

Forms of Intimate Partner Violence among Women in the Informal Sector in Nakuru Municipality, Kenya

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ABSTRACT: Different forms of Intimate Partner violence are experienced in various cultures and affect people across societies irrespective of their economic status. Similar experiences have also been reported in Kenya as shown by the results of this study whose focus was to determine the forms of Intimate Partner violence among women in the informal sector in Nakuru Municipality, Kenya. The study employed *ex-post facto* research design to undertake inquiry into the occurrence of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) while simple random sampling was used to select 176 participants who were victims of intimate partner violence and had registered the violence in the five rescue institutions. The researcher administered questionnaire and focus group discussions were used to collect data. The study found out that women experience different forms of IPV which included physical, economic, sexual and verbal. Each of these forms of IPV was further investigated using descriptive statistics and the findings revealed that about 62% of physical cases of violence were due to slapping while in economic violence monitoring expenditure was most common at 52.3%. Regarding sexual violence and verbal violence the study revealed that 61.4% of women experienced forced sexual violence and 58.5% experienced name calling respectively. The findings revealed the most common cases of IPV in each form of violence which should therefore constitute areas of intervention in undertaking measures to reduce its occurrence.

KEYWORDS: Intimate Partner Violence, Women, Informal Sector, Kenya

1 INTRODUCTION

Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) is a common practice which adversely affects relationships among intimate partners. It occurs when a partner or ex partner attempts to physically, economically, sexually, verbally or psychologically dominate another. It is the use of force or threat by a partner for the purpose of coercing and intimidating a woman into submission. The violence often refers to violence between spouses but can also include cohabitants and non married intimate partners. The same forms of IPV have been reported by O'Connell (1994) to be commonly experienced among intimate partners. The author further reported that these forms of IPV can occur at various stages of intimate partner relationships ranging from dating and courtship to old stage of marriage. In Kenya for example studies conducted in 2008 revealed that 75% of women reported that they have been abused by their intimate partners MHR (2010). Abuse can manifest itself in any of the aforementioned forms of violence and can therefore affect intimate partner relationship. A survey carried out in the USA by Bachman, Ronet and Saltzman, (1995) revealed that women are about six times as likely as men to experience IPV. Other studies in Barbados revealed that 30% of women surveyed experienced IPV while in Canada it was 29%. In the other parts of the world such as Egypt, New Zealand, Swaziland and the USA, the respective experiences were 34%, 35%, 21% and 22%, other countries such as Nicaragua revealed the same trend (Tonia & Hamel 2007). Elsewhere in Tanzania, cases of IPV have been encountered as well. This was revealed following a study in which 21% of 1444 women reported cases of IPV over a period of 12 months while 26% reported that the violence can be sporadic in a relationship (McCloskey, Williams and Larsen, 2005). In this study, physical abuse and forced intercourse were reported to be the most commonly experienced forms of IPV.

2 LITERATURE

Each of the forms of violence may be executed through a number of cases. For example physical violence manifests itself through hitting, slapping, punching, choking, pushing, burning and other types of contact that result in physical injury to the victim. This can cause serious injuries and long lasting health problems as reported by Ondicho (2000) and Wamalwa (1987). Similarly Bonomi, Thompso, Anderso, Reid, Carrell, Dimer, and Rivara (2006) reported pronounced negative health outcomes for abused women when compared to their non-abused counterparts. In the case of economic violence a victim is abused when one intimate partner has control over the other partner's access to economic resources. It may involve preventing a partner from resource acquisition, limiting the amount of resources used or by exploiting one's economic resources (Boyle, Robinson & Atkinson, 2004). Areas where economic violence is experienced include preventing the victim from obtaining education, finding employment, maintaining or advancing their careers, and acquiring assets. Others include, closely monitoring how the victim spends money, spending victim's money without permission and completely spending a partner's savings (Fagan & Jeffrey, 1995). Another form of violence that was investigated in this study is sexual violence which involves any situation in which force or threat is used to obtain participation in unwanted sexual activity. The same sentiments are expressed by (Follingstad & DeHart, 2000). Cases of sexual violence include forced sex, bullied to have sex, inappropriately touched, compelled to watch sexual act and refused to use birth control. Cases of sexual abuse as reported in Health People (2010) revealed that among 486 women seeking abortion, about 40% of them reported sexual abuse. This is an indication of the magnitude of the problem because under normal circumstances victims shy away from going public whenever it occurs especially among married couples. The report by (KNBS, 2010) in which 13% of married women were raped by the spouses but never reported confirms this. The fourth form of IPV that was investigated is verbal violence which includes name calling, scolding and insulting statements. This form of violence is more often than not casually used but has degrading effects. This is confirmed by Anderson (2001) where the author emphasized that the partner becomes a target of angry outbursts, sarcasm, or cool indifference. Such outbursts have long lasting effects on the victims.

