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*“It is his right.”* A qualitative exploration of women’s attitudes of Intimate Partner Violence in relation to their access to resources in Minya, Egypt

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2011

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2013

## Abstract

*“It is his right.”* A qualitative exploration of women’s attitudes of Intimate Partner Violence in relation to their access to resources in Minya, Egypt

**Background:** In Egypt, there is fairly widespread acceptability of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) against women. A number of theories explain possible reasons for it, but the process of acquiring enabling resources such as education and employment may empower women to have more agency and to voice non-normative attitudes about IPV.

**Goal:** The goal of this qualitative study was to develop a local taxonomy of women’s attitudes about IPV against women and to compare women’s resources and agency across attitudinal groups in Minya, Egypt.

**Methods:** Grounded theory was used to analyze textual data from 30 semi-structured interviews, among women exposed (n=16) and unexposed (n=14) to physical IPV. Texts were reviewed, memoed, and coded, and women were classified according to an emergent classification scheme reflecting women’s attitudes about IPV in local context. The resources and agency of women were compared across attitudinal groups to explore potential reasons for the attitudes they voiced.

**Results:** Four women were identified as always justifying IPV, 15 expressed “qualified acceptance,” and 11 perceived IPV as never acceptable. Those who found it acceptable felt it was the husband’s right to be violent; the qualifiers felt abuse was justified to an “extent;” and the others felt the husband lost authority over her if perpetrated abuse. All women thought it was the husband’s job to teach his wife what is right and wrong. Whereas some felt that physical reprimanding was fine, others believed wives should be punished only verbally. The women in different attitudinal groups had varying access to resources. Those who felt that IPV was never acceptable overall had the most education, and those who expressed “qualified acceptance” tended to be employed. Access to resources such as education and employment also were linked to companionate financial decisions with their husband in these groups.

**Discussion:** Supporting resource theorists, the notion that IPV is never acceptable is more common among women with access to resources and agency. Longitudinal research is needed to assess selected inconsistencies between the quantitative versus qualitative results in this study, to determine whether the findings indicate an overall change in attitudes towards the perceived acceptability of IPV.

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**Role in Thesis/Manuscript**

- Data memoing of 30 transcripts
- Data coding of 30 transcripts
- Data analysis of 30 transcripts
- Review of the literature
- Primary author of Manuscript

## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

### **Context and Problem**

Violence perpetrated against women has been recognized worldwide as a human rights issue which affects physical, mental, sexual, and reproductive health.[1-4] Intimate Partner Violence, IPV, is defined as “any behavior within an intimate relationship that causes physical, psychological, or sexual harm to those in the relationship,” and also as, “assaultive and coercive behaviors that adults use against their intimate partners.”[5, 6] Although both men and women may be perpetrators, women in poor, gender-stratified settings experience physical IPV more often.[7] Generally IPV exists along a continuum, from a unitary, isolated experience evolving to cyclical, chronic abuse.[8, 9] Reported IPV has been asymmetrical affecting women disproportionately.[10]

In a WHO study conducted in 2005, among ever-partnered women ages 15-49 years in ten countries, 15%-71% reported lifetime physical or sexual violence, most prevalence rates were between 30%-60%, and 86% of those reporting physical or sexual IPV indicated at least one act of severe violence.[11, 12] Data from the Middle East indicates that violence is pervasive throughout the region between 33.8 – 37%.[13-16] The Demographic Health Survey (DHS) collected data in over 25 countries concerning IPV and attitudes; female respondents of reproductive age were asked if they agree with any of the provided reasons which justify beating; and results indicated that 11-94% ever-abused women and 9-86% never-abused women agreed that violence is justified in at least one provided scenario.[12, 17-21] More than half of the women in poor, rural settings worldwide have reported wife beating as justifiable for some reason.[7, 22] Studies in the Middle East show acceptability to be between 50-90%.[23] In 1995 Egypt was the first Middle East country to ask questions in their DHS pertaining to violence.[24]

Morocco is the only other country in that region to incorporate violence questions into their DHS; their 2003-2004 results indicate that the acceptability of IPV among women is 64.1%. [25] In the 2008 EDHS, 36% of ever-married women reported prior violence and approximately 40% justified it. [26, 27] Those who experienced or witnessed violence as a child are more prone to being victim in adulthood [8]; 69% of Egyptian children are slapped by their parents and 36% reported ever experienced IPV in their marriages. [8, 26] Drawing on research in Assiut, Egypt Yount et al noted that women justify violence and conform to resist violence; furthermore there is a perception among women in this setting that men have certain “rights” from an obedient wife in return for providing for the household. [10]

Theory is applied to elucidate why women justify violence and how their attitudes are shaped. The theory of *resources, social exchange, and women’s dependence on marriage* posits that if a woman has resources or lack thereof from her husband it can affect her perspectives on IPV. [7, 28, 29] Resource theorists assert that the spouse with more education or higher income has more marital power [30]; this in turn results in wives, in gender stratified societies, who are dependent on their marriage for social positions and resources. [7, 31] According to feminist scholars women’s experiences of IPV come from gender stratification. [31, 32] When men are more educated, have more economic and social and legal power, it allows them to be more domineering and may influence women’s views of IPV. [32]

The process of acquiring enabling resources, such as education, employment, and additional familial support, is a notion of empowerment and agency. [33, 34] By acquiring more resources, women in turn may enhance their agency, or ability to “define their own life-choices and to pursue their own goals, even in the face of opposition of others.” [34] One important

domain of agency is the ability to voice opinions about gender that may contradict the dominant gender norms.[33, 34]

### **Objectives and Aims**

This study aims to expound upon the aforementioned research by addressing attitudes of IPV in Egypt. The objective of this cross-sectional research is to investigate and understand how women exercise their agency, and explore their perceived acceptability or unacceptability of IPV. The specific aims embedded in this objective are:

- 1) To describe women's attitudes towards IPV and develop generative themes for how women classify IPV based on their attitudes.
- 2) To examine how women, classified based on their attitudes of IPV, and their access to resources, be it education or work, affects their agency.

This research takes place in a poor, historically patriarchal setting, where relatively little is known about women's responses to IPV - an exception is Yount's study in 2010.[10] Research from the West may not be generalizable to this context since different institutional support and legal systems exist.[35] This study is conducted in rural and periurban Upper, Southern Egypt, which is more conservative than the more urban North.[21]

## **Chapter 2: Comprehensive Review of the Literature**

### Intimate Partner Violence

Violence perpetrated against women has recently been recognized worldwide as a human rights issue which affects physical, mental, sexual, and reproductive health.[1-4] Violence against women is the most pervasive yet under-recognized human rights violation in the world.[36] At international conferences during the 1990s the world turned its attention to women; the Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing Conference, identified the lack of information on the prevalence, nature, causes, and consequences of violence.[11, 37] Research conducted since the 1990s shows evidence of the prevalence of violence against women perpetrated by intimate male partners.[11] Methodological differences among studies in different countries limit the extent to which comparisons can be drawn; contextual differences yield discrepancies even in how people choose to define intimate partner violence.[11] Intimate partner violence, IPV, is defined as “any behavior within an intimate relationship that causes physical, psychological, or sexual harm to those in the relationship.”[5] And also as, “assaultive and coercive behaviors that adults use against their intimate partners.”[6] Intimate includes both former and current spouses or significant others. Generally it exists along a continuum, from a single, isolated experience evolving to cyclical abuse.[8] The manuscript explores IPV as it relates to physical, psychological, or sexual abuse of women by their male partners and that the literature review focuses specifically on this type of violence and does not consider other forms, such as violence within same-sex partnerships or female against male violence. The most recent statistics from the CDC show that in the US 3/10 women experience IPV.[8] Those who experienced or witnessed violence as a child are more prone to being victims in adulthood.[8] Additionally, financial stress can trigger violence in men prone to violence who then exert their

authority violently in the home.[8] Violence is equally an instrumental behavior of control and reflecting anger.[38] While women in all countries throughout the world regardless of economic, social, religious, and cultural groups are at a risk of experiencing IPV, there are some women who are at higher risk than others; for example, their socioeconomic status may be indicative of more exposure.[20, 39] IPV is characterized in a socio-ecological model, an outcome of direct and interacting policy, community and socio-cultural, organizational, and interpersonal layers all affecting each subsequent stage and the final level – individual. [40, 41]

Population based surveys world-wide yield prevalence rates of 10 – 69% women being victim to IPV by their male partner.[17, 42] In Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East, 12%–71% of women have reported a prior experience of physical IPV.[11, 13] In 1999, a population based survey in over 50 countries found prevalence rates to be between 10-52%; while sexual violence prevalence by an intimate partner was 10-30%.[42, 43] In a series of studies conducted between 1996 – 2000, ever assaulted IPV rates were found to be the following: Paraguay and the Philippines 10% of women surveyed, 22% in the US, 29% in Canada, and 34% in Egypt. [24, 42, 44, 45] There appears to be a lower prevalence rate of physical and sexual abuse reported in the last 12 months in industrialized nations, 1.5% in the United States and 4% in the United Kingdom and Canada contrasting with 53% in the West Bank and Gaza.[5, 44, 46] In a WHO study conducted in 2005, among ever-partnered women 15-49 years in ten countries lifetime prevalence of physical partner violence was lowest in Japan, 13%, and highest in Peru, 61%; average range was between 23-49%.[11] Lifetime sexual IPV ranged from 6% in Japan, Serbia, and Montenegro to 59% in Ethiopia; average rates were between 10-50%.[11] Among all ten of the WHO research sites, between 15%-71% of these women reported lifetime physical or sexual violence, most prevalence rates were between 30%-60%.[11] Data from the Middle East

indicates that violence is pervasive throughout the region between 33.8 – 37%. [13-16] In situations where men were more controlling they were more likely to exert violence on their partner. [11] These results confirm other research, conducted in industrialized nations, that IPV is common worldwide. [11] Among those women who experience IPV, 86% reported at least one act of severe violence. [11] The WHO study as well the other studies mentioned show that there is significant variability in levels of exposure to violence in different settings; some differences are due to a woman's age, education – but these did not alone account for discrepancies. [11] While these studies' suggest wide prevalence ranges it is difficult to compare across cultures in part to their methodological differences but more so due to cultural differences and social taboos in answering questions pertaining to violence in different study sites. [47] Underreporting is due to shame, cultural biases towards disclosure lack of recognition of certain behaviors as violence, particularly where violence is deemed a male's prerogative. [8, 48]

When violence is exerted, it can be in the forms of physical, sexual, or emotional (threats/harassment) abuse. [8, 49] Usually violence begins as emotional abuse and then into physical or sexual assaults, more than one type can co-exist. [8] Symptoms of psychological distress from physical abuse include: fear, terror, nightmares, inability to trust, low self-esteem, anxiety, depression, helplessness, guilt, shame, feelings of inferiority, loneliness, pessimism, shyness, introversion, suspiciousness, increased risk for suicide, and psychophysiological complaints including fatigue, backache, headache, restlessness, and insomnia. [50] These physical health outcomes, can in turn yield, exacerbate, and confound the cyclical nature of violence.

In addition to detrimental physical health outcomes, exposure to IPV leads to behavioral and cognitive disturbances and stress-related chronic conditions. [51, 52] These family stressors

can lead to negative market-work performance and lack of attendance to work.[53, 54] Furthermore, poorer maternal psychological health and functioning and parenting result among those who experience IPV.[55]

Types of physical violence include slapping, pushing, shoving, striking with a fist, kicking, dragging, threatening with a weapon, and having a weapon used against a person.[56] Non-fatal physical health outcomes from abuse can lead to any of the following problems: injury, fractures, functional impairment, chronic physical pain, gastrointestinal disorders, irritable bowel syndrome, and permanent disability.[56] Types of psychological violence are insulting, humiliating and belittling in front of others, intimidating and scaring on purpose (ie smashing things), threatening with harm (both indirect and direct), and controlling behavior.[56] Types of sexual violence are the following: raping, sexually abusing, sexual exploiting, sex against one's will, forcing one to do something sexual that is deemed degrading, and sex due to fear in partner.[56] Non-fatal health outcomes due to sexual violence against women by men can include: unwanted pregnancy, pregnancy complications, low birth weight, miscarriage, sexually transmitted infections, gynecological disorders, and pelvic inflammatory disease.[56] There is a positive correlation between increased frequency of beatings and lack of contraceptive usage since women fear their husband will think they are being unfaithful.[49, 57]

Many abused women often live in fear and suffer from depression; a WHO multi-country study found that women who are sexually and physically abused are twice as likely to consider suicide.[1, 58] In situations of domestic violence women sustain 95% of all injuries.[59] Studies show that male aggressors say that their control-related reasons for violence is their need to dominate females, their fear of her gaining independence, fear of abandonment, her failure to live up to being a "good woman," jealousy when she interacts with other males, sexual denial,



and spending decisions.[56] Clinical research and experiences identify underreporting of IPV, since there is stigma attached to it and women are often blamed for it.[11, 60].

Public perceptions of violence in the West have evolved; previously there was consensus that domestic “incidents” should remain secret so they do not undermine a family’s image.[61] Victims feelings to a violent incident include: feeling angry, afraid, surprised, and distressed.[50] Roughly half of female victims seek help following a violent incident, and generally they seek solace from a friend, not a parent, counselor, physician, or police.[62, 63]

Longitudinal studies have been conducted to assess the temporal order of violence correlates in efforts to rule out causal explanations. It was originally hypothesized based on research of marriages and battered women that rates of physical IPV would be low before and early on in marriage, however findings yield that physical aggression varies over time.[64] O’Leary et al. conducted a longitudinal study in order to determine marital outcomes in relation to IPV by assessing couples right before or after marriage. In a 36 months study examining longitudinal violence among 272 couples, randomly selected who were getting married for the first time, researchers studied physical violence one month before, 18 months after, and 30 months after marriage.[65, 66] Participants reported perpetrated and experienced acts of aggression in order to maintain validity. Marriages which abstained from violence had less negative daily interaction than marriages which remained violent over time.[65, 66] Physical aggression was present in 57% of couples during the first assessment, 44% at 18 months, and 41% at 30 months follow-ups. Men and women who were not aggressive before marriage remained as such 85% of the time at every follow-up; whereas, those who were aggressive before marriage, half remained as such at 18 months (51% men, 41% women).[65, 66] This study shows that there is continuity in nonaggression and violence and aggression throughout the

first 30 months of marriage, there is a general trend of nonaggression and violence over time, and couples' aggression changes with time.

### Theories on Women and Violence

There are a number of theories which purport reasons for why women experience IPV. *Social learning*, says that behavior is learned and modeled, and that corporally punished children observe and learn behaviors from their parents and thus are more likely to apply them once they are adults.[67, 68] This theory suggests that a woman's tendencies to be complacent in violent relationships may be a learned behavior from her childhood.[68, 69] For example, in 2005 in Egypt over 69% of mothers slapped their children; in the United States those adults who experienced slapping as a child are more likely to approve of domestic violence as appropriate.[26, 70, 71] As for the theory of *invisible power*, it is used to explain why women justify IPV perpetrated towards them, referring to both psychological and social processes in relationships which make women view inequalities as normal.[72] Of ever-married women according to the Egypt Demographic Health Survey, DHS, 33% reported experiencing violence before marriage.[26] Another theory, *resources, social exchange, and women's dependence on marriage*, suggests that if a woman has resources or lack thereof from her husband it can affect her perspectives on IPV. [7, 28, 29] Poverty exacerbates vulnerability and women's tolerance for wife beating is coupled by their economic dependence on the marriage.[20] Women in less autonomous relationships experienced more violence.[20] Abused women who do not feel emotionally or intimately close to their abusive husbands often depend economically on them.[73] When men are more educated, have more economic and social and legal power it naturally allows them to be more domineering and affect women's views of IPV. Resource

theorists assert that the spouse with more education or higher income has more marital power, which usually results in wives depending on their marriage, their social positions, and their resources in gender stratified societies.[7, 30, 31] Women who are poor and less educated often marry when they are younger, and are more likely to be victim to spousal violence when compared to those women who married at an older age and are more educated; those in the poorest quintile are twice as likely to experience violence.[27] The final theory which can be attributed to IPV, is *patriarchy and social norms pertaining to women's family roles*. According to feminist scholars women's experiences of IPV come from gender stratification.[31, 32] This theory addresses IPV at the macro-level, in regards to Egyptian society and its legislative branch which instill heavy patriarchal practices.[7] Men exert violence or neglect to condemn it based on the community and institutional structure.

