VIOLENT RELATIONS

An ecological analysis of factors associated with intimate partner violence in

Kampala, Uganda

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this qualitative case study was to add to the understanding of why intimate partner violence against women perpetrated by a male partner occurs in Kampala, Uganda. The study combined a feminist and a family violence perspective by using an integrative ecological framework which structured the analysis around four levels: societal, community, individual/relationship, and individual level. The methods used were interviews and document analysis. A feminist analysis of the societal level found that rigid and deeply rooted gender roles and norms, harmful cultural traditions and practices, a somewhat weak legal climate, and negative attitudes, values, and beliefs towards women, made women vulnerable of being exposed to violence. A combined feminist and family violence analysis of the community, relationship/family, and individual level found that certain factors only triggered violence if a man had been socialised to have negative attitudes towards women. In the instances where men had been socialised to disrespect women, power differentiations between women and men, poverty, alcohol abuse, and intergenerational transmission of violence were strongly associated with the use of violence.

Key Words: Violence against women, intimate partner violence, male perpetrators, feminist perspectives, family violence perspectives, and integrative ecological framework.

[Word Count 14, 987]

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ABBREVIATIONS

CFPU	Child and Family Protection Unit
GBV	Gender Based Violence
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
MoGLSD	Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PLA	Platform for Labour Action
TFR	Total Fertility Rate
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UDHS	Uganda Demographic and Health Survey
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
WHO	World Health Organization

DEFINITIONS

INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

IPV is defined as all actions of physical, psychological, economic, and sexual violence by a current or former partner against another, within both hetero- and homosexual relationships. The term partner covers dating partners, cohabitant partners, as well as spouses (WHO 2010:11; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2013; Duvvury, Grown & Redner 2004:13; Wagman et al. 2013). Physical violence may include but is not limited to kicking, hitting, beating, slapping, choking, pushing, burning, and assaulting with weapons. Psychological violence includes insulting, demeaning, isolating, threatening, and abandoning behaviours. Sexual violence includes sexual coercion, rape, sexual harassment, and refusing condom use. Finally, economic violence includes control over money, and access and depravation of material goods (Duvvury, Grown & Redner 2004:13). IPV is also referred to as domestic violence, spousal abuse, and partner violence (Abramsky et al. 2012:2). While I used the term IPV, all the respondents used the term domestic violence.

GENDER

Gender is the aspects of men and women referred to as social constructs: gender roles and attributes viewed by the society as suitable for either sex (WHO 2014). Gender is constructed from different cultural and societal values that shape people into different masculine and feminine identities (Oakley 1972). In this study, gender is viewed as a social and a contextual construction of different feminine and masculine identities accepted by the society.

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1. INTRODUCTION

> 66 *When I grew up I used to ask my mum 'but mum I saw you when I was young and you could fight with our dad and getting scars on the body but you would not go.'* - DANIEL, police at the child and family protection unit (CFPU)

The most common form of violence against women is intimate partner violence (IPV). Characterised as a violation of human rights, IPV is a global public health and social concern with implications for the mental and physical well-being of people and the socioeconomic well-being of the nation (WHO 2013a: Cho 2012:2666; Dillon et al. 2013; Duvvury, Grown & Redner 2004). Depression is widespread among women exposed to IPV (Dillon et al. 2013). Other mental implications are post-traumatic stress disorder, suicide/self-harm, and sleep disorder. Physical health outcomes refer to functional and chronic physical health conditions such as pain, fatigue, loss of hearing and eyesight, respiratory conditions, diabetes, iron deficiency, and cardiovascular and gastrointestinal diseases (Dillon et al. 2013). The effects of violence also expand over the socioeconomic well-being of the nation, often discussed as direct and indirect costs. Direct costs are the costs of responding to and preventing IPV. Indirect costs are the loss of value in services and goods due to decreased productivity, increased absenteeism, and decreased participation in the labour force (Duvvury, Grown & Redner 2004).

Multi-country studies on physical and/or sexual violence in intimate relations show that between 15% and 71% of women in developing countries have been exposed to violence (WHO 2010:5). Africa[1] is one of the continents with the highest prevalence of IPV where 37% of women have been exposed to physical and/or sexual violence (WHO 2013b:17). In comparison to the average worldwide and African prevalence rate, Uganda stands out as one of the most affected countries. In Uganda, 51% of women have been exposed to physical and/or sexual violence and 60% of women have been exposed to physical, psychological, and/or sexual violence by an intimate partner. In Kampala, 53% of women have been exposed to any type of violence by an intimate partner (Uganda Bureau of Statistics [UBOS] & ICF International 2012:256).

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[1] In WHO's Africa region, excluding Morocco, Libya, Tunisia, Egypt, Somalia and Sudan.

IPV has, during the last few decades, become more frequently researched, generated a vast body of literature, and been subject to a great theoretical debate (Barner & Carney 2011). The debate is rooted in two different theoretical perspectives' view of the role of gender. Feminist theories emphasise women's subordination to men and use the intimate couple as the unit of analysis, whereas family violence theories view gender as only one structural causal factor among others and use the family as the unit of analysis (Lawson 2012).

The theoretical debate brings to light an issue which was clearly present during the fieldwork process; each theoretical side's shortcoming in separately capturing and explaining the complexity of IPV. While family violence theories provide an explanation as to why the individual man becomes violent through theories based on social learning, alcohol abuse, and stress, they fail to capture the persistency of women as the target (Schechter 1982). Similarly, feminist theories have their shortcomings. While emphasising gender hierarch and male dominance, feminist theories are critiqued for failing to give an explanation as to why some men are violent towards women while others are not (Heise 1998). The first shortcoming is illustrated by Maria, an international Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) programme officer, who brings up that women regardless of background are so frequently exposed to IPV:

> *"[T]he urban context is [...] very interesting because you'll find a unique situation whereby even highly educated women, professional women who are working who have a lot of money will still experience domestic violence."*

The second shortcoming is illustrated by Eric, a programme officer at a national NGO, who stresses the importance of acknowledging that while some men are violent towards their partners, other men are not:

> *"[Y]ou can be a drunk, you can be a poor person and you may not use violence. You can be a rich person and you don't use violence and also you can be a rich person and use violence."*

Maria and Eric both highlight the two shortcomings that have been raised since the start of the theoretical debate, but which still rarely are being analysed and combined in one single study (see Heise 1998). Separately, the two different theoretical perspectives can only explain part of the complexity of IPV. Combined, as the two theoretical perspectives are in this study, they enable for a more comprehensive and holistic analysis.

Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of the study is to add to the understanding of and explore why IPV against women perpetrated by a male partner occurs in Kampala, Uganda. It is therefore important to both study why women are particularly exposed to violence and factors associated with why some men are violent whereas others are not. The theoretical framework, the integrated ecological framework, enables for an analysis on a societal, community, relationship/family, and individual level and is applied to holistically answer the research questions:

> *Why are women so persistently exposed to intimate partner violence?*

> *Why are some men at a higher risk of perpetrating intimate partner violence than others?*

Demarcation

Due to homosexuality being illegal in Uganda and due to that openness of homosexuality is compromising the safety of people, the study focuses on IPV within heterosexual relations. The study focuses on couples living together, mainly married couples, as this was the main focus of the respondents during the interviews. In Uganda, both women *and* men are exposed to IPV. Nevertheless, women have significantly and consistently increased likelihood of experiencing all different forms of violence (UBOS & ICF International 2012). Hence, this study will focus on women exposed to IPV. To narrow the scope, the study focuses on women between the ages of 15 to 49. Many women are married at a young age and most data on IPV within marriage therefore starts at 15 years, as well as goes up to 49 years.

Disposition

The second chapter provides information on the legal climate and of IPV in Uganda. The third chapter outlines the methodology of the study and its strengths and weaknesses. It discusses reliability and validity, as well as presents ethical considerations. The fourth chapter, the literature review, guides the reader through IPV's gender bias, inconsistency of results, and the debate between feminist and family violence perspectives. The fifth chapter presents the integrative ecological framework, how it will be applied, and main critiques against its use. The sixth chapter explores why women are so persistently exposed to IPV as well as factors that increase the risk for men to use violence. The seventh and final chapter concludes and situates the main findings from the study within previous research.

2. Contextual Insight

This chapter presents the reader with a contextual background to Uganda's legislation on IPV and women's rights and the prevalence and frequency of IPV.

Legislation Protecting Women

Uganda is a society with strong patriarchal customary beliefs and practices where the boy child is highly valued (Beyeza-Kashesya 2010; Asiimwe 2009). Nonetheless, emphasis is being placed on enhancing gender equality, among other things, through improving legislature and ensuring women as members of parliament. As per the 2011 election, 131 out of the 375 seats were won by female candidates (QuotaProject 2014). The 1995 Constitution ensures protection of women's rights and equal opportunities in all spheres of life, freedom from discrimination, women's right to vote, participation in decision making, and more equal access to and control of resources. It also outlaws traditions that are harmful to the well-being, dignity and status of women (Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995). In 2010, the Ugandan government approved a bill against domestic violence and for the first time made violence between couples punishable with imprisonment (The Domestic Violence Act 2010). The Culture Policy acknowledges that some cultural practices are harmful to women and lead to marginalisation (The Uganda Culture Policy 2006). Uganda is also signatory to and has ratified international legislation protecting and promoting women's human rights and rights to gender equality[2] (Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development [MoGLSD] 2007:7). Uganda has furthermore adopted several gender sensitive documents[3]. While there are numerous laws, policies, and action plans protecting women's rights - and some gender specific desks within for instance the police department - there are still gaps between policy and practice, lack of law enforcements, and few convictions (MoGLSD 2007:8; Uganda Police 2011).

IPV in Uganda

Uganda has a violent past as well as present. Violence in schools, violence among youth, violence connected to former soldiers and child soldiers, institutional violence, and violence

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[2] The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women; and the Protocol to the Charter on Human and Peoples Rights on the Rights of Women (MoGLSD 2007:7).

[3] Gender Policy 2007; Revised National Action Plan on Women 2007; The Marriage and Divorce Bill 2009; Uganda Penal Code Act 1950; Penal Code Amendment Act 2007; National Development Plan 2010/11-2014/15; and Uganda Action Plan on UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 & 1820 and the Goma Declaration.

in child-rearing are everyday occurrences (Devries et al. 2013; Human Rights Watch 2011; Swahn et al.2012). It is within this context IPV occurs. IPV is most common among cohabiting couples, which in the Ugandan context are mainly married couples[4] (UBOS & ICF International 2012). As previously mentioned, women have significantly and consistently increased likelihood of experiencing all different forms of violence. There is also high severity and likelihood of resulting injuries in the violence women are exposed to by men (Kishor & Bradley 2012:xi). While this study focuses on women exposed to violence, it is important to present figures on men's exposure to violence to illustrate the extent to which women are more frequently exposed to violence than men. Additionally, statistics on IPV should be viewed as estimates. Underreporting of exposure to IPV due to stigma, fear, and victim blame is common both among women and men (Esquivel-Santoveña & Dixon 2012). Different understandings of the definition of IPV and different methods for measuring IPV are furthermore causing variations in results (Esquivel-Santoveña & Dixon 2012).

