

Following in Dad's Footsteps? Perceptions on Domestic Violence among Men in Ghana

Abstract

Literature suggests a number of explanations for people's perceptions on domestic violence. Using the 2008 Ghana Demographic and Health Survey (GDHS) data, the study sought to investigate the relationship between parental violence and men's perceptions on spousal abuse.

The dependent variables were five different measures on men's perceptions of wife-beating for transgressed gender norms, while the independent variable sought to illicit information on past parental domestic violence instances.

Controlling for demographic and socio-economic variables, logistic regression models showed that men whose fathers beat their mothers were between 1.5 to 2.5 times as likely to find wife beating acceptable as those who did not witness parental abuse, indicating that a person's awareness of parental violence (wife-beating) could influence their perceptions on wife-beating.

While children of victims must be targeted with a variety of approaches including counseling, there should be culture-specific interventions that prevent the culturally influenced acceptance of domestic violence.

Keywords: Domestic Violence, Parental Violence, Male Perceptions, Wife-Beating, Ghana.

Introduction

The World Health Organization (WHO) describes domestic violence¹ as one of the most blatant manifestations of gender inequality (WHO 2005), and one of the Millennium Development Goals seeks to address the issue of women's empowerment which is a solution to curb gender inequality. The WHO (2005) further estimates that every one in five women faces some form of violence during her lifetime, in some cases leading to serious injury or death. Thus, worldwide, the morbidity and mortality rates from domestic violence cases are a cause for concern. Hence, studies have since sought to investigate the subject of domestic violence (DV) or intimate partner violence (IPV) and its various dimensions in different nations, including Ghana. In Ghana, studies on domestic violence have focused on the victims themselves and the prevalence of wife-beating (Coker-Appiah and Cusack 1999). Such nationally representative studies have often led to extensive campaigns and awareness towards curbing the problem. Other studies on domestic violence have also looked at domestic violence as it relates to certain important issues such as attitudes towards domestic violence or wife beating (Kulwicki and Miller 1999; Rani, Bonu et al. 2004; Abirafeh 2006; Takyi 2006) which are often influenced by cultural norms (Rani, Bonu et al. 2004; WHO 2004; WHO 2005).

Based on the social learning theory (Bandura 1977; Foshee, Bauman et al. 1999), which posits that aggression is learned by observing the behavior of others and its positive consequences, this study aims to examine, first, the attitudes of young men towards wife-beating, and second, the effects of individuals' experiences of parental domestic violence on men's perceptions of domestic violence. Though there have been cases of domestic violence where women were the perpetrators of the act, far more women

¹ The World Health Organization (WHO) report on violence and health defines violence as the "intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development or deprivation" (WHO, 2002).

experience domestic violence than men. Worldwide, patterns of violence against women differ markedly from violence against men. For example, women are more likely than men to be sexually assaulted or killed by someone they know (Bott, Morrison et al. 2005). This study therefore will focus on men's perceptions of wife-beating only. Studying attitudes of domestic violence among young men in Ghana has a number of important benefits. First of all, in spite of campaigns and punitive laws to curtail and eliminate wife-beating, there is the need to study men's involvement, attitudes, etc. towards the act to be able to effectively combat the problem. As argued by Hearn, in order to stop men's violence towards women, it would be useful to understand how men understand violence (Hearn 1998). Again, studying the prevalence of domestic violence will tell us the number of women who are victims, and perhaps the number of male perpetrators, but studying attitudes also tells us the number of men who are likely to beat their wives in certain situations. Also, since this study controls for parental domestic violence, the study will shed a little light on the effects of domestic violence on children of victims (and perpetrators).

Background

Over the years, domestic violence has been a pertinent problem in both developed and developing worlds. Studies on domestic violence have documented different aspects of the problem, with many trying to focus on the prevalence of domestic violence in different countries, and often comparing results across different countries. .

There has been a lot of focus on its many adverse effects. Research has documented physical consequences such as injuries (broken fractures), miscarriages and permanent disabilities, as well as economic consequences of domestic violence. According to Greaves, besides the human costs of domestic violence, Canada was spending over CDN\$ 1 billion annually on domestic violence services, including police, criminal justice system, counseling and training as at 1995 (Greaves 1995).

Statistics in Ghana show that between January 1999 and December 2002, the Women and Juvenile Unit of the Ghana Police Service (WAJU) recorded 1869 cases of assault/wife battering alone WAJU 2003 (Amoakohene 2004). In 2009, DOVVSU handled a total of 5,709 cases against 4,904 cases in 2008, an increase of 805. A total of 4,689 males were suspects / perpetrators and 1,020 were females, a rise of 16.5% over 2008 cases (allafrica.com 2010).

A study by Coker-Appiah & Cusack in Ghana showed that one in three women had suffered physical violence at the hands of an intimate partner (Coker-Appiah and Cusack 1999). This study conducted by the Gender Studies and Human Rights Documentation Centre showed that one in three women (33%) were experiencing physical violence (beating, slapping or other physical punishment) at the hands of current or previous partners at the time of the study, and more than half of the women (51%) experienced physical violence in 1997. According to the study, 89% suffered bruises and body aches, 14% suffered open wounds, 5% suffered broken bones and 10% suffered other injuries such as swollen eyes, blood from ears and a swollen face.