### Attitudes and Agency

The process of acquiring enabling resources, as the resource theory suggests, such as education, employment, and additional familial support, is a notion of empowerment and agency.[33, 34] By becoming more empowered, women in turn may enhance their agency or ability to “define their own life-choices and to pursue their own goals, even in the face of opposition of others.”[34] Women's agency refers to the ability to make life choices under historically evolving constraints.[34] Access to enabling economic, human, and social resources may enhance, though not guarantee, the ability to exercise choice, which in turn can improve well-being outcomes and achievements.[33, 34]

The DHS more recently began including questions to capture attitudes toward intimate partner violence, prevalence, and forms.[17] DHS has collected data in over 25 countries

concerning IPV and attitudes; female respondents of reproductive age were asked if they agree with any of the provided reasons which justify beating, such as wife leaves without telling him, wife neglects children, wife refuses sex.[17, 18] Results indicated that 11-94% ever-abused women and 9-86% never-abused women agreed that violence is justified in at least one provided scenario.[17-19] More than half of the women in poor, rural settings worldwide have reported wife beating as justifiable for some reason.[7, 22] Studies in the Middle East show acceptability to be between 40-77.6%.[13, 74] In 1995, Egypt DHS became the first Middle East country to ask questions in their DHS pertaining to violence; Morocco added violence-related questions to their DHS in 2003-2004.[24, 25] In 2003-2004 Morocco's acceptability of IPV was 64.1%.[25] Acceptability of violence appears to be lower in Egypt. In the 2008 EDHS, 36% of ever-married women reported prior violence and approximately 40% justified it. [26, 27] In Egypt, women with the following demographic characteristics perceive violence as acceptable: 50.4% are young wives, those ages 15-19; 47.5% reside in a rural location (rural Upper Egypt: 60.1%, rural Lower Egypt: 38.4%); 59.3% have no education; and 62.9% are in lowest economic quintile.[16] Those who experienced or witnessed violence as a child are more prone to being victim in adulthood; of those 33% who experienced violence as a child 36% reported enduring IPV in their marriages.[8, 26]

Studies in Bangladesh and Egypt have found that abused women often do not condemn violence and accept some level of it.[10, 17] Societies have reasons for when they qualify IPV. Violence in general throughout these societies may be inexcusable, whereas IPV is placed in a separate category and considered acceptable.[17, 42] Women condemn IPV when they deem it extreme or if it is not proportionate to the victim's action.[17] While women in a Bangladesh study did not suggest IPV as an appropriate outcome for their actions, they would say perpetrated

violence was circumstantial and that they lacked control over when it would happen.[17] A qualitative study of 19 married women in Assiut, Egypt, in 2010, sought to address two research questions in order to understand women's hypothetical and actual responses to perceived experience of spousal aggression. The study also aimed to understand the context of the responses in regards to patriarchal kinship which perpetuate or prevent men's aggression.[10] This study revealed patterns of strategic conformity – where women would conform to her societal expected role in order to prevent being abused; additionally, the majority of women blamed the wife for any aggression she received and suggested she modify her behavior as a preventative measure.[10] In patriarchal societies, often women are brought up to follow these roles of unequal power dynamics, and these social relations are responsible for sustaining or preventing violence, often times female relatives will tell these women to tolerate the abuse.[75] By conforming to this *good woman* role, they are able to avoid IPV and preserve a sense of self-worth; however, inadvertently they perpetuate patriarchal structures in the community.[10, 76] A conformist strategy discovered in this study in Assiut is for women to present themselves as a good woman and understand her husband's mood, tolerate him, and adapt the attitude that “it will be tough...it will be fine.”[10] The most common response, from study participants were that “she deserves what she gets” indicating that she must have behaved in a disobedient manner for the husband to have treated her poorly.[10] The women from this study enacted their inner moral *good woman* when they would say that they were not abused “because I understood his mood.”[10] Additionally, most of the participants saw wives as the responsible character for altering deviant behavior in order to prevent their husband's upset behavior, addressing it as a natural, universal component of marriage, not one they condoned but rather said they must tolerate.[10]

A new bride is subordinate to both her husband and in-laws, however, when she is a mother-in-law she inherits this power and right to exert her authority on her daughter-in-law.[10, 76] This is a form of classical patriarchy, highly evident in the Middle East, South and East Asia, and North Africa, where women are married when they are young and live with the husband and his family; in this context the mother-in-law has authority over the new bride.[76] Through this system though, women who are subordinate to their in-laws and husband conform to societal and familial expectations since she knows she will one day inherit this authority, further perpetuating the status quo.[10, 76] By behaving as a *good woman* and if she experiences IPV her male relatives are more likely to intervene if the woman has a respected identity it is the male's patriarchal duty to protect her against IPV.[10, 77]

In a 2002 study in rural Bangladesh surveys, 110 in-depth interviews, and 14 focus group discussions were conducted to understand women's acceptance of IPV in marriage to provide a better basis for policy interventions.[17] Risk factors for IPV in Bangladeshi women were of the following: young, minimal education, less educated than husband, living in poorer households, those with an independent income to contribute to family's income, those with dowry demands from husband's family, and those married to men who have a history of IPV in the family.[35, 78-81] The study revealed that a high proportion of women believed that a husband's use of violence towards his wife is acceptable, particularly if she did something wrong or acted out.[17] Many resigned themselves to accept the violence perpetrated towards them, but still felt that it was wrong; saying that husbands did not have the right but more so they made it their right to abuse their wives when they wanted.[17] More women would not say that it was an appropriate punishment, but it was rather a circumstance and they had no control.[17] Others said that the husband's right to abuse their wives was not a natural right but a right that came from a woman's

economic dependence on him.[17] All women revealed that they wanted husbands to be punished for being violent – suggesting either having them hung, to life imprisonment, to shorter sentences.[17]

Subsequent research in Bangladesh, on both men's and women's attitudes of IPV was conducted in order to develop better methodological tools. Researchers discovered that the number of participants who justified IPV under some circumstances would increase when there was additional context provided; suggesting that the DHS data underrepresents the number of people who condone IPV.[18] This study showed that women's responses believe that society rather than the individual's moral sense is right.[18] Their results also showed that when adding "at-fault" and "not-at-fault" to the questions asked in the DHS 63% of respondents agreed with one variation but did not with another, further showing that justifiability is contingent on the context.[18] Overall respondents approved of abusing one's wife, but they did say that women are often abused for the wrong reason, such as when the husband is in a foul mood he becomes upset over trivial matters and hits her.[18]

Household and economic decision-making power are contingent upon a women's agency in her relationship.[34] There is a relationship between poverty and disempowerment, since it is difficult to make choices when struggling to meet basic needs.[34] Agency allows people to define their goals and act upon them, including the actual action, but also the meaning, motivation, and sense of purpose which drives the action.[34] Decision-making agency in research has been used to conceptualize power.[82] Decision-making power is based on responses to questions women are asked about their roles in specific situations.[34] In the Egyptian context, decision-making power is addressed concerning: household budget, food cooked, visits, children's education, children's health, use of family planning methods.[83]

Generally, decision-making power is not strictly dichotomous between spouses, but rather both assume different responsibilities, influenced by the family and community.

### Egypt: A Legal Perspective

In 1993, the United Nations put forth the first official and comprehensive definition of violence, and the General Assembly adopted the Declaration of Elimination of Violence Against Women.[57] Egypt among many other nations ratified the declaration, thus making Egypt accountable to the international declaration.[57] In the context of the Egyptian Constitution, violence is subsumed into these articles:

Article 11: The State shall guarantee coordination between a woman's duties toward her family and her work in the society, considering her equal to man in the political, social, cultural, and economic life without violation to the rules of Islamic jurisprudence.[57]

Article 40: All citizens are equal before the law. They have equal public rights and duties without discrimination due to sex, ethnic origin, language, religion, or creed.[57]

While the articles in the Constitution do not directly state the words violence, they serve to address women's equality and protect them.[57] Looking at a specific law the Egyptian Penal Code (Law No. 58 of 1937) states "*categorizes all violence or attacks against women as crimes and regards the age of the victim and the degree of consanguinity or affinity between the victim and the assailant as aggravating factors in the assessment of the penalties.*"[84]

Other articles exist within the Penal Code which further characterize a criminal as anyone who commits an indecent act with a women even in private (Articles 279, 306).[57] Although these laws exist, the overall neglect to properly enforce them perpetuates the vicious cycle of violence. In February of 2000, in efforts to actively address the situation, the National Council



for Women and Ombudsman office was created and presided over by former first lady Suzanne Mubarak.[49, 85] CEDAW (Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women) addressed that although efforts were made and legislation were passed there has yet to be a holistic approach to both prevent and eliminate violence, concerning, domestic violence, marital rape, and punishing perpetrators.[85] The committee did urge the Egyptian government to conduct a nation-wide survey which addresses the breadth of violence against women in order to determine root causes of violence in order to draft more effective legislation. The committee also urged the government to create an environment of zero-tolerance in society by training and sensitizing judiciary, law enforcement officials, legal officials, and healthcare professionals.[85]

According to Egyptian law, a husband's responsibility is to provide financially for his family, and in return have his wife's obedience – meant to create a balancing exchange of duties in a relationship.[86, 87] *Ta'a*, or obedience in Arabic, means a woman should live in her husband's home, gain his permission to leave the home (except when visiting natal family), submit sexually, raise the children, and keep a tidy home – more extreme meanings expect a woman to interpret her husband's needs to prevent physical reprimanding.[86, 87]

### Cultural Context

The overall acceptance of violence in the Egyptian culture allows for violence to be perpetuated both in the home and publicly. Cultural values imply that it is the husband and father's prerogative to exert violence towards women.[88] Additionally, the media addresses violence against women as both acceptable and legitimate.[88] These patriarchal norms regulate women's behavior and the system as a whole. Healthcare workers often neglect to respond to the severity of a women's experienced abuse; police and military personal not only neglect to

enforce laws, they get away with public violations.[89, 90] According to Human Rights Watch reports, the over-all lack of enforcement of the law under President Hosni Mubarak and now under President Mohamed Morsi has allowed for violence to persist; under Mubarak 36% of women who were ever married reporting domestic violence.[26, 90]

Macro levels of male dominance in Egypt arise from structural gender inequalities; women have less formal education, worked less formally after marriage.[26, 91] Only 65 of 2,896 formal complaints to police during 2002-2004 were of IPV, and more than 2/5 were withdrawn in days.[91] Those agencies which do exist encourage spousal reconciliation over acquiring any law-enforcement authority's assistance.[91] In 2005, 36% ever-married 15-49 year old women reported some IPV be it, emotional, physical, or sexual, one third reported prior physical IPV.[26] The military has repeatedly failed to investigate and punish claims of violence by its own members against women, on claims of beating, torture, and virginity tests, while the military courts issue death sentences in cases of rape by civilians.[90]

Educated women more often find husbands' violent behavior unacceptable, one in five women who have a secondary education or higher condone wife-beating for at least one reason.[26, 27] Approximately 40% women said beating is justified when a wife goes somewhere without informing her husband, neglects children, argues, refuses sex, or burns the food.[26, 27]

In summary, the literature validates that one's attitudes about IPV in Egypt are influenced by a mélange of demographics, sociocultural, and infrastructural layers. The investigation of these factors in the literature indicates that women may think a certain way about IPV due to the structure of a patriarchal society; one theory attributes that women may think unorthodoxly due

to their exposure to resources. Since most research has been quantitative to date collected via the DHS as opposed to in-depth interviews, this study aims to see if this resource theory is indeed applicable in defining different perspectives of IPV.

### Chapter 3: Manuscript

*“It is his right.”* A qualitative exploration of women’s attitudes of Intimate Partner Violence in relation to their access to resources in Minya, Egypt

#### Abstract

**Background:** In Egypt, there is fairly widespread acceptability of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) against women. A number of theories explain possible reasons for it, but the process of acquiring enabling resources such as education and employment may empower women to have more agency and to voice non-normative attitudes about IPV.

**Goal:** The goal of this qualitative study was to develop a local taxonomy of women’s attitudes about IPV against women and to compare women’s resources and agency across attitudinal groups in Minya, Egypt.

**Methods:** Grounded theory was used to analyze textual data from 30 semi-structured interviews, among women exposed (n=16) and unexposed (n=14) to physical IPV. Texts were reviewed, memoed, and coded, and women were classified according to an emergent classification scheme reflecting women’s attitudes about IPV in local context. The resources and agency of women were compared across attitudinal groups to explore potential reasons for the attitudes they voiced.

**Results:** Four women were identified as always justifying IPV, 15 expressed “qualified acceptance,” and 11 perceived IPV as never acceptable. Those who found it acceptable felt it was the husband’s right to be violent; the qualifiers felt abuse was justified to an “extent;” and the others felt the husband lost authority over her if perpetrated abuse. All women thought it was the husband’s job to teach his wife what is right and wrong. Whereas some felt that physical reprimanding was fine, others believed wives should be punished only verbally. The women in different attitudinal groups had varying access to resources. Those who felt that IPV was never acceptable overall had the most education, and those who expressed “qualified acceptance” tended to be employed. Access to resources such as education and employment also were linked to companionate financial decisions with their husband in these groups.

**Discussion:** Supporting resource theorists, the notion that IPV is never acceptable is more common among women with access to resources and agency. Longitudinal research is needed to assess selected inconsistencies between the quantitative versus qualitative results in this study, to determine whether the findings indicate an overall change in attitudes towards the perceived acceptability of IPV.