Figure 1 - Nationwide experience of different forms of violence
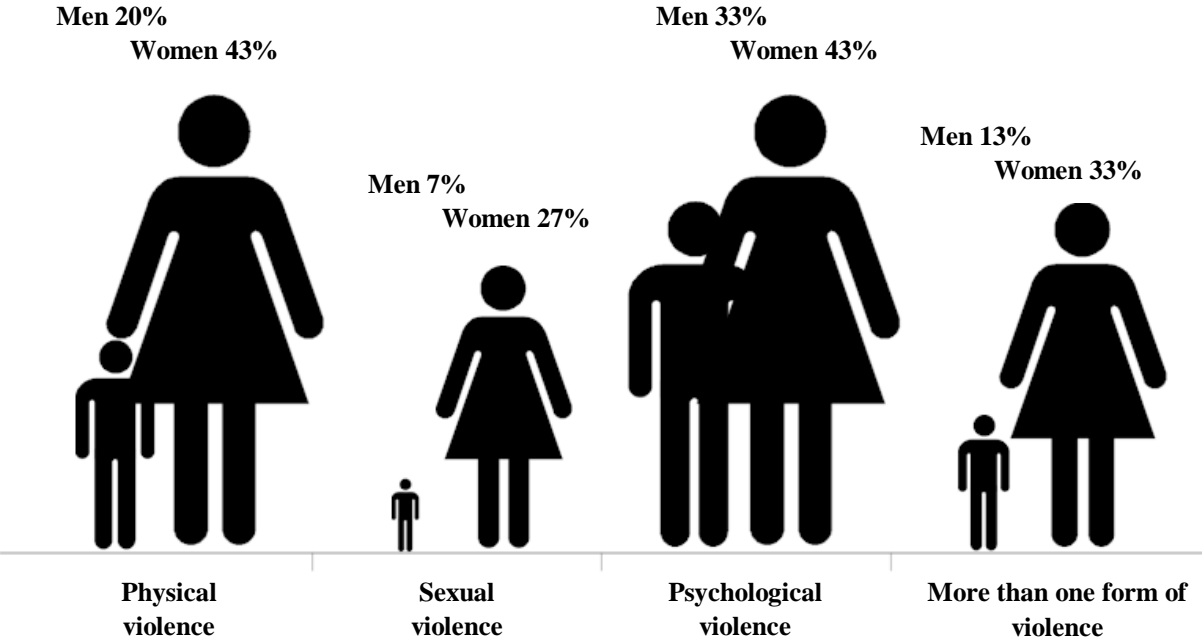
| Men 20% | Men 7% | Men 33% | Men 13% |
| Women 43% | Women 27% | Women 43% | Women 33% |

| **Physical violence** | **Sexual violence** | **Psychological violence** | **More than one form of violence** |

* Among ever-married women and men aged 15-49 by current or most recent cohabitant partner.
  Author's illustration, data source (UBOS & ICF International 2012:255ff).

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[4] The Uganda Demographic and Health Survey (UDHS) 2011 therefore focuses mainly on violence taking place within the realm of the home among ever-married men and women.

As illustrated in figure 1, the forms of violence women nationally are most exposed to are physical and psychological violence, whereas men are most exposed to psychological violence. The largest discrepancy between women and men's experience of violence is in relation to sexual violence (UBOS & ICF International 2012:255ff). In urban areas, rates of psychological and sexual violence are slightly lower than in rural areas while the rate of physical violence is similar. In Kampala, rates of psychological violence are comparable to other urban areas, rates of physical violence is slightly higher in Kampala than both urban and rural areas, and finally, rates of sexual violence are lower in Kampala than in other urban and rural areas (UBOS & ICF International 2012:255ff). Different forms of violence are not mutually exclusive and research suggests that physical violence is often accompanied by sexual and psychological violence (Krug et al. 2002:89).

In the past 12 months[5], 33% of men and 43% of women have experienced any type of IPV (UBOS & ICF International 2012:256ff). Figure 2, illustrates the type of violence women and men were exposed to nationally.

Figure 2 - Type of violence experienced in the past 12 months

 * Among ever-married women and men aged 15-49 by current or most recent cohabitant partner.
  Author's illustration, data source (UBOS & ICF International 2012:255ff).

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[5] Between June - December 2010 to June - December 2011.

Figure 3 below shows that nationally, women are more frequently (measured by often) exposed to any of the three forms of violence than men are (UBOS & ICF International 2012:256ff).

Figure 3 - Frequency of violence in the past 12 months

Frequency of Violence				
	Often		**Sometimes**	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Physical violence	9%	2%	16%	11%
Sexual violence	9%	1%	12%	4%
Psychological violence	12%	5%	20%	21%
	Note: For ever-married women and men aged 15-49 years by current or most recent partner (UBOS & ICF International 2012)			

This discussion of IPV separates violence into three main categories: physical, sexual, and psychological violence. This is done due to the difference in characteristics and prevalence between the different forms of violence. Economic violence was however not included since it is not specifically measured in the UDHS. Furthermore, the respondents in the study did not separate between the different forms of violence, hence, the study will mainly refer to violence in general.

3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the study's research design and presents and discusses methodological processes, validity and reliability, and ethical considerations.

Research Approach

The study's research strategy is a qualitative case study of IPV in Kampala. A case study is a phenomena bounded by time and activity (Creswell 2009:9). In this study, time refers to the present moment and a developing setting. The activity refers to the actions, experiences, perceptions, and attitudes of people relating to IPV. For the case study, I was present in the field for a period of six months. In addition to acquiring a contextual understanding by living in Kampala, I widened my knowledge about violence through working for the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) which works extensively with gender based violence (GBV).

Interviews took place between mid-November to mid-January 2013-2014 in Kampala, gathering of material for the document analysis took place throughout the six months.

Sampling Strategies

Sampling techniques were purposive and respondents and documents were selected based on purpose in contrast to randomness (Teddlie & Yu 2007:80) as they best aided a problematisation of the research questions (Creswell 2009:178). Reflecting the study's research questions, the study applied two different selection criteria for respondents. The first, relating to women and men with personal experience of IPV was age, ever-married, a resident of Kampala, and woman exposed to violence by an intimate male partner or male perpetrator of violence against an intimate female partner. The second selection criteria applied to all other respondents was professional experience of working with IPV, working in Kampala, and a representation of both sexes.

For the document analysis, *purposeful criterion sampling* was used. All bills, acts, and policies that fit the criterion of being related to domestic violence, IPV and/or GBV were chosen. For professionals working with IPV, the purposive sampling strategy used was *maximum variation sampling*. This aimed to represent a wide range of experiences in contrast to building a generalisable and random sample (Maykut & Morehouse 2000). Maximum variation sampling was used to include the experiences of actors who work with IPV professionally to get a broader understanding of how drivers of IPV are perceived. The selection criteria of having representation from both sexes was made to avoid a possible gender bias. Furthermore, women exposed to IPV, the male perpetrator of IPV, and a few professionals working with IPV were sampled through *snowball sampling*. Additionally, a local chief in Katwe acted as a gatekeeper and enabled for access to respondents in the area, as did an NGO worker at the Center for Domestic Violence Prevention (CEDOVIP) for Nakulabye.

Methods

Interviews

The sensitive and complex nature of the study required methods which were good for generating in-depth knowledge, such as semi-structured interviews (Creswell 2009:138; Mack 2005:30). Interviews were therefore the study's main primary data. Face to face semi-

structured interviews with open-ended questions were important to get the depth of the informant's answers. Exploring people's perceptions was crucial for answering the research questions and interviews enabled for people to express how they interpreted the social reality in their own language (Kvale 2007). Interviews were also useful for generating information on the relationships people saw between different phenomena and beliefs (Mack 2005:30).

A total of 17 interviews were held[6]: three with women exposed to violence and one with a male perpetrator of violence. 13 interviews were held with different actors who work with IPV in Kampala. For a detailed record of respondents see appendix 1. Interviews were conducted in settings determined by the respondents or gatekeepers, such as homes, churches, or offices. The majority of the interviews took place in the two communities and slum areas Nakulabye and Katwe. The interviews lasted between 25 minutes up to one and a half hour and were centred on themes of questions. For interview guides see appendix 2 and 3. All interviews except for one were recorded after consent from the respondents. A male professional interpreter was used for three interviews when the respondents spoke Luganda. A local male community member interpreted two of the interviews with women exposed to violence and with the male perpetrator of violence. Neither interpreter transcribed the interviews. Using an interpreter affected the quality of the answers since the interpreter did not translate every word, but shared with me detailed summaries of what the respondent answered as the interview progressed. On the other hand, both interpreters have a deep cultural understanding, which enabled them to notice details that I could have missed. Another limitation of using a male interpreter was that the women might not have felt comfortable sharing their stories in front of a man. This was however not something that was noticeable. A limitation of using interviews in relation to the study's purpose and to the theoretical framework used, which benefitted from objective answers, was that the exploration of people's perceptions are subjective.

Document Analysis
The limitation of interviews was therefore combined with document analysis, which is more objectively verifiable. Document analysis is defined as "a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents" as it uses the same tools for data analysis that can be applied to primary material, for example interview records (Bowen 2009:27). Data, in this case

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[6] One of the interviews was similar to a mediation session, hence referred to as such later in the analysis.

secondary documents in the form of policies, bills, and acts were examined and interpreted to explore meaning and generate empirical knowledge. See appendix 4 for a detailed description of the documents used. Document analysis was complementary and supportive to the analysis and broadened and enriched the discussion by seeking information at a different level of analysis (Caracelli & Green 1993:196; Creswell 2009). Conducting a document analysis was furthermore valuable in that it helped create rich thick descriptions (Stake 1995) and generated empirical data on the context in which the respondents lived (Mills, Bonner & Francis 2006). A limitation of document analysis is that the document used, for example laws and bills in contrast to research reports or studies, are not intended for research and are as a result often undetailed (Bowen 2009:32).

Data Analysis

Recorded interviews were manually transcribed word for word and after selecting the material for the document analysis, the study took on Creswell's (2009:143ff) six step approach to coding and analysing data: organising and preparing data; reading through the data; coding; identifying categories and themes; deciding on representation; and finally interpreting the data. Given that the study had a deductive approach to a theoretical framework, categories were consciously influenced by the individual, relationship/family, community, and societal level when manually organising the data into segments and coding them. Even though the study was informed by theory in the indexing of themes (expected codes), identification of surprising codes and unusual codes also occurred (Creswell 2009:143). Out of the identified codes, 12 major themes were identified: gender norms and roles; cultural practices and traditions; legal climate; attitudes, values, and beliefs; power and control; community characteristics; influences from peers and institutions; stress and conflict within the family; differences within the relationship; sexuality and perceived infidelity; alcohol abuse; and finally intergenerational transmission of violence.

Source Criticism

For primary data and sources, the professionals working with IPV were first and foremost interviewed as representatives of their work and/or organisation and their perceptions should therefore be seen as influenced by their respective backgrounds. Two examples are how a legal perspective was in focus during the interviews with the policeman, legal officer, and the

lawyer, and a gender perspective was in focus during the interview with the gender consultant.

For secondary data and sources, articles were mainly taken from academic journals and reports were taken from well-known organisations or research institutions/associations. Since the theoretical framework combines a feminist and a family violence perspective, I tried to ensure an equal division of feminist and non-feminist authors/researchers. Policies, acts, and bills are all original official documents.