According to the United Nations (UN) , perhaps the most crucial consequence of violence against women is the denial of fundamental human rights to women and girls (UNICEF 2000). It also affects human and economic development when women are denied the opportunity of reaching their full potential. But perhaps the worse effect is when domestic violence also affects children, in addition to the mothers. Children who have witnessed domestic violence or have themselves been abused, exhibit health and behavior problems, including problems with their weight, their eating and their sleep (Jaffe, Wolfe et al. 1990). According to the UN's Domestic violence against women and children, they may have difficulty at school and find it hard to develop close and positive friendships. In their study on prevalence and effects of child exposure to domestic violence, Fantuzzo and Mohr posit that, childhood exposure to domestic violence can be associated with increased display of aggressive behavior, increased emotional problems, lower levels of social competence, and poorer academic functioning (Fantuzzo and Mohr

1999). Also, the social learning theory supports the fact that these children may learn from their environment, and therefore, may become perpetrators themselves (Foshee, Bauman et al. 1999).

These possible outcomes of domestic violence have resulted in increased governmental and other organizational efforts to combat domestic violence. The Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) call for the rights to protect gender-based abuse and neglect. In Ghana, there was the passage of the Domestic Violence (DV) Act 732 in February 2007, mandating the Ministry of women and Children Affairs (MOWAC) to fight domestic violence of all forms, to set up a victim support fund through voluntary contributions, and to enable parliament to curb the social menace (GoG 2007; GSS, GHS et al. 2009). There is also the Domestic Violence and Victim Support Unit (DOVVSU) (formally the Women and Juveniles unit) of the Ghana Police Service. Efforts by Non-Governmental Organizations include those by the Federation of International Women Lawyers (FIDA), the Gender Violence Survivors Support Network (GVSSN), Action Aid Ghana, among others. All these organizations serve to prevent the incidence of domestic violence in Ghana in several ways such as setting laws, following up on reports of domestic violence, providing education on domestic violence or providing some support base for victims of domestic violence. However, efforts to eliminate wife-beating have been restrained by norms, attitudes and perceptions of societies and individuals, men and women alike, towards wife beating (Coker-Appiah and Cusack 1999; Cusack and Manuh 2009).

Results of domestic violence seem to be worse among developing countries compared to developed countries and the differences have often been associated with differences in cultural norms. For some countries and among certain cultures, wife-beating is almost common and acceptable. In such cultures, the act often connotes a man's ability to maintain discipline and control over his household (Coker-Appiah and Cusack 1999; Cusack and Manuh 2009).

Studies by Rani et al on attitudes towards wife-beating in among men and women in seven countries in Africa showed that women were considerably more likely to justify wife beating than men (Rani, Bonu et al. 2004). In spite of the effects of and statistics on wife beating, 36.6% of women justified wife beating, according to the 2008 Ghana Demographic and Health Survey. According to Rani et al, the Kenyan law on wife-beating, for instance, permits husbands to “chastise” their wives (Rani, Bonu et al. 2004).

Negative attitudes towards domestic violence don't only feed the act and hinder efforts towards curbing the problem, they create a situation where wife-beating becomes a norm even among subsequent generations, and hence the need exists to take a critical look at factors affecting attitudes towards domestic violence.

Data and Methods

Source of Data

Data from the 2008 Ghana Demographic and Health Survey (GDHS) was used for the study. The GDHS is a nationally representative survey conducted in Ghana in five year intervals since 1988. For the 2008 study, using a two-stage sampling design, 412 clusters from across the entire nation were selected, and 12,323 households were chosen from the clusters and were administered a household questionnaire. In addition, men's and women's questionnaires were administered to male and female respondents between the ages of 15-49 and 15-59, respectively, in half of the selected households. The unique thing about the 2008 GDHS is the domestic violence module added to the questionnaire. Out of the 4,568 male respondents administered the individual questionnaire, 1,219 were further administered the domestic violence module. Thus, the male file, which originally consisted of 4,568 men, was weighted with the appropriate domestic violence weight and once missing cases were excluded the final sample, 1192 men were used for the study.

Variables

Research has suggested the need for more studies and data to better understand multiple courses, especially the root causes, magnitude and consequences, identify solutions, and galvanize social, legal and political change (NRC 1996; Hindin and Adair 2002; UNIFEM 2003). The relationship between domestic violence and some background characteristics have been often been explored.

Gender inequality results from unequal power relationships between women and men, based on socially defined roles and behaviour, and this believed to be one of the root causes of violence against women (WHO 2002). A number of studies have also emphasized the relation between socio-economic and background characteristics and (attitudes towards) domestic violence or intimate partner violence (Kulwicki and Miller 1999; Hindin and Adair 2002; Khawaja, Linos et al. 2008). For instance, Frost, by applying the social cognitive theory as a framework, investigated the life course experiences that shaping men's gender-equitable attitudes posited that men's gender-equitable attitudes differ by men's individual, family and environmental characteristics (Frost 2009). Again, a study by Takyi found that Men's attitudes about wife beatings in Ghana tend to be shaped predominantly by individual & household level factors such as younger age, lower education, less wealth, sole male decision-making, & more number of children (Takyi 2006).

For instance, while differences in gender roles at different stages of one's life may result in varying expectations and therefore attitudes that one may have towards those gender roles, Hindin and Adair (2002) have argued that lower levels of household wealth and urban residence are associated with a higher likelihood of IPV (Hindin and Adair 2002). Also, some relationship has also been found between religion and wife-beating. Statistics have shown that, domestic violence is relatively high among Muslim communities. For instance, a study by Kulwicki and Miller among Muslim Arab-American homes showed that the percentage of men who justified wife-beating for various reasons ranged from 33% to 59% (Kulwicki and Miller 1999). Again, a study of 395 married women and men living in Palestinian

refugee camps showed that, 60.1% of men and 61.8% of women believed that wife beating is justified in most situations (Khawaja, Linos et al. 2008). Again, a relationship can be drawn between poverty and domestic violence, either arguing from the point of view that a man's dominance in his ability to provide may be lost and consequently substituted with violence, or that conflict over resources may result in violence, leading to higher acceptance of violence among poor people to resolve the conflict (Rani, Bonu et al. 2004).