## **Background**

### Definitions and Prevalence of Intimate Partner Violence and Favorable Attitudes

Intimate Partner Violence, IPV, is defined as “any behavior within an intimate relationship that causes physical, psychological, or sexual harm to those in the relationship,” and also as, “assaultive and coercive behaviors that adults use against their intimate partners.”[5, 6] Generally IPV exists along a continuum, from a unitary, isolated experience evolving to cyclical, chronic abuse.[8, 9]

Violence perpetrated against women has been recognized worldwide as a human rights issue which affects physical, mental, sexual, and reproductive health.[1-4] Research conducted since the 1990s shows evidence of the prevalence of violence against women perpetrated by intimate male partners.[11] When men are more controlling, they are more likely to exert violence.[11] In a WHO study conducted in 2005, among ever-partnered women ages 15-49 years in ten countries, 15%-71% reported lifetime physical or sexual violence, most prevalence rates were between 30%-60%, and 86% of those reporting physical or sexual IPV indicated at least one act of severe violence.[11, 12] Data from the Middle East indicates that violence is pervasive throughout the region between 33.8 – 37%.[13-16] The Demographic Health Survey collected data in over 25 countries concerning IPV and attitudes; female respondents of reproductive age were asked if they agree with any of the provided reasons which justify beating; and results indicated that 11-94% ever-abused women and 9-86% never-abused women agreed that violence is justified in at least one provided scenario.[12, 17-21] More than half of the women in poor, rural settings worldwide have reported wife beating as justifiable for some reason.[7, 22] Studies in the Middle East show acceptability to be between 50-90%.[23] Egypt, followed by Morocco, were the first Middle East countries to ask questions in their DHS

pertaining to violence. The acceptability of IPV among women in Morocco is 64.1%. [25] In the 2008 EDHS, 36% of ever-married women reported prior violence and approximately 40% justified it. [26, 27] Those who experienced or witnessed violence as a child are more prone to being victim in adulthood [8]; 69% of Egyptian children are slapped by their parents and 36% reported earlier experienced violence before marriage. [8, 26]

### Theories Explaining Attitudes Favoring IPV against Women

Certain theories elucidate why women justify violence and how their attitudes are shaped; these influencing theories are summarized in Table 1. Of these, the theory of *resources, social exchange, and women's dependence on marriage* is of interest in the Egyptian context because the quantitative data lends credence to the resource theory which drove the research question which explored access to resources and its affects on attitudes of violence. In Egypt, women with the following demographic characteristics perceive violence as acceptable: 50.4% are young wives, those ages 15-19; 47.5% reside in a rural location (rural Upper Egypt: 60.1%, rural Lower Egypt: 38.4%); 59.3% have no education; and 62.9% are in lowest economic quintile. [16] This theory posits that if a woman has resources or lack thereof from her husband it can affect her perspectives on IPV. [7, 28, 29] Resource theorists assert that the spouse with more education or higher income has more marital power. [30] Which in turn results in wives depending on the marriage in gender stratified societies, who rely on social positions and resources. [7, 31] According to feminist scholars women's experiences of IPV come from gender stratification. [31, 32] When men are more educated, have more economic and social and legal power, it allows them to be more domineering and affect women's views of IPV. [32]

The process of acquiring enabling resources, such as education, employment, and additional familial support, is a notion of empowerment and agency.[33, 34] By acquiring more resources, women in turn may enhance their agency, or ability to “define their own life-choices and to pursue their own goals, even in the face of opposition of others.”[34] One important domain of agency is the ability to voice opinions about gender that may contradict the dominant gender norms.[33, 34]

This research takes place in a poor, historically patriarchal setting, where relatively little is known about women’s responses to IPV - an exception is Yount’s study in 2010.[10] The purpose of this qualitative study is to develop a local taxonomy for women’s attitudes about IPV against women and to understand how women’s human and economic resources and agency may be related to their expressed attitudes. Since research from the West may not be generalizable to this context due to different institutional support and legal systems exist.[35] This study will generate a framework and hypotheses to be tested in representative, longitudinal samples, and will lead to recommendations about how to enable women to voice non-dominant views about the treatment of women. Furthermore, since current research suggests that women’s exposure to violence is higher in places where it is more socially acceptable, women’s condemnation of IPV is crucial for changing their risks of IPV.[92] Research explored in this addresses a gap in the literature by understanding how women exercise their agency, and explores the choices which they make in conjunction with their perceived acceptability or unacceptability of IPV.

**Table 1. Theories Which Explain and Shape Women’s Perspectives of IPV Acceptability**

<b>Theory</b>	<b>Premise</b>
<b>Resources, social exchange, and women’s dependence on marriage [30]</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women’s resources or lack of from husband affects perspectives of IPV</li> <li>• Spouse with more education and income has more marital power</li> </ul>
<b>Classic Patriarchy [21]</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Describes male domination</li> <li>• Pervasive in North Africa, Middle East, South and East Asia</li> <li>• Girls are married off when young, and are subordinate to husband and in-laws who dictate her work and number of children</li> <li>• Women internalize patriarchy so they one day can exert authority over daughter-in-law</li> </ul>
<b>Strategic Conformity [10] [75] [86, 87]</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women conform societal expected role in order to prevent being abused and assume the role of a <i>good wife</i></li> <li>• Blame women for the aggression they experience – must modify behavior as preventable measure</li> <li>• Encouraged to follow roles of unequal power dynamics</li> <li>• Apply <i>ta’a</i> (Arabic for obedience) – submit sexually, gain permission before leaving, raise children, keep a clean house in exchange for the husband’s financial security</li> </ul>
<b>Invisible Power [72]</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Psychological and social processes in relationships which make women view inequalities as normal</li> </ul>

## **Methods**

### Overview

The study utilizes quantitative and qualitative data collected during January – March, 2012, in Minya, Egypt. A structured questionnaire was administered to rural women to collect basic demographic, work history, violence history, and finance information. This survey was used to derive descriptive statistics on the population. This short structured questionnaire was followed by a semi-structured in depth interview (SSI), which allowed for a rich exploration of women attitudes and experiences pertaining to gender relations in marriage and IPV. These



interviews were designed to inform the development of a survey instrument for a longitudinal study in rural Minya Governorate. Both the qualitative and quantitative data were collected to understand the influences of women's exposure to IPV on their engagement in market, subsistence, domestic, and care work, and perceptions on the effects of exposure to IPV on daily activities, while simultaneously assist in interpreting survey findings.[93] The research team included researchers from Emory University, the University of Toronto, Population Council Cairo, and the American University in Cairo.

### Study Setting

Egypt is the most densely populated Arab country.[21] There are significant disparities between the urban, wealthy North and the more rural, socially conservative South.[93] Minya Governorate, is approximately 250 km south of Cairo, in Upper (Southern) Egypt, and has roughly 4.3 million residents, 81.1% who reside in rural areas.[94] Compared to Northern Egyptians, Southern Egyptians tend to have lower levels of education and experience higher rates of unemployment, poverty, and mortality.[94] Minya ranks 24, out of 26 governorates, on standard indicators of human development.[94] In 2006 the adult literacy rate was 57% and 29% of women were involved in the labor force.[94] Reported rates of IPV in 2005 were 31% in Southern Egypt,[26]; however, estimates of IPV from the larger survey (67% lifetime IPV) suggest that levels of IPV are substantially underestimated in prior studies.[21] Practices which are associated with classic patriarchy are also more pervasive in the South such as the following: marrying at a younger age, 19.4 years compared to 20.5 in the North; more likely to marry a blood relative 41.3% versus 23.4%; and fertility rates are higher, 3.4 versus 2.9 births.[10, 16, 21, 33]

### Study Population and Recruitment

Participants in SSIs were female residents of Minya, ever married, and between the ages 22-65 years. This was a convenience quota sample of n= 16 Intimate Partner Violence and n= 14 No Intimate Partner Violence individuals, providing 30 case studies. A purposive sample of women were selected with the intent of equally capturing economic autonomy, empowerment, and attitudes towards IPV among those women who have experienced IPV and those who have not. All 30 respondents were from a rural area in proximity to Minya City. Participants in to the pre-interview questionnaire and SSIs were identified with help from community liaisons. In all cases respondents were referred to the study team by women working in village NGOs who acted as gatekeepers. The study interviewed all women who were referred to the interviewer by the NGO workers.

### Data collection

Data were collected for a retrospective review of potential risk factors of IPV experienced by women. Data were collected using a two-staged approach. First women were visited by an enumerator who administered a questionnaire collecting socio-demographic information, a 24 hour recall of household activities, and attitudes pertaining to IPV. Approximately 48 hours after this questionnaire a trained researcher visited the participant and conducted a SSI on attitudes and beliefs towards IPV. The two components were matched with unique identifiers (Appendix A and B).

SSIs were applied due to their ability to more easily explore perceptions, behaviors, and personal experiences on a potentially sensitive topic. The SSIs were used to understand how women describe and link prior episodes of IPV to their health, economic activities, and domestic care work. The interviewer followed a field guide of open-ended questions, and was instructed to

probe on particular topics. The SSIs began with questions pertaining to economic activities, transitioned to decision-making in the household, and then ended with IPV narratives and attitudes towards IPV. Questions pertaining to “activities” addressed women’s subsistence and market work by listing economic activities which were constructed in previous Egyptian studies.[93, 95] Questions also addressed whether women received any cash or kind for her work, how many hours were devoted monthly to work, and earnings. This data allows for classification of ranges of economic activities and domestic activities and chores *a posteriori*. One female interviewer, with expertise in qualitative and quantitative data collection on IPV was trained to conduct the SSIs in the local Arabic dialect.

SSIs in conjunction with the questionnaire were utilized to assess differences which may exist among women who are exposed to IPV and those who are not. The intent was to have an equal number of interviews conducted among those exposed and unexposed to IPV until saturation was met; however, there were, n= 16 IPV, n= 14 no IPV interviews. Case #3 was responsible for the unequal number, in the pre-SSI questionnaire she indicated that husband had pushed her, and in the interview she confirmed it, but said it was not IPV. Upon clarifying this case with the primary investigator, we chose to leave her identity as an IPV exposed woman. Furthermore, two women self- identified as having experienced IPV in the qualitative SSI but did not report this as part of the questionnaire.

In preparation for analysis, all SSIs were audio recorded, transcribed into Egyptian colloquial Arabic by one transcriber, and then translated into English by three translators. To preserve confidentiality during data transfer and analysis a letter was assigned to each respondent.

### Ethical Considerations

The Institutional Review Board at Emory University (IRB Protocol IRB#00046958; Approve Date June 1, 2011) and the Central Agency for the Public Mobilization of Statistics (CAPMAS) in Cairo, Egypt approved the protocol for this study. Verbal informed consent was obtained from the respondents with a witness present. The secondary analysis for this thesis does not qualify as human subjects research as the data had been de-identified. No amendments were necessary for the secondary data analysis reported in this study.

### Data Analysis

This study reports on secondary analysis of the data from pre-interview questionnaires and SSIs with the intent of addressing the following research question: *How do women express their views about intimate partner violence against women, and how are a woman's human and economic resources and agency related to her attitudes about IPV against wives?*

Descriptive statistics were produced using data from the pre-SSI questionnaire. All descriptive statistics were estimated using Microsoft Excel. Otherwise, the analysis focused primarily on data from the SSIs. The interviews allowed for researchers to identify women's personal narratives and their perceptions on IPV regardless of whether or not they were exposed to it. The 30 interview transcripts were de-identified and imported into MAXQDA 10 software, 2010, for data management, coding, and analysis.

Members of the primary research team developed the codebook upon reviewing eight Arabic transcripts, half from women who reported physical IPV and half from women who did not report physical IPV. These initial codes then were tested on three different English transcripts. Since the development of codes is an iterative process, the codebook was further

refined upon initial memoing of all 30 transcripts. Codes were developed to explore emergent themes pertaining to women's resources and agency, attitudes towards IPV, and situations that led to problems between spouses both in general and in her household. All 30 interviews were memoed and coded. A grounded theory analysis was conducted to discern themes primarily through an inductive coding process, allows for issues to be understood in context and indicates the themes about which respondents spoke.[96] Deductive codes derived from existing literature regarding IPV in Egypt were utilized. An in-vivo code was developed when a phrase was used in Arabic, expressing a concept pertinent to the culture and was relevant to the research team's research question; for example *gamiyah* (Arabic for saving circle).<sup>1</sup> Codes were categorized into the following overarching categories: economic and non-economic activities regarding work, situations in which problems arose between wife and husband, attitudes towards IPV, enabling resources, and agency (specifically physical mobility and financial decision-making). The codes were compiled in a codebook, which was used as a data-management tool to label and define textual data. The iterative qualitative process verified themes and the codes that were developed were verified with University of Toronto professor Dr. Rania Salem's codebook. There were 25 codes with 138 subcodes.

Women were originally dichotomously categorized based on their exposure to spousal violence, for purposes of a constant comparative analysis.[97] As the analysis proceeded, however, they were re-categorized into three groups based on their expressed attitudes about physical IPV, and a constant comparative analysis was conducted. The identified attitudinal subgroups included those who felt that wife beating was always justified; those who expressed "qualified" acceptance of wife beating; and those who opposed wife beating in all situations

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<sup>1</sup>*Gamiyah*: a merry-go-round system of saving money where each month a woman puts a certain value into the group/neighborhood collection, and each month a different woman gets to take the whole month's collections.

(Appendix C). Physical IPV was used as the delineating factor since nearly all (except two) women identified situations in which yelling and threatening were justified.

Codes and their presence throughout the interviews were analyzed to develop a thick description and to make comparisons across the different attitudinal subgroups – distinguishing recurrent themes and pervasive characteristics. All transcripts' key points were marked with codes, these codes were grouped under overarching categories, for example, all situations pertaining to a woman's empowerment were under an overarching code. Upon further analysis, the mobility and finance codes were treated as one theme – empowerment. That theme, in conjunction with the code which addressed women's attitudes towards IPV were analyzed in order to establish theories. The grounded theory approach revealed categorical-specific responses towards the women's household and economic autonomy and empowerment. The results provide a general overview of each of these three sub-groups and the local taxonomy of women's attitudes towards IPV.

## **Results**

The 30 women were categorized into three attitudinal groups based on their attitudes of physical IPV, during the SSIs. Four of the 30 informants always justified wife beating as the husband's right, 15 expressed qualified acceptance of wife beating, and 11 informants said that wife beating was never acceptable. Table 2 shows the frequencies, and relative frequencies of women stratified based on attitudinal subgrouping.

### **Descriptive Statistics**

All women across the attitudinal groups live in rural and periurban Minya Governorate and came from households in the lower and lower-middle income bracket. The women in this

cohort were 36.1 years old. Only one woman was a co-wife, and most women had only been married once, 1.17 times; and 40% were related to their husbands before marriage. On average, 63.3% of women attended school, 57.9% of whom attended vocational school, this is attributable to the high rates of education in the never justifies violence sub-group. Most women, 61.9%, made money by raising and selling birds and their eggs, a few others worked as either law clerks, seamstresses, business association loan grantors, and one was a nurse. While the wives had jurisdiction over their own finances 55.6% of the time, when it concerned their husband's salary they would make concurrent decisions with him 40% of the time. Women had authority over daily household needs 70% of the time. All but two women were Muslim, the two Christian women were both in the always justifies IPV group.

On average, the women who always justified IPV against women were older (39 versus 35.8 and 35.5 years), and three of the four women were related to their husband by blood before marriage. One woman from the qualifying group had a co-wife, the rest of the women were their husband's only wife. The women in the never justify IPV group on average were 2.2 years older than the other women at marriage. On average, among all the women 63.3% had some education. In the group which qualifies acceptable situations of abuse, 66.7% experienced IPV. Whereas, the group of women who never justify violence 45.5% experienced violence, and 25.0% of women who always justify violence have been exposed to IPV.

The group which qualifies situations of IPV had the greatest frequency of women who had worked in the past seven days, at 50.0%; the variable which had the most missing responses was for having worked in the past 12 months, with half of the responses missing. Regarding fee for work, the one woman who answered the question from the always justifies violence group is not paid, whereas most women from the other two groups, 85.7%, are paid in cash.

When looking at women's economic autonomy over her own income, the women who always justify IPV did not respond, but the average of the other two groups shows that 55.6% determine the use of their own finances; that decreases to 6.7% when addressing decision-making over the husband's income and 10.0% for major household purchases. However, on average 70.0% of all women make decisions pertaining to daily household needs.

### **Local Taxonomy of Women's Attitudes about IPV against Women**

The following section of the results aims to address varying levels of acceptability of IPV by each attitudinal group as determined by the SSIs, each sub-section reflects the opinions of only those women. Table 3 is a concordance table which reflects the level of agreement between the pre-interview questionnaire and the SSI defined subgroups for the various justifications for IPV.

#### ***“This [hitting] is normal”***

(Case #30 Education: none; Worked in past 12 months: no)

Four women characterized IPV as “normal” and always justified it, deeming it the husband's undisputable prerogative. One of the four women had experienced violence perpetrated by her spouse. The only two Christian women in the study were both in this subgroup. Only one of the four women had any education and it was at the primary level. The questionnaire responses by the women indicate near perfect agreement, they differed only in the category of “wife burns food.” Two women were not in accordance with the statement; in the qualitative SSIs they indicated IPV was acceptable in any situation whereas in the survey they indicated that violence was not justified if a woman burns food.

