Articulating the Role of Social Norms in Sustaining Intimate Partner Violence in Mwanza, Tanzania.

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Statement of own work

Declaration by candidate

I, Karima Manji, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

I have read and understood the School's definition and policy on the use of third parties (either paid or unpaid) who have contributed to the preparation of this thesis by providing copy editing and, or, proof reading services. I declare that no changes to the intellectual content or substance of this thesis were made as a result of this advice, and that I have fully acknowledged all such contributions.

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Abstract

Background and aims:

Intimate partner violence (IPV) has emerged as a serious public health issue that demands global action. While practitioners and researchers in the violence field have long argued that gender-related norms are fundamentally linked to IPV, there is little theoretical understanding of exactly how norms affect violence in practice. Moreover, while norms are central to feminist accounts of violence, there has been little effort to apply social norms theory to the realities of partner violence. This thesis aims to address these gaps by investigating empirically how social norms affect partner violence, using Tanzania as a case study.

Methods:

In particular, this study employs a qualitative methodology and uses two sources of data – focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews – to generate data on how local people in an urban community in Mwanza, Tanzania describe norms linked to IPV. While the interview guides are structured to probe elements of social norm theory, the questions are open-ended to encourage participants to speak to their own understandings of IPV. Similarly, whereas the study primarily uses social norms theory to interpret its findings, it draws on other bodies of social science theory, such as gender theory, to fully account for how norms perpetuate IPV, as revealed by the data.

Findings and conclusion:

The study concludes that whereas traditional norms theory offers insights useful for identifying normative influence, it is inadequate for understanding the role of gender norms in catalysing and sustaining IPV. To fill this gap, the study unites disparate bodies of scholarship into a coherent framework for articulating how gender norms affect IPV in low-income countries contextually similar to Tanzania. Because such a framework is embedded in empirical realities, it also has utility for donors and programmers wishing to employ it to design and evaluate programmes aimed at transforming gender discriminatory norms that sustain IPV in similar settings.

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List of Abbreviations

IPV   Intimate Partner Violence

GBV   Gender Based Violence

FGC   Female Genital Cutting

DEO   District Executive Officer

WEO   Ward Executive Officer

MEO   Mtaa Executive Officer

IDI   In Depth Interview

FGD   Focus Group Discussion

DHS   Demographic Health Survey

FFS   Fish-for-Sex

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Intimate partner violence as an important public health issue

Violence against women, and intimate partner violence (IPV) in particular, is increasingly recognised as a significant public health problem. IPV perpetrated by a male partner is associated with profound damage to the physical, sexual, reproductive, emotional, mental, and social well-being of individuals and families (1). According to a recent meta-analysis of prevalence estimates worldwide, almost one in three women globally will experience IPV during their lifetime (2). The prevalence of partner violence, however, varies widely, both between and within countries. For example, in the WHO Multi-country Study on Domestic Violence and Women's Health, the lifetime prevalence of partner violence in women aged 15-44 years varied from a low of 15% in urban Japan to highs of 56% in urban Tanzania, 62% in urban Bangladesh, 69% in urban Peru and 71% in rural Ethiopia (3). IPV thus represents a serious problem, particularly in many low- and middle-income countries.

Globally, more than a third of female homicides are perpetrated by an intimate partner (4). In addition, the immediate and long-term health consequences that have been linked to IPV include physical injury, unwanted pregnancy, abortion, gynaecological complications and sexually transmitted infections (including HIV/AIDS), as well as psychological problems such as anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder and depression (5-14). IPV is also known to be linked to feelings of shame, guilt and low self-esteem (15). In addition, it often has severe negative impacts on parenting skills and on the educational and employment outcomes of the whole family (1). Some children who witness IPV may exhibit increased behavioural and emotional problems, often resulting in early school dropout, youth delinquency and early pregnancy (16, 17).

Articulating the role of norms in sustaining IPV

IPV has rightly emerged as an important public health issue that requires action to address it. Indeed, activists, donors and programmers have invested considerable time and resources in designing and implementing interventions to tackle IPV. At the core of these interventions is the generally accepted view that gender-related social norms are one of the key drivers of the practice (18-20). Research demonstrates that IPV evolves in part from gender power inequalities operating at both a societal and relationship level (20-22). Qualitative research expands on how the links between gender inequality and IPV lie in the patriarchal nature of society and ideals of masculinity that celebrate male strength and justify male control over female behaviour (23). Inequalities between men and women are often legitimised by referring to traditional gender norms and that grant men authority in the family (15). These in turn are used to justify male violence as a form of discipline if women do not live up to their gender-defined roles (15).

In this manner, norms around gender have been posited as key to the genesis and maintenance of violence against women and girls. Despite the central position norms play in theories around the aetiology of abuse, little work has been done to explicate specifically how norms function to sustain abuse. This lack of theoretical clarity is compounded by the imprecise manner that feminist theorists and practitioners talk about norms. They tend to refer loosely to the need to address 'gender norms' without understanding precisely what the construct of a norm entails.

The violence field has embraced a perspective on gender norms that is different from that advanced by other academic disciplines. Generally speaking gender and violence practitioners use the term to refer to a range of constructs that are defined more specifically in other theoretical approaches to norms (see Chapter 2). Because of poor conceptual clarity with regards to the definition of a norm, donor-funded programming may not be having the intended impact to shift norms linked to IPV. Indeed, empirical evidence indicates that general programming related to gender based violence (GBV) does not pay systematic attention to how norms are addressed. For example, reviews of social norms

marketing campaigns (24, 25) that were aimed at GBV across a range of countries, including South Africa, Nicaragua and Brazil, concluded that most of the programmes did not rely on theoretically-based insights on social norms. As such, failed attempts to shift gender norms may evolve in part from misconceptions of what the construct of a norm entails.

This raises the question of whether a more disciplined approach to defining gender-related norms would help advance violence theory; it also opens the possibility that a deeper analysis of partner violence could provide an interesting case study for evaluating the adequacy of reigning approaches to social norms.

Indeed, whereas the last five years have witnessed an increase in the number of interventions using social norms theory to address health-related behaviours in middle and low-income countries, existing efforts still suffer from inadequacies. Current strategies aimed at changing harmful norms are designed following evidence of social norms theory on behaviours that are conceptually different from those targeted by these strategies, or that take place in very different contexts (26). Examples include strategies targeted at alcohol consumption, public littering and energy consumption in the United States.

As practitioners design interventions to eliminate harmful behaviours through changing norms, it is important to understand the precise role of norms in sustaining these practices. Indeed, research has shown that failed attempts at norm change might strengthen a norm further (27). There is a risk in using social norms theory uncritically without testing its applicability in the field. Social norms marketing campaigns, for example, have been shown to have unintended negative consequences by portraying discriminatory practices as normal or accepted (24, 25).

Research aim and rationale

There are two existing gaps that have been identified in the approach to changing harmful behaviours through changing social norms. The first is the observation that the violence field has been undisciplined in its approach to

defining norms. Current efforts thus miss an opportunity to use theory-based distinctions of what a norm is to shape programme planning and evaluation. Secondly, although interventions in the wider field of health promotion working to tackle harmful norms have begun to incorporate theory-based distinctions, their approaches are still limited: social norms theory has not been tested for its applicability to the behaviours that are being targeted by these interventions.

This thesis addresses both these gaps by: 1) offering a clearer definition of a norm as it applies to gender norms perpetuating IPV; and 2) testing an evolving theory of social norms to determine its appropriateness in studying the empirical realities of IPV. To maximise the impact of theory-based insights in the violence field, this thesis explores the role that social norms play in perpetuating partner violence by examining them in depth in Tanzania. This setting was chosen for several reasons (see Chapter 3), one of which is its high prevalence of IPV: a recent study from north-western Tanzania showed that more than three in five (or 61%) of women reported experiencing physical and/or sexual IPV in their lifetime and 27% experienced it in the last year (28).

I am particularly interested in examining the adequacy of the theory advanced by Cristina Bicchieri –who subscribes to a vision of norms based on economic game theory – in accounting for empirical realities linked to partner violence in Tanzania. Bicchieri's approach to understanding norms (29) has gained particular prominence in recent years among donors and development practitioners working to shift harmful practices. While Bicchieri's theory has been applied to norms constraining breast feeding, modern sanitation, and female genital cutting (FGC) (30, 31), it has yet to be applied to the case of IPV. I will evaluate the adequacy of Bicchieri's theory for understanding the role of norms in sustaining partner violence in Tanzania. I will also offer modifications to Bicchieri's theory based on the case study. To address the above aims, the thesis will answer the following main research question:

What is the role of social norms in sustaining IPV in Kirumba, Tanzania?

To answer this question, I frame three sub-questions addressing, respectively, the norms that help to sustain IPV in Tanzania, how these norms interact with

material and structural driving factors, and the adequacy of Bicchieri's social norms theory in explicating IPV in Tanzania:

1. *How do local people describe the social norms sustaining IPV in light of Bicchieri's theory of norms?*

The first sub-question seeks to accurately diagnose the social norms linked to IPV in the study setting. As described earlier, the violence field lacks discipline with regards to the definition of a social norm, often confounding it with other constructs. By applying Bicchieri's framework to interrogate participants' narratives, the evidence generated on IPV norms will be based on precise theoretical distinctions of what a norm is. In answering the above question, therefore, this study will enhance our understanding of precisely how norms are linked to IPV.

2. *How do material and structural factors interact with and influence the social norms to keep IPV in place?*

The purpose of the second sub-question is to expand our understanding of normative influence, beyond Bicchieri's theoretical insights. IPV is a complex phenomenon, and social norms linked to IPV rarely operate in isolation; they are often held in place by other social as well as material and structural factors (32). In order to fully understand normative influence, it is important to explore if and how these factors interact with norms to influence men and women's relationships. The answers to the above question articulate how the elements of norms, implied in Bicchieri's theory, operate in real life contexts.

3. *Is Bicchieri's theory of norms adequate in explaining the findings*?

The third and final sub-question interprets the evidence generated from the first two questions to comment on the utility of Bicchieri's theory in accounting for the findings on IPV in Kirumba. As mentioned earlier, her theory has not yet been tested against empirical realities in the IPV field, and this presents a problem for violence practitioners. The uncritical application of social norms

theory has not only been shown to be ineffective, but it carries the risk of creating unintended negative consequences. It is therefore imperative to test Bicchieri's theory before applying it to IPV programme design.

The contribution of this thesis is two-fold: 1) it will advance the violence field in terms of better understanding what a gender norm is, and 2) it will provide practical knowledge of how social norms theory can be appropriately applied to strategies that seek to change harmful social norms perpetuating IPV in low-income countries.

Organisation of the thesis

To understand the role that social norms play in catalysing IPV in Tanzania, this thesis begins by providing a background on the various bodies of theory that speak to gender norms. Chapter 2 explains the ecological model (33) that was developed to understand the aetiology of IPV, and outlines the contention of feminist scholars that gender norms are a key component driving the practice. The Chapter also includes literature on the social norms that have been identified as key to sustaining IPV in Tanzania.

Chapter 2 then provides a review of traditional social norm theory in economics and sociology, and explores how current theory has evolved in the face of gaps identified in earlier theories. The review explains how the concept of norms is defined much more precisely in social psychology, which has a long history of researching norms and how they influence behaviour (30). The chapter examines in particular depth the theoretical perspective of Bicchieri. As described earlier, given its rising popularity as a way to conceptualise norms around harmful behaviours, it is important to test Bicchieri's theory against empirical data.

My study focuses on three theoretical constructs underpinning Bicchieri's theory; **empirical expectations, normative expectations**, and the role of **sanctions** in understanding conformity to normative expectations. These elements are central notions in Bicchieri's theory of norms. In addition, I will

systematically address the role of **emotions** in norm compliance. Whereas Bicchieri acknowledges that moral emotions (including shame and guilt) are indicators of social norms, it remains to be clarified how people's feelings impinge upon how they think they should or should not behave. My study will therefore integrate in a more structured way the links between emotions and social norms.

Further elements missing from current theories are thus needed in a social norm theory linked to IPV. In addition, IPV is deeply linked to social expectations around gender. The notion of gender is particularly central to intimate relations: norms sustaining IPV are not just patterns of social expectations, but mechanisms that underpin gender inequality. Discussions around gender, however, are missing from the current discourse on social norms. The topic of IPV thus also requires a structured approach of how the construct of norms as implied by Bicchieri intersects with the notion of gender to produce gender norms. The role of gender in in social relations is explored deeply by gender studies in connection with insights from schema theory. The final section of Chapter 2 provides a background on gender and schema theory and their contributions to understanding gender norms.

Chapter 3 presents the research methodology and discusses the process of selection of the urban site in Tanzania where the data collection was carried out. It positions the research within epistemological debate, expanding on how the principles of critical science underpinning the study are sustained throughout the various stages of the research process, including the study design, methods, sampling decisions and my approach to data analysis.

Chapters 4 through 6 use Bicchieri's theory to analyse the data collected from informants living in the urban community of Kirumba in Mwanza City. Chapter 4 and 5 frame the answers to the first research sub-question (about how local people describe the norms sustaining IPV in light of Bicchieri's theory) and contribute to answering the main research question by generating evidence of the norms that emerged in the data linked to IPV. These chapters convey the meaning behind the participants' narratives by analysing how the discursive repertoire is linked to different concepts of Bicchieri's social norm theory described earlier (and elaborated in Chapter 2).

Chapter 6 answers the second research sub-question (about how material and structural factors interact with and influence social norms) by articulating how the norms established in the previous two chapters interact with external factors that undergird IPV.

Chapter 7 engages critically with Bicchieri's social norms theory. I reflect on the empirical evidence generated in the previous three chapters to address the third and final sub-question about the adequacy of her theory in explaining IPV in Tanzania. This chapter answers the overall research question by systematically integrating additional insights that were identified in Chapter 2 to fully articulate the role of social norms in sustaining IPV in the study setting.

By connecting social norms theory, gender theory and schema theory as well as insights on the motivational status of emotions, this thesis offers a framework where these theories integrate with and complement each other (Chapter 7). Using IPV data from Tanzania, this study thus offers a refined framework of social norms theory that can be tested in low-income settings to better analyse gender norms linked to IPV.

Chapter 8 concludes this dissertation by offering an understanding of the original contribution of this work, possible future trajectories, and how further research can help enhance the framework offered so that it can be applied in other non-western contexts to understand the role of norms in IPV and gender relations.

Chapter 2: Social norms and IPV: a system of theories

Introduction

The previous chapter explained that the aim of this study is to understand the role of social norms in sustaining IPV, using Tanzania as a case study to assess the adequacy of Bicchieri's social norms theory. To undertake this task, this chapter begins by describing the evolution of thinking about the causes of abuse to illustrate how social norms have been recognised as a key social determinant of IPV. The second section articulates why, despite this recognition, much remains to be understood about the precise role that norms play in catalysing IPV. This gap is partly fuelled by the fact that the social norms field is multi-faceted, with scholars disagreeing on what norms are, how they sustain behaviour, and how they can be changed. I illustrate this point by engaging critically with different perspectives on how social norms are posited to influence behaviour. I describe how current social norms theory has evolved from traditional sociological and economic thinking and describe in detail the theory of social norms put forward by Bicchieri, as this is the theory that I will be explicitly testing against the data from Tanzania.

The third section provides a deeper understanding of how current feminist scholars theorise norms. Whereas social norms theory-based insights offer useful distinctions for diagnosing norms, we must position the construct of what a norm is within the gender discourse. As elaborated in the third section of this chapter, gender theory enhances our understanding of the origin and maintenance of gender norms in order to explain the persistence of IPV in the first place. We must therefore be mindful that although applying a social norms approach may have potential for those adopting it in the violence field, we should not disregard all the useful work that has been undertaken on IPV by gender theorists to explain the persistence of gender norms.

In order to fully understand the construct of a gender norm, therefore, the fourth section of the chapter will engage with both the literature on what a social norm *is*, as well as gender analyses of *why* norms persist to unify what appears to be distinct scholarship on the two discourses.

The ecological model of IPV: the importance of gender norms

IPV is a complex and multi-dimensional phenomenon (1). Over the years, there have been a number of approaches that have attempted to explain the phenomenon. In 1998, feminist scholar Lori Heise proposed an ecological model (33) for understanding partner violence, which has influenced more than a decade of academia, research and programming in the field. The model conceptualises violence as the result of multiple risk factors operating at different levels of the social ecology – the individual level, the relationship/family level, and the level of the community and wider society. In this conceptualisation, no single factor is a cause of violence; rather it is the outcome of interacting factors that increase the likelihood of violence occurring in a relationship.

To address IPV, therefore, the violence field calls for a holistic understanding of partner violence and the various forces and factors that combine to shape intimate partnerships. It is not enough to derive 'risk' and 'protective' factors from cross-sectional surveys. Rather, we must deepen our theoretical understandings of how different risk factors operate to increase risk (22, 34). The violence field thus requires drawing upon different bodies of theory in a truly trans-disciplinary manner.

In an attempt to explain how structural factors impinge on people's everyday experiences, including violence, feminist scholars have promoted 'intersectional analysis' as a methodology for understanding gender inequality. Developed by Yules-Davis (35, 36), this approach conceptualises how gender intersects with different social divisions (including, for example, race, class, ethnicity and religion), with each level of analysis having both material and symbolic production and effects. The intersectional lens does not prioritise one category of social difference, but rather focuses on the intersection of social difference as mutually constitutive (37).

According to the intersectionality approach, research methodology should carefully separate and examine separately the different levels –

including the social, economic and political levels – in which gender inequality operates in the communities of interest (35). Whereas the intersectionality approach provides a useful framework to study and distinguish the myriad of factors that intersect to produce gender inequality, the goal of this study is not to explain all the different processes linked to IPV. The focus of this research is on social norms as a set of determinants of gender inequality and violence.

As explained earlier, feminist theories on gender inequality contributed to our understanding of 'norms' as a key determinant of IPV, operating across all levels of the ecological model: the domestic space – within which norms exert their influence on partner dynamics, including IPV – exists within wider spatial contexts that are intimately connected to the organisation of household relations (38). Indeed the evidence of IPV from Tanzania, which is the focus of this case study, reflects how gender norms and practices are entrenched and mutually overlap between the individual level, the relationship/family level, and the level of the community and wider society.

Patriarchal norms in Tanzania that are rooted in culture and tradition perpetuate gender inequality, which is at the centre of IPV. Traditional expectations linked to the household division of labour account, in part, for the economic inequalities that exist between men and women, and which compound IPV. The normative order of patriarchy in Tanzania is constructed from men's wage-earning powers. A qualitative study in Dar es Salaam revealed that both men and women believe that men should provide for their families as such a man has value and respect (39). Several additional studies from Tanzania have indicated that men's status as the household head is mediated via the role of the breadwinner (40-42). These cultural expectations connected to the male breadwinner are reflected in how men and women experience their daily lives. Findings from the 2014/2015 Tanzanian National Panel Survey (43) indicate that whereas 76.6% of women in Tanzania are economically active, the proportion of female-headed households is still low: only 28.8% of all households are headed by women.

Further, despite women's large-scale employment in Tanzania (95.2%), women retain responsibility for the domestic work. In a qualitative study from Dar es Salaam, both men and women cited 'Tanzanian culture', the 'African

tradition' and 'natural' processes as justification's for the gendered division of roles (44). The participants felt that it was natural for women to cook, clean and care for the children and they linked these duties to the strong traditional culture in Tanzania. They further explained that gender roles were transmitted from one generation to the next in order to maintain the cultural heritage of one's ancestors. Similarly, another study on gender roles in Tanzania (45) revealed how boys are taught to become men and perform men's duties while girls are socialised to perform 'mothers duties'.

As the primary holders of economic and political power, men are the decision makers and the gender norms regarding the household division of labour seem to revolve around the needs of men (44). With the transition from women working solely inside the home to working at paid jobs, their responsibilities have doubled, as they are still expected to be responsible for all the household chores. Women's household responsibilities hamper their ability to gain economic and political freedom, and thus they do not have the capabilities to effectively advocate against their situation (46). Indeed, findings from a qualitative study in Tanzania (15) showed that women working at paid jobs continued to depend on men due to their low socio-economic status, which was seen as an important factor that explained continued IPV against women.

As reflected in the enactment of the division of household labour, the concept of male identity in Tanzanian culture is built on social norms that value men as more superior and powerful than women. The literature further reveals widespread societal acceptance of spousal violence among Tanzanians. This acceptance has been closely linked to gender norms around masculinity and femininity that emphasise male control and female subservience to this male authority (47). Findings from a qualitative study in Tanzania assessing help seeking barriers to spousal abuse victims in Dar es Salaam, Mbeya and Iringa regions reveal a shared perception across age and gender groups that women are to blame for the violence they experience. They somehow provoke their partners into beating them (48). Similarly, a large-scale qualitative assessment of GBV in Tanzania conducted by USAID in 2005, with a follow-up in 2008 revealed that IPV is seen as normal and is met with acceptance by both men and women, and that women and girls are frequently blamed for provoking violence

(49). Men are thus justified in employing violence to discipline women, and the discipline emphasises masculine notions based on the control of women.

Due to entrenched beliefs about the acceptability of violence, abused women experience feelings of shame and blame, which prevent them from seeking help for the violence they experience. Several qualitative studies in Tanzania reveal how barriers to help seeking relate to the perceived normality of the violence. Focus group discussions and interviews with women in Mwanza, Tanzania reveal that some of the women experiencing violence did not confide in family and friends because they felt this would label them as a 'bad mother' or 'bad wife' (50). Qualitative findings from a mixed methods study to assess barriers to accessing services among IPV survivors in Iringa and Dar es Salaam illustrate that obstacles to treatment and support services include stigma and unwillingness to disclose violence in the community, which further perpetuates violence against women (51). Similarly, focus group discussions among women in Dar es Salaam reveal that feelings of shame and self-blame and stigmatising attitudes on the part of colleagues and family members are commonly cited as barriers to seeking help; a shame to admit also means a failure to seek community, legal and medical support (52).

The widespread acceptability of spousal violence, the environment of silence surrounding the subject, and the shame attached to the victims of the abuse fuels IPV, as community members are discouraged from intervening in domestic matters. An informant from a focus group discussion among men in Dar es Salaam reflected on the difficulties for community members to intervene in complex situations that involve violence; "people fight at night with the doors closed. Who will open the door for you? Can you break the door of somebody's house? It is an offence" (52) (p.7).

When a violation takes place within the home, as is often the case, the abuse is effectively ignored by the tacit silence and passivity displayed by the family and the communities, as well as the state and law-enforcing machinery (53). Indeed, wife beating is not formally criminalised in Tanzania. The 1971 Law of Marriage Act (revised in 2002) forbids 'corporal' punishment against a wife but there is no sanction attached to this. In addition, the Act both fails to

recognise marital rape as a punishable offence and does not protect unmarried couples from intimate partner violence.

Indeed in Tanzania, there are two categories of intimate partnerships. The first represents couples who are formally married (customary, civil or religious marriages), and the second refers to couples who are not formally married, but who are in consensual unions or living together in socially recognised stable unions. According to estimates from the 2014-2015 National Panel Survey in Tanzania, the numbers in each category are 41.2% and 8.9% respectively. For women living in informal marriages, therefore, the fundamental inadequacies in the Law of Marriage Act affirm that IPV should be accepted as normal in these unions (49).

In addition, the law fails to protect the property rights of women upon divorce as it defers to Islamic and customary practices that undermine women's ability to acquire, inherit, maintain and dispose of property (49, 54). Islamic law is critically important for understanding family relations in Tanzania, where Muslims constitute a significant percentage of the population (55). According to the 1967 census-the last one to categorise people based on religious beliefs- Christians made up 32% of the population, 31% were Muslims, and the remaining 37% were followers of local spiritual traditions (56). Islam is a deeply held identity in Tanzania and Muslims have sought to act politically on behalf of their religion to advance Islamic interests in accordance with the Tanzanian constitution and existing law (56). For example, whereas the Law of Marriage Act states that in the case of divorce, the parties should divide the acquisition of property by their joint efforts (financial and non-financial), the court is required to take into account the customs of the community to which the parties belong (57). Under Islamic law, there is no unity between the property of the husband and wife: men and women are entitled to what they each independently earn (54). Due to the financially subordinate role assumed by the wife as part of Islamic tradition, wives seldom acquire property in their name during marriage (54). Indeed, in the case of divorce more generally in Tanzania, discriminatory attitudes tend to undervalue domestic services performed by a wife and sometimes perpetuate the need for 'concrete evidence' in the form of receipts to prove a wife's entitlement to the acquisition of shared

property (58). Divorce thus leaves women in Tanzania in precarious situations, with little property protection.

In addition, despite positive land reforms, land tenure in Tanzania continues to discriminate against women because of customary laws. Whereas the Land Act and Village Land Act recognise a wife's right to land on divorce, in practice, customary norms that vest control of property in men continue to influence practices controlling the ownership and access to land (58).

Furthermore, traditional customs and Islamic law in Tanzania sanction the practice of bride price at marriage, whereby an exchange of money or materials is made from the man's to the woman's family (54, 59, 60). In cases whereby wives pursue divorce, they are often required to return the bride-price (54). Indeed, qualitative research from east Africa reveals the links between bride price and IPV: women fear leaving abusive husbands as their families would be expected to pay back the bride price, which they can ill-afford (61, 62). The legal context of divorce for women in Tanzania is thus especially complicated due to Islamic and customary practices.

There are additional gaps in the Tanzanian legal sector with regards to gender equality. Legal protections against IPV are limited. Despite reforms to make the police more accessible to victims of partner violence-with the creation of gender desks to respond to cases of IPV at police stations-key informant interviews revealed that the quality of services and resources available to survivors of IPV is minimal (49). The interviews further revealed that victims of violence who wish to press charges are not always treated with respect and given an adequate response (49).

According to many feminist scholars, therefore, gender norms are the means by which gender-inequitable ideologies, relationships, and social institutions are maintained (63-66). Kehler and Franklin (64) theorise norms as "[...] powerful, pervasive **attitudes**, about gender-based social roles and behaviours...". The characterisation of norms as attitudes, however, has presented a stumbling block in efforts aimed at changing harmful norms through attitude change. Research has shown that when norms are at play, shifting knowledge or individual attitudes is often not enough to shift behaviour. Social norm theory (elaborated below) stresses that attitudes and

norms comprise distinct constructs that can be distinguished from one another. In this manner, the violence field has been criticised for its lack of conceptual clarity with regards to the definition of a social norm, which has programmatic implications. This confusion has in part been fuelled by the fact that the social norms literature has not yielded a consensus with regards to the definition of a social norm.