2.1 FORMS OF IPV

According to Tjaden and Thoennes (2000), IPV cuts across all socio-economic and cultural boundaries and is seen in both developing and developed countries. IPV is the systematic, intentional use of physical, emotional and/or sexual abuse that one person in a relationship exerts over their partner in order to maintain power and control. Sattler (2000) argued that, abusive relationships cause devastating conditions most often labelled as "power and control". That is, the abuser takes all power in the relationship in order to control the partner. The power may include controlling the finances; keeping the car keys; determining what friendships a partner may have; and all of the other small, day-to-day experiences that are hardly noticed until their effects have reached a damaging extent. Bonomi, Thompso, Anderso, Reid, Carrell, Dimer, and Rivara (2006) reported pronounced negative health outcomes for abused women when compared to their non-abused counterparts. The negative outcomes included smoking, engaging in heavy drinking, and major and minor depressive symptoms. Coker, Davis, Arias, Desai, Sanderson, Brandt and Smith (2002) also reported poor perceived mental and physical health, substance abuse, symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, anxiety, lowered self esteem and suicide among abused women. With respect to physical health, IPV victims are more likely to report joint disease, current asthma, activity limitations, and HIV risk factors than non-IPV victims (Breiding, Black & Ryan, 2005).

The common forms of IPV as presented by O'Connell (1994) are physical, economic, religious, verbal, sexual and psychological violence. These forms of IPV occur at various stages of intimate partner relationships ranging from dating and courtship to old stage of marriage. Any of the forms of violence can influence intimate partner relationship and therefore performance at workplace. The distinct types of IPV namely physical, economic sexual and verbal It is important to note that all these forms of IPV are interrelated and most often occur concurrently. Research suggests that physical violence in intimate relationships is often accompanied by psychological abuse and, accompanied by sexual abuse in one-third to over one half of the cases (Leibrich, Paulin, & Ransom, 1995).

2.1.1 PHYSICAL VIOLENCE

Physical abuse includes hitting, slapping, punching, choking, pushing, burning and other types of contact that result in physical injury to the victim. Physical abuse can also include behaviours such as denying the victim of medical care when needed, depriving the victim of sleep or other functions necessary to live, or forcing the victim to engage in drug/alcohol use against his/her will. If a person is suffering from any physical harm then they are experiencing physical abuse. This pain can be experienced at any level. It can also include inflicting physical injury onto other targets, such as children or pets, in order to cause psychological harm to the victim (U.S. Department of Justice, 2007).

Physical violence involves doing what causes pain and physical body damage to another. It may include assault, physical aggression, torture, rape, wild husband battering and death. It is the most common form of violence in Kenya. Although disagreement and debate about the extent of IPV in Kenya is not clear or rages on, there is an underlying consensus that the incidence of men being beaten, has increased quite substantially in the last few decades (Ondicho, 1997; Wamalwa, 1987). Some cases have captured public attention due to various reasons namely; the sheer magnitude of the battering resulting into multiple injuries or murders; the high status of the victim or the perpetrator because the battering was horrific in other respects.