This study therefore controlled for some socio-economic and demographic characteristics.

The dependent variables are five different measures that may be referred to as transgressed gender norms. These are men's perceptions of instances when wife beating is justified. These perceptions on the acceptability of wife beating include, when the wife goes out without telling her husband, when she refuses to have sex with him, when she burns the food, when she neglects the children, and when she argues with her husband. A composite measure of the five transgressed gender norms was also created. Respondents who mentioned that they did not know their stance on the subject were excluded from the study.

The main independent variable sought to illicit information on family violence experiences, especially experiences in which respondents were aware that their fathers had ever abused their mothers. Even though wife-beating could have occurred without respondents knowing, respondents who mentioned that they did not know whether their fathers had ever beaten their mothers were merged to those who stated that there had been no parental violence in their home. The logic behind merging the 'no' and 'don't know' responses was that once the respondent did not know if wife-beating had occurred, their not knowing rules out the possibility of their attitudes being influenced by their experiences of parental abuse. The study assumes that those who said yes to witnessing parental violence had seen forms of violence being committed in the home. The demographic and socio-economic variables used as controls in the

study were: age, education, marital status, type of place and region of residence, religion, ethnicity and wealth index (which serves as a proxy for socio-economic status).

Methods of Analysis

Univariate, bivariate and multivariate analyses were utilized to investigate the link between men witnessing violence between their parents and their perceptions on intimate partner violence.

Univariate analyses displayed the proportion of respondents in various demographic and socio-economic categories, as well as their perspectives on wife beating and whether parental violence had occurred in their home. Bivariate analyses were conducted using cross-tabulations between the justification of wife beating in lieu of a woman transgressing the five gender norms and family violence. Lastly, multivariate analyses consisted of six binary logistic regression models that tried to determine a link between the acceptability of wife beating due to transgressed gender norms and encounters of parental violence.

Results

Univariate Analyses

The main pattern of the age distribution of men in Table 1 suggests that as the ages increase the proportion of men in the various age groups decline. However, age groups 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, and 55 to 59 were merged, thus this older age group had the greatest proportion of respondents (28.9 percent).

Univariate analyses results also suggest that over 63 percent of the respondents had some form of secondary education. This category comprises of those who had attained any grade in Junior and Senior High School as well as Middle School. Similar proportions had none and primary education, while the lowest proportion (8.2 percent) of the men had a form of higher education.

<<Table 1 goes here>>

The greatest percentage of the men were married (49.5 percent), the next highest percentage were never married (39.6 percent). Most of the men in the sample were from the Akan ethnic group (47.4 percent), while Ga/Dangme's and those in the 'Other' category were 7 percent each. Since they are situated within the three Northern regions of Ghana, the Grussi, Gruma, Mende and Mole-Dagbani ethnic groups were merged and formed 23.7 percent of the respondents. More men were in the richer (27.6 percent) and richest (21.0 percent) categories and the smallest proportion of men (15.4 percent) were in the poorest category.

The majority of the men worked in the agricultural sector (36.3 percent), performed skilled or unskilled manual labor (18.3 percent), or were in the profession, technical, managerial and clerical field (16.6 percent). Nineteen percent of the men mentioned that they were currently unemployed, a proportion of these worked in the past 12 months and listed their occupation being mostly in the sales sector (Table not shown).

More respondents lived in rural settings than in the urban areas. Distributing the proportions of men by region we see that most men lived in the Ashanti region (19.0 percent), followed by the Greater Accra region and the Eastern and Western regions at 15.9, 11.2 and 10.2 percent respectively.

On the whole, the majority of the respondents (76.7 per cent) did not justify wife beating under any of the five instances. Individually, about 11 percent of the respondents each stated that wife beating was justified when the wife went out without her husband's permission and argued with her husband. The proportion of men who mentioned that wife beating was justified when children were neglected was 14.7 percent. In addition, 7.5 and 4.2 percent of respondents felt that wife beating was justified when a wife refused her husband sex and burnt his food, respectively. Lastly, 21 percent of men in the study mentioned that their father had ever beaten their mother. Thus, 79 percent had either never witnessed violence occurring between their parents or did not know if such instances had taken place. *Bivariate*

Bivariate Analyses

Cross-tabulation results suggest that a respondent's father ever beating his mother was significantly associated with four out of the five dependent variables, that is, wife beating was justified when the wife goes out, neglects the children, argues with her husband and burns the food. Greater proportions of respondents who said that their fathers ever beat their mothers mentioned that they justified wife beating in those instances. One unexpected result was that wife beating being justified for a wife refusing to have sex with her husband was not significantly related to the family violence variable. About 30 percent of the respondents who mentioned that their father ever beat their mother justified wife beating for one or more of the transgressed gender norms.

<<Table 2 about here>>

The merged dependent variable was highly significantly related to education and wealth, as well as the type of place and region of residence at the one per cent alpha level. About two-thirds of the respondents who justified wife beating in at least one of the instances had no and primary education, while a small proportion (6.1 percent) had higher education. As wealth status increased, the percentage of respondents who justified wife beating declined. Approximately, 43 percent of the men living in the Northern region justified wife beating, while only 15.4 percent of those in the Central region did the same. Also, a little over a quarter of the respondents living in rural areas felt wife beating was allowed for at least one of the transgressed gender norms.