Reliability and Validity

A number of measures were taken to quality assure the data. To ensure reliability of the data, transcripts were checked so they did not contain mistakes and that there was consistency in the use of coding (Creswell 2009:145). This was achieved by listening to the recorded interviews again as well as going through the application of codes repeated times. To ensure validity of the findings, the method of triangulation using rich thick descriptions and presenting negative or discrepant information was used (Mikkelsen 2005:197; Creswell 2009:145). Triangulation was achieved through using different qualitative methods, interviews and document analysis, as well as comparing the answers from respondents. Rich thick descriptions of the setting generated from the primary as well as from the secondary data were used in the analysis to enable for the reader to make his/her own interpretations. Furthermore, the method of presenting negative or discrepant information was inbuilt in the research since the study applied a theoretical framework which critically examined and contrasted feminist and family violence perspectives. A final aspect of validity to consider was the generalisability of the study. The respondents made sense of and produced their reality in the specific context in Kampala and the study therefore has an urban bias. There is consequently flexibility to the truth and the value of the study does therefore not lie in its generalisability, but in its contextuality (Kvale 1996:232). For this reason, the study can inform and guide future research within similar contexts, hence, focus was put on using rich thick descriptions to enable the reader to replicate the study.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations have been fundamental to reflect upon for achieving an ethically sound study, particularly harm to participants and invasion of privacy (Diener & Crandall 1978).

The interviewed women were in vulnerable situations and as discussed with staff from a women's shelter during fieldwork preparations, many women had been interviewed by several different actors such as police, shelter staff, lawyers, social workers, and so forth. It was thus important for the women to be given an opportunity to freely share their stories without again being exposed to detailed questioning. Interviews were therefore semi-structured to make the women feel comfortable and also to give the women something in return: an opportunity to talk about what they have been through as a way of processing it. The feelings of the respondents were always put first, I never pushed for information, and my contact details were given to the women in case they after the interview felt uncomfortable or regretted disclosing any information.

Other measures taken to minimise the risk of causing respondents harm were to carefully inform about the purpose of the study, the intended audience of the study, how the data would be used, who would have access to the data, how confidentiality would be protected, and to obtain informed consent (Mikkelsen 2005:342f; Creswell 2009:89ff). All respondents were given fictive names and details that could expose their identity were carefully removed. Contact details were furthermore stored separate from interview records and transcripts.

4. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will present the gender bias in research on IPV, inconsistency in results, and finally the debate between feminist and family violence theories. Despite being researched for over 50 years, there are limited studies on IPV in developing African countries, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa (Olayanju et al. 2012:103; Speizer 2010:1225). The overwhelming share of research is quantitative and focused on heterosexual relationships, as well as with a focus on women who are exposed to IPV (see Abramsky et al 2012; Kouyoumdjian et al. 2013). Current research on IPV mainly focuses on risk factors, prevention, and consequences of violence (see Dillon et al. 2013; Duvvury, Grown & Redner 2004; Sullivan 2013). These factors are interwoven throughout the study.

Gender Bias and Inconsistency in Results
One of the main challenges within the study of IPV is its gender bias. IPV is frequently understood as predominantly affecting women and is therefore often explained as a form of

GBV (Abramsky et al. 2012; Tumwesigye et al. 2012). This indicates a belief that women are victims of IPV because of their biological sex. While this might be true, it does not provide insight as to why some men are violent while others are not.

Different theoretical approaches to understanding the nature of IPV are creating controversies for estimating prevalence rates for both men and women (Esquivel-Santoveña & Dixon 2012). Research on men and women's victimisation of IPV consequently produces inconsistent results. Some studies show that women are more exposed to IPV than men. In other studies, men and women are shown to perpetrate IPV at the same rate (Cho 2012). There might, in addition, be gender differences in the characteristics of IPV among females and males. Female-to-male violence is often discussed as self-defence and male-to-female violence as more severe and controlling (Dobash & Dobash 2004). The victimisation of women might however lead to women more frequently reporting IPV – and under-reporting perpetration – than men (Esquivel-Santoveña & Dixon 2012).

Feminist and Family Violence Theoretical Divide

There is a great theoretical divide between feminist and family violence theories of IPV. Feminist and family violence theories have different understandings of the unit of analysis and cause of violence. Theories comprising the feminist perspective are centred on gender. The male/female intimate relationship is the unit of analysis and the cause of violence is argued to be men's domination over women. Feminist theories claim that there are multiple types of violence within the family and that violence against the female partner is not simply one expression of wider family violence (Lawson 2012:579ff).

As opposed to feminist perspectives, theories comprising family violence perspectives argue that gender is only one causal structural factor of conflict and that the unit of analysis needs to be the family. Within family violence perspectives, the act of IPV is understood as one method used to resolve conflicts between family members. IPV is therefore seen as only one expression of violence within the wider family arrangements (Lawson 2012:575).

Part of the theoretical debate is also the discussion on gender symmetry. IPV is according to a feminist perspective viewed as gender asymmetrical: that women are less likely than men to use violence. While according to family violence perspectives, IPV is gender symmetrical:

that men and women are as likely to use violence (Lawson 2012). Since this study focuses on women exposed to violence, this part of the debate is not applicable. The debate is nevertheless, even with the exception of gender symmetry, important since it points to the shortcomings in both theoretical sides. This study will therefore combine both theoretical sides and bridge the gap to contribute to previous research by conducting a comprehensive and holistic study of IPV.

5. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter presents the integrative ecological framework, its application, and main critiques against its usage. The chosen theoretical framework originates from a sociological integrative perspective bridging feminist and family violence perspectives. The main aspects of an integrative perspective can be visualised as two opposing sides, as illustrated by figure 4. While the integrative perspective in itself is not the actual theory applied in this study, it is presented and visualised for the reader to know where the chosen theory, the integrative ecological model, originates from and what the theory comprises.

Figure 4 - Integrative perspective of IPV
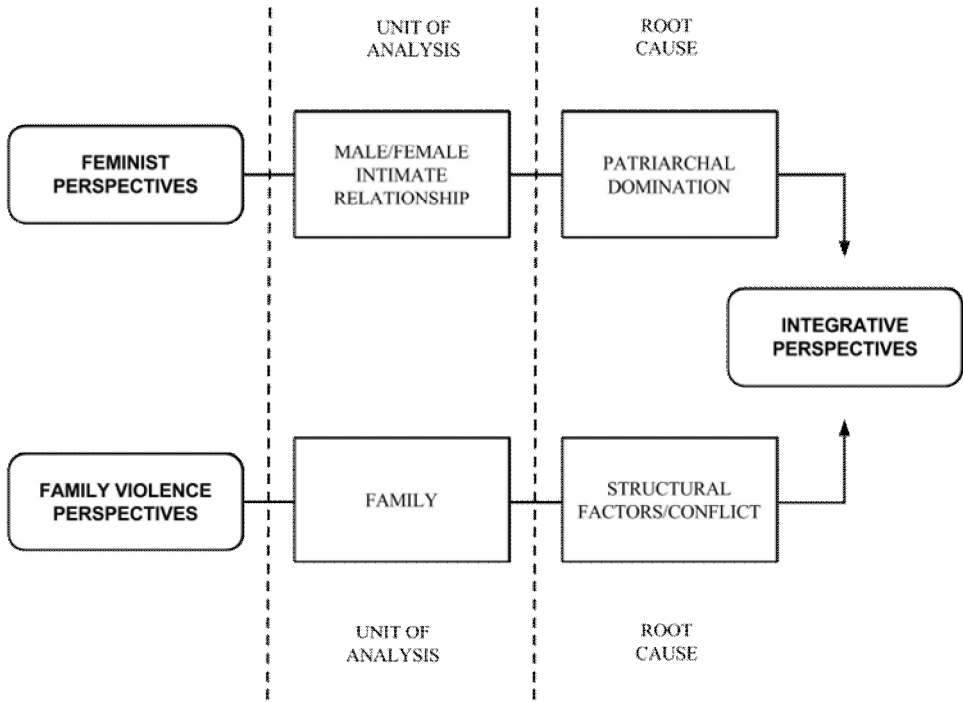
Source: Modified from Lawson (2012).

The Integrative Ecological Framework

The decision to use the integrative ecological framework was made after the literature review clearly illustrating the complexity of the phenomena. The integrative ecological framework, which combines a feminist and a family violence perspective, was developed by Heise (1998) building on a framework from Belsky (1980) originating from Bronfenbrenner in the 1970s. Heise characterises IPV as a form of GBV, making it feminist by nature, yet combines it with an ecological perspective originating from the family violence perspective. The integrative ecological framework acknowledges the complex nature of violence and sees violence as originating from an interplay between interrelated personal, situational, and socio-cultural factors that bear upon the individual behaviour (Heise 1998:263). The ecological framework is integrative since it enables for a synthetisation of existing knowledge across disciplines. For example, it enables for a discussion of individual history of substance abuse, a non-gender related factor, while including gendered factors such as gender norms within the society (Lawson 2012:585). A framework combining non-gendered factors with gender factors is necessary to be able to problematise the research questions and answer why women so persistently are exposed to IPV and what it is that increase the risk for some men to use violence.

As illustrated in figure 5, the ecological framework is based on four levels of analysis: the individual, relationship/family, community, and societal level[7].

Figure 5 - Integrative ecological framework
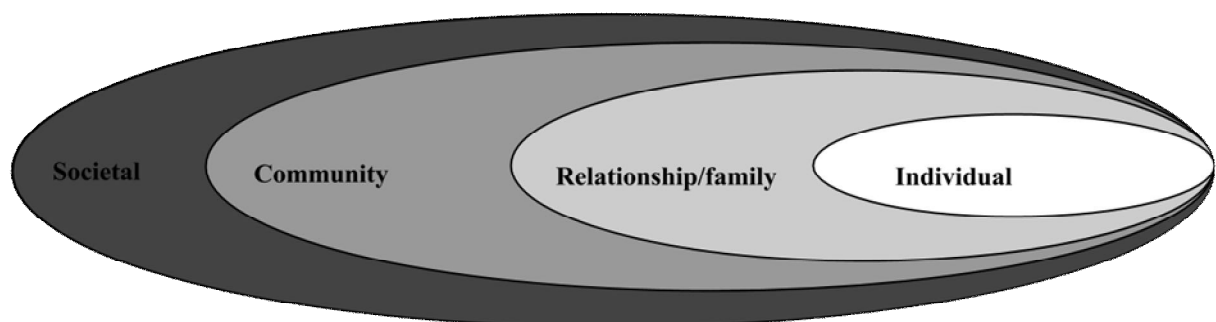
Source: Modified from Heise (1998).

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[7] Originally individual, microsystem, exosystem, and macrosystem level (Heise 1998).