What are social norms?

Social norms are a debated concept. Broadly defined, they are rules that govern behaviour in groups and societies (67). Social norms have been extensively studied in the social sciences. Whereas the fields of structural functionalism, social psychology and game theory have provided evidence that norms influence behaviour across domains such as littering, campus drinking in United States colleges, vaccination, early marriage and (FGC), scholars in these fields have not yet produced a consensus theory about norms (29, 68-70).

Part of the reason for the lack of a shared definition of social norms is that researchers in these different fields ask different questions and have conflicting views of the research enterprise, and thus the study of norms does not fit precisely into any of these established fields (68). For example, different intellectual traditions engage with the concept of norms at different levels of abstraction: structural functionalists, for example are concerned with concepts at the cultural level and, as a result, tend to talk about norms as rules of behaviour at the level of culture or society (71). Social psychologists, on the other hand, focus on pursuits at the level of the individual and tend to talk about norms as a set of expectations held in the minds of individuals (71). In almost all the literature on norms, however, it is unequivocally assumed that norms exert influence on people's behaviour and elicit conformity with the norm (67).

In large measure, the different perspectives on norms evolve from different views on the nature of conformity. There are three main frameworks of conformity: structural functionalism, the social psychological framework and rational choice theory. In order to effectively apply theory-based insights, which

is one of the goals of this study, it is useful to understand these different perspectives on conformity, which are summarised in the table below.

Table 1: Summarising the different perspectives on conformity

Theory	Perspective
Structural functionalism	Individuals conform because they have internalised societal values via socialisation practices
Social psychology	Individuals conform due to the goal of effective action
Rational choice categories	Rational choice theory: individuals conform because they have consistent preferences over different states of the world
	Game theory and/or social norms theory: individuals prefer to conform conditional on the actions of others' within the reference network

Structural Functionalism

The field of sociology has long engaged in the question of conformity. The functional perspective argues that norms develop to curtail or encourage behaviours that are connected to survival (72). Further, functionalists argue that society consists of interdependent parts that contribute to the stability of the whole society, thereby emphasising shared public norms (73). For example, Talcott Parson's social theory (74) conceptualises social order as comprising individual decision-making within a larger framework of norms: individuals have expectations of one another's behaviours, as derived from accepted norms of the society they inhabit. Societies thus develop norms that correspond to laws or 'functional requirements' that are self-conserving (73).

Through a process of socialisation that starts in infancy, norms become part of one's motives for action and through long-term interactions with significant others, individuals come to learn and internalise the commonly shared norms (67). According to Parsons (75), parental socialisation is the key

process for the reproduction of norms: the primary socialising agency is the nuclear family as these are the groups in which the personal emotional interests of the individual (child) are closely bound up. Further, although parents reward conformity to the norm and punish deviance from it, norms are incorporated internally and conformity to the norm becomes a motivation in its own right (76). As such, norms become internalised such that the potential conflict between individual desires and collective goals is reconciled (67).

Sociological models thus stake their claim on the idea that people obey norms because they have come to internalise the common values embedded in them (67, 77). Conformity to a norm is a stable acquired disposition that is independent of, but not necessarily impervious to, external sanctions or rewards (67). In the case of the socialised actor, individuals apply sanctions to their own behaviour and respond to these internally generated rewards or punishments: people typically feel guilt or shame at the prospect of transgressing the norm (67, 78). Norm enforcement is emotional and social norms have a grip on the mind that is due to the strong emotions they can trigger (79).

Sociological models have been widely criticised for focusing on society as a whole rather than on individuals in society (80). They presume that social structures exist outside individual desires or motives. (81). We must pay attention to both how structure shapes individual choices and to how human agency creates, sustains and modifies the current structure; when people act on the structure, they do so for their own reasons and any structural theory must therefore be concerned with reflexivity and actors' interpretation of their own lives (30, 82). Functionalists fail to distinguish agency as an analytical category in its own right because they assume that the structure operates optimally (83). This perspective also fails to take into account that not all social norms function for the benefit of society. Take the social norms that legitimise corrupt behaviour as the 'normal thing to do'. Corruption is endemic across many cultures and disrupts the functioning of groups, organisiations and societies, resulting in impaired state development, degraded national wealth and over-exploitation of natural resources (84).

Other scholars have challenged the common view in sociology that childhood socialisation is primarily the product of parental instruction. For example, Capsi and Roberts argue (85) that a significant source of learning comes through watching others-including parents, teachers, coaches and mentors-in combination with implicit or explicit reward structures. On the other hand, Harris posits (86) that socialisation is context specific and that 'outside-the-home' socialisation takes place in the peer groups of childhood and adolescence and is responsible for the transmission of culture. According to Harris and indeed others (87-90), in western societies, sex-segregated peer groups of middle childhood play a much bigger role in gender role development than does parental influence. In the same vein, Serbin and colleagues infer (91) that efforts by parents in the west to rear children in an androgynous fashion have not reduced their sex-type behaviour or attitudes and they argue instead in favour of peer influence as the mechanism through which children learn to behave gender appropriately.

For other scholars, the sociological view that we conform to norms because they have been internalised contradicts much evidence that people sometimes obey the norms even in the absence of any personal commitment to them, and conversely, that, people may not have a personal norm prescribing a given behaviour, yet they may enact that behaviour if a social norm encouraging it is made salient (29). Critics of the internalisation view of conformity therefore call for an alternative conception of norms, capable amongst other things of accounting for the often weak relationship between attitudes and behaviour (67).

Social Psychology

The idea promoted by sociologists that social expectations and personal preferences always align, and that, therefore, there is always a relation between what people claim they should do, and what in fact they do, has been highly criticised by social psychologists. The concept of *pluralistic ignorance* was a major contribution to the study of norms because it showed a discrepancy between people's own preferences and their behaviour. Pluralistic ignorance is characterised as a cognitive state in which each individual mistakenly believes

her attitudes and preferences are different from those of similarly situated others, even if their public behaviour is identical (92). As such, all individuals end up conforming to the social norm, oblivious to the reality that many individuals who pretend to endorse the norm, in fact, dislike it (93).

For example, several investigators in the realm of prejudice and discrimination accept the proposition that prejudice (belief) has declined much more than discrimination (practice) (94, 95). Several studies undertaken in the 1960s and 70s reveal a marked tendency for white Americans to overestimate private white support for forced racial segregation (94). O'Gormon's study (96) uncovered that in fact only 18% of those interviewed favoured segregation but 47% believed that most others did so. If the over-estimators acted according to the perceived majority view, surveys would have suggested the existence of a racist norm regardless of segregation being endorsed by only a small minority (29). In a 2002 study (97), investigators found an almost perfect correlation between individuals' likelihood of expressing or tolerating prejudice and their perceptions of the extent to which most others approve of those behaviours, reinforcing the utility of a social norms approach for understanding the phenomenon. From a social psychological perspective, prejudice is theorised as a perceived social norm rather than an individual's personal attitude or emotion (98).

The concept of pluralistic ignorance is extensively documented in studies undertaken across many different behavioural domains (99-103). An example from the field of GBV illustrates pluralistic ignorance in reference to mismatched beliefs among Somali migrants to Sweden; research found that women thought men strongly supported infibulation (the most extreme form of FGC), when in reality they were strongly opposed to it (104). Scholars caution, however, that social norms are steeped in a thick network of attitudes and values. Such beliefs rarely exist alone and furthermore, they are more or less consistent with each other (105). Typically, in development settings, norms of partner violence persist because people correctly believe that others accept the norm (32). Highlighting conflicts between beliefs must therefore be approached carefully (105). Nevertheless, the evidence of individuals suppressing their true beliefs in order to conform to a majority view (106) reinforces the claim by

social psychologists that norms must be identified and consistently distinguished from attitudes. That is, norms are distinct from the thoughts and feelings of the individual members of the group. Further, the evidence of pluralistic ignorance emphasises how individuals engage in social comparison with similarly situated others to get clues as to others' preferences and appropriate behaviours (93). Social norms are thus posited to be strongly dependent on what others do.

Robert Cialdini-a leading social psychological researcher of social norms-distinguished between two types of norms: norms that are descriptive, characterising what others in one's group do, or injunctive, characterising what others in one's group should do. Both descriptive and injunctive norms produce behavioural regularities, the former because violations of them are seen as odd and the latter because violations of them are seen as bad (107). According to Cialdini and colleagues, these two constructs represent separate sources of human motivation and can thus be in conflict (108). Take the example of corruption: even in the presence of laws and injunctive norms condemning corruption, the widespread occurrence of bribery can induce people to form descriptive norms that most people are corrupt, while simultaneously holding the injunctive norm that most people disapprove of corruption (109).

Cialdini and colleagues argue (110) that the relative strength of the two types of norms to activate behaviour may vary with the topic of influence and the social milieu. For example, if we are uncertain how to behave in a given situation, simply registering what most others-who are similarly situated to us-are doing i.e. the descriptive norm and subsequently imitating their actions is the best course of action (108). On the other hand, if our goal is to seek approval from others or social harmony, injunctive norms are more likely to be important in determining our choices (108). Implicit in the concept of injunctive norms is the idea that if we engage in behaviours of which others approve, others will approve of us too (110). These norms are posited to motivate action by promising social rewards and/or punishments (informal sanctions) (108).

Rational Choice Categories

Rational choice theory

The work of Cialdini and colleagues posits that humans have the goal of effective action that is achieved by conforming to descriptive and/or injunctive norms. Other scholars, however, argue that social norms are not outcome-oriented. According to Jon Elster (111) – a scholar of rational choice theory– though social norms may be enforced by members of a general community, they are not always obeyed out of self-interest. Elster makes his case by refering to social norms that have been internalised: in these situations, norms are followed even when the violation would go unobserved and not exposed to sanctions (111). Indeed according to the traditional rational choice model of compliance, an individual acts in isolation and chooses consistent behavioural preferences over several feasible options (112-114). Individuals, however seldom choose in isolation, and often, the outcome of an individual's choice depends on the actions of other individuals (67) Rational choice theory, therefore, does not provide an adequate account of social phenomena whereby reciprocity is central: that is when a rule is followed because others are following it.

Game theory

Game theory, on the other hand, provides a formal framework for understanding interdependent human behaviour, including why sanctions are not the primary mechanism underpinning compliance. In particular, Thomas Schelling's reorientation of game theory (1960, 1978) explains that once a social norm becomes established as a rule, it continues in force because we prefer to conform to the rule given the expectation that others are going to conform (32). Game theory thus emphasises a social or reference network within which a practice is embedded in a theory of norms (67).

In particular, game theoretic analysis shows that in some circumstances, interacting humans find themselves in an *equilibrium* state from which no individual has an incentive to deviate i.e. norms as self-fulfilling expectations

(29, 32, 77, 115). This conceptualisation is of great interest because it helps us understand how some norms linked to harmful practices can exist and be stable (32). This school of thought has been applied by Mackie (116) to the harmful practices of foot binding in China and FGC in west Africa.

In addition, game theory posits that compliance with social norms follows not so much from the application of sanctions but more from their anticipation. For example, if what a social norm commands is clear, and if each individual believes that negative sanctions would be quite strong, then we might never observe the application of negative sanctions in the group: the norm would be maintained by what people believe would happen if one did not comply although in fact everyone complies (32). Game theory enables us to understand how norms can exist and have force even when not behaviourally indicated by the presence of sanctions (32). In the same vein, the game theoretical framework posits that observed behaviour is not sufficient to explain action. Take the case of proscriptive norms, which are unlikely to be correlated with observable behaviour (67).

Bicchieri's social norms theory: a rational reconstruction of social norms

Among the many approaches to norms, Cristina Bicchieri's theory has gathered traction amongst scholars and programmers working in the arena of health and development. Bicchieri's game theoretic account of social norms (29) includes elements of the rational choice theory of conformity, as well as elements borrowed from Cialdini's conceptualisation of descriptive and injunctive norms.

Norms as conditional expectations

Bicchieri revises Cialdini's distinction between descriptive and injunctive norms: the descriptive aspect is overhauled as the *empirical expectations* condition, and the injunctive aspect is overhauled as the *normative expectations* condition (32). Further, according to her theory, *both* sets of expectations are required for the existence of a social norm. Recall on the other hand, Cialdini's

view that although it is most frequently the case that what is done and what is approved of in a group are usually the same, this is not always the case, and as such each of the fore mentioned constructs is a social norm in its own right. Bicchieri, on the other hand, focuses on the combined role played by empirical and normative expectations in shaping a social norm. According to Bicchieri, a social norm relates to:

> A pattern of behaviour such that individuals prefer to conform to it on condition that they believe that (a) most people in their relevant network conform to it (empirical expectation), and (b) that most people in their relevant network believe they ought to conform to it (normative expectation). (93) (p.18).

Norms thus serve a double function: on the one hand they describe patterns of behaviour and tell us how to act, and on the other hand, they express social approval or disapproval of such behaviours and tell us how we ought to act (93). Norms are thus a set of shared beliefs of observations or expectations held within a particular reference group about what is *typical* (empirical expectation) **and** what is *appropriate* (normative expectation). The expectations make it vivid that a social norm is constructed from the beliefs of individuals in the reference network: one prefers to conform to a social norm conditional on empirical and normative expectations (32).

A social norm is thus held in place by the reciprocal expectations of people within a reference group, or those people whose expectations matter to a given individual in the situation (32). The notion of a reference group highlights the importance of shared beliefs, whereby group members tend to hold the expectations of one another. The group may comprise only members of a particular geographical community, or be considerably large, for example, constituting people of the same ethnicity or religion (30). Furthermore, according to Bicchieri (29), these groups may either be transient or well-established. In the case of transient groups, one gathers normative information from others' behaviour because one wants to avoid acting stupidly in public. In cohesive groups, on the other hand, individuals do not simply want to gather

information to avoid embarrassing themselves, but rather, they value the group and want to behave in accordance with what they perceive to be the group norms.

The role of sanctions

Whereas Bicchieri does not disregard that social punishments and rewards play a part in motivating conformity, she accords sanctions a less prominent role, in contrast to Cialdini's account of social norms. Instead, much like the game theoretical view, Bicchieri argues that compliance follows not so much from the application of sanctions, but more from their anticipation (117). That is, individuals are motivated to comply because one believes that others in the reference network will negatively sanction non-compliance.

In particular, she provides a rational reconstruction of behaviour: although conformity to a norm is usually an automatic and unreflexive affair, when we are tempted to shirk an obligation, the thought of personal and social consequences of behaving in a deviant way is often present and important in determining our choices (29). According to her view, although people follow norms subconsciously, when called into question, they are able to deliberate their choices and preferences (29). Conformity is thus automatic (i.e. beyond conscious calculation) but purposive (i.e. explainable in terms of one's beliefs and desires).

Further, she posits, much like game theoretical analysis, that norms are *self-fulfilling equilibria*: as such the application of sanctions is not always required for the existence of a norm. According to Bicchieri, when norms become well-established, external sanctions seldom play a role in maintaining conformity: in this case, one accepts that the expectations of others in the reference group are reasonable (29). An individual thus believes that others have a right to expect conformity and the individual an obligation to conform (32).

To reinforce this point, she explains that often norms are upheld even in situations of complete anonymity. Bicchieri cites research from cognitive

psychology that shows that once a norm has emerged in a particular group, it will tend to persist and guide the behaviour of group members even when they are facing a novel situation and are isolated from the original group (67). As explained earlier, the motive for conformity in this case is derived from concern for the interests and outcomes of a group because one values the group and takes the groups interests as one's own, as opposed to being a rational choice, motivated by overt sanctioning mechanisms (67).

In the case above, people conform to norms to validate their identity as group members. The power of an individual's social identity to influence the behaviour of group members has been a recurring theme in social psychological studies (110, 118-122). Proponents of social identity theory posit that people conform with norms to be seen as part of a special social group. Group norms are obeyed because one identifies with the group, and conformity is mediated by self-categorisation as an in-group member, thereby highlighting the link between norms and group membership (67). For instance, many close-knit groups, such as the Amish or Hasidic Jews for example, enforce norms of separation prohibiting marriage and intimate relations with outsiders (67).

Bicchieri argues that although some norms are clearly related to group membership and thus compliance may be explained through identity-validation mechanisms, there are limits to the social identity explanation. According to her, achieving a particular social identity is a motivation for compliance with some norms. She claims the concept only makes sense in a relatively stable context in which individuals have had time to make emotional investments, or at least can expect repeated interactions with the same group in the future (67). In laboratory conditions, however, where there are no expectations of future interactions, the concept of social identity seems less convincing as an explanation of the observed rates of cooperation (29). Further, studies of emergent social and political patterns show that behaviour is often sudden and unexpected, reinforcing the observation that long-term and close interaction does not seem to be necessary for a person to acquire a given normative disposition (67).

Bicchieri also cautions that one should not automatically assume group distinction is the reason for the origin or maintenance of the norm; i.e. norms do

not develop to make the group unique and to differentiate it from out-groups (29, 32). She stresses that conformity of norms is conditional upon empirical and normative expectations about a valued group's beliefs and if expectations change, then behaviour will also change (29). That is, people would stop conforming to a norm if there were disagreements about a particular group's identifying characteristics (67). Agents' expectations and behaviour thus shapes one's preference to comply with norms (123).

The context elicitation of norms

Bicchieri's theory emphasises the link between cognitive structures and normative processes. According her view, behaviour is guided by default rules stored in memory that are cued by external stimuli; norm compliance is a response to situational cues that focus our attention on a particular norm (29). Bicchieri presents her model of social norms as a reconstruction of the *conditions* under which social norms can be taken to guide action. In her view, context elicits norms, which means that the features of a concrete situation are causally relevant to the production of the psychological process associated with norms (123). This consists of the elicitation of a normative "script"…[a] stylized stereotyped sequence of actions that are appropriate in this context, and it defines actors and roles [...] Scripts are the basis of understanding and making sense of an event as they embed knowledge relevant to the present situation" (29) (p.94). The elicitation of norms thus consists of the production, triggered by contextual clues, of complex mental representations in which agents, actors, and other features of the situation are matched with stereotypical scripts stored in long-term memory (123). Particularly important to Bicchieri's theory is the notion that elicitation of normative scripts carries expectations about agents' behaviour, which are in turn linked to motivational mechanisms (123).

Further, Bicchieri distinguishes *social* norms from *moral* norms based on the conditionality of preferences for compliance. In doing so, she clarifies that while social norms operate via automatic processes, they are not internalised. Her view is contrary to sociological scholars, who posit that norms are internalised as values. According to Bicchieri (29) (p.20), "By their very nature,

moral norms demand (at least in principle) an unconditional commitment". That is, if you uphold a moral norm, you do not confine it in a relevant network: it has a claim to universality that social norms do not have (67). As such, moral norms do not depend on what others in one's reference network believe or expect. Bicchieri suggests, instead, that moral norms are those that are followed unconditionally, whereas social norms are followed conditionally upon the satisfaction of normative and empirical expectations (123). In other words, empirical and normative expectations operate synergistically: we infer how we are supposed to act (normative expectation) from observing what others do (empirical expectation) (93). She acknowledges, however, that some norms may become part of our value systems such that we feel a strong obligation to obey them:

> "When social norms become well-established, well-entrenched practices, we come to attribute a certain virtue to what it prescribes and external sanctions seldom play a role in inducing conformity. We recognize the legitimacy of others' expectations and feel an obligation to fulfill them [...]. The attribution of legitimacy and appropriateness stems from the propensity to treat social interactions as "natural" kinds as opposed to "artificial" categories [...]. What often ensues is that this empirical legitimacy tends to become a quasi-moral one. The projectable regularity when human interactions are involved comes to be perceived as a "right" or a "duty.""(29) (p. 95-97).

Bicchieri stresses, however, that social norms are conceptually distinct from moral norms. She claims that *in practice* our preference for compliance with social norms is also conditional on the satisfaction of empirical and normative expectations: it is the presence of a sufficient number of conditional other followers that justifies distinguishing moral norms and personal attitudes from social norms. According to Bicchieri (93), because empirical and normative expectations are crucial to the existence of a norm, it follows that a change in expectations will always induce a change in compliance, and the abandonment of a norm. That is, if a norm is publicly and saliently violated, i.e. by undermining the empirical expectation that others follow the norm, norm compliance should go down (124). Bicchieri builds on experimental evidence as a means to illustrate how manipulating people's expectations has an effect on

norm compliance, and elaborates that if a norm is violated often enough to be noticed, people will stop following it (29).

Role of emotions

According to Bicchieri, the emotions that so often accompany norm violations signal that a social norm is in place: it is the normative expectations and *not* the emotions that motivates conformity (29). Contrary to her view, most internalisation theories of norms posit that emotions, such as guilt, directly cause conformity (70). Scholars have critiqued the notion postulated by sociologists that norms motivate responses through self-regulating processes. The internalisation of norms, which is posited to occur via emotional responses, assumes that events that elicit shame and guilt become increasingly internalised and self-reliant with age (125). The empirical evidence indicates, however, that both children and adults refer to the same degree to a judging 'audience' in their accounts of shame-inducing events (125). That the social context matters for shame reinforces Bicchieri's view that shame is a social motive linked to the desire to identify with a group whose judgment one cares about (29). Moral emotions, including shame and guilt can thus indicate social norms.

Apart from Bicchieri's view that emotions do not directly cause conformity, she says little else about the motivational status of emotions. There are other theories that are better capable of unpacking the role of emotions in influencing behaviour. Similar to Bicchieri, Baumeister and colleagues contest the view that emotion directly causes behaviour. In addition, they have developed a theory of emotion as a feedback system (126) whereby emotional states promote learning and alter guidelines for future behaviour by providing feedback and stimulating retrospective appraisal of actions. Individuals thus ultimately learn to anticipate emotional outcomes and behave so as to pursue the emotions they prefer. In this way, negative emotions, including shame and guilt 'red flag' an undesirable situation in order to make the person avoid the tainted course of action. A social norm is thus regulated by emotions. That is, if one behaves in opposition to social norms, the accompanying negative emotions signal that one's behaviour was inappropriate, and the emotion thus reinforces

the social norm (via the feedback mechanism). Emotional apparatus thus shapes behaviour by providing a feedback system that may be useful for learning to behave effectively in social and cultural situations. In addition, much like Bicchieri's view that norms operate via automatic processes, Baumeister and colleagues propose that emotional responses to normative stimuli require nothing more than perceiving the stimulus and making an association that does not rest on elaborate cognitive processing (126).

Baumeister and colleagues use guilt to explain their theory: guilt prompts the individual to reflect on what she has done, to reevaluate the decision process in light of social norms and obligations, and possibly to extract lessons and conclusions about how an alternative course of action would have yielded better outcomes, including no more guilt. Guilt is thus proposed to accompany social norms violations and guide future behaviour in line with normative standards.

Other research on moral emotions also suggests that guilt and shame, which develop from our earliest interpersonal relationships, exert a profound and continued influence on our behaviour in interpersonal contexts (125). A systematic review of a decade of empirical research into the links between moral emotions and behaviour (125) has revealed that, even though shame does not necessarily involve an actual observing audience, people who experience shame do so as they imagine how one's defective self would appear to others. Shamed individuals have a heightened awareness of and concerns with others' evaluations (125). The link with Bicchieri's theory of normative expectations is evident, and in particular her claim that the fear of embarrassment is a social motive linked to the desire to identify with a valued reference group whose judgment one cares about (29). motivations based on personal judgments of a rule's acceptability (30).

Further, research has consistently shown that feelings of shame are often associated with a desire to hide or escape, or with shame-induced externalisation that manifests itself in interpersonal hostility (125). In particular, the imagery of a 'disapproving other' is a factor that facilitates the shift from shame to anger (125). Whereas there are two types of interpersonal hostility, one in which victim is shamed and angry and the other in which the

victim is angered but not shamed (125), Bicchieri's account of IPV discusses the latter. She describes male rage as the result of a chain of inferences that are triggered by the violation of a schema embodying the "appropriate behaviours" that are expected of a "good wife", which is perceived to be natural and "right" (31). Deviation from the good wife script results in male rage and IPV is perceived as the legitimate reaction to the deviation. Bicchieri's theory, however, does not consider that individuals can be shamed into anger.

Guilt, like shame, can also be elicited depending on the social context but it does not appear to depend on imagining being observed (123). Both shame and guilt are thus contingent upon other people's involvement.

Shame and guilt, however, are conceptually distinct and have different implications for behaviour. The person in the midst of the shame reaction is concerned not so much with the implications for others of his or her failure or transgression, he or she is more concerned with the implications of negative events for the self; guilt, by contrast, stems from a negative evaluation of specific behaviours and does not affect one's self concept (125). Although guilt is seen as a more 'private' experience arising from self-generated pangs of consciousness, one can experience guilt when one goes against social expectations (125). Both shame and guilt, therefore can be elicited by normative expectations or, conversely, there are different emotional responses to the violation of norms, including both shame and guilt (123).

Chapters 4 and 5, which engage with the data, will distinguish between participants' accounts of emotions, including shame and guilt and elaborate how these constructs are linked to social norms In doing so, the findings will provide a deeper analysis of the motivational status of emotions in norm compliance.

In summary, Bicchieri's theory is strongly focused on the role played by *perceptions* in understanding normative influence. Much of her conceptualisation of norms is based on a cognitive understanding of what a norm is. The discussion about why gender norms persist, however, is missing in Bicchieri's account of norms. (127). Recall the literature on IPV in Tanzania, cited earlier, that illustrates the persistence of gender norms: they are mutually reinforcing and overlap between the interactional, social, institutional and polity levels of Tanzanian society. To understand how Biccheri's construct of a

norm intersects with gender processes, we must engage with the feminist discourse on norms; this discourse helps to illuminate the broader forces that create conditions in which gender norms and practices are entrenched (66). According to this perspective, gender norms refer to a whole gender system that is structured in institutions, and that has an ideological and material basis. The strength of this conceptualisation is that it captures the notion of gender inequality in the maintenance of gender norms, such as men and women's unequal access to resources, and their differential treatment across multiple levels of society. Our focus of norms must therefore expand from an understanding of what a social norm is, to include gender as a category of analysis. The subsequent section will explore the concept of gender within the current feminist discourse to offer an understanding of how gender norms that disadvantage women produce and reproduce IPV.

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current feminist discourse to offer an understanding of how gender norms that disadvantage women produce and reproduce IPV.

What is gender?

