction rates to the high degree of co-operation between survivors and service providers throughout the medical and legal procedures. They also report a significant reduction in the time spent to investigate, prosecute and convict perpetrators, from approximately 3-5 years to less than 6 months today. However, weaknesses of specialized units include inadequate resources, infrastructure and trained staff (HRW, 1997), and efforts may be undermined by insensitive law enforcement personnel and inappropriate legal policies (Bott et al., 2005). It is therefore important for countries to employ multisectoral capacity-building and reform strategy.

2.10 Theoretical Framework

This study will be based on two theories: Feminist Theory by Jone Johnson Lewis (1999) and Social Learning Theory by Albert Bandura (1977). The theories explain the causes of violence against women and they have been used to provide a theoretical framework for the study.

2.10.1 Feminist Theory by Jone Johnson Lewis (1999)

This theory views social phenomena as determined by the sexist, patriarchal structure of our society and spousal violence as merely one outcome of a structure that allows rape, incest, prostitution, foot binding and a host of other sexist restrictions to keep women in a servile position (Schuster, 1996). Research in both Britain and America which has examined the historical and legal precedents of wife abuse, has shown that wife-beating in the patriarchal social and family systems has a long history, was legal until recently and occurs across cultures (Dobash & Dobash, 1980; Walker, 2000). The theory emphasizes the patriarchal roots of inequality between men and women. It views patriarchy as dividing rights, privileges and power primarily by gender and as a result oppressing women and privileging men. This in turn influences the women's perceptions on violence since they are to adhere to the order of things as they are in society.

Dobash and Dobash (1992) assert that patriarchal social and family systems are characterized by hierarchical- structured organizations and a patriarchal ideology in which men are given

position of supremacy and females positions of subordination. They further state that in order to maintain this hierarchical order, it has to be accepted by the majority of society and that it is the patriarchal system that serves to reinforce this acceptance. Men and women are socialized into the acceptance of 'rightful nature of the order of things' and its inequities which allows the order to go mainly unchallenged. The patriarchal social and family systems, with its accompanying patriarchal ideology is thought to cause wife-beating in three ways: First, through early childhood socialization, men are trained to be dominant and aggressive, which increase the likelihood of men acting out aggressively toward their wives in stressful situations. Concurrently, women are trained to be more dependent and passive, which has been found to increase their tolerance of abuse (Moore, 1997; Yllo, 1983). Traditionally in Africa, husbands are regarded as dominant and the head of the household, responsible for the support of the family, whilst wives are regarded as subordinate, and responsible for housework and children (Martin, 1976). Patriarchy has also contributed to the way women perceive violence. The women have been socialized to accept the order of things in society. This has great influence on how they look at violence, with most of them accepting that violence from a spouse should be accepted and tolerated though it infringes on their rights.

The prevalence of ideologies justifying female subordination influences women's perceptions on violence. In many ideologies, a traditional legitimacy is given to using violence against women. There are cultural sanctions for husbands to beat their wives in certain circumstances. The ideologies base their discussion on a particular construction of sexual identity. Masculine construction requires manhood to be equated to the ability to exert power over others, especially through the use of force. Masculinity, it is espoused, gives man power to control the lives of those around him, especially women. Women are construed to be passive and submissive and to accept violence as part of a woman's estate. An independent woman is denied expression in feminine terms. Custom, tradition, and religion are frequently invoked to justify the use of violence against women. Certain man-made practices performed in the name of religion denigrate accepted norms of women human rights. The customary practices and some aspects of tradition are often the cause of violence against women. These include female genital mutilation, male preference, early marriages, virginity tests, dowry, and deaths, among others. Blind adherence to practices and state inaction with regard to these practices has contributed largely to women's perception on violence and this has led to continued violence against women (IELRC working paper 2000- 2001). Women have been made to believe that the status quo should remain. This is what is contributing to the silence

and inaction on the part of the women thereby contributing to some women to stay in violent marriages. The Kenya government is party to most of the global and regional conventions relating to the human rights of women. It is obligated to take steps to implement the provisions of those instruments. However, implementation of the conventions has not taken place. GBV has therefore continued to take place. The government should take more action to reform power relations within society. This should in turn modify the women perceptions on violence.

In most families then, stress or frustration based on traditional roles is likely to occur more frequently, increasing the likelihood of wife-beating. Straus, Kantor, & Moore (1997), offers an explanation for the greater frequency of wife-abuse in marriages where the husband is lacking in resources. She suggests that wife-dominant power structures violate the implicit norms of patriarchal societies that require the husband to be head of the household. Straus hypothesis that when husband cannot fulfill their leadership roles, two processes set in. Firstly, there is tension and dissatisfaction with the marriage that reduces inhibition for possibly disruptive acts. Second, the husband lacking other resources is more likely to use his superior physical strength in an attempt to maintain his power. Third, Patriarchy contributes to causing wife beating since structural conditions, which is, the sexist organization of society, creates dependency of women on men and on the institution of marriage. When women are dependent on the husbands, wife abuse has been found to occur with greater frequency (Straus, Kantor & Moore 1997; Yllo, 1983). Systematic discrimination against women (e.g. sex-based wage differentials& job discrimination) in patriarchal society facilitates this dependence on men and the institution of marriage to gain status in society.

While the male-dominated structure of society and the family is still largely in existence, several writers point out that these male superiority norms are in the process of transition. Women's status is in the process of change as they begin to experience greater legal rights, economic opportunities and physical mobility (Straus, Kantor & Moore, 1997). It has been argued that the changes women are undergoing in status also create strain and frustration for men trying to retain control of their dominant position and that violence against women may be a response to moves by women to question and reduce the degree of sexual domination. This has led several writers to conclude that, whilst the long term consequences of a more equalitarian may be to lessen the frequency of assaults on women, and create better understanding of violence, the short-term consequences may be the opposite, as a sizeable

number of men will not easily give up the advantages of their traditional sex-stereotyped roles (Straus, Kantor & Moore, 1997; Schuster, 1996).

2.10.2 Social Learning Theory by Albert Bandura (1977)

Social learning theory proposes that individuals who experience violence are more likely to use violence in the home than those who have experienced little or no violence. Children who either experience violence themselves or who witness violence between their parents are more likely to use violence when they grow up. This finding has been interpreted to support the idea that family violence is learned. The family is the institution and social group where people learn the roles of husband and wife, parent and child. The home is the primary place in which people learn how to deal with various stresses, crises and frustrations. In many instances, the home is also where a person first experiences violence. Not only do people learn violent behavior, but they learn how to justify being violent. This in turn influences the individual's perceptions on the violence. Research has consistently shown that childhood exposure to violence, either as a victim or as a witness increase the likelihood that the child will grow up to become a child and/or spouse abuser ,Gelles, (1974). This is largely because they will develop ideas and opinions about their situations. This moulds the kind of perceptions in life and how they act in given situations and circumstances. Childhood exposure to violence is seen as an important antecedent to adult violence by proponents of widely varying theories including analytical theory and social learning theory.

According to Nicolson (2010), Social learning theorists such as Bandura (1977) have shown that girls and boys are influenced by the behaviours of their role models in their understanding of what is good and what is bad behavior, and role models are mostly of the same sex as themselves. This theory presents a picture of how individuals develop a sense of morality both in relation to our own behaviours and when sitting judgment over others. Boys /men and girls /women have very different experiences when growing up, including different experiences of embodiment, and the two genders make different sense of their worlds. This explains the genders differences on their public opinions regarding abuse. This also influences their opinions and ultimately their perceptions on gender based violence

Steinmetz (1997) reports that even less severe forms of violence are passed from generation to generation. Straus, Kantor, & Moore (1997), provides evidence that the greater the frequency of violence, the greater the chance that the victim will grow up to be a violent

partner or parent. Violent behavior is seen as a learned phenomenon where the individual learns norms that approve the use of violence. Individuals also learn that it is an effective method of resolving conflict and children who are beaten learn that the one who loves you has the right and responsibility to beat you (Moore, 1997; Steinmetz, 1997).

Learning theories have much to say about why perpetrators receive reinforcement for abusing and why women stay in an abusive relationship. Foremost among these theories is Lenore Walker's (2000) theory of learned helplessness, which she adapted from animal studies conducted on random, non contingent punishment. Applied to battering in particular, the theory proposes that battered women do not leave abusive relationships because they have been conditioned to believe they cannot predict their own safety and that nothing they or anyone else does will alter their terrible circumstances. When these women had previously sought help in getting relief from their battering, they had generally had a long history of outright refusal of services, denial of their abuse, and secondary victimization of them by family, the police, the judiciary, mental health and social services, and medical staff (Worell & Remer, 1992).

Walker (2000) proposed a number of factors in childhood and adulthood that are building blocks for learned helplessness. Childhood factors include witnessing or experiencing battering, sexual abuse or molestation, health problems or chronic illness, stereotypical sex-roles, and rigid traditionalism. Such experiences teach the child that external, autocratic, and often time whimsical forces dictate outcomes. In adulthood factors that are instigated by the abuser include an emergent pattern of violence, sexual abuse, jealousy, over possessiveness, intrusiveness and isolation, threat of harm, observed violence towards others, animals, or things, and alcohol and drug abuse. The more that these factors are apparent, the more likely the stage will be set for random and dramatic violence that has little connection to any clear or rational stimulus. This has largely contributed to society's perception on violence.

The term helplessness has caused a great deal of furor from feminist because they see this pejorative term as casting women in a victim role with few resources or little empowerment. However, according to Walker (2000), women are not helpless in the standard sense of the term. What learned helplessness does mean is that battered women choose behavioral responses that have the highest predictability of causing them the least harm in the known

situation. Although through prior conditioning they may be unable to leave, they control the situation as effectively as they can.

2.11 Conceptual Framework

In this study, focus is on women’s perception of marital violence and its influence on wives staying in marriages in which violence occur. The independent variable for the study is women’s perception of marital violence. The dependent variable is staying in marriages in which violence occur. There are a number of intervening variables to be put into consideration, such as patriarchal structure of society that fosters power imbalance, cultural practices, societal attitudes, and gender roles. Figure 1 present the conceptual framework of the study.

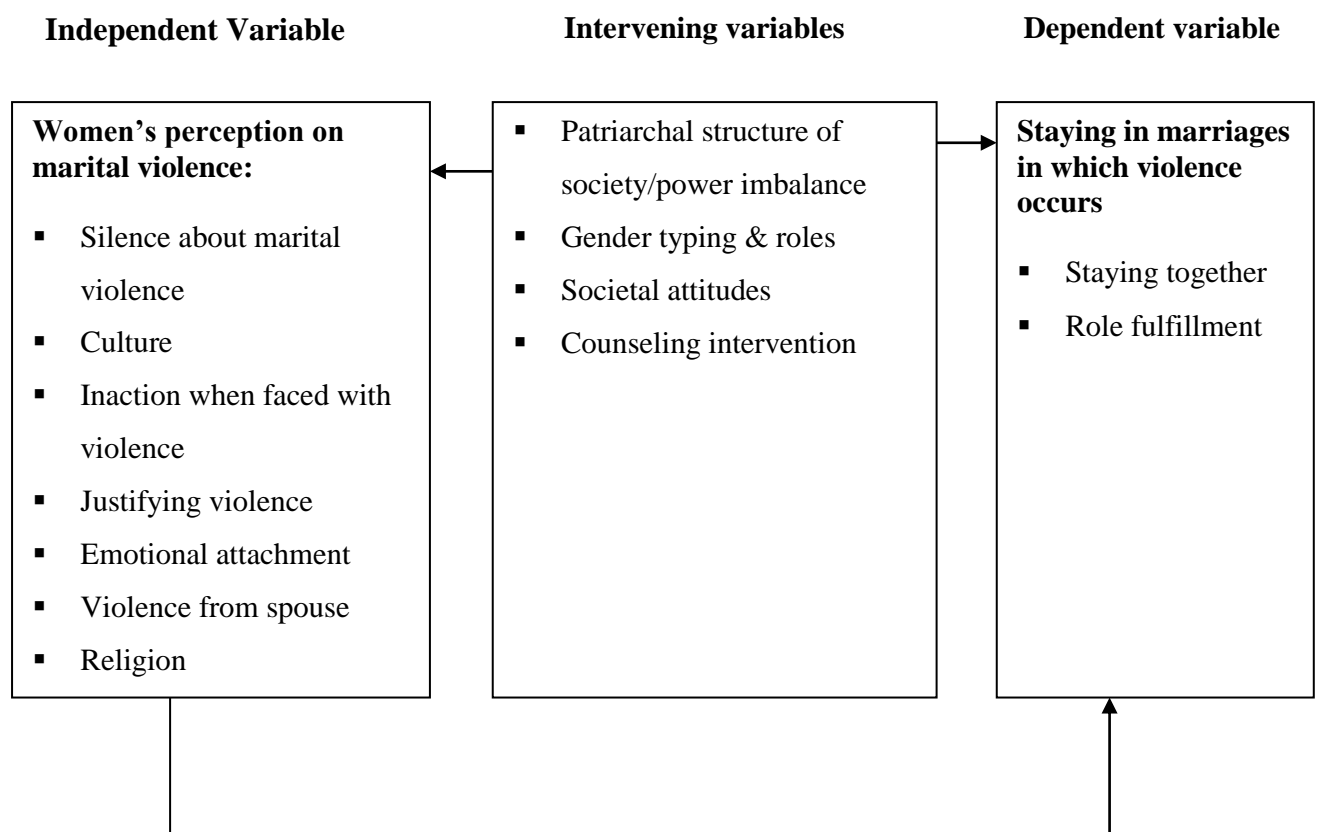


Figure 1: Relationship Between Women’s Perception on Violence and their Staying in Marriages in which Violence Occurs.

Matlin (2004) posits that pervasiveness and acceptability of violence in the family directed against women has continued and it is widely tolerated. Some women have continued to stay in violent marriages. Three perspectives explain why violence against women has continued

and why some women put up with the violence. The social learning approach emphasizes that parents often reward gender typed behavior more than “gender appropriate” behavior. The cognitive development approach emphasizes that children actively construct their gender schemas based on messages they learn from parents and other sources of information.

Furthermore, Matlin (2004) states that the social and structural theory emphasizes that violence in the home has its origins in the entire social context where violence against women is an outcome of the belief, fostered in most cultures. Parents encourage gender-typed activities and patterns. They also treat sons and daughters somewhat differently with regard to social characteristics: aggression and independence. Parents also encourage gender-typed activities when they assign chores to children. Girls are assigned domestic chores such as washing dishes, or dusting furniture whereas boys are assigned outdoor activities. Children are thus discouraged from taking up activities that are inappropriate. Parents discourage aggression in their daughters but tolerate and even encourage aggression in their sons. Boys also learn about power and being aggressive from their fathers. Children learn that in their family fathers make decisions, and use physical intimidation to assert power. By watching their parents, children often learn that aggression and power are “boy things” not “girl things.” Boys are also taught to be independent while girls should be submissive. All this is thus a reflection of the broad structures of sexual and economic inequality in society. It is a display of male power, the outcome of social relations in which women are kept in a position of inferiority to men, responsible to them and in need of protection by them (Matlin 2004).

Violence against women is the outcome of the belief fostered in most cultures that women with whom they live are their possessions to be treated as men consider appropriate. To address violence against women will thus require an overhaul of the way children are brought up, gender typing and stereotypes that have fostered in society over the years.

Matlin (2004) further asserts that violence is compounded by the patriarchal nature of society. Patriarchal social and family systems are characterized by hierarchical-structured organizations and a patriarchal ideology in which men are given position of supremacy and females positions of subordination. In order to maintain this hierarchical order, men and women are socialized into acceptance of ‘rightful nature of the order of things’ and its inequalities which allows the order to go unchallenged. Through childhood socialization, men are trained to be dominant and aggressive, which increase the likelihood of men acting

out aggressively toward wives in stressful situations, concurrently, women are trained to be more dependent and passive which has been found to increase their tolerance of abuse.

The social, political, and economic dependence of women on men provides a structure wherein men perpetuate violence against women. Since women have been socialized to be submissive, some women have chosen to stay in violent marriages. There is no single explanation of violence in the home, and nothing can excuse inaction. Whatever the causes, individuals must accept responsibility for their own violent actions and societies must confront all types of violence against women.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the specific procedures that were used in data collection and analysis in order to answer the research questions. The chapter focuses on the research design, location of study, the population, sample and sampling procedure, data collection procedure and analysis of data.

3.2 Research Design

This study adopted a descriptive survey that employed an *ex post facto* causal comparative design. Descriptive Survey research seeks to obtain information that describes existing phenomena by asking individuals about their perceptions, behaviours and values Mugenda and Mugenda (1999). Furthermore, causal comparative design was important because many of the cause and effect relationships do not permit experimental manipulation. This design is therefore appropriate for this study since it is explored the women perceptions on marital violence. According to Best and Kahn (1993), descriptive research is designed to obtain status of an issue and whenever possible to draw valid general conclusion from the facts observed. The design was found to be appropriate because it allows for the use of research instruments such as questionnaires, and interview schedules. According to Kilemi and Wamahiu (1995), any researcher who adopts this design attempts to produce data that is holistic, contextual, and descriptive in depth and detail. This is a research design which looks into events that have already occurred and therefore cannot be manipulated. According to Mathooko, Mathooko and Mathooko (2007), an *ex post-facto* design explores and clarifies relationship between two or more variables. The design was considered appropriate because independent variables cannot be manipulated since they had occurred. In this study, the independent variable was the women's perception on violence and the dependent variable was staying in marriages in which violence occurs. The design was considered as suitable for this study because many of the phenomenons in psychology can only be studied after the independent variable has occurred due to ethical constraints. The researcher studied the independent variable in retrospect to their possible relationship to, and effects on, the dependent variables.

3.3 Location of the Study

The research was carried out within Nairobi County. Nairobi County is one of the 47 counties in Kenya and it is a cosmopolitan city. Nairobi is also the capital city of Kenya and has the

highest urban population in East Africa estimated at 3,138,295 inhabitants according to the 2009 population census. The city is located at 269Sqm 1⁰17'S 36⁰ 49'E and occupies around 696km². It is situated about 1661 meters (54-50ft) above sea level. Nairobi is divided into eight constituencies (Makadara, Kamukunji, Starehe, Langata, Dagoretti, Westlands, Kasarani and Embakasi. It has a diverse population originating from all regions of Kenya. The inhabitants are from different cultural and religious backgrounds, different education and income levels. Nairobi was selected because the diverse population was believed to provide a population suitable for the study on perception on marital violence. Because of their diverse cultural, social, economic and academic characteristics, the locations were selected because it was possible to make comparative analysis on the issue of women perceptions and whether this influences their decision to stay in violent marriages. The selection of the study sites was also motivated by the availability of study subjects, bearing in mind that marital violence is a sensitive issue and the possibility of hostility from respondents.

Kileleshwa and Kawangware locations were used in the study. The two locations are in Westlands and Dagoretti South constituencies respectively. Kileleshwa is a high income area while Kawangware is a low income area. These two locations were chosen for the study since the researcher wanted to establish if there is any difference in how the women perceive marital violence in the two areas. Kileleshwa Location is part of the affluent part of Nairobi and majority of the residents are high income earners. Kawangware location on the other hand, is a densely populated informal settlement.