The innermost circle is the biological and personal history factors that an individual brings to his/her behaviour and relationships. In addition to demographic and biological factors, this level incorporates characteristics of an individual that increase the likelihood of victimisation or perpetration of violence, such as witnessing and/or experiencing violence during childhood (Heise 1998:264f; Krug et al. 2002:12f). The relationship/family, the second circle, is the immediate context in which violence takes place, for example, in the family or in an intimate relationship (Hesie 1998:264). This level explores how relations with family and/or intimate partners affect the risk for victimisation or perpetration of violence (Krug et al. 2002:13). The next level, the community, is both the formal and informal social structures and institutions embedding the relationship/family: social groups, workplaces, religious institutions, and neighbourhoods. This community context seeks to explore the characteristics of the structures and institutions where violence occurs. Factors might be high unemployment, high population density, or social isolation (Heise 1998:264f; Krug et al. 2002:13). Finally, the outermost circle, the societal level, is composed of broad cultural belief systems, norms, attitudes and values (Heise 1998). These larger societal factors can enable for a climate of violence. This level also includes economic, health, educational, and social policies which may cause inequalities between social groups (Krug et al. 2002:13).

Applying the Framework

The integrative ecological framework is applied to the empirical material by analysing people's experiences and perceptions on a societal, community, relationship/family, and individual level. On a societal level, gender norms and roles, traditions and practices, the legal climate, and attitudes, values, and beliefs are analysed using a feminist perspective since the factors are strongly connected to gender and not to other structural factors. On a community level, community characteristics associated with violence and peer associations and institutions are in focus. On a relationship/family level, conflicts and stress within the family, differences within the relationship, and sexuality and perceived infidelity are discussed. On an individual level, aggressive coping strategies, alcohol abuse, and intergenerational transmission of violence are analysed. These three levels are analysed using both a feminist and family violence perspective since both gender and other structural factors play a central role. The theoretical framework is furthermore applied by analysing legislative documents and acts, mainly on a societal level.

One point of divergence between Heise's original framework and the application in this study is that alcohol use, as originally analysed by Heise on a relationship level, is analysed on an individual and community level as it is mostly discussed by respondents on these levels. Furthermore the third level, most commonly referred to as the relationship level, is in this study referred to as the relationship/family level to indicate that both the intimate partner relationship and the family are in focus. The factors discussed on the four different levels are derived from both the original model and from the empirical material.

Critique of Framework

The main point of critique against the integrative ecological framework is the broadness of the framework, which leads to challenges in analysing all four levels empirically. The breadth means that almost *everything* relating to an individual's behaviour is of value in an analysis. It is also challenging to know what level to place the different factors on due to the close interlinkages between the different levels (Watts, Cockcroft & Duncan 2009:511). This study does not seek causal explanations to why IPV occurs. It is a study problematising how different factors relate to violence in the minds of the respondents. This means that some levels of the framework, such as the societal and relationship/family level, are more emphasised than others, as this is how they are perceived by the respondents.

6. Four Levels of Conducive Environment for IPV

The analysis is divided into four sections: societal, community, relationship/family, and individual level. The societal level is mainly focused on exploring why women are so persistently exposed to IPV. The community, relationship/family, and individual levels are mainly focused on exploring factors that increase the risk for some men to use violence.

Societal Factors

The analysis on the societal level examines gender roles and norms, cultural traditions and practices, the legal climate, and attitudes, values, and beliefs. This is followed by a discussion of power and control. To aid this discussion, a feminist perspective is applied using the intimate male/female relationship as the unit of analysis and looking at patriarchal domination as the root cause of violence.

Rigid Gender Roles and Norms

As expressed during interviews, gender roles and norms are rigid and explicit. A man is supposed to be dominant, hard, and not show emotions. A man is the decision maker and the head of the household and has authority, pride, and money and resources. His domain is the public sphere. A woman is supposed to be submissive, subdued, polite, and respectful. A woman takes care of the children and household. Her domain is the private sphere. These clearly gendered divisions of appropriate behaviours and characteristics can lead to violence, as expressed by Maria:

> *"Simply because the men are taken to be the kings of the household. So if the woman fails to make sure that food is ready on time, and good quality food and he is happy with what she has served him. Make sure there is warm water for bathing, make sure his clothes are clean and well ironed. And respect of his authority is very critical. [...] You have to acknowledge his power and say 'welcome back daddy'. [...] Give him a seat, serve him, ask him whether he wants to bathe first or eat his meal first. So in the event she cannot, she makes a mistake around that role she expected to play, it results into violence."*

Maria highlights that violence often occurs when a woman does not live up to the role she is expected to play. This very same point is exemplified by Christine, a researcher:

> *"Now when a woman tries to be, try to divert from those streamlined cultural roles [...] most of the time they are exposed to domestic violence."*

Gender roles and norms are deeply enrooted in the Ugandan society (Abramsky et al. 2012; Speizer 2010). This has several different implications for the creation of a conducive environment for violence. First, as shown above, a diversion from a woman's expected role can lead to violence. Second, for some women, these roles and norms are so enrooted that even when educated and able to support themselves, women still embrace them. This indicates that both men *and* women reproduce the gendered roles and norms, which puts women in a vulnerable position of being exposed to violence:

> "*You know if you are from this traditional background where you know you are a man and you know a man is supposed to be like this and you, you are a woman you have to behave like this and do this. So even if you go to school, however exposed you are that will still remain in you and you'll carry it on to the relationship that you have."* - FLORENCE, gender consultant

> *"African women are trained to subdue, you are not trained to have a mind of your own to say 'I will do it this way'. No! Your man thinks for you. So however educated you are at the end of the day, you go home and kneel and serve your man."* - CHRISTINE

> *"Some women believe that they need to be taken care of by their men. The men have to provide them everything, even if she is able she'll wait for the man to provide."* - DORA, legal officer

Third and last, for some, these expectations on how one should behave are so deeply enrooted that breaking against them is seen as an abuse against men and that the only way to prevent violence is to uphold the roles and norms:

> *"[A] man is being tortured by his wife, from time to time, abusively she doesn't want to help.. do.. perform her roles as a woman, that is also domestic violence."*
> - CHRISTINE

Christine acknowledges that the stereotypical views of a man and a woman are problematic in that a diversion can lead to violence, yet at the same time she sees the diversion as an abuse against men. She points to the importance of behaving as you are expected, and that violence is increasing due to the breakdown of traditions that previously were there to control the violence. She mentions one example, the Senga[8], whose responsibility is to advise the woman on how to behave towards her husband. Consequently, without the Sengas, violence is uncontrollable. From the interview with Christine, gender roles and norms can be seen as so deeply enrooted that it makes it hard for people to see any other way to prevent IPV than living up to one's gendered role.

This very same aspect can be illustrated through Robert, a man in his late 60s. Even though he is critical towards some gender roles, he still argues for that it is the breakdown of gender roles that creates violence and that upholding the roles would lower rates of IPV:

> *"In the culture there is what we call kneeling down for men. Those men need that very much, that respect you see. But as we go into the new millennium, I have to stand up and greet you. Where the men say 'oh no, not my wife you have to kneel down'. So that one I think at least EVEN IF we are coming to a new generation we should not discourage the culture."*

> *"For those wives I think even if they are accepted to go to work they should also take the agreement they made with their husbands, that at this time I'll be back home. If they do that, I think there will be no problem."*

Contrary to what one might think, Robert has dedicated most of his life to preventing IPV in his community. This example illustrates how gender roles and norms are so important in the

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[8] The Senga who participated in this study described herself as a marriage counsellor. Traditionally, a Senga (father's sister) plays a key role in sexuality education and preparing and counselling a girl for adulthood and marriage (Muyinda et al. 2001:353).

Ugandan society that people, no matter their background and interests, are sometimes blinded as towards what it is that actually leads to violence and how to prevent violence.

The discussion of gender roles and norms highlights how they can lead to violence, uphold structures that enable for a continuation of violence and mislead people on actual factors that shape violence. Another aspect that increases women's risk of being exposed to violence is harmful cultural traditions and practices.

Harmful Cultural Traditions and Practices

The respondents refer to early marriage, widow inheritance[9], bride-price[10], and polygamy as traditions which undermine women's position in the society and increase their risk of being exposed to violence. Early marriage, also referred to as child marriage, is common in Uganda. 10% of women aged 20-24 years are married before they are 15: 40% are married before they are 18 (UNICEF 2013:134). One of the respondents, Eric, highlights the importance of linking early marriage to IPV. With a marriage comes expectations of sexual activity and a teenage girl who is sexually involved with an older male partner faces increased risk of being exposed to sexual violence, such as rape and lack of ability to negotiate safe sex and the usage of contraceptives (UNFPA 2013). Young age and early sexual debut are variables often included in quantitative research on women's risk of being exposed to IPV (Wagman et al. 2013:1393; Kouyoumdjian et al. 2013).

Eric furthermore mentions that widow inheritance is a practice which makes women vulnerable to violence. As an inherited widow, a woman who is obliged to fulfil the duties of being a wife, including sexual intercourse, often do so under emotional, physical, or financial duress (Faulk et al. 2006:529). While women may have the ability to say no, poverty, caring for the needs of her children, lack of property, and the interest of remaining with her children who often stay with the paternal family, force her to agree to the practice (Loftspring 2007:254). Nevertheless, widow inheritance was historically a way to provide for and look after the deceased relative's wife and children and about responsibility to the dead (Loftspring 2007:253; Nyanzi 2006:63). Nowadays, in addition, there are many men who do not support - and are against - the practice. These men are also in a disadvantageous position and forced by their tribe to inherit the widow (Nyanzi 2006). Nevertheless, while the practice originally

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[9] When a widow marries her late husband's kinsman (Faulk et al. 2006:529).
[10] In Uganda, bride-price is paid by the groom's family to the bride's family. The type of bride-price varies between different regions and tribes but common gifts are cows, goat, food items, or money (Hague, Thiara & Turner 2011).

came into existence with good intentions and while many men oppose the continuation of the practice, its mere existence increases women risk of being exposed to violence due to her position as inherited and subordinate to the man.

Another tradition that negatively impacts women's status and leads to violence is bride-price, a common practice in Uganda. Traditionally, bride-price was considered to be an appreciation to the bride's parents for her upbringing and for the labour and child bearing capacities she would bring to the new family. While some see bride-price as a means for giving women status and value within a marriage, some see bride-price simply as leading to the view of women as property (Hague, Thiara & Turner 2011:556). Today, many people refer to it as a sale of the human being with devastating consequences for women (Asiimwe 2009: Hague, Thiara & Turner 2011). This very aspect can be illustrated by the following quote by Dora:

> *"And one of them is the whole idea of payment of bride-price, that's what brings about this control thing. So a man has to pay bride-price for the woman, they kind of start taking them as part of their property, you know 'I kind of bought you so now you belong to me and I determine what you do and how you do it and why you do it and when you do it.'"*

Bride-price is found to have close connections to IPV since it enforces gender inequities and inequalities, especially relating to decision making within the reproductive sphere, reduces women's power, and increases male dominance (Kaye et al. 2005; Hague, Thiara & Turner 2011:555). Bride-price is also seen as contributing to early marriage and as depriving women of a chance to education (Hague, Thiara & Turner 2011:556).

Finally, there is the practice of polygamy. In Uganda, a man is within customary and Muslim marriages allowed to marry more than one wife (Customary Marriage (Registration) Act 1973; Marriage and Divorce of Mohammedans Act 1906). The respondents see polygamous marriages in itself as a form of psychological violence and a punishment when the woman fails to perform her duties as a wife. Polygamous marriages and communities are also argued to have high rates of violence. While there are limited studies on the topic in Uganda, research conducted in Kenya and Tanzania indicates a linkage between polygamous marriages and physical abuse (Kimuna & Djamba 2008:337; McCloskey, Williams & Larsen 2005:125). The study conducted in Tanzania found that even though polygamous marriages have the ability to provide advantages for women such as an expanded network and shared responsibilities, they lead to increased gender imbalances which increase the risk of violence

(McCloskey, Williams & Larsen 2005:125). During the interview with Daniel, the policeman at CFPU, he repeatedly - after mentioning that his mum was beaten by his dad - brought up the fact that he grew up in a polygamous family where his mum was the first wife. While Daniel did not elaborate on it further, it is an interesting observation.