The merged dependent variable was also significantly related to age, ethnicity, religion and occupation at the five per cent alpha level. In terms of age, the greatest proportions of respondents (32.7 and 26.1 percent) who felt wife beating was justified were in the 15 to 19 and 30 to 34 year groups, while three-fifths of the respondents were equally distributed in the 25 to 29, 35 to 39 and 40 to 59 year age groups. About 31 percent of respondents referred to as "Northern tribes" justified wife beating, while 19, 20 and 21 percent of Ewe, Ga/Dangme and Akan respondents, respectively, felt the same. Under a third each of

the Moslem and Traditionalist respondents believed that wife beating was justified for at least one transgressed gender norm. Lastly, over a quarter of the respondents in the service and agriculture sector as well as those not working felt that wife beating was justified.

The demographic and socio-economic characteristics that were significantly associated with at least one of the five dependent variables were respondent's age, education, religion, ethnicity, occupation, wealth, region and type of place of residence. Cross tabulation results show that the proportions of respondents had similar distributions across the five individual transgressed gender norms as with the merged variable (see Table 2).

Multivariate Analyses

Binary logistic regression results displayed on Table 3 show that the respondent's exposure to family violence was significantly related to four of the five justified wife beating variables as well as the merged justified wife beating variable. It supports the hypothesis that men who knew about or witnessed abuse of their mothers by their fathers were more likely to deem wife beating as acceptable. Respondents whose fathers beat their mothers were 1.8, 1.9, 2.4 and 2.5 times as likely to justify wife beating for arguing with her husband, neglecting her children, burning food and going out without permission, respectively, than those whose parents did not engage in family violence or did not know if it had occurred. Results also showed that respondents whose father's beat their mothers were 1.6 times as likely to justify wife beating for one or more of those reasons.

Age was significantly related to the merged dependent variable as well as wife argues with husband, wife goes out, neglects the children and wife goes out without permission. All the age group categories that were significant were less likely than the 15 to 19 year olds to justify wife beating for the various transgressed gender norms. Respondents with higher education were 90 and 70 percent less likely to

justify wife beating for refusing to have sex and for one or more of the transgressed gender norms, respectively.

<<Table 3 about here>>

The Ga/Dangme ethnic group were 1.7 times more likely to justify wife beating if the wife argues with her husband, while those groups living in the three Northern regions of Ghana, as well as those in the “Other” ethnic group category were 2.3 and 2.5 times as likely to justify wife beating if the woman goes out without permission from her husband. Respondents who were formerly married were 82 percent less likely to justify wife beating when the wife refuses to have sex with her husband.

Rural dwellers were 96 percent more likely to justify wife beating when a wife neglects the children. Among those living in the various regions of Ghana, compared to those in the Western region, those in the Central, Greater Accra and Upper West regions, respectively, were 65, 64 and 97 percent less likely to justify wife beating when a wife went out without permission. Also, respondents in the Volta and Upper West regions were 69 and 87 percent less likely, than those in the Western region, to justify wife beating if the wife neglected their children. Men living in the Ashanti and Northern regions were 1.5 and 3.5 times more likely, respectively, to deem wife beating as right when the wife argues with her husband. Lastly, compared to those in the Western region, respondents in the Volta and Upper West regions were about 55 and 64 percent less likely, respectively, to justify wife beating for one or more of the transgressed gender norms.

Employed men were 74 percent less likely, and men in the skilled and unskilled manual occupation were 3.6 times more likely to justify wife beating if the wife refused sex, than unemployed men. Lastly, men in the professional, technical, managerial and clerical occupation were 3.5 times as likely as those not working to justify wife beating for a wife going out without her husband’s permission. In addition, those in the agriculture, services and manual occupations were 2.7, 12.1 and 3.3 times more likely to justify wife beating for a wife going out without permission than their unemployed counterparts, respectively.

Discussion

Bivariate and multivariate analyses suggest that a respondent's awareness of parental violence and favorable perceptions about spousal abuse were positively related. In their study, Foshee et. al. discuss how family violence, both between parents and from adult to child, is significantly related to dating violence (Foshee, Bauman et al. 1999). They suggest that certain positive consequences arise from witnessing violence in the home and this propels them to perpetuate the violence keeping in mind that it causes positive consequences to occur. Despite the fact that this study rather sought to investigate perceptions about spousal abuse instead of behavior, similar results were obtained.

As the Theory of Reasoned Action suggests, behavior is influenced by intentions which are influenced by attitudes and subjective norms (Bosompra 2001). For example, in his study on intentions of condom use by Ghanaian university students, Bosompra stated that attitudes about condoms (specifically the advantages of condom use) as well as subjective norms (the idea that referents would approve of condom use) were significant determinants of condom use. Thus, a respondent's attitude toward wife beating and the idea that a referent, in this case their father, would approve of wife beating, may eventually influence their justification and intention to beat their wives in certain circumstances.

Findings from the study have implications for the youth who may be witnessing violence among their parents. Results showed that adolescents aged 15 to 19 are more likely to justify wife beating than their older counterparts. The fact that younger respondents were significantly more likely to justify wife beating for three of the transgressed gender norms raises questions about the awareness of these young men towards the issue of women's empowerment and the immoral nature of domestic violence. Therefore, the youth must be targeted with messages about the negative consequences of violence in the home. Their attitudes must be changed towards spousal abuse and must be made to see violence in the home as wrong.

The results also showed that certain transgressed gender norms rendered wife beating acceptable for certain categories, while others did not, also indicated by Rani et. al (2004) in their study. For example, those in the Northern region as well as the various “Northern tribes” must be targeted with messages against spousal abuse when wife goes out or argues with her husband. Rural residents were more concerned about wives not neglecting children, since perhaps as mostly agricultural workers children are important to the men in these areas.