3.4 Population of Study

According to Central Bureau of Statistics (2009 census), Nairobi county had a population of 1,533,139 women. Kileleshwa had 14,995 women and Kawangware had 32731. A total of 980 women were involved in the study from the locations while from COVAW, 10 women staff members were engaged through interview. According to Anvy, Jacobs, & Razariah (1972), 10-20% of the accessible population is acceptable for a descriptive research. The participants of the study were selected from the women population. The target population for the study was the women in Kileleshwa and Kawangware locations. Therefore, a total of 47,726 women constituted the target population of the study.

3.5 Sampling Procedure and Sample Size

The sample size that was selected from the accessible population was 980 women. The figure was arrived at by using the formula provided by Kathuri and Pals (1993). Appendix E shows required size for randomly chosen sample, from a given finite population of N cases such that the sample proportion P will be within plus or minus. By using this formula:

N = population size

S = Sample size

Women were selected for inclusion in the study.

Purposive and systematic random sampling methods were used in selecting respondents for the study. Purposive sampling was employed due to the nature of services provided particularly by FIDA-Kenya Chapter and COVAW (dealing with gender violence victims). According to Robinson (2003), the principle of purposive sampling is the researcher's judgment as to typicality of interest. A sample is built up which enables the researcher to satisfy the specific needs in a study or project. Robinson further maintains that in purposive sampling it is important to have considerable knowledge of the population before the sample is drawn.

Systematic random sampling method was used to select the sample from Kileleshwa and Kawangware locations. A list of all enumeration zones (numbering system used to classify zones in the 2009 census for households) in Kawangware and Kileleshwa locations was used as the initial sampling frame. All enumeration areas were listed in random order. Then sampling interval was decided by dividing total population by sample size. In this sampling every 10th house in the population frame was selected for inclusion into the sample. The women were selected from households in one hundred (100) enumeration zones used in the 2009 population census. In each enumeration area every tenth house was systematically selected to participate in the study. Where the household belonged to a male only, another household would be randomly selected until the required number of women was achieved. Table 4 shows the actual number of respondents from the locations.

Table 4

Actual Number of Respondents by Locations

Sample Group	Total No. of respondents
Kileleshwa Location	530
Kawangware Location	450
Total	980

3.6 Instrumentation

Data was collected through administration of a structured questionnaire, interviews and focus group discussions. The questionnaire was distributed in the locations while interviews were conducted with staff at COVAW. Focus Group Discussions were conducted with women in the two locations. Items in the questionnaire consisted of closed-ended questions. The closed form questions comprised of statements that required the respondents to respond to the items in the questionnaire. Scoring of the questionnaire was done using a five point Likert scale. In using the questionnaire, this is in line with Robinson (2003), who maintains that “questionnaires provide a relatively simple and straightforward approach to the study of values, beliefs or motives.” They have a high level of standardization ability.

3.6.1 Focus Group Discussions

Focus Group Discussions were conducted with women from Kileleshwa and Kawangware locations who were not issued with questionnaires. Through stratified sampling some respondents were issued with questionnaires while others were involved in focus group discussions. Those targeted were women from various households, churches, women groups and other religious bodies in the two locations. Ten to twelve women guided by a facilitator formed focus groups. Over all 44 women participated in the Focus Group Discussions. The Focus Group Discussion schedule had various open ended questions that participants discussed in relation to women perceptions on marital violence. This was helpful in gaining insight on the topic under study. The researcher with the help of two assistants conducted the discussions.

3.6.2 Interview Schedules

Interviews were conducted with staff at COVAW. The purpose of the interview guide was to provide an overall direction for the discussion. Interviews are hoped to provide in-depth information, which is not possible to get using a questionnaire. The interview schedule had several open ended questions that helped get insight on the study objectives. Very sensitive

and personal information which is the basis of this study was extracted from the respondents by honest and personal interaction between the respondents and the researcher. The instrument was administered by the researcher with the help of research assistants.

3.7 Validity of Instruments

According to Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) validity is the accuracy and meaningfulness of inferences, which are based on research results. It is the degree to which results obtained from the analysis of the data actually represent the phenomenon under study. It has to do with how accurately the data obtained in the study represents the variables of the study. If such data is a true reflection of the variables, then inferences based on such data will be accurate and meaningful. To validate instruments the researcher consulted two supervisors and experts in the Department of Psychology; Counseling and Educational Foundations of Egerton University who went through the instruments to assist determine face and content validity.

3.8 Reliability of Instruments

Reliability of the data is the measure of the degree to which a research instrument yields consistent results or data after repeated trials. It is the degree to which test scores are free from measurement errors which occur by chance and cannot be predicted (Kathuri & Pals 1993). To assess the reliability of the data split half technique was used that required only one testing session. Cronbach's Alpha was then computed to determine how items correlated amongst themselves. Responses on the even numbers were correlated with the responses on the odd numbers. A co-efficient of 0.77 was achieved. According to Mugenda & Mugenda (1999), a coefficient of 0.7 or more implies that there is a high degree of reliability of data.

Pilot study was also conducted with forty women. This was in order to clarify and clear up any ambiguities in the questionnaire. The pilot study was conducted with women from Dik Dik area in kileleshwa and Kongo in Kawangware. These two areas were not included in the final study. The respondents were drawn from a section of kileleshwa and Kawangware through cluster sampling method.

3.9 Data Collection Procedure

The researcher obtained a permit from the National Council for Science and Technology to undertake the research. The letter of research authorization and permit were then forwarded to the Nairobi Provincial Education Officer and the District Education officer in Dagoretti and Westland Divisions as per the instructions from the Council for Science and Technology

(as indicated on Appendix A). On receiving copies of the authorization letter and permit, the Education Officers gave the researcher permission to visit the selected sites for data collection. The researcher then traveled to the locations to administer questionnaires with the help of four research assistants.

To obtain data that was free from errors, research assistants were trained and closely supervised as they administered the instruments. Questionnaires administered to the respondents were collected the same day. The focus Group Discussions were conducted in two church compounds of St Francis Catholic Church in Gatina and Holy Trinity Church, Kileleshwa. This was necessitated by the fact that there were rooms available for hire within the churches and this guaranteed the privacy of the Focus Group Discussions. The sessions were recorded and later transcribed and incorporated in to the data analysis. Each session lasted between one and half to two hours. The discussants were not paid for participating in the study, as this was a voluntary exercise. Results of the interviews with COVAW were also recorded and transcribed. They were then incorporated in to the data analysis.

3.10 Data Analysis

The collected data was coded, classified, organized and summarized according to stated objectives and research questions. The SPSS screen was then created on the computer to aid in data entry. The data was then keyed in. Frequency tables especially for the demographics were then produced from the SPSS data. From the above the researcher was able to derive percentages and numbers of individuals in various age brackets, and marital status among others. Cross tabulations were then processed on the following questions; Types of violence perpetrated on women and factors contributing to some wives to stay in violent marriages. Some of the answers that were coded included; Very Frequently, Often, Rarely and Never. In the analysis, these answers were weighted to provide a more definitive average of the response. Therefore, the number of people who answered very frequently was scored 5, frequently 4, often 3, rarely 2 and never 1. This is because the objective was to see those who are mostly affected; hence, the weights were placed on the most negative response which was very frequently. This also applied to the question on factors contributing to some wives to stay in violent marriages. Estimate of mean, variance and range of the types of violence perpetrated on women and the factors contributing to why some wives to stay in violent marriages were calculated to show on average how many are affected. Chi- Square test was carried out to find the statistical significance of differences in; the extent of violence

committed against women of different social economic status and levels of education, women's perception towards marital violence based on their cultural practices, Women's perception towards marital violence based on their religious practices/ commitment.

Cross tabulation between province of origin and whether the respondents thought that women's perception on marital violence was influenced or shaped by religious beliefs and cultural practices were then calculated. Finally women's general perception towards Marital Violence, was calculated by clustering the following; Negative perspective = (strongly disagree + disagree) on the response per question. Positive perspective = (strongly agree + agree) on the responses per question. Those with a negative perception are those who felt that violence from a spouse is not a crime. Therefore there is no need to report such violence. On the other hand, positive perception meant those who felt that violence from a spouse is crime that violates their rights as individuals.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of analyzed data and the discussion of the implications of the findings. Each section of this chapter corresponds to one of the six objectives and hypotheses of the study. In each section, the objectives and hypotheses of the study are stated, and the results presented and discussed.

4.2 Demographic Characteristics of the Sample and the Response Rate

A total of 980 respondents filled the questionnaires, while 44 participated in focus group discussions. Table 5 shows that 550 (54.8%) participants were from Kileleshwa and 430 (45.2%) were from Kawangware. All the 980 dully-filed questionnaires were collected and analyzed.

Table 5

Sample size Distribution

Sample Group	Population Size	Sample size	%
Kawangware	32731	430	45.2
Kileleshwa	14995	550	54.8
Total	47726	980	100

4.2.1 Distribution of Sample by Area Zone

Five hundred and fifty (550) women completed the questionnaires in Kileleshwa while 430 women completed in Kawangware. A total of 980 households were used as indicated in the Figure 2. Majority of the respondents (54.8%) were from Kileleshwa zone.

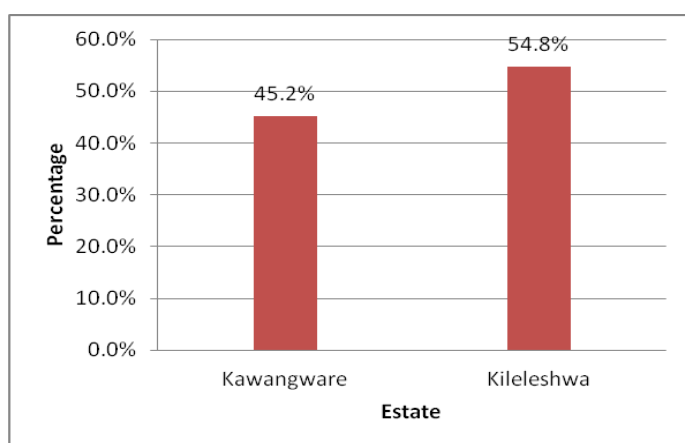


Figure 2: Distribution of Sample by Area Zone

4.2.2 Age of Respondents

The average age of the respondents in the household interview was 30-40 years. The ages ranged from 20-70 years with each respondent answering in clusters of ten years as can be seen from the figure 3.

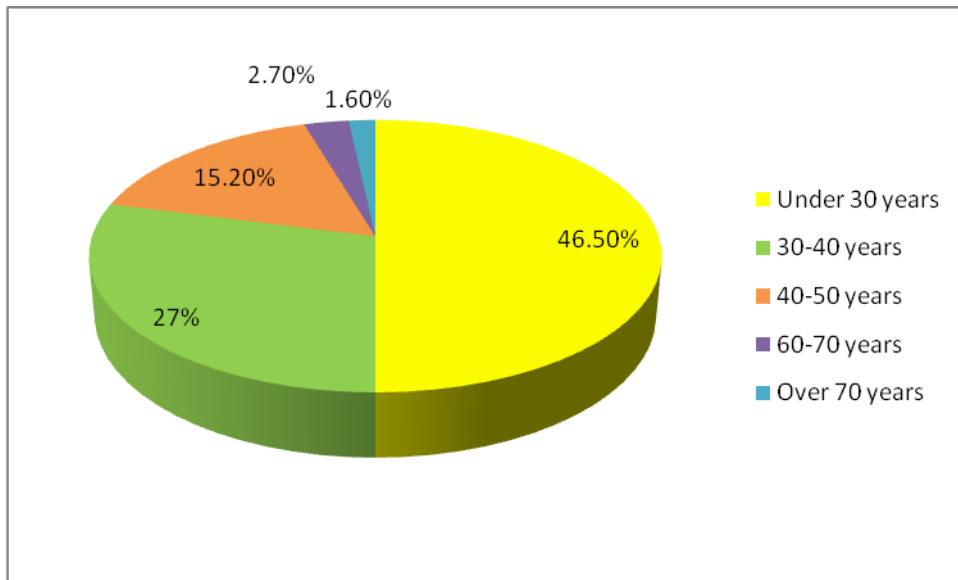


Figure 3: Respondents' Ages

Figure 3 indicates that out of 980 respondents, 453 (46.5%) were under 30 years, while 243 (27%) were between 30-40 years. 148 (15.2%) respondents were aged 40-50 years and 69 (7.1%) were aged 50-60 years. 26 (2.7%) were aged 60-70 years while 16 (1.6%) were above 70 years. Thus, majority of the respondents were below 30 years. This is because younger women were more willing to participate in the study than the older women who felt that the issue was very private to be subject to a discussion.

4.2.3 Marital Status of Respondents

On average, marital status of the respondents in the study indicated that they were married. This is as reflected in figure 4.

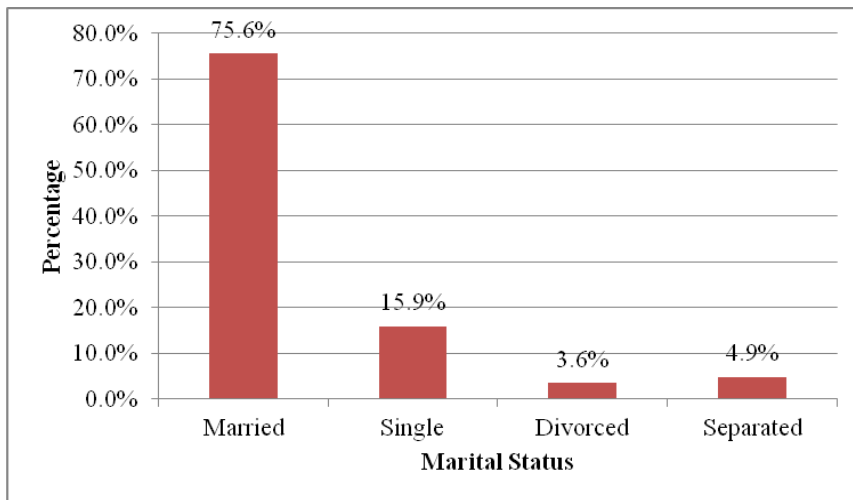


Figure 4: Marital Status of Respondents

Out of 980 women who participated in the study, 734 respondents (75.6%) were married, while 154 (15.9%) were single. 35 (3.6%) were divorced and 48 (4.9%) were separated. The majority of the respondents were thus married.

4.2.4 Employment Status of the Respondents

The average employment status of the respondents in the households interviewed indicated self-employment. Figure 5 gives a summary of the respondents' employment status.

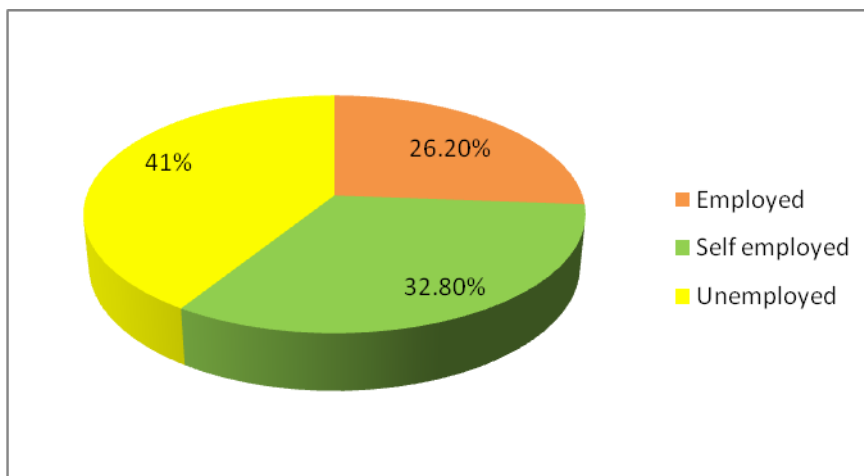


Figure 5: Employment Status of Respondents

Out of a total of 980 respondents, 400 (41%) were unemployed and 320 (32.8%) were in self-employment. Only 255 (26.2%) respondents were employed. This indicates that majority of respondents were unemployed.

4.2.5 Respondents Partners' Employment Status

Of the married couples, fifty five per cent (55%) of the respondent's partners were in employment, while 38.4% were self-employed. Figure 6 gives a summary of the respondents' partners' employment status.

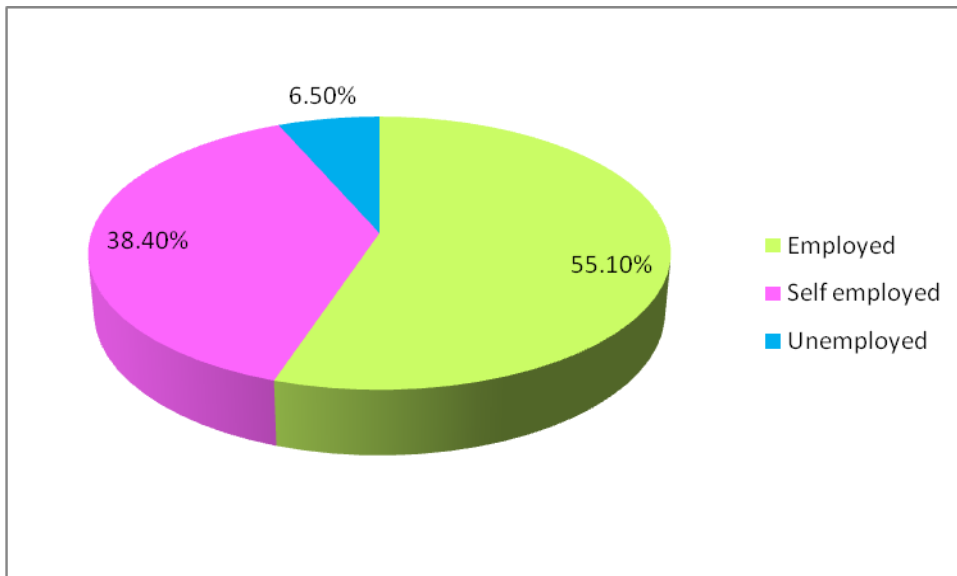


Figure 6: Respondents Partners' Employment Status

4.2.6 Period of Marriage of the respondents

Of the married couples, the average period of marriage was 5 to 10 years. Figure 7 shows a summary of the period of marriage.

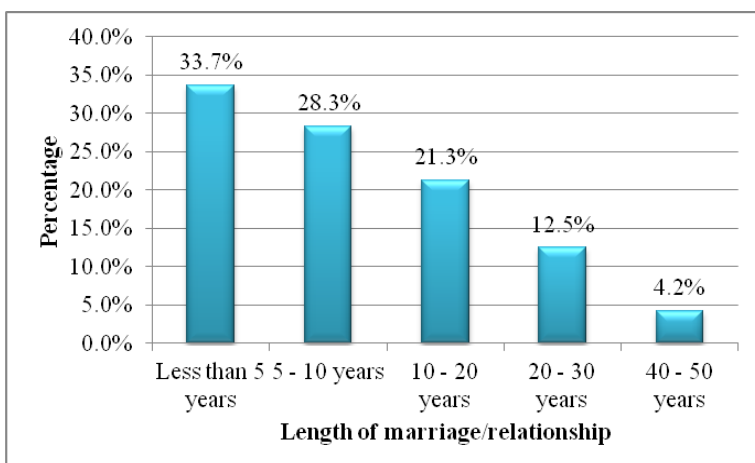


Figure 7: Period of Marriage of the respondents

A total of 323 (33.7%) respondents had been in marriage for a period of 5 years while 271 (28.3%) were in the marriage between 5-10 years. 204 respondents (21%) were married

between 10-20 years and 120 (12.5% between 20-30 years. 41 respondents(4.3%) had been in the marriage between 40-50 years. Therefore majority of the respondents had been married or in the relationship for up to 10 years. This relates to figure 3 where a majority of the respondents (453) were under 30 years age. This means that most of the respondents were young and this is in line with the period they had been in the marriage. This may explain why on types and extent of violence, these were reported as minimal because the respondents were still newly married. According to Kenya Demographic Health Survey (2003), women who are newly married and those with no living children report less emotional, physical and sexual violence. Those with more than five children are more likely to suffer a combination of all three forms of violence. The survey further established that the experience of spousal violence rises with age.