During the SSIs the four women clarified that they felt that violence is always allowed when perpetrated by the husband. These women normalize IPV by saying that violent treatment



is reserved for the wife, “He has the right to beat her. Who else should he beat? His mother? He should not be unfair with anyone but his wife.” (Case #4; Education: no; Worked in past 12 months: no). This dominant perception of abuse being “normal,” or in Arabic *yemi ayeeb*, exemplifies the hegemonic ideas these women adopted – the notion that it is the husband’s duty to discipline his wife if she transgresses gender boundaries. These women believe that it is the woman’s responsibility to modify her behavior in order to prevent abuse, and in the event that she fails to do so it is her fault if she is beaten because women are always wrong. One woman said that, “As in the general saying, if we did so, we will not suffer” meaning if you obey your husband you will not have problems. Furthermore her statement addresses his religious right, “But he is the man who has the right in everything. Because it is his religious right...he has the right to insult her or hit her.” (Case #11, Education: none, Worked in past 12 months: no)

Women constantly used the phrase “It is his right” justifying why he has the *right* to abuse his spouse, his right to discipline, and her job to be extremely obedient.<sup>2</sup> Another woman not exposed to violence explains when a husband becomes nervous that he then acts out.

*He becomes nervous if he doesn’t feel good with her, so here he has the right to do anything. It means that the women should obey her husband and behaves exactly as he wants, there are women who do so and other who don’t, but we thanks God.*  
(Case #11, Education: none, Worked in past 12 months: no)

**“He can beat her, but only if necessary.”**

(Case #5, Education: vocational secondary, Worked in past 12 months: unanswered, has worked in the past week)

There were 15 women in the subgroup which qualified acceptable situations of IPV. Of the 15 women, 10 experienced IPV in their relationships. There are at least two types of

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<sup>2</sup> *Right* – as used by these women refers to a husband having an obedient wife who submits sexually, seeks his permission before leaving the house, raises the children, and maintains a clean house – while he in return provides financially. If she does not meet these needs then it is his *right* to become upset, punish, or abuse (verbally or physically).7. Yount, K., *Women's "Justification" of Domestic Violence in Egypt*. Journal of Marriage and Family, 2009. 71: p. 1125-1140, 7. *ibid*.

qualification – women who generally feel ambivalent about the right of the husband to beat his wife, and those who feel that it is justified in some situations but not others. There were four women who spoke negatively about IPV to the interviewer, but then shared scenarios when it was permissible – thus revealing groups of women who have situational views about IPV perpetrated towards women. These four women appear in characteristics to be more similar to those women who never justify IPV. In this group of 15 women, six women worked in the past week, contributed to the household income, and had some economic autonomy.

As indicated in Table 3, the nature and consequences of the transgression vary depending on the action. The two most incriminating actions a woman could commit that justified abuse were leaving the home without informing her husband (73.3%), and neglecting the children (86.7%). Whereas, if she argues with him, refuses sex, or burns the food, 20-33.3% women felt those were justifiable behaviors to result in IPV. The quantitative findings are in concordance with those from the SSIs. Other responses with high frequencies were 5/15 when the wife does not obey the husband, 4/15 for when she repeats a mistake, 6/15 when the wife spends money carelessly or talks about how much money she makes, 5/15 betrays/when she talks with a man or become friends with him, and the most contentious 10/15 for denying sex.

This notion of a husband's *right* were apparent in all 30 interviews, however each woman interpreted his said rights and a wife's expected duties and repercussions slightly differently, either as a harsh punishment or light reprimanding before resorting to violence. Figure 1, captures the main beliefs of each subgroup, and overlap of shared attitudes between subgroups. The qualification is that IPV is justified when women transgress their gender role, as defined by their husband. Women would say that the husband cannot beat his wife as long as she upholds her role, but if she were to fail as a wife she will absorb the fault and the consequences.

Exceeding her limits refers to the bounds of what a husband tells his wife is permissible regarding her behavior. Qualifying IPV is based on specific situations which can be defined by the seriousness of the wife's "transgression" - be it burning food versus sexual infidelity. Qualifying acceptable situations, regardless of the type of transgression, may also be defined by the wife's intent and if she was intentionally disobedient. Women would say there is no reason for a man to beat his wife, as long as she is respectable, cooked his food and followed his rules.

*R: I myself see that it is impossible for my husband to hit me, or may be because I don't do anything that makes him angry to the extent that he hit me, because I don't go outside the house without his approval, I clean the house and get whatever missing in it, I keep his money, so, why he hits me.*

*I: What if the woman didn't do all of these, can he hit her?*

*R: Yes, he can hit her if someone neglects in her house, in her children, if she didn't listen to him, if she insults him, so he should hit her.*

*I: What if she refused to sleep with him, can he hit her?*

*R: if she refused to sleep with him, it is possible, there are many men hit their wives.*

*I: No, I don't want what happens, I want to know your opinion.*

*R: In my opinion, not to that extent, I never exposed to this myself.*

*I: No, I am not asking about your case, I don't mind what happens in reality.*

*R: He can hit her.*

*I: In your opinion, do you think that there are women that deserve that the man hit them?*

*R: Yes, of course, there are women who deserve of course that men hit them.*

(Case #28, Education: vocational secondary, worked in past 12 months: no)

***"The woman should not be hit by the man."***

(Case #24; Education: none; Worked in past 12 months: yes)

Eleven women found IPV absolutely unacceptable and unjustifiable under any circumstance; 45.5% of these women experienced IPV. They acknowledged that men will hit their wives when they are nervous, but that it was not acceptable behavior, and instead suggested he use his words to demonstrate his point and reprimand her verbally. Although these women staunchly spoke out against IPV during the SSIs there was good but not perfect agreement with their quantitative responses pertaining to their attitudes towards violence. In their quantitative responses, see Table 3, four of the women, or 36.4 % said it was acceptable for the husband to

hit his wife when she argues with him; two, 18.2%, felt it was acceptable when she neglects the children; and one, 9.1% said it was ok for him to abuse his wife if she denies him sex. Overall, these women attributed their attitudes to modernism and their faith; saying that abuse is an antiquated practice and that their Islamic faith prohibits it.

These women believe that a wife is not obligated to be obedient to her husband, and that obedience is not an indiscriminate requirement. In one situation the woman said that women should not be hit by men, and that she should inform him this in a polite way, another woman said that husbands become upset when they are disobeyed but since they give so many orders a woman has to avoid getting used to all of the orders and carrying through because otherwise if she does not one day he will not tolerate her if she objects later. (Case #8; Education: vocational secondary; Worked in past 12 months: unanswered) These women are expressing that obedience has its limits, particularly when the husband becomes too demanding, challenging the general ideas of patriarchal exchange in Egypt where a wife is obedient in exchange for a husband's protection and maintenance.

While they staunchly opposed IPV, they did agree that it is a man's right to become verbally upset if the wife does any of the following: 5/11 does not behave and does not obey him regarding her behavior; 6/11 goes outside when he has told her not to or goes somewhere without informing him; 4/11 talks to men in inappropriate and jokes with them or insults his family; 3/11 give money to her family or is wasteful with it; 3/11 did something wrong and did not tell him; 3/11 ruins food; 1/11 refuses sex; 2/11 opposes him and rejects him at everything he says. For all of these scenarios, women said that he can become upset with her, but he should tell her and make her understand that she has made a mistake.

This group of women emphasized that husbands are not ever allowed to abuse, and if they do, it is considered a failure of their masculinity, and that it is more appropriate for men to rather exert authority without force. Five women said that he should not threaten his wife but tell her in private how she erred because he should teach her instead of embarrassing both of them. For those men who do hit their wives, his authority over her dissipates and he loses any of his *rights* over her.

*No, hitting is foolish, and also by hitting her, a husband would lose his right.*  
(Case #16; Education: preparatory; Worked in past 12 months: unanswered)

*“I refuse hitting her under any circumstances. This is rejected and wrong. If he hits her, he will then insult himself. There is no respectable man agree to hit his wife.”*  
(Case #20; Education: vocational secondary; Worked in past 12 months: yes)

### **Agency and Resources**

The following section of the results aims to address varying levels of agency each attitudinal group has regarding a woman’s agency in both household decision-making and finances and their access to human resource - education. Figure 2, is a summation of general themes derived from the qualitative data.

***“He is the one of course [with final word on money].”***  
(Case #30; Education: none; Worked in past 12 months: no)

Women in the group who always justify IPV had very little exposure to education, there was only one woman who had any education and it was at the primary level. While none of the women indicated that they had worked in the last 12 months in the quantitative survey, during the SSIs they shared that their work experiences are primarily limited to housework and raising animals – whose products they sold when there was a shortage of money. One woman sold in the market, while others said that they only worked at home. The one woman in this subgroup who

experienced IPV works with her husband as a trader selling women's clothing and household necessities. Concerning their payment for working, only one answered the question in the questionnaire and she indicated she is not paid for her work.

Household and financial agency for each woman varies per couple. Regarding financial agency, two women could make decisions regarding daily household affairs and the husband's income, but none had any jurisdiction over large purchases for the house. For those who could make purchases, they bought small items for the house, fruits, vegetables, and clothing or school essentials for the children – they did not purchase meats or good for themselves. However for the women who lived with her in-laws, they had absolutely no agency concerning the home and finances. One woman addressed why her husband has the final jurisdiction over finances, “Yes, because he is the one who pays the money, and he knows his budget whether he will be able to pay back for the *gamieyah* of the installment or not.” (Case #27; Education: primary; Worked in past 12 months: no, but has in past week)

In general all of the women would take care of the household affairs without informing their husband. They said this was “normal” behavior and that “it is not his business” and that they can cook and clean without his permission as they deem necessary. While they had minimal access to finances, these women were responsible for all things concerning their children, including reprimanding; however, when it concerned a child's marriage decisions were discussed together but the husband still had the final jurisdiction concerning the amount of money their son should have for his marriage gift and what items to include in their daughter's trousseau. These women said that their husbands predominantly only controlled their access and usage of money.

***“Now he is very happy of my work and I know that when anyone speaks about my work, he defends me and my work a lot.”***

(Case #28; Education: vocational secondary; Worked in past 12 months: unanswered)

This group of 15 women, qualifying the acceptability of IPV, covered a spectrum of women with varying resources and agency. Sixty percent of the women had some education, 55.6% of these women had completed secondary school, see Table 2. Fifty percent of the six women, who answered, said they worked in the past 12 months. Most women, 75%, raised birds to augment the household income, 58.3% of them work throughout the year, and 91.7% of working women were paid in cash. The majority, 54.5%, of women had jurisdiction over their income; however, when concerning their husband’s income, the husband decided 66.7% of the time while 33.3% of the time they mutually decided. Husbands had final authority over major financial household decisions 73.3% of the time.

These women chose to work primarily due to the financial necessity. One woman was a nurse, one worked for a lawyer, and three were seamstresses. Women said they appreciated the benefits of being able to make purchases and give children money when the husband is away since they previously did not have a disposable income. For women selling eggs, they established the prices. Women said that their husbands felt that wives’ responsibilities were in the home and men were to provide for them; husbands reconciled their beliefs when they noticed how a second income greatly assisted them. There were four women who said that their husband’s did not care to know how much money she made. While most men would no longer stop their wives from working, they would dictate her hours of work and attire. Some husbands were extremely grateful for their wives’ support, one woman recounted, “When he talked with his siblings. Then kept telling him: ‘Why should she go outside home, why should she work and get out of her house?’ He told her: ‘I am happy for her; she can buy things for herself like

clothes. She renews the house. No one of you can do that. I am happy for her. I trust her and this is the most important thing.” (Case #3; Education: preparatory; Worked in past 12 months: unanswered but worked in past week).

Generally women could make household purchases such as soap and food without needing to speak with their husbands, but for women in households where they lacked autonomy over their income she would give it to her husband to make purchases. In households where women had more agency regarding finances, they established saving accounts, purchased household necessities and meat, enhanced their bird projects, paid electricity bills, purchased gas, and saved money for the daughter’s *al-gihaz* (marriage/bridal needs). Eggs were even used to reciprocate favors with neighbors. In nearly all cases the woman was the one who convinced the husband that it was necessary for them to save money; seven women said they save money behind their husbands’ back. Regarding money women earned, eight had complete authority over it, and five women made decisions with their husbands. For large purchases women generally propose it, they would then discuss it, but the husband usually had the final word. Most said that they could not make expensive purchases without his permission. Expensive purchases were described as computers, satellite dishes, and home renovations. In the rare situation where the woman made more money than her husband, she assumed all household authority over finances. The two women who made more than their husband would keep it for themselves when they were not spending it on the children and the house, they would save it.

*I am the one who is responsible for my husband and my children, we don’t agree on specific amount that he takes but on the salary day, when I take my salary I get food for the house, clothes for the children, shoes if someone needs it, bags, something like that. But we don’t agree on specific amount of money.* (Case #28; Education: vocational secondary; Worked in past 12 months: unanswered)



***“I wanted to have a job to have a fixed salary and also when I grow up, I found something to rely on. It is not my husband – frankly speaking – who can I rely on.”***

(Case #8; Education: vocational secondary; Worked in past 12 months: unanswered)

The women in this subgroup, those who find IPV completely unacceptable, were the most educated, 81.8% had an education, and of those 66.7% completed their secondary education. Fifty percent of the six women who answered the question pertaining to working in the last 12 months, do work. Overall, 87.5% of the subgroup, were paid in cash for their services. Half of the women worked all year long and half worked in the bird business while others acquired jobs outside of the home in the business association or clerking for lawyers. The majority, 57.1%, had jurisdiction over their own finances, and 45.5% of the women made mutual decisions with their husband. When it concerned their husbands' income, most women, 54.5%, made mutual decisions with him. Only one had the authority to make decisions on her husband's salary and major household purchases.

Like the women in the qualifying group, the women in this sub-group had an array of responses concerning their agency. Women said that men took a sense of pride in their wives not working because they wanted to be able to buy her anything she needed; others said that their husband had told them that money is not everything and that caring for him, the children, and the home is much more important. Yet there were many, 72.7%, women in this sub-group chose to work either because they did not like idle time, they felt the necessity of an additional income because their husband's salary was low, or because they did not want to rely on their husband.

Nearly all the women who did work faced initial objections from their husbands, but once they noticed the financial benefits they were often supportive of their wives. Once the husband realized his wife's bird business was able to pay for the children's clothes he developed a great sense of pride in her and would brag to his friends and family telling them that she was the one

who allowed them to buy more. Other husbands would help by feeding and tending after the birds and restocking with chicks. One husband trained his wife to use the equipment for his work so she would be able to aid him and increase the household income.

*He respects that I am standing by him. He says that I am a good person, because I stood by him in this difficult time. He said he will never find someone like me. My husband told me that no one stood by his side from his siblings, no one except me.*

(Case #16; Education: preparatory; Worked in past 12 months: unanswered)

According to the quantitative data which was concordant with the SSIs, this category of women 81.8% had authority regarding purchases in addition to daily household necessities. Regarding major household financial decisions, just one made large decisions without the husband's final approval, but more, 45.5%, made joint decisions with their spouse, and 45.5% husbands would have the authority and final word.

Regarding saving money, a few women would save money without their husbands knowing, but most would encourage their husbands that it would be good for them to save, so they would do so by putting money in the bank or in the *gamieyah*. When it concerned spending money on their children, women were allowed to do as they pleased for small purchases, but others would pay for their children's private tutoring and send their daughters to secondary school when the husband refused to pay. While the majority of women in this subgroup had more agency than others to make financial decisions, there were still a few, four, who would inform their husband of her every move and spending, and these women would do so proactively as a means to prevent him from becoming upset later.

Figure 2 depicts main differing points between women of each sub-group while capturing the similarities in the center of the Venn diagram, the primary point being that all women believe that men have certain rights from women and that women have a role in the household which they must fulfill.