Early marriage, widow inheritance, bride-price, and polygamy are cultural traditions and practices which increase women's exposure to violence by producing and widening a power imbalance. This discussion is closely linked to the legal climate in Uganda, which enables a continuation of these traditions and practices.

A Weak Legal Climate

The Constitution of Uganda sets the legal age to marry for both men and women at 18 years, with the free consent from both parties (Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995:art 31; The Constitution (Amendment) Act 2005:art 31). Nevertheless, according to customary laws, a minor girl of 16 can marry with the consent of the father, and, if he is dead or of unsound mind, the mother (Customary Marriage (Registration) Act 1973:ss 11 & 32). The customary law contradicts Article 31 of the Constitution and is also a criminal offence of defilement under the Penal Code Amendment Act, which states that it is a crime to have sexual intercourse with anyone under the age of 18 (Penal Code (Amendment) Act 2007:s 129). At present, Uganda's legal climate and lack of law enforcement enable for a continuation of early marriage, which produces and reproduces power differentials between men and women in a relationship, leading to high rates of violence, especially sexual violence.

Uganda's Culture Policy states that women are marginalised by certain socio-cultural practices and specifically mentions widow inheritance (The Uganda National Culture Policy 2006:subparas 2.2.5 & 5.3). The Constitution of Uganda declares that laws, customs, cultures and traditions that oppose women's welfare, dignity, and interest or undermine women's status are prohibited, yet makes no mention of any of these by name (Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995:Art 33). Furthermore, widow inheritance denies both parties the opportunity to consent to the marriage (Faulk et al. 2006:529) and therefore bypasses the requirements outlined in the Constitution of Uganda (Article 31). In the proposed Marriage and Divorce

Bill put forward in 2009, that is yet to be passed by the parliament, payment of bride-price is still a requirement for Bahai marriages[11].

The Domestic Violence Act declares that violence in the domestic sphere directed towards any family member is a crime (The Domestic Violence Act 2010). Nevertheless, marital rape is not made explicitly illegal and substantial proof for rape is needed, situating marital rape in a grey zone. In the Marriage and Divorce Bill, applauded by women's rights organisations, widow inheritance and marital rape are made explicitly illegal (The Marriage and Divorce Bill 2009:Clause 13, 14 & 97). Nevertheless, the same Bill clearly illustrates the importance of sexuality by stating that a marriage is voidable when one of the parties to the marriage unreasonable refuses or is unable to consummate the marriage within three months. Valid reasons for denying the other spouse sex are poor health, surgery, childbirth, and the fear of physical or psychological harm or injury (The Marriage and Divorce Bill 2009:Clause 114). While these are grounds for annulling a marriage, it also risks leading to that sex is viewed as a right in a marriage and should therefore be seen to increase women's risk of being exposed to sexual violence.

As the current legislation face challenges supporting the rights of women, both due to the fact that the Marriage and Divorce Bill is yet to be passed and since the legal framework is presently open for interpretations as to what constitutes laws, customs, cultures or traditions that undermine women's status, welfare, dignity and interest, it is also indirectly enables for a continuation of practices which can lead to IPV. This is illustrated by Maria:

> *"[T]he biggest challenge we have is there is no law which recognises marital rape. So you cannot say that my husband raped me. That is a disaster! When you go to marry you consent it, isn't it? And when got married you became his property, so which rape are you talking about?"*

The role of legislation enabling for or hindering IPV is crucial. In Uganda, I met a man from the MoGLSD with whom I discussed rape within a marriage. He argued that a man could not rape his wife and referred to that marital rape is not illegal in Uganda. For him, the law dictates what is right and wrong. In these instances, when someone has been socialised to believe that you cannot rape your wife, if the law does not criminalise the act, it enables for a continuation of a harmful act of violence and makes people continue to believe that you cannot rape your wife.

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[11] In Uganda, recognised marriages are civil, Christian, customary, Hindu, Bahai, and Muslim marriages.

As seen, cultural traditions and practices which undermine women's rights and increase the risk of being exposed to violence, need stronger legal framework and enforcements to be overcome. This conclusion is in line with research on prevention, although being the least explored area within studies on IPV, that largely focus on law enforcement and criminalisation of domestic abuse (Barner & Carney 2011). In addition to the legal framework, there are negative attitudes, values, and beliefs that enable for a continuation of IPV.

Negative Attitudes, Values, and Beliefs

Attitudes, values, and beliefs that enable for a continuation of IPV are victim blame, stigma, IPV seen as a private matter, and societal unawareness and acceptance of IPV. During the interviews it became clear that IPV is looked at as a private issue and that talking about it in public and pressing charges are shameful. The saying "don't wash your dirty linens in public" was used to exemplify this. Women who come out in public or press charges are often exposed to victim blame and stigma, some women also blame themselves:

> *"Even when she goes to the police station for example to report, the practice has been that until recently the police have had the same attitude and she is straight away ridiculed. 'You, you must be a bad woman, actually a terrible woman. How can you bring your husband to the police? Those are matters of the house, you should sort them out in the house.'"* - MARIA

> *"The family members will say 'aha, now you have taken him to police, let us now see who will pay for you the rent, let us now see who will pay for his children. Since you've taken our brother up to court or up to Luzira prison we don't want you with our children.'"* - DANIEL

> *"You are going to start blaming yourself for provoking me. 'Maybe I burned the food, maybe I'm not so nice, maybe I'm dirty, maybe I didn't do this and this'. So you are justifying the violence you are experiencing."* - ERIC

Masani, a community activist, states that his community was largely unaware of that beating was wrong before sensitisation campaigns. Transforming societal attitudes regarding gender norms and partner abuse, in combination with increasing knowledge of the consequences of IPV are focal points for prevention of IPV (Wagman et al. 2013). Societal unawareness is furthermore closely linked to another aspect which plays a role in the continuation of IPV, the relative widespread acceptance of violence. Families and communities accept the violence and often send the woman back to her husband saying "he'll change" or "go back home and

give him what he needs". On the other hand, not everyone agrees with that IPV is directly and outspokenly accepted in communities. By some it is more viewed as indirectly accepted since the society accepts men's domination over women and since communities keep quiet when seeing violence. Furthermore, not everyone agrees with the view that women blame themselves for the violence that occurs. A mother of six in her late 30s who has been exposed to IPV states that violence can never be justified:

> *"That is totally wrong, that's why we separated, I disagree with that. That's why I divorced."* - HOPE

A gendered Culture of Power and Control

The different factors discussed on the societal level often lead to IPV against women perpetrated by men. To understand why, there is a need to look at unequal power relations between men and women. All the respondents were unified on that violence is about power and control and that power is the root cause of violence. It is however not power in itself that causes violence, it is the abuse and misuse of power, as expressed by Alkaana, a Senga:

> *"It's mainly caused by abuse of power, where one misuses the power they have over another person*."

As touched upon earlier and as expressed by Maria when discussing the legal climate and marital rape, women are sometimes seen as property within a marriage. This view is closely linked to traditions and practices such as bride-price and widow inheritance (Rubimbwa & Komurembe 2012:24; Hague, Thiara & Turner 2011:557; McCloskey, Williams & Larsen 2005:125; Faulk et al. 2006:458). An example of the abuse of power in relation to this is how, because women are seen as property, a man might claim to have the right to act violently towards her:

> "*Once you're married this woman is yours and you have anything and can do whatever you want with her."* - FLORENCE

Respondents express that a man is also seen to have the right to be violent towards his partner since he is the one providing for them. This is also a factor playing a role in why women stay in abusive relationships. Women's economic dependency on men, and in practice very limited land rights, leads to women staying in abusive relationships because, as one respondent summarises, at the end of the day, the partner is the one providing for you and the children. Another respondent expresses the following:

> *"Somehow it's believed that it's ok to be beaten by your partner as long as he is providing and he plays the man role."* - DORA

Furthermore, men are violent towards women because they have the right to when she misbehaves or because they can since the power imbalance is in their favour:

> *"So many times, when for example, people see a man abusing his wife, they'll say 'oh well, that's his wife, he's entitled to that right if maybe she is misbehaving, it's ok for him to beat her.'"* - ROSE, senior programme officer

> "*And power. Men are the boss and they feel they are more superior than someone and thus they abuse them.*" - FAITH, lawyer

From the below examples, violence is also illustrated to be used as a way to remain in power, an act to control that the power imbalance remains in the hands of the man - to uphold the status quo:

> *"In becoming cruel and violent he wants to show her, that he is still in charge, he's more powerful and therefore she must respect his authority. [...] The women depend entirely on the men [...] to provide for them economically. And that means this woman is not entitled to make decisions and not entitled to challenge this man and challenge his behaviour or his decisions. So any attempt to do that, definitely he has to use violence to make sure that, reminds you that he is in charge"* - MARIA

> *"They will beat and batter them or subject them to sexual violence, chase them away from home to assert their power to show that I am the man in this relationship."* - DORA

As seen, violence occurs due to the abuse and misuse of power and when men feel that they have the right to abuse women, because they can abuse women, to discipline women, and to uphold or restore a power imbalance in their favour. An important aspect to consider in relation to this is what it is that produce and reproduce these power imbalances:

> *"So the power comes from our social makeup, society will be socialised to believe that men are more important than women. So that means that men are privileged enough to have the power and control and their decision is final and they can do whatever they want to do and no one will question them. No one will even put an end to that so it's really acceptable for men to use their power over women. So you can really say that violence, domestic violence is deeply rooted in our cultural and social attitudes about what defines femininity and masculinity."* - ROSE

Rose's statement pinpoints and summaries the arguments of the other respondents who all claim that embedded in and generated from culture is the process of socialisation, which generates a reality where men have power over women and where men are encouraged to abuse their power over women. Early marriage, widow inheritance, bride-price, and polygamy are produced by and reproduce gender roles and norms where men are superior, dominant, the

decision-makers, and where men have money and resources and authority over women. Men are, simply put, the head of the household. Through their upbringing and through traditions, men and women are groomed to uphold this division. These traits of culture are by respondents referred to as bad cultural practices, harmful practices and values, and the misuse of culture. Talking about the other "side" of the Ugandan culture that is beautiful and filled with kindness, love, dance, music and food, brings a smile to the respondents' lips.

Using a feminist perspective of the integrative ecological framework to explore societal factors such as gender roles and norms, cultural traditions and practices, the legal climate, attitudes, values, and beliefs, and power and control illustrate how parts of the culture create a conducive environment for IPV to occur. It does not however explain why, within this culture, some men are violent whereas others are not. To understand that, there is a need to look at community, relationship/family, and individual factors that trigger violence. The following parts of the analysis will therefore combine a family violence and feminist perspective by using both the family and the intimate male/female relationship as the unit of analysis and by looking at structural factors, including gender, as root causes of violence.