Literature suggests that patriarchal societies hold more traditional views about gender roles and as such punishment for transgressing those norms are permissible (Haj-Yahia 1998). This may hold true in the study since patrilineal groups (Northern tribes and Ga/Dangmes) were more likely to justify wife beating than their matrilineal counterparts (the Akans). However, the issue of male dominance still plays a role since men from the Ashanti region were more likely to condone spousal abuse once a wife argues with her husband. The Ashanti’s who practice the matrilineal inheritance system may strictly adhere to traditional values and as such transgressing gender norms may come at a price.

The main study’s findings require further investigation using qualitative techniques to aid in the understanding of this sensitive subject that suggests a phenomenon occurring among about one-fifth of the respondents in the study. The issue of children witnessing parental violence requires considerable research attention since it may have an implication on the child’s marriage in the future. Lastly, cultural associations with male dominance also need to be investigated in order to address the subject of domestic violence and its influence on children who witness the acts.

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Table 1: Descriptive statistics of independent and dependent variables and respondents' background characteristics serving as controls in the study

| Characteristic | Frequency | Percent | Characteristic | Frequency | Percent |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|------------|--|-------------|------------|
| BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS | | | BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS contd. | | |
| Age | | | Employment Status | | |
| 15-19 | 208 | 17.5 | Unemployed | 227 | 19.0 |
| 20-24 | 181 | 15.2 | Employed | 965 | 81.0 |
| 25-29 | 166 | 13.9 | Wealth Index | | |
| 30-34 | 157 | 13.1 | Poorest | 183 | 15.4 |
| 35-39 | 136 | 11.4 | Poorer | 231 | 19.3 |
| 40-59 | 344 | 28.9 | Middle | 199 | 16.7 |
| Education | | | Richer | 329 | 27.6 |
| No education | 169 | 14.2 | Richest | 250 | 21.0 |
| Primary | 172 | 14.5 | Occupation | | |
| Secondary | 753 | 63.1 | Not working | 183 | 15.4 |
| Higher | 98 | 8.2 | Professional/Technical/ Managerial/Clerical | 198 | 16.6 |
| Marital Status | | | Sales | 75 | 6.3 |
| Never married | 472 | 39.6 | Agriculture | 433 | 36.3 |
| Married | 590 | 49.5 | Service | 46 | 3.9 |
| Living together | 63 | 5.3 | Manual | 218 | 18.3 |
| Formerly in union | 68 | 5.7 | Not stated | 39 | 3.3 |
| Ethnicity | | | INDEPENDENT VARIABLE | | |
| Akan | 565 | 47.4 | Respondent's father ever beat mother | | |
| Ga/Dangme | 83 | 7.0 | No/Don't know | 941 | 79.0 |
| Ewe | 174 | 14.6 | Yes | 251 | 21.0 |
| Northern tribes | 283 | 23.7 | DEPENDENT VARIABLES | | |
| Other | 87 | 7.3 | Wife goes out | | |
| Religion | | | No | 1057 | 88.7 |
| Catholic | 172 | 14.4 | Yes | 135 | 11.3 |
| Protestant | 207 | 17.4 | Wife neglects children | | |
| Pentecost/Charismatic | 320 | 26.8 | No | 1017 | 85.3 |
| Other Christian | 176 | 14.8 | Yes | 175 | 14.7 |
| Moslem | 191 | 16.0 | Wife argues with husband | | |
| Traditional | 64 | 5.4 | No | 1057 | 88.6 |
| No religion/Other | 62 | 5.2 | Yes | 135 | 11.4 |
| Region of Residence | | | Wife refuses husband sex | | |
| Western | 121 | 10.2 | No | 1103 | 92.5 |
| Central | 104 | 8.7 | Yes | 89 | 7.5 |
| Greater Accra | 190 | 15.9 | Wife burns food | | |
| Volta | 115 | 9.6 | No | 1142 | 95.8 |
| Eastern | 134 | 11.2 | Yes | 50 | 4.2 |
| Ashanti | 227 | 19.0 | Merged wife beating variable | | |
| Brong Ahafo | 93 | 7.8 | No | 914 | 76.7 |
| Northern | 115 | 9.7 | Yes | 278 | 23.3 |
| Upper West | 64 | 5.4 | Total | | |
| Upper East | 29 | 2.4 | Total | 1192 | 100 |
| Type of Place of Residence | | | | | |
| Urban | 554 | 46.5 | | | |
| Rural | 638 | 53.5 | | | |
| Total | 1192 | 100 | | | |

Table 2: Percentage distribution of men who justified wife beating by respondent's father ever beat his mother and background characteristics