## Discussion

The goal of this cross-sectional study was to develop a local taxonomy for attitudes about IPV against women, and to explore the extent to which women's views about such violence vary according to their resources and agency in Minya, Egypt. The manuscript has highlighted the most salient responses from women addressing their attitudes towards IPV while in conjunction showcasing their self-defined education, work and economic experiences. Studies as such, are rare in classical patriarchal settings because women typically conform to society.[76] Thus, these findings offer insight in order to attend to IPV perpetrated towards women in these settings.

Three attitudinal groups of women emerged from the data: those who felt IPV was always justified (n=4); those who qualified IPV (n=15); and those who felt IPV was never justified (n=11). Major findings from the data were: (1) Women with more exposure to resources, be it school or work, expressed greater agency and tended to have more negative views towards IPV supporting the theory of resources (2) women have a certain role they must fulfill in their household and men have certain *rights* and may become upset if they are not fulfilled (3) the proportion of women opposed to IPV under any circumstance was higher than has been reported in previous studies.

### *Access to Resources and Agency*

The theory which drove the research question is: *resources, social exchange, and women's dependence on marriage*, which suggests that if a woman has resources or lack thereof from her husband it can affect her perspectives on IPV. [7, 28, 29] The process of acquiring enabling resources, such as education, employment, and additional familial support, as Kabeer suggests is a notion of empowerment and agency.[33, 34] Women's agency is used to refer to

the ability to make life choices under historically evolving constraints.[34] These women's agency was indicative of their status in the household which was often linked to their economic agency. In almost all situations women's earnings contributed to acquiring household needs or goods for the children.

Women belonging to the subgroup which never finds IPV acceptable, were the most educated and proportionally the most who worked. In all but one case, of those working, women said that their husband was eventually glad that they could contribute to the household finances, and rely on her to do so, and in return a few husbands would assume household responsibilities. This suggests that women's views are related to men's responses to women's work, and the relationships in this subgroup are much more companionate than those in the other subgroups.

For women working outside of their homes as secretaries, a nurse, or in the business associations their incomes were higher than those in the bird business. Increased income typically yielded more decision-making authority in the household, be it mutual or exclusive decision-making power. These women, with more education and incomes would also enforce their own decisions when it concerned their children's education or health. Based off of Kabear's agency framework, the increased resources, be it in education or work and the agency these women have regarding controlling their finances, has resulted in companionate decision-making in the household, which yields a hypothesis that over time there may be change in IPV acceptability as women's agency allows them to make life choices under these historically evolving constraints.[34] Nearly all women made decisions affecting daily household needs, 60% of all women felt that it was the husband's duty to make the final decision on major household decisions; addressing a "feminine" versus "masculine" domains of decision-making.

### *Women's Roles and Men's Rights*

Among all women there was consensus that women have a role in the household which they must fulfill and that the husband has *rights*. If his *rights* are not met then he is allowed to become upset, varying degrees of acceptable upset were featured ranging from verbal reprimanding to physical abuse.

Corroborating other studies of women in Egypt and resource poor, non-Western areas, some women justified violence towards women when they believe she was disobedient.[7, 19] In previous research in Egypt, Yount reported that a wife's disobedience and violation of her domestic duties, primarily going somewhere without informing the husband were justifiable reasons for abuse.[7] This phenomenon is also noted in this population of women from Minya. The women would say that the husband has certain rights, in exchange for him providing for her and teaching her what is right. These rights include having food prepared, the children tended after, a clean house, his clothes prepared, and sex – when these rights are not met they said that husbands become upset, and most said that he is allowed to become upset.

According to Egyptian law, a husband's financial duty is to meet his family's basic needs in exchange for his wife's obedience – equalizing an exchange of duties.[10, 87] By conforming to this *good woman* role, women are able to avoid IPV and preserve a sense of self-worth; however, inadvertently they perpetuate patriarchal structures in the community.[10, 76] By being a *good woman* she applies *ta'a*, and in extreme situations, that includes a wife being able to anticipate her husband's wants and desires to avoid physical reprimanding.[10, 87] Macro levels of male dominance arise from and are reinforced by structural gender inequalities in education and employment where women generally have less formal education and employment after marriage.[26, 91]

The concept of a husband's behavior being justified stems from a theory on *invisible power*, which explains psychological and social processes which exist in a relationship of powers.[7, 72] This theory suggests that subordinate individuals deem inequalities in power and authority as "right" and "normal." [7, 72] Yount noted in a study in Assiut, Egypt, a region proximal to Minya, that women would conform to society as a "good woman" in order to preserve a sense of self-worth.[7, 98] Similarly, the three women in this study who were not abused but justified IPV under any circumstance and a few women from the group who qualify acceptable situations of abuse felt that they were acting appropriately and their actions kept them from being abused and that other women should learn how to behave to avoid abuse. These women indicated that the husband's role is to guide his wife on her behavior and teach her what is right and wrong; it is his job to correct her behavior in whichever way he deems it necessary.

#### *Inconsistent Findings about Women's Opposition to IPV*

This research indicated that 11 (36.7%) of the women voiced transgressive views about IPV, saying that under no circumstance is it justified. The number of women who staunchly spoke out against IPV was higher than what has been reported in other studies in Egypt. The women in the subgroup that says violence is never acceptable described violence as something which is antiquated and an old practice. Although the notion of *ta'a* was pervasive among all women, justified abuse was not; in addition to the 11 women, there were also four women in the qualifying subgroup who stated negative attitudes about IPV but still justified if they found it to be a horrible transgression - indicating perhaps a change in thinking.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> *Ta'a*, obedience in Arabic, which means that a woman should live in her husband's home gain his permission to leave (except when visiting natal family), submit sexually, raise the children, and keep the house clean, and in more extreme situations she should interpret his needs in order to prevent physical reprimanding – in exchange for a husband who provides financially.87. Bernard, N., Dupret, B., *Egypt and its laws*. 2002, New York: Kluwer Law International.

These findings are in dissociation with a study in neighboring Assiut Governate, where the notion of *ta'a* was pervasive yet the prevalence of justification of abuse was higher, 14 of the 20 women found IPV acceptable.[10] A Difference Effect may be applied to explain the differences in acceptability; sampling strategies in Minya were purposive, and recruited via a gatekeeper, and included more women; whereas in Assiut recruitment was for women of more or less or equal schooling as their husband and it took place through a health clinic.[10] Assiuti women on average were 29.6 years old, the Minya sample average age was 36.1.[10]. As well, inconsistencies in the quantitative versus the qualitative findings may explain the different findings. During the SSIs this sub-group of Minya women revealed that they found IPV unacceptable. However their responses to cognate survey items revealed that 36.4% said it was acceptable if she neglects the children, 18.2% said if leaves without telling her husband, and 9.1% when she denies sex. This contradiction could be because the interviewee felt the need to provide a certain response, or the interviewer lacked proper probing or asked leading questions. In regards to the quantitative data, women were provided scenarios and told to select the ones they deemed acceptable, giving them something to choose from whereas the interview was open-ended. Studies in Bangladesh show that underreporting in gender stratified societies where violence is deemed a male's prerogative is due to shame, cultural biases towards disclosure, lack of recognition of certain behaviors as violence.[8, 17, 48] A study in Bangladesh which addresses women's contradictory responses to attitudinal questions indicates this is due to latent power processes in marriage.[99] Women initially stated that violence is unacceptable, but immediately contradicted themselves by providing an acceptable situation.[99]

It is plausible that the increased agency from working and having an income empowered women to say violence is unacceptable. As well, it is plausible that a shift in women's

empowerment and thinking is underway as a result of the Egyptian Revolution (January 25, 2011). This notion of societal change has been reported in Bangladesh where women who spoke out against IPV said times were changing for the better, and that there is no longer any use to wife beating and that it would not be beneficial.[99] Thus this qualitative study's differences from the neighboring governorate highlight the need for further research in Egypt and the Middle East to understand if a shift in societal norms towards IPV is occurring and if so, what factors underlie this shift in thinking.

### *Limitations*

Since the study did not belong to a development focused NGO there is little reason for the respondents to hyperbolize problems in order to reap any benefits and their trust in the interviewer reduced the need to provide false positive answers. The primary limitation of this study comes from a lack of probing by the interviewer. With more probing when a woman said, "beating to an extent is acceptable" that "extent" would be known; in a few situations the interviewer would try to probe but to no avail would the respondent elaborate and just answered in abrupt short sentences. Additionally, the interviews were conducted in a local Arabic dialect so there may be words lost in translation from Arabic to English. Some words were left in Arabic in the transcripts, but the first author was able to read them, look them up and understand the context of the sentence. A few interviews also appeared to have poor transcription, this may have been a result of poor translating, but in a few situations in the transcript it seemed that a response was summarized when the text went from first person to third person. Subsequent studies should also ask when the woman last experienced IPV since many women spoke of it as it had only occurred during the early years of their marriage. Studies pertaining to women's attitudes of IPV



should ask women if they have always felt positively, ambivalent, or negatively about it, thus seeing if women on an individual level changed their thinking and what caused it. Furthermore, there is an overall lack of quantitative country-level data and studies on IPV from the Middle East, the DHS has only surveyed on violence in Egypt and Morocco, thus it is difficult to infer what the regional situation is. The analysis lacked the ability to determine causality since it has a cross-sectional design; a longitudinal or repeat cross-sectional study needs to be conducted in order to fully grasp what is causing the potential change in attitudes.

### *Conclusion*

This study identified a number of important associations with salient implications. The data shows that when women with more access to resources, be it education and/or work have more agency in their homes are more likely to have negative perceptions of IPV regardless of whether or not they experienced it. Interventions need to recognize the pervasive gender roles, since women feel they have certain duties in the household, and that those women who find IPV acceptable believe that it is normal and the husband's right. Failure to recognize the cultural beliefs of women will limit the successes of interventions.

**Table 2. Descriptive Statistics on Women in Minya, Egypt, by Attitudinal Perceptions of Intimate Partner Violence, 2011 (N=30)**

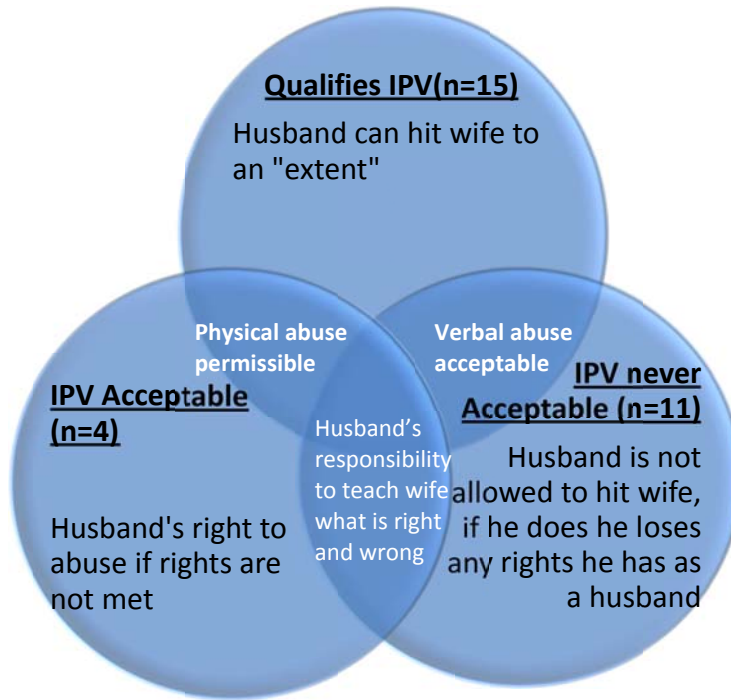
Demographics of Women	Women Who Always Justify IPV (N=4)		Women who qualify acceptable situations of IPV (N=15)		Women who never justify IPV (N=11)		Total (N=30)	
	Mean (range)	Relative Frequency (%)	Mean (range)	Relative Frequency (%)	Mean (range)	Relative Frequency (%)	Mean (range)	Relative Frequency (%)
<b>Age</b>	39 (22-49)		35.8 (22-52)		35.5 (23-46)		36.1 (22-52)	
<b>Experienced IPV</b>		25.0		66.7		45.5		53.3
<b>Marital Status</b>								
Married & there are no other wives		100.0		93.3		100.0		96.7
Number of Times Married	1 (1-1)		1.3 (1-3)		1.1 (1-2)		1.17 (1-3)	
Related to husband		75.0		26.7		45.5		40.0
<b>Age at First Marriage</b>	17.3 (15-20)		17.1 (11-28)		19.4 (15-28)		17.9 (11-28)	
<b>Ever attended school</b>		25.0		60.0		81.8		63.3
<b>Highest level of school completed</b>								
Primary		100.0		33.3		11.1		26.3
Preparatory		0.0		11.1		22.2		15.8
Vocational Secondary		0.0		55.6		66.7		57.9
<b>Highest completed grade at level</b>	4 (4)		3.1 (3-4)		2.6 (0-3)		2.9 (0-4)	
<b>Religion</b>								
Muslim		50.0		100.0		100.0		93.3
Christian		50.0		0.0		0.0		6.7
<b>Worked in past 7 days</b>		0.0		*50.0		18.2		31.0
<b>Worked in past 12 months</b>		*0.0		**50.0		***50.0		40.0 (15 missing)
<b>Payment Type</b>		(3missing)		(3 missing)		(3 missing)		9 missing
<b>Cash only</b>		0.0		91.7		87.5		85.7
<b>Not paid</b>		100.0		8.3		12.5		14.3
Occupation: raises birds		0.0		75.0		50.0		61.9
Self-employed		0.0		83.3		62.5		71.4
Works at home		100.0		75.0		87.5		81.0

Works throughout year	100.0	58.3	50.0	57.1
<b>Finances</b>				
<b>Determines use of wife's earning</b>		4 missing	4 missing	12 missing
Wife	n/a	54.5	57.1	55.6
Husband & Wife	n/a	27.3	28.6	27.8
Husband	n/a	18.2	14.3	16.7
<b>Determines use of husband's income</b>			*1 other	*1 other
Wife	25.0	0.0	9.1	6.7
Husband & Wife	25.0	33.3	54.5	40.0
Husband	50.0	66.7	27.3	50.0
<b>Determines decisions on major household purchases</b>				
<b>Wife</b>	0.0	13.3	9.1	10.0
<b>Husband &amp; Wife</b>	0.0	13.3	45.5	23.3
<b>Husband</b>	100.0	73.3	45.5	66.7
<b>Determines decision-making on daily household needs</b>				
Wife	50.0	66.7	81.8	70.0
Husband & Wife	0.0	6.7	9.1	6.7
Husband	50.0	26.7	9.1	23.3
<b>* 1 missing ** 9 missing *** 5 missing</b>				