Community Factors

On a community level, community characteristics associated with high rates of violence and influence from peers and institutions will be discussed.

Community Characteristics Associated with Violence

In a community, certain characteristics of settings are associated with violence (Krug et al. 2002:13). Four characteristics were especially emphasised by the respondents: heavy drinking culture, poverty, unemployment, and high population density. How drinking affects someone's behaviour is discussed further down in the analysis under individual factors. It is however important to present here since in a setting where public drinking is common, socially acceptable, and alcohol consumption is high, fewer people are going to react negatively to someone's drinking habits, which increase the risk for acting violently. A study done in the US found that the more alcohol outlets, bars, pubs, liquor stores etc., there are in a neighbourhood, the higher the crime rate of IPV reported to the police. This is mainly ascribed to that normative constraints against violence are loosened, the promotion of heavy

drinking among at risk people, and the creation of a forum where perpetrators of IPV reinforce negative norms, attitudes, and behaviours (Cunradi et al. 2011).

In addition to drinking culture, poverty, unemployment, and high population density are additional factors which increase the risk of violence. These factors will be analysed in the next section of the analysis. Nevertheless they are, as well as drinking culture, important to mention here since they characterise communities with high rates of IPV (Krug et al. 2002:13). The two areas, Katwe and Nakulabye where most of the interviews took place, as well as Kampala at large, are struggling with high unemployment and high population density, widespread poverty as well as a heavy drinking culture.

Influences From Peers and Institutions

The people someone interacts with and relates to influence one's reasoning and behaviour. One respondent describes it as the way other people behave you begin to feel is the way to behave. Another respondent, Masani, explains that he intervenes with IPV cases in the community by first starting an investigation of the abusing husband's peer relations: where he spends most of his time, with whom he spends most of his time, and how the others he spends time with are like. Studies on peer relations' influence on a person's behaviour within an IPV context are limited and mainly focused on young men. The studies however consistently point to that young men who interact with violent and delinquent peers are at increased risk of perpetrating IPV (Foshee et al. 2011; Reed et al. 2011). In accordance with social learning theory, promotion of aggression and crime related behaviours and attitudes are taught, enforced, and reinforced among peers (Akers 1998; Akers & Jensen 2003). A study done in the US found that a young man with violent friends had increased risk of IPV perpetration if his network of friends was above 13 friends (Ramirez et al. 2012:507f). Another study examining how Latino men in the US were influenced by peers found that they were often pressured to conform to a masculine stereotype of toughness and dominance. If a man, in the eyes of his friends and co-workers, gave his wife too much freedom he was told to control his wife, often through the use of violence (Alcalde 2011).

In addition to peers, the institutions one is surrounded by can influence, promote, or uphold certain behaviours. The following quote illustrates how an institution can legitimise and reinforce negative attitudes and behaviours:

"So even the Church and other religious institutions with religious leaders there's the counselling around that, let's keep things silent. They also emphasise respect for each other, respect him and trying to draw boundaries. Roles and responsibilities and power centres and making sure that if they think that the woman is still the one who is challenging the power centre, she needs to calm down. So it cuts across institutions because these institutions are still dominated by men. [...] In the Protestant Church at least there's a mothers' union. But if you interact with the mothers' union they actually reinforce their ideology of the current norms, respect the power of the man." - MARIA

In a domestic violence prevention handbook for the Uganda Catholic Church, the Church is described as an institution of power. By supporting the violence prevention programme, the Church agrees to use its influence to empower its followers. This is described as coming with an inherent tension since the Church is a product of the same society it sets out to change and since offensive practices and beliefs are evident in the Church (Sauvé, Farrell & Michau 2013:19). These statements illustrate how the Church is an influential institution of power.

As discussed, spending time with peers and within an institutional climate that promote and reinforce negative IPV-related norms, attitudes, and behaviours increase the risk of a man using violence. It also influences women to conform to current gender roles and norms. This in combination with community characteristics such as heavy drinking culture, unemployment, poverty, and high population density are factors which on a community level increase the risk for men to use violence and create a conducive environment for violence to occur.

Relationship/Family Factors

On a relationship/family level, conflicts and stress within the family, differences within the relationship, and sexuality and perceived infidelity are factors associated with a violent behaviour.

Conflicts and Stress Within the Family

Conflicts Within the Family

From a family violence perspective, IPV is understood as a means used to resolve conflict between family members (Lawson 2012:575). This can be illustrated through the case of Sabiah and Aaryan where violence is used as a means for settling conflicts. Sabiah and Aaryan is a young couple in their mid-20s with three kids living in one of Kampala's slum

areas. I met the couple when I sat in on a mediation session, which was the day after Aaryan's latest abuse of his wife Sabiah. The day before, Sabiah had asked their oldest son to go and bathe outside and gave him a bucket, water, and soap. Later, when she came to check on him he was no longer there. Sabiah went out to look for the son and when Aaryan came home no one was there so he called her to ask where she was. She told him she was out looking for their son. He called and called and at the end she stopped picking up the phone. When she came back home, he started hitting her. During the session, the son told us that he had run away because he was afraid of his mother and that she would cane him. This specific case illustrates how violence is used as a means for settling conflicts, both from how Sabiah canes their son and from how Aaryan beat Sabiah. This does however not exclude the possibility of other factors weighing in, as will be presented later on.

The use of violence from this perspective can be linked to Uganda's violent past, as well as violent present. It is not alien to use violence and people are socialised into using violence as a means to settle disagreements and conflicts. In relation to this, respondents mention how important communication and mediation instead of separation of a marriage are and some express that when they started to communicate with their partners, things changed for the better. This view assumes that there is a conflict, disagreement, or situation happening that leads to violence, as in the example above. This is furthermore illustrated in the domestic violence prevention handbook for the Ugandan police force. In this handbook, one of the risk assessment questions is if the suspect has a history of violence with others. If he has, it is seen as increasing the risk for the woman (Hope 2007:18).

Stress Within the Family

From a family violence perspective, stress within the family increases the risk of violence. Examples of household stress factors are low income, unemployment, and number of children. The more the stress factors, the higher the risk of violence (Tennyson 2004). Both income and employment are variables commonly used in analyses of IPV (Cho 2012). While IPV has been shown to cut across all social classes, studies nonetheless repeatedly point towards that increased family income reduces a woman's risk of experiencing IPV (Benson et al. 2003; Benson et al. 2004). Studies furthermore point towards that unemployed men are more likely to perpetuate violence than employed men (Renzetti 2009). Income and unemployment in combination with the number of children in the family are therefore

important factors to analyse within a Ugandan context where poverty is widespread and where the total fertility rate (TFR) is 6.2 children per woman[12] (UBOS & ICF International 2012:57f).

Poverty is one of the most discussed topics by respondents. Evelyn, a woman in her late 30s with four kids who was exposed to IPV by her former husband, mentions that having many kids and having to pay school fees were contributing to the violence. She ascribes the violence to lacking money. Moreover, Sabiah says that every month when the money is finished, Aaryan gets more violent. Poverty means difficulties in supporting the family, paying the school fees, paying rent, and putting food on the table. All these factors increase the stress within the household and increase the risk of violence:

> *"Uganda is a very impoverished country and it's very common to find men failing to provide for their families. But that is because of the attitude that men should be the breadwinners. So when a man fails to provide for his family, the pressure to do that becomes enormous. So that means that anytime the wife maybe makes a demand, or asks about something, he'll interpret it as an abuse of his ability to provide. [...] And of course poverty causes a lot of stress. Stress usually makes people behave in very irrational ways."* - ROSE

Violence as a mean for settling conflict within the family as well as stress factors such as unemployment, low income, and having many children, are factors increasing the risk of a man using violence. There are additional factors that not only increase the stress within the household, but that put strain on the relationship between the woman and man and increase the risk of violence occurring. This will be discussed in the following section.

Differences Within the Relationship

A Feminist Perspective on Income, Education, and Age

In a context where gender power relations are unequal, socioeconomic factors like disparities in income, education, and age add additional strain to the relationship (Tennyson 2004:17). The strain caused by the power imbalance can lead to violence seen from two different perspectives. When a balance of power is in favour of the woman and off in the husband's perception, the risk of violence increases. However a power balance in favour of the man, as previously discussed, also increases the risk (Tennyson 2004:17).

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[12] There are large discrepancies in regards to fertility between rural (TFR 6.8) and urban areas (TFR 3.8) (UBOS & ICF International 2012:57f).

Studies show that women's employment and income earning actually can increase the risk of being exposed to IPV (Friedemann-Sánchez & Lovatón 2012:681). Researchers furthermore stress the need to examine the employment and income status of a woman relative to that of the man after finding that a man is more likely to perpetrate violence when the woman's income relative to his increases (Renzetti 2009). In situations where women earn an income or have higher income than the husband there is a struggle of power. Men feel that they are entitled to the woman's earning and want to control the resources, and if she refuses to give the money to him, it often results in violence:

> *"When the man is employed [...] men don't want their wives to go to work. But if some got work, the problem comes there. That there is a struggle of power. The women said 'I have the power because now I'm working' and the man said 'no you don't have power because I am your husband.'"* - ROBERT

> *"[I]f you refuse to give me the money to go drinking I'll beat you up. So you have to give me the money."* - CHRISTINE

> *"When a woman makes her own money, the man can enter and take the money. The fight starts from there."* - AIMA, local chief

The quotes illustrate how these situations can lead to psychological violence, when the husband threatens to use violence against his wife, and economic violence, when the man tries to take control over the woman's resources. In a patriarchal society, a man who "fails" to prove his masculinity through being the breadwinner of the family, might prove his masculinity and achieve power through using violence (Anderson 1997:656). An example of this is:

> *"And the kind of domestic violence they experience is because now the men feel threatened by them. So their husbands actually feel a little bit intimidated by the fact that the wife has a lot of money. She can use that money to invest. And it threatens this factor that she is not very dependent on him, that anytime if she feels like she can actually leave the relationship so the man thinks about how to keep her in a cage."* - MARIA

Factoring in education, married women who are better educated than their husbands face greater risk of being exposed to either physical, sexual, or psychological violence than women in a relationship where both partners are equally educated, neither are educated, or where the husband is higher educated. Nevertheless, most women who experience *all* three types of violence are in a relationship where neither man nor woman are educated (UBOS & ICF International 2012:261). In regards to age, women who are one to four years younger than their husband are most exposed to all three types of violence (UBOS & ICF International

2012:261). This also relates to the discussion on early marriage where the age difference between a young wife and an older husband leads to power differentials in the relationship in favour of the man, increasing their risk of sexual violence (UNFPA 2013:41).

Looking at the intimate couple from a feminist perspective brings to light gender inequalities in the household. Patriarchal domination is one factor causing violence. There are however other structural factors increasing the risk of violence.

A Family Violence Perspective on Intermarriages

Looking at the intimate couple from a family violence perspective, belonging to different religions, ethnicities, and classes increase the risk of violence. These are variables frequently found in analyses of IPV (Cho 2012). Family violence researchers stress that someone belonging to a minority or a lower socioeconomic group might act violently towards their partner to restore a power balance in their favour since they cannot legitimately gain success or respect through mainstream outlets (Anderson 1997:656). Differences within the relationships causing violence are also approached slightly differently. Luzige, a local leader and counsellor, discusses the differences between Christians and Muslims and different tribe's cultures. He claims that these differences contribute to domestic violence in that people lack understanding of each others' backgrounds and have difficulties communicating. Belonging to different religions and tribes can therefore cause tension in a relationship and increase the risk of violence.