| | Goes out | Neglects children | Argues | Refuses sex | Burns food | Merged variable | Total | Number |
|---|-------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------|
| Respondent's father ever beat mother | | | | | | | | |
| No/Don't know | 9.2 | 12.6 | 10.1 | 6.9 | 3.3 | 21.5 | 100.0 | 941 |
| Yes | 19.1 | 22.3 | 16.3 | 9.6 | 7.6 | 30.3 | 100.0 | 251 |
| | Pr=0.000 | Pr=0.000 | Pr=0.006 | Pr=0.154 | Pr=0.003 | Pr=0.003 | | |
| Age | | | | | | | | |
| 15-19 | 18.8 | 18.8 | 15.9 | 7.7 | 6.3 | 32.7 | 100.0 | 208 |
| 20-24 | 8.8 | 14.4 | 9.4 | 6.1 | 5.0 | 21.5 | 100.0 | 181 |
| 25-29 | 7.2 | 15.7 | 9.6 | 6.6 | 1.8 | 19.9 | 100.0 | 166 |
| 30-34 | 10.8 | 17.8 | 14.0 | 7.6 | 5.1 | 26.1 | 100.0 | 157 |
| 35-39 | 10.9 | 13.9 | 11.8 | 6.6 | 5.1 | 20.4 | 100.0 | 136 |
| 40-59 | 10.5 | 11.0 | 9.0 | 9.0 | 3.2 | 20.1 | 100.0 | 344 |
| | Pr=0.008 | Pr=0.168 | Pr=0.135 | Pr=0.847 | Pr=0.291 | Pr=0.010 | | |
| Education | | | | | | | | |
| No education | 17.8 | 20.1 | 15.4 | 15.9 | 10.1 | 30.2 | 100.0 | 169 |
| Primary | 15.6 | 19.8 | 13.3 | 8.7 | 5.2 | 32.0 | 100.0 | 172 |
| Secondary | 10.1 | 13.4 | 11.3 | 6.1 | 2.9 | 22.0 | 100.0 | 753 |
| Higher | 2.0 | 6.1 | 2.0 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 6.1 | 100.0 | 98 |
| | Pr=0.000 | Pr=0.003 | Pr=0.008 | Pr=0.000 | Pr=0.000 | Pr=0.000 | | |
| Ethnicity | | | | | | | | |
| Akan | 8.5 | 12.9 | 8.8 | 6.4 | 2.7 | 21.0 | 100.0 | 565 |
| Ga/Dangme | 7.2 | 8.3 | 12.0 | 3.6 | 1.2 | 20.2 | 100.0 | 83 |
| Ewe | 11.4 | 12.1 | 9.8 | 6.3 | 5.2 | 19.4 | 100.0 | 174 |
| Northern tribes | 16.6 | 21.9 | 15.6 | 11.7 | 8.1 | 31.1 | 100.0 | 283 |
| Other | 16.1 | 14.9 | 16.1 | 5.7 | 2.3 | 24.4 | 100.0 | 87 |
| | Pr=0.003 | Pr=0.002 | Pr=0.026 | Pr=0.028 | Pr=0.002 | Pr=0.010 | | |
| Religion | | | | | | | | |
| Catholic | 10.5 | 14.5 | 7.0 | 4.7 | 4.1 | 20.3 | 100.0 | 172 |
| Protestant | 9.7 | 14.0 | 8.7 | 8.2 | 1.4 | 25.1 | 100.0 | 207 |
| Pentecost/Charismatic | 9.7 | 11.3 | 12.8 | 5.9 | 4.7 | 20.6 | 100.0 | 320 |
| Other Christian | 9.7 | 13.0 | 7.3 | 6.8 | 1.7 | 18.2 | 100.0 | 176 |
| Moslem | 16.2 | 22.0 | 18.3 | 9.5 | 5.8 | 31.4 | 100.0 | 191 |
| Traditional | 13.8 | 18.8 | 18.5 | 15.6 | 9.2 | 30.8 | 100.0 | 64 |
| No religion/Other | 14.5 | 14.5 | 9.5 | 6.3 | 6.3 | 23.8 | 100.0 | 62 |
| | Pr=0.264 | Pr=0.053 | Pr=0.002 | Pr=0.094 | Pr=0.042 | Pr=0.029 | | |
| Wealth | | | | | | | | |
| Poorest | 15.8 | 21.3 | 16.9 | 13.7 | 10.4 | 30.1 | 100.0 | 183 |
| Poorer | 14.3 | 19.9 | 13.0 | 9.5 | 5.7 | 28.6 | 100.0 | 231 |
| Middle | 12.1 | 12.6 | 12.1 | 4.5 | 3.5 | 26.1 | 100.0 | 199 |
| Richer | 9.4 | 13.4 | 10.3 | 6.4 | 3.0 | 20.4 | 100.0 | 329 |
| Richest | 6.8 | 8.4 | 6.8 | 4.8 | 0.4 | 14.8 | 100.0 | 250 |
| | Pr=0.015 | Pr=0.000 | Pr=0.018 | Pr=0.002 | Pr=0.000 | Pr=0.000 | | |
| Total | 11.3 | 14.7 | 11.4 | 7.5 | 4.2 | 23.3 | 100.0 | 1192 |

***Pr<0.01 **Pr<0.05 *Pr<0.10

Source: Ghana Demographic and Health Survey (GDHS)

Table 2 continued: Percentage distribution of men who justified wife beating by respondent's father ever beat his mother and background characteristics