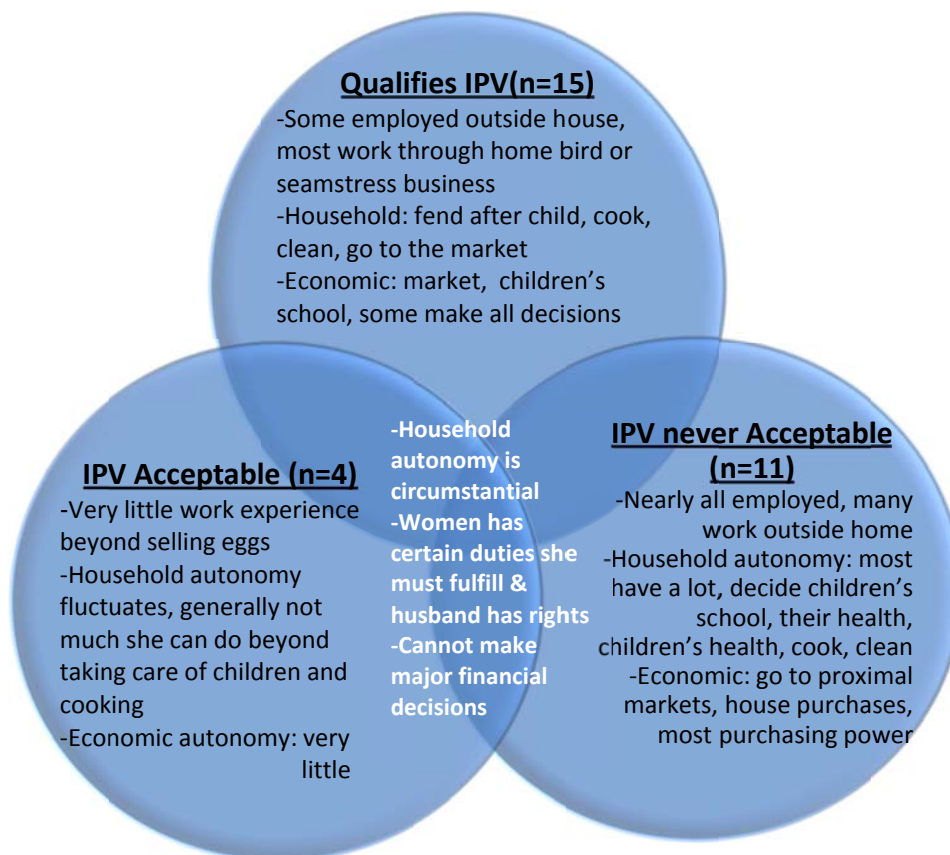
**Table 3. Agreement between attitudinal groups categorized via SSIs and quantitative pre-interview questionnaire data addressing perceptions of acceptable IPV scenarios, Minya, Egypt, 2011 (N=30)**

Pre-SSI questionnaire responses	Women categorized from qualitative SSIs			
	Women Who Always Justify IPV (N=4) <i>Relative Frequency (%)</i>	Women who qualify acceptable situations of IPV (N=15) <i>Relative Frequency (%)</i>	Women who never justify IPV (N=11) <i>Relative Frequency (%)</i>	Total (N=30) <i>Relative Frequency (%)</i>
Wife goes without telling him	100.0	73.3	18.2	56.7
Wife neglects children	100.0	86.7	36.4	70.0
Wife argues with him	100.0	33.3	0.0	30.0
Wife refuses sex	100.0	23.3	9.1	40.0
Wife burns food	50.0	20.0	0.0	26.7

**Figure 1. Shared and disparate perceptions of acceptable and unacceptable Intimate Partner Violence**



**Figure 2. Shared and disparate perceptions of the role of women and acceptable and unacceptable Intimate Partner Violence**



#### **Chapter 4: Public Health Implications**

The findings of this study elicit recommendations and implications for future research and program implementation. In order to enhance understanding of women's attitudes towards IPV in Egypt and further expound upon results from this study, the author recommends the following research considerations and program considerations:

1. Additional mixed methods repeat cross-sectional studies are needed to investigate whether the women who were completely against IPV are indicative of a societal shift in thinking about IPV. To best understand the situation, a rigorous study design should be implemented, that includes a qualitative component with both in-depth interviews and focus group discussions to reveal individual and community norms, coupled with an enhanced quantitative research tool with more scenarios of acceptable IPV should be implemented. As indicated in Bangladesh survey questionnaires failed to capture IPV and interviews revealed a justification of IPV.[18] Thus an exhaustive mixed methods repeat-cross sectional study would more realistically capture the breadth and depth of a perhaps evolving issue.
2. Future research should also focus on men, to see what differences there are between men who have wives who work and do not perpetrate violence versus those who do. This research will be useful for understanding the full picture of IPV, and more clearly grasp the perpetrator's perspective and create efficacious programmatic implementations.
3. Results from this manuscript indicate that there is a positive correlation between increased financial autonomy and agency in the household. Thus programmatic

interventions can include community based programming that encourages more rural women's economic independence. With less socioeconomic dependence, more women who can exercise agency, they may think more negatively about IPV, as the results portrayed, thus decreasing their tolerance for it and yielding overall healthier outcomes.[20, 34]

4. Implement evidence-based Social and Behavior Change Communication (SBCC) interventions. Since IPV is very much a private issue, healthcare workers, policy workers, and other community members lack an awareness of it's prevalence and the attitudes surrounding it.[90] The ultimate goal of IPV interventions is to reduce prevalence and health outcomes, researchers and policy makers need to consider the implications of women's attitudes of IPV, and see how attitudes affect reporting. Thus by applying creative SBCC interventions it starts the conversation. Soul City, a successful drama series, aired in South Africa, aimed to address IPV and impact the individual, community, and socio-political level. The program was successful, there were significant increase in awareness of IPV, 41%; and attitude shifts that included a 22% shift in the perception of social norms; it also increased women's and communities' efficacy by enabling people to make effective decisions.[100] By implementing a SBCC model that addresses the generative themes women revealed during interviews, such as a husband having *rights* and women having certain obligatory duties to him, and making it something everyone wants to watch and talk about, women can see that they do not have to put up with abuse and that the community does not expect her to either.[100]

## Appendix

### Appendix A. Pre- Semi-Structured Interview Questionnaire

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE, WOMEN'S HEALTH, AND WOMEN'S ECONOMIC AND NONECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN EGYPT													
IDENTIFICATION													
GOVERNORATE _____						LINE NUMBER <table border="1" style="width: 40px; height: 20px; margin: auto;"><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 15px;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 15px;"></td></tr></table>							
KISM/MARKAZ _____													
SHIAKHAVILLAGE _____													
URBAN.....1			RURAL.....2										
LARGE CITY.....1		SMALL CITY.....2		TOWN.....3								VILLAGE.....4	
NAME OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD_____													
ADDRESS IN DETAIL_____													
NAME OF WOMAN_____													
LINE NUMBER OF WOMAN_____													
INTERVIEWER VISITS													
	1			2			3			FINAL VISIT			
	DAY	MONTH	YEAR	DAY	MONTH	YEAR	DAY	MONTH	YEAR	DAY	MONTH	YEAR	
DATE													
INTERVIEWER										INTERVIEWER			
RESULT										RESULT			
START TIME													
END TIME													
VISIT RESULT													
NEXT VISIT: DATE													
TIME													
RESULT CODES:													
1 COMPLETED				4 REFUSED				7 OTHER_____					
2 NOT AT HOME				5 PARTLY COMPLETED									
3 POSTPONED				6 INCAPACITATED									
NAME	OFFICE EDITOR			CODER			KEYER						
	_____			_____			_____						
	__ / __ / 201__			__ / __ / 201__			__ / __ / 201__						
DATE													
SIGNATURE	_____			_____			_____						
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SECTION 1 : RESPONDENT'S BACKGROUND			
NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
101	RECORD THE TIME	HOUR ..... MINUTES .....	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
102	How long have you been continuously living in (NAME OF CURRENT PLACE OR RESIDENCE)?  IF LESS THAN 1 YEAR, RECORD '00' YEARS.	YEARS..... ALWAYS..... 95 VISITOR/TEMPORARY STAYING..... 96	<input type="text"/> → 104 → 104
103	Just before you moved here, did you live in Cairo, Giza, Alexandria, in another city or town, or in a village?  (NAME OF LOCALITY AND GOVERNORATE)	CAIRO/GIZA..... 1 ALEXANDRIA..... 2 OTHER CITY/TOWN..... 3 VILLAGE..... 4 OUTSIDE EGYPT..... 5 (SPECIFY) OFFICE: GOVERNORATE CODE	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
104	In what month and year were you born?	MONTH..... DON'T KNOW MONTH..... 98 YEAR..... DON'T KNOW YEAR..... 9998	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
105	How old were you at your last birthday?  COMPARE AND CORRECT 104 AND/OR 105 IF INCONSISTENT	AGE IN COMPLETE YEARS .....	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
106	What is your current marital status?	MARRIED AND THERE ARE NO OTHER WIVES ..... 1 MARRIED AND SHE IS THE FIRST WIFE ..... 2 MARRIED AND SHE IS THE SECOND WIFE OR MORE ..... 3 WIDOWED..... 4 DIVORCED..... 5 SEPARATED..... 6	
107	Now I would like to ask you some questions about your marriage(s). How many times have you been married?	NUMBER OF TIMES MARRIED.....	<input type="text"/>
108	CHECK 107: MARRIED ONLY ONCE MARRIED MORE THAN ONCE  In what month and year did you enter into a marriage contract (katb kitab) with your husband? Now I would like to ask about your first husband. In what month and year did you enter into a marriage contract (katb kitab) with your first husband?	MONTH..... DON'T KNOW THE MONTH..... 98 YEAR..... DON'T KNOW YEAR ..... 9998	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
109	How old were you when you entered into a marriage contract (katb kitab) with your first husband?	AGE IN COMPLETED YEARS..... <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> DON'T KNOW AGE ..... 98	
110	CHECK 107: MARRIED ONLY ONCE → MARRIED MORE THAN ONCE → In what month and year did you start living together (Dukhla) with your husband? Now I would like to ask about your first husband. In what month and year did you start living together (Dukhla) with your husband?	MONTH..... <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> DON'T KNOW MONTH..... 98 YEAR..... <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> DON'T KNOW YEAR..... 9998	
111	How old were you when you started living together (Dukhla) with your first husband?	AGE IN COMPLETED YEARS..... <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> DON'T KNOW AGE ..... 98	
112	How old were your first husband when you started living together (Dukhla)?	AGE IN COMPLETED YEARS..... <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> DON'T KNOW AGE ..... 98	
113	CHECK 107: MARRIED ONLY ONCE → SKIP TO 120 MARRIED MORE THAN ONCE → M → 114		
114	How did your first marriage end?	BY WIDOWHOOD ..... 1 BY DIVORCING ..... 2	
115	How many children do you have (if any) from the first marriage?	IF NONE RECORD ..... "00" NO. OF CHILDREN ..... <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
116	In what month and year did you enter into a marriage contract (Katb Kitab) with your current husband?	MONTH..... <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> DON'T KNOW THE MONTH..... 98 YEAR..... <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> DON'T KNOW YEAR..... 9998	
117	How old were you when you entered into a marriage contract (katb kitab) with your current husband?	AGE IN COMPLETED YEARS..... <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> DON'T KNOW YEAR..... 98	
118	In what month and year did you start living together (Dukhla) with your current husband?	MONTH..... <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> DON'T KNOW MONTH..... 98 YEAR..... <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> DON'T KNOW YEAR..... 9998	
119	How old were you when you started living together (Dukhla) with your current husband?	AGE IN COMPLETED YEARS..... <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> DON'T KNOW AGE ..... 98	

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
121	Have you ever attended school?	YES..... 1 NO..... 2	→ 124
122	What is the highest level of school you attended?	PRIMARY..... 1 PREPARATORY..... 2 GENERAL SECONDARY..... 3 VOCATIONAL SECONDARY..... 4 UPPER INTERMEDIATE..... 5 UNIVERSITY..... 6 MORE THAN UNIVERSITY..... 7	
123	What is the highest grade you successfully completed at that level?	GRADE..... <input data-bbox="1143 512 1203 541" type="text"/>	
124	What is your religion?	MUSLEM..... 1 CHRISTIAN..... 2 OTHER..... 6 (SPECIFY)	

SECTION 2 : HUSBAND'S BACKGROUND AND WOMAN'S WORK			
NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
801	CHECK 106: MARITAL STATUS  CURRENTLY MARRIED <input type="checkbox"/> ↓ WIDOWED/DIVORCED/SEPARATED <input type="checkbox"/>	WIDOWED/DIVORCED/SEPARATED <input type="checkbox"/> →	804
802	Is this house the main residence for your husband?	Yes ..... 1 No ..... 2	
803	How old was your husband at on his last birthday?	AGE IN COMPLETED YEARS <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> DONT KNOW AGE ..... 98	
804	In what month and year was your (last) husband born?  COMPARE AND CORRECT 803 AND/OR 804 IF INCONSISTENT	MONTH..... <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> DONT KNOW MONTH ..... 98 YEAR..... <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> DONT KNOW YEAR .....9998	
805	Before you got married, was your (last) husband related to you in any way through blood or marriage?	Yes ..... 1 No ..... 2	→ 807
806	What type of relationship was it?	FIRST COUSIN FATHER'S SIDE.....1 FIRST COUSIN MOTHER'S SIDE.....2 SECOND COUSIN FATHER'S SIDE.....3 SECOND COUSIN MOTHER'S SIDE.....4 OTHER RELATIVE FATHER'S SIDE.....5 OTHER RELATIVE MOTHER'S SIDE.....6 RELATIVE BY MARRIAGE.....7	
807	Did your (last) husband ever attend school?	YES.....1 NO.....2 DONT KNOW ..... 8	} 810
808	What is the highest level of school your (last) husband attended?	PRIMARY.....1 PREPARATORY.....2 GENERAL SECONDARY.....3 TECKNICAL SECONDARY.....4 UPPER INTERMEDIATE.....5 UNIVERSITY.....6 MORE THAN UNIVERSITY.....7	
809	What is the highest grade he completed at that level?	GRADE..... <input type="text"/> DONT KNOW..... 8	
810	CHECK 106: CURRENTLY MARRIED <input type="checkbox"/> ↓ What is your husband's occupation? That is, what kind of work does he mainly do?  WIDOWED/DIVORCED/SEPARATED <input type="checkbox"/> ↓ What was your (last) husband's occupation? That, is what kind of work did he do?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> _____ _____ _____ (RECORD ANSWER IN DETAIL)	

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
811	Aside from your own housework, have you done any work in the past 7 days even if it was only for a short period of time?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→ 815
812	As you know, some women take up jobs for which they are paid in cash or kind. Others sell things, have small business or work on the family farm or in the family business. In the last seven days, have you done any of these things or any other work even if it was only for a period of time?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→ 815
813	Although you did not work in the last seven days, do you have any job or business from which you were absent for leave, illness, vacation, maternity or any other such reason?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→ 815
814	Have you done any work in the past 12 months, even if it was only for a short period of time?	YES.....1 NO.....2	→ 822
815	What is your occupation? What is the work you mainly do?	_____ _____ (RECORD ANSWER IN DETAIL)	
816	Do you do this work for a member of your family, for someone else, or are you self-employed?	FOR FAMILY MEMBER.....1 FOR SOMEONE ELSE.....2 SELF-EMPLOYED.....3	
817	Do you usually work at home or away from home?	HOME.....1 AWAY.....2	
818	Do you usually work throughout the year, or do you work seasonally or only once in a while?	THROUGHOUT THE YEAR.....1 SEASONALLY/PART OF THE YEAR.....2 ONCE IN A WHILE.....3	
819	Are you paid in cash or kind for this work or are you not paid at all?	CASH ONLY.....1 CASH AND KIND.....2 IN KIND ONLY.....3 NOT PAID.....4	
820	CHECK 815 WORKS IN <input type="checkbox"/> AGRICULTURE ↓	DOES NOT WORK IN <input type="checkbox"/> AGRICULTURE →	822
821	Do you work mainly on your own land or on family land, or do you work on land that you rent from someone else, or do you work on someone else's land?	OWN LAND.....1 FAMILY LAND.....2 RENTED LAND.....3 SOMEONE ELSE'S LAND.....4	
822	CHECK 106: MARITAL STATUS CURRENTLY MARRIED <input type="checkbox"/> ↓	WIDOWED/ DIVORCED <input type="checkbox"/> SEPARATED →	828
823	CHECK 819 : CODE 1 OR 2 CIRCLED <input type="checkbox"/> ↓	OTHER <input type="checkbox"/> →	826
824	Who decides how the money you earn will be used: mainly you, mainly your husband, or you and your husband jointly?	RESPONDENT.....1 HUSBAND.....2 RESPONDENT AND HUSBAND JOINTLY.....3 OTHER _____ 6 (SPECIFY)	