Different schools of thought on gender employ different perspectives on what constitutes gender. Most understandings of gender, however, share the common idea that gender is socially constructed as compared to 'sex,' which refers to the biological factors (chromosomes, internal and external genitalia, etc.) associated with being assigned the label female or male (71). Feminist researchers distinguished sex from gender during the 1970s and 1980s to account for differences in behaviours between the sexes as being socially constructed as opposed to intrinsic causes deriving from genetic differences between female and male biology (128). Thus the relationship between sex and cultural processes is highly reflexive (129). Gender refers in particular to the schemas, norms and roles that society associates with men and women, girls and boys, including how these associations are hierarchically structured in that they tend to assign more status to things understood as male (71, 130, 131). Feminist scholars thus frame gender as a system of social practices that divide people into two significantly different categories, men and women, and organise social relations of inequality on the basis of that difference (132).

In 1987, West and Zimmerman published a highly influential article arguing that gender is something people do repeatedly in interaction with others, rather than something they are; it was the emergence of what would later be defined as the 'doing gender' paradigm:

> "The "doing" of gender is undertaken by women and men whose competence as members of society is hostage to its production. Doing gender involves a complex of socially guided perceptual, interactional, and micropolitical activities that case particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine "natures". [...] gender as an emergent feature of social situations: both as an outcome of and a rationale for various social arrangements and as a means of legitimating one of the most fundamental drivers of society. [...] participants in interaction organise their various and

manifested activities to reflect or express gender, and they are disposed to perceive the behaviours of others in a similar light" (p. 126-127).

Gender was thus conceptualised as a routine accomplishment embedded in everyday interaction. The framework also emphasised that gender is performed at the individual, interactional, and ultimately the institutional arenas: gender thus gets done in settings outside the home where dominance and subordination are themes of overarching importance (129). By framing gender as something that we do (for example, sex-specific clothing, hairstyles, and appropriate behaviour), the 'doing gender' paradigm also draws attention to the ways in which gendered behaviours are enforced, constrained and policed during social interaction (81). Doing gender means doing difference, which is fed by the way the gender frame causes people to react and to judge the behaviours of others. As insitutionalised cultural rules, gender norms about difference and inequality have a prescriptive edge that people enforce through sanctioning mechanisms (133). The enactment of gender based on differences between men and women thus gives rise to gender inequality.

The following sub- sections will articulate the processes underpinning the 'doing gender' paradigm. The analysis will focus on how the three constituents of gender mentioned above, including schemas, norms and roles, are created, and how they interact and mutually overlap. The result is that individuals subconsciously 'do gender' thereby creating and re-creating gender inequality as they go about their daily lives. The construct of norms is conceptualised beyond the individual level, to include concerns about norms as deeply embedded in social structures and manifesting in the wider society that produced laws and codes of conduct that maintain gender inequities (30). The reformulation of gender theorists that norms exist outside individual motives or desires, which is the focus of Bicchieri's theory, emphasises that norms have consequences at different levels of analysis, including the individual, interactional and institutional levels. This recursive relationship between the different levels, as mediated by social norms, accounts for the production and reproduction of gender inequality in society.

Gender schemas

The use of 'schema' comes from a tradition of work in the cognitive sciences and can be traced back to Jean Piaget and Frederic Bartlett (134-137). In its essence, a schema is a mental structure that processes information by organising related pieces of knowledge (138). Schemas enable people to process information by connecting it with prior knowledge, thus telling individuals how they should construct meaning from their own, previously acquired knowledge (139). Schemas are in effect mental models or knowledge structures that guide the interpretation of a situation and help people orient their behaviours (138). According to schema theory, the process of interpreting the situational context is guided by the principle that every input is mapped against some existing schema (139). Recall how Bicchieri's theory already identified the deep relationship that exists between norms and certain cognitive structures. She postulates that the elicitation of norms consists of a complex mental representation in which the current context is matched with pre-existing schemas stored in long-term memory (29).

An example is a schema involving a traffic officer who is signalling to a driver of a car to stop. We interpret the situation via a number of related concepts that come to the fore. In particular the significance of the policeman holding up his hand is that of a signal for the car to stop; this is based on our prior knowledge about the way traffic police are known to communicate with drivers (139). Without these schemas that are at least partially shared, social interaction would be impossible (140). To manage social relations in real time, therefore, we develop social category systems, or schemas based on culturally defined standards that can be quickly applied as framing devices to define the self and the other in the situation (133). Categorisation is thus a basic mechanism of inference and we often generalise from the wider category to a particular instance (106).

Stereotypes are one sort of category that shape our interpretation of the present, memories of the past and future expectations (138). Social cognitive studies suggest that sex/gender is highly susceptible to cultural generalisation as a primary category for shaping social relations (133). Empirical research has

shown the importance of gendered schemas in orienting people's behaviour. In Mexico, for instance, Mexican men's and women's expectations about marriage are inculcated at a young age via schemas contained in folklore, and which motivate individuals to act in accordance to culturally prescribed marital norms: the stories succeed as a directive because they effectively draw upon culturally shared schemas about gendered human behaviour (140).

The schema construct is thus useful for understanding gender: gender schemas are the cognitive mechanisms through which individuals within a society come to exhibit shared beliefs and assumptions about men and women. The framing of sex/gender as a primary category associates category membership with widely shared cultural beliefs about how people in one category versus another are likely to behave (133). According to the 'doing gender' paradigm, people recurrently produce scripted behaviours stereotypical of their sex when they interact with others. In addition, in the case of sex stereotypes, these schemas, in particular, become increasingly well established with the result that subsequent experiences are more likely to be understood in stereotypical terms than the schema being altered by these experiences (138). Stereotypes are thus self-enforcing and therefore particularly durable. 'Doing gender' hence means constantly enacting and reinforcing gender schemas, which happens without conscious intent (128). Gender schemas, like many other stereotypes, are automatically activated outside of awareness (128, 133).

Gender norms

Schemas are posited as the cognitive mechanism through which gender norms are laid down in the minds of individuals. That is, we already have relevant expectations about men and women stored in memory that we activate with the use of scripts to new situations upon encountering them. The ability to call upon schemas when encountering novel situations allows for the existence of social norms and their activation (31). Both feminist and Bicchieri's perspectives stress the importance of implicit belief formation: that schemas within which norms are embedded are activated automatically. Social norms thus correspond to the 'common sense' and it is this mutually shared knowledge that systematically guides human decision-making (141).

Bicchieri specifies that social norms are primed for activation through the triggering of relevant schemas and scripts; to the extent that when our social expectations change, the conditions for following a social norm cease to exist (31). She thus stresses that a theory of norms should not leave the specific social context out of consideration (67). Feminists, on the other hand, focus on a 'life-course' approach to norms, emphasising how norms are durable because they have been internalised via schemas and they are constantly reinforced. That is most people accept or internalise at least some aspects of widely held assumptions that are associated with their sex, (or gender norms) and that arise from the differing social roles of men and women (128).

Bicchieri argues that norms are not internalised generic imperatives; nonetheless she recognises that some norms can exist as widely shared schemas. According to her, many lay schemas are largely shared within a culture, such as the schema of a 'good wife', which harbours stereotypical expectations about what a 'good wife' does. Once this schema is activated, these expectations are in turn activated (31). The issue then with emphasising the particular context of social norms is the possibility that we may overlook or fail to identify such broader, higher-level norms that are associated with specific behaviours within a culture and indeed across settings and regions (142). Indeed, empirical evidence indicates that the status expectations attached to gender categories are cross-situational, with gender norms recreating inequality even in novel situations where there is no other reason to expect male privilege to emerge (132, 143-146). Even in anonymous situations, where individuals do not know each other and have not had repeated interactions, gender norms exist as widely shared beliefs. Thus many norms may in fact be gender norms such as the scripted role of a good wife described by Bicchieri.

Feminist analyses help deepen our understanding of how norms of gender come to exist as widely shared schemas, by engaging with the automaticity of gender norms. Individuals have acquired a network of associations about men and women that are ordinarily activated by relevant concepts, and social categories such as gender may be automatically activated outside of awareness and without conscious intent (128). The schemas that are shared within a culture are durable, as they are continually and subconsciously

reinforced through social interaction across multiple levels of society (31). Gender theorists focus on the pervasiveness and generality of 'norms' by broadly defining them as rules that specify actions that are permissible or forbidden, without specifying, for instance, legal or social institutions (123). For example, Sen et al. (63) argue:

> "Norms are vital determinants of social stratification as they reflect and reproduce relations that empower some groups of people with material resources, authority, and entitlements while marginalizing and subordinating others by normalizing shame, inequality, indifference or invisibility. It is important to note that these norms reflect and reproduce underlying gendered relations of power, and that is fundamentally what makes them difficult to alter or transform." (p. 28)

Such analyses view gender norms as means by which gender-inequitable ideologies, relationships and social institutions are maintained (30). Gender norms that specify what men and women usually do and what they should do are the symbolic aspects of social structures, consisting of bounded patterns of behaviour and social interaction (128). Feminist sociologists maintain that gender emerges through the internalisation of norms based on a cultural logic that shapes what we expect from men and women and that creates inequality (81).

A study on gender norms in 20 countries (65) (18 of which were low or middle-income) emphasises the role of childhood socialisation in perpetuating gender inequality: "gender norms instill unconscious biases about gender difference that make it easier to conform to long-standing norms than to new ones" (p.16). Expectations of typical behaviour were shown to take root at young ages and help to explain the persistence of gender differences in attitudes and behaviours from one generation to the next (65). These findings lend support to the role of childhood gender socialisation as an important factor underpinning gender-discriminatory norms (30), a concept that is ignored in social psychological accounts of norms. Current social norms theories must therefore integrate in their analyses an understanding of the origin of gender norms.

Gender roles

As pointed out earlier, there exist multiple theories of the origin of sex-type differences in behaviour within societies. Generally speaking, gender theorists dispute the idea that gender roles – or the specific behaviours that are considered appropriate for individuals based on their sex – are biologically determined by sex-specific dispositions inherent in males and females. Instead, they argue that these roles are socially constructed.

For example, gender socialisation theory conceptualises gender identities as the product of childhood socialisation practices. These practices take on many forms, including the explicit reinforcement of gender roles (for example in the form of parents' rewards and punishments), and through implicit learning through observation and role modeling. In particular, socialisation theory suggests that little boys appropriate the gender ideal of 'efficaciousness' through exercising physical strength and appropriate skills, whereas in contrast, little girls learn to value 'appearance' and learn to manage themselves as ornamental objects: both classes of children learn that the recognition and use of sex categorisation in interaction is not optional, but compulsory (129). Further, a common tendency for parents to assign household chores and kitchen work on the basis of their children's sex provides apprenticeship in sex-typical adult roles: parents may not do so explicitly but instead do so in subtle ways, for example, by noting and contrasting female and male behaviours (128). In addition, children are accordingly rewarded for demonstrating gender-appropriate behaviour by socialising agents (such as parents, teachers, peers), the result of which creates the illusion that gender is naturally occurring (81).

Current schools of thought on gender, however, contest the view that gender is exclusively the product of childhood socialisation practices. Wood and Eagly argue (147) that such a conceptualisation is limited as it ignores how sex-specific roles are elaborated in cultural traditions, as they become a part of social institutions, or how they are underpinned by material and structural factors. These factors not only play a role in sustaining the status quo, but they underlie mechanisms through which gender roles can change. As discussed in

the next section, changes in material and structural conditions can affect changes in gender roles. These factors are thus causal in determining patterned differences between male and female behaviours.

According to the 'doing gender' framework described earlier, the gender roles that are produced and reproduced are not merely an artefact of domestic life, but the material embodiment of wifely and husbandly roles, and derivatively of womanly and manly conduct. They reflect the relationship between the production of gender at the level of the household and at the level of institutional arrangements such as the division of labour in society (129).

The idea of gender as a multi-level system, which links with the 'doing gender' framework, develops the notion that gender roles are symbolic of gender ideologies that are part of more extensive world views about how societies should be arranged (30). As well as structuring social interaction at the individual and interpersonal level, gender roles also structure social life by organising social institutions, which recreate inequality without intent (81). Gender involves true inequalities in the distribution of resources at the macro level, patterns of behaviour at the interactional level, and selves at the individual level, thereby accounting for multi-level systems of difference and inequality (132). If we do gender appropriately, i.e. by enacting gender norms, we simultaneously sustain, reproduce and render legitimate the institutional arrangements that are based on sex category (129).

Gender inequality: the pervasiveness of gender norms

The paradigm of gender as a multi-level structure emerged from an integrative body of theory developed by several scholars (81, 82, 132, 148-151) to include concerns with the structure of organisations and the interactional process that create inequality (81). Ridgeway proposes how the background frame of gender interacts with cultural developments in highly affluent societies. Her view is that one of the most powerful ways that the gender frame affects the gendered structure of society is through infusing gender meanings into institutional practices (133). For example, Scandinavian countries, which have achieved the lowest level of material inequality between men and women, nonetheless have some of the most sex-segregated occupational arrangements of advanced

industrial societies (133). The deeply embedded cultural expectations attached to our sex category means that simply being identified as a woman or a man will continue to evoke cognitive biases, as seen in the workplace, regardless of efforts aimed at transforming norms via tackling sexist socialisation practices and legal discrimination (82).

According to Ridgeway (132), gender is a fundamental principle for organising social relations in all spheres of social life: gender norms are always implicitly available to shape individuals' behaviour, which links with the view that gender is something that people can always be called to account for, no matter what else they are doing (132). Indeed, according to West and Zimmerman (129), gender accountability is a feature of all social interaction: we are always women and men and what this means is that our identificatory displays will provide an ever-available resource for doing gender under an infinitely diverse set of circumstances. Gender is thus a powerful ideological device, which produces, reproduces, and legitimates the choices and limits that are founded on sex category (129).

Gender is thus proposed to cue and organise every social interaction that humans meet in every moment of life (81). Any interactional situation sets the stage for depictions of 'essential' sexual natures: the process of relating to the other sex is such a routine activity that it is automatic and taken for granted and often assumed to be natural (129, 132). Men and women come into contact with one another with great frequency and often on more intimate terms: the notion of relating to the other sex is especially relevant in the context of intimate partnerships, it being a significant feature of interacting partners' daily experience (132). Doing gender within the context of intimate partnerships is reinforced as inherent, essential, unavoidable and pervasive.

The notion of gender as an ideology helps explain the resistance of gender norms to change: gender comprises a recursive social system that encourages norms to be socially produced and reproduced. Much has begun to change in western democracies as women now occupy traditionally male-dominated roles, such as income earning. Quantitative research in the United States and Australia about sex roles in families suggest, however, that women continue to do more family work than their husbands, despite working an

equivalent number of hours per week and earning the same salaries (152, 153). Further, qualitative research in the United States shows strong empirical evidence that high-earning wives, even those who earn substantially more than their partners, are compelled by the cultural logic of intensive mothering to shoulder more of the family labour (133). The evidence highlights that even in the *absence* of unequal earnings, women continue to shoulder more of the household work.

Other evidence from Bangladesh also shows that despite significant departures from the traditional gender roles, such as girls and women working outside the home and their independent mobility, these roles coexist with a continued ideology of female home-making (154). The evidence suggests that even when women challenge and cross traditional gender roles, their actions do not always set new standards in the domestic sphere (30). Women's new gender roles appear to co-exist with unchanged gender ideologies connected to the notion of the domestic space as feminine. The notion of gender as a structure helps explain the continuing hold of domesticity: the persistence of gender expectations means that women's lives are marked by continuity, rather than change (155, 156).

Indeed, gender has pervasive effects at many levels, affecting housework through tacit gendered expectations of appropriate femininity and masculinity (153). Women's domestic responsibilities are therefore unaltered by their new public roles. Gender ideologies may be the most resistant to change since they are generally part of more extensive world views about how societies should be organised (30). Gender theorists' conceptualisation of gender as a structure enables us to understand why it is rarely only Bicchieri's *normative expectations* that hold discriminatory norms in place. Normative expectations reflect deep social structures and are embedded within moral and religious codes, cultural values, and the social and economic interests of specific groups (30).

Gender norms also encapsulate gender identities, which do not change easily, especially if the change involves a loss of status. This may explain the reluctance of men in some contexts to engage in domestic activities stereotyped as 'women's work' (30). It may also explain some men's resistance to women

working outside the home in contexts where male gender identity is bound up with being a breadwinner and providing for the whole family (30).

Processes of gender norm change

Gender norms possess a remarkable ability to persist in the face of social change that might undermine them: people can continue deeply to hold beliefs that men and women are essentially different even in the face of shifts in the external environment (132). Cognitive schema theory offers additional insights into why gender norms are so 'sticky' by articulating what happens at the cognitive level when one simultaneously enacts two roles that many involve conflicting norms of appropriate behaviour. According to Strauss and Quinn (138), people in every society internalise some conflicting beliefs. They hypothesise that this happens in one of five ways:
1. A person can *choose* one belief and reject the rest;
2. They can unconsciously select parts of a competing discourse and *integrate* it into a single schema;
3. They can *internalise* competing ideas in separate but dynamically linked schemas, which is termed the *unconscious compromise;*
4. They can remain mired in *ambivalence;* or
5. They *compartmentalise,* where they internalise the competing ideas in separate, unconnected schemas so that expressions of one are not linked to expressions of the other.

In the case of the unconscious compromise, the choice to act on one role creates the need to compensate by *later* acting on the other, but the person is not explicitly aware of this conflict most of the time. *Ambivalence* is like the unconscious compromise except that no workable solution has emerged and the person feels torn.

According to Quinn (138), although role contradictions between a woman's traditional place in the home and women's wholesale entry into the workplace described above can become widespread over short periods of time, they may be so unanticipated that their cultural solution continues to elude those who experience them. In this case, people may feel *ambivalent* or torn,

which may lead to outcomes that are far from empowering for women. As a result, the rapidity of change may be associated with resistance to increased female mobility, independent earning, and violation of the traditional gender ideologies of female seclusion within the household, and the mobilisation of some men and women to uphold conservative gender ideologies. (30).

The study on gender change in 20 countries (18 of which were low and middle income) (65) mentioned earlier found ample evidence of gender norms bending as the roles that men and women undertook changed, but much less change at the ideological level. In this case, as proposed by Quinn (138) , competing roles may have been *compartmentalised* in separate and unconnected schemas so that expressions of one are not linked to expressions of the others. The notion that individuals can have discordant beliefs and be unaware of them links with the feminist literature on how gender norms hide out below the level of conscious awareness and are intertwined with self-identities.

Other scholars have proposed that changes in gender norms are likely to come about via an *unconscious compromise*, which is linked to Bicchieri's theory of norms. Harper et al. (30) theorise, for example, that as more women enter the workforce, this can challenge people's sense of what men and women usually do (empirical expectations), which can pave the way for changes in gender ideologies and the emergence of new normative expectations of how society should be organised, including appropriate behaviour for men and women. In support of this view, macro-level evidence from developing countries (157) indicates that women's participation in the workforce is correlated with *later* movements of public opinion in favour of gender equality, thereby postulating the relationship between women's employment and social change as a function of time. Scholars, however caution that women's economic empowerment is not liberating for all women. Evidence indicates that in some settings, women's employment is associated with higher risks of violence (158). The theoretical implications of changing gender roles are thus context-specific and the proposed mechanisms of how individuals handle socially discrepant beliefs and roles must be similarly nuanced.

The heuristic route implied in Bicchieri's theory of norms presupposes a rational side to conformity, whereby, when in doubt, individuals can rationalise their beliefs and preferences and choose to comply with existing norms. It may be the case, however, that the role contradictions between a 'woman's place' being in the home and the reality of women entering the labour force evoke profound inner conflict of which individuals are not aware. To an observer, expectations for women's continued domesticity in the face of women working may seem surprising. But individuals may be unaware of these inconsistencies because different beliefs are represented in different parts of one's neuronal network; they are triggered in different sorts of contexts by very different features of experience so they rarely come into conflict (138).

Feminist perspectives thus help explain the evidence why despite people crossing traditional gender roles, their actions may not change gender norms. The notion of gender as an ideology, or the 'doing gender' paradigm, conceptualises norms as deeply ingrained and widely shared notions about ideals of masculinity and femininity, at different ages of the life cycle, operating at different levels of society (30). Gender norms are self-regulating mechanisms and as such they do not shift easily. As well as being recursive in nature, the strength of gender norms arises from several sources: the shared beliefs that comprise these roles seem to be consensual, they have a prescriptive quality, and they appear to describe qualities that are deeply embedded within human nature (128). Doing gender renders the social arrangements based on sex category accountable as normal and natural, that is, legitimate ways of organising social life (129). Feminist analyses of the pervasiveness and obfuscation of social norms facilitate our understanding of the nuances of gender norms. Such perspectives thus expand Bicchieri's view of norms as self-fulfilling expectations: gender norms attain this status because they are perpetuated in social structures, including the family, organisational practices and political processes (147).

Conclusion

Feminist theorists have maintained that gender norms are key to maintaining IPV. This study assesses both this claim and the utility of Bicchieri's theory for understanding gender norms. Undertaking this task is not easy: as illustrated in this chapter, the language of norms differs considerably amongst different scholars. Current social norms theorists, including Bicchieri, consider the influence of norms on the individual level, conceptualising a norm as an individual's beliefs about reciprocal expectations that are held within a reference group. Norms are thus defined specifically. The writings of feminist scholars, on the other hand, are more concerned with outcomes related to equality and empowerment, with a focus on the influence of norms at the level of society and culture (142). Feminist scholars tend to group 'norms' under a comprehensive definition without identifying and consistently distinguishing norms from other beliefs. The emphasis is on norms as dominant beliefs, with meanings permeating households, organisational practices, government laws and polities. Feminists generally view norms as entire systems through which gender inequality is maintained: they are reinforced across social institutions, at home, and in the market place (via politics, media and religion) and through educational or other institutions.

The literature on gender norms is therefore fragmented. Multiple perspectives, however, appear to offer useful theoretical insights on gender norms. The violence field thus needs a framework that integrates key insights on gender norms: whereas the social psychological enterprise offers useful distinctions in terms of **what** defines a norm, feminist analyses have also raised the critical question of **why** norms persist. Engaging with both pursuits is probably necessary in order to answer the overall study question about the role of social norms in sustaining IPV in Tanzania. Furthermore, the chapter illustrates synergies between concepts from social norms theory, gender socialisation theory, gender theory and schema theory. Such insights, when used in combination, may provide greater scope for addressing the complexity of the notion of a gender norm, as opposed to a single theory being applied on its own.

Research Methodology

Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology adopted throughout the various stages of the study. The chapter begins by recalling the primary research question and sub-questions. The second section positions my epistemological stance as a critical realist and explains how it influenced the methodological choices I made, including my decision to employ a qualitative methodology, which I elaborate in the third section. The third section also provides a rationale for the selection of the study site, and describes the recruitment and selection of participants as well as the study's data collection procedures. The fourth section describes in detail the development of the data collection tools, and the fifth section explains the fieldwork and data collection procedures. The sixth section provides an explanation of the data analysis methods and procedures, and the final two sections discuss ethical considerations and the limitations of the study's methodology.

Research questions

As noted in the introduction, while practitioners and researchers have long argued that gender-related norms are fundamentally linked to IPV, there is little theoretical understanding of exactly how norms affect violence in practice. Moreover, while norms are central to feminist accounts of violence, there has been little effort to apply social norms theory to the realities of partner violence. This thesis aims to address these gaps by investigating empirically how social norms affect partner violence, using a case study approach.

My research aim is two-fold: 1) to explore whether and how norms serve to perpetuate partner violence using Mwanza Tanzania as a case study; and 2) to interrogate whether norms theory – especially that advanced by Cristina Bicchieri – provides an adequate explanation for the realities I encounter.

The main research question of the study is:

Research question: What is the role of social norms in sustaining IPV in Kirumba, Mwanza, Tanzania?

This question is further refined into three sub-questions:

Sub-question 1: How do local people describe the social norms sustaining IPV? The first sub-question diagnoses the social norms that are sustaining IPV in this setting. To do this it applies social norm theory – specifically that advanced by Cristina Bicchieri – to interrogate participants' narratives of IPV.

Sub-question 2: How do material and structural factors interact with and influence social norms to keep IPV in place?

Sub-question 3: Is Bicchieri's theory adequate to explain the driving factors of IPV in urban Mwanza?

The third sub-question then engages with participants' descriptions, to understand whether social norm theory is appropriate to conceptually frame what the participants have identified as drivers of IPV, thereby completing the answers to the main research question about the specific role of social norms.

Epistemological stance

Research has many schools of thought and as many possible epistemological stances. There is, however, a core difference between three possible paradigms that researchers can follow as they study themselves, others, and the world. The first is the positivist paradigm. Broadly speaking, the positivist paradigm assumes that an objective reality is 'out there' for all to be discovered and emphasises studying only observable phenomena (159). The goal of positivist research is to identify generalisable laws (160). The second paradigm – interpretivism – rejects the elements of a positivist tradition and instead focuses

on understanding the world from the view of the participants in the study (161). As such, this paradigm focuses on ascertaining the lived experiences and personal beliefs of social actors (160).

The third set of methodologists, the critical realists, maintain that while there are differences between positivist and interpretative paradigms, the distinctions cannot be described as an all-encompassing dichotomy (160). The focus of critical realists is on the reasons *why* things happen (159). Critical science involves moving from the level of observations and lived experiences to hypothesising underlying structures and mechanisms that account for the phenomena involved (160). Critical realism thus acknowledges the ways individuals make meaning of their experience, while preserving a belief in the material basis of 'reality' (162). While critical science acknowledges that social phenomena are intrinsically meaningful and that the most appropriate way to understand 'reality' is from the point of view of the participants of the study, it argues that this does not rule out causal explanation (161, 163).

I have adopted the stance of a Critical Realist as the basis for my research. The study's interest is to better comprehend the phenomenon of IPV. In addition to engaging with participants' descriptions of IPV, the study aims to understand the broader social processes that give rise to their experiences, most notably social norms and other socio-structural processes. The aim of critical methodology is to locate the social phenomena within a prevailing social structure, by analysing the structure and its ideological manifestations and processes (161). This pursuit is entirely consistent with my goal of understanding how social norms combine with gender-related ideologies to perpetuate IPV.

Study design

A qualitative approach

Critical realist literature argues that researchers should design study methods that help them understand how participants collectively make sense of a given

phenomenon. Rather than collecting data to understand an objective reality, critical realist researchers uncover the meaning participants assign to that reality in their own cultural context. As a critical realist studying social norms and their influence on people's choices and actions, I believe qualitative methods are most appropriate for achieving my research goals. A qualitative approach will allow me to employ interpretative and naturalistic approaches to achieve a deep understanding of how people think about IPV, thus aiding my effort to understand the underlying mechanisms and processes that perpetuate IPV (164).