| | Goes out | Neglects children | Argues | Refuses sex | Burns food | Merged variable | Total | Number |
|--|-------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------|
| Marital Status | | | | | | | | |
| Never married | 11.9 | 14.8 | 11.4 | 7.2 | 5.1 | 24.6 | 100.0 | 472 |
| Married | 11.0 | 15.3 | 11.4 | 8.6 | 3.6 | 23.6 | 100.0 | 590 |
| Living together | 7.9 | 12.7 | 6.3 | 3.2 | 3.2 | 14.3 | 100.0 | 63 |
| Formerly in union | 13.2 | 11.8 | 14.9 | 2.9 | 4.4 | 20.6 | 100.0 | 68 |
| | Pr=0.762 | Pr=0.846 | Pr=0.489 | Pr=0.177 | Pr=0.638 | Pr=0.304 | | |
| Type of Place of Residence | | | | | | | | |
| Urban | 9.5 | 10.3 | 9.7 | 6.1 | 1.8 | 18.6 | 100.0 | 554 |
| Rural | 12.9 | 18.5 | 12.7 | 8.6 | 6.3 | 27.4 | 100.0 | 638 |
| | Pr=0.072 | Pr=0.000 | Pr=0.109 | Pr=0.109 | Pr=0.000 | Pr=0.000 | | |
| Region of Residence | | | | | | | | |
| Western | 14.9 | 16.4 | 5.7 | 8.2 | 2.5 | 23.1 | 100.0 | 121 |
| Central | 6.7 | 7.7 | 11.5 | 2.9 | 1.0 | 15.4 | 100.0 | 104 |
| Greater Accra | 9.5 | 10.0 | 10.0 | 2.6 | 0.5 | 17.9 | 100.0 | 190 |
| Volta | 13.0 | 7.8 | 7.0 | 6.1 | 5.2 | 16.5 | 100.0 | 115 |
| Eastern | 7.5 | 15.7 | 8.2 | 7.5 | 6.0 | 24.6 | 100.0 | 134 |
| Ashanti | 9.3 | 14.5 | 13.7 | 9.3 | 4.8 | 25.6 | 100.0 | 227 |
| Brong Ahafo | 14.0 | 16.1 | 7.4 | 5.4 | 3.2 | 23.7 | 100.0 | 93 |
| Northern | 25.2 | 36.5 | 27.8 | 18.3 | 12.2 | 42.6 | 100.0 | 115 |
| Upper West | 1.6 | 4.7 | 7.8 | 7.8 | 3.1 | 17.2 | 100.0 | 64 |
| Upper East | 6.9 | 20.7 | 13.8 | 3.4 | 3.4 | 27.6 | 100.0 | 29 |
| | Pr=0.000 | Pr=0.000 | Pr=0.000 | Pr=0.000 | Pr=0.000 | Pr=0.000 | | |
| Occupation | | | | | | | | |
| Not working | 11.5 | 15.3 | 12.0 | 7.1 | 6.5 | 25.1 | 100.0 | 183 |
| Professional/technical/ managerial/clerical | 6.6 | 9.6 | 7.6 | 5.6 | 1.5 | 16.2 | 100.0 | 198 |
| Sales | 5.3 | 8.0 | 5.3 | 1.3 | 0.0 | 12.0 | 100.0 | 75 |
| Agriculture | 13.4 | 16.7 | 13.9 | 9.0 | 6.5 | 27.1 | 100.0 | 433 |
| Service | 26.1 | 26.1 | 8.5 | 6.5 | 0.0 | 28.3 | 100.0 | 46 |
| Manual | 10.6 | 14.7 | 12.8 | 9.6 | 2.3 | 24.3 | 100.0 | 218 |
| Not stated | 7.7 | 12.8 | 5.1 | 5.1 | 2.6 | 17.9 | 100.0 | 39 |
| | Pr=0.003 | Pr=0.041 | Pr=0.098 | Pr=0.209 | Pr=0.003 | Pr=0.013 | | |
| Employment Status | | | | | | | | |
| Unemployed | 12.3 | 13.7 | 10.6 | 7.5 | 5.3 | 23.8 | 100.0 | 227 |
| Employed | 11.1 | 14.9 | 11.5 | 7.5 | 3.9 | 23.2 | 100.0 | 965 |
| | Pr=0.594 | Pr=0.632 | Pr=0.691 | Pr=0.985 | Pr=0.362 | Pr=0.853 | | |
| Total | 11.3 | 14.7 | 11.4 | 7.5 | 4.2 | 23.3 | 100.0 | 1192 |

***Pr<0.01 **Pr<0.05 *Pr<0.10

Source: Ghana Demographic and Health Survey (GDHS)

Table 3: Binary logistic regression model showing the relationship between men's justification for wife beating for a transgressed gender norm and whether the respondent's father ever beat his mother, while controlling for background characteristics

| | Goes out | Neglects children | Argues | Refuses sex | Burns food | Merged variable |
|--------------------------------|----------|-------------------|----------|-------------|------------|-----------------|
| Father ever beat mother | | | | | | |
| No (RC) | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 |
| Yes | 2.504*** | 1.934*** | 1.799*** | 1.419 | 2.360** | 1.554*** |
| Age | | | | | | |
| 15-19 (RC) | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 |
| 20-24 | 0.239*** | 0.619 | 0.445** | 0.756 | 0.939 | 0.467*** |
| 25-29 | 0.148*** | 0.531 | 0.376** | 1.281 | 0.515 | 0.346*** |
| 30-34 | 0.168*** | 0.482 | 0.515 | 1.944 | 1.883 | 0.429** |
| 35-39 | 0.196*** | 0.347** | 0.432 | 1.581 | 2.015 | 0.293*** |
| 40-59 | 0.186*** | 0.293*** | 0.347** | 2.614 | 1.358 | 0.310*** |
| Education | | | | | | |
| No education (RC) | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 |
| Primary | 1.145 | 1.481 | 1.176 | 0.706 | 0.535 | 1.268 |
| Secondary | 0.800 | 1.143 | 1.556 | 0.484* | 0.544 | 0.936 |
| Higher | 0.252* | 0.665 | 0.327 | 0.096** | 0.235 | 0.302** |
| Ethnicity | | | | | | |
| Akan (RC) | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 |
| Ga/Dangme | 1.647 | 0.751 | 2.725** | 0.787 | 0.269 | 1.297 |
| Ewe | 1.460 | 1.375 | 1.754 | 1.195 | 2.597* | 1.248 |
| Northern tribes | 2.260** | 1.378 | 1.208 | 1.328 | 1.845 | 1.420 |
| Other | 2.543** | 0.892 | 1.394 | 0.713 | 0.919 | 1.098 |
| Religion | | | | | | |
| Catholic (RC) | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 |
| Protestant | 1.150 | 1.068 | 1.265 | 1.654 | 0.328 | 1.478 |
| Charismatic/Pentecostal | 0.982 | 0.681 | 1.878* | 1.163 | 1.057 | 0.975 |
| Other Christian | 0.938 | 0.871 | 0.954 | 1.493 | 0.472 | 0.873 |
| Moslem | 0.718 | 1.157 | 2.132* | 1.308 | 0.837 | 1.283 |
| Traditional | 0.909 | 1.149 | 2.497* | 1.897 | 0.961 | 1.570 |
| Other/None | 1.190 | 0.826 | 1.149 | 1.188 | 0.932 | 1.006 |
| Wealth | | | | | | |
| Poorest (RC) | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 |
| Poorer | 1.103 | 1.195 | 0.966 | 0.914 | 0.619 | 1.290 |
| Middle | 0.947 | 0.866 | 0.915 | 0.389* | 0.543 | 1.411 |
| Richer | 0.859 | 1.140 | 0.727 | 0.770 | 0.856 | 1.162 |
| Richest | 0.437 | 0.751 | 0.386* | 0.694 | 0.255 | 0.836 |
| Marital Status | | | | | | |
| Never Married (RC) | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 |
| Married | 1.781 | 1.899* | 1.460 | 0.595 | 0.407 | 1.497 |
| Living together | 1.519 | 1.375 | 0.730 | 0.205* | 0.702 | 0.789 |
| Formerly married | 1.959 | 1.404 | 1.823 | 0.176** | 0.489 | 1.217 |