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP																																			
825	Would you say that the money that you bring into the household is more than what your husband brings in, less than what he brings in, or about the same?	MORE THAN HIM .....1 LESS THAN HIM .....2 ABOUT THE SAME .....3 HUSBAND DOESN'T BRING IN ANY MONEY.....4 DONT KNOW/NOT APPLICABLE .....8	→ 827																																			
826	Who decides how your husband's earnings will be used: mainly you, mainly your husband, or you and your husband jointly?	RESPONDENT.....1 HUSBAND.....2 RESPONDENT AND HUSBAND JOINTLY..... 3 HUSBAND DOESN'T BRING IN ANY MONEY.....4 OTHER..... 6																																				
827	Who usually makes the following decisions: mainly you, mainly your husband, you and your husband jointly, or someone else?  A. About health care for yourself? B. About making major household purchases? C. About making purchases for daily household needs? D. About visits to your family or relatives?	RESPONDENT=1 HUSBAND=2 SOMEONE ELSE=3 RESPONDENT AND HUSBAND JOINTLY=4 RESPONDENT AND SOMEONE ELSE JOINTLY=5 OTHER=6  <table border="0"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>RESP</th> <th>HUS</th> <th>SOE</th> <th>RESP &amp; HUS</th> <th>RESP &amp; SOE</th> <th>OTHER</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>A.</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> <td>5</td> <td>6</td> </tr> <tr> <td>B.</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> <td>5</td> <td>6</td> </tr> <tr> <td>C.</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> <td>5</td> <td>6</td> </tr> <tr> <td>D.</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> <td>5</td> <td>6</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		RESP	HUS	SOE	RESP & HUS	RESP & SOE	OTHER	A.	1	2	3	4	5	6	B.	1	2	3	4	5	6	C.	1	2	3	4	5	6	D.	1	2	3	4	5	6	
	RESP	HUS	SOE	RESP & HUS	RESP & SOE	OTHER																																
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D.	1	2	3	4	5	6																																
828	Now I would like to ask you some questions about medical care for yourself. Many different factors can prevent women from getting medical advice or treatment for themselves. When you are sick and want to get medical advice or treatment, is each of the following a big problem or not?  A Getting permisso to go. B Getting money needed for treatment. C The distance to the health facility. D Having to take transportaion. E Not wanting to go alone. F Concern that there may not be a female health provider. G Concern that there may not be any health provider. H Concern that there may be no drugs available.	<table border="0"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>A Big Problem</th> <th>Not a Big Problem</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>PERMISSION TO GO.....</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>GETTING MONEY.....</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>DISTANCE.....</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>TAKING TRANSPORT.....</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>GO ALONE.....</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>NO FEMALE PROV.....</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>NO PROVIDER.....</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>NO DRUGS.....</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		A Big Problem	Not a Big Problem	PERMISSION TO GO.....	1	2	GETTING MONEY.....	1	2	DISTANCE.....	1	2	TAKING TRANSPORT.....	1	2	GO ALONE.....	1	2	NO FEMALE PROV.....	1	2	NO PROVIDER.....	1	2	NO DRUGS.....	1	2									
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NO PROVIDER.....	1	2																																				
NO DRUGS.....	1	2																																				
829	Do you have any children aged about 3-17 years old?	YES.....1 NO..... 2	 Next Section																																			
830	Now we will talk about another subject. The adults use different methods to teach the children the right behaviour. I will read differenet used methods and I want you to tell me whether you used any of them with your child/children last month or not?  A Explained why the behavior considered wrong? B Shouted or yelled at any of your children? C Hit any of your children on his body with your hand or with something solid? D Slap any of your children on his face, neck or ears?	<table border="0"> <thead> <tr> <th colspan="3">Name of children aged 3 -17 years</th> </tr> <tr> <th></th> <th>Yes</th> <th>No</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Explained .....</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Shouted/Yelled .....</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Hit on the body .....</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Hit on the face/neck/ears .....</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Name of children aged 3 -17 years				Yes	No	Explained .....	1	2	Shouted/Yelled .....	1	2	Hit on the body .....	1	2	Hit on the face/neck/ears .....	1	2																		
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**Section C: Twenty-Four Hour  
Activity List****Instructions:**

**1:** Say to the respondent, “**Now I would like to ask you about your activities in the last 24-hours.**”

**2:** Begin the twenty-four hour activity list, by asking the respondent, “**Yesterday, from the time you woke up in the morning until the time you went to bed at night, what were all of the activities you did?**”

**3:** Write each activity in the "ACTIVITY" column, starting at the top. Skip 3 spaces between each activity listed.

(If the respondent needs help thinking of activities, prompt her by asking about standard activities, like meal preparation)

**4:** After the respondent reports an activity, probe by asking: “**What did you do next?**”

**5:** After the respondent has reported all activities performed up to going to sleep for the night, go back and read the first activity listed. Ask “**What time of the day did you start this activity?**” Record time. Then ask, “**What time did you finish this activity?**”

**6 :**In the same row on which the activity is listed, place an X in the box corresponding with the start time. Note that each box corresponds to a 15-minute increment. Place Xs in the number of 15-minute increments that the respondent spent doing each activity. If the respondent reports doing the activity for a period that is not a multiple of 15-minutes (e.g., 15, 30, 45 minutes), then round UP or DOWN to the NEAREST 15-minute interval.

If the respondent does not know what time she woke up, use appropriate time markers (e.g., sunrise) to identify her wake-up time.

**7:** After allotting times for each activity, return to where there are increments of time without an activity listed for that time. Ask the respondent “**What did you do after you completed [ACTIVITY A], before starting [ACTIVITY B].** List the reported activity(ies) and ask after each activity about its start time and duration.

**8:** Ask the respondent if she did more than one activity at the same time that she was doing any of the listed activities. Add any activity that she did at the same time as a separate activity (on its own row) and ask about the start time and duration of this activity.

**9:** Supplemental Questions for each mentioned activity ask the supplemental questions about the activity classification and consumption.







SECTION 4 : DOMESTIC VIOLENCE						
NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES			SKIP	
900	<p>PRESENCE OF OTHERS AT THIS POINT (PRESENT AND LISTENING, PRESENT BUT NOT LISTENING, OR NOT PRESENT) ?</p>		PRES / LISTEN	PRES / NOT LISTEN	NOT PRES	
		CHILDREN < 10 ...	1	2	3	
		HUSBAND .....	1	2	3	
		OTHER MALES ...	1	2	3	
		OTHER FEMALES	1	2	3	
901	<p>Sometimes a husband is annoyed or angered by the things that his wife does. In your opinion is a husband justified in hitting or beating his wife in the following situations :</p>		YES	NO	DK	
A	If she goes out without telling him?	GOES OUT.....	1	2	8	
B	if she neglects the children?	NEGL. CHILDREN.....	1	2	8	
C	If she argues with him?	ARGUES.....	1	2	8	
D	If she refuses to have sex with him?	REFUSES SEX.....	1	2	8	
E	If she burns the food?	BURNS FOOD.....	1	2	8	
902	<p>CHECK FOR PRESENCE OF OTHERS: DO NOT CONTINUE UNTIL EFFECTIVE PRIVACY IS ENSURED.</p> <p>PRIVACY OBTAINED.....1      ↓      PRIVACY NOT POSSIBLE.....2      →</p>					920
903	<p><b>READ TO RESPONDENT</b></p> <p>Now I would like to ask you questions about some other important aspects of a woman's life. I know that some of these questions are very personal. However your answers are crucial for helping to understand the condition of women in Egypt. Let me assure you that your answers are completely confidential and will not be told to anyone and no one else will know that you were asked these questions.</p>					
903a	<p><b>CHECK 106 : Marital Status</b></p> <p>CURRENTLY MARRIED / DIVORCED / SEPARATED</p> <p>↓</p>			WIDOWED		910
904	<p>Now if you will permit me, I need to ask you some more questions about your relationship with your (last) husband.</p>					
904A	<p>(Does/did) your (last) husband ever:</p> <p>a) Say or do something to humiliate you in front of others?      YES      1      →      NO      2      ↓</p> <p>b) threaten to hurt or harm you or someone close to you?      YES      1      →      NO      2      ↓</p> <p>c) insult you or make you feel bad about yourself?      YES      1      →      NO      2      ↓</p>	904B	OFTEN	SOMETIMES	NOT AT ALL	
			1	2	3	
			1	2	3	
			1	2	3	

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
905A	<p>Did your (last) husband ever do any of the following things to you:</p> <p>a) push you, shake you, or throw something at you?  YES 1 →  NO 2 ↘</p> <p>b) slap you or twist your arm?  YES 1 →  NO 2 ↘</p> <p>c) punch you with his fist or with something that could hurt you?  YES 1 →  NO 2 ↘</p> <p>d) kick you or drag you?  YES 1 →  NO 2 ↘</p> <p>e) try to choke you or burn you on purpose?  YES 1 →  NO 2 ↘</p> <p>f) threaten to attack you with a knife, gun, or any other weapon?  YES 1 →  NO 2 ↘</p> <p>g) attack you with a knife, gun, or any other weapon?  YES 1 →  NO 2 ↘</p> <p>h) physically force you to have sexual intercourse with him even when you did not want to?  YES 1 →  NO 2 ↘</p> <p>i) force you to perform any sexual acts you did not want to?  YES 1 →  NO 2 ↘</p>	<p>905B  How often did this happen during the last 12 months: often, only sometimes, or not at all?</p> <p>OFTEN    SOMETIMES    NOT AT ALL</p> <p>1            2            3</p> <p>1            2            3</p> <p>1            2            3</p> <p>1            2            3</p> <p>1            2            3</p> <p>1            2            3</p> <p>1            2            3</p> <p>1            2            3</p> <p>1            2            3</p> <p>1            2            3</p>	
906	<p>CHECK 904A (a-c) and 905A (a-i)  AT LEAST ONE YES  <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<p>NOT A SINGLE "YES"  <input type="checkbox"/> →</p>	907A
906A	<p>Did these things start to happen before or after marriage?</p>	<p>Before marriage ..... 1  After marriage ..... 2</p>	

QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP																																			
How long after you first got married to your (last) husband did (this/any of these things) first happen?  IF LESS THAN ONE YEAR, RECORD '00'	NUMBER OF YEARS BEFORE MARRIAGE <div style="text-align: right; border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 15px; display: inline-block;"></div> DON'T KNOW ..... 98																																				
First I am going to ask you about some situations. Please tell me if these apply to your relationship with your (last) husband?  a) He (is/was) jealous or angry if you (talk/talked) to other men? b) He frequently (Accuses/accused) you of being unfaithful? c) He (does/did) not permit you to meet your female friends? d) He (tries/tried) to limit your contact with your family? e) He (insists/insisted) on knowing where you (are/were) f) He (does/did) not trust you with any money?	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 40%;"></th> <th style="width: 10%;">ALWAYS</th> <th style="width: 10%;">SOMETIMES</th> <th style="width: 10%;">NEVER</th> <th style="width: 10%;">DK</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>JEALOUS</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">8</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ACCUSES</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">8</td> </tr> <tr> <td>NOT MEET FRIENDS</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">8</td> </tr> <tr> <td>NO FAMILY</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">8</td> </tr> <tr> <td>WHERE YOU ARE</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">8</td> </tr> <tr> <td>MONEY</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">8</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		ALWAYS	SOMETIMES	NEVER	DK	JEALOUS	1	2	3	8	ACCUSES	1	2	3	8	NOT MEET FRIENDS	1	2	3	8	NO FAMILY	1	2	3	8	WHERE YOU ARE	1	2	3	8	MONEY	1	2	3	8	
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WHERE YOU ARE	1	2	3	8																																	
MONEY	1	2	3	8																																	
Did the following ever happen as a result of what your (last) husband did to you?  a) you had cuts, bruises or aches?  b) you had deep wounds, broken bones?  c) You went to the doctor because of something your husband did to you?	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 40%;"></th> <th style="width: 20%;">YES</th> <th style="width: 20%;">NO</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>CUTS / BRUISES / ACHES</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>WOUNDS / BROKEN BONES</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>WENT TO DOCTOR</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		YES	NO	CUTS / BRUISES / ACHES	1	2	WOUNDS / BROKEN BONES	1	2	WENT TO DOCTOR	1	2																								
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CUTS / BRUISES / ACHES	1	2																																			
WOUNDS / BROKEN BONES	1	2																																			
WENT TO DOCTOR	1	2																																			
Have you ever hit, slapped, kicked, or done anything else to physically hurt your (last) husband at times when he was not already beating or physically hurting you?	YES .....1 NO .....2	→ 909B																																			
In the last 12 months, how often have you done this to your husband: often, sometimes, not at all?	OFTEN ..... 1 SOMETIMES ..... 2 NEVER ..... 3																																				
Does (did) your husband drink alcohol?	YES .....1 NO .....2	→ 910																																			
How often does (did) he get drunk: often, only sometimes, or never?	OFTEN ..... 1 SOMETIMES ..... 2 NEVER ..... 3																																				
From the time you turn 15 years old has anyone other than your (current/last) husband slapped, kicked, or done anything else to hurt you physically?	YES .....1 NO .....2 DON'T KNOW ..... 8	→ 913 → 913																																			
Who has hurt you in this way?  Anyone else?  RECORD ALL MENTIONED.	MOTHER ..... 1 FATHER .....1 BROTHER ..... 1 SISTER ..... 1 OTHER MALE RELATIVE .....1 OTHER FEMALE RELATIVE ..... 1 MOTHER-IN-LAW .....1 FATHER-IN-LAW .....1 OTHER IN-LAW .....1 OTHER ..... 1 (SPECIFY)																																				

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
912	In the last 12 months, how often have you been hit, slapped, kicked or physically hurt by this/these person(s): often, only sometimes, or not at all?	OFTEN ..... 1 SOMETIMES ..... 2 NEVER ..... 3	
913	Has anyone ever hit, slapped, kicked or done anything else to hurt you physically while you were pregnant?	YES ..... 1 NO ..... 2 NEVER PREGNANT ..... 3	→ 915 → 915
914	Who has done any of these things to physically hurt you while you were pregnant?  Anyone else?  RECORD ALL MENTIONED.	CURRENT HUSBAND ..... 1 MOTHER ..... 1 FATHER ..... 1 OTHER MALE RELATIVE ..... 1 OTHER FEMALE RELATIVE ..... 1 MOTHER-IN-LAW ..... 1 FATHER-IN-LAW ..... 1 OTHER IN-LAW ..... 1 OTHER ..... 1 (SPECIFY)	
915	CHECK Q912 & Q905B : THE ANSWER IS : OFTEN OR SOMETIMES  <input type="checkbox"/>	THE ANSWER IS : NEVER HAPPENED  <input type="checkbox"/>	→ 919A
916	During last year when anyone tried to hurt you, have you ever tried to seek help to stop (the/these) person(s) from hitting you or physically hurt you?	YES ..... 1 NO ..... 2	→ 918A
917	From whom have you sought help?  Anyone else?  RECORD ALL MENTIONED.	1. MOTHER ..... 1 2. FATHER ..... 1 3. SISTER ..... 1 4. BROTHER ..... 1 5. OTHER RELATIVE ..... 1 6. FRIEND ..... 1 7. FATHER-IN-LAW ..... 1 8. MOTHER-IN-LAW ..... 1 9. OTHER ..... 1 (SPECIFY)	
918A	CHECK Q905 (A-I) & Q910 & Q913 : AT LEAST ONE 'YES'  <input type="checkbox"/>	NOT A SINGLE 'YES'  <input type="checkbox"/>	→ 919A
918B	Have you ever told anyone about being hit or hurt?	YES ..... 1 NO ..... 2	→ 919A
918C	What is the main reason you have never sought help?	DON'T KNOW WHO TO GO TO ..... 01 NO USE ..... 02 PART OF LIFE ..... 03 AFRAID OF DIVORCE/DESERTION ..... 04 AFRAID OF FURTHER BEATINGS ..... 05 AFRAID OF GETTING PERSON BEATING HER INTO TROUBLE ..... 06 EMBARRASSED ..... 07 DON'T WANT TO DISGRACE FAMILY ..... 08 NOT IMPORTANT ..... 09 OTHER ..... 96 (SPECIFY)	