Case study method

The case study methodology aligns with the study's approach to generate explanations of IPV that give rise to people's experiences. A case study is 'an empirical enquiry about a contemporary phenomenon, set within its real-world context – especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident' (165) (P.18). It is particularly appropriate when researchers need greatly detailed and accurate information that is likely to be ecologically valid and enables them to look in depth at social and relational mechanisms (166). Because of their potential to generate thick descriptions of a phenomenon, as well as the cultural and social context surrounding it, case studies are often used to explain everyday practices that are affected by the culture in which they are embedded. A research case study into a social problem also seeks to generate, elaborate or test theory: case studies are thus based on an initial theory that is refined by completion (167). Case studies therefore have a value in advancing fundamental knowledge in the relevant knowledge domains (164). The underlying philosophy of a single case study is "not to prove but to improve" (168) (pg. 283).

This research seeks to test a theory of social norms against empirical realities linked to IPV. A case study method allows me to develop a better understanding of IPV within its real-life context, grounded in participants' description of it. This study also seeks to improve the understanding of IPV in

urban Tanzania through testing the appropriateness of social norm theory in explicating the phenomenon. A case study method would therefore also help me to expand the understanding of how norms influence IPV and to generate new hypotheses grounded in the qualitative evidence generated.

The research design for this study is thus a descriptive and **critical** case study that is analysed through qualitative methods.

The choice of the case study

I chose to study the social norms sustaining IPV in an urban community in Mwanza, in Tanzania. Regarding equality between men and women, Tanzanian ranks in the more unequal end of the various international indices (169). As described earlier, the prevalence of VAW in Tanzania is higher than the global average: 44% of ever-married women have experienced physical and/or sexual violence (170), with two in five women estimated to have experienced physical partner violence (171). Given the high prevalence of violence in the country, it is likely that I would find individuals with personal experiences of violence to participate in the study. Since I wanted to elicit individuals' perspectives and investigate their beliefs around IPV, choosing a place with a high prevalence seemed a logical decision.

Tanzania thus offers an opportune context to study the social norms linked to IPV. Recall also from the previous chapter the evidence from Tanzania that revealed how social norms embed IPV: norms operate at various levels of Tanzanian society (including at the interactional, the community and the polity levels). Undertaking my study in this context would therefore enable me to provide rich information on IPV and thus to generate knowledge on norms that is likely to be ecologically valid, as per the requirements of critical research.

The choice of Mwanza city, in particular, was justified both by opportunity and convenience. Gender relations in *urban* Tanzania appear to be in flux. Some scholars have argued that changes in the marital contract can be linked to the events in the 1980s and 90s (172). The crisis in the Tanzanian

economy and the resulting Structural Adjustment Plan[1] has increased households' need for cash: these policies have raised the general cost of living, which has exacerbated rather than eradicated poverty in *urban* Tanzania (173). Whereas in 1978, 84% of the men in Dar es Salaam had formal employment large numbers of workers lost their jobs in the 1980s, and currently only a small fraction are employed in the formal sector (39).

As a result of male poverty, women in urban Tanzania are joining the informal sector in large numbers and are engaging in petty trading and other income-generating activities (174). Women in rural villages, on the other hand continue to produce food crops that are consumed in the home and which do not generate incomes (175). There is evidence from South and South east Asia that economic decline can lead to changes in gender roles, typically where economic pressures make it essential that women earn an income (30). This can imply a relaxation of constraints on women's mobility and may, over time, contribute to new social expectations concerning the acceptability of female economic activity and in some circumstances to a more equal distribution of domestic responsibilities (65).

There is mixed evidence, however, for whether the pressures forcing urban women to enter into Tanzania's cash economy have in fact created new expectations regarding the acceptability of female economic activity. Some of the early evidence highlights that while women's entry into the workforce has led to a distribution of unpaid labour within the household, the burden was shifted to children and poorer relatives, as opposed to the men (176). Furthermore, husbands have responded by reducing their contribution to the household income, passing on the financial responsibilities of the children to the wife (177). Others argue, however, that although income-generating activities have added to women's workload, they have also given a wife more independence from her husband, more leverage in negotiating with him, and access to social networks of her own through these activities (178).

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[1] In order to solve the persistent severe economic crisis that has been confronting Tanzania since the late 1970s, Tanzania signed an agreement with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in 1986 to adopt economic reforms aimed at stabilising the economy.

Some research cautions that while the women are crossing traditional boundaries by entering into paid labour, this is regarded as an extension of the household, with the norms of wifely subservience continuing to be the standard. For example, young men at university in the capital expect women to work longer hours than them and to serve their husbands at home, which limits women's opportunity in paid labour even in the formal sector in cities (44, 179). In addition, research has shown that the ideology of male as breadwinners is forcefully alive in urban Tanzania; stereotyped notions shared by both genders are that a man should be the head of his family (39), and thereby women's new roles do not set new standards of behaviour.

The rationale of selecting an urban site in Tanzania is to shed light on whether and in which direction gender relations are changing in urban Tanzania as a result of women's new gender roles in paid public employment.

In particular, I chose to study norms in Mwanza City where I was already living for over a year prior to the study. Mwanza offered unrivalled resources and contacts: I had already established contacts at the National Institute for Medical Research (NIMR). Here, I met with a group of researchers working on IPV who offered to provide an understanding of the local context of IPV, including relevant literature, as well as to facilitate fieldwork logistics. The Institute also offered to host my work for the duration of the study and assist with complex and time-consuming local ethical procedures and permits, as well as to provide official letters to facilitate research access. A NIMR affiliation also meant that I could hire the official NIMR vehicle during fieldwork, which was crucial to gain access to the study population. My official status at NIMR further provided access to facilities such as workshop spaces in which to conduct training activities for the research team (described later in this section).

Mwanza city is comprised of two districts: Nyamanga and Ilemela, with approximately the same populations (363,452 and 343,001 respectively). The two districts comprise 21 wards in total. I chose to undertake the study in the Kirumba ward of the Ilemela district, primarily because of its proximity to NIMR, Mwanza, where I was based, and the ease of access that was granted by NIMR contacts. I was also mindful that the data collection might coincide with the heavy rains, which from my experience the previous year had rendered a lot

of areas inaccessible due to poor road and sewage infrastructure. Further, since I anticipated that fieldwork might consist of an intensive data collection period, the decision to choose an accessible case site, such as Kirumba, was made on logistical grounds to ensure the study could proceed in a timely manner.

Contextual background

Mwanza is Tanzania's second largest city, after Dar es Salaam. It is located on the southern shores of Lake Victoria in Northwest Tanzania. According to the National Bureau of Statistics, Mwanza city had an estimated 2012 population of 706,453 and its expanding growth rate led government planners to expect that the population will exceed 819, 000 by the year 2017 (180). Mwanza is ranked amongst the cities with the highest levels of urbanisation in the country (33.3%), after Dar es Salaam (100%) and Zanzibar city (84.5%) (181). Increasing birth rates, lengthening life span and rural-urban immigration contribute to Mwanza's growth (182). In particular, according to the 2012 Tanzanian Population and Housing Census (181), economic development in Mwanza is pulling in migrants from other regions.

The majority of people in Mwanza are self-employed and work in the informal service sector, including in agriculture, petty trade and commerce, carpentry and in the sale of uncooked food such as fruit and vegetables. The 1957 census, the last to distinguish town dwellers according to racial lines found that 77% of the population in Mwanza were African, and that the rest were Asians (18%), Europeans (two percent), Arabs (one percent) or others (two percent) (182). The Africans living in Mwanza largely include people who are affiliated with the regionally dominant Sukuma ethnic group but also those of the Nyamwezi, Jita, Ha, Haya, Kuria, Chagga, Swahili and Luguru groups (182). Regional marital norms are patrilineal and patrilocal, meaning that women are expected to move to the community of their partners after marriage (183, 184). Some of the men living in Mwanza, however, have, along with their families migrated from their native communities in search of better livelihoods in the

city. As such, there are couples living in Mwanza whereby neither partner has familial nor friendship ties to the people in their social surround.

In particular, Kirumba, which is the study site, is organised into eight 'mtaas' (streets), some of which are on the steep hills that characterise Lake Victoria's landscape. The 'piki piki' (motorcycle taxi) offers a vital mode of transport to overcome poor road infrastructure and has gained popularity as the city's cheap and quick mode of transport. The housing in Kirumba consisted of walls of baked or sundried bricks. Most had iron sheet roofing. Charcoal and firewood were the main sources of energy for cooking purposes, and most houses used kerosene lamps or wicks for lighting. The houses in each mtaa were in close proximity to one another. Households consisted of nuclear families. Further, due to the high cost of urban living, it was common for different families, who had no prior connections, to rent separate rooms within the same house. There was no piped water to house plots, and residents narrated how they collected water at public taps/standpipes. Kirumba had a poor waste disposal infrastructure, with open dumped waste being washed away during the rainy season that coincided with my data collection. Kirumba is home to a bustling vegetable market and a large multi-purpose football stadium, which hosts matches as well as political rallies. It also boasts Villa Park restaurant/night club, which is popular among both locals and foreigners. 'Kiosks' (small roadside shops) are lined along the streets from which vendors sell goods and merchandise to passersby. Some women also sell fruit and vegetables along the roadside or from outside their homes.

Techniques of data collection

To answer the overall research question, I needed to explore how participants in Kirumba made sense of the dynamics of intimate partnerships through a social norms theoretical lens. Case study methods are open to a range of applications in the field. Case study research, however, does recommend the corroboration of different data sources and/or data collection techniques (185).

In this study, I have used two sources of data collection methods: focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews.

Focus group discussions

Focus groups are discussions organised to explore a specific set of issues, such as people's views and experiences of a phenomenon (186). To gain insight into shared beliefs, focus groups "should be the sociological method of choice, providing concentrated and detailed information on an area of group life which is only occasionally, briefly and allusively available to the ethnographer over months and months of fieldwork" (187) (p.6). In particular, focus groups comprising *natural* groups provide access to this shared group culture, as family and social settings are the ones in which we come to know about social norms and in which we develop our views (188). It was anticipated that by choosing to work with pre-existing groups of people who lived and socialised together, this would tap into fragments of interactions that approximated to 'naturally occurring' data (186), and would thus provide insight into norms, which are rooted within local everyday practices. The downside to group dynamics is that the group may censor deviations from group standards (186). Shared ways of talking – as implied in the dynamics arising from group discussions – can cover up subtle differences in practice, as can the discreet silence or the token assent that often comes of wanting to conform or not wanting to cause an argument (138).The study therefore also employed individual interviews to analyse how individual community members described their intimate relationships and the context of violence to elicit personal narratives and experiences that may have been muted in the group.

Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews represent a common source of evidence for case studies as they offer rich and extensive data: the flexible format permits the interviews to reveal how case study participants construct reality and think about situations, not just to provide responses to a researcher's specific questions (185). Semi-structured interviews are also a good method for understanding how people talk about a behaviour, as well as the context in

which their behaviour might differ from normative accounts (188). Exploring what happens when particular individuals do *not* comply with social norms offers explanations of the norms that are meant to inhibit the deviant behaviour (32). The study of deviance, which is possible via individual interviews, can thus shed light on norms since deviance excludes from society people who do not abide by these norms.

I decided to conduct semi-structured interviews for this reason and also because they are used by qualitative research to develop unexpected themes and issues, which would otherwise be missed in data generated by closed questions (189). The key strength of qualitative methods, from a critical realist perspective, is that they are open ended. This allows themes to emerge that could not have been anticipated in advance (160).

Participant sample

I planned to conduct eight focus groups, each with between 10 and 14 participants, as well as 20 semi-structured interviews with community members in Kirumba. This sample size was deemed sufficient to maximise the opportunity of producing sufficient data to answer the research question, while keeping within the time and resource constraints of the study.

The logic of sampling in qualitative research is to find individuals who can provide rich perspectives, varied insights and meaningful views on the phenomenon under study (166). In particular, purposeful sampling was employed. This comprises an intellectual strategy that involves developing a framework of the variables that might influence an individual's contribution. It is based on the researcher's practical knowledge of the research area and the available literature (190). I sampled informants by paying attention to two criteria that I thought would be insightful for the phenomena being investigated: gender and age.

Table two summarises the data collection methods that were employed in each sample group:

Participant Characteristics		Data Collection Method	
Gender	**Age**	**Focus Group**	**Semi-structured Interviews**
Women	15-24 years	2	5
	35-50 years	2	5
Men	15-24 years	2	5
	35-50 years	2	5
Total		**8 focus groups**	**20 semi-structured interviews**

The study sampled 15-24-year-old and 35-50-year-old women and men[2], to explore gendered and generational differences and what these yield in terms of the driving factors of IPV. First, I decided to draw on both men and women's experiences in Kirumba to understand the multiple perspectives available in order to address the overall research question. Qualitative sampling seeks information richness and selects cases purposefully so that they provide variation in the contextual factors relating to the phenomenon under study (191). I then chose to structure the group discussions by gender due to the sensitivity of the topic, and because the views of women and men may

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[2] Several exceptions were made with regards to the age requirement of participants. Four of the 20 participants recruited by the local area representatives for the individual interviews were either a year or two over the age limit (>24 years & >50 years); two of the men were aged 25 and two of the women were aged 52. In addition, six of the participants recruited for the group discussions were also either a year or two over the age limit (>24 years & >50 years). Of these six participants, three were men were aged 25, one was a man aged 51, one was a man aged 52 and one was a woman aged 52. The decision was taken to admit the above 10 participants into the study. This decision was made considering the time and resource constraints of the study, in combination with the assumption that admitting participants who were only a year or two off the upper age mark would not compromise the quality of the data generated.

illuminate differences that are important in understanding the phenomena being studied. I also chose to structure group discussions by age, which is important because deference by age may inhibit younger participants from contesting older ones. The implication of power hierarchies may result in the group censoring certain types of information (186). Of great importance to young people's gender ideals are their beliefs concerning social conduct. This is governed by the concept of respect and suggests deference to those in senior positions such as parents, teachers and community elders (192).

In particular, the lower age bracket was chosen because the youngest generation of couples is most likely to represent changing relationship dynamics related to IPV. For example, the literature revealed that focus group discussions with men's groups in Nsene village and Bukoba in Tanzania highlighted how for some young men, their expectations of an urban good wife have become more relaxed and now include activities beyond the household, in addition to their wives' traditional care activities (65).

In this manner, I decided to focus on younger versus older residents as a useful distinction to explore in terms of what this may yield in unpacking IPV.

Several vignettes were employed in each sample group to solicit the range of norms and norm domains (see Appendix p. 222). Designing multiple vignettes allowed me to explore what norms emerged in participants' narratives linked to IPV and how these norms interact with an array of factors to keep IPV in place. I asked the interviewers facilitating the data collection to identify two participants from each focus group discussion (FGD) that would then be interviewed individually. Because norms are often legitimised and the conformists may therefore have a hard time imagining what a counterfactual situation would be like (32), I specifically asked them to seek out deviants from the group discussions for individual interviews.

Development of data collection tools

Theoretical relevance and cultural appropriateness
It was crucial that the tools be guided by an adequate theory of norms as the application of such a theory has been lacking in existing strategies investigating

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norms (193). The data collection tools were thus designed to explore the norm domains identified from Bicchieri's theory. Using a theoretical framework to inform data collection tools is particularly important in case study research, so as not to be overwhelmed by the amount of data, and to avoid ending up with just descriptive narrative (194).

       While the topic guides were designed to probe specific aspects of norms, the questions were open-ended with space for departures to allow the discovery of IPV themes based on participants' perspectives, as well as the identification of new themes. The open-ended format of the tools gave priority to participants' hierarchy of importance, to their language and to their concepts (186). In striving for this balance, I hoped to preserve the views and experiences of stories in context, which are simultaneously theorised in order to limit salient categories and concepts. The latter pursuit was to ensure I could locate the study findings within the discourse relating to the phenomenon being investigated in order to enhance current knowledge on the phenomenon. The realist research methodology of qualitative case studies is process oriented and deals with underlying causal tendencies (167).

       To ensure that the data collection tools were culturally appropriate, I have worked with the academic staff at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine and local experts. The linguist who helped translate the tools into Swahili, for instance, highlighted several concepts that were inappropriate. For example, she pointed out that in the Tanzanian context, it was unsuitable to enquire about someone's partner by asking: "Tell me a little bit about your partner: what is he or she like?" This question was deemed too personal and likely to evoke suspicion as to the intentions of the person asking the question. In further consultation with her, I then replaced the question with more culturally sensitive questions about the age and occupation of their partners and only then led into a discussion about the nature of the couple's relationship. Similarly, questions in both the in-depth interviews (IDIs) and FGDs exploring sexual IPV were modified to be more discreet by using appropriate language and framing to ensure that participants were not put in an awkward situation.

Development of vignettes

The focus group guides included a mix of vignettes and open-ended questions. Vignettes have been typically described as short scenarios in pictorial or written form intended to elicit perceptions and opinions by either asking participants to respond to the scenario, or how they imagine characters in the story would react to a certain situation (195).The nature of the subject made it important for the study to keep the discussion away from *actual* cases of wife-beating, and focus on *beliefs* about it. Ethical guidelines on researching partner violence (50) warn researchers that they may cause survivors unwarranted stress by making them talk about, or by listening to others talk about their personal experiences. Vignettes have the benefit of building on the oral tradition of storytelling, and allow people to talk about sensitive subjects without having to discuss their own personal situations (50).

In particular, I developed two vignettes and a series of questions asking participants to comment on how they think the character in the story would feel and/or act in a given situation. In addition, some questions were included that asked participants to reflect on what they think relevant others would think about the situation. This was to clarify participants' normative expectations linked to the reference network. This additional dimension reflects the intricacy of using constructs from norm theory to interrogate the domains of partner violence. Table three represents a question-by-question justification of one of the vignettes that was developed for the study (See Appendix p. 223-227 for vignette 2). The protocol did not include these justifications. They are offered here as a means of articulating how I designed the questions in order to interrogate IPV from a social norms theoretical lens.

Table 3: Example of vignette

Vignette 1:
Pendo lives with her husband Damian and her two children, a five-year-old boy and a nine-year-old daughter. She has finished standard seven and works in the market selling fruit and

vegetables. Damian does not like it because he gets jealous. When Damian came home drunk last week, he insulted her and forced her to have sex with him even though she did not want to. Today, Pendo is late coming home from work. The neighbours overhear Damian shouting that dinner is not ready. Pendo is heard arguing with Damian that she was working late to try and sell more fruit and vegetables because Damian does not give her enough housekeeping money.

QUESTION (asked of both men and women unless otherwise indicated)	JUSTIFICATION
1. **What reasons does Damian give for the way he treats Pendo?**	• Explores gender-performing roles as expected behaviours are at the centre of IPV, as well as in the types of violence against women. In addition, this question explores whether the women/men feel the women have provoked their husbands and should be blamed for the violence they experience, which is a common finding in the literature. This may indicate that gender norms are held in place by deeply ingrained gender beliefs.
2. **How common is it that husbands expect their wives to have sex when they don't want to?** • Probe: Are there reasons why a woman can legitimately refuse to	• Explores the domain of sexual partner violence.

have sex with her husband?	
3. **What might the neighbours do or think upon hearing Pendo and Damian fighting?** • Probe: Would they ever intervene or try to stop the fighting? Why or why not? Under what conditions?	• Questions 3, 4 and 5 explore whether the norm of family privacy is operating in this setting, which has been shown to discourage victims from disclosing violence, and also to prevent the community from intervening (thereby further compounding the acceptability of IPV.) In addition, the questions seek to understand the mechanisms of norm compliance, including who sanctions transgressors for breaching the norm of family privacy.
4. <u>WOMEN ONLY:</u> **What would Pendo's reaction be if other people intervened?** 4. <u>MEN ONLY:</u> **What would Damian's reaction be if other people intervened?**	
5. **Does Pendo ask anyone for help when Damian treats her this way?** • Probe: Why or why not? What do they tell her?	
6. **What happens if Damian continues to treat Pendo this way?** • Probe: Would she leave him? If so, where would she go? • Probe: If she leaves him, what would people say? What is going to be the most difficult challenge for her?	• Explores the social and economic consequences that are faced by women who leave violent husbands. The

	discussion of social sanctions will be insightful for understanding the normative mechanisms that are in place to discourage women from leaving violent partnerships, further perpetuating the acceptability of violence.

Semi-structured interview guides

The interview guides (see Appendix p. 228-233) opened with a neutral question about the respondent's background to put the respondent at ease and to collect socio-demographic data. This question also aimed to establish whether the respondent engaged in income-generating activities, in order to establish the relationship between participants' economic conditions and their beliefs around IPV. The next two questions explored whether women's economic actions are recognised as legitimate and fit within their community's normative framework. These questions also probed whether women's participation in income-generating activities translate into their increased autonomy in the domestic sphere.

Question 4 framed participants' personal experiences of IPV by asking if they "know of /have heard of other men and women in your community that have conflicts". It was anticipated that by asking participants to reflect from a third person's perspective, this would gradually open space for participants to discuss their own experiences. This question also anticipated that some women might not be willing to directly discuss their personal situation; by asking them to discuss IPV from a third person's perspective, the narrative could generate

insights, while respecting participants' privacy. If participants were willing to discuss their personal experiences, the interviewer probed the nature of the conflict by asking them to describe the last conflict that arose within their relationship. Asking about the most recent fight endeavored to take challenges of recall into account.

Following from this was a question exploring the individual's beliefs about the social environment surrounding partner violence. This was ascertained by exploring whether IPV is viewed as a taboo subject, including how comfortable the individual feels in discussing her personal problems with people in the community. The question also explored the social and economic sanctions that prevent women from leaving their abusive partners. The final question in the interview explored the context of sexual PV, including whether an individual's beliefs about coercion sit alongside the normative narrative. It was anticipated that by this point in time rapport would have been established so that the respondents felt safe and comfortable to discuss such a sensitive issue with the interviewers.

Fieldwork and data collection

Selection and training of interviewers

Interview techniques and the role of the interviewer require careful consideration given the multiple factors that might influence the participants' responses as well as the quality of data (188). Ethnicity, race, gender, class, age and education status emerge as significant dimensions during the course of interviews (188). As an 'outsider' who was considered 'white' I was aware of the linguistic and cultural misunderstandings that can arise during interviews. Even though I spoke a fair amount of Swahili, it seemed extremely important to have interviewers conduct the interviews. Local people may not only be inhibited in their communications to a 'white' interviewer, or may pass these communications through a white cultural filter, but there are dimensions to local experiences invisible to the white interviewer who does not have the

cultural equipment to elicit or understand that experience (196). I assumed thus that respondents might feel more at ease expressing their views to an interviewer of the same race. Tanzania is also a culture that places great value on age and status, and I felt that interviewers could utilise their knowledge of this hierarchy-conscious culture to negotiate access to the older participants as well as the participants holding positions of authority in the community (197).

I thus chose to collaborate with local interviewers to conduct the data collection. I initially trained six candidates, three men, and three women over a period of four days, and picked the two most competent from each (gender) group, based on their performance during the workshop. All six were fluent in spoken and written Swahili and English. Four of them had previous experience of working with NIMR and were already familiar with qualitative research techniques, and the remaining two were master-level students in sociology at the local university. These individuals were selected because they demonstrated interest in the research and in research methodologies.

I conducted a four day training session with the interviewers (see Appendix p. 234-235), designed to build the research team's familiarity with the study content, to enhance their interviewing skills, to practice applying the study instruments, and to ensure that voluntary participation was upheld through the strict application of informed consent. The first day covered the research background and the sampling rationale. The second day included participatory activities on IPV, qualitative interview techniques, procedures relating to informed consent, and a question-by-question explanation of the interview guides in both English and Swahili. Based on the teams' observations, the order of the questions in the semi-structured interview guide was revised after the practice sessions to ensure a better flow. The third day of the training included more practice of the qualitative semi-structured interviews, and a more in-depth explanation of how the questions would elicit social norms. The same day, we also discussed the focus group guides, and the pitfalls and opportunities in facilitating the group discussions. The fourth and last day of the training was entirely spent practising the vignettes.

Recruitment and selection of participants

I followed the official procedure for research access as set up by the government of Tanzania. The Director of NIMR wrote an official letter to the District Executive Officer (DEO) of Ilemela who provided a letter introducing our study to the Ward Executive Officer (WEO) of Kirumba. As we proceeded to discuss the sampling criteria, the WEO suggested that the best strategy for recruitment was to enlist the help of the street leaders (the government representatives of each street) or the Mtaa Executive Officers (MEOs) as they have connections with the local population. Within several days of our initial meeting, the WEO had organised for us to meet in his office with the MEOs of the selected streets. Street 'helpers' (who work as representatives of the MEO's) were also present and would be facilitating the recruitment of eligible participants. I explained the study, and specified the sampling criteria, indicating that the ideal participants would be men and women between the ages of *15-24* and *35-50 years* and who were in *intimate partnerships*[3], but in case finding them would be challenging[4], groups of men and women in these same age groups who were not officially married but who were living together in consensual unions would be acceptable. I also emphasised that the same participant could not be recruited more than once and that only one participant from each household should be recruited to protect participants' confidentiality and privacy.

While the WEO's plan to enlist the MEOs and street leaders to enroll participants provided easy access to the study population – and was the faithful strategy employed by researchers at NIMR, Mwanza – I had other concerns that made me question accepting their assistance. Firstly, I questioned how I could be certain that the 'voluntary' requirement of participation was upheld if the respondent had been ordered to participate by a superior against their will.

[3] Recall from Chapter 2 that there are two categories of intimate partnerships in Tanzania; the first represents couples who are formally married (customary, civil or religious), and the second refers to couples who are not formally married, but who are in consensual unions or living together in socially recognised stable unions. From now on, I refer to both these categories as intimate relationships.

[4] The 2012 population census of urban Mwanza indicates that: 92.6% of 15-19-year-old males interviewed were never married; 72.3% of the males aged 20-24 were not married; only 0.2% of the former age group were living with a partner and 2.3% of the latter were living with a partner. The statistics for women indicate that: 85.7% of females aged 15-19 were never married and almost half from the 20-24-year-old age group were never married; 1.5% of 15-19- year-old females were living with partners, whereas 7% of 20-24-year-old females were living with partners.