The importance of sharing the same religion is also reflected in the Divorce Act. As the current legislation states, divorce is possible under special circumstances. One of these grounds is a partner's conversion to another religion (Divorce Act 1904). Furthermore, in the Domestic Violence Act, it is stated that when a domestic violence case proceeds to a local council court, both the victim and perpetrator's tribe and religion should be registered (The Domestic Violence Act 2010:s 6).

The discussion on the differences within the relationship from both a feminist and a family violence perspective brings to light factors which increase the tension in the relationship and increase the risk for the occurrence of violence. Other factors causing tension in the relationship are sexuality and perceived infidelity.

Sexuality and Perceived Infidelity

While the sexual act in many cases is an act of IPV in itself, sexual situations and perceived infidelity are also major trigger factors of violence (Hatcher et al. 2013:410). The respondents express that women are frequently believed to be cheating when they do not answer the husband's phone calls, when they receive text messages from other men, or when they do not have a strong sexual desire. This perceived infidelity often leads to violence. Sexual situations are furthermore sensitive and often trigger strong emotions, which might lead to both physical and sexual violence, especially in relation to alcohol abuse. Both these aspects are illustrated by the following quotes:

> *"Whenever a woman mentions that she is not interested in sex, what comes to a man's mind is that this woman is getting sexual satisfaction somewhere. He can take up violence, physical violence, either forcing her into sex or physical violence as in beating her because she has to explain who has given her satisfaction."* - ALKAANA

> *"Whenever he comes back he wants food, maybe he wants to sleep with the woman [...] Then the fight start from there."* - AIMA

> *"They come back very drunk and they are seeking for extra attention from the woman. If this woman fails to actually provide that extra attention, then she qualifies to be beaten up."* - MARIA

In the domestic violence prevention handbook for the police, one of the risk assessment questions is if the man gets upset when the woman talks to other men, or accuses her of having extramarital affairs. Another risk assessment question is if the man drinks or uses drugs, and if yes, it leads to him acting violently (Hope 2007:19). In the two above described scenarios, what determines whether a man becomes violent or not is both linked to how one copes with strong emotions, which will be discussed later on in the analysis, and to one's attitudes towards sexuality and women's rights. A comparative study in eight African countries found that negative attitudes such as women do not have the right to deny a husband sex, beating women can sometimes by justified, and forcing one's wife to have sex is not rape, increase the risk of using violence (Anderson et al. 2007:5). Harmful attitudes are furthermore upheld by the present legislation. As previously discussed, there is currently no law criminalising marital rape and the proposed Marriage and Divorce Bill portrays sexual affection as a right in a marriage.

The above discussions on conflict and stress within the family, differences within the relationship, and sexuality and perceived infidelity focus on stress and strain on both the family and the relationship which increase the risk of violence. This has been discussed from

what is referred to strain theory (Merton 1938). Nevertheless, to understand when these strains lead to a negative violent behaviour and when they do not, one must factor in individual and social factors (Agnew 1992). Social factors are for example influence of peers and institutions, as previously discussed, and individual factors are for example an individual's ability to cope with the strain.

Individual Factors

On an individual level, factors associated with violence are the usage of aggressive coping strategies, witnessing or experiencing violence during childhood, and alcohol abuse.

Aggressive Coping Strategies

Affect theory is a psychological theory of emotions and cognitive shame coping. Affect theory states that an individual's behaviour is controlled by cognitive scripts associated with different emotional states such as shame and sadness (Tomkins 1981). In a study of IPV, relevant emotions are anger, shame, and excitement, which activate cognitive scripts that can lead to a violent behaviour. These behavioural scripts vary between individuals depending on one's ability to cope with the different emotions (Hogan, Campbell & Elison 2006:4f). An emotion such as shame can be connected to how unemployed men might fail to provide for their families. One coping strategy of shame is *attack other,* which involves anger and blame directed outwards. This is connected to a higher risk of using violence than a coping strategy of *withdrawal,* when a person distances oneself from others (Hogan, Campbell & Elison 2006:5). The emotion of anger can be connected to how Aaryan felt when his son ran away from home and when Sabiah was gone and did not answer his calls. Excitement can be connected to the sexual situations presented above. While coping strategies are many and diverse, this brief discussion gives insight to that an individual's violent or non-violent behaviour is related to how one copes with strong emotions.

Alcohol Abuse

One of the most frequently analysed risk factors of IPV is alcohol. A male partner's alcohol consumption is well shown to contribute to women's increased risk of physical and sexual IPV, as well as more severe IPV when the male partner is drunk (Koenig et al. 2003; Koenig et al. 2004). Hope, who was exposed to violence by her former husband, explains:

"After using drugs the situation became worse. But even initially he was not good."

Male partners who never drink alcohol and male partners who drink alcohol but do not get drunk, have the same lower likelihood of perpetrating violence, compared to partners who drink and get drunk (Tumwesigye et al. 2012). Some respondents see alcohol as the main cause of violence, others see it as a contributing factor to violence:

> *"In a way their presence creates a conducive environment of violence to happen. But that does not necessarily mean that when they are present violence will really happen. [...] The abuse, the behaviour of violence, starts from the way someone thinks. [...] And so many times we challenge people and we ask if it's really the alcohol or the perception that has caused violence?"* - ROSE

Alcohol abuse is a substantial risk factor contributing to IPV. As expressed by some respondents, alcohol abuse is in itself not a causal factor of violence. Men who get drunk are both perpetrators and non-perpetrators of violence. It can however be a triggering factor of violence in that it increases the risk of someone using violence in cases where they already have been socialised into believing that men should have more power than women and that men have the right use this power in a negative way:

> *"So these are contributing factors IF someone is using their power negatively in their relationship. [...] If I was socialised in using my power negatively in disrespecting women, in abusing women [...] so if I take in alcoholism, I'm going to use my power negatively. That means that if I put in alcohol it's going to be like an energiser, for me to feel like 'yes I can do each and everything'. But on the other side, if someone has been socialised to use their power positively [...] even if that person goes and takes beer, then becomes drunk, still he can come home and he doesn't use violence."* - ERIC

Eric claims that these are contributing factors if someone has been socialised to use his power negatively. This also means that if someone has been socialised to respect women, alcohol abuse is less likely to trigger a man to behave violently. In Ugandan, positive socialisation could be growing up in a family where there is mutual respect between a woman and a man.

Intergenerational Transmission of Violence

Intergenerational transmission of violence is in combination with alcohol one of the most extensively studied factors in both quantitative and qualitative research on IPV. Linking back to why women are so persistently exposed to IPV, research indicates that women's witnessing of IPV during childhood is connected to higher rates of IPV. This is due to that women who witnessed their mum being beaten during their childhood have a higher tolerance of violence compared to women who did not witness violence during childhood (Fritz, O'Leary & Smith

Slep 2012). In Uganda, 70% of women whose fathers beat their mothers, compared to 51% who did not, have been exposed to physical, psychological, or sexual violence (UBOS & ICF International 2012:261).

Furthermore, most research on intergenerational transmission of violence indicates a linkage between perpetrators of violence and childhood exposure to and witnessing of violence (Lee et al. 2013; Franklin & Kercher 2012). Intergenerational transmission of violence is part of and a process of socialisation. The respondents express the following:

> *"What you see happen today you're going to grow up and raise your kids in that kind of manner."* - ERIC

> *"They [kids] are learning from you what you are doing and how you are relating to your partner when you're at home. [...] That's why in the communities you find kids playing games of a husband a wife. So now I'm your husband and you're my wife. 'Ok why did you burn your food?' So they are trying to imitate what the parents are going through, 'Why did you burn food? Ok lie down, lie down!'"* - ERIC

> *"Even when they are growing up, boy and girls they see how the mother is treating her husband and they see that the father has a lot of power at home and the wife, the mother only has to say yes to whatever the husband says, or the dad says. So because of what they have grown up seeing, they end up from what they have seen."*
> - ALKAANA

What you grow up seeing and experiencing is likely to influence your own actions and behaviour. This is important both in relation to the high rates of IPV in Uganda and in relation to the high rates of physical upbringing of children both in homes and at schools (Naker 2005). From a family violence perspective, intergenerational transmission of violence can be linked to someone learning to solve conflicts, and disagreements through the use of violence. The case of Sabiah and Aaryan exemplified this. From a feminist perspective, intergenerational transmission of violence can be linked to someone learning to be violent towards their female partner because of values similar to the following:

> *"I have interacted with several men who are using violence in their relationship and when you ask a question [...] 'Why do you use violence in your relationship?' And the only answer is 'we're using violence because my dad, grandfather they told me never to respect women. That women are a weaker sex they need our protection. Should a woman annoy you, you need to show her that you have the power, beat her and discipline her.'"* - ERIC

While witnessing and experiencing violence during childhood increase the risk of using violence, it is important to acknowledge that is does not always lead to a man becoming violent. The very first quote in the introduction by the policeman Daniel explains how he

witnessed his mum being beaten by his dad when he grew up. It was because of this he joined the CFPU to prevent other women from going through what his mum did and to fight for women's rights. Positive socialisation can be applied to the case of Daniel. While he lacked positive socialisation within his closest family, he is surrounded by and works in close collaboration with actors working to prevent IPV who enforce positive values and attitudes towards women. Daniel furthermore has a job and an income, removing two big triggering factors of violence. During the interview, he repeatedly stresses the importance of communicating in a relationship, indicating that he is using a coping strategy to deal with strong emotions which does not lead to violence.

7. CONCLUSION

By combining a feminist and family violence perspective, using the integrative ecological framework, this study contributes to a deeper and more holistic understanding of why IPV against women perpetrated by male partners occurs in Kampala. A feminist perspective is crucial to apply to explore women's persistent exposure to IPV. It does however not give insight as to why, in the gendered culture of Kampala, some men use violence whereas others do not. Therefore, a feminist perspective was combined with a family violence perspective on a community, relationship/family, and individual level. Combined, it overcame the theoretical shortcomings.

The feminist analysis on the societal level shows that gender roles and norms are deeply rooted and rigid. While women should be submissive, subdued, polite, and respectful and take care of the children and the household, men are the decision makers and head of the household and have authority, pride, money, and resources. Furthermore, harmful cultural traditions and practices are commonly practiced. Early marriage, widow inheritance, bride-price, and polygamy reinforce the clearly divided gendered norms and roles and often lead to the view of women as property within a marriage. There is additionally a somewhat weak legal climate which lacks enforcement and often does not aid women in ensuring or protecting their rights. The legal climate is also part of enforcing a gendered culture, making women vulnerable of being exposed to violence. Finally, there are strong negative attitudes, values, and beliefs towards women such as victim blame, stigma, societal acceptance of IPV, and the

view of IPV as a private matter, which enable for a continuation of violence. These factors combined produce and reproduce a gendered culture where people are socialised into believing that men should be in power and have the right to abuse their power and control women. These factors lead to men using violence against their intimate female partners for different reasons: to uphold a power imbalance in their favour, to restore a power balance in their favour, to discipline women, and because they are seen to have the right to. The societal factors play a major role in why women are so persistently exposed to IPV. The study therefore supports previous feminist research that places gender at the core of the problem. Nevertheless, the study finds that a feminist perspective needs to be integrated with a family violence perspective to fully capture the complex reality of IPV. See figure 6 for an illustration of the factors, derived both from the original model plus the empirical analysis, associated with women's exposure to IPV and men's usage of violence.