***Pr<0.01 **Pr<0.05 *Pr<0.10 | (RC) = Reference Category | R² = Nagelkerke R² value for mode 1
Source: 2008 Ghana Demographic and Health Survey (GDHS)

Table 3 continued: Binary logistic regression model showing the relationship between men's justification for wife beating for a transgressed gender norm and whether the respondent's father ever beat his mother, while controlling for background characteristics

| | Goes out | Neglects children | Argues | Refuses sex | Burns food | Merged variable |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Place of Residence | | | | | | |
| Urban (RC) | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 |
| Rural | 1.013 | 1.964*** | 0.980 | 0.833 | 1.848 | 1.364 |
| Region | | | | | | |
| Western (RC) | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 |
| Central | 0.351** | 0.422* | 2.654* | 0.477 | 0.391 | 0.609 |
| Greater Accra | 0.845 | 0.829 | 2.281 | 0.357* | 0.318 | 0.982 |
| Volta | 0.576 | 0.312** | 0.708 | 0.701 | 0.734 | 0.454** |
| Eastern | 0.361** | 0.933 | 0.990 | 1.128 | 2.212 | 0.977 |
| Ashanti | 0.540 | 0.751 | 2.531** | 1.368 | 1.982 | 1.039 |
| Brong Ahafo | 0.769 | 0.830 | 1.202 | 0.572 | 0.831 | 0.914 |
| Northern | 1.195 | 2.089* | 4.539*** | 1.606 | 1.837 | 1.677 |
| Upper West | 0.031*** | 0.129*** | 0.934 | 0.450 | 0.253 | 0.357** |
| Upper East | 0.240* | 0.699 | 1.863 | 0.272 | 0.580 | 0.717 |
| Employment | | | | | | |
| Unemployed (RC) | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 |
| Employed | 0.428 | 1.273 | 2.612 | 0.258** | 4.605 | 0.976 |
| Occupation | | | | | | |
| Not working (RC) | 1.000 | 1.000 | | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 |
| Professional/Technical/Managerial/Clerical | 3.470** | 0.635 | 0.441 | 2.962 | 0.081 | 1.336 |
| Sales | 2.737 | 0.654 | 0.241 | 0.537 | 0.000 | 0.850 |
| Agriculture | 3.729** | 0.628 | 0.434 | 2.602 | 0.098 | 1.267 |
| Services | 13.095*** | 1.909 | 0.390 | 2.915 | 0.000 | 1.948 |
| Manual | 4.343** | 0.968 | 0.563 | 4.583** | 0.067 | 1.627 |
| Not Stated | 2.896 | 0.869 | 0.174 | 2.102 | 0.110 | 0.912 |
| Constant | 0.253 | 0.155 | 0.047 | 0.181 | 0.131 | 0.279 |
| | R ² =18.9 | R ² =16.6 | R ² =15.1 | R ² =14.9 | R ² =23.5 | R ² =13.1 |

***Pr<0.01 **Pr<0.05 *Pr<0.10 | (RC) = Reference Category | R² = Nagelkerke R² value for mode 1
Source: 2008 Ghana Demographic and Health Survey (GDHS)

Following in Dad's Footsteps? Experiences and Subsequent Perceptions of Domestic Violence among Men in Ghana

Nana Yaa Gyane Boakye and Adriana A. E. Biney

Author's Affiliation

Nana Yaa G. Boakye, PhD Student at the Regional Institute for Population Studies, University of Ghana

Address: c/o Regional Institute for Population Studies, P. O. Box LG96, Legon, Accra

Email: nanayaaboakye@yahoo.com, ngb3@psu.edu

Tel: 233-302-500724

Adriana A. E. Biney is a Phd Student at the Regional Institute for Population Studies

Address: c/o Regional Institute for Population Studies, P. O. Box LG96, Legon, Accra

Email: aab212@gmail.com, aab18@psu.edu

Tel: 233-302-500724