Secondly, I was also uncertain whether the MEOs and street leaders would not select respondents that they favoured and/or who were representing their political interests. I dealt with the first concern by telling the MEO and the street helpers that they did not have to be present for the individual or group interviews. The research assistants who conducted the discussions also emphasised the voluntary nature of participation, and that if anyone refused, no body would be told about it, and that participants would still receive services in their communities as usual. As for my second concern, even if the MEOs tried to bias my sample, this would not automatically transfer on to the successive stages in the method, including the data generated and the implications drawn from them, in the manner they would for quantitative data (172).

Piloting

The pilot, which represented my first attempt at the FGDs, also presented several logistical challenges. Although the street helper on site had a list of 14 participants who had initially shown interest in participating in the pilot discussion, and with whom the timing of the group discussion was pre-arranged, only seven of the participants showed up. Whereas this further reinforced my confidence in the voluntary nature of participation in the study, my original data collection strategy was dependent on the participation of all 14 participants. My initial plan was to split each FGD into two groups (of seven each) and have each interviewers ask three/four different questions of each group to generate enough data while keeping the focus group duration within an acceptable time period for the participants. I was worried that if participants grew impatient, they might rush through the discussion, which would affect the quality of the data generated. The interviewers informed me, however, that the pilot discussions proceeded smoothly and that they were comfortably able to cover all questions within the time allocated for the group discussions (one and a half hours). Based on these positive results, I decided to combine the questions into one group session for the actual data collection to negate the challenge of not having enough participants show up to comprise two groups.

The discussions with the younger women revealed a specific set of challenges, given that several of them had recently given birth and had naturally

brought their babies along to the discussion. The research team worked competently to manage the group; the interviewer proceeded with her task of administering the vignette, while the note-taker stepped in to look over the children. When they observed that the participants with children were distracted, the interviewers made the decision to pause the discussion and hand out soft drinks (that were usually reserved for the end of the interview) as a means of fostering participation.

Upon playing back the group recordings of the pilot and the actual data collection, and from what the interviewers told me, I had the impression that many participants enjoyed being part of the discussion. Furthermore, the story was well received, and participants were able to reflect off its characters. For example, a male participant in a group discussion among older males remarked: "…. you know these things that we are talking about happen in our society that surrounds us and not only to Damian (character in story)…these things are (happening) in our families."

Even when the interviewers raised the delicate subject of sex, this sparked lively debates in all the group discussions. From my conversations with other researchers and local experts, I was sceptical about the willingness of the participants to discuss such a 'taboo' topic. Much to my surprise, however, participants were uninhibited in their discussions about sexual behaviour, which extended to issues as sensitive as sodomy and rape. The openness of the discussions is testament to the strength of the vignettes in allowing people to discuss sensitive subjects without having to discuss their personal situations, thereby generating rich data on sensitive topics.

Data analysis

Transcription and translation

Three experienced transcribers who often collaborated on NIMR projects were hired to undertake the transcriptions. Given the fact that I was fairly fluent in Swahili, I could review and finalise the transcripts to ensure that they accurately reflected the interviews. To contextualise each transcript, I consulted both my

field notes, which included reflections from the de-briefing sessions, and the interviewers' fieldwork diaries, comprising observations of each interview that I had asked them to maintain during fieldwork. The process of engaging with these resources limited my distance from the data collection event. I conducted checks on the fidelity of the transcriptions by randomly selecting pieces of the audios and checking the final translation. I also re-listened to the original recordings while reading through all the transcripts and asked the best of the three translators to help me understand the cultural meaning behind the expressions used by participants.

Understanding and fairly representing participants' perspectives is complicated when language translation is involved: idioms, metaphors and cultural nuances translate awkwardly, if at all, and almost always need to be explained (197). For example, participants frequently used the term 'to despise' to denote several things, such as when a woman 'despises' her husband if she earns more than him, or when fellow men 'despise' a man who cannot provide for his family. I discovered that an old Swahili-to-English dictionary was translating a number of things as 'despise', including, for example, to demean someone, to hold someone in contempt, to judge someone, to look down on someone, to scorn someone or to resent someone. Consulting with my local colleagues enabled me to understand the euphemisms and local vernacular so that the original meaning intended by the participants was not lost in translation. That common patterns did emerge across interviews, I felt lent some measure of integrity to the translations (197).

Thematic latent analysis

The data from the descriptive and interpretive qualitative case study was analysed using thematic latent analysis. This method of analysis is not wed to any pre-existing theoretical framework (162). Thematic analysis can be a 'contextualist' method, perched between the poles of positivism and interpretivism, and characterised by theories such as critical realism; thematic analysis is an approach that works both to reflect 'reality', and to unravel the surface of 'reality' (162) .In particular, thematic analysis at the latent level goes

beyond the semantic content of the data and starts to identify the broader assumptions and meanings that are theorised as underpinning what is articulated in the data (162).

Qualitative case studies are often framed with concepts, models and theories: in a descriptive and interpretive case study the researcher analyses, interprets and theorises about the phenomenon against the backdrop of a theoretical framework (198). To begin with, I immersed myself in my data so that I was familiar with the depth and breadth of the content of my data as my ideas and the identification of possible patterns were shaped as I read through each and every data item (162). Because the transcripts were transcribed and translated for me, I spent time checking the transcripts back against the original recordings for 'accuracy', I manually marked and noted ideas as I went through each transcript while listening to the original audio, and I synthesised these notes into a memo, which explained the narrative of the transcript. I used quotes from the transcript to illustrate my ideas. These memos served as first impressions, which were built upon to see how transcripts related to one another. I also wrote more general analytic memos with emerging ideas and points for analysis. I returned to these memos several times in the course of the subsequent analysis in order to check that I had not left out key points whose relevance only became clear later on in the analysis.

Once I was familiar with the data, I re-visited the transcripts to identify and code the data. According to the case study approach, the first part of the analysis is careful description of the data and development of categories in which to place information (194). In particular, I first employed 'open coding' to diversely code for themes and concepts without trying to fit the data into a pre-existing coding frame. I developed 'in-vivo' codes behind the basic units of data, staying close to the language participants used and coded for actions to stick with participants' constructions. I coded things that were recurrent and interesting and grouped similar codes together to create themes. These first-level themes were descriptive and broad. In the second step, through a process known as 'axial coding' I assigned to these groups of codes (first-level themes), existing categories developed from integrating the IPV literature in Tanzania and social norms theoretical concepts. The data were examined to see how

much they fit the expected categories and disconfirming evidence was taken into account. I had codes that did not fit into these pre-existing categories and I created new categories to help make sense of these codes. Whereas I used social norm theory and the IPV literature in organising data analysis strategies (elaborated in the next section), open coding allowed the case study analysis to build and extend these theoretical perspectives. The final narrative was thus an accurate representation of the facts of the case.

I then explored how the different categories related to one another. Through this mapping work, I constructed the 'story', which was a process of further interpretation and constructing the results. A data treatment is comprehensive when the generalisation it yields can be applied to all the relevant data (199). The overarching themes of 'domesticity' and 'headship' represent the generalisations that were constructed from the data and which conveyed meaning behind participants' narratives on the social norms sustaining IPV and how the various elements of the 'discursive repertoire' they draw on fit together (172, 198). Chapter 6 builds and extends the theoretical perspectives underpinning this study by analysing how material and structural factors impinge on norms linked to IPV.

In the final step of the analysis, these overarching themes, which represent the study's 'inductive' model, were then interpreted in relation to the existing norms knowledge to support assumptions and contribute new findings. The inductive model was then further interpreted to critique the social norms theoretical assumptions underpinning the study (Chapter 7), with the aim of demonstrating how the present study has contributed to advancing the theoretical understanding of the phenomenon (Chapter 8) (198).

I applied the learning from Kitzinger's framework (186) (see Appendix p. 236), which provides insights to ensure that the unit of analysis is the group and not the individual. During my analysis, for example, I realised the important and recurrent work of anecdotes, which provided rich insights into how group knowledge was constructed. Participants often invoked stories to theorise their viewpoints in relation to other people's perspectives. Not only were stories the 'evidence' to justify the reasoning behind participants' thinking, they were also potent in influencing the opinions of others. In cases where disagreements

arose in the group, I paid very close attention to what information was censored/muted as well as how it happened, which provided insights into how norms come to be legitimate (186). In the instances where I have quoted excerpts from the group data (Chapters 4, 5 and 6), I articulate which elements of interaction I have drawn upon to develop my analysis.

Identifying social norms

A key step in the analysis was to accurately diagnose the construct of a social norm to assess the role of norms in sustaining IPV. I listened for nuances in participants' conversations and contexualised pieces of related knowledge to identify the various elements of a norm as implied in Bicchieri's theory.

Statements such as "**they say**", "**they do**", "**most people here think**", "**it is common for**" and "**we men/we women**" signaled the existence of *empirical expectations* (i.e. what is typical). I listened for the following statements to identify *normative expectations* (i.e. what is appropriate): "**people think a man/woman should**", "**the best thing for a man/woman**", "**a good wife/woman**", and "**a real man**". The latter three statements contain an evaluative element. Evaluative elements, however, are not specific to social norms. I was careful to distinguish whether the evaluation signalled a personal normative belief (i.e. a private attitude), or whether it was an indicator of normative expectations. In addition, statements such as "people think a man/woman should" or "the best thing for a man or woman" could also signal factual beliefs. That is, rather than being about a social obligation, these statements could indicate a *prudential "they ought to"* (by signaling for example that following a specific course of action is in a man or a woman's best economic interests).

I distinguished between these three types of beliefs (personal normative beliefs, factual beliefs and normative expectations) by listening to whether or not participants linked the belief to the empirical expectation (i.e. whether assumptions about what was typical behaviour linked with assumptions about what one should do). Recall that social norms are interdependent beliefs: the empirical expectation is linked to the normative expectation.

In addition, and crucially for distinguishing normative expectations, I listened for whether participants described actual *or* anticipated negative consequences associated with the counterfactual situations (i.e. what were the consequences incurred when an individual did not abide by the beliefs). Recall that social sanctions are often associated with the normative expectation. If individuals indicated positive or negative social consequences linked to the belief, this served as an accurate indicator that the belief in question was a social norm.

Bicchieri's theory cautions that not all norms are accompanied by overt sanctions. According to her, when norms become well entrenched, an individual complies with the norm because she personally endorses the norm. She further theorises that moral emotions (including shame and guilt) indicate people's sensitivity to normative expectations. As such, I listened for how particular emotions were linked to the beliefs with which they were associated, in order to determine whether or not the emotions were evoked based on the social context i.e. whether or not they were linked to the normative expectation.

Ethical considerations

Official regional ethical approval was obtained to conduct this research from the Lake Zone Institutional Review Board (LZIRB) in Mwanza, which was required in order to obtain a research permit from the Commission of Science and Technology (COSTECH) in Dar es Salaam.

The interview guides and participatory tools were thoughtfully developed to be culturally sensitive, achieved through collaboration with colleagues from the local context. As described earlier, a bilingual language teacher from the local language school was involved in translating the tools from English into Swahili and offered insights for fine-tuning them to be locally relevant.

As also described earlier, local interviewers were recruited to facilitate the research: they were the same gender as the interviewees, and they understood the local norms and codes of conduct in the field. In addition, all four interviewers were trained to strictly adhere to the WHO Safety and Ethical Guidelines for Researching VAW (200). Essential to preventing participant

distress are the interviewers' interviewing skills and the code of ethics (201). Interviewers did not report signs of distress from the participants interviewed individually, which is testament to the sensitivity with which the interviews were conducted. On the contrary, interviewers felt that many were grateful for the interview experience, which provided respondents an opportunity to talk to a non-judgmental person about issues they were experiencing or had experienced in their intimate partnerships (201).

In addition to the standard procedure of the interviewers explaining that participation was voluntary, I sought additional ways to protect participants from unwarranted stress and discomfort that could be triggered by compelling survivors of partner violence to talk about their experiences. I have described the development of the vignettes to facilitate group discussions. These were narrated from a third person's perspective thereby keeping the discussion away from actual cases of wife beating and focusing instead on participants' *beliefs* about them. This 'projective' technique also ensured that confidentiality was maintained within groups of individuals who lived within the same communities to avoid further stigmatising women who had experienced violence.

Once the interviews and discussions were completed and the audio-recorders switched off, participants were given refreshments. This allowed time for the participants to 'come out' of the interview, which was important because the discussion was about a sensitive topic (201). The additional time spent after the discussion also opened space for the interviewers to reciprocate by allowing participants to pose questions to them as a reversal of roles. One cannot talk about ethics without talking about the issue of exploitation, which refers to power and status differences, with some researchers believing that the balance of power tends to be in favour of the researcher (201). The status of the interviewers gave them a certain degree of power over the situation; to reduce status differences, it was crucial that participants retained control over the process. During this role reversal period at the end of the discussions, participants accessed information that *they* were interested in and that could be of use to *them*. I had also made booklets with contact details of appropriate service providers in case participants required further help, and which the

facilitators offered to them during this time. The interviewers also provided their phone numbers for follow-up opportunities.

Numbers were used in the group discussions instead of names to maintain participant anonymity. Participants were informed that although the discussion would be recorded, they could be certain that anything they said could not be linked to them in the future. The recordings were kept secure and deleted once they were crosschecked against the translated transcripts.

In addition to written consent, oral consent was sought twice from participants – once before beginning the interview and once shortly after the voice recorder was turned on. Arrangements had been made in advance so that stamp pads were readily available to obtain thumbprints (instead of signatures) for the written consent forms for those participants who were unable to read or write.

For the in-depth interviews, arrangements were made to ensure that the locations were chosen according to the convenience and comfort of the participants. Again, it was key that interviewers subtly negotiated power dynamics by allowing the respondents for the in-depth interviews to determine where the interview was held in order to establish mutual respect (197). Most male respondents indicated their preference to be interviewed at a local restaurant rather than at their homes. We had scouted the restaurant prior to data collection and deemed it to be a suitable location for the privacy and tranquility that it offered. The venue comprised a large open air space with dispersed tables and few customers during the day. The respondents and interviewers were left undisturbed by staff once the interviewer had purchased some soft drinks and could converse without interruption. As for the women, some of them indicated their preference to be interviewed in their homes, as it was not always culturally appropriate for them to leave their domestic spaces, and because the younger women, in particular, often had young children at home in their care. In anticipation that the home setting may not offer complete privacy due to plausible interruptions from neighbours or partners, the female researchers were trained to handle such scenarios to protect participant safety. For example, interviewers enacted role plays in which the males posed as male partners who walked in on the interviews, at which point the female

interviewers practised diverting the discussion away from violence and to a more general topic, such as breastfeeding.

Limitations to methodology

Given the critical stance underpinning this research and the research question, the researcher believes that the qualitative case study approach was the most suitable pursuit for this study because of its advantages in revealing in detail the perceptions of individual participants in a real-world situation, which would have been lost in quantitative studies (164). The case study design is particularly applicable for situations where it is very difficult to separate a phenomenon's variables from its context (194).

Qualitative case-study research, however, is often criticised from the perspective that the results are not representative due to the lack of statistical generalisability. Qualitative case-studies, however, are used for *analytical* generalisations where the researcher's aim is to generalise a particular set of results to some broader theoretical propositions (202). Researchers may be justified in drawing some level of causal inference from case studies due to their in-depth nature and their focus on situationally embedded processes (203). Case studies thus have unique features and generalisable principles and the development of theory that occurs through the piecing together of detailed evidence to generate theories of more general interest allows for the case not just to be descriptive but to have wider meaning (165).

Analytic generalisations depend on using a study's theoretical framework to establish a logic that might be applicable to other settings (185). Through analysing how the study's findings have informed the relationship among particular sets of concepts and theoretical constructs (Chapters 4, 5 & 6) (185), this study proposes a model of social norms in urban Tanzania (Chapter 7), that may be applicable elsewhere. The assumption that the theoretical propositions will have wider implications outside the case study is rooted in the evidence, which suggests similar concepts relating to the phenomenon of interest across contexts. For example, a comparative study from 17 countries in sub-Saharan Africa revealed that in all settings, men and women justify IPV as

an acceptable means of punishing women for transgressing gender roles (53). Consistent across cultures is also the clear delineation of roles between men and women, which serve to reinforce the discourse of dominance among men and submission among women (204, 205). Further, some administrations of the Demographic Health Survey (DHS) ask the reasons why abused women do not seek help, and the most common reasons (among others) cited in countries across the globe (including in south America, south and south east Asia, north Africa and sub-Saharan Africa), include: believing there is no utility in doing so; seeing IPV as a part of life; not knowing where to go for help; fearing consequences (being beaten, divorce), and being embarrassed to tell anyone about the violence (206). The identification of similar participant variables across the globe lends support to logic that a theoretical model of the social norms linked to IPV will have cross-cultural relevance.

Another limitation to the study methodology is with regards to the role of the researcher as an 'outsider', with some scholars arguing that this isolates the researcher from the phenomenon being studied, thereby limiting the richness and detail and enhancing potential misunderstandings and inaccuracy (159). The goal of qualitative research is to develop concepts that enhance the understanding of social phenomena in natural settings, with emphasis on the meanings, experiences and views of participants (159). Although I did not have a thick ethnographic knowledge of local customs, beliefs and ways of thinking, I was not completely 'removed' from the understanding of how local people made sense of the world. Even though I worked with local interviewers, it was well known in the community that a researcher from 'ulaya' (abroad) was conducting the study. Any doubts would have been dispelled by the attention I drew as I drove around the field site with my team in the official NIMR vehicle to oversee the logistical arrangements for data collection. Indeed, the FGD participants remarked that I was different from them, which became an opportunity for them to explore their commonalities, or the 'Africa' context, juxtaposed with the place where the 'white lady' is from. The respondents thus treated the research as a vehicle through which they could theorise their viewpoints and to articulate information that they assumed was the taken-for-granted knowledge of an 'insider' (196). My 'white' status thus inadvertently

became an asset with regard to eliciting fuller explanations to the interviewers who were assumed to be already aware of the 'Tanzanian culture' (197).

Whereas my position thus enabled me to maintain a critical distance from the phenomenon being investigated, data analysis for realism is usually summarised in a manner that is necessarily value-laden because it cannot be a process that minimises bias with proximity of those values (165). A critical realist recognises that research is seldom value free, and that the researcher's background, training and assumptions will inevitably shape the research process (207). To ensure methodological trustworthiness, this chapter has outlined detailed steps of the study as a means of honestly and capably describing the entire research process employed (159). The concept of 'reflexivity' is one of the fundamental principles of qualitative research, and is characterised by continual self-critique and attending systematically to the content of knowledge construction at every step of the research process (207, 208). The researcher has made explicit the decisions taken and the alternatives not pursued as a means of critical reflection, and in pursuit of enhancing the integrity of the findings. Systematic data collection and analysis procedures warrant that case study findings can be generalised to other situations (185).

A final limitation with regards to the research process is to do with the concerns raised in the literature about paying for participation in the study. Discussions with local researchers at NIMR advised that the standard procedure for conducting research in Tanzania involved compensating participants for the costs they might incur. Some scholars argue that payment may reduce participants' understanding of the voluntariness of their informed consent by unduly influencing some to participate (209, 210). Payment, however, was not justified on the premise of monetary incentives to recruit participants, but on the ethical premise that the participants should not be required to suffer financial sacrifice (211). An amount of money that is not excessive and is calculated on the basis of time may, rather than constitute undue inducement, be an indication of respect for the time and contribution research participants make (212). Participants were reimbursed a token amount in terms of lost wages that might have been incurred, which was determined by discussions with local researchers. Several participants who were recruited for the FGDs

excused themselves before the start of the discussion when they were informed of the duration of the group discussion. They explained that the time frame was not feasible for them. Their actions reinforced both the voluntary nature of their participation in the study, and that monetary incentives did not influence their willingness to participate.

Another concern relating to payment for participation is that this could cause participants to lie about certain things, such as their age, in order to participate (211). The study participants, however, did not appear to conceal their true age. As mentioned earlier, four of the IDI participants and six of the FGD participants were slightly outside the age range. In addition, there were several occasions in the group discussion – before the participatory activities were underway and when the interviewers were collecting participants' socio-demographic information – that it was revealed that some participants fell considerably outside the study age categories. In these cases the interviewers released these participants, reimbursing them only for the cost of transport from the venue.

Chapter 4: Domesticity and Violence

Introduction

This chapter frames the answer to the study's first question about how participants in Kirumba described the social norms linked to IPV. In particular it investigates the meanings that they attached to the household as both a physical and conceptual space where the relationship between husband and wife takes place. To do so, it applies Bicchieri's social norm theory to analyse what norms contribute to IPV in the community. The findings in the chapter show how the household symbolises the expected gender roles and relations of its members. Participants' narratives also revealed how women are confined to the home as the site of normative domesticity.

In the first section, I present evidence showing that participants made sense of the domestic dwelling as a place where norms of family privacy existed. Two social norms emerged from participants' descriptions of the house as a private space. The first norm prevented women from disclosing private family issues, such as violence, to non-family members; the second proscribed neighbours from intervening in the affairs of a married couple, including when a couple was fighting.

The second section uncovers how norms curtailing women's roles to the family further limited women's capacity to leave the household and potentially move out of violent relationships. Two norms emerged from the data linked to women's imprisonment in harmful relationships. The first norm, that a respectable woman keeps her marriage intact, pushed women to persevere in violent relationships. The second norm, that woman is the only caretaker of children, restricted women from moving out of their relationships, as they feared for their children's wellbeing.

The evidence summarised above articulates how the domestic space entails social norms of appropriate behaviour, which have important implications for violence. That is, the spatial and social aspects of IPV are intricately linked. As suggested by Bowlby and colleagues of their study of "domestic" social relations in the UK, the meanings that people assign to the

household – the domestic space – can sustain social norms that deeply influence the relations between men and women, including relationships of violence (38). I use the term *domesticity* as a construct to refer to the fabric of social norms in the data that are articulated in terms of space and place and which prescribe the rules regarding the requirements of daily life (213).

In the conclusion, I present a table, which summarises the norms ascribed to domesticity, and I discuss the applicability of Bicchieri's theory in making sense of participants' narratives concerning the spatial and social aspects of IPV that emerge in the chapter.

Two social norms connected to family privacy

Participants' descriptions revealed the existence of a system of norms of family privacy. The household, with its physical and symbolic boundaries, marked the limits of private and domestic family life. There was a consensus amongst participants that what happened in the household should remain a secret. Most believed it was crucial for a couple's private issues to be contained within the household. For instance, one man and one woman respectively said: "A couple needs privacy. You know these issues of family and marriage, these are things you must deal with on your own" (M, A44, I23)[5]; "Whenever I see my husband getting angry, I stay calm because I don't like my stories to be exposed to people outside my house" (F, A44, I6).

Two norms regulated *movement* on either side of the domestic boundary. The first norm controlled what information crossed beyond the household. It was connected to the idea that a good wife does not 'expose' the secrets of the household, including violence. The second norm restricted outsiders from intervening when a couple was fighting.

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[5] Participant Identifier. See Appendix p. 237 for participant identifiers

A good wife does not disclose private family matters

Conversations with participants revealed a social norm proscribing women from disclosing family matters, including violence and/or seeking help in case of violence. The data reflected empirical expectations as well as normative expectations, connected to emotions and sanctions.

Empirical expectations

There was a shared perception across participants that others in the social setting did not reveal violence. One woman said, for instance: "No one in this neighbourhood has ever heard a woman making noise, 'Father I am dying, I am dying!'" (F, A44, I6). The participant claimed that even women in need of help would still refrain from disclosing violence. Another participant confirmed the silent nature of couples' fights by describing how: "Sometimes the fight (between a couple) might be silent. That is, the people fight, they sustain injuries, but there are no noises" (M, A24, I20). Participants in the focus groups also held similar beliefs. During an FGD, younger women (15-24 years) reflected upon what they believed was typical behaviour for women who experienced violence:

> R[6]: There are some men that beat you so badly until they kick you in the stomach
>
> R: You might hide it although he has beaten you until you are hurt
>
> R: Many people die by hiding it like that
>
> R: This type of person (a woman who is beaten) is very secretive, everything to her is a secret. Whatever he does, she can't tell her mother (because) she would have revealed it (the secret)
>
> R: Most women are secretive, they don't reveal it (violence)

Participants themselves identified silence as problematic, and argued that a lack of reporting contributed to sustaining violence. One of the participants in the FGD mentioned above shared the following anecdote:

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[6] R equates to Respondent

> "I recall a place where we lived…a policeman was doing something strange (to his wife), he was having sex with her contrary to the nature of her body. She kept silent. After a year she started suffering from abdominal pains until she needed to be taken to hospital. Still she refused to tell the doctors what happened. They struggled to treat her. They had to take her to the provincial hospital where she was cleaned up well. Even then she never said what he did to her. So there is a kind of secrecy that causes us women to suffer."

The individual processed the group discussion by connecting it with the above story from her past. The discussion elicited in the woman the schema of family privacy. Recall from Chapter 2 how schemas enable people to process information by connecting it with prior knowledge, thus telling individuals how they should construct meaning from their own, previously acquired knowledge. In particular the mental representation of the silent woman was invoked in the woman who in turn articulated how it is the "secrecy that causes us to suffer", thus indicating the plight of all women. Her construction of "us" women reaffirmed the common view of the group that most women did not disclose violence (i.e. the empirical expectation). Her story further revealed that it was atypical for women to disclose violence even when they required medical care for their injuries. Even when violence was physically visible and manifested on the body, it remained socially invisible, as people ignored it. The view of this last participant aligns with what another participant said: "you can **see** that the woman is being abused, she is not ready to say 'please help me' (because) they (the women) don't want to show, they don't want to reveal the secrets of their families" (M, A35, I16). Participants not only said that women would not disclose violence, but they were also aware of the negative outcomes of doing so. Their description of women's resignation, however, was connected to the fact that this is what most others did. Women's sense of powerlessness is thus strongly connected to their belief that individuals maintain secrecy to comply with empirical expectations of typical behaviour.