Figure 6 - Factors associated with IPV
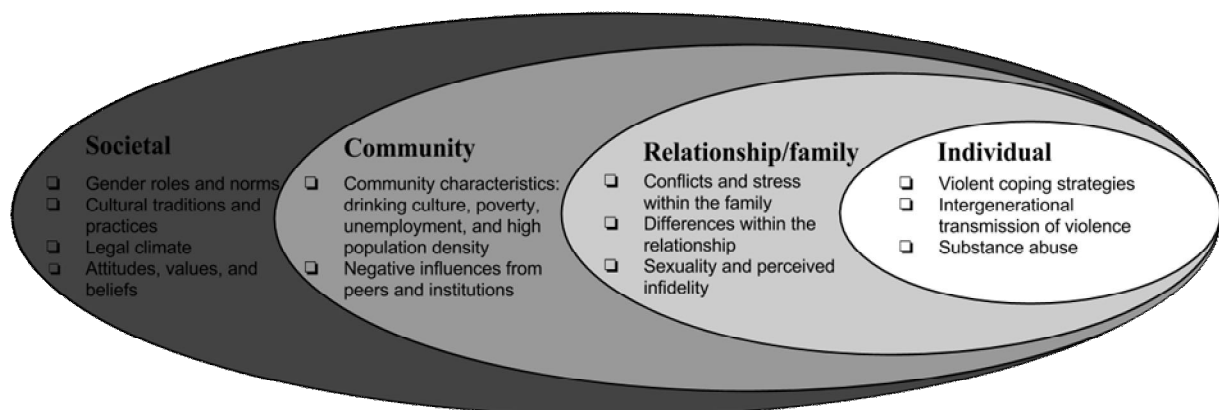
The combined feminist and family violence analysis of the community, relationship/family, and individual levels adds to the understanding of why women are so frequently exposed to IPV. Moreover, the analysis identifies factors associated with men's increased risk of using violence and the study therefore also aligns with previous family violence research that emphasise additional structural factors to gender as the core of the problem. By combining a family violence perspective with a feminist perspective, the study however shows a more complex reality where these risk factors only trigger violence if a man has negative attitudes, values, and beliefs towards women and has been socialised to abuse his power. In these situations, the more triggering factors a man is exposed to, the higher the risk of him

perpetrating IPV. However, if a man has been socialised to respect women, even when exposed to trigger factors, he might not use violence.

Power differentiations between women and men in a relationship, poverty, alcohol abuse, and intergenerational transmission of violence are factors found to be the most strongly associated with violence. This supports previous literature which largely focuses on these factors, but expands the knowledge by showing that these are risk factors of violence only when men have negative attitudes towards women. On a community level, community characteristics such as a heavy drinking culture, poverty, unemployment, and high population density are shown to be connected to high rates of violence. Additionally, negative influences from peers and institutions can enhance and enforce women's role as subordinate and men's role as dominant as well as legitimate men's use of violence. On a relationship/family level, violence is found to be used as a means to solve conflicts, which leads to high risk for *all* family members to be exposed to violence. Violence is also found to be used more frequently when a family is affected by stress factors such as poverty, unemployment, and having many children in the household. The more stress factors a family is exposed to, the higher the rates of violence. Religious, ethnic, and class intermarriages are also found to be associated with higher rates of violence. Intermarriages lead to increased tension in the relationship, both due to the lack of understanding of each others backgrounds and due to that a man belonging to for instance a minority group might use violence to restore a power balance in his favour. Additionally, income, education, and age differences put strain on the relationship and increase the risk of violence. If a woman is older, higher educated, or earns a higher income than the man, a man may use violence to restore a power balance in his favour. Nevertheless, if a woman is younger, lower educated, or earns no income or a lower income than the man, the risk of her being exposed to violence still increases since the power differences are in favour of the man and he may use violence to remain in power. On a relationship/family level, sexuality and perceived infidelity are two factors that trigger strong emotions and are connected with violence. On an individual level, a man who is using aggressive coping strategies to deal with strong emotions is more likely to use violence than a man who uses non-aggressive coping strategies. Alcohol abuse is an additional factor which is clearly connected to men's usage of violence, especially sexual violence. Finally, intergenerational transmission of violence increases both the risk of women being exposed to violence in their intimate relationships as well as men's usage of violence.

Research on prevention of IPV is the least explored topic on IPV. Yet prevention of IPV is crucial for the well-being of the majority of women in Kampala and in Uganda. By focusing on factors that increase the risk for men to use violence against their intimate female partners and for women to be exposed to violence, potential areas for intervention are also identified. However, to tackle to challenge of IPV at its root, prevention must focus on changing societal attitudes. The findings from this, and similar studies, need therefore to be further explored.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 - Record of Respondents

Nr	Date	Type of Interview	Name (fictive)	Age	M/F	Characteristics	Comments
			Record of Respondents				
1	2013-11-19	Semi-structured interview	Christine	Mid 40s	F	Researcher	
2	2013-11-21	Semi-structured interview	Florence	Mid 40s	F	Gender consultant	
3	2013-11-25	Semi-structured interview	Rose	Mid 30s	F	Senior programme officer	
4	2013-12-11	Semi-structured interview	Daniel	Late 30s	M	Police CFPU	
5	2013-12-16	Semi-structured interview	Dora	Early 30s	F	Legal officer	
6	2013-12-16	Semi-structured interview	Faith	Early 40s	F	Lawyer	
7	2013-12-17	Semi-structured interview	Maria	Early 50s	F	Programme coordinator	
8	2013-12-17	Semi-structured interview	Eric	Mid 20s	M	Programme officer	
9	2013-12-19	Semi-structured interview	Robert	Late 60s	M	Local chief	
10	2013-12-20	Semi-structured interview	Anna	Mid 50s	F	Volunteer PLA	
11	2013-12-20	Semi-structured interview	Aima	Late 40s	F	Local chief	
12	2013-12-20	Mediation session	Aaryan and Sabiah	Mid 20s	F+M	Woman exposed to violence and male perpetrator of violence	Interpreted
13	2013-12-21	Semi-structured interview	Masani	Mid 50s	M	Community activist	Interpreted
14	2013-12-21	Semi-structured interview	Luzige	Mid 40s	M	Local leader and counsellor	Interpreted
15	2013-12-21	Semi-structured interview	Alkaana	Mid 50s	F	Senga	Interpreted
16	2014-01-14	Semi-structured interview	Evelyn	Late 30s	F	Woman exposed to violence	
17	2014-01-14	Semi-structured interview	Hope	Late 30s	F	Woman exposed to violence	Interpreted

Appendix 2 - Interview Guide Professionals Working with IPV

INTERVIEW GUIDE

> *Present the purpose of the study*
> *Explain how the data will be used and who will have access to the data*
> *Inform the participant of confidentiality and how confidentiality will be protected*
> *Explain the structure of the interview and how long it will take*
> *Explain that the informant does not have to answer all questions, etc.*
> *Explain that I want to record the interview, ask for approval*
> *Ask if the informant has any questions before we start*
> *Obtain informed consent*

BACKGROUND

1. Could you tell me a little bit about your work as .... at ....?

2. Can you tell me more about how you have worked with IPV?

    EXAMPLES OF ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS DEPENDING ON TYPE OF WORK
    3. Could you tell me about how you train the police in preventing IPV?
        - What do you focus on in the trainings?
    4. Could you tell me about how you work with health workers to prevent IPV?
    5. How do you structure a study on IPV? What are main areas you focus on?
    6. During interventions in the communities, what do you focus on?
    7. What do you think about the legal climate in Uganda in regards to IPV?
    8. How do you incorporate legal aspects into the interaction with community members?
    9. Can you tell me about how you counsel couples who come to you for help?

PERSONAL PERCEPTIONS

10. What do you personally think are reasons behind why someone is violent towards their partner?

11. Are some of these factors more affecting than others?

12. How do you think the society views IPV and women who have been exposed to violence?

13. What do you think is needed to reduce rates of IPV in your community?

FINAL QUESTIONS

14. Is there anything you would like to add that you find important and/or interesting?

15. Do you have any questions or comments?

- Thank the participant for taking the time -

Appendix 3 - Interview Guide Women Exposed to Violence

INTERVIEW GUIDE

- ➢ *Present the purpose of the study*
- ➢ *Explain how the data will be used and who will have access to the data*
- ➢ *Inform the participant of confidentiality and how confidentiality will be protected*
- ➢ *Explain the structure of the interview and how long it will take*
- ➢ *Explain that she does not have to answer any questions if she does not want to*
- ➢ *Explain that I want to record the interview, ask for approval*
- ➢ *Ask if the informant has any questions before we start*
- ➢ *Obtain informed consent*

BACKGROUND

1. Can you tell me a little bit about yourself?

        - Ask questions about her kids, work, interests etc.

VIOLENCE IN THE COMMUNITY

2. Is it common with violence in your community?

3. Is violence between a husband and a wife common?

4. What do people think about violence in the community?

5. Who uses violence?
        - Do you think some people are more violent than others?

6. Is it ever OK to use violence?

EXPERIENCE OF VIOLENCE

7. Do you mind telling me why you first came on contact with Robert (local chief)?

8. Can you describe your situation at home before you came in contact with Robert?

9. What did a normal day look like?

PERCEPTIONS OF VIOLENCE

10. Why do you think your husband was violent towards you?

FINAL QUESTIONS

11. Is there anything you would like to add?

12. Do you have any questions?

- Thank the participant for taking the time -

Appendix 4 - Document Analysis

Documents Selected	Data Analysed
Constitution	
Constitution of Uganda 1995	Protection and promotion of fundamental and other human rights and freedoms; social and economic objectives; representation of the people; the legislature; and local governments
The Constitution (Amendment) Act, 2005	Protection and promotion of fundamental and other human rights and freedoms
Bills	
Marriage and Divorce Bill 2009	Voidable marriages; grounds for annulling marriages; polygamous marriages; bride-price; and wife inheritance
Acts	
The Domestic Violence Act 2010	Data collected for reports; definition of domestic violence; and sexual violence
Customary Marriage (Registration) Act 1973	Consent for minors to marry and polygamous marriages
Marriage and Divorce of Mohammedans Act 1906	Polygamous marriages
Penal Code Act 1950	Defilement and rape
Penal Code (Amendment) Act 2007	Defilement
Policies	
The Uganda National Culture Policy	Cultural beliefs, traditions and values; and ensuring social inclusion
Action Plans	
National Development Plan 2010/11-2014/15	Domestic violence
Revised National Action Plan on Women 2007	The social and economic empowerment of women; reproductive health, rights and responsibilities; and freedom from violence
Uganda Action Plan on UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 & 1820 and the Goma Declaration	Victim blame; national legal framework; and gaps and challenges in addressing sexual offences
The Uganda Gender Policy 2007	Legal and policy context; and gender and livelihoods
Additional	
A handbook for the police force - CEDOVIP	Working with domestic violence and risk assessment