Battering has been determined as a significant risk factor for a variety of physical health problems treated in outpatient, primary care settings, as well as in emergency departments (Ondicho, 1997; Wamalwa, 1987). The authors further reported that injuries or the aftermath of injuries from abuse such as pain, broken bones, facial trauma, and tendon or ligament can be followed up and verified in outpatient settings. Because battered women do not frequently report untreated loss of consciousness as a result of abuse, the chronic headaches often described by battered women may be inadequately diagnosed. Subsequently, these may affect the women's productive work, hence the need for follow up in outpatient settings.

2.1.2 ECONOMIC VIOLENCE

Economic violence is a form of abuse when one intimate partner has control over the other partner's access to economic resources. Economic abuse may involve preventing a spouse from resource acquisition, limiting the amount of resources used by the victim, or by exploiting economic resources of the victim (Boyle, Robinson & Atkinson, 2004). The motive behind preventing a spouse from acquiring resources is to diminish victim's capacity to support herself, thus forcing her to depend on the perpetrator financially, which includes preventing the victim from obtaining education, finding employment, maintaining or advancing their careers, and acquiring assets. In addition, the abuser may also put the victim on an allowance, closely monitor how the victim spends money, spend victim's money without her consent and creating debt, or completely spend victim's savings to limit available resources (Fagan & Jeffrey, 1995). Economic violence involves denying a person's legitimate economic right and situation. In Kenya, husbands most often control the family finances and may dictate what their wives should buy or not buy (Ondicho, 1997; Wamalwa, 1987).

2.1.3 SEXUAL ABUSE

Sexual abuse is any situation in which force or threat is used to obtain participation in unwanted sexual activity. Coercing a person to engage in sexual activity against their will, even if that person is a spouse or intimate partner with whom consensual sex has occurred, is an act of aggression and violence. Sexual violence is defined by World Health Organization (WHO) as: any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed, against a person's sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work (Follingstad & DeHart, 2000).

Marital rape, also known as spousal rape, is non-consensual sex in which the perpetrator is the victim's spouse. As such, it is a form of partner rape, domestic violence and sexual abuse. In the US spousal rape is illegal in all 50 states. In Canada, spousal rape was outlawed in 1983, when several legal changes were made, including changing the rape statute to sexual assault, and making the laws gender neutral. Criminalization of spousal rape in Australia began with the state of New South Wales in 1981, followed by all other states from 1985 to 1992. New Zealand outlawed spousal rape in 1985 and Ireland in 1990. In England and Wales, spousal rape was made illegal in 1991, when the marital rape exemption was abolished by the Appellate Committee of the House of Lords, (O'Grady, 2007). In Kenya marital rape is socially and culturally tolerated and as such has not been covered in the Kenyan legislation explicitly. However, the Demographic and Health Survey carried out in Kenya in 2008-09 reported that about 13% of married women are raped by the spouses but they don't report (KNBS, 2010). This is because they are afraid to report the violence since they rely financially on their husbands for their upkeep and children's maintenance. Others feel unable to speak out due to fear and humiliation.

Categories of sexual violence include: use of physical force to compel a person to engage in a sexual act against his or her will, whether or not the act is completed; attempted or completed sex act involving a person who is unable to understand the nature or condition of the act, unable to decline participation, or unable to communicate unwillingness to engage in the sexual act, e.g., because of underage immaturity, illness, disability, or the influence of alcohol or other drugs, or because of intimidation or pressure. This involves having sex with unwilling person. It is often accompanied by physical and emotional abuse. Most often the victim is bullied into complying with abusers demand to engage in sexual act. Healthy People (2010) further reported that among 486 women seeking abortion, about 40% of them reported sexual abuse.