Normative expectations
Participants not only held empirical expectations, they also held normative expectations linked to family privacy. That is, they described women's silence as a widely shared conception of a wife's appropriate behaviour i.e. what a good

wife does. The following dialogue amongst the younger men (15-24 years) revealed how in Kirumba, a good wife tolerates violence:

> R: If she announces it (that you have beaten her) to everyone, that is not a wife anymore
>
> R: You will know as soon as you started beating her (what kind of a wife she is). If you see her running to go outside, that one is not good. But (as for a good wife) if you beat her, she runs to go to the bedroom and closes the door and becomes completely calm
>
> R: Some women will leave their kanga (cloth)
>
> Respondents: (laughter)

As revealed in the discussion, the notion that women must keep a beating a secret was linked to the schema of family privacy. The men discussed how the prototypical good wife withstood violence (i.e. did not 'announce it' or 'run outside'), or else her behaviour was perceived as rebellious and/or unfeminine. The reference above to a woman running out without her 'kanga' – a piece of printed cloth donned by women in Tanzania to cover their bodies – implied that a wife who publicised a private beating had abandoned her modesty, which was linked to ideals of femininity. A woman who disclosed violence was not a woman anymore. According to Bicchieri's theory, the appropriate behaviours expected of a good wife are the elements of a script that are tied to normative expectations (31). Social norms are grounded in scripted sequences of behaviour and once a script is activated, expectations about appropriate behaviour will in turn be activated (31).

The discussion proceeded to elaborate how the normative expectations that a good wife bears violence was learnt in childhood via her parents:

> R: It depends on the way she was brought up, what she has been taught at home by her parents
>
> R: If she hasn't been brought up well, she might just pick up anything that she can find to help (defend) herself when I am beating her
>
> R: But for somebody who has been brought up by her parents, she won't leave to go and tell the neighbours when her husband beats her
>
> R: If the child has been raised under good care in her family, when she attains the age of marriage, she is told about such things (like), 'my child, if you have a dispute with your husband, sit and discuss with him, if it becomes impossible, look for people to help you solve it'.

The men agreed that parents transmitted norms connected to femininity to children via socialisation practices. Similarly, an individual account reinforced that knowledge of the appropriate behaviours expected of a good wife (i.e. that she withstands violence) was acquired from her parents:

> "You know when you bring up a child with good values, whatever is inflicted on her, she will just tolerate it" (M, A23, I2).

Recall from Chapter 2 the consistent findings from Tanzania (44, 45) on the central role played by parents in transmitting to their children knowledge about gender appropriate roles. Indeed, research from cognitive psychology (138) suggests that gender schemas get laid down during early childhood development. Further, the schemas we learn as children are particularly stable because there is a neural basis for cognitive learning. Growing up in an environment of a given cultural understanding brings with it a distinctive pattern of experiences, which rest on strong neuronal connections that are not easily undone (138). Mental processes and associations learnt growing up therefore do not easily disappear from the mind, and they operate subconsciously (138). In complying with what they are expected to do, therefore, men and women in Kirumba hold the specific roles and fulfill the social expectations that they learnt to comply with in childhood (166).

One of the participants in the group discussion elaborated that whereas there is a social norm proscribing violence disclosure, it is acceptable for a couple to seek help if they have tried other strategies. Indeed, there was a widespread belief amongst participants that if a conflict could not be resolved by the couple, the next step was to involve the man's elders. For example, in response to the interviewer's question about whether it was acceptable for a woman to return to her parents' home because of the violence, the following group of older men (35-50 years) revealed that traditional marriages called for the matter to be resolved by the woman's in-laws:

> R: Her father might tell her to come back with a divorce letter
> R: He is talking about traditions and customs

R: Listen, I am given a woman to marry and was told that she is mine because I paid the bride price. If the woman runs away to the man's parents, she loves you…you have married the right woman

R: For the woman who has had an official marriage, she won't run to her parents. She will go to the husband's parents. You will have been told by your father to go to your father-in-law's home, which is now called your home. You will go talk to them…

Similar accounts emerged in the individual interviews: participants revealed that a 'kikao' or a meeting of the man's male elders would be called if a woman felt the violence was not justified. One man described how: "According to our customs, when you quarrel with your wife, she is not allowed to go to her parents' home to complain, she is supposed to go to where you were born as the man" (M, A46, I11). Another man confirmed that: "The procedure and customs is to consult your elders…I have two uncles whom I told about the fight, that the woman caused me to beat her" (M, A 35, I18).

Further, multiple accounts established that the ultimate goal of the elders was to reconcile the couple: "I think if they are wise old people, they will call upon the husband and they will listen to both sides of the story. They will say we want you to live in peace so we request you to go and live well in this life" (M, A35, I4); "They will wait for the husband to show up and have a meeting. In the meeting they will listen to both sides. Many times, even after hearing their explanations, they want her to return home, that is every family" (M, A50, I7). Indeed, the following woman's account revealed that her father in-law was exceptional because he took her side:

"I thank God my father-in-law is principled. He is very different. If all the men who have given birth to men could be like him. That man looked at the mistake. He accused his son and told him that he made a mistake. He told him you did not have the permission to beat her, to raise your hand" (F, A44, I6).

Even when women had the option to seek help for the violence they experience, their needs and concerns were usually not addressed.

Emotions

With the exception of consulting the members of the man's family – who according to some participants resided in remote rural areas – the general narrative was that women could not seek help from community members within Kirumba. A woman's help seeking pathway thus began and ended with the family. When a group of younger women (15-24 years) discussed what would happen if women violated the normative expectation that a good wife does not disclose violence (i.e. the counterfactual situation), the consequences reinforced normative expectations. The women agreed that it was shameful and embarrassing to disclose violence:

> R: Some feel ashamed…she thinks she will embarrass her husband or she will be embarrassed for saying she has been beaten
>
> R: He (husband) feels as though you have embarrassed him when you tell your friend that he has beaten you
>
> R: Do you know why the woman doesn't say? She knows she is embarrassing herself as a woman

Similar accounts of the shame associated with disclosing violence emerged in the one-to-one conversations. Explaining what would have happened if his wife had gone to the neighbours for help after they fought, one man said that "it would have been a problem, it brings shame. It is shameful because you would have exposed it (the fight) to outside" (M, A45, I17).

That women expressed that they would be ashamed and embarrassed by help seeking is important as these emotions are a strong identifier of social norms; shame and embarrassment are typical emotions felt by those who violate social norms (32). As indicated in the participants' constructions of shame and embarrassment, although the emotions do not involve an actual observing audience, there was often imagery of how one's defective self would appear to others. When feeling shame, individuals are more likely to feel observed by others, and also more concerned with others' opinions of the self versus their own self perception (125). The women in Kirumba were ashamed and embarrassed to report violence because they imagined an audience observing them violating the norm linked to family privacy. Shame thus acted to reinforce the norm against violence disclosure.

Sanctions

Participants further reported that should an actual audience observe a woman violating the normative expectation that a good wife does not disclose violence, this would have social consequences. External sanctions reinforced the existence of the normative expectation proscribing women from disclosing violence and/or help seeking. Neighbours in particular played a strong role in sanctioning women who violated the domestic code of privacy. The most frequently mentioned community sanction was gossip: "What will the neighbour do to help you? She will go talk about you…once you (tell her) and leave, she must find a friend to tell. Her friend will also go and tell her colleague, her colleague will tell her colleague, that's how it is" (F, A23, I14); "You can tell your friend, then she tells her friend and that one tells her friend, so you find that a small issue has spread all over the area" (M, A25, I13).

The narratives about gossip revealed that the purpose of the gossip was to be circulated widely, using forbidden private material for public ends (214). Participants also narrated how even in situations where the neighbours overheard a couple fighting, gossip would ensue. One participant recalled what happened when the neighbours caught heed of his fight with his wife: " There are some people who were just gossiping, they were happy when we were fighting" (M, A23, I2). Similarly, another participant described that neighbours who are privy to a couple's fight enjoy gossiping about them:

> "They fight as we watch them happily. For us we just go there because we
> have something to gossip about. When there is a fight at our place, (and) it
> happens at night, we must go listen at the windows (to know) the manner
> in which they are fighting, the way she has been beaten, we must listen" (F,
> A19, I5).

As suggested by these accounts, the anticipation of gossip is linked to the violation of the norm linked to family privacy. Gossip plays an important role in defining the boundaries of domesticity and regulating appropriate behaviour (215). When a third party is privy to norm-inconsistent behaviour i.e. a couple's private issues entering the public domain, viewing or being privy to the norm transgression calls attention to the norm itself, thereby making it more likely to

be activated in the observer (31). As Bicchieri has indicated, such a norm transgressor indirectly serves as a triggering cue for a norm (31).

Transgressors, compliers, and enforcers

Whereas the anticipation of gossip appeared to prevent most women from disclosing violence and/or help seeking, there were, however, exceptions in the data. In particular, younger women reported how associations with older women allowed for some mutual support. In particular, two younger women described how they had sought help from mature women in the community with whom they had built trustworthy alliances. A 19 year-old woman explained the circumstances where help seeking was possible:

> "We were staying with a woman called Mama Faraji and we asked her...since she was older than us, she was our counsellor. I knew that if I told her, she would give me good advice and secondly she would keep my secret, she wouldn't tell anybody."

She elaborated the nature of the advice she received from Mama Faraji:

> "She will tell you, 'that is normal. If you say you can't tolerate, you will get separated'. If she is somebody who is understanding as I told you, she advises you that those things are normal." (F, A19, I5)

The advice to tolerate violence in order to avoid getting separated highlights another mechanism of enforcement of the norm against help seeking: help seeking can result in the dissolution of a marriage. Similarly, another older woman reflected that it was better for her to endure the violence rather than to risk further violence and/or marital dissolution:

> "She fears (to seek help) because she loves her husband ...(if you take) the shameful things of the house out, it causes you to get worried. If I tell her and he (husband) knows about he will leave me and yet I love him. Let me just go on suffering, but the issues of the household should not be taken out." (F, A52, I18)

Several of the other older women also described how they were afraid that their husbands would divorce them if they sought help from formal channels; "If you

accuse him, he is put inside (jail), you will automatically be divorced" (F, A50, A10); "They (the women) are not ready (to go to the police). You believe that if you take him there, he will leave you" (F, A44, I6). It is probable that none of the older women in the study reported help seeking because they feared marital dissolution.

It appears from the general narrative that the older women in Kirumba conformed to the norms against help seeking because they believed that tolerating violence was less risky than confrontation and/or revolt. Their silence can thus be interpreted as a strategy to avoid undesirable outcomes. The idea that older women felt there was more to lose than to be gained from help seeking may explain why they encouraged younger women who sought their help to withstand the violence. A second younger participant spoke of how when she sought help from an older woman she was advised to persevere:

> ''Now when I told her she advised me to persevere, and I refused to go home. She told me, 'you should just persevere, that is just minor, and he gives you everything, you should just persevere…and I stayed in my marriage. She is somebody that is wise" (F, A24, I12).

Similarly, the following account of another younger participant conveyed how according to her parents, it was economically beneficial in the long run for women experiencing violence to persevere in their marriages:

> "They (the parents) will tell you that we (your father and I) have come far. We also had such fights, but we had patience for one another, you are also supposed to be patient with your husband. All that (suffering) has an end, and you come to benefit later on. You go through the pain so that you can take your children to school. When your children have gone to school and they have constructed their houses, you benefit…"(F, A21, I15)

Older women thus transmitted to their younger counterparts that women are "supposed to be patient with (their) husband(s)" for economic reasons. As well as the idea that withstanding violence is strategic, the quote above reveals how the duration of marriage was connected to the perceived normality of violence. It can be hypothesised that through experience the older women came to view violence as a normal part of any marriage, which made them less inclined to

transgress the norm against help seeking. The belief that fighting within a marriage was normal emerged in another older woman's account of the advice she gave her daughter who returned home because of the violence:

> "My daughter was beaten twice, she packed her bags and she came. (I told her), 'we (your father and I) stayed up to this age and we went through the same, but one tolerates'. I told her that, 'quiet! Why not? Your father was the same. It was just to tolerate.' Nowadays she is silent. Fighting is normal inside the house, and then it ends. Now will you pack your bags (and leave) everyday?" (F, A50, I9).

Another 50-year-old participant expressed a similar view about the perceived normality of violence that characterised a long marriage: "Small personal problems, honestly they don't miss human beings do they? You have reached the point of growing old with the man, now you can't handle this? So I deal with them (the problems), it is a normal thing" (F, A50, I1).

Since the nature of the fights was not fully established in the conversations with the participants, one could not determine the particular context, including the type and severity of violence the women were discussing. Anecdotal evidence revealed, however, that even in severe cases of violence, women were discouraged from help seeking by their elders:

> "The man beat her until she was infected with cancer of the jaw. He hit her with fists…he had squeezed her in between her thighs. When she went to her place (natal home), the Swahili life, (the parents said), 'you are not able to tolerate in your marriage, just a mere touch is a problem'. She went back to persevere…yeah the tolerance is because of the feeling that she can't go to report and yet she has been beaten" (F, A 44, I6).

The notion that a longer duration in a marriage corresponded to a decreased likelihood of help seeking was further reinforced in the following account of another older woman:

> "I am old. I am mother of advice. When someone comes to tell me, sister, look things have become like this and like this, I tell them that you are young, whereas we have become old, we have reached this point, we have many issues but we usually just counsel ourselves and they end, just leave it there to end, if it is the man (his fault), whoever, just leave it. I tell her, 'my child, do not leave'" (F, A 50, I1).

She drew a comparison of how older versus younger women responded to violence, concluding that younger women were less inclined to withstand violence:

> "Us others (older women) don't (you) see us here, we are old, we got old at your father's (place). And it is torture that we see, and it is a lot that we endure. You (younger women), when a man just touches you a little bit, you have already left" (F, A50, I1).

The idea that younger women revolted against violence also emerged in the discussion amongst the younger men (15-25 years). The men described examples of revolt that included women fighting back when they were being beaten, abused women seeking immediate advice from the neighbours and cases of abused women spending the night at the neighbour's place. Such findings linked to women revolting against violence did not emerge in the group discussions with older men. This suggests that the wives of older men did not revolt like their younger counterparts.

The data suggest that older women were less ready than younger women to transgress the norms of family privacy. There are several possible explanations why older women are more likely than younger women to tolerate IPV. It could be that violence decreases as men age, and as such older women wait it out. It is also possible that since older women have probably been married longer than their younger counterparts, they have likely had more personal experience as well as anecdotal evidence of sanctions for transgressing the norm. For example, older women may have encountered unsupportive responders when they did seek help. Several personal experiences of a passive and discriminatory response system were revealed in older women's accounts. One older woman described her experience with the police, explaining that when she reported her husband for having spent her earnings on alcohol as opposed to purchasing building materials for constructing a house, they laughed at her. Her experience led her to conclude the following: "In the past we were being exploited but couldn't do anything because even if I thought they (the police) would help me, they would just laugh at me. They (the women) decide to

keep quiet" (F, A52, I8). Another older woman shared a similar perception of stigmatising attitudes and unresponsiveness on the part of the police:

> "When you take the police a case – I don't know about right now. (But) during that time, they had the attitude of saying that you (the woman) are bad. OK, they consider it a case but they don't take it seriously. It was nineteen eighty something. They call each other aside, afterwards you are told to go, (they say), 'we will deal with it later'. You are told to go back just like that. The police are in the same category (as the men), they have the male attitude" (F, A44, I6).

Older women's greater experience meant that through time they had come to realise that acceptance was better than revolt, which may have led them to change their perceptions about help seeking. Further, the accounts above indicate how social norms impinged upon institutional practices: police officers exhibited the 'male attitude' connected to the expectation that a good wife does not seek help, which was reflected in their discriminatory responses to abused victims' plights. Norms are also shaped by economic factors: that older women advised their younger counterparts to persevere in marriage because it was economically strategic emphasises the recursive relationship between social and non-social factors.

Unpacking the norm of family privacy in light of theory
Individual beliefs that most women in Kirumba did not disclose violence i.e. the empirical expectation emerged in participants' narratives. The data also illuminated a shared understanding amongst community members that a good wife bears violence i.e. the normative expectation. Individuals in the social surround served as a reference group who were seen as uniform in their opinion about what a good wife does and is expected to do. Both sets of expectations were influential in inhibiting women from disclosing violence and/or seeking help. Further, it emerged in the data that women were ashamed of disclosing violence and/or help seeking. The shame signalled the violation of normative expectations, thus reinforcing the social norms linked to family privacy. Women's shame also made them reluctant to discuss IPV with health care workers, even when they presented with clear abuse injuries inflicted by

their partners. Further, the norm proscribing disclosure of family matters was associated with external sanctions. Participants expected that if a woman sought help in her community, the responders would gossip about her. The gossip signalled the responders' disapproval of the woman for violating the norm linked to family privacy. Older women also reported being afraid that their husbands would divorce them if they violated the normative expectation linked to family privacy.

In addition, the expectation that a good wife does not disclose violence appeared to be shaped in childhood and adolescence via parental socialisation practices and continued to influence gender relations in contemporary society. Recall how feminist scholars recognise the role of childhood socialisation practices as embedding norms, which is confirmed by the data. 'Doing gender' means creating and recreating through time gender norms embodied in roles that are learnt in childhood and adolescence, and the resulting norms are reinforced daily across multiple levels of society. The fact that the older woman quoted earlier mentioned that the police had the same stigmatising attitude as the 'male attitude' in their approach to dealing with victims of violence reinforces feminist analyses how norms of gender pervade the institutional level. Indeed, the pervasiveness of the schema of family privacy is reiterated in findings across sub-Saharan Africa, whereby when a violation takes place within the home, as is often the case, the abuse is effectively ignored by the tacit silence and passivity displayed by the family and communities, as well as the state and law-enforcing machinery (53).

A good neighbour does not interfere in the private affairs of a couple

In addition to the norm proscribing women from disclosing family matters, the data indicated the existence of a second norm linked to family privacy that prevented the neighbours from intervening in a couple's private affairs, including when a man was beating his wife. The norm was indicated by empirical expectations, as well as normative expectations linked to emotions and sanctions.

Empirical expectations

Men and women of all ages described that even when violence was audible, it remained invisible because of the empirical expectation that others did not meddle in internal household affairs. For example, when asked what measures the neighbours would take if they heard a couple fighting, one participant responded that: "they can't take measures because they know it (the fight) is between a husband and a wife. When you see somebody is being beaten, how can you interfere in somebody's marriage?" (F, A52, I18). The following anecdotal evidence narrated by another participant reinforced how it was atypical for community members to interfere in the fight of a couple, even if it occured in public:

> "I remember there was a fight that occurred there, (the) people (couple) fought until the man reached the point of removing his clothes, but there wasn't even one man who came out to go and say please stop doing such things. No, people just look on until he (the man) reached the point of taking off his clothes. People were just laughing." (F, A19, I5).

As mentioned above, statements such as "people say", "others can't" and "there was nobody who", revealed the existence of empirical expectations. Participants' narratives established what they believed to be common practice amongst outsiders in response to a couple fighting. As illustrated in the accounts, individuals in Kirumba believed that it was unusual for neighbours to intervene when a couple was fighting, which was linked to the schema of family privacy and which fuelled abuse.

Normative expectations

Normative expectations against intervening in a couple's fight were also in place. For instance, one participant explained that "there are people here that say you should not interfere in somebody else's issues, you should not take somebody else's issues to be your own" (M, A35, I16). Recall that normative expectations tell us how we ought or ought not to act: normative expectations always contain an evaluative element. That the above individual expressed that others thought that one "should not interfere in somebody else's issues" is a clear indication of a normative expectation against intervening when a couple is fighting.

The following group discussion amongst the younger women (15-24 years) about outsiders' response to violence established the links between empirical and normative expectations:

> R: Some people don't intervene
>
> R: There are some people that might leave you to get beaten
>
> R: It's like, there's a saying that, '**if a husband and wife are fighting, you should take your plough and go dig'**
>
> R: You shouldn't intervene, if you intervene, you may seem to be at fault

The discussion about empirical expectations, or one's beliefs about the lack of outsiders' response to violence gradually led to the discussion about what one believed was the appropriate thing to do (or the normative expectation) in the case of violence. The cited proverb, "if a husband and wife are fighting, you should take your plough and go dig" is an example of the type of resource informants evoked to theorise their viewpoints. The metaphor exemplified a conventional belief that outsiders have no place intervening in the affairs of a married couple, and the normative expectation linked to the schema of family privacy.

Indeed, proverbs are shared schemas that are part of common sense, and constitute pre-existing knowledge about what people do (empirical expectations) as well as what people should do (the normative expectation) in a specific situation. The participant interpreted the empirical expectation that it is atypical for neighbours to intervene in the fight of a couple by mapping it against an existing schema of family privacy. According to Bicchieri, this ability to call upon existing schemas signals the existence of a social norm (31). The schema was activated in the participant, who used this proverb to legitimise her normative expectation, signalling the belief that the appropriate course of action when a couple is fighting was to proceed with your own work. The cited proverb spurred the elicitation of the same schema amongst the other group members.

Emotions

The discussion in the above group of women about the normative expectation against intervention also triggered the emotional experiences associated with violating the norm:

> R: Your husband who is beating you is really feared by the people around there
>
> R: And they really fear him, which means that even if he beats you, there is nobody that might come to help you
>
> R: Within this town it is rare for a husband and wife to be intervened when you (they) are fighting in the house because if you (the neighbour) go in you might get cut too

Participants narrated how community members, and in particular men, did not intervene when a couple was fighting because they feared for their personal safety i.e. they anticipated to being met with physical aggression, for example by being "cut" by the husband. Similarly, the individual narratives revealed that for almost all participants, their primary concern was the fear that they would be punished for meddling in a couple's private affairs:

> "Some people fear because when you intervene in a fight between a husband and wife, they fear the man might turn against them because you are interfering with him, (he tells you), 'you are unable to mind your own business! How does this fight between me and my wife affect you?'" (F, A24, I12).

The above quote reflected the general sentiment across the study that men were reluctant to intervene because they expected to face the consequences for overstepping the symbolic boundary of family privacy, which was indicated by the physical boundary of a couple's dwelling place.

Further, multiple individual accounts also revealed that in many cases, men were concerned that intervention would lead to them being suspected of having an affair with the victim, which compounded their fear for their safety: "If you interfere in somebody's problems, he will say that you have a relationship with his wife. So there are people that fear because the issue of husband and wife is a private issue" (M, A 35, I18); "You will obviously be asked if she is your love mate: 'you have intervened, have I ever followed you to your wife, you are **entering**, what do you know?' Then he will slap you" (F, A50, I9).

In the words of the above man, participants' fear of "entering" is linked to transgressing the norm of family privacy. In all the above accounts, the emotion of fear was elicited based on the social context. That individuals referred to how an audience would perceive their actions in their accounts of fear aligns with Bicchieri's view that emotions are elicited based on the social context, rather than the sociological view that posits that emotions directly cause conformity to norms. The fear signalled the anticipation of unwanted negative sanctions, and individuals subsequently complied with the norm proscribing outsiders from meddling in family affairs to avoid these costs. Indeed, as seen earlier, and reinforced by these findings, fear is indirectly linked to norm compliance; recall that older women were afraid to report violence because they anticipated that their husbands would divorce them if they did so. Fear thus 'red flags' the consequences of norm violation and it is the anticipation of the negative sanctions that motivate compliance. Emotions thus do not directly cause conformity: rather they point to a person whose deviant behaviour has been exposed.

Sanctions

The general narrative is that individuals did not intervene when a woman was being beaten because they anticipated being sanctioned for violating the normative expectation that a good neighbour does not interfere in the private affairs of a couple. The lack of intervention fuelled the community's silence and exacerbated IPV. Bicchieri argues how mechanisms underpinning conformity follow not so much from the *application* of sanctions, but more from their *anticipation*.

Two social norms connected to a woman's role in the family

The data have already revealed the existence of a strong norm in Kirumba against a woman disclosing private family matters, preventing abused victims from disclosing violence and/or seeking help. Thus, the appropriate behaviour expected of a good wife is that she tolerates violence. Further, women who

wanted to leave because of the violence encountered additional problems connected to gender norms ascribed to domesticity. These norms, elaborated below, are linked to a woman's expected role in the family, and prevent women from leaving abusive partnerships.

A good wife keeps her marriage intact

The evidence suggests that there are two categories of intimate partnerships in Kirumba: the first represents couples who are formally married and the second refers to couples who are not formally married, but who are in consensual unions or living together in socially recognised stable unions. Participants revealed that women faced varying amounts of social pressure to make their marriages work, depending on the nature of the partnership.

Empirical expectations

Conflicts arose in several group discussions about which category of relationship (formal versus informal) constituted a marriage. The disagreements highlighted that both categories were considered to be socially recognised unions. In addition**,** participants' narratives confirmed that the most common type of union in Tanzanian society comprised the informal kind. For example, the following group of men (35-50 years) clarified that not only were fluid partnerships commonplace in Tanzania, but that the phenomenon was not recent:

> R: This is a normal situation in Tanzanian society. These things haven't only started to happen today. There is no one that marries until death, there are very few. Most marry today and after three months they break up
>
> R: He marries another one
>
> R: For Tanzanian people, they get married to each other for three months or a year, they find it difficult to cope with each other, and they break up

The overarching narrative was that the majority of partnerships in Tanzania were fluid in nature. Several other group discussions confirmed that Kirumba comprised a significant number of couples who were not married but who were

living together in such unions. Further, it emerged in several of the individual interviews (M, A35, I4; M, A25, I10; F, A23, I14) that the participants had only started living with their partners once they were expecting a child together. Indeed a feature of contemporary marriage systems in Tanzania is an increased level of non-customary marriages, which are common in urban areas (216).

The same group of men above elaborated that it was common for women in informal cohabitating relationships to leave their partners:

> R: For most men and their marriages, you find the woman arranges to leave in the morning
>
> R: No one was told
>
> R: We have seen such marriages, you might have gone to work, you come back and the house is empty
>
> R: Did you take her from her parents' home (i.e. official marriage?)
>
> R: He was talking about those people that capture and slaughter, that's what we called them. The topic is aimed at those people who are officially married, they have children.
>
> R: If the woman gets married with both sides of the family meeting one another (i.e. official marriage), she won't run to go back home. Her parents can't accept her because she was given to her husband

According to the men, only women in unofficial marriages as opposed to women who were 'officially married' and/or had children were able to leave their husbands. There was an empirical expectation, therefore, that it was uncommon for women who got married in the official way to leave their husbands. The data below establish that this empirical expectation is linked to the normative expectation that women who get married in the official way should keep their marriages intact. Women in formal marriages thus faced more social pressure than women in informal unions to make their marriages work, which prevented these women from divorcing their abusive husbands.

Normative expectations

The phenomenon of divorce was evoked in connection to formal marriages only (whether customary, religious or civil). Recall that for men and women in informal marriages, it was common practice for the relationships to dissolve without any formal procedure. The concept of divorce thus applied only to

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formal marriages. There was a shared perception across the study participants that divorce was shameful for a woman and her family, as indicated in this man's account:

> ''In our African families, when the child breaks up from her marriage, even her parents get embarrassed, (they think) our child has bad behaviour, she has been sent away by her husband '' (M, A46, I11).