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
919A	<p>Did you ever see your father do any of the following to your mother?</p> <p>a) Say or do something to humilate her in front of others?</p> <p>b) threaten to hurt or harm her or someone close to her?</p> <p>c) insult her or make her feel bad about herself?</p>	<p>YES.....1</p> <p>NO.....2</p> <p>DON'T KNOW.....8</p> <p>YES.....1</p> <p>NO.....2</p> <p>DON'T KNOW.....8</p> <p>YES.....1</p> <p>NO.....2</p> <p>DON'T KNOW.....8</p>	
919B	<p>As much as you know have your father ever slap your mother or kick her or physically hurt her?</p>	<p>YES.....1</p> <p>NO.....2</p> <p>DON'T KNOW.....8</p>	
920	<p>Before you turn 15, do anyone in your family :</p> <p>a) Say or do something to humilate you in front of others?</p> <p>b) threaten to hurt or harm you or someone close to you?</p> <p>c) insult you or make you feel bad about yourself?</p>	<p>YES.....1</p> <p>NO.....2</p> <p>DON'T KNOW.....8</p> <p>YES.....1</p> <p>NO.....2</p> <p>DON'T KNOW.....8</p> <p>YES.....1</p> <p>NO.....2</p> <p>DON'T KNOW.....8</p>	

NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP																
921	<p>Before you turn 15, do anyone in your family do any of the following things to you:</p> <p>a) push you, shake you, or throw something at you?  YES 1 →  NO 2 ↘</p> <p>b) slap you or twist your arm?  YES 1 →  NO 2 ↘</p> <p>c) punch you with his fist or with something that could hurt you?  YES 1 →  NO 2 ↘</p> <p>d) kick you or drag you?  YES 1 →  NO 2 ↘</p> <p>e) try to choke you or burn you on purpose?  YES 1 →  NO 2 ↘</p> <p>f) threaten to attack you with a knife, gun, or any other weapon?  YES 1 →  NO 2 ↘</p> <p>g) attack you with a knife, gun, or any other weapon?  YES 1 →  NO 2 ↘</p>	<p>921B How often did this happen : often, only sometimes, or not at all?</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td></td> <td>OFTEN</td> <td>SOMETIMES</td> <td>NOT AT ALL</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> </tr> </table>		OFTEN	SOMETIMES	NOT AT ALL		1	2	3									
	OFTEN	SOMETIMES	NOT AT ALL																
	1	2	3																
922	<p>IF THE RESPONDENT ANSWERED YES TO ANY OF THE CHOICES IN Q921 (A-G) , ASK : Who has hurt you in this way?  Anyone else?  RECORD ALL MENTIONED.</p>	<p>MOTHER..... 1  FATHER.....1  OTHER MALE RELATIVE.....1  OTHER FEMALE RELATIVE.....1  OTHER ( _____ ) 1  (SPECIFY)</p>																	
<p>THANK THE RESPONDENT FOR HER COOPERATION AND REASSURE HER ABOUT THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF HER ANSWERS. RECORD THE TIME IN THE FIRST PAGE. FILL OUT THE QUESTIONS BELOW WITH REFERENCE TO THE DOMESTIC VIOLENCE MODULE ONLY.</p>																			
923	<p>DID YOU HAVE TO INTERRUPT THE INTERVIEW BECAUSE SOME ADULT WAS TRYING TO CAME INTO THE ROOM OR INTERFERED IN ANY OTHER WAY?</p>	<table border="0"> <tr> <td></td> <td>YES, ONCE</td> <td>YES, MORE THAN ONCE</td> <td>NO</td> </tr> <tr> <td>HUSBAND</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> </tr> <tr> <td>OTHER MALE ADULT</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> </tr> <tr> <td>OTHER FEMALE ADULT</td> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> </tr> </table>		YES, ONCE	YES, MORE THAN ONCE	NO	HUSBAND	1	2	3	OTHER MALE ADULT	1	2	3	OTHER FEMALE ADULT	1	2	3	
	YES, ONCE	YES, MORE THAN ONCE	NO																
HUSBAND	1	2	3																
OTHER MALE ADULT	1	2	3																
OTHER FEMALE ADULT	1	2	3																
924	<p>Did the respondent mentioned that she did not experience violence in the quantitative questionnaire, then mentioned that she experienced violence in the qualitative questionnaire?</p>	<p>YES ..... 1  NO ..... 2</p>																	
924	<p>INTERVIEWER'S COMMENTS/ EXPLANATION FOR NOT COMPLETING THE DOMESTIC VIOLENCE MODULE</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>																		

Appendix B. Semi-Structured Interview Guide

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE, WOMEN'S HEALTH, AND WOMEN'S ECONOMIC AND NONECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN EGYPT														
IDENTIFICATION														
GOVERNORATE _____						<div style="display: flex; justify-content: center; align-items: center; gap: 20px;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">LINE NUMBER</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 10px; height: 10px; margin-right: 2px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 10px; height: 10px;"></div> </div> </div>								
KISM/MARKAZ _____														
SHIAKHAVILLAGE _____														
URBAN.....1			RURAL.....2											
LARGE CITY.....1		SMALL CITY.....2		TOWN.....3									VILLAGE.....4	
NAME OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD _____														
ADDRESS IN DETAIL _____														
NAME OF WOMAN _____														
LINE NUMBER OF WOMAN _____														
INTERVIEWER VISITS														
	1			2			3			FINAL VISIT				
	DAY	MONTH	YEAR	DAY	MONTH	YEAR	DAY	MONTH	YEAR	DAY	MONTH	YEAR		
DATE														
INTERVIEWER										INTERVIEWER				
RESULT										RESULT				
START TIME														
END TIME														
VISIT RESULT														
NEXT VISIT: DATE														
TIME														
RESULT CODES: 1 COMPLETED                      4 REFUSED                      7 OTHER _____ 2 NOT AT HOME                      5 PARTLY COMPLETED 3 POSTPONED                      6 INCAPACITATED														
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 30%;">OFFICE EDITOR</div> <div style="width: 30%;">CODER</div> <div style="width: 30%;">KEYER</div> </div>														
NAME	_____			_____			_____			_____				
DATE	__ / __ / 201__			__ / __ / 201__			__ / __ / 201__			_____				
SIGNATURE	_____			_____			_____			_____				
	<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 10px; height: 10px; margin-right: 2px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 10px; height: 10px;"></div> </div>			<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 10px; height: 10px; margin-right: 2px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 10px; height: 10px;"></div> </div>			<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 10px; height: 10px; margin-right: 2px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 10px; height: 10px;"></div> </div>							



SECTION A: RESPONDENT IDENTIFICATION			
NO.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
101	RECORD IDENTIFICATION NUMBER	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
102	In what month and year were you born?	MONTH..... <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> DON'T KNOW MONTH..... 98 YEAR..... <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> DON'T KNOW YEAR..... 9988	
103	How old were you at your last birthday?  COMPARE AND CORRECT 102 AND/OR 103 IF INCONSISTENT	AGE IN COMPLETE YEARS <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> DON'T KNOW ..... 98	
104	What is your current marital status?	MARRIED AND THERE ARE NO OTHER WIVES ... .. 1 MARRIED AND SHE IS THE FIRST WIFE ... .. 2 MARRIED AND SHE IS THE SECOND WIFE OR MORE ..... 3	
105	Have you ever attended school?	YES..... 1 NO..... 2 →	next page
106	What is the highest level of school you attended?	PRIMARY..... 1 PREPARATORY..... 2 GENERAL SECONDARY..... 3 VOCATIONAL SECONDARY..... 4 UPPER INTERMEDIATE..... 5 UNIVERSITY..... 6 MORE THAN UNIVERSITY..... 7	
107	What is the highest grade you successfully completed at that level?	GRADE..... <input type="text"/>	

### Semi-Structured Interview Field Guide

There are 4 topics in this guide, each with 4-5 lead questions and probes:

- I. Women's Economic activities
- II. Decision-making in the Household
- III. A Husband's Treatment of his Wife.
- IV. Women's Attitudes

#### **First : Women's Economic Activities**

##### **1 Describe any work, if any, that you did before you were married.**

[CLARIFY MEANING OF WORK]

What type of work was it? (agricultural, family business, administrative, piecework)

What other work, if any, did you do before marriage that was seasonal, was for a short time and then stopped, or was "on and off" as needed? [EXAMPLES: freelance, piecework]

For what work, if any, did you receive earnings? Who actually received your earnings?

IF RECEIVED EARNINGS:

How much of your earnings, if any, did you spend on your marriage or trousseau ?

##### **2 Describe any work, if any, that you have done since you were married.**

What type of work was it? (agricultural, family business, administrative, piecework)

What other work, if any, did you do after marriage that was seasonal, was for a short time and then stopped, or was "on and off" as needed? [EXAMPLES: freelance, piecework]

For what work, if any, have you received earnings? Who actually has received your earnings?

IF RECEIVED EARNINGS:

In general, how have you spent your earnings? Mainly who has spent your earnings?

##### **3 IF WOMAN WORKED AFTER MARRIAGE:**

**How and why did you work after marriage?**

What role, if any, did your husband play in the decision to work after marriage?

What conditions, if any, did he place on your working?

How did your husband feel about your work or earnings when you started to work after marriage?

Describe an event that might help me understand how he initially felt.

Did your husband's opinion about your work change? How?

##### **4 FOR ALL WOMEN: Tell me about a time when your husband talked about your work with you before or after marriage.**

Is this the way your husband normally talks with you about your work?

##### **5 IF WOMAN EVER WORKED FOR EARNINGS WHETHER IN CASH OR KIND :**

**Tell me about a time your husband discussed your earnings with you. What did he say?**

Is this the way your husband normally talks with you about your earnings?

##### **6 IF CURRENTLY WORKING : How does your husband feel about your work now?**

Can you describe an event for me that clarifies his feelings?

##### **7 IF WOMAN EVER WORKED OR CURRENTLY WORKING :**

**On the days, if any, that you have missed work or were unable to work, what were the reasons?**

**For what other reasons have you missed work or were unable to work?**

PROBE UNTIL NO OTHER RESPONSES ARE GIVEN.

Of these reasons, what would you say is the main reason that you missed or where unable to work?

IF ONE OF THE REASONS IS RELATED TO HER HUSBAND : Describe one of the times when you missed or where unable to work because [HUSBAND-RELATED REASON].

##### **8 IF WOMAN NEVER WORKED : What are all of the reasons you have never worked?**

Describe any physical or emotional reasons for not working.

Describe how working could affect your husband or household.

**Second : Decision-making in the household**

INTERVIEWER : Now I would like to talk more generally about marriage. Marriage involves many daily activities and decisions.

**1. I am interested to understand how you make decisions about your daily activities.**

What are all of the tasks you can do without talking to your husband?

PROBE : food you cook, taking children to health clinic, visiting your family, visiting friends, buying fruits and vegetables, disciplining children, going to mosque or church etc.

Please tell me about a time in the last week when you did [REPORTED TASK] without talking with your husband?

What are all of the tasks that you do that you must notify your husband when you are going to do them?

PROBE : What else?

Please tell me about a time in the last week when you did [REPORTED TASK] and notified your husband.

What are all of the tasks that you do that you must consult your husband before doing?

PROBE : What else?

Please tell me about a time in the last week when you did [REPORTED TASK] and consulted your husband first.

What are all the tasks that you do that you need permission from your husband before you can do them?

PROBE : What else?

Please tell me about a time in the last week when you did [REPORTED TASK] and asked permission from your husband first.

**2 Just to be sure, how much control does your husband have over your daily activities? For example:**

who you talk to during visits to family and friends;  
trips to the market for the household's needs;  
trips to the health unit or the doctor for your own medical needs;  
how you spend the household allowance he gives you;  
how you carry out household chores  
what you cook  
others (specify)

**3 Okay, now I would like to discuss how your family makes decisions about finances.**

Please tell me about a time when your family bought something expensive [LET RESPONDENT DEFINE] - how was that decision made?

PROBE : Who was involved? Who had the final say?

Okay, now please tell me about a time when you bought something for your family's daily needs [LET RESPONDENT DEFINE] - how was that decision made?

PROBE : Who was involved? Who had the final say?

Now please tell me about a time when your husband's earnings were spent [LET RESPONDENT DEFINE] - how was that decision made?

PROBE : Who was involved? Who had the final say?

IF WOMAN EVER WORKED OR CURRENTLY WORKING FOR EARNING :

Now please tell me about a time when your earnings were spent [LET RESPONDENT DEFINE] - how was that decision made?

PROBE : Who was involved? Who had the final say?

Now please tell me about a time when your household decided to save money - how was that decision made?

PROBE : Who was involved? Who had the final say?

Have you ever received an allowance from your husband? IF YES : Do you still receive an allowance?

IF WOMAN HAS EVER RECEIVED AN ALLOWANCE :

Please tell me about a time when you saved money from this allowance? How did you eventually spend this money?

### III **Third : A Husband's Treatment of His Wife**

We know that problems often come up in marriage. I would like to talk to you about problems between husbands and wives. Some of these questions may be sensitive. Your answers are important to us, and please be assured that anything you say will be kept private. Take your time while answering.

**1 In general, what are the kinds of problems that husbands and wives have in marriage?**

**2 Can you tell me about a time when you and your husband had problems in your marriage? What kind of problems do you have?**

What about a time when your husband thought you disobeyed him? What happened? How did he react?

What about a time when you disagreed with your husband? What was the disagreement about? How did your husband react? How did you react?

**3 In general, in what situations might a husband get angry with his wife?**

**4 Okay, can you explain now about a time when your husband got angry with you?**

What was the reason, if any, that he got angry?

How did you know he was angry?

What did he say? What did he do?

How did the things he said and did make you feel?

How did you react to your husband's anger?

What did you do immediately after this event?

What did you do the next day?

How did this event affect your daily activities that day or after?

**IF WOMAN EVER WORKED:** How did this event affect your work?

Who, if anyone, did you talk to about this event?

Who else, if anyone, got involved during or after this event?

How exactly were they involved?

**5 Can you describe a time that your husband treated you in a way that you did not like or agree with?**

Please, can you tell me, what exactly happened?

What did he say or do that you did not like or agree with?

How did the things he said and did make you feel?

How did you react to your husband's behavior?

What did you do immediately after this event?

What did you do the next day?

How did this event affect your daily activities that day or after?

**IF WOMAN EVER WORKED :** How did this event affect your work?

Who, if anyone, did you talk to about this event?

Who else, if anyone, got involved during or after this event?

How exactly were they involved?

**6 IF WOMAN REPORTS ANY PHYSICAL VIOLENCE :** Can you describe any physical pain or injuries caused by your husband?

**7 In general, from all the things we have been discussing, how do you feel after your husband gets angry or treats you in a way you do not like?**

How do you act when you see other family members?

What types of activities, if any, do you feel unable or less able to do after these kinds of events?

**IF INFORMANT HAS EVER WORKED :** How exactly have these events affected your work?

In general, who have you talked to about your husband's behavior and how it makes you feel?

**PROBE:** family members, friends, neighbors, community members, co-workers

### **Fourth : Women's Attitudes**

**1 In what situations, if any, is a man justified in verbally insulting or threatening his wife?**

In what other situations? **PROBE UNTIL NO OTHER RESPONSES ARE GIVEN.**

**2 In what situations, if any, is a man justified in hitting his wife?**

In what other situations? **PROBE UNTIL NO OTHER RESPONSES ARE GIVEN.**

<b>Attitudinal Groups</b>	<b>Case IDs</b>
Women always justify IPV	<b>4, 11, 27, 30</b>
Women who qualify acceptable situations of IPV	<b>3, 5, 6, 10, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 26, 28, 29</b>
Women who never justify IPV	<b>1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 15, 16, 19, 20, 24, 25</b>

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