The true extent of sexual violence in accordance with the WHO definition is unknown, though varied studies highlight its incidences as reported in WHO (2005). The report provides the first comparative data across the world including three African countries, namely Namibia (the capital), Tanzania (a rural and urban setting) and Ethiopia (a rural setting). According to the report, between 16% and 59% of women from Africa had ever experienced sexual violence from intimate partners although they hardly report it as noted in the Kenyan case (KNBS, 2010). The report further shows that between 18% and 43% of younger women of less than 15 years are more likely to report forced sex in their first encounter. Contrary to the married women, the younger unmarried ones report such cases because the society doesn't allow it and legally it is treated as rape case which is an offence.

Ondicho (2000) stated that there is no representative data on sexual violence that existed in Kenya until the publication of Kenya Demographic and Health Survey in 2003. In this study 29% women reported experiencing sexual violence in the year foregoing the survey, and the highest proportion was among women aged 20–29 years. In the recent years, rapid disintegration of traditional socio-cultural norms and values that used to regulate wife beating, such as, the transformation from extended to nuclear family, urbanization, and modernization along with the newly introduced wage economy, education, and migration have altered the circumstances under which the violence occurs. Adepoju and Oppong (1994) stated that the education of women, the increase in female labor force participation, the improved status of women and the diminishing role of the extended family in resolving marital disharmony render them vulnerable to violence.

In East Africa, cases of IPV are also common as reported in a case study carried out in Tanzania (McCloskey et al. 2005). In this study 1444 women with partners were interviewed. The results showed that 21% of the women reported having experienced IPV such as physical abuse and sexual violence. The study further revealed that 26% of the women reported that IPV occurs anytime. In Kenya, studies conducted in 2008 revealed that 75% of women reported that they have been abused by their partners MHR (2010).

3 METHOD

3.1 THE STUDY LOCATION

This study was conducted in Nakuru Municipality of Nakuru County Kenya. This is situated within the Great Rift Valley. The county is the home of Lake Nakuru known for its large number of flamingoes. Agriculture, manufacturing and tourism are the main economic activities. Due to the high agricultural potential in the environs of the town, agro based industries have flourished in the town providing opportunities for entrepreneurship. Dairy farming is another major economic activity which has also attracted increased attention. The municipality is also a center for various retail businesses that provide goods and services to the manufacturing and agricultural sectors. These production sectors show the high potential of informal and formal employment. As a result of these, production institutions of small and large scale in both formal and informal sector have emerged providing opportunities for women engagement. On the other hand, there has been an increase of IPV in the Municipality. This is evidenced by the centers where IPV management is done. Examples are Filadelfia Crisis Centre, Tumaini Jipya Centre, St. Gabriel Learning Centre, NALEP, Catholic Diocese of Nakuru and Lanet Deanery.

3.2 STUDY POPULATION AND SAMPLE SELECTION

The study population for this research was drawn from the institutions in Nakuru Municipality dealing with victims of IPV. These include: Filadelfia Crisis Centre, Tumaini Jipya Centre, St. Gabriel Learning Centre, NALEP, Catholic Diocese of Nakuru. Purposive sampling was used to select the rescue centers which deal with women who have undergone IPV. The participants of the study were women who had experienced IPV and were participating in productive work in the informal sector. A sample size of 176 was used. To get representative sample, the accessible population was stratified based on the rescue institutions and proportionate simple random sampling was used to determine the number of participants from each strata. Proportionate simple random sampling procedure was used to select the participants for focus group discussions. This was carried out in two groups of 10 participants each giving a total of 20 participants for the focus group discussion. The 20 participants were drawn proportionately from the five institutions using the percentage proportion.

3.3 STUDY INSTRUMENTS

The study used researcher-administered questionnaires and focus group discussions to determine the various forms of intimate partner violence as experienced by women in the informal sector within Nakuru municipality. The use of the researcher's administered questionnaire and focus group discussions helped in triangulation of the results. In addition to this, they facilitated information flow from the respondents given that they were likely to comprehend issues differently.

Furthermore the researcher administered questionnaires provided in-depth information important for the study. During focus group discussions some respondents felt encouraged to speak after hearing what their fellow women were going through. This made them open up and share their experiences freely within the forum.