Similarly, all the group discussions across age and gender groups revealed that divorce was shameful, as illustrated in the following excerpt among the younger women (15-24 years):

> Interviewer: What happens if a woman returns to her parents' house because her husband hits her?
>
> R: They will take the child back to the husband because it is shameful
>
> R: That issue is shameful
>
> R: It is embarrassing if your daughter gets married and then she breaks her marriage and goes back home
>
> R: It is embarrassing for the parents and for her
>
> R: Please try and imagine that I am married. I had a wedding. It was exciting and people were fed. Then a month later they see I have come back home. **What will the society think about me?**

There was unanimous agreement amongst the participants that divorce brought shame to a woman and her parents. Recall from Chapter 2, as well as the previous findings of women being ashamed to disclose violence, the links between shame and Bicchieri's normative expectation, and in particular how shame is a strong signifier of social norms. According to Bicchieri, when norm-abiding behaviour is perceived as good or appropriate, people will typically feel shame at the prospect of behaving in a deviant way (67). In addition, research on shame has indicated that the emotion of shame is linked to attribution for events that are judged to be negative based on others' standards (125).The last cited participant in the excerpt above ("what will the society think about me?") confirmed how the experience of shame was connected to what the people in one's social surround would think about a divorced woman. As illustrated in the above dialogue, shamed individuals have a heightened awareness of and

concerns with others' evaluations (125), which signals the existence of a normative expectation that a good wife keeps her marriage intact.

Emotions

The data above revealed that shame was evoked in connection to the hypothetical situation of norm transgression i.e. when individuals were asked to imagine what would happen if a woman divorced her husband. Bicchieri's view is that shame is experienced following norm violations. That participants referred to an audience in their accounts of shame links with Bicchieri's view of the normative expectation: she claims that embarrassment is linked to the social motive to identify with others whose judgment one cares about (29).

In addition, as reflected in the data, shame prompted individuals to deliberate the counterfactual situation and signalled that the particular course of action was socially inappropriate. Baumeister and colleagues (126), postulate that negative emotions, including shame are automatic responses of disliking some stimulus, requiring nothing more than perceiving the stimulus and making an association. In the above case, individuals automatically associated shame with the inappropriate social behaviour. Shame thus acted via a feedback mechanism to reinforce the social norm proscribing divorce. That is, it is the normative expectation that a good wife keeps her marriage intact, and not the shame that motivates conformity.

Sanctions

If pressed further, participants went on to explain that the failure to act in accordance with the normative expectation proscribing divorce would result in sanctions. The same group of younger women cited above continued to discuss how in the case of divorce, the blame fell upon the woman:

> R: The society must start talking, they say she is unable to cope, maybe she is lazy
>
> R: You know human beings don't miss the chance to talk
>
> R: And when Pendo (character in vignette) is at her parents and has a conflict with the neighbours, they will insult her and tell her she is unable to stay married because of her bad behaviour. Now it is not pleasant

The above discussion highlights that if a woman divorced her husband, her reputation was at stake i.e. she would be blamed. In the words of the man in the above group discussion, a divorced woman was labelled as someone with "bad behaviour". Indeed, the general assumption in the study is that the woman has provoked the divorce (i.e. she is blamed) because she has violated the appropriate behaviours expected of a good wife. Recall that sanctions are linked to the violation of a normative expectation, which in this case is linked to the notion that a good wife is responsible for keeping her marriage intact (Chapter 2).

Further, a man who drew from his experience in two marriages described how in the case of a divorce, the blame extended to her family:

> ''People surrounding the woman's family might not care what she went through. They might say, 'look at her, she has failed, she has fought with her husband, the children from that home do not understand.' The family will be blamed for her bad behaviour. The community will judge this woman and the members of her family As a result, she might decide to go back to her husband despite being mistreated by him. She thinks it is better to stay in a marriage with violence than a community with contempt'' (M, A50, I7).

This account indicates that in addition to reputational sanctions experienced by the woman, divorce had implications for family honour. Probing further the counterfactual situation (i.e. what happens when a woman transgresses the good wife script) revealed further negative social consequences. Multiple individual accounts, as summarised by this man, indicated that if a woman broke her marriage and returned to her natal home, this would affect the marriage prospects of her unmarried sisters, who would also be perceived to be deviant and unfit for marriage:

> "(As a suitor) you might go there to ask a girl to get married and you hear the society say, 'here they don't get married, her sister came back, this one was engaged and was left (by her husband)" (M, A25, I13).

Bicchieri's theory assists the interpretation of what happens when a third party is asked to imagine norm-inconsistent behaviour. Mentally representing a woman challenging the status quo and divorcing her husband triggered the

elicitation of a normative 'script', a stylised stereotype of actions that were appropriate in this context, which carried expectations about agents' behaviour, which were in turn linked to motivational mechanisms (29, 123). Participants invoked a chain of events linked to the schema of divorce: violating the schema is associated with negative emotions (shame), as the woman was held in contempt by society for her bad behaviour (blame), which had further consequences for her family reputation (sanction), which in turn affected the ability of her sisters to find suitors for marriage (sanction). The chain of events linked to the counterfactual situation (i.e. divorce), revealed the normative expectation that a good wife keeps her marriage intact.

Recall from Chapter 2 that a schema is a mental structure that processes information by organising related pieces of knowledge. The data illustrates how the schema of divorce entailed the normative expectation proscribing divorce, which comprised emotional experiences and associated sanctions, and which appeared to exert a causal influence on behaviour. As well as evoking social motives linked to avoiding external sanctions, the schema of divorce triggered religious beliefs in participants' accounts. For example, the group discussion above amongst the younger women (15-24 years) about divorce spurred one of the women to invoke a reference to the Bible to theorise the view that divorce is proscribed:

> R: As the woman, if you take your luggage and leave, you are not intelligent. Even the Bible says that a foolish woman breaks her marriage with her own hands

The participant quoted the proverb from Chapter 14, Verse 1 of the Bible: "every wise woman buildeth her house: but the foolish plucketh it down with her hands". Her account indicated how the schema of divorce entailed a mix of social and religious beliefs. Constructions of appropriate behaviours expected of men and women were thus also cast in religious terms, which further entrenched the norm. Religious beliefs and social norms that told people how to behave in their private lives were mutually overlapping and reinforcing. The multiple contributing factors preventing women from leaving their marriages raises the challenge of trying to isolate a single construct, and in particular, the

construct of a social norm, in influencing behaviour. As seen here, religion lends the dynamics of intimate relations a social reality outside of minds (138). Gender theorists' conception of dominant gender norms helps explain how norms reproduced across social institutions, including religious organisations, to move the discussion of norms beyond individual concerns. The reformulation that norms exist outside individual beliefs emphasises that norms have consequences at multiple levels of analysis (81).

Transgressors, compliers, and enforcers

The normative expectation that a good wife keeps her marriage intact was not experienced homogenously amongst all participants in Kirumba. The data has already revealed that women in informal cohabitating relationships faced less family and social pressure to make their marriages work, as compared to women who got married in the traditional way.

The data further revealed how in particular, the migrants comprising the Kuria ethnic group minority from the neighbouring city of Musoma upheld the tradition of formal marriages. This system calls for marriages to be formally arranged by the parents of the bride and groom, including a transfer or bride price to the bridegroom's family. Across the group discussions, the Kuria migrants in the group were singled out and mocked for continuing to uphold traditional marital customs. A participant explained the implications for Kuria women married according to traditional customs:

> "I hear about the tribes from Musoma in particular. Once you pay bride price for the woman, you can do anything to her, even if it is to cut her with a panga (machete) because of the pain you (the man) took to pay the bride price. The man knows you can't go back to your home because you will have to return the bride price. Your father won't accept that you have come back just because you have been beaten and he has to give the cattle back. It is better for you to stay there and die there" (M, A25, I13).

Women from the Kuria ethnic group were thus in the category of women who faced increased social pressure to make their marriages work as compared to women who were in fluid, informal, cohabiting relationships.

Whereas expectations around marriage appeared to be relaxing amongst the majority of residents in Kirumba, the diaspora immigrants from neighbouring Musoma were resisting the change and continued to uphold traditional customary practices, such as bride price, which in turn defined the group. As articulated in Chapter 2, and seen in this example, the strength of some social norms was being mediated by ethnic group identity. Indeed Bicchieri's theory of norms identifies some situations in which group identity and social norms are inextricably connected. According to her, and as confirmed in these findings, group identity is not always a rational choice motivated by overt sanctioning mechanisms (67). As in the case with the Kuria migrants, they continued to uphold social norms even in conditions of anonymity; that is, when they have been isolated from their original group, who can no longer apply sanctions. The example of the Kuria migrants confirms Bicchieri's view that once norms become well established within a specific group, external sanctions seldom play a role in maintaining conformity (29).

A good mother protects her children

Whereas the social pressure against divorce appeared to be weakening in Kirumba, the empirical evidence suggests that abused women often did not leave in order to protect their children. The notion of leaving raised the issue of which was worse for children – staying and being exposed to the violence, or leaving and losing economic support. Women's resignation to abuse was thus linked to their children; two women for instance explained: "We (mothers) tolerate because of the children'' (F, A20, I3); ''If I leave, how will my children survive? It causes me to stay and endure the violence. A woman goes through pain, she suffers, she knows that if I leave my children will suffer'' (F, A52, I18).

Participants elaborated that divorce had two outcomes concerning the children; either the children would be taken along by their mothers, or they would remain with their fathers. The data revealed that either outcome threatened the interests of the children. The reasons influencing women's ability to leave with versus without their children, however, was motivated by different factors. The data revealed that for women who wanted to leave with

their children, material (as opposed to social) factors, connected to women's financial inability to look after their children prevented them from doing so. The role of material factors in impeding victims' ability to leave their husbands is explored in detail in Chapter 6. In the second case (leaving the children behind), the data revealed that social norms connected to a woman's expected role to look after her children impeded her from leaving an abusive relationship. The social norm consisted of empirical expectations as well as normative expectations linked to emotions, as articulated below.

Empirical expectations

Men and women alike described how it was atypical for women to leave their children, even if they were facing violence. For example, one man described how: ''Most women think once they leave their homes, their husbands will re-marry and this new woman will not raise the children in a desirable way. So most of them decide to stay, to raise their children. What else can they do?'' (M, A35, I4). Multiple accounts echoed that women feared that stepmothers would maltreat their children if they left them: "When you leave the children, will another mother come to care for them really?'' (F, A50, I9); ''To leave your partner is not hard, but you will be thinking why did I leave my child? How will my children survive…if he remarries and the other woman comes, she is not the mother of that child, do you think she will take good care of that child?'' (F, A19, I5).

In the latter account, the participant confirms that "to leave your partner is not hard", but rather, it is a mother's concern for the well being of her children that makes it difficult for her to leave. The previous section has already revealed the fluidity of partnerships in Kirumba, which is probably linked in this context to men and women's perception that once an intimate partnership dissolves, men are likely to re-marry, which will have repercussions for the children from the previous partnership.

Further evidence for the existence of an empirical expectation that women did not leave their children was reinforced in the following dialogue amongst older women (35-50 years):

R: You have given birth to babies, do you think you can just leave them? You can't

R: We think of the children and we fail to leave

R: I would never leave my children. It is better I die with them. Even if though they are grown up I take such pity on them. Like my daughter, if I hear from speaking to her on the phone that she is sick, I am always concerned. I always feel guilty if my kids are in a bad state. It is better if I am the one who is beaten and my neck is slaughtered for the sake of my children

All the women explained how being a mother required tolerating violence for the sake of the children. The excerpt highlights how the common theme of motherly sacrifice likened one participant to another. That is, women evoked the schema of motherhood to determine what a typical mother does. One of the participants expressed how "we (mothers) think of the children and we fail to leave". By theorising her viewpoint in relation to what other mothers did, she revealed the empirical expectation that it was typical for mothers to tolerate violence for the sake of their children.

Normative Expectations

The data also revealed the existence of a normative expectation connected to the schema of motherhood, which prevented women from leaving their children. For example, one participant expressed that: "it is not right for a woman to leave her children. In marriage you are supposed to take care of your children together" (F, A52, I8). The woman's account revealed that one complied with the role of motherhood because they believed it was the "right" thing to do. Anecdotal evidence for the existence of a normative expectation connected to the schema of motherhood emerged in the narrative of this woman, who described how when she left her children because of the abuse, she faced social pressure from her in-laws to return:

"They told me 'you just go back and stay with your children'. That is another thing that makes people tolerate. We tolerate because of the children. For instance, if I didn't have any children, I could leave and work. But to leave, *even* my heart hurts. I tell myself because my children are like this (small and/or sickly), I decide to stay and persevere" (F, A20, I3).

Her account confirms the existence of a schema that a good mother tolerates violence for the sake of her children. It further reveals that the normative expectation within this schema is ingrained. The participant explained how "*even*" she personally believes she should tolerate violence in order to protect her children. That is, women themselves personally endorsed the norm: they believed it was their duty to look after their children. Recall that Bicchieri's theory acknowledges that when norms become well-entrenched, what often ensues is that the behaviour linked to the norm comes to be perceived as a "right" or a "duty": we come to attribute a certain virtue to what the norm prescribes (29). The following woman confirmed that it was specifically a mother's role to take care of her children:

> ''Children are those who cause the female parent to suffer. You suffer but when you consider the children the spirit of mercy returns. You come back simply because of the children'' (F, A50, I9).

The woman acknowledged that it was the "female parent" as opposed to the male parent who suffered because of the children, which is linked to a woman's assumed role as the children's caretaker. Feminist analyses postulate how childcare hides the patriarchal legacy of gender norms, leading to their naturalisation (30, 38). This process of naturalisation happens when most people accept some aspects of widely held assumptions that are associated with their sex and that arise from the differing social roles of men and women (128). As confirmed in the data, women complied with the norm of care taking because they believed it was the right thing to do. Women in Kirumba were thus perceived to be naturally responsible for childcare. The strength of the norm of motherhood or the normative expectation that a good mother protects her children arises from several sources: the shared beliefs that comprise this role seem to be consensual; they have a prescriptive quality; and they appear to describe qualities that are deeply embedded within human nature (128). The power of stereotypes about women as caretakers thus resides in the fact that it strikes people as a natural kind of category such that women are perceived to possess an essential nature that is different from that of men (128).

Emotions

Participants unequivocally invoked the idealised construction of the self-sacrificing mother as the justification for staying in violent relationships. Recall how women consistently explained that a female parent suffered for her children. Similarly, the group discussion cited above indicates how mothers felt a nagging sense of tension and regret i.e. guilt if they did not put their children first. Although guilt is seen as a more 'private' experience arising from self-generated pangs of conscience (whereas shame is much more connected to public exposure, as seen earlier), one can feel guilt when one goes against social expectations (125).

In particular, guilt appeared to shape behaviour by providing a feedback system that alerted mothers to how they were expected to behave. Similar to what Baumeister and colleagues propose (126), the evidence indicates that guilt prompted mothers to reflect on decision processes in light of social norms and obligations, and to extract lessons and conclusions about the course of action that yielded the most favourable outcomes. Guilt thus guided behaviour in line with normative standards linked to motherhood.

Sanctions

According to Bicchieri, not all normative expectations involve sanctions: when social norms become well-entrenched practices, we come to attribute a certain virtue to what it prescribes and external sanctions seldom play a role in inducing conformity (29) . She accepts that in these cases, norms evolve from external motivations, such as avoidance of sanctions towards more internal motivations based on personal judgments of a rule's acceptability (30). That the central theme women in Kirumba overwhelmingly used in their self-description was that of maternal responsibility highlights how women self-identified as their children's caretakers. Further, the finding that mothers felt guilty when they imagined forsaking their maternal responsibilities indicates the automaticity of the schema of motherhood.

The process described earlier of the naturalisation of the normative expectation that it is a mother's duty to look after her children helps explain why sanctions were not evoked in association with norm transgressions.

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Indeed, Bicchieri's theory posits that for well-entrenched norms there is a propensity to treat social categories as 'natural' and what ensues is an obligation that is perceived as a 'right' or a 'duty' (29). As confirmed in the data, women appear to comply with their motherhood roles because they believe it is the 'right' thing to do, and the guilt they experience at the thought of forsaking these roles reinforces their belief that motherhood is their 'duty'. It appears that deeply entrenched domestic norms assign women the role of primary caretakers such that they are 'rightfully' assumed to be chiefly preoccupied and responsible for childcare.

The data is consistent with findings described in Chapter 2 of the deep-seated conservatism in relation to gender roles in Tanzania. Recall other studies from Tanzania (44, 45) that revealed how men and women cite cultural and traditional expectations as embedding the belief that women should be responsible for child care. In addition, motherhood is viewed as 'naturally' the role of women. Also described in Chapter 2 is the critical role that Islamic law plays in influencing gender roles in Tanzania. Relevant to the current discussion motherhood is the finding across Muslim societies (55) that domestic roles derive from Islamic law and are thus naturally determined. According to Islamic law, women's role as the caretakers of their children is acknowledged and justified in religious terms on the grounds that God made men and women 'essentially' different and that these differences contribute to different family roles and duties, which are crucial to the cohesion of the family (55). Dominant religious and cultural discourses in Tanzania of the duties assigned to mothers may help explain the evidence of the pervasiveness of the motherhood stereotype in Kirumba.

Conclusion

This chapter has identified the interrelations between the ideological and material nature of the home. In particular, the chapter applied Bicchieri's theory to diagnose how social norms that sustain IPV operate at the level of the household, as summarised in the table below:

Table 4: Domesticity norms linked to IPV

Norm linked to:	Empirical Expectation	Normative Expectation	Sanction	Typical Emotion	Material and Structural Contributing Factors
Family Privacy	Other women do not disclose violence and/or seek help	A good wife does not disclose violence and/or seek help	Community will gossip Husband will divorce woman	Shame: It is shameful to report violence and/or seek help Fear: Older women are afraid to report violence and/or seek help	Urban living conditions strengthen norm proscribing disclosure and/or help seeking: 1. Dense living conditions exposes couple's fight, inciting gossip; 2. Anonymity of residents prevents disclosure and/or help seeking
	Other neighbours do not interfere when a couple is fighting	A good neighbour does not interfere when a couple is fighting	Husband will be violent towards intervener	Fear: Neighbours are afraid to intervene in a couple's fight	Anonymity of urban residents compounds non-intervention
Woman's role in family	Women in formal marriages do not divorce their husbands	A good wife keeps her marriage intact	In the case of divorce: Others will blame the woman Family honour will be lost Potential future husbands won't marry sisters	Shame: It is shameful to divorce your husband	
	Other mothers do not leave their children	A good mother protects her children		Guilt: Mothers feel guilty abandoning children	Discriminatory laws regarding women's land acquisition and women's financial dependency on husbands affect women's role as children's caretakers in cases of divorce so women cannot take children with them

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Multiple social norms ascribed to domesticity were linked to IPV, albeit indirectly. These norms consisted of both prescriptions and proscriptions linked to women and neighbours' roles connected to the household, and which fuelled abuse within intimate partnerships. Further, the data revealed that for each norm, the empirical expectation and the normative expectation were mutually reinforcing and exerted a causal influence on the behaviours linked to IPV. Bicchieri's construct of a social norm as entailing both empirical expectations and normative expectations thus offered a useful approach to representing participants' accounts of domestic norms.

Generally speaking, whereas external sanctions were invoked in the data, emotional states also provided feedback and stimulated the assessment of behaviour according to normative standards. The data revealed that the emotions of shame, fear and guilt elicited by the counterfactual situation flagged the tainted course of action and the accompanying negative social consequences. That is, if one imagined behaving in opposition to social norms, the accompanying negative emotions signalled that one's behaviour was inappropriate, and the emotion thus reinforced behaviour in line with the social norm (via the feedback mechanism). Emotional apparatus thus shapes behaviour by providing a feedback system that may be useful for learning to behave effectively in social and cultural situations (126).

There was one exception in the data with regards to the identification of external sanctions. The norm proscribing women from forsaking their children was not associated with external sanctions. Instead, women blamed themselves (i.e. they felt guilty) if they transgressed the normative expectation that a good mother protects her children. The data indicate how for women, their main role 'naturally' is to care for their children, and the act of caring thus endorses the gender of women in terms of how they self-identify (38).

The data thus expand Bicchieri's view of moral emotions by distinguishing between participants' accounts of guilt and shame. Recall that shame was associated with women transgressing the norm of family privacy and the norm proscribing divorce. In both cases, individuals referred to an audience in their accounts of shame, which links with Bicchieri's view that individuals engage in social comparison to establish how they ought to behave

(i.e. the normative expectation view). Unlike shame, however, guilt did not depend on being observed. Whereas both emotions entailed emotional responses to norm violations as theorised by Bicchieri, shame and guilt were conceptually distinct and have different implications for behaviour. The data aligns with findings on moral emotions (Chapter 2), namely that the person in the midst of the shame reaction was concerned not so much with the implications for others of his or her failure or transgression, he or she was more concerned with the implications of negative events for the self, whereas guilt stemmed from a negative evaluation of specific behaviours and did not affect one's self concept (125).

The norms associated with the behaviours expected of a good wife, a good mother and a good neighbour existed as broad, high-level cultural norms i.e. they were shared schemas amongst the participants in Kirumba and were not confined within a particular group. That is community members were seen as uniform in their beliefs about how these individuals ought to behave. There was one instance that emerged in the data whereby conformity to social norms was group specific. Individuals belonging to the Kuria ethnic group who had migrated to Kirumba from a neighbouring city were defined by their steadfastness in upholding traditional marital customs, including a transfer of bride price to the bride's family. These customs were closely embedded in a network of personal relations defined by ethnic group identity and any perceived lack of conformity to group norms was seen as a threat to the legitimacy of the group (67). A valued group appears to matter for IPV when the norms were upheld to validate identity as group members. Social identity concerns were thus revealed in the data as important ingredients in the proclivity of normative behaviour (141). Norms were properties of a specific reference group, when the function of the norm was to demarcate ethnic group identity (i.e. 'we' versus 'them').

Whereas the norms ascribed to domesticity were constructed primarily around women's roles within the household, the data also revealed a set of norms linked to men's position as the head of the household. These norms will be explored in the next chapter. In addition, in almost all conversations, participants mentioned material and structural drivers, which interacted with

the norms ascribed to domesticity to sustain violence (as highlighted in the above table). These external factors were described as having a profound effect on social norms.

Chapter 5: Headship and Violence

Introduction

Whereas the notion of 'domesticity' explored in the previous chapter illustrates how women in Kirumba were given primary responsibility for the children and the family dwelling, the data in this chapter reveal how men were defined by their position as household head, which was linked to exercising control over women. This chapter completes the answer to the study's first question about how participants in Kirumba described the social norms linked to IPV. I use the term 'headship' as a construct to refer to the system of norms that justify male authority and female subservience.

In the data, headship emerged as a collective schema defining masculinity and deeply influenced relations between men and women. In particular, there were several expectations linked to 'headship' that legitimised the assertion of the rights of men over women in Kirumba. The first section shows how the headship schema sustained two norms regulating men's acceptable contributions to family life, with them being the breadwinners and being sanctioned for taking care of domestic work.

The first section also articulates how the headship schema influenced the expectation that women be 'below' their husbands. Being 'below' a man was generally synonymous with a woman being polite when addressing her husband. Furthermore, in most cases, polite women were those who never protested their mistakes or the mistakes of their partners. Women faced violence if they transgressed the norm of wifely subservience. This section also looks at the way in which participants described women's lack of decision-making as to when to have sexual intercourse with their husbands. A man's right to sex within a marriage was repeatedly evoked to justify violence. Women also justified compliance with unwanted sex as a means to protect themselves from being accused of infidelity, an accusation that compounded violence. In addition to unwanted sex, women described being coerced into having unprotected sex and exposing themselves to sexually transmitted infections (STIs).

The second section reveals how male dignity was connected to the sexual modesty of a man's wife. Participants' accounts strongly indicated that female infidelity caused grave damage to a man's reputation. A man was expected to punish his wife's infidelity, or else risk damage to his reputation as the head of the household. In other words, a norm sanctioning men for their wives' infidelity was strongly in place.

Sections one and two will reveal how the normalisation of violence in Kirumba was closely linked to masculine and feminine norms embedded in the schema of headship, which emphasised male dominance and control, and female subservience and propriety.

The third section concludes the chapter by presenting a table that summarises the norms ascribed to headship in Kirumba.

Four social norms connected to male authority

Men's status in Kirumba was embedded in gender norms linked to male dominance and control over women. In particular, men were expected to be in control of the following: 1) economic resources 2) the division of household labour and 3) wifely decorum (including a woman's manner of speaking) and 4) sexual matters. The following four sections will apply Bicchieri's theory to articulate how social norms, which entailed men and women's expected roles where headship is central, perpetuated gender inequality in Kirumba, including VAW.

Two norms connected to a man's role in the family

A real man provides for his family

Conversations with participants highlighted the existence of a social norm linked to male breadwinning in Kirumba, which conferred upon men the status of household head. The social norm is articulated below in terms of empirical expectations and normative expectations with associated sanctions.

Empirical expectations

There was a collective belief among community members that men did not generate enough income, which corresponds to Bicchieri's empirical expectations, or individual perceptions of typical behaviour. One participant remarked: "When you look at our men of nowadays, they don't leave enough money or they don't leave money at all" (F, A24, I12).

The woman's reference to "our men" signalled her belief, or her empirical expectation, that the men in this community were not providing adequately for their families. Similar perceptions emerged across the group discussions. For example, the following conversation amongst younger women (15-24 years) indicated that it was uncommon for men to be the breadwinners in the family:

> R: Right now in marriages the women are the ones who provide
>
> R: The man is not even worried
>
> R: There are many men who come home, they stand there with their hands in their pockets and ask if the food is ready, and they have not even left 100 shillings
>
> R: He plays cards and has no plans to work and he knows that he will get food at home

The women agreed that unlike in the past, "right now" it is the women as opposed to the men who provide for the family. This group of older men (35-50 years) also shared the same perception as their female counterparts about men's inability to provide:

> R: The problem is the low income. If you look within the society that surrounds us, most of us have this issue. Let us not contradict each other. A large percentage of us, if you count the people on this street have problems
>
> R: We have these problems where the woman brings the money for the expenses, she provides everything
>
> R: So due to such a situation, the woman devises a strategy to get money for the expenses.