4.2.7 Respondents Level of Education

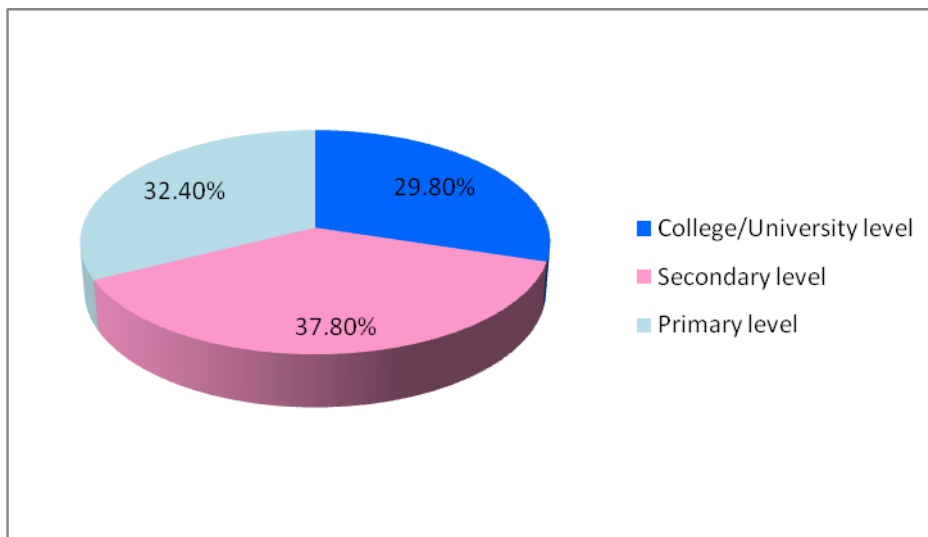


Figure 8: Respondents' Level of Education

From figure 8, it can be observed that 289 respondents (29.8%) had college/ university level education while 315 (32.4%) had primary level education. The highest number of respondents, 367 (37.8%) had secondary education. Therefore, most of the respondents had completed secondary school as their highest level of education. This may be attributed to the fact that majority of the respondents were from Kileleshwa which is a middle-income area meaning that majority had good education. These are the people who are likely to engage in self-employment and therefore these findings are in line with figure 6 that shows that on the respondents' employment status 38.4% were in self-employment.

4.2.8 Respondents Partners' Education Level

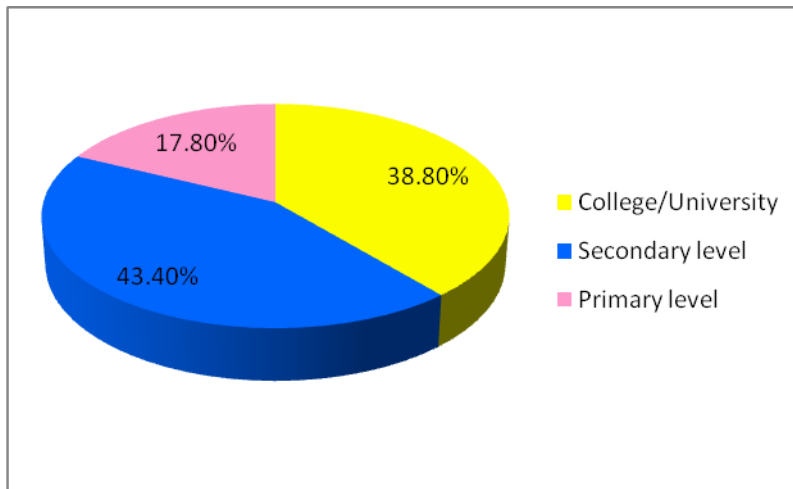


Figure 9: Partners' Level of Education

As indicated on figure 9, 170 (27.8%) of the respondents' spouses had primary education while 370 (38.8%) had college/university level. 414 (43.4%) of the spouses had secondary education. Thus, majority of partners had secondary education. These findings are similar to the respondents' level of education as depicted on figure 8. Majority of the respondents also had secondary education level. From results on Kenya Demographic Health Survey (2003), women who are less educated and are not employed tend to experience more violence. Moreover, women with no education are more likely to experience marital violence in comparison with those with secondary and higher education. Women with husbands who have attained some level of education are less likely to suffer violence than women whose husbands are less educated. This may explain why women in Kawangware experienced more physical violence than their Kileleshwa counterparts where most women had secondary education.

4.2.9 Respondents' Religion

The religion of the respondents is indicated in figure 10:

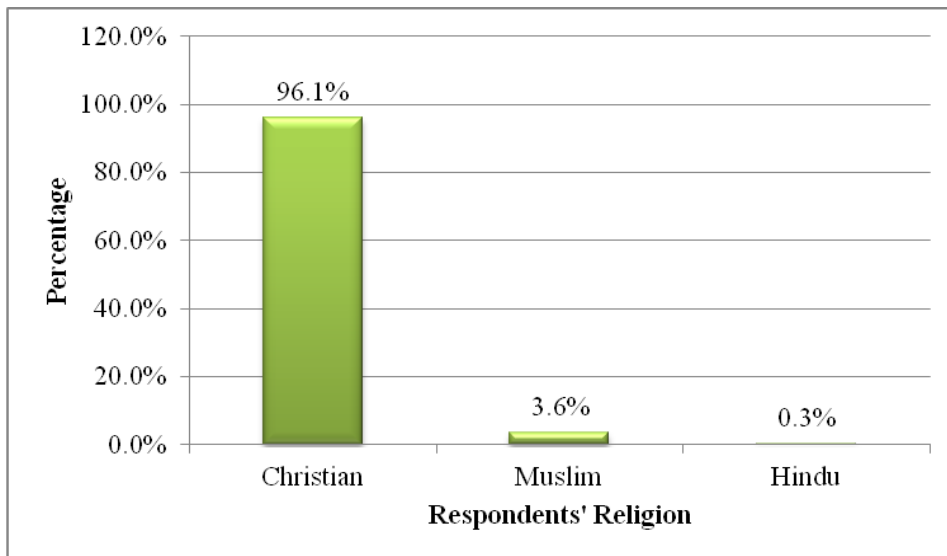


Figure 10: Respondents Religion

Figure 10 shows that there were 936 Christians (96.1%) in the two areas studied while 35 (3.6%) were Muslims and 3 (0.3%) were Hindu. This indicates that majority of respondents were Christians.

4.2.10 Level of Commitment to Religion

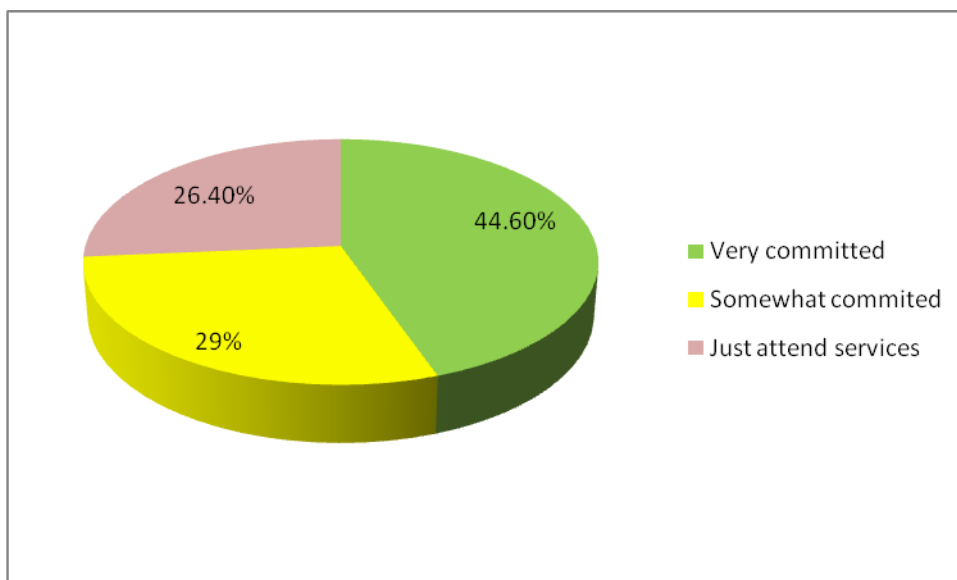


Figure 11: Level of Commitment to Religion

Based on figure 11, only a small percent of the respondents 255 (26.4%) were not committed Christians. Most respondents were committed to religion with 431 (44.6%) of them stating that they were very committed to religion and 280 (29%) having been somewhat committed.

This corresponds to the finding of this study that showed that women’s perception to marital violence was influenced by religion. Kenya is predominantly Christian and according to Ephesians Chapter 5 of the bible, women are to be submissive to their husbands. This means that they may suffer violence from their spouses and not report the violence. This may then explain why many respondents may have stated that they did not experience violence from their spouses (see table 6). Gordon (1996) asserts that around half of abused women seek help from their religious leaders. However, members of the clergy may be committed to maintaining a marriage, even an abusive one and advice the women against leaving their abusive partners.

4.2.11 Province of Origin

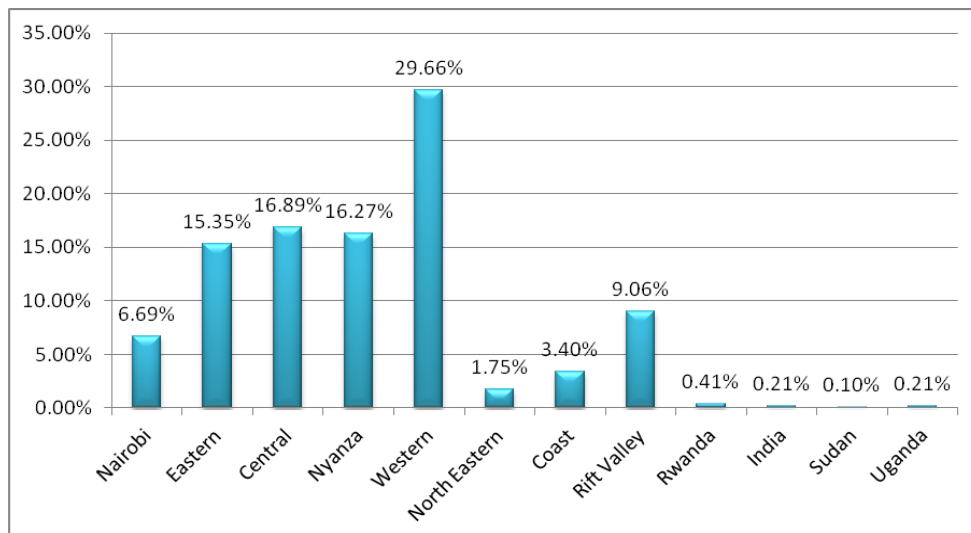


Figure 12: Province of Origin

Findings as shown in figure 12, indicate that 288 (29.66%) respondents were from Western Province, 164 (16.89%) from Central, 158 (16.27%) Nyanza, 149 (15.35%) Eastern, 88 (9.06%) Rift Valley, 65 (6.69%) Nairobi, 33 (3.4%) Coast and 17 (1.75%) North Eastern. A few other respondents were from outside the country; 4 (0.41%) from Rwanda, 2 (0.21%) from India, 2 (0.21%) from Uganda and 1 (0.1%) from Sudan. Most of the respondents were born outside Nairobi County. Figure 12 reflects a good face of Kenya as participants came from the eight provinces (Counties) in Kenya.

4.3 Types of Violence Perpetrated Against Married Women in Nairobi County.

The first objective of the study sought to establish the types of violence perpetrated against married women in Kileleshwa and Kawangware locations. The perception and experience of

women on types and extent of violence were measured on a 5-point likert scale using nine items (statements) which were indicators of types and extent of violence against women. The nine items comprised of responses that were ranging from very frequently (VF), frequently (F), often (O), rarely (R), and never (N). Table 6 shows a summary of the frequency of violence experienced by the respondents.

Table 6

Types and Frequency of Violence Perpetrated Against Women

Statement	Very frequently		Frequently		Often		Rarely		Never	
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%
Beatings for any reason or for no reason at all from their man?	59	6.0	40	4.1	44	4.5	127	13.0	710	72.4
Threatened with pangas weapons from their man?	34	3.4	20	2.1	28	2.9	60	6.1	838	85.5
Restricted movements to visit friends or neighbors from their man?	47	4.8	40	4.1	43	4.4	157	16.1	689	70.6
Constant yelling, screaming, name calling, insults, humiliation or criticism from their man?	96	9.9	66	6.8	128	13.1	296	30.4	394	40.5
Receive excessive jealousy from their man?	128	13.1	153	15.7	132	13.6	177	18.2	384	39.4
Deprived of love and affection by their man?	57	5.9	45	4.7	61	6.3	267	27.7	535	55.4
Control of work choices by their man?	40	4.1	66	6.8	47	4.9	198	20.5	617	63.7
Denied to get control on financial resources from their man?	64	6.6	57	5.9	83	8.5	143	14.7	625	64.3

According to Table 6, respondents in Kawangware and Kileleshwa experienced several types of violence. The most experienced type of violence was excessive jealousy from the spouses. 128 (13.1%) respondents experienced excessive jealousy very frequently, 153(15.7%) frequently, while 132 (13.6%) experienced it often. This means that 60.6% of the respondents had suffered this type of violence. This was followed by constant yelling, screaming, name calling, humiliation or criticism (59.5%), that was experienced by 96 (9.9%) respondents very frequently, 66 (6.8%) frequently, and 132 (13.1%) experienced this often. This revealed that psychological violence was the most common type of violence experienced. The least experienced type of violence was threatening with panga or other weapons from the spouses which had the least per cent with 85.5% respondents reporting that they had never experienced any threats with weapons from their spouses. Table 7 indicates a summary of the types of violence experienced in the two locations.

Table 7

Summary of Types of Violence against Women Respondents

	<u>Yes</u>		<u>No</u>	
	(N)	%	(N)	%
Do you get beatings for any reason or for no reason at all from your man?	270	28	710	72
Do you get threatened with pangas or weapons from your man?	142	14	838	86
Do you get restricted movements to visit friends or neighbours from your man?	287	29	689	71
Do you get constant yelling, screaming, name calling, insults, humiliation or criticism from your man?	586	59	394	41
Do you receive excessive jealousy from your man?	590	61	384	39
Are you being deprived of love and affection by your man?	430	45	535	55
Is your man controlling your work choices?	351	36	617	64

It can be observed in Table 7 that 710 (72%) women out of 980 agreed they had not received any beatings for any reason or no reason at all. However, 270 women (28%) had received some form of beatings. Besides the beatings, the women experienced other types of violence. 590 (61%) had experienced excessive jealousy from their men while another 586 respondents (59%) had experienced constant yelling, screaming, name calling, insults, humiliation or

criticism. Also 430 (45%) of women had been deprived of love and affection. 351 (36%) had their work choices controlled while 347 (36%) had been denied control of financial resources by their husbands or partners. 287 (29%) of respondents were not allowed to visit their friends or neighbors and 142 (14%) had been threatened with panga or other weapons. The types of violence cited in the two locations can be said to “culturally allowed violence”. According to Oxfam (2007), customary practices and some aspects of traditions are often the cause of violence against women. Traditional gender roles require that a man is the head of the family and bread winner. As such, men assume power that they sometimes misuse by perpetrating violence against women. It is no wonder then that 590 respondents had received excessive jealousy from their husband since they feel that they are in charge and women answerable to them. Furthermore, some aspects of wife beating are sanctioned and condoned and widely accepted as a means of “disciplining”.

A comparison of Kileleshwa and Kawangware areas on types of violence perpetrated on women is described in Table 8 and 9.

Table 8

Types and Frequency of Violence Against Women in Kileleshwa.

Statement	Very frequently		Frequently		Often		Rarely		Never	
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%
Beatings for any reason or for no reason at all from their man?	28	5	21	4	20	4	48	9	411	78
Threatened with panga or weapons from their man?	13	2	6	1	16	3	23	4	470	89
Restricted movements to visit friends or neighbors from their man?	20	4	17	3	26	5	94	18	369	70
Constant yelling, screaming, name calling, insults, humiliation or criticism from their man?	39	7	39	7	77	15	183	35	190	36

cont'd

Receive excessive jealousy from their man?	56	11	64	12	90	17	133	25	183	35
Deprived of love and affection by their man?	30	6	22	4	37	7	153	29	281	54
Control of work choices by their man?	16	3	33	6	30	6	115	22	329	63
Denied to get control on financial resources from their man?	33	6	26	5	52	10	69	13	345	66

As indicated in Table 8, psychological abuse was the most common type of violence perpetrated on women in Kileleshwa. It is evident that women in Kileleshwa are more psychologically abused compared to Kawangware by instances of being denied love, control of work choices by their partners, and denial of financial control, given the higher aggregate percentages on these. However, there is minimal difference in the two areas in terms of the men restricting their spouses' from visiting their friends.

Table 9

Types of Violence Against Women in Kawangware

Statement	Very frequently		Frequently		Often		Rarely		Never	
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%
Beatings for any reason or for no reason at all from their man?	30	7	18	4	23	5	78	18	287	66
Threatened with pangas or weapons from their man?	20	5	14	3	11	3	36	8	355	81
Restricted movements to visit friends or neighbors from their man?	26	6	23	5	16	4	60	14	309	71
Constant yelling, screaming, name calling, insults, humiliation or criticism from their man?	57	13	27	6	48	11	109	25	195	45

cont'd

Statement	Very frequently		Frequently		Often		Rarely		Never	
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%
Receive excessive jealousy from their man?	71	16	88	20	41	9	40	9	192	44
Deprived of love and affection by their man?	26	6	23	5	24	6	110	26	243	57
Control of work choices by their man?	24	6	31	7	16	4	77	18	281	66
Denied to get control on financial resources from their man?	29	7	31	7	30	7	70	16	271	63

As shown in Table 9, findings indicate that in Kawangware, women were more physically abused compared to Kileleshwa. 149 (34%) of respondents in Kawangware had been physically abused compared to 107 respondents (22%) in Kileleshwa. 81(19%) of respondents in Kawangware had been threatened with a panga and other weapons compared to 58 (10%) who had been threatened in Kileleshwa. On being restricted to visit friends or neighbors, respondents in the two regions suffered almost the same fate with Kileleshwa having 30% (157) and Kawangware 29% (125). However on psychological violence, respondents in Kileleshwa experienced the highest per cent compared to Kawangware. For example on constant screaming, name-calling, insults humiliation or criticism from the spouses, Kileleshwa reported 65% while Kawangware had 55%. Again 46% of respondents were deprived of love and affection by their spouses in Kileleshwa while 43% of women in Kawangware were deprived of love.

The high prevalence of physical violence in Kawangware can be explained from a socio-economic context. According to the KDHS (2003) survey, there are a number of socio-economic risk factors associated with the likelihood of the woman experiencing some form of violence. These include age, education and employment status. Women who are less educated and are not employed, tend to experience more violence. Relatively wealthy women are less likely to experience violence from a spouse or a partner. Women with no education are more likely to experience spousal violence in comparison with secondary and higher education. Women with husbands who have attained some level of education are less likely to suffer violence than those women whose husbands are less educated. Wealthy men are less

likely to physically abuse but more likely to psychologically abuse. Violence against women is over twice likely to occur when a partner has consumed alcohol or other drugs. A recent report on violence against women indicated that slums in urban centers register the highest rape and physical abuse prevalence. In the report, 80% of the reported cases were occurring in slums. The report attributed this to high levels of unemployment, drug abuse, and overcrowding (KDHS, 2003).

Respondents in the focus group discussion also experienced at least one of the following types of domestic violence, including physical, sexual, psychological, and economical. One respondent stated that:

“I have experienced all types of violence from my husband at different stages of our life together. It happens quite frequently. As soon as he gets disturbed, he immediately becomes aggressive to me. And it has been lasting for a long time- I have been married for twenty years now” (victim in FGD).

This indicates that there is still some level of prevalence of violence against married women. This may imply that there is marital violence within marriages in Nairobi County. The findings also reveal various types of violence that women experience in marriages and relationships within Nairobi County.

The findings on types and frequency of violence in this study are in line with a study on domestic violence in Georgia in 2006, as cited in McCue (2008), which found that 61% of respondents in the study cited excessive jealousy from their husbands or partners as the most common type of violence. 6.9% of participants reported having experienced physical violence. Of these, 2.5% reported having experienced moderate physical violence and 4.3% reported having experienced severe physical violence. 3.9% of women reported having experienced sexual violence. Of those having reported sexual violence, 64% were married and 37% were unmarried. While traditional norms in Kenya and Georgia treat the family as a safe place where all troubles disappear, the results clearly show that there is a big difference between the imagined, idealized family and the real family, where direct or indirect forms of violence oppress women and violate human rights in very basic sense of this concept.

The findings of the study are also in line with other findings of studies done in demographic health surveys of various African countries outlined as follows; In Zambia, Demographic

Health Survey (2004) data indicate that 27 percent of ever-married women reported being abused by their spouse in the year before the 2004 survey. The rate of abuse was 33 percent among 15-19 year-olds and 35 percent of 20-24 year-olds (Kishor & Johnson, 2004). In South Africa, 7 percent of 15-19 year-olds had been assaulted in the past 12 months by a current or ex-partner; and 10 percent of 15-19 year-olds were forced or persuaded to have sex against their will (South Africa DHS, 1998). In rural Ethiopia, 49% of ever-partnered women have ever experienced physical violence by an intimate partner, rising to 59% ever experiencing sexual violence (WHO, 2005). In rural Tanzania, 47% of ever-partnered women have ever experienced physical violence by an intimate partner, while 31% have ever experienced sexual violence (WHO, 2005).

The KDHS surveyed a nationally representative sample of 9000 households in 2003 and found that 49% of Kenyan women reported experiencing some form of violence. One in four (25%) of respondents surveyed had experienced violence in the last twelve months before the survey. 83% of women and girls had experienced physical violence in childhood and 46% had reported one or more episodes of sexual abuse in childhood. One of the only places a woman can go for help after surviving an incident, the Gender Violence Recovery Centre (GVRC) at the Nairobi Women's Hospital (NWH), receives an average of 18 sexual violence cases a day.

Violence against women in Nairobi thus comes in various types. It is a problem not just for the victims, but for the society as a whole. The family is often equated with sanctuary - a place where individuals seek love, safety, security, and shelter. However, the figures above are evidence that it is also a place that imperils lives, and breeds some of the most drastic forms of violence perpetrated against women and girls. Violence against women is a crime in need of a large-scale response because it has been steadily increasing over the years. According to Kenya Police statistics, rape was one of the most prevalent crimes in the year 2005. The chamber of justice and care Kenya, in a joint report in 2007 showed escalating violence towards females. Reported cases of rape had gone up from 1,675 cases in 2000 to 3,509 in 2007. Assault and battery cases against women had gone up by from 6,225 to 9,169 cases during the same period (Oxfam-GB-VAW Project, 2007).

4.3.1 Psychological Abuse on Women Respondents

Findings on the types and extent of violence indicate that abuses under psychological abuse included; threats with panga and other weapons 6.5%, restricted movements 9%, constant yelling, screaming, name calling, insults and criticism 18.3%, excessive jealousy from partner 24.4%, deprivation of love and affection 10.9%. From COVAW findings psychological abuse was cited as the most common type of violence reported in the organization. From Focus Group Discussion the following were also cited:

- Lack of respect by mate/husband (8 out of 24 respondents 33%)
- Exaggerated suspicion of husband/mate (41%)
- Holding wife captive at home/restricted freedom (21%)
- Treating wife as slave (25%)
- Threatening to kill wife (17%)

Findings in a similar study on domestic violence against women by Avon Institute/IPSOS second Survey conducted in Brazil in 2011 indicate that 80% of respondents identified physical violence forms such as shoving, slapping and punching as the most visible manifestation of violence against women in Brazil. 62% recognized humiliation, threats and other forms of psychological violence. 6% cited sexual violence that included forcing women to have sex against their wish. Moral violence was also cited and included slander, libel and injury (6%) and also material (financial) violence.

The findings on the types and extent of violence are also in line with the results of the KDHS survey conducted in June 2010. Results of the study showed that marital violence is not restricted to physical violence but included verbal abuse, restrictions in freedom of movement, and withholding of funds. The most commonly reported controlling behavior exhibited by husbands was to be jealous or angry, when the woman talks to other men (49%). More than a third of the women (37 %,) reported that their husbands insisted on knowing where they are at all times. About 1 in every 5 women said her husband does not trust her with money (21%), does not permit her to meet female friends (20%), or frequently accuses her of being unfaithful (19%). Another 14% had limited contact with their family. 27% of married women in the study said that their husbands displayed at least three of the above mentioned types of controlling behaviors.

The study findings also indicate that women experienced multiple forms of violence. This is in agreement with the KDHS (2010) survey that also indicated that women reported experiencing multiple forms of violence at the hands of their current or former husbands. KDHS survey findings revealed that 37% of ever married women experienced physical violence by a husband 17% experienced sexual violence, and 30% emotional violence. Overall, almost one-half of ever married women 47% reported having experienced some kind of violence (physical, sexual, or emotional) by a husband or live-in partner. Much of the violence is current, within the last 12 month. Another study in Georgia 2006 (reported in McCue 2008) cites 14.3% of women having experienced emotional violence. In most of the cases, they were subjected to several forms of emotional violence: 13.9% of women reported that her partner insulted her and made her feel bad about herself. 5.3% of women said that their partner belittled or humiliated her in front to others. 5.1% of women said that their partner did things to scare or intimidate her on purpose. 3.8% of women said that their partner threatened to hurt her or someone she cares about.

A look at the psychological violence experienced by the respondents seemed to have inflicted negative repercussions on the women's personal, familial and societal lives. The frequency showed they had to suffer these pains frequently. If this scenario continues on these lines, we will be creating a generation of women with a negative attitude to life. Such a situation will be disastrous and hence no efforts should be spared to build harmonious and congenial family environment resulting in the minimization and subsequent elimination of marital violence.

4.3.2 Physical Abuse on Women

Physical abuse includes slapping, pushing, punching, kicking, choking or use of weapons against a partner to inflict injury. According to table 9, Kawangware women were more physically abused at 34% compared to women from Kileleshwa at 22%. A total of 270 (28%) of women had experienced physical violence in the two areas and most of the respondents had suffered this abuse often. The physical forms of abuse included beatings for any reason or no reason at all. 142 (14%) of the women had been threatened with some weapon and 586 (59%) had suffered humiliation and criticism from their partners. However, majority of the respondents had not experienced any type of violence. 66% had not experienced physical violence while 81% had not been threatened with any weapon. 71% had not been restricted in their movement by their spouses and 66% had never had any controls on their work choices. This shows that though there was violence in Kawangware occurring in various forms;

majority of respondents had not experienced the violence. Violence against women was therefore not very prevalent in Kawangware and Kileleshwa locations since even in Kileleshwa 89% had not been threatened with any weapons, 78% had not received any physical violence, 70% did not experienced any restrictions to visit their friends and neighbors

From Focus Group Discussion 40% of the respondents reported some types of physical violence such as; punching, kicking, spanking by mate/husband. A respondent from Kileleshwa reported; “My husband slaps me even in front of other family members. It can happen frequently, even though he is a senior accountant in a reputable firm. The parents do not object to this and they think that giving the wife a slap is normal”. However, it’s also important to note that even majority of the discussants (60%) had not experienced violence from their spouses. This is in line with a 1998 Population Council Survey in Vietnam on domestic violence. In the findings of the survey, the council reported that domestic violence in Vietnam occurs in families from all educational and socio-economic levels and that numerous factors including poverty, alcohol, and drug abuse, gambling, mental illness and stress contribute to domestic violence. However, the violence was minimal.

The study findings are also conforming to findings from Kenya Demographic and Health survey of 2008-09. In the survey, 39% of the women had experienced physical violence, with almost one in four women (24%) experiencing such violence in the 12 months before the survey. The KDHS survey further revealed that the prevalence of physical violence increases with age of a woman as well as the number of living children she has. The KDHS survey also depicted a negative relationship between the prevalence of physical violence and the education and wealth status of women. There were notable variations in the prevalence of physical violence across all the eight provinces. More than half (57%) of women in Nyanza province reported having experienced physical violence, followed by those in western province (45%).

The findings of the KDHS seems to collaborate with findings of domestic violence research in Georgia (2006) that indicated that out of the various forms of physical violence experienced, women admitted to having experienced the following various types of violence; 6.8% reported having been slapped, or hurt by having something thrown at her by the spouse. 3.9% had been hurt by a punch or hit with something else. 2.9% had been pushed, or shoved,

or pulled by their hair, and 2.0% kicked, dragged, or beaten up. 1.6% had been Choked or burnt, while 1.0% had been threatened or actually hurt with a gun, knife or other weapon.

Moreover, 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 – defense (Johnson & Feraro 2000, Suaders 1986, Dekeseredy 1997). These results are in line with the findings of this study as Nairobi women had also suffered injuries from their partners.

In more traditional societies, wife beating is largely regarded as a consequence of 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, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Papua New Guinea (Schular 1996; Zimmerman 1995; Michau 1998; Armstrong 1998; Gouzalez Montes 1998; Osakwe & Hilber 1998; Hassan 1995; Bradley 1985; Jejeeboy 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; Osakwe 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.

A study by Ondicho in January 2000 also exposes the great danger women face in Nairobi. Ondicho cited the case of Piah Njoki in 1983, in which her husband gouged out both her eyes for bearing him only female children (Kiboi, 1984). Another Nairobi case was that of Betty Kavata in 1998. The bruised, swollen face of Betty groaning in pain in a bed at the Kenyatta National Hospital was carried both in print and electronic media (Ondicho, 2000). Her husband who was an officer at the Kenya Police Force had battered her. She later died of injuries. Mary Akinyi was also slashed on the head in the same year 1999 by her husband for singing along a “ndombolo” to the radio in front of a guest. “Ndombolo” is a Zairean dance style in which women grate hips in a sexually provocative manner. Such cases bring attention and focus not only on marital violence but also to the justice system that has failed to stop family violence.

Physically abused women live under constant fear, threats and humiliation. They are potential candidates of personality disorders and psychosomatic problems. In spite of physical and psychological violence meted on many women, they do not leave the abuser, as they feel the trauma and that of their children is too great a price to be paid instead. Thus to a great extent, the women accept marital violence as part of their family life. However, this situation should be improving with time. In 2004, through an act of parliament, Kenya established and launched the National Commission on Gender and development. This is an oversight body whose role is to coordinate, implement and facilitate gender and development issues. It essentially provides a platform to push for Kenya’s adherence to international obligations opposed to violence against women.

4.3.3 Economic Abuse on Women

Economic abuse refers to the controlling and withholding of access to family resources and ownership of goods and property. According to table 7, economic abuse of respondents included controlled work choices by the respondents’ spouses or partner at 7.6% and denial to get control on financial resources from their man at 12.2%. According to the study findings on the type and frequency of violence in Kileleshwa and Kawangware locations, there is a slight difference in the extent and frequency of economic violence in the two areas. 37% of Kileleshwa women had their work choices controlled by their partners whereas in Kawangware the percentage was slightly lower at 35%. However, in Kawangware, 37% of respondents were denied control of finances by their partners unlike in Kileleshwa where the

control was lower at 34%. Though the differences and extent of economic violence is not very huge, nevertheless, the results show that where women were educated and working, like in the case of Kileleshwa, men seem to want to exert control on their work choices. The difference may also be explained by the fact that most of respondents in Kawangware were not employed.

The findings from Coalition on Violence against Women indicated that sexual violence was among the most common form of violence reported by women in their organization at 60%. Discussants in focus group discussions also reported that their husbands/partners refused to give them money for household expenses. These findings are in line with results of other studies. In Georgia, USA a domestic violence study by McCue in 2006 revealed that 35.9% of women reported having experienced actions intended to control their behavior by their husbands or partners. The women experienced various forms of control by their partners: 29.0% reported their partner tried to restrict their contact with their family. 11.6% reported that their partners expected them to ask their husbands permission before seeking health care for themselves. 11.1% reported their partner gets angry if they speak with other men. 5.5% reported their partners are often suspicious that they were unfaithful. 4.0% reported their partner tried to keep them from seeing their friends. 3.9% reported their partner ignored them and treated them indifferently. 3.8% reported they had given up/refused jobs for money because their husband/partner did not want them to work. 2.4% of women reported their partner insisted on knowing where they were at all times, and 1.4% of women said their husband or partner prevented them from attending a meeting or participating in an organization.

Furthermore, 60% of respondents in the Georgia study cited above reported that had incomplete secondary education. They admitted to having experienced acts intended to control their behavior by their husbands or partners, while around 35% of those having complete secondary, technical, or higher education acknowledged having experienced acts intended to control their behavior by their husbands or partners. Of those who reported having experienced acts intended to control their behavior by their husbands or partners, 76.6% do not earn money by themselves while 23.4% do. Research shows that having been exposed to violence during early years affects women's lives. Women were asked whether their fathers or boyfriends hit their mothers and whether the women saw this violence. 3.2% of women said her mother was hit by her father (or her husband or boyfriend) when she was a

child. Of the 3.2%, who reported acts of violence against her mother; - 66.7% - were present, i.e. saw or heard of the violence, 33.3% - were absent.

The results of the study are also in line with those of a Gender-based –Violence against Women project by Oxfam in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania in November 2007. Respondents in the project reported that women who are less educated and are not employed tend to experience more violence. Respondents also reported that relatively wealthy women are less likely to experience violence from a spouse or a partner. Further more women with no educating are more likely to experience spousal violence in comparison with those with secondary and higher education. Women with husbands who have attained some level of education are less likely to suffer violence than women whose husbands are less educated Oxfam (2007).

Many men subscribe to the masculine attitude saying, “Real men are not controlled by women”. So, the wish of the men or husband is to never be controlled by women or wife. Therefore to avoid being in a subordinate position, men have tried to everything around their world by using their masculine power as much as possible. It is a cultural fact that men and women are not equal in many aspects of both the public and domestic spheres Maynard (1993). Violence is a behavior that men use to control women. Any violence in the family is domestic violence, particularly against the spouse and this violence could be physical, sexual, emotional and economic. Different cultures recognize different types of violence. All violence regardless of type is the exertion of the power of one person over another.

4.3.4 Sexual Abuse on Women

Sexual violence includes a range of sexually abusive and exploitative behaviors including rape – with or without use of threats or other violence being inflicted- indecent assault and forced viewing of pornography. According to table 8, 46% of women from Kileleshwa experienced Sexual violence. This included being deprived of love and affection by the husband or spouse. In Kawangware, (table 9), the situation was almost similar with 43% of respondents having experienced sexual violence from their husbands. From the focus group, discussants eighteen respondents reported that some spouses forced them to have sexual intercourse against their will. Interviews with COVAW staff on sexual violence also identified it as a common experience in marriages and relationships. These findings are in line with the demographic and health survey findings (2010). According to the KDHS survey,

one in every five Kenyan women (21%) has experienced sexual violence. Thus, sexual violence is a form of violence that is happening within Nairobi County and Kenya as a whole.

A survey conducted in 2002 by FIDA Kenya indicated that of 1,067 women attending antenatal clinics and emergency care in Nairobi hospitals, 0.4 per cent reported miscarriage caused by domestic violence and 0.7 per cent reported STIs. 56 per cent of the abused women said that they had not reported the violence to anyone, with many stating that violence is considered to be a normal part of life. Only 7 percent reported to some authority such as the chief, the police or a doctor. The 2008-09 KDHS investigated women's experience of sexual violence including whether the respondents first sexual intercourse was forced against her will. Force at first sexual intercourse is not uncommon among Kenyan women; 12% of women age 15-49 in the survey reported that their first sexual intercourse was forced against their will. The KDHS survey also reported that one in every five Kenyan women (21%) has experienced sexual violence. 37% of women who had experienced sexual violence reported current husbands or partners as the perpetrators, followed by a current or former boyfriends (16%) and former husbands or partners (13%). It is worth noting that among ever-married women in the survey, mainly current and former husbands and partners perpetrate sexual violence. Overall almost half (45%) of women age 15-49 have experienced either physical or sexual violence. These findings are thus in line with the findings of this study

The statistics by the Kenya Police Crime for 2007 point out that there were 876 cases of rape reported, 1,984 cases of defilement, 181 cases of incest, 198 cases of sodomy, 191 cases of indecent assault and 173 cases of abduction. This indicates that sexual violence does exist and it's a violation of human rights of women. Whereas it may be easy to document the number of cases of those suffering from violence, the psychological impact is undoubtedly indeterminate. The wounds suffered as a result of violence may never really heal and the psychological scars are und never erased.

Certain community and societal-level risk factors are associated with higher or more severe rates of sexual and gender-based violence. The World Health Organization identifies the following evidence-supported factors (Krug et al., 2002):

- Traditional gender norms that support male superiority and entitlement. In most cultures men have a sense of entitlement; based on their membership in the male

social group, they believe they have a right to certain “privileges” and rewards when they interact with women (Baumester et al., 2002, Marin & Russo, 1999).

- Social norms that tolerate or justify violence against women. Culture is usually invoked to justify violence against women. Traditional gender roles require that a man is the head of the family and breadwinners and as such men assume this power that they sometimes misuse by perpetrating violence against women. Some aspects of marital violence such as wife beating are culturally sanctioned and condoned and widely accepted as a means of “disciplining”. Among the Maasai, husbands are mandated to inflict corrective punishment on their wives as heads of families (Oxfam-GB-VAW Project 2007).
- Weak community sanctions against perpetrators. Although chapter 5 of the Kenya constitution outlaws discrimination based on sex, Kenyan women lack constitutional guarantee when it comes to issues of personal and customary law. The constitution allows the use of customary law, which is visibly entrenched with gender biases, especially areas of marriage.
- Poverty. The lack of economic sufficiency is directly associated with women’s concern about raising her children. Women are afraid they will not be able to care for their children if they leave their abusers. They therefore stay in abusive relationships.

Research on violence against women in other studies show an increased risk of current physical or sexual violence among women of a younger age, especially those aged 15 to 19 (Krug et al., 2002; WHO, 2005a; Kishor & Johnson, 2004). Women who are separated or divorced (or, to a lesser degree, cohabiting) reports higher lifetime prevalence of all forms of violence. Alcohol or drug consumption, and previous experience of sexual abuse, also correlate with sexual violence in adulthood.

Scholars hold differing opinions on the relationship of education to sexual violence. The World Report on Violence and Health (Krug et al., 2002) cites South African and Zimbabwean studies that show a correlation between higher levels of female education and increased vulnerability to sexual violence. The authors reason that female empowerment is accompanied by a resistance by women to patriarchal norms, which in turn provokes men to violence in an attempt to regain control (Jewkes et al., 2002). However, literature suggests that female empowerment confers greater risk of physical violence only up to a certain level,

after which it confers protection (Jewkes, 2002). This theory is supported by evidence from the WHO multi-country study, which found that the protective effect of education started only when women's education progressed beyond secondary school (WHO 2005a).

Government statistics in Kenya Demographic and Health Survey (2003) demonstrate that at least half of all women have experienced violence since they were aged 15 (CBS 2004b). This is a worrying situation in a country where advocacy groups have continued to raise the profile of GBV in policy, media and legal fora.

4.4 Women's Perception on Marital Violence

The second objective of this study sought to explore the women's perception on marital violence in Nairobi County. The perceptions were measured on a five point likert scale using twenty two items (statements). The twenty-two items comprised of statements that reflect ways in which husbands try to control their wives, if the man is justified in hitting or beating his wife and women's attitude to marital violence. The women's responses ranged from strongly agree, (SA), agree (A), disagree (D), and strongly disagree (SD). Percentages were calculated on a weighted average of 5 to 1 where five was the worst-case scenario / strongly agree and one was the best case scenario/ strongly disagrees. Further the responses were categorized such that strongly agree (SA) and agree (A) would mean that the respondents perceives marital violence negatively and strongly disagree and disagree would imply that the respondents perceives marital violence positively. Tables 10, 11 and 12 show the percentage responses to the respondents' perception on marital violence.

4.4.1 Respondents Perceptions on Marital Violence

Table 10 presents the findings on respondents' perception on marital violence:

Table 10

Respondents' Perception on Marital Violence

Men are Justified to:	Positive		Negative	
	N	%	N	%
Be angry or jealous if wife communicate with other men	291	30%	689	70%
Refuse wife to visit her female friends	107	10%	873	90%
Limit wife's contact with her family	98	10%	881	90%
Insist on knowing where wife is at all times	204	21%	771	79%
Prevent wife from working	80	8%	893	92%
Prevent wife from making any family decisions	67	7%	909	93%
Men are justified not to trust wife with any money	72	7%	906	93%

Table 10 shows that, 909 respondents (93%) disagreed that men were justified to prevent wife from making family decisions. 906 respondents also disagreed that men were justified not to trust wife with any money. Another 893 respondents disagreed that men were justified to prevent wife from working and 881 disagreed that men may limit wife's contact with their family. 873 respondents further disagreed that men were justified to refuse wife to visit her female friends while 689 felt that men were justified to be angry if wife communicates with other men. The findings thus indicate a negative perception. This is because on all statements provided for the respondents, a higher percentage would respond negatively. Most of the respondents disagreed (see table 12) with the various attitudes presented on ways in which husbands tried to control their wives. However, there were still a good number of women who agreed with the attitudes. These could be the type of women who usually condone violence meted against them by their spouses even though; this should not be allowed to happen. It is a violation of the human rights of women. It thus appears that most of the women had an understanding of what constitutes marital violence.

The above findings are in line with the results from the focus group discussions. Twenty respondents (83%) had a negative perception. One of the interviewee who was married for twenty years reported that she got disgusted with women who left their batterers only to return after a while. She described them as "ridiculous women". She considered violence that resulted in physical injury as perhaps as the only genuine reason for a woman to leave her husband. The study findings are also in line with a Manitoba Survey of 57 villages in Canada

in 1995 that found that 69% of the people interviewed recognized that violence against women was a major or serious problem in their community (Statistics Canada, 1999). It also suggests that violence occurs because historically, women have not been valued as equal partners in society: As individuals, we learn to hold power over others and to encourage submission. We are taught these lessons through the process of socialization and through sex-role stereotyping. Negative messages about women reinforce the theme of inequality (NFVS, Canada, 1991).

4.4.2 Perception of Respondents on Husband Hitting Wife

Respondents were asked whether a husband would be justified in hitting his wife. Results are indicated in Table 11.

Table 11

Responses on Whether Partners are Justified in Hitting their Wives?

A husband will be justified in hitting his wife:	Positive		Negative	
	N	%	N	%
If she burns food	54	6%	926	94%
If she argues with him	226	23%	754	77%
If she goes out without telling him	254	26%	726	74%
If she neglects children	397	40%	583	60%
If she refuses to have sexual relations with him	239	25%	741	75%

Findings in Table 11 indicated that, 926 (94%) of the respondents disagreed that a husband is justified in hitting a wife if she burns food against 54 (6%) who agreed. 754 (77%) disagreed that a husband is justified to hit his wife if she argues with him while 226 (23%) agreed. 741 (75%) perceived that a husband is not justified in hitting wife if she refuses to have sexual relations with him while 239 (25%) agreed man is justified. 726 (74%) disagreed that a husband may hit wife if she goes out without telling him while 254 (26%) agreed. 583 (60%) disagreed a man may hit a wife if she neglects children and 397 (40%) agreed.

From the findings (see Table 10), the respondents' perception on marital violence is negative. It appears that most respondents perceive that men are not justified in hitting the wife. Out of 980 respondents, 397 (40%) perceived that men might be justified to hit the wife where the

wife neglects children and 26% where a wife goes out without telling the husband. This means that the respondents felt that women should also respect their husbands and their children and fulfill their obligation too in the family. As many studies worldwide have shown, victims are hesitant to disclose information, so actual prevalence of marital violence should be higher than reported. Acts intended to control behavior are reported by a higher percentage of women because these are probably the least shameful to disclose. Indeed, it is easier to admit that a husband or a partner tries to restrict a woman's contact with her family of birth and her friends, than the fact that her husband beats her, or makes her do something sexual that she finds degrading or humiliating, or insults her and makes her feel bad about herself. The highest percentage of women names physical, then sexual, then emotional violence, than acts intended to control behavior and economic forms of violence.

In findings of a research conducted in Kerala in 2005, Indian women were physically abused and were living under constant fear, threats and humiliation. However, the women did not report the violence. They said that they felt the entire responsibility of preserving the family as their duty; hence, in spite of the extreme physical and psychological violence meted on many them, they did not seek divorce or talk about it, as they felt their trauma and that of their children is too great a price to be paid instead. Thus to a great extent, the women accept violence as part of their family life. The National Family Health Survey findings in India in 2000, also points out this fact. Although no direct link has been established, the survey revealed the extent to which women lack autonomy, even as more than 50% justify or accept violence within the home. Three out of every five women said that they believed beating was justified on at least six grounds- neglecting the house or children, going out without telling the husband, showing disrespect to the in-laws, not cooking food properly, if he suspects her of unfaithfulness and if she does not bring enough money or goods home.

It is therefore not surprising that even though women understand marital violence, some do remain silent in the face of violence meted on them by their spouses (see table14), while others put up with the violence. From table 14, 10% of the respondents reported that women should remain silent about marital violence, but 90% reported that the violence should be reported even if it from the husband. These findings seem to conform to those of a study by Machera (1997). In the study, 45.9% of women who had experienced physical violence thought that a husband has a good reason to hit his wife. Out of the women who had not experienced physical violence in any form, 36.3% thought that a man could be justified in

hitting his wife. These data shows that a higher proportion of women subjected to violence justify violence than do women who have never been victims. This is in line with the findings of this study because those respondents who had experienced violence justified their partner's actions. 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 to all members of the family and other forms of religio- cultural violence.

Traditional gender roles require that a man is the head of the family and breadwinner and as such, men assume this power that they sometimes misuse by perpetrating violence against women. Some aspects of domestic violence such as wife beating are culturally sanctioned, condoned, and widely accepted as a means of 'disciplining'. In some communities such as the Maasai, husbands are mandated to inflict corrective punishment on their wives as head of families. Women on the other hand are socialized to be passive and submissive and to accept violence as part of a woman's life (Kameri –Mbote, 2001). Indeed, cultural and traditional beliefs have been pointed out as a major contributing factor to violations against women. Many women and men find wife beating justifiable in some circumstance such as when a woman burns the food, argues with the husband, goes out of the home without telling the husband, neglects the children or refuses to have sexual relations with her husband (KDHS, 2003). There is an urgent need to address these harsh phenomenon directed towards wives.

4.4.3 Respondents Attitude Toward Marital Violence.

On various attitudes to marital violence, findings were as shown in Table 12:

Table 12

Respondents Attitude toward Marital Violence

Women's attitude to marital Violence	Positive		Negative	
	N	%	N	%
Women should remain silent about marital violence	101	10	871	90
Women are not capable of leading comfortable lives unless they are married	177	18	801	82
Women should not take any action if violence is from husband	110	11	867	89
Violence is culturally accepted and is a 'normal way of life'	189	19	784	81
Church's teachings on women remaining submissive to husbands must be upheld always	631	65	345	35

According Table 12, respondents were presented with various attitudes on marital violence. Asked whether women should remain silent about marital violence 871 (90%) disagreed and only 101 (10%) agreed with this. Another 801 (82%) disagreed that women are not capable of leading comfortable lives unless they are married but 177 (18%) respondents agreed to it. This shows that there are still some women who believe that women can only lead comfortable lives only in marriage context. 867 (89%) disagreed that women should take any action if violence is from husband but 110 (11%) agreed. 784 (81%) disagreed that violence is culturally accepted and is a 'normal way of life' while 189 (19%) agreed. 345 (35%) disagreed that church's teachings on women remaining submissive to husbands must be upheld always but 631 (65%) agreed women should be submissive. Therefore, though a majority of the respondents disagreed with various attitudes, a percentage of women though not so high agreed on women having to submit to their husbands. It can be concluded that most of the women are aware that violence is not justified in a marriage; it should not be accepted or condoned. This is in line with findings of a study conducted by Avon / IPSOS in the European Union. A substantial majority of Europeans (57%) in the study felt that violence against women is a common problem and that this should not be condoned. Among some countries in the study, Italy had the highest respondents (91%) who felt that domestic violence against women is punishable, 89% from France, 87% from the United Kingdom and 86% in Portugal.

According to Avon /IPSOS (2011) study, on attitude towards domestic violence against women, there has been a major societal shift in many member states, with far more people now saying that domestic violence is unacceptable and deserving of punishment (84%). Analysis of the European Union 15 countries shows that more people in all these member states (86%) think that domestic violence against women is unacceptable and should always be punishable by law than 10 years earlier (63%).

In another study by Kaze (2008), in Tbilisi, a number of questions were posed to women to find out their attitudes towards violence and gender roles. Of those surveyed, 78.3% of women thought that family problems should only be discussed within a family, 52.1% of women thought that if a man mistreats his wife, others outside the family should not intervene, 30.7% of women thought that family abuse is a private affair and the law should not interfere. This reveals the women's attitude towards coping with marital problems. Furthermore, it shows that some women do not classify marital violence as a family problem;

out of those who thought that family problems should be discussed only within a family, 30.5% of respondents thought that when a man mistreats his wife, others should not intervene. But out of those who do not think that family problems are only a family matter, almost the same proportion, 31.1% thought that the others should not intervene. The women's attitude to marital violence and silence to it could be attributed to the patriarchal nature of society and its principles. Among most traditional Kenyan communities, the husband is seen as superior being in the house. The wife is viewed as the 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 his spouse because she lacked the power to control and limit her behavior. An example is among the Kalenjin community where the wife was counted among the husbands belongings (Ondicho, 2000). Furthermore, the nineteenth century religious beliefs encouraged women's subordination in the household and, therefore, contributed to domestic assault. The women's attitude to marital violence seems to be influencing their perception. This is especially in regards to religious teachings. From table 9, 631 women (65%) agreed that women should be submissive to their husbands always. This means condoning violence. So religious leaders need to create more awareness among their faithful what entails submission, which should not just be blind submission.

4.4.4 Signs of Abuse in Relationships

The of signs of abuse though not directly stated in the objectives of the study were important for the study because the signs are viewed as leading or relating to abuse by the women in general. They were important in helping to evaluate the respondents' understanding of violence which in turn shapes women's perception on violence. Respondents were thus asked to select from various statements, the signs of abuse that had occurred in their relationships. All the responses were classified together since they indicated that some forms of violence had occurred at some point. Table 13 gives a summary of the findings on assessment of the signs of abuse in relationships.

Table 13

Assessment of the Signs of Abuse in Relationships

In your relationship has your man:	Very frequently		Frequently		Often		Rarely		Never	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Made fun of you or demeaning comments when other people are present?	48	4.9	36	3.7	53	5.4	110	11.2	732	74.8
Told you everything is your fault?	75	7.7	78	8.0	114	11.7	252	25.9	455	46.7
Checked up on you at work or other locations, to be certain that you are at the place where you said you would be?	70	7.2	89	9.1	93	9.5	162	16.6	562	57.6
Made you feel that he would explode if you did the wrong thing?	96	9.8	115	11.8	84	8.6	176	18.0	505	51.7
Acted very jealous about your relationship with other people?	124	12.8	178	18.4	185	19.1	198	20.4	284	29.3
Kept you from developing non-romantic relationships with other people?	121	12.4	144	14.7	109	11.2	204	20.9	399	40.8
Told you to do things you do not want to?	63	6.5	74	7.6	47	4.8	196	20.1	594	61.0
Criticized you frequently?	73	7.8	83	8.8	99	10.5	255	27.1	431	45.8
Decided what you will wear, eat, or buy when you have expressed a preference for something else?	92	9.5	83	8.5	79	8.1	198	20.3	521	53.5
Threatened to hurt you?	51	5.2	64	6.6	53	5.4	234	24.0	575	58.9
Intentionally hurt you physically?	56	5.7	44	4.5	33	3.4	124	12.7	721	73.7

According to Table 13, various signs of abuse were identified. The most common sign of abuse was men acting very jealous about their partner's relationship with other people 70.7%. Another 59.2% of the respondents said that their men kept them from developing non-romantic relationships with other people. 54.2% were criticized frequently by their men. 53.7% respondents were told everything was their fault, 48.3% said they were made to feel that their man would explode if they did the wrong thing. 46.6% said their men decided what to wear, eat or buy when they had expressed preference for something else. 42.4% had been checked up at work or other locations, to be certain that they were where they said they were. 41.1% said their men had threatened to hurt them. 39% were told to do things they didn't want. 26.3% said their men had intentionally hurt them physically. 25.2% had been made fun of. However, findings also indicate that the respondents had not experienced some signs of abuse in their relationships. 74.8% had never been made fun of by their spouses before other people, 57.6% had not been checked on at their work places by the spouses while 51.7% had never been made to feel that their spouse would explode if she did something wrong. This thus shows that women had knowledge on what constitutes signs of abuse in relationships.

The percentages in Table 13 indicate that there is existence of some forms of marital violence in the relationships and this varies in its prevalence. These results are similar with those of a study on domestic violence against women in Georgia, USA. The study revealed varieties of violence experienced by women in relationships. While traditional cultural norms in Georgia treat the family as a safe place where all troubles disappear, the results showed that there is a big difference between the imagined, idealized family and real family, where direct or indirect forms of violence oppress women and violate human rights in very basic sense of this concept. Every seventh woman in the study reported that her husbands had belittled or humiliated her in front of other people or done something on purpose to scare her. A number of women also said that their husband had threatened to harm them McCue (2008).

The prevalence of marital violence is also in line with findings of a study by Machera (2006) on inter-spousal violence. Findings in the study agree with findings of this study that show prevalence of marital violence. Machera contends that women have gained mileage towards equality, and violence in the households is strongly looked down upon. However, spousal abuse against women is still a growing problem in many countries around the world, (Strauss & Gelles 1999; Fida Kenya 2002). Further, she indicates that marital violence is prevalent even in developed countries where women's liberation has covered more ground. For

example, domestic assaults affect 6 million women in the United States each year (Raphael 2000).

Bearing in mind the shame that is associated with violence; though a higher percentage of respondents said their men had never injured them physically, they may have feared to give the correct picture in their relationships. Jiwani (2000), states that traditional taboos prohibit women to let others know that they have been abused. He states that this silence prevents researchers from obtaining accurate data about violence in intimate relationships. Therefore, though a majority of the respondents said they had never received some forms of violence, the existence of such a taboo may have contributed to the findings. Perception of domestic violence against women, points out that silence stems from the lack of self-esteem of abused women and a consequence of the numbness that comes from feelings of shame (Avon Institute/IPOS Survey, 2011).

4.4.5 Characteristics Related with Happy and Stable Marriages

According to Table 14, respondents were asked to identify characteristics associated with happy stable marriages based on their marriage or relationships. This was derived from various statements that reflect characteristics of happy, stable marriages. Table 14 reflects the summary of the responses.

Table 14

Characteristics Related with Happy and Stable Marriages

Does your current relationship have:	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Undecided		Agree		Strongly Agree	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Communication skills and understanding?	32	3.3	61	6.2	29	3.0	186	19.0	670	68.5
The ability to deal with conflicts?	42	4.3	59	6.0	38	3.9	207	21.2	632	64.6
Trust in the other person?	54	5.5	92	9.4	54	5.5	232	23.7	546	55.8
Mutual support?	22	2.3	71	7.3	37	3.8	278	28.5	567	58.2

cont'd

Does your current relationship have:	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Undecided		Agree		Strongly Agree	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Flexibility?	54	5.6	88	9.1	57	5.9	255	26.3	515	53.1
Equal sharing of household tasks?	180	18.6	179	18.5	53	5.5	201	20.7	356	36.7
Equal sharing of decision-making?	71	7.3	88	9.1	40	4.1	257	26.5	513	52.9

According to Table 14, it is evident that (87.5%) of the respondents (856) had experienced good communication skills and understanding. 839 (85.8%) said they had ability to deal with conflicts in their relationship. 778 (79.5%) respondents had trust in their partner. 845 (86.7%) had experienced mutual support. 770 (79.4%) respondents experienced flexibility. 557 (57.4%) had equal sharing of household tasks with their partners, while 770 (79.4%) respondents had equal sharing in decision-making. This suggests that most respondents understood what constitutes a happy marriage. This conforms to the objectives of the study which explored women's perceptions on marital violence. Perception is about the way one thinks about something; in this study it was on marital violence. It is the individual's perception that will contribute to their being happily married or not depending on how they look at things. This is in line with what Davies (1994) asserts on domestic violence and family privacy. He asserts that the right to a private family life does not include the right to abuse family members. That the family is a private place, a source of comfort and nurture for the mutual growth of its members. Again, this value is enshrined in the international and regional human rights instruments and acknowledged by United Nations; for example, the proclamation of 1994 as the international year of the family. The right to be free from marital violence is a fundamental and universal human right.

4.5 Factors that Contribute to Women Staying in Violent Marriages

The third objective of this study sought to identify the factors that contribute to women staying in marriages in which violence occurs. Table 15 summarizes the factors as follows:

Table 15

Factors that Contribute to Women Staying in Violent Marriages

Statement	Agree		Disagree		Undecided	
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%
Every woman must depend on a male provider	223	23	706	72	49	5
Most women are not economically active	536	55	403	41	39	4
Religion and tradition teach women to stick to their husbands, to suffer in silence	468	48	476	49	28	3
Women should endure everything to save 'their' families	434	45	498	51	38	4
Divorced women have no place in society	231	24	711	74	21	2
Women have inadequate legal protection because issues involving husband and wife are culturally considered 'private' and hence no one would like to interfere with private affairs of a home	335	34	541	56	98	10

Table 15 indicates that, 223 (23%) of the respondents agreed that every woman must depend on a male provider against 706 (72%) who disagreed. Another 536 (55%) respondents agreed that most women were not economically active while 403 (41%) disagreed. 468 (48%) respondents agreed that religion and tradition teach women to stick to their husbands; to suffer in silence, while 476 (49%) disagreed. 434 (45%) respondents agreed that women should endure everything to save 'their' families but 498 (51%) disagreed. 231 (24%) also agreed that divorced women have no place in society against 711 (74%) who disagreed. 335 (34%) respondents agreed that women have inadequate legal protection because issues involving husband and wife are culturally considered private and hence no one would like to interfere with private affairs of a home, while 541 (56%) disagreed with this.

It appears that majority of the respondents disagreed with the factors cited as contributing to women staying in violent marriages. This means that the respondents felt that it is not a must for a woman to solely rely on their spouse economically. It also means that women should

not endure violence to save their marriage. Moreover, 74% of respondents also felt that even divorced women have a place in society. This therefore means that respondents in Kawangware had a positive attitude to what constitutes women rights in a marriage or relationship and thus a positive perception. However, a high number agreed that such were the factors especially where most women are not economically active, that contribute to a significant number of respondents staying in violent marriages. Almost half of the respondents (48%) also cited religion and tradition as factors contributing to women staying in violent marriages. It can therefore, be concluded that religion and tradition seem to play a big role in influencing women to remain in violent marriages.

These findings seem to conform to results of a survey by Avon Institute/IPOS in 2011 on Domestic Violence in the European Union. Economic conditions and concern for children were cited as the main reasons why a woman chooses to remain in an abusive relationship. In the Avon Institute/ IPSOS Survey, 27% of the respondents cited lack of economic self-sufficiency and lack of means to raise her children (20%). Another 17% of the women polled mentioned fear of being killed as the main reason why an abused woman would remain in such an unhealthy relationship. Other women (20%) said that they feared that raising the children alone would deprive them of their necessities, and the fear of being exposed or a scandal. Middle class women were also afraid they would not be able to keep the same lifestyle for the family.

Comparison of Kileleshwa and Kawangware locations, further revealed some slight differences and similarities on factors that contribute to women staying in violent marriages. This is illustrated in tables 16 and 17:

Table 16

Factors that Contribute to Women Staying in Violent Marriage in Kawangware

Kawangware	Agree		Disagree		Undecided	
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%
Every woman must depend on a male provider	103	24	312	72	20	5
Most women are not economically active	238	55	182	42	16	4
Religion and tradition teach women to stick to their husbands, to suffer in silence	213	50	202	47	15	3
Women should endure everything to save 'their' families	207	48	207	48	18	4
Divorced women have no place in society	106	25	317	74	5	1
Women have inadequate legal protection because issues involving husband and wife are culturally considered 'private' and hence no one would like to interfere with private affairs of a home	160	37	246	57	26	6

From Table 16, it can be seen that only some women in Kawangware would stay in an abusive marriage. These are the women who believed that most women are not economically active (55%), because of religion and tradition that teach women to stick to their husbands (50%) and those who thought that women should endure everything to save their marriage (48%). However, 72% of the respondents felt that women should not stay in violent relationships or marriages and cited the fact that its not okay that women should depend on a male provider, 74% also felt that its not right for women to think that divorced women have no place in society. 57% felt that that most women in Kawangware have inadequate legal protection because issues involving husband and wife are culturally considered 'private' and hence no one would like to interfere with private affairs of a home. This thus shows that the majority of women would not stay in violent marriages in Kawangware and those who do, do so with full awareness of their suffering but since they are not economically able then they put up with the violence.

In Kileleshwa, most women would stay in an abusive marriage because of finances in that most of them believe that every woman must depend on a male provider and the belief that most women are not economically active.

Table 17
Factors that Contribute to Women Staying in Violent Marriages in Kileleshwa

Kileleshwa	Agree		Disagree		Undecided	
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%
Every woman must depend on a male provider	120	23	381	72	26	5
Most women are not economically active	294	56	213	40	19	4
Religion and tradition teach women to stick to their husbands, to suffer in silence	252	48	262	50	12	2
Women should endure everything to save 'their' families	222	43	280	54	20	4
Divorced women have no place in society	123	24	381	73	16	3
Women have inadequate legal protection because issues involving husband and wife are culturally considered 'private' and hence no one would like to interfere with private affairs of a home	169	32	288	55	69	13

From Table 17, it can be deduced that in Kileleshwa, most women also disagreed that every woman should depend on a male provider (72%). However, 56% felt that most women are not economically active and therefore this could be contributing to their staying in violent marriages. 50% respondents also felt that religion and tradition does not teach women to stick to their husbands to suffer in silence. Moreover 43% felt that women should not endure everything to save their marriage. Thus like their Kawangware counterparts, it seems that it is due to lack of economic independence that women in both locations choose to put up with the violence. In Kawangware however, the respondents seem more religious and traditional in the aspect of sticking to their husbands to suffer in silence (50%), and would endure more to save their families (48%).

In comparison of the two locations: it can be noted that women in Kawangware would stay in their marriage because of their religious and traditional beliefs. In addition, they also felt that women should endure everything to save their marriages. They also believe that women have inadequate legal protection because of the belief of secrecy on domestic issues. In Kileleshwa however, most women would stay in their abusive marriages because of the belief that women are not economically active.

From FGD'S it is clear that lack of economic sufficiency was directly associated with the concern about raising children. Although a significant number of women do have some income, they are afraid they will not be able to take care of the children especially when the woman would leave her home. An interviewee in from Kileleshwa admitted:

“My husband has been violent throughout our marriage. We have three children. However, I could not bring myself to leave. If I had left with the children, there is no way I could have raised and educated three children. Am not highly educated and I have only secretarial skills. This does not give a good pay to support my kids. So I have decided to stay to protect the children”.

Another interviewee from Kawangware also admitted:

“My husband has been very harsh and violent with me. I have packed my belongings and left a couple of times. But since am not employed I have found myself coming back to my husband. This is especially since I cannot afford to rent a house for them nor pay school fees. For their sake I have decided to endure the violence but once they are grown and he does not stop, then I guess I will rethink my decision to stay in the marriage.” It is thus fear of uncertainty of what the future holds for such women and lack of economic independence that contributes to such a woman staying in a violent marriage.

A 1981 study on women who left violent relationships but often returned home found that when an abused woman leaves her abuser, there is a 50% chance that her standard of living will drop below the poverty line. The women who were most likely to return to the abusive relationship were those who had been married the longest and with fewer skills or less work experience than those who were less likely to return home (Martin, 1981). Bornstein (2006) describes dependency as “the degree to which one person relies on another for financial support, and is used to describe situations in which one member of a dyad has exclusive control over financial resources “(p.598). Bornstein (2006) further points out that links between economic dependency and abuse are bi-directional. High economic dependency may lead some women to tolerate abuse, but repeated abuse may lead to economic dependence. Women in abusive relationships who do work may have trouble concentrating, be harassed at work by an abusive partner, and have low self efficacy due to abuse. The abuse can affect

work performance and they may lose their jobs contributing to their economic dependency on their partners (Wettersten et al., 2004).

The findings of this study are similar to those of a study by Campbell (1991). According to Campbell, majority of battered women do not stay in abusive relationships. The complex leave-taking process often takes a long time. Women leave and return several times before finally breaking up (Campbell, et al., 2004; Smith, 2003). However, Risperberg (1994) emphasized that the normalization process (the man normalizing the violence) is one reason that women give as an explanation to stay. Some women may not recognize the less severe forms of violence when the violence continues and therefore they remaining the relationship (Piispa, 2004). In contrast, young women report less severe violence in relationships. Older women cope with relationship because they feel forced to do so until society provides resources to help them leave their abusive partners (Zink et al., 2006). Some older women stay for the following reasons: they remain committed to their partner, they feel responsible for the abuser, they feel responsible for helping the partner, they feel financial loss they fear reprisals and they fear for the physical safety for themselves and their children (Smith, 2003). Some of them feel fulfilled in their lives, others are simply surviving. A non-supportive environment can be a major barrier in preventing the women from leaving an abusive relationship (Campbell, 1990). A woman's decision whether to stay or leave may be influenced by feelings of forgiveness (Gordon, Burton & Porter, 2004). If a woman believes that her partner is intentionally and maliciously hurting her, she may be much less likely to forgive him, and therefore, much less likely to return.

4.6 Perception of Women towards the Influence of Cultural Beliefs and Practices on Marital Violence.

The first hypothesis of the study stated that there is no statically significant difference in the perception of women towards the influence of cultural beliefs and practices on marital violence. The results were as follows:

On analysis of the significance of the perception of women on whether marital violence is influenced by cultural practices, I found that there is no statistically significant difference in the perception of women towards marital violence based on their cultural practices. Table 18 illustrates the details:

Table 18

Anova Test Results on Differences among Women on Perception towards Marital Violence Based on their Cultural Beliefs and Practices

Cultural practices	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	13.094	44	.298	1.356	.130
Within Groups	14.260	65	.219		
Total	27.355	109			

From Table 18, the critical value of this test on cultural practices is between 2.33 and 17.45 (mean of the perception of women towards marital violence and mean of cultural practices), which is the number that the test statistic must exceed to reject the test. Therefore, $F_{crit}(2.33, 17.45) = 1.356$ at $\alpha = 0.05$. Since $F = 1.356 < 2.33$, the results are significant at the 5% significance level. The hypothesis was thus rejected, concluding that there is statistically a significant difference in the perception of women towards marital violence based on their cultural practices. The p-value for this test is 0.13.

Figure 13 further gives a summary of the extent to which the respondents felt that their perception towards marital violence was influenced by cultural beliefs and practices.

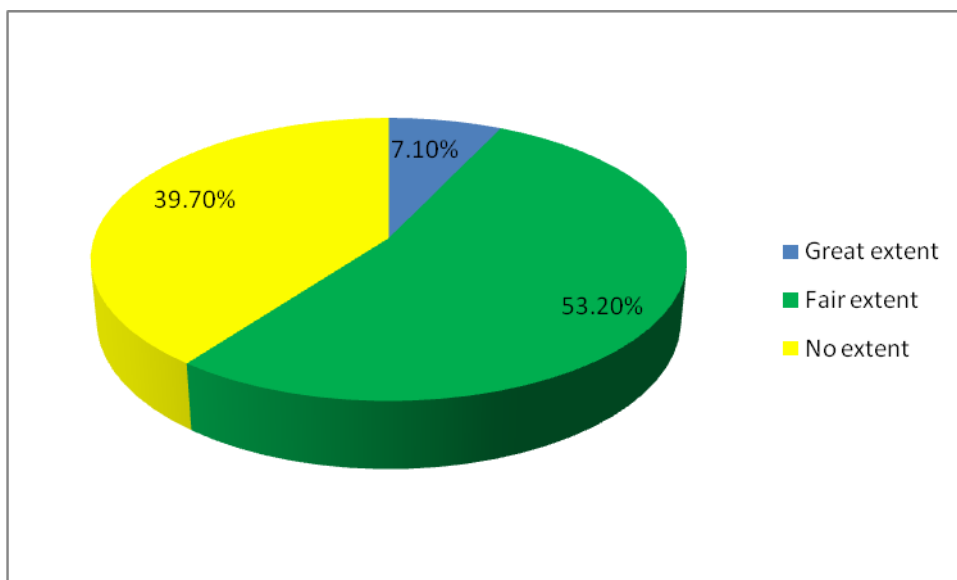


Figure 13: Extent to which Cultural Practices were Considered Influencing Women's Perception of Marital Violence

From figure 13, (518 out of 980) respondents (53.2%) stated that cultural practices and beliefs influence women's perception on marital violence to a fair extent, 69 (7.1%) great extent while 386 (39.7%) no extent. Therefore it can be concluded that majority of the respondents 587(60.3%) perceived that women's perception on marital violence is influenced or shaped by religious beliefs and cultural practices. These findings agree with results of the Cross tabulation between Province of origin and whether the respondents think that women's perception on marital violence is influenced or shaped by religious beliefs and cultural practices. This is as reflected on Table 19.

Table 19

Cross Tabulation between Province of Origin and Women's Perception on Marital Violence

County	What extent do you think women's perception on marital violence is influenced or shaped by religious beliefs and cultural practices					
	Great extent	Cumulative percentage	Fair extent	Cumulative percentage	No extent	Cumulative percentage
Nairobi	4	0.4%	27	2.8%	34	3.4%
Eastern	10	1.0%	79	8.2%	60	6.2%
Central	13	1.3%	88	9.1%	63	6.5%
Nyanza	13	1.3%	87	9.0%	58	6.0%
Western	16	1.7%	156	16.1%	116	12.0%
North Eastern	2	0.2%	10	1.0%	5	0.5%
Coast	3	0.3%	18	1.9%	12	1.2%
Rift Valley	5	0.5%	46	4.7%	37	3.7%
Rwanda	1	0.1%	1	0.1%	2	0.2%
India	1	0.1%	1	0.1%	0	0.0%
Sudan	1	0.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Uganda	0	0.0%	2	0.2%	0	0.0%

Table 19 shows that cultural practices do influence women's perception on marital violence. 156 out of 288 respondents in western province felt that women's perception on marital violence is shaped by religious beliefs and cultural practices to a fair extent, while 16% felt it was influenced to a great extent. Central province 88 (9.1%) of 164 respondents also indicated the influence was fair while 13 (1.3%) out of 150 cited great extent. Nyanza 87 (9%) perceived the same (fair) extent and 13 (1.3%) to a great extent. In Eastern province, 79 out of 149 respondents said it was fair while 10 perceived it to a great extent. Rift Valley 46

out of 88 cited fair extent while 5 cited great extent. Nairobi, 27 cited fair extent and 4 great extent. Coast 18 out of 33 said fair extent and 3 great extent. North Eastern 10 out of 17 cited fair extent and 2 great extent. Thus, a high percentage of the respondents felt that religion and cultural practices do influence women's perception on marital violence in Nairobi County. Women whose origin was from the rural areas differed with those from the urban areas in the extent to which cultural beliefs and practices shaped their perception on marital violence. The Women from rural areas perceived that they were largely influenced by cultural beliefs and practices than their counterparts whose origin was urban. This was visible in western province, central, Nyanza, Eastern and rift valley. This may be attributed to the hold on cultural practices among rural communities in Kenya compared to urban population who are more liberated.

According to a study by Oxfam in November 2007, just like in many parts of Africa, there exist patriarchal systems in Kenya. The Oxfam study quoted the attorney general of Kenya on this subject saying: "Violence Against Women pervades all social and ethnic groups; Culture does influence the relationship between various groups in society and some cultural practices, beliefs and traditions have the tendency to relegate women to second class status in society thereby not only violating their rights as human beings but also leading to discrimination against women. Some customs and cultural practices have found their way not only into law but are used as justification for Violence against Women" Houben, Nadja, (2003 pg.8).

Culture is usually invoked to justify violence against women. Customary practices and some aspects of traditions are often the cause of Violence against women and influence its continuation. Traditional gender roles require that a man is the head of the family and breadwinner and as such, men assume this power that they sometimes misuse by perpetrating violence against women. Some aspects of domestic violence such as wife beating are culturally sanctioned, condoned, and widely accepted as a means of 'disciplining'. In some communities such as the Maasai, husbands are mandated to inflict corrective punishment on their wives as head of families. Women on the other hand are socialized to be passive and submissive and to accept violence as part of a woman's life (Kameri –Mbote, 2001). Indeed, cultural and traditional beliefs have been pointed out as a major contributing factor to violations against women. Many women and men find wife beating justifiable in some circumstance such as when a woman burns the food, argues with the husband, goes out of the home without telling the husband, neglects the children or refuses to have sexual relations

with her husband (KDHS, 2003). There is an urgent need to address these harsh phenomenon directed towards wives.

The practice of bride price is another cultural practice that promotes violence against women. A groom pays the brides family in order to wed her. This equates the woman to property with the man owning and controlling the woman. A woman is then obliged to stay with her husband even if he abuses her. This is especially true for women from poor families who cannot afford to return the bride price. Matters to do with sex are culturally defined, to the extent that culture defines what an offence is or not. While the concept of rape is understood differently depending on the community, it is notable that rarely are there ethnic terms for rape. In some communities abduction and forced sex with a girl is accepted as a first stage in marriage. A baseline survey in Taita noted that traditionally, a Taita man could abduct a girl he fancied, take her to his house, rape her, and then wait for the parents of the girl to come and negotiate for the bride price (COVAW, 2006). Similar practices have also been reported amongst some Luhya sub tribes. Furthermore, in majority of the communities, family and kingship ties are still highly valued. When incidences of violence occur within the family, cases are rarely reported. When a report is made, the extended family puts immense pressure for withdrawal of such reports. In Taita, incest cases are common but are regarded as family secrets leading to perpetrators getting away with it (COVAW, 2006). There is a widespread perception of domestic violence as a private family affair and this has also contributed in influencing women's perception of marital violence

4.7 Perception of Women towards Marital Violence Based on their Religious Commitment

The second hypothesis of the study stated that there is no statistically significant difference in the perception of women towards marital violence based on their religious commitment. The results were as follows:

On analysis of the significance of the perception of women on whether marital violence is influenced or shaped by religious commitment while cross tabulating with religious group, the findings indicated that there was no statistically significant difference in the perception of women towards marital violence based on their religious commitment. Table 20 indicates the results on the test of hypothesis.

Table 20

Anova Test Results on Differences among Women on Perception towards Marital Violence Based on their Religious Commitment

		Sum of	df	Mean	F	Sig.
		Squares		Square		
Religious group	Between Groups	.630	2	.315	6.801	.001
	Within Groups	44.632	964	.046		
	Total	45.262	966			

The critical value of this test on religious practices is between 1.04 and 2.33 (mean of cross tabulated religious group and mean of the perception of women towards marital violence), which is the number that the test statistic must exceed to reject the test. Therefore, $F_{crit}(1.04, 2.33) = 6.801$ at $\alpha = 0.05$. Since $F = 6.801 > 2.33$, the results are significant at the 5% significance level. The hypothesis was rejected, thus concluding that there is statistically a significant difference in the perception of women towards marital violence based on their religious commitment. The p-value for this test is 0.001.

Furthermore, respondents were asked to gauge their level of commitment to religion. 431 (44.6%) out of 980 respondents said they are very committed, 280 (29%) were somewhat committed, while 255 (26.4%) just attend services. This corresponds to various responses the women gave that points out that religion did influence or shape their perception on marital violence. Moreover, respondents were asked to comment on various attitudes in relation to religion. 631 (65%) respondents agreed that church's teachings on women remaining submissive to husbands must be upheld always. Another 434 (45%) said that women should endure everything to save their families, that means including violence from their husbands. 476 (48%) also stated that religion and tradition teach women to stick to their husbands and to suffer in silence. Thus, it appears that commitment to religion did shape Nairobi women's perception on marital violence. Figure 14 further illustrates this:

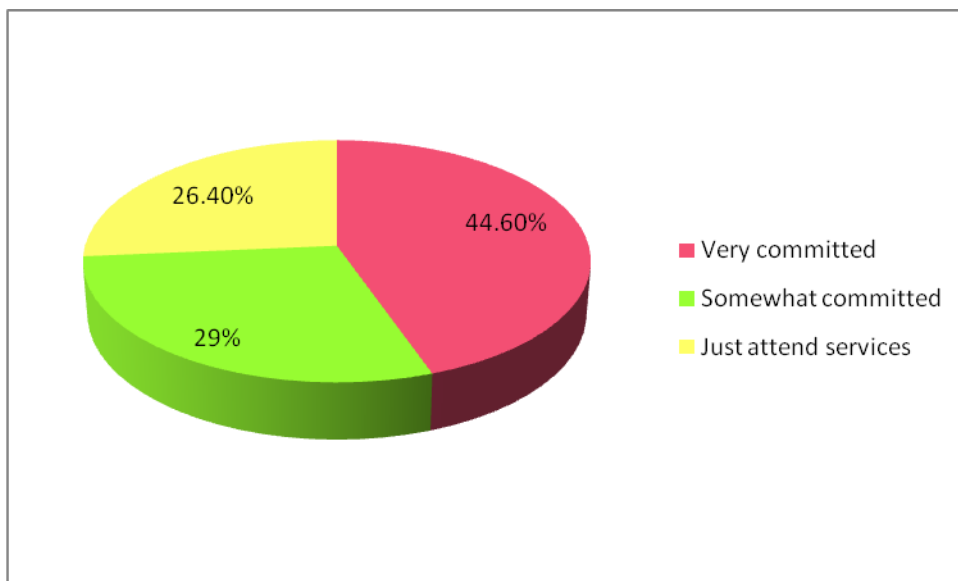


Figure 14: Level of Commitment to Religion

Based on findings on figure 14, it is clear that there is significant difference in the women's perception towards marital violence based on religious commitment. This is attributed to the respondents' province of origin. The respondents from rural areas stated that their perceptions are more influenced by religion than respondents from the urban areas. This can be attributed to the fact that in rural areas religion and culture influence the way of life more than in urban areas. Most of the rural women are very committed to the bible teachings and they are influenced more by the teachings. From the book of Ephesians chapter 5 verses 22-24, women are to submit to their husbands; "Wives submit to your husbands as to the lord. For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church, his body, of which he is the saviour. Now as the church submits to Christ, so also wives should submit to the husbands in everything". Such are the bible teachings that shape the women's beliefs. They submit to their husbands even when their human rights are violated.

Machera (2006), states that there is invisibility of domestic violence in most African communities. She cites the case of Ghana where women consider wife beating as discipline not a crime. She notes, "This is the situation in Ghana. Most women will not talk about their experience 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 as result of traditional precedents of remaining at home, the inability of living independent life, and, to some extent, may be attributed to religion". This explains the difference in perception of women whose

origin is the rural areas compared to those from urban origin. Women from the rural areas are more committed to culture and religion and this shapes their perceptions.

Gordon (1996) asserts that around half of abused women seek help from their religious leaders. However, members of the clergy may be committed to maintaining a marriage, even an abusive one and advice the women against leaving their abusive partners. About 15% of women, who confided in their leaders, reported it to be helpful. Thus, religion does play a role in influencing women’s perception on marital violence. Religious leaders and scholars need to re-examine interpretations of religious texts and doctrines from the perspective of promoting equality and dignity for women. Many men who abuse women justify such behavioral on a religious basis, and many cultural practices that abuse and violate women are justified in the name of religion.

4.8 Extent of Marital Violence Perpetrated on Women Based on Selected Demographic Characteristics

The third hypothesis of the study stated that there is no statistically significant difference in the extent of marital violence based on social- economic status, level of education and age. ANOVA was used to establish the following; socio-economic status and extent of violence, extent of marital violence and level of education as well as age. This section will examine the extent of violence based on socio-economic status. The results are presented in Table 21:

Table 21

Anova Test Results on Differences among Women on the Extent of Abuse Based on Socio-Economic Status

Employment status	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	5.588	4	1.397	2.159	.072
Within Groups	627.122	969	.647		
Total	632.710	973			

Table 21 shows that the critical value of the test on employment/ social economic status is between 2.150 and 3.510 (mean of employment status and mean of the extent to which abuse occurs in your relationship), which is the number that the test statistic must exceed to reject the test. Therefore, $F_{crit}(2.150,3.510) = 2.159$ at $\alpha = 0.05$. Since $F = 2.150 > 2.159 > 3.510$, the results are significant at the 5% significance level. The hypothesis was accepted, therefore concluding that there is no statistically significant difference in the extent of violence committed against women of different social economic status. The p-value for this test is 0.072.

From the sample of 980 women, evaluation was done on the number of women of different socio-economic status who experienced marital violence. Results revealed that women who were unemployed and self employed, experienced more violence in their marriages as women who were employed. This means that the proportion of women who experience marital violence does not differ with social economic status. Thus, violence against women cuts across all socio-economic classes of the society and women regardless of their social status are subject to violence from their partners. These findings correspond with findings of other studies. In the United States, about 25% of women from all social classes experienced violence during their lifetime (Alexander et al, 2001; Christopher & Lloyd, 2000). About, 3,000,000 women are abused each year in the USA (Walker, 2001; White et al, 2001). Studies by the American Psychological Association (1996), show that nearly one in three adult women experienced at least one physical assault by an intimate partner during adulthood; between one and four million women experience a violent assault in USA, (Bureau of justice, 1995; American Psychological Association, (1996). According to the Kenya demographic survey (2010), gender based violence cuts across all socio- economic and cultural backgrounds. These studies therefore correspond to the findings of this study that showed that in Kileleshwa and Kawangware locations, there is also existence of marital violence though this is not very prevalent.

Studies by WHO in 2005 show that globally 1 in 3 women experience intimate partner violence, and country-level population-based studies indicate that prevalence rates of physical intimate partner violence vary from 13 percent in South Africa to as high as 49 percent in Ethiopia. Levels of sexual violence vary from 7 percent in South Africa to 59 percent in Ethiopia while other countries range between 15-31 percent. In the same studies done by WHO in 2005, 20-66 percent of women did not tell anybody about the violence they

underwent before the interview. It also showed that between 55-80 percent of the women did not seek help from anybody due to the limited availability of formal services, financial constraints', empowerment and fear of stigma (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2005).

Wife battering is prevalent and largely condoned by many communities in Kenya. Traditional culture permits a man to discipline his wife physically. A study by WHO (2005) found that 42 percent of women in Kenya were regularly beaten by their husbands. However, FIDA Kenya believes that the true figure should be closer to 70 percent. According to a study by OXFAM (2007), findings revealed that in Kenya almost half of the women, regardless of their status or ethnicity report experiencing physical, psychological or sexual violence. The Kenya Demographic and health survey of a nationally representative sample of 9000 households in 2003 found that 49% of Kenyan women reported experiencing some form of violence, and one in four (25%) had experienced violence in the last 12 months prior to the study. Eighty three per cent of women and girls experienced physical violence in childhood, and 46% reported one or more episodes of sexual abuse in childhood.

According to Davies (1994) violence against women, happen in families from any class. Some research shows an overrepresentation of victims who are economically disadvantaged or who meant to be described as lower class or from younger age groups. There may be more violence against wives in families that are economically disadvantaged or where the husband has had less education than the wife has. Much of the information, however, is based on studies of people who come to the attention of 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 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. Records from social work contain information on less privileged groups who must respond to government enquiries in order to get government assistance. Wealthy people are more able to insulate themselves from the government and police attention. Research indicates that violence against wives is prevalent throughout the economic and social structure and appears to have no cultural barriers. It crosses all class, culture and colour barriers, (Davies, 1994).

Data from Gender Violence Recovery Centers in Nairobi (Oxfam 2007) show that cases of gender violence have increased steadily over the last four years. The recovery centers confirm

that their impact on survivors is enormous causing mental, psychological and physical illnesses that require medical attention. With this, in 2004, women lobbyists identified the need for the establishment of gender desks for reporting domestic violence and rape in police stations as critical to enhancing their well-being'. The government in its Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) and development plan undertook to set up gender desks in ministries and especially in police stations countrywide. The government has established gender violence desks in police stations where gender violence survivors are being encouraged to report with assurance of professional treatment by trained police officers. In addition, the government is committed to fight intimate partner violence as evidenced by the signing of international conventions on gender violence and developing various policies and strategies addressing gender violence.

4.8.1 Extent of Marital Violence and Level of Education.

This section examines the third hypothesis based on level of education. Results are presented on Table 22.

Table 22

Anova Test Results on Differences among Women on the Extent of Abuse Based on Level of Education

Level of Education	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	27.053	4	6.763	11.345	.005
Within Groups	575.302	965	.596		
Total	602.356	969			

Table 22 shows that the critical value of the test on level of education is between 2.030 and 3.510 (mean of level of education and mean of the extent to which abuse occurs in your relationship), which is the number that the test statistic must exceed to reject the test. Therefore, $F_{crit}(2.030,3.510) = 11.345$ at $\alpha = 0.05$. Since $F = 11.345 > 3.510$, the results are significant at the 5% significance level. The hypothesis was rejected, thus concluding that there is statistically a significant difference in the extent of violence committed against women of different Levels of education. The p-value for this test is 0.005.

The above findings conform to a study by Oxfam (2007) in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. Results of the Oxfam study revealed that women who are less educated and are not employed

tend to experience more violence. Furthermore, women who are relatively wealthy are less likely to experience violence from a spouse or a partner. Women with no education are more likely to experience marital violence in comparison with those with secondary and higher education. Women with husbands who have attained some level of education are less likely to suffer violence than women whose husband are less educated. The findings also conform to results of a study in Georgia on domestic violence against women in 2006. In the study 60% of women with incomplete secondary education admitted to having experienced acts intended to control their behavior by their husbands or partners, while around 35% of those having complete secondary, technical, or higher education acknowledged having experienced acts intended to control their behavior by their husbands or partners. Interestingly, actions intended for controlling women are closely related to the educational level. The lower the educational level of a woman, the higher the percentage of such actions. This could be attributed to the fact that educated women could be less dependent on a spouse because they may be employed unlike those lacking education.

Moreover, according to KDHS (2008-9), women who are not employed are less likely to experience spousal violence than women who are employed. Furthermore, women who have attended secondary school are less likely to suffer physical, sexual and economic violence at the hands of their husbands. Spousal violence decreases gradually as wealth quintile increases; in the KDHS survey, 53% of women in the lowest wealth quintile had experienced emotional, physical, or sexual violence compared with 40% of women in the highest wealth quintile. There is therefore need for government and non governmental organizations to develop activities that empower women and promote confidence and economic self-sufficiency among women so as to reduce the instances of marital violence that are promoted by women's lack of education and economic independence.

4.8.2 Age and extent of abuse in Marriages.

This section examines the third hypothesis based on age and extent of marital violence. The results are presented in Table 23:

Table 23

Anova Test Results on Differences among Women on the Extent of Abuse Based on Age

Age	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	31.687	4	7.922	5.822	.005
Within Groups	1318.449	969	1.361		
Total	1350.137	973			

Table 23 shows that the critical value of the test on age is between 1.97 and 3.510 (mean of employment status and mean of the extent to which abuse occurs in your relationship), which is the number that the test statistic must exceed to reject the test. Therefore, $F_{crit}(1.97,3.510) = 5.822$ at $\alpha = 0.05$. Since $F = 5.822 > 3.510$, the results are significant at the 5% significance level. The hypothesis was rejected, thus concluding that there is a statistically significant difference in the extent of violence committed against women of different ages. The p-value for this test is 0.005.

The rejection of the hypothesis could be explained by the fact that from a sample of 980 respondents evaluated from different age groups, who experienced marital violence very frequently and not frequently, results revealed that women below 40 years experienced the most violence, while those above 40 years experienced the least violence.

The findings of this hypothesis test indicate that there is association between age and extent of abuse in relationships. This is in line with the Kenya Demographic and Health survey 2008-09, which reported that as married women progress in age, the status quo changes, and violence may be experienced. Analysis by spousal age differences revealed that women who are the same age as their spouses are less likely to experience violence than are those who are either older or younger than their husbands are. Another study by Oxfam (2007) also reported that risk of violence differs with age and timeframe within which violence occurs. That 20-29 age group ranks highest among the groups for risk of experiencing violence, while 30-39 years reported the highest rate of violence within the last 12 months of that survey. Research on violence against women shows an increased risk for current physical or sexual violence among women of a younger age, especially those aged 15-19 (Kruger et al., 2002, WHO 2005a, Kishor & Johnson, 2004).

Consequences of marital violence have been fatal resulting to death some caused by grievous body harm such as paralysis, disfigurement and disability. There is therefore need to mount awareness campaigns and prevention programs to curb the vice. It is also important for educational institutions to educate children on gender-based violence from an early age to as to help reduce cases of gender-based violence in the country.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents summary, conclusions and recommendations emanating from the research on women's perception on marital violence and its influence on women staying in violent marriages. The chapter also gives suggestions for further research.

5.2 Summary of Findings

Based on the objectives, research questions and analysis of collected data, the following were the major findings:

5.2.1. The types of violence perpetrated on women were physical, psychological, sexual and economic violence. The first objective of the study was to establish the types of violence perpetrated against married women in Nairobi. According to the findings, the most common type was psychological violence whereby 590 (61%) respondents had received excessive jealousy while 586 respondents (59%) experienced constant yelling, screaming, name-calling, insults and criticism from their husbands. Findings also revealed that Kileleshwa women were more psychologically abused (64%) than their Kawangware counterparts (55%) by instances of constant yelling, name-calling, humiliation and excessive jealousy from their husbands. However, Kawangware women were more physically abused (34%) compared to those from Kileleshwa (22%). Sexual violence was experienced by 430 women (45%), economic violence by 351 women (36%) while 270 (28%) experienced physical violence. Findings also showed that women who are less educated and are not employed tend to experience more violence as depicted in results from Kawangware. This violence continues to kill, torture and maim the women and it is one of the most pervasive of human rights violations, denying women equality, security, dignity, self worth, and their right to enjoy fundamental freedoms. The damage wrought on women's physical and mental health by marital violence clearly show that the issue must be considered a problem that must be urgently addressed, one that is directly linked to public health and indirectly linked to social welfare and equality issues.

5.2.2. The Women's perception on marital violence was negative. On women's perception on marital violence, findings indicate that it was negative. This was indicated by the fact that most of the respondents felt that violence from a spouse is not a crime and therefore it can be tolerated. Only a small percentage felt that violence is a crime which would need to be reported and spoken about publicly. This therefore shows that women from the locations of the study (Kileleshwa and Kawangware) had an understanding of what constitutes marital violence. However, in spite of this most of them did not take violence from their spouses as a crime that should be reported or exposed. Therefore this seemed to foster the belief of a family being a secret system, where anything can happen, but should never be put outside for discussion or public debate. For this reason, such women perceived that marital violence should be condoned or tolerated. This perception seemed to be influenced by cultural practices and religious values that focus on maintaining the family above all else.

5.2.3. Several factors were cited as contributing to women's staying in violent marriages. From the findings lack of economic independence by the women was cited as the most important factor that contributed to women's decision to stay in violent marriages in Kileleshwa and Kawangware locations. Majority of the women relied on their partners because they were not economically active (55%). Religion and tradition was also cited as a factor that influences women's decision to stay in violent relationships (48%). Though religion does not condone violence, the fact that women are supposed to be submissive to their husbands may be misinterpreted by some women to justify their stay in the marriage. Some women interpret staying in a marriage even if violent as a virtue. Furthermore, this perception is influenced more by the socialization process by the society that teaches women to endure everything to save their marriages (45%). Kawangware women seemed to be more influenced by religion and tradition to stick to their husbands (50%). However, Kileleshwa women felt that lack of economic independence whereby the women were not economically active was the main reason why women put up with violence (56%).

5.2.4 The first hypothesis of the study that stated that there is no statistically significant difference in the perception of women towards marital violence based on their cultural beliefs was rejected. Results revealed that the perception of marital violence differed with women's cultural beliefs. Therefore, this showed that in Kileleshwa and Kawangware locations, there is a close association between cultural practices and women's perception on

marital violence. Results from respondents also revealed that cultural beliefs and practices played a great role in influencing women's perception on marital violence. A huge percentage of respondents (69.3%) agreed that their attitudes and beliefs on violence had been shaped by cultural beliefs and traditions. Women from different cultural backgrounds such as the Muslim, Hindu, rural and urban areas were all influenced largely by the cultural traditions of their areas of origin.

5.2.5 The second hypothesis of the study on perception of women towards marital violence based on their religious commitment was rejected. Findings were that there was a statistically significant association between religious commitment and women's perception on violence in the two locations. Women in both locations who were very committed to religion had a negative perception, while those who were somewhat committed had a positive perception. 45% of respondents also said that religion teaches women to endure everything to save their families, thus influencing their perception. Thus though women in Kileleshwa and Kawangware are not taught to put up with violence by religion, nevertheless it influences their thinking on violence because they felt like putting up with violence was a virtue. Therefore they did not see violence from the spouse as a crime violating their rights as human beings but a virtue.

5.2.6 The third hypothesis of the study had three components as follows:

- On the extent of violence based on socio-economic status, the hypothesis was accepted. This was because results showed that all women whether employed, self-employed or unemployed had all experienced marital violence. The proportion of women who had experienced marital violence did not differ according to their socio-economic status.
- On the extent of violence based on the level of education, the hypothesis was rejected. Results showed that women of primary and secondary education experienced more violence than women with college or university education.
- On the extent of violence based on age, the hypothesis was rejected. Results showed that the proportion of women who experienced marital violence differed in different age groups. Women aged below 40 years experienced more violence compared to women above 40 years.

This finding was important for the study. Though the study looked at women's perception on violence, it was important to also establish other component that could be contributing to the women's perception. In this regard, social economic status, level of education as well as age are also important factors that could help shed light on women's perceptions.

5.3 Conclusions

Based on the findings of the study, the following conclusions were made:

5.3.1 Marital violence within Kileleshwa and Kawangware locations does exist. The most common type of violence that the women experienced was psychological and economic violence. Results also revealed that women of primary and secondary education received the most violence while women of college or university level experienced least violence in their relationships. Moreover women from Kawangware experienced more physical violence compared their Kileleshwa counterparts who experienced higher episodes of psychological violence.

5.3.2 Women's perception on marital violence is negative. This was largely influenced by the cultural practices and religious beliefs. The fact that cultural practices and religious beliefs seemed to encourage women to tolerate marital violence may explain why some of the women stayed in marriages where violence was occurring.

5.3.3 Lack of economic independence contributes to Kileleshwa and Kawangware women to remain in violent marriages. The women felt that they would not be able to take care of their children if they left their husbands and for those who were employed they wanted to retain their current status which they felt they could not manage if they left their spouses.

5.3.4 Culture and tradition plays a role in shaping women's perception on marital violence thus promoting existence of marital violence within Nairobi County. This is because violence against women is seen as an acceptable gender norm.

5.3.5 Religion plays a role in influencing women's perception on marital violence especially on silence about marital violence and submission to their husbands.

5.3.6 Marital Violence cuts across the socio-economic status of women and all women regardless of their status experience violence from their partners. Women who were highly educated experienced less physical violence compared to those with lower educational qualifications. Younger women experienced more violence than older women did. This may explain why women in Kawangware experienced more physical violence than their Kileleshwa counterparts.

5.4 Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study the following recommendations are made:

- i) To deal with the various types of violence within Kileleshwa and Kawangware locations, the county government together with the National government, Non – governmental Organizations and community members should involve men in awareness campaigns and public education programmes on violence. All the stakeholders should develop appropriate programs to assist women recover from the violence and abuse they have suffered. Since men are part of the marital problems as findings indicated, it is imperative that they become part of the solution to ending marital violence. Men must therefore be involved in the awareness campaigns and public education programmes to reach to their fellow men. It is considered easier for men to work with their fellow men and be able to challenge misconceptions about marital violence. This means co-opting men’s organizations that are fighting against gender based violence such as Men for Gender Equality. This will help pass the message across to other men on the need to end marital violence. Local communities should also be mobilized to oppose marital violence in their midst. Actions taken by local people may include greater surveillance of domestic situations, offering support for victim survivors and challenging men to stop the violence. The County and National government should also offer counseling services for the victims of violence.
- ii) To address the issue of women perceptions on marital violence in the two locations, the Government, church, Non Governmental organizations and the media need to change the strategy for public advocacy. This is by creating and implementing strategies aimed at attitude, perceptions and behavior change towards marital violence. The prevailing perceptions on marital violence results from customs, and belief systems that give one gender more power over another. Awareness about these harmful customs is imperative in changing people’s perceptions, behaviors and attitudes towards marital violence. There is need to have an in depth public education programme discussing marital

violence and all forms of gender based violence by all stakeholders. This should be able to confront harmful traditions that promote marital violence and advocate for change of perceptions and attitudes that the customs foster. The various communities should also be encouraged to discard those customs and traditions that promote gender inequality. This can be done through socialization process whereby parents should avoid portraying girls as weaker sex compared to the men.

- iii) To address the lack of economic independence of the women in Kileleshwa and Kawangware locations, the government and non governmental organizations should identify needy women for financial support. Though the government has introduced the Uwezo fund for women all over Kenya, most of the women do not fully understand and access the fund. It is therefore important that the women are educated and trained on the availability of such funds that can help them improve their economic stability. This will then empower them economically to mitigate their vulnerability to marital violence. The government has also set aside the women enterprise fund to help women with needed funds for development and stimulate their economic independence. There is therefore need for capacity building of individuals through formal education and women's organizations to enable women become resource managers. Moreover, the government should put in place legal education, and legal mitigation on domestic violence. If women stay in violent marriages due to economic security, putting legal framework that would force equal division of property, and continued support of children by the husband should be enforced. In the recently passed marriage bill 2014, this has already been catered for. So the government should put programmes in place to educate women in Kileleshwa and Kawangware as well as the entire country on the applicability of the marriage bill 2014 in empowering women.
- iv) The government needs to increase responsibility of every actor in the fight against marital violence by enforcing the existing laws and policies. Women in kileleshwa and Kawangware cited issues of culture and traditions that foster marital violence. The Government should send strong signals that marital violence and gender based violence is not tolerated by meting out stiffer and tougher actions on offenders whenever there is violence. Chiefs and administrators in Kawangware and Kileleshwa locations and entire Nairobi County must be encouraged to spearhead social change by publicly condemning marital violence and other forms of gender based violence in their public meetings and uphold human rights of those who have been violated. This means taking appropriate actions such as referring the matter to the police for further action. This will

then send a signal to the community members that violence is not tolerated or condoned by the administration this will help deter people from committing violent acts. The ministry dealing with culture and social services should also encourage communities to do away with those aspects of their traditions that promote gender inequality. The culture of silence surrounding marital violence should also be discarded to enable women and girls reject any forms of violence

- v) The government should create a special policy and carry out relevant activities to strengthen socio-economic status of women, and for women's empowerment. Women need to be empowered through education, employment opportunities, legal literacy and right to inheritance. Improvement of women's access to and control over income and other property should be implemented as a long –term preventive measure to marital violence. The County government too should increase and strengthen the involvement and participation of girls and women in Nairobi. Social mobilization projects should be used for better provision of information and services to the population. There is also need for public to be educated on their rights as guaranteed by the constitution. This is because the new constitution guarantees equality between men and women in all social, economic and social spheres.
- vi) The National and County governments should cooperate with the church with the purpose of eliminating domestic violence. The church should play a greater role in offering interpretation and teachings on various aspect of religion such as submission that are used to promote oppression of women in society. There should also be cooperation with media for mainstreaming the gender equality, to facilitate change in the public attitude towards gender equality.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Research

The study recommends the following for further research:

- i) The indirect costs of domestic violence. The studies could focus on the costs associated with isolation, fear and lack of freedom, which affects battered women.
- ii) Studies can also be done on available services for domestic violence victims and the effectiveness of these services.
- iii) Study on how past traumas influences the women and how it degrades the ability to fight with the perpetrators when they become adults.
- iv) Study on marital violence against men.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: RESEARCH AUTHORISATION LETTER

REPUBLIC OF KENYA



NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Telegrams: "SCIENCETECH", Nairobi
Telephone: 254-020-241349, 2213102
254-020-310571, 2213123
Fax: 254-020-2213215, 318245, 318249
When replying please quote

P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA
Website: www.ncst.go.ke

Our Ref: NCST/RRI/12/1/SS-011/1576/4

Date:
21st November, 2011

Rose Njeri Gichuki Gachoka
Egerton University
P. O. Box 536 - 20115
EGERTON, NJORO

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*Women's perception on marital violence & its influence on wives staying in violent marriages: A study of Nairobi County, Kenya*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in Nairobi Province for a period ending 30th June, 2012.

You are advised to report to the Provincial Commissioner & the Provincial Director of Education, Nairobi Province, the District Commissioners & the District Education Officers, Westlands & Dagoretti Districts before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit one hard copy and one soft copy of the research report/thesis to our office.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'P.N. Nyakundi'.


P. N. NYAKUNDI
FOR: SECRETARY/CEO


Copy to:
The Provincial Commissioner
Nairobi Province

The Provincial Director of Education
Nairobi Province



APPENDIX B: RESEARCH PERMIT

<p style="text-align: center;">CONDITIONS</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. You must report to the District Commissioner and the District Education Officer of the area before embarking on your research. Failure to do that may lead to the cancellation of your permit 2. Government Officers will not be interviewed with-out prior appointment. 3. No questionnaire will be used unless it has been approved. 4. Excavation, filming and collection of biological specimens are subject to further permission from the relevant Government Ministries. 5. You are required to submit at least two(2)/four(4) bound copies of your final report for Kenyans and non-Kenyans respectively. 6. The Government of Kenya reserves the right to modify the conditions of this permit including its cancellation without notice <p>GPK60553mt110/2011</p>	 <p>REPUBLIC OF KENYA</p> <p>RESEARCH CLEARANCE PERMIT</p> <p>(CONDITIONS— see back page)</p>
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<p style="text-align: center;">PAGE 2</p> <p>THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:</p> <p>Prof./Dr./Mr./Mrs./Miss/Institution</p> <p>Rose Njeri G. Gachoka</p> <p>of (Address) Egerton University</p> <p>P.O BOX 536, EGERTON</p> <p>has been permitted to conduct research in</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Location.</p> <p>Nairobi District</p> <p>Nairobi Province</p> <p>on the topic; Women's perception on marital violence and its influence on wives stayin g in violent marriages: A study of Nairobi County, Kenya</p> <p>for a period ending 30th June2012</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">PAGE 3</p> <p>Research Permit No. NCST/RRI/12/1/SS011/157</p> <p>Date of Issue 21st November, 2011</p> <p>Fee received kshs.2000</p>  <p style="text-align: right;"><i>[Signature]</i></p> <p>Applicant's Secretary</p> <p>Signature National Council for Science and Technology</p>
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APPENDIX C: HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE

I am a student pursuing a degree in Doctor of Philosophy in counseling psychology at Egerton University. Am conducting a study on women's perception on marital violence and its influence on women staying in violent marriages in Nairobi County. Kindly respond to the questionnaire items as honestly as possible. Indicate your answers by filling in the spaces provided or ticking the answer as appropriate. Your details will be treated in confidence.

Section A: Background Information

1.1 What is your Age?

Under 30 30 – 40 40 – 50 50 – 60 60 – 70 Above 70

1.2 Name of estate _____

1.3 What is your employment status?

Employed Self-employed unemployed

1.4 What is your marital status?

Married Single Divorced Separated

1.5 If married or in a relationship what is your partner's employment status?

Employed Self-employed unemployed

1.6 How long have you been married or in a relationship?

Less than 5 years 5 – 10 years 15 – 20 years 20 – 30 years 40- 50 years

1.7 Level of Education.

College/ University level Secondary level Primary level

1.8 If married or in a relationship what is your partner's employment status?

Employed Self-employed Unemployed

1.9 What is your religion? _____

2.0 How would you gauge your level of commitment to religion?

Very committed somewhat committed Just attend services

2.1 District of Origin _____

Section B: Pertinent Information

1. The following statements reflect ways in which husbands try to control their wives. Indicate the extent to which you agree that men are justified to control their wives by selecting from the following

SA – Strongly Agree A – Agree D – Disagree SD – Strongly Disagree

Men are justified to:

Statements	SA	A	D	SD
1. Be angry or jealous if wife communicate with other men				
2. Refuse to visit her female friends				
3. Limit wife's contact with her family				
4. Insists on knowing where wife is at all times				
5. Prevent wife from working				
6. Prevent wife from making any family decisions				
7. Does not trust wife with any money				

2. The following are various attitudes towards marital violence. Show whether you agree or disagree with these statements by ticking from the following:

SA – Strongly Agree A – Agree D – Disagree SD – Strongly Disagree

A husband would be justified in hitting or beating his wife on each of the following:

Statements	SA	A	D	SD
1. If she burns food				
2. If she argues with him				
3. If she goes out without telling him				
4. If she neglects children				
5. If she refuses to have sexual relations with him				

3. The following statements reflects women's attitude to marital violence. Indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of them as it applies to you. Use the following key.

SA – Strongly Agree A – Agree D – Disagree SD – Strongly Disagree

Statements	SA	A	D	SD
1. Women should remain silent about marital violence				
2. Women are not capable of leading comfortable lives unless they are married				
3. Women should not take any action if violence is from husband				
4. Violence is culturally accepted and is a 'normal way of life'				
5. Church's teachings on women remaining submissive to husbands must be upheld always				

4. To what extent do you think that women’s perception on marital violence is influenced by religious and cultural practices?
 1) Great extent 2) Fair extent 3) No extent
5. Presented below are statements that indicate the various types of violence against women. Indicate the extent to which you agree with each item for the abuse that is common in your relationship.

VF – Very frequently **F** – frequently **O** –Often **R** – Rarely **N**-Never

Types of Abuse	VF	F	O	R	N
Beatings for any reason or for no reason at all					
Threatening with panga or weapons					
Neglect and rough handling or confinement					
Restricted movement to visit friends or neighbors					
Constant yelling, screaming, name calling, insults, humiliation or criticism					
Excessive jealousy					
Being deprived of love and affection					
Controlling your occupational choices					
Being denied control of financial resources					

6. As you can imagine, no simple questionnaire can assess whether a relationship shows signs of abuse. However, look at the following questions and see whether they may apply, either to current relationship or to a previous relationship.

Answer either: **VF**-Very Frequently **F**-Frequently **O**-Often **R**-Rarely **N**-Never

Does your partner:	VF	F	O	R	N
Make fun of you or make demeaning comments when other people are present?					
Tell you everything is your fault?					
Check up on you at work or other locations, to make certain that you are at the place where you said you would be?					
Make you feel that he would explode if you did the wrong thing?					
Act very jealous about your relationship with another person?					

Keep you from developing non-romantic relationship with other people?					
Try to do things you don't want to do?					
Criticize you frequently?					
Decide what you will wear, eat, or buy when you have expressed a preference for something else?					
Threaten to hurt you?					
Intentionally hurt you physically?					

7. The following are characteristics correlated with happy, stable marriages. If you are currently in a relationship, rate the following statements based on that relationship. In each case use the following scale:

SD – Strongly Disagree **D** – Disagree **UD** – undecided **A** – Agree **SA** – Strongly agree

Characteristics	SD	D	UD	A	SA
Communication skill and understanding					
Conflict resolution skills					
Trust in the other person					
Mutual support					
Flexibility					
Equal sharing of household tasks					
Equal sharing in decision making					

8. Given below are some statements about reasons why some women stay in violent marriages. Indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree by ticking from the following:

A-Agree **DA**- Disagree **U**-Undecided

Statements	A	DA	U
Every woman must depend on a male provider			
Most women are not economically active			
Religion and tradition teach women to stick to their husbands, to suffer in silence			
Women should endure everything to save "their" families			
Women have inadequate legal protection because issues involving husband and wife are culturally considered "private" and hence no one would like to interfere with private affairs of a home.			

9. Estimating the incidence of violence against women is very difficult. Women are silent on how often they have been abused. Given below are frequencies of how often abuse may occur. Indicate the extent to which abuse occurs in your relationship by ticking the appropriate answer from the choices below

Not frequent	
Fairly frequent	
Very frequent	
Rarely	
No abuse at all	

Thank you for your time and participation

APPENDIX D: COVAW INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

- 1.1 Name of the organization:
- 1.2 Gender
- 1.3 What is your job title in the organization:

Part II: Pertinent Information

- 1. a) How often do you receive case of marital violence in to your organization?
Which gender is most affected?
- b) Approximately how many victims of violence (women) does your organization handle per month?
- 2. How would you rate the women’s understanding of marital violence?

- 3. a) What are the most common types of violence against women that your organization handles?
.....
.....
.....
.....

- 4. Despite severe consequences of violence, some women choose to stay in marriages in which violence occur. Why do you think such women stay in the violent marriages?

- 5. a) In your view, are the women your organization handles aware of their abuse?
- b) Suggest ways in which women can be empowered to respond to violence against them.
.....
.....
.....
.....

6. a) From the various cases of gender-based violence that your organization deals with, would you say that there is a difference between the extent of abuse among women from different social economic status?

b).If yes, please indicate approximate number of women from

- i) Low income groups
- ii) Middle income groups
- iii) High income groups.....

Thank you for your time and participation.

APPENDIX E: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION SCHEDULE

1. Have you ever been abused in any way in your marriage? e.g. physically, psychologically, verbally or sexually?
2. In your own understanding, what is violence against wives?
3. What according to you are the factors that lead to violence against married women?
4. Have you ever left your spouse or tried to leave because of violence?
5. Why do you think women who are abused stay in violent marriages?
6. How does violence impact on the women?
7. What are the most common forms of violence perpetrated against women?
8. Do you think that Nairobi women understand what intimate partner violence is?
9. Are women from the different/ social economic status subjected to violence?
10. What would you suggest as way forward in addressing violence against women?
11. Given below are some statements about reasons why some women stay in violent marriages. Indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree

Statements
Every woman must depend on a male provider
Most women are not economically active
Religion and tradition teach women to stick to their husbands, to suffer in silence
Women should endure everything to save “their” families
Women have inadequate legal protection because issues involving husband and wife are culturally considered “private” and hence no one would like to interfere with private affairs of a home.

Thank you for your time and participation.

APPENDIX F: CRONBACH'S COEFFICIENT ALPHA FORMULA

K-R 20 FORMULA

$$KR^{20} = \frac{(K) (S^2 - \sum s^2)}{(S^2) (K-1)}$$

Where KR^{20} = Reliability Coefficient of internal consistency

K = Number of items used to measure the concept

S^2 = Variance of all scores

s^2 = Variance of individual items

APPENDIX G: REQUIRED SIZE FOR RANDOMLY CHOSEN SAMPLE

Table for determining needed size of a randomly chosen sample from a given finite population of N cases such that the sample proportion P will be within plus or minus.

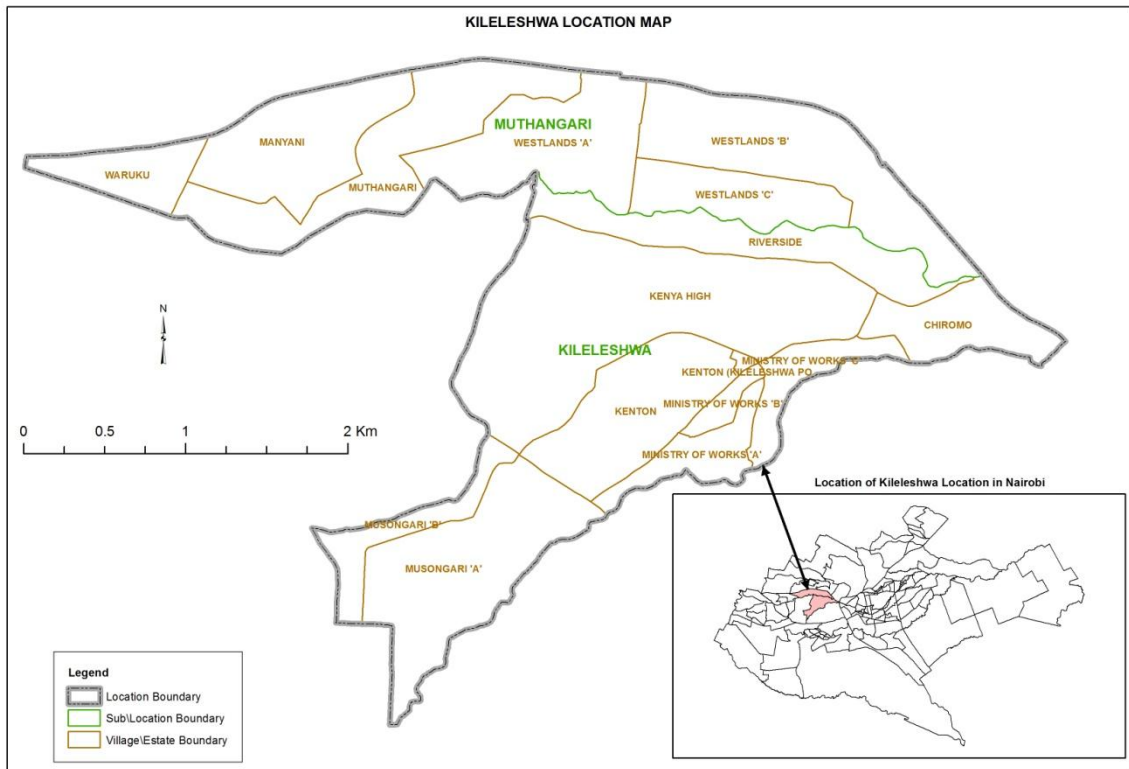
.05 of the population proportion P with a 95 percent level of confidence.

N	S	N	S	N	S
10	10	220	140	1200	291
15	14	230	144	1300	297
20	19	240	48	1400	302
25	24	250	152	1500	306
30	28	260	155	1600	310
35	32	270	159	1700	313
40	36	280	162	1800	317
45	40	290	165	1900	320
50	44	300	169	2000	322
55	48	320	175	2200	327
60	52	340	181	2400	3310
65	56	360	186	2600	335
70	59	380	191	2800	338
75	63	400	196	3000	341
80	66	420	201	3500	346
85	70	440	205	4000	351
90	73	460	210	4500	354
95	76	480	214	5000	357
100	80	500	217	6000	361
110	86	550	226	7000	364
120	92	600	234	8000	367
130	97	650	241	9000	368
140	103	700	248	10000	370
150	108	750	254	15000	375
160	113	800	260	20000	377
170	118	850	265	30000	379
180	123	900	269	40000	380
190	127	950	274	50000	381
200	132	1000	278	75000	382
210	136	1100	285	100000	384

N = population size; S = Sample size

(Source: Kathuri and Pals 1993).

APPENDIX H: KILELESHWA MAP



APPENDIX I: KAWANGWARE MAP