DATA ANALYSIS

The study collected both qualitative and quantitative data, which was then coded organized and cleaned for any errors and keyed into the SPSS programme. Content analysis was used for qualitative data, which was then coded and organized into thematic areas. Quantitative data was analyzed using frequency distribution and presented using frequency table.

4 RESULTS

The four forms of physical violence which were found to be commonly experienced among women in Nakuru Municipality are Physical, sexual, economic and verbal. Investigation on physical violence revealed 10 common cases. The frequency of occurrence of these cases as was found out during the study is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Physical Forms of Intimate Partner Violence

Type of physical violence the women were exposed to	Frequency	Percentage
Slapping	109	61.9
Pushing	73	41.5
Punching	70	39.8
Pulling	64	36.4
Kicking	60	34.1
Threatened with weapon	57	32.4
Denial of medical care	42	23.9
Scratching	29	16.5
Burning	23	13.1
Forced to engage in drugs	19	10.8

n=176

Majority of the respondents interviewed had experienced more than one type of physical violence from their intimate partners. A large majority of the women 61.9%, had experienced slapping from their intimate partners, while 39.8% had experienced physical violence in the form of punching and 41.5% had been pushed by their partners. Severe cases such as threats using a weapon were experienced by 32.4% of women. Furthermore, 23.9% of the women confessed of being denied medical care by their own partners.

Regarding economic violence, women were requested to provide responses of their experiences in various cases. The results are given in Table 2.

Table 2: Types of Economic Violence Reported by the Women

Types of economic violence	Frequency	Percentage
Prevented from gaining education	39	22.2
Prevented from finding employment	60	34.1
Prevented from advancing or maintain career	59	33.5
Prevented from acquiring assets	74	42
Partner monitors how you spend money	92	52.3
Partner spent your money without consent	88	50
Partner spent your savings	88	50

n=176

The Table shows seven cases of economic violence experienced in Nakuru Municipality. Among the respondents, 52.3% indicated that their own partners strictly monitored how they spent money, meaning that the women had to account for every cent they had spent on household and other expenditures. In many cases, because of this strict monitoring, the women lacked the initiative to make financial decisions. 22.2% of the women were prevented by partners from pursuing education; leading to lack of skills required for employment ability and reduced knowledge on productive and economic matters.

Sexual violence was also investigated and it was reported that it occurs among the intimate partners by both the married and the single. The women were asked to provide information on the cases of sexual violence that they had experienced and the results are given in Table 3.

Table 3: Types of Sexual Violence in intimate relationship Reported by the Women

Type of sexual violence	Frequency	Percentage
Forced to have sex	108	61.4
Inappropriately touched	74	42.0
Compelled to watch sexual acts	44	25.0
Refused to use birth control	64	36.4

n=176

The results in the Table show that 61.4% of respondents were forced to have sex at one point or another by their intimate partners. This percentage was closely followed by 42% of the women who were inappropriately touched, while 25% of the women indicated that their own partners had forced them to watch sexual acts of one nature or another.

Regarding verbal violence, three different types were reported as shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Types of Verbal Violence Experienced Among Intimate Partners

Type of verbal violence	Frequency	Percentage
Name calling	103	58.5
Scolded	96	54.5
Insulting statements	97	55.1

The Table shows that majority of the women 58.5% had experienced degrading name calling, while 54.5% of the women had been scolded by their partners which was the least. However the variation was small as shown.

5 DISCUSSION

The results of this study focused on cases experienced in the four forms of IPV, namely physical, economic, sexual and verbal violence. Among the ten cases of physical violence that were found to be commonly experienced among women in Nakuru Municipality, slapping was generally found to be the most common one. Similar findings have also been reported by Johnson *et al.*, (2003) who indicated that slapping as a type of violence was reported by a majority of women in a study carried out in North England. Slapping could have been common because it is more of a reflex action. Forced engagement in drugs emerged as the least form of physical violence 10.8%. This can be explained by the fact that it is an emerging form of violence and that drug abuse is outlawed and culturally not tolerated. Furthermore the aftermath can also be proved hence the perpetrators exercise it with restraint.