The discussion indicated that it was a problem that men were unable to provide. That is, men were not living up to the empirical expectation on behalf of the community that the man would provide for his family.

Participants' combined statements including "our men", "there are many men", "most of us (men)", "a large percentage of us (men)" unequivocally suggested the existence of an empirical expectation that the majority of men in Kirumba did not bring home enough money.

Furthermore, participants' reference to the situation "nowadays", or "right now" revealed that the changing times in Kirumba had led to a shift in empirical expectations about what men typically did at the time of the interviews. These sentiments echoed the general narrative in the study that due to economic pressures, men were no longer able to single-handedly provide for the family. Indeed, the narrative of women's work in Kirumba was repeatedly linked to men's inability to generate enough income, as remarked by these women: "What caused me to work is that you find the man doesn't provide all the needs" (F, A20, I3); "You can't just sit at home and wait for the man to bring you everything. Right now, the current situation is not like it was a long time ago" (F, A24, I12). The consensus across the study was that women would not be working if men were able to provide. The evidence that women were working was a surrogate measure that reinforced the empirical expectation that men were not earning an adequate income.

Normative expectations
Whereas socio-demographic changes had shifted empirical expectations regarding what men typically do, this was conflicting with normative expectations about expected male behaviour. The following man expressed how men's inability to provide and, subsequently women's contribution to the household income, was inconsistent with the belief that men should be the providers in the family:

> "Perhaps there is a man who doesn't leave money, he tells his wife to go and work and bring money. That is exploitation because (when) you marry your wife and you tell her that let us go live together, it means that when you tell her that, you have already planned to take care of her "(M, A25, I5).

According to him, the role of a decent man is to "leave money" and to "take care" of his wife, otherwise his behaviour was perceived as exploitative. His older counterpart reiterated his view that if a woman worked because a man was unable to provide, this conflicted with the expectation of the male breadwinner:

> "For instance, going to buy tomatoes and the like and then selling them, in her opinion, she views it as abusive, as if you don't understand the meaning of marriage..."(M, A50, 17).

The participant referred to the "meaning of marriage" to theorise his normative expectation that a husband should provide for his family. The notion that a marriage was only legitimate if the man succeeded at breadwinning was reflected in the group findings. For example, the following men (15-24 years) discussed that it is a man's social obligation in marriage to provide for the family:

> R: When you are unable to take care of your family and you accept that the woman must work in order to help the family...
>
> R: Now that is not a marriage
>
> R: You are unable to provide for the family. Have you married a woman to be taken care of by her?
>
> R: Regarding the issue of wife and husband, there are responsibilities. When you neglect them there is no marriage
>
> R: Basically as the father, you should know your responsibilities. You should take care of your family and your wife

As seen in the above accounts, the meaning of marriage or the schema of marriage entailed knowledge about the appropriate behaviours expected of a husband. Recall from Chapter 2 how schemas are knowledge structures that guide the interpretation of a situation and help people orient their behaviours (138). Recall also how Bicchieri's theory identifies the deep relationship that exists between norms and certain cognitive structures. According to Bicchieri, social norms are grounded in schemas. Once a schema is activated, expectations about typical behaviour (empirical expectations) and appropriate behaviour (normative expectations) will in turn be activated (31). In the above two

accounts, participants mapped the situational context to the schema of marriage, which in turn elicited the normative expectation that a husband is the one who should provide for his family.

Sanctions

In Kirumba, the social pressure on men to provide i.e. the normative expectation was enforced by explicit sanctioning mechanisms. That is, not only were men expected by the community to generate enough income, but a failure to do so on the part of the man resulted in negative social consequences. The data revealed that men were ridiculed by their peers if their wives out-earned them, as articulated in the following individual account:

> "What worries the husband, is that, for instance, you (the woman) are the one who provides for the services at home. For those who understand, he might say, 'I thank God he has given me a woman like this...she is helping me when I don't have money. See, she can take care of all the needs of the house.' But for a man that does not understand, he is told by his fellow men that he is so stupid: 'you are so stupid, and your wife is feeding you" (F, A19, I5).

If a man departed from the normative expectation of breadwinning, his peers would belittle him. Sanctions were thus evoked in connection to the normative expectation linked to male breadwinning. The idea that in Kirumba, male breadwinning was socially sanctioned was reinforced in the following group discussion amongst older women (35-50 years):

> R: [If a man's wife is the provider] there are those who might look down on him
>
> R: They will think that this man is being fed by a woman
>
> R: He is useless, he is just seated in the family
>
> R: The respect will be directed to the woman
>
> R: The neighbours will think he is a fool, he is being taken care of by a woman
>
> R: You might even get men seated as a group, (they tell him), 'what can you tell us, you are being fed by a woman?'
>
> R: 'You can't talk among your fellow men'
>
> R: They will tell him, 'you go away'

R: You are useless

R: 'You are married. They tell him he is married (and not that he has married)

R: 'You can't say anything, your wife is the one who has the say'

The discussion unpacked how male identity in Kirumba, which was bound up with being a breadwinner, was built around social norms: according to the participants, respectable husbands provided for the family. If this script was violated, (which was ascertained by the reversal of breadwinner,) the man would be shunned by his peers. There was agreement that his peers would question his authority as a man. Further the discussion revealed that the construct of male authority partly derived from the narrative of a man's dominance over his wife. For example, the reference to the man *"being* married" as opposed to *"having* married" implied that a breadwinning woman was in control of her husband. A man's status as the head of the household was thus linked to his role as the provider in the family.

The notion that male authority in the household had has a strong material component was expressed across the study. For example, an older woman who conveyed that her parents encouraged her to work, and who at the time of marriage both owned a car wash and sold clothes, described her husband's disapproval of her higher income as compared to his:

> "He wanted a woman whom he would find at home. It created a slight problem for us. That attitude of the man is that the woman should just stay home. First he was harsh (saying) that, 'I am a man, so I am the one who makes decisions'"(F, A44, I6).

Note how the woman said the "attitude of the man is that the woman should just stay home". That is, the men themselves endorsed the widely held normative expectation that male authority is linked to provision. Furthermore, not only did men personally feel that female breadwinning undermined a man's ability to 'make decisions', but women themselves were aware of what was expected of them. When beliefs are perceived to be collectively shared, these beliefs indicate the presence of a social norm (67). The evidence of the widespread convergence

of the belief that a man should provide for the family was testament that this belief was under social normative control in Kirumba.

In summary, the data have revealed an interconnected system of beliefs in Kirumba linking masculinity to breadwinning. Applying Bicchieri's theory to the data revealed evidence for a conflict between empirical expectations about what men did, and the normative expectation of male breadwinning, which was resulting in a loss of social status for men. This conflict expanded the relationship between empirical expectations and normative expectations. That is, despite the widespread recognition that external factors were making it impossible for a man to continue to provide (i.e. a shift in empirical expectations of what men typically did), the belief that a man should be the breadwinner (i.e. the normative expectation) continued to persist in Kirumba.

In addition to unveiling the empirical and normative expectations described above, the data on breadwinning also revealed other elements to account for the persistence of the normative expectation. Participants' narratives revealed how men were assumed to be the 'natural' household heads, as expressed in the following account:

> "Normally, the way God has created us (men)…the sole decision maker is the man, and it is especially with regards to income. It is the man that should have the income to provide for his family. The woman shouldn't have the income. The woman is under the authority of a man…and that is why the woman doesn't make decisions" (M, A45, I17).

Similarly, in the following discussion, younger women (15-24 years) also expressed the view that if they earned a higher income relative to their husbands, the men would feel this usurped the natural order of male authority in the household:

> R: When he sees she has a lot of money, it seems the woman is the man in the house. That money was meant to be for the man and now it is hers. He will say, 'how come somebody called a woman should have all this money…it is impossible!'
>
> R: He automatically thinks that the woman has ruled over me in the family
>
> R: (He thinks) I can't tell her anything and I can't even get rid of her because she has money

R: He is the one, he is supposed to decide everything and that is why there is no understanding one another in the house

The data from the focus group reported above highlight how the normative expectation of male breadwinning was deeply ingrained. According to one woman, a man would think it "impossible" for "somebody called a woman (to) have all this money". The other women in the group echoed her sentiment that men were naturally assumed to be the household heads, which implied breadwinning.

The data align with feminist perspectives of how norms become naturalised. According to the feminist analyses discussed in Chapter 2, being accountable to cultural conceptions of conduct is compatible with the 'essential natures' of a woman or a man (129). The gender norm of male breadwinning was naturalised in Kirumba, which helps explain the biological justifications of male breadwinning as well as the finding that men's personal judgment "that the woman should just stay home" aligned with the normative expectation linked to male breadwinning. The next chapter will reveal how men's failure in the role of breadwinning due to poverty was linked to escalating VAW in Kirumba.

A real man does not help around the house

In addition to masculinity norms embedded in male provision, there was also a widely held conception in Kirumba that manhood was incompatible with domestic chores. Participants' beliefs about household division of labour narrated how, typically, men did not engage in domestic chores (i.e. empirical expectations) as society was opposed to it (i.e. normative expectations). In addition participants relayed that if members of a community were privy to a man engaged in domestic work, he would incur their disapproval (i.e. sanctions). The following data elaborates how participants' accounts revealed the existence of a social norm proscribing male domestic labour in Kirumba.

Empirical expectations

Participants expressed a shared belief that it was uncommon for a man in Kirumba to engage in domestic labour i.e. the empirical expectation. For example, one man explained that although he was fetching water for his wife, he was "doing this type of work that even my fellow men don't do" (M, A46, I11). In the following discussion younger women (15-24 years) concurred that it was atypical for husbands to help around the house:

> R: Most men can't go in the kitchen
>
> R: There are very few
>
> R: There is no man that can do the chores while you (the woman) are seated there with your legs crossed
>
> R: Me for instance, my husband says, 'my wife rest, let me help you cook'
>
> R: Congratulations!
>
> Respondents: (laughter)
>
> R: Maybe if I am sick, that is when he will help me
>
> R: My friends, there are very few (like that)

The women generally agreed that it was unusual for a man to cook or do chores in Kirumba. As mentioned earlier, phrases such as "most men", "very few" and "no man" signal empirical expectations; in this case they were evidence of participants' beliefs that the majority, if not all men did not engage in work around the house.

Normative Expectations

The empirical expectation that men in Kirumba did not help around the house was linked to a normative expectation proscribing male domestic work. There was a widely held belief in Kirumba that it was inappropriate for a man to help around the home as described by the following man:

> "I can't wash dishes or clothes because even my society doesn't permit it" (M, A25, I10).

His belief that the society proscribed him from undertaking house chores signalled the appropriate behaviours expected of a man and/or woman i.e. normative expectations. Recall how normative expectations are an individual's

beliefs about what others believe one should do (or beliefs about beliefs). He elaborated that: "If the people around me see me washing dishes or clothes, they will think that my wife is the one who has married me, that is why I am doing the household chores" (M, A25, I10). In addition, several men described how male refusal of domestic work was a display of control: "I think that the community expects that you refuse to help her, that you show her that you are the man" (M, A35, I4); "Men consider themselves to be the head of the family and (therefore) the issue of, for example washing clothes, cooking are (responsibilities) of a wife. Now it becomes very difficult for a man to do such work" (M, A23, I2)."

These views reinforced how male refusal to help a woman with the chores demonstrated male control over women, i.e. real men were those who did not succumb to doing chores for their wives. That is, a man was not only considered not to be a real man if he did a woman's work, but the notion of being a real man partly derived from a narrative of men being controlled by women. As with men who failed at breadwinning, men who helped around the house were described as *having been* married as opposed to *having* married, which indicated that they had no control over their wives.

There were, however, exceptions in the data. Several participants of Muslim faith reported that it was the religious prerogative of men to help around the house. The man above who fetched water for his wife explained that he did so because it was his religious prerogative:

> "From my Islamic point of view, the woman's job is to give birth and take care of the children. Full stop. As a man you are supposed to do all the work or employ house help. That is what our religion tells us, that the woman's work is not to cook for you, to wash clothes" (M, A46, I11).

Indeed, several participants of Muslim faith reported that it was the religious prerogative of men to help around the house. Another participant reinforced: "In our religion of Islam, they say the woman is the beauty of the house. So you have not married a woman to cook, to wash dishes, to wash your clothes. If you find a man that knows so much about Islam, he can't force the woman to wash the clothes. The woman must be helped to do such work by the man" (F, A23,

I14). According to the Islamic beliefs of the participants, "as a man you are supposed to do all the (domestic) work" and "the woman must be helped" with the chores. The data thus reveal a conflict in Kirumba between *social* normative expectations versus *religious* normative expectations regarding male domestic labour.

Sanctions

The same group of women who earlier described how most men did not help around the house elaborated on the social consequences faced by a man who behaved counterfactually i.e. partook in domestic work:

> R: Some people say he has been bewitched
>
> R: One might say 'your wife has fed you a love potion'
>
> R: They start pointing at him when he passes on the street, they laugh at him
>
> R: Some men might say his wife has overpowered him
>
> R: When people see him washing clothes outside, they sit in groups and talk about him, even the women. They are laughing.
>
> R: They will tell you 'you are married'

The general narrative indicated how men who were visibly involved in household work would be widely ridiculed by the community. The social consequences incurred revealed that the normative expectation against male domestic work was upheld by sanctions. The local connotation that such men had "been bewitched" by their wives was elaborated in the individual accounts: "The neighbours will say, "this man has been bewitched by his wife, she has finished him. You see, he is even carrying those buckets of water and helping her wash the dishes" (M, A35, I4); "If a man acts like a female parent, taking care of the child, bathing the child, they (his parents) will say this child of ours has been completely bewitched. They say the man is very stupid, that (what he is doing) is not possible" (F, A19, I5). As seen in these accounts, the notion of a man as having "been bewitched" implied that he was under the control of his wife. Deviant cases i.e. men who transgressed the norm, were chastised for lacking authority to oppose their wives, thereby succumbing to doing chores.

Individual accounts established how a man has "been bewitched" by his wife via a love potion: "Some people might say this man is so captivated by this woman, he has no choice. When he is told to wash the clothes, he does it, he even washed the dishes, he loves her so much. She has fed him a potion (because) a man can't wash the clothes for his wife even for a single day" (F, A23, I14); "The neighbours think that how come this man is doing the woman's chores? They think it is possible that the woman has done what? She has given him a love potion" (M, A35, I16).

Further, the following individual account established the links in the focus group between a man who has "been bewitched", a "love potion" and his wife as having "overpowered" or "married him":

"My husband used to cook, to wash clothes. But the people (here) thought he has nothing because he is humbling himself to a woman. His fellow men tell him he has been fed a love potion by that woman. They think that I have bewitched him, that I have used a potion to control him" (F, A52, I18).

As seen in the above account, and invoked repeatedly across the study, men in Kirumba were not supportive of other men doing domestic work because this implied that domesticated men were controlled by their wives. The woman quoted above explained how due to the social pressure from his peers, her husband stopped cooking and washing clothes after they moved to Kirumba from Zanzibar. The data thus revealed how constructions of masculinity in Kirumba centred on male dominance over women, which conferred upon men the status of household head.

The data have indicated the existence of a strong social norm proscribing male domestic labour in Kirumba, which has been synthesised using Bicchieri's theory of norms. Participants' accounts indicated that most men did not engage in household chores (empirical expectations), which was linked to beliefs that it was inappropriate for a man to do such work (normative expectations). The counterfactual situation revealed that a man who transgressed the normative expectation would face disapproval in society (sanctions linked to normative expectations).

As well as revealing elements implied in Bicchieri's theory, the data also indicated additional factors that influenced beliefs about the appropriate household division of labour in Kirumba. Multiple accounts, such as this group discussion amongst the younger men (15-24 years) revealed biological arguments to justify domestic work as being "naturally" a woman's responsibility:

> **R: The woman contributes to the family income. She has gone to work and has delayed to come back home. I can prepare the food, wash the dishes. What is wrong with that?**
>
> R: But as the woman, these are your duties, not mine
>
> **R: So does it mean that in the world, the issue of cooking and washing dishes is only for women?**
>
> R: Why does the woman have breasts and you don't have breasts?
>
> R: The issue of washing dishes, of cooking, it is unacceptable for a man to do, except in an emergency
>
> R: Otherwise if you do that (chores), you reach a point whereby your manhood will disappear. If you do all that work for a long time, psychologically, even your ability to have sex reduces

A 'deviant' man (whose account is highlighted in bold) was challenged by other group members for remarking that he was not opposed to helping his wife with the chores. In response, one participant claimed that a man's biological make-up, linked to him having no breasts, determined that he was not supposed to do housework. In the same vein, another participant remarked that doing housework undermined a man's sexual performance, or his naturally endowed "manhood".

As with the normative expectation linked to male breadwinning, the normative expectation proscribing male domestic work was embedded in biological conceptions of how women and men differed, which justified male opposition to household work. That the normative expectation derives from a narrative of fundamental biological differences between men and women served to render the norm irrefutable. Further, as seen in this example, and according to feminist analyses of 'doing gender', men are also 'doing dominance' and women are 'doing deference' and the ensuing social order, which reflects

"natural differences" is a powerful reinforcement of hierarchical arrangements (129).

Two norms connected to a woman's role in marriage

Women also had their roles to play where headship was central. Generally speaking, women in Kirumba were expected to defer to the male household head. In particular, the participants' narratives revealed two norms connected to female deference that were linked to VAW. The first norm was linked to women exhibiting respect for male authority by their manner of speaking, and the second was linked to female acquiescence in sexual matters. These norms are respectively explored in the following sections.

A good wife is below her husband

A common narrative justifying male use of VAW that emerged in the study was linked to women transgressing the expected role of female obedience to male authority. This role was embedded in empirical expectations as well as normative expectations with associated sanctions.

Empirical expectations

There was a belief in Kirumba attached to marriage that women were below their husbands. Men and women repeatedly expressed it was typical in marriages for women to respect their husband's authority i.e. the empirical expectation.

For example, one woman explained: "We women are below the man. The man must be strong. The men are always rude because they are men" (F, A21, I15). By theorising how "we women are below the man", she revealed her empirical expectation or her belief that women in general accepted that their husband's had more authority.

Further, according to several participants, marriages were preserved and thus existed on the grounds that women listened to their husbands. One participant explained: "Marriages fail if the woman is stubborn, when the woman doesn't listen to the man" (F, A150, I).

Another participant explained the following when he was asked whether a woman would leave if she faced repeated violence at the hands of her husband:

> "I don't think that if a woman endures, she keeps quiet, she doesn't speak that he would continue to fight with her everyday. I don't think it happens in any family" (M, A23, I2).

His belief was that there was no single family that faced a situation whereby the woman was repeatedly exposed to violence *because* women obeyed their husbands in the first place: i.e. they "endured", "kept quiet" and "didn't speak" when their husbands were angry. Participants thus repeatedly expressed that wifely obedience was the status quo in marriages.

Normative expectations

Various participants expanded how the belief that women were below their husbands (i.e. the empirical expectation) was linked the belief that they should be under the authority of the men; "When talking to him you should talk politely. For him to be harsh it is OK, but most of them prefer a woman to be below herself " (F, A44, I6); "When I am talking and she talks louder than me, I am supposed to put her down. There is never a day when it is acceptable for a woman to be above me. The woman is supposed to be below you because you are the head" (M, A25, I10).

The notion that women should and are supposed to be below their husbands signalled a normative expectation of appropriate female behaviour. Recall that Bicchieri's definition of a normative expectation is constructed from an individual's beliefs about what others think one should (or should not) do. According to the participants' narratives, a good wife "should" and is "supposed" to be subservient; they mentioned it would never be acceptable for her to come above her husband.

The data confirmed that the belief of wifely obedience was socially constructed. That is, rather than simply existing as a personal normative belief about what an individual man personally believed his wife should or should not do, his belief was interdependent with the beliefs of others. Participants'

narratives revealed that the socialisation practices of parents embedded the belief of female obedience to male authority: i.e. the belief was interdependent with what individuals had learnt from their parents. For example, when one participant expressed that "as a husband, we have a certain habit, we want to be superior in the family and we have that habit of simply commanding", he elaborated that this habit is learnt via parents:

> "The parents believe that when you are married, you have to obey your husband. The respect between you and your husband is essential in marriage" (M, A23, I2).

Similarly, the following discussion amongst the younger men (15-24 years) also revealed how the normative expectation linked to female obedience is acquired via parental socialisation practices:

> R: In our African system, there is a system of manhood (whereby) a man is above the woman. It is the way it is
>
> R: The man will think I have to teach her a lesson. According to manhood, if a woman makes a mistake you beat her
>
> R: It is because you have been brought up by your mother and father, that 'my child, you have done to start a life, if your husband does this to you…'
>
> R: To be punished is to be taught
>
> R: If she makes a mistake I will beat her

Participants expressed a shared implicit knowledge of the "African system" that entailed beliefs about a "manhood". As seen in the dialogue, the schema of "manhood" evoked a set of beliefs and behaviours linked to the schema; that "a man is above the woman" (the normative expectation); and that woman who makes a "mistake" (i.e. norm violation) will be beaten as a punishment or to teach her a lesson (sanction). Recall that a schema is a mental structure that processes information by organising related pieces of knowledge (Chapter 2). Normative expectations, that is, people's beliefs about what are deemed to be appropriate behaviours, are an important part of the schema regulating social behaviour (31).

Sanctions

The group discussion above also revealed how women would be "punished" and "taught" a lesson if they made the "mistake" of violating the normative expectation of female subservience to male authority. In particular the participants mentioned beating their wives as the appropriate punishment. The norm of female obedience was thus enforced by the use of male VAW. That is, the violation of this norm was perceived as disrespectful and IPV was the legitimate reaction.

Individual accounts also elaborated how violence was the process of re-establishing male dominance when it was challenged; "He will beat you because you always wrong him, you do (things) contrary to what he orders you" (F, A50, I9); "I used that system of manhood...that I am the man, what I say must be obeyed" (M, A25, I13); "It is something I have to do (use violence) so that I can get quick results and she does what she is required to do quickly" (M, A45, I17).

The most frequently mentioned link between violence and female disobedience in the data was attributed to a woman's manner of answering her husband; "He doesn't like to be answered harshly. If you scold him, you can't have an understanding in the house"(F, A44, I6); " You do what you are forbidden to do, then you answer nonsense, of course you will be beaten" (F, A50, I9); "For a man to hit you is only if you answer him badly" (F, A50, I1).

The above accounts establish how female obedience in Kirumba was often constructed around the manner in which a woman spoke to her husband. Another participant also explained that he took the measure of slapping his wife because she protested when he scolded her for making a mistake:

> "When she also comes up, that is what brings more problems. If you are angry (with her) and you tell her and she comes up, that brings problems. She came up so much. I mean she spoke abusively, it reached a point...honestly I slapped her once. You see after slapping her she settled down. It is like she is showing you some kind of disrespect. I told her that's what made me slap you" (M, A35, I4).

The above accounts revealed that women were beaten in cases whereby: 1) they raised their voices when talking to their husbands and/or; 2) they

protested their mistakes. Both constructions of obedience, or a woman coming "up" were linked to a woman's tone when addressing her husband.

Individual accounts further revealed that even in the instances where the husband was at fault, the woman should not protest his mistake: "For any mistake I might make, she must keep quiet, she shouldn't even bring it up. But if she makes a mistake, I have the right to bring it up because she is below me" (M, A35, I16); " It is supposed to be that the man has to win. Yeah, you just let him win even if you know he is the one who has made a mistake…men are always just rude because they are men and there is that contempt that I (as a man) cannot ask forgiveness from my wife" (F, A21, I15);

Further, accounts indicated that protesting a husband's mistake could lead to violence: "When she finds him with a concubine…now the woman is 'coming up'…now the man can panic and beat the woman…"(F, A50, I1); "Even if he has made a mistake, if you tell him, it becomes horrible" (F, A21, I7).

In summary, Bicchieri's theory was useful in unpacking the notion of wifely obedience: empirical expectations correlated with normative expectations to influence individual choices. Further, both hypothetical scenarios and personal experiences revealed that women who transgressed the normative expectation faced violence at the hands of their partners. Whereas women 'enacted' subservience in the private setting i.e. where the only 'audience' was the male intimate partner, participants theorised the normative expectation as a property of society and culture at large. Participants evoked cultural schemas linked to the "African system" or "manhood" as sources of knowledge of appropriate female behaviour, which they remarked were passed on from their parents.

Recall from Chapter 2 the durability of gender schemas learnt in childhood. Early childhood socialisation practices embed gender schemas or the cognitive biases that entail norms of appropriate male and female behaviour. The 'doing gender' paradigm proposes that schemas learnt in childhood are enacted and reinforced across different levels of social stratification throughout the life cycle, such that the schemas become *naturalised*. Indeed, the data revealed that women themselves justified the use of male violence for female disobedience, as highlighted in the following account:

> "Us women make mistakes that cause us to get beaten. Maybe he tells you something, but you don't listen to him. Now you might find he gets disappointed and you get beaten. He might tell you to do certain things, but he finds you have not done them, *why shouldn't he beat you*?" (F, A20, I3).

This woman personally believed she deserved to be punished if she transgressed the norm linked to female obedience. At the core of this is a sense that women are at fault for any violence they experience because they have provoked their partners into beating them (47). In the same vein, a man explained: "When I started to beat her the neighbours just thought it was fair because they knew very well that I am not unreasonable so it means that she is the one that has provoked me" (M, A25, I10).

That women hold themselves personally accountable for the violence they experience indicates that the norm of wifely obedience was ingrained. According to Bicchieri: "When social norms become well-established, well-entrenched practices, we come to attribute a certain virtue to what it prescribes…We recognize the legitimacy of others' expectations and feel an obligation to fulfill them…" (29) (p. 95-97).

Transgressors, compliers, and enforcers

The notion of female subservience carried different meanings for members belonging to the Kuria ethnic group minority from the neighbouring city of Musoma. The focus group discussion amongst the younger men (15-24 years) revealed how these migrants had unique beliefs about wife beating:

> R: Like at our place in Musoma, you should just beat her everyday, if you don't she despises you. Our law allows us to beat the wife (although) you should not use the cane, machete or a knife
>
> R: You just use enough smacks
>
> Respondents: (laughter)
>
> R: Also, at our place when you beat your wife it shows that you love her
>
> R: So at your place, there is what we call cruel love
>
> Respondents: (laughter)
>
> R: (Love) of force

R: It is cruelty and as the man you are thirty years old and the wife is twelve years old…

R: I paid the bride price by giving out cattle and her family selected them from the cowshed…so even before she can speak, I beat her