Economic violence as argued by Boyle *et al* (2004) takes different forms namely, preventing a spouse from resource acquisition, limiting the amount of resources used by the partner, or by exploiting economic resources of the partner. Among the different forms of economic violence that were identified in this study, monitoring expenditure by abusive partner emerged was the highest at 52.3% in comparison to the seven other types. The purpose of monitoring the victim's expenditure is to limit the amount of resources used by the victim as argued by Boyle *et al.* (2004). The least form of economic violence experienced by women was preventing victim from acquiring education which was 22.2%. The results show that comparatively fewer men prevent their partners from acquiring education. This can be explained by the fact that education improves literacy level and therefore is more acceptable. Furthermore the results revealed that prevention of career development and finding employment were experienced by a number of women at 34.1% and 35.5% respectively.

These types of economic violence may have been used by the abuser as a way of controlling their partners. This may be because career development enhances the ability of the partner to find employment which empowers them in terms of resource acquisition thus giving them the potential to exercise independence in a relationship. This challenges the male dominance in a relationship as it will most likely diminish his powers to control the partner (Chung *et al.*, 2008).

With regard to sexual violence, the results revealed that majority of respondents, 61.4% were forced to have sex at one point or another by their intimate partners. This percentage was closely followed by 42% of the women who were inappropriately touched, while 25% of the women indicated that their own partners had forced them to watch sexual acts of one nature or another. These results are contrary to the findings by the Kenya demographic and health survey carried out in 2008-2009 (KNBS) which revealed that about 13% are raped by their intimate partners. The high percentage, almost five times higher, revealed in this study may be due to the fact that this study was based on the actual interviews of the affected partners. Also the conducive environment created by the researcher may have enabled the participants to speak freely knowing that the information they were to be treated with confidentiality.

The other three forms of sexual violence namely, inappropriately touched, compelled to watch sexual acts and refused to use birth control have relatively low percentages of 42%. Compelled to watch sexual acts is the lowest at 25% and is likely to be so due to the common position usually taken by the partners to discourage the same in the family. Regarding birth control, most female partners practice it as a family planning method and therefore there is minimal force applied by the partner regarding its use.

Although sexual violence within intimate relationships is an issue among intimate partners and has been recognized and outlawed in developed countries (O'Grady, 2007), in developing countries including Kenya, the situation is different. Instead, it is governed by customary laws which don't recognize it as an issue among intimate partners and as a result most cases are not reported (KNBS, 2010). The magnitude of this type of sexual violence is therefore not known to the public as it is couple affair. Therefore the revelation of this study gives an indication of the extent to which it occurs hence the need for a framework to manage it. Verbal abuse was the other form of intimate partner violence that was investigated by the study. The results of the study revealed three different types of verbal violence, namely name calling, scolding and insulting statements. Majority of the respondents about 58.5% had experienced name calling, while 54.5% of the respondents had been scolded by their partners. According to Anderson (2001), the victim of verbal abuse is often the target of angry outbursts, sarcasm, or cool indifference which may cause health problems.

6 CONCLUSION

Based on the findings from the study findings IPV occurred in the informal sector through different manifestations. The women in the informal sector in Nakuru municipality mainly experience physical, economic, sexual and verbal violence in their intimate relationships. These forms of violence manifest themselves in several cases. Among the physical cases of violence slapping was the most common in informal sector in Nakuru Municipality compared with forced to engage in drugs which were the least common. In the case of economic violence monitoring how the partner spends the money was the most common while prevention from gaining education was the least common. Regarding sexual violence, forced sex was the most common compared partners compelled to watch sexual which was least common. Concerning verbal violence, name calling was the most common form of IPV compared to scolding which was least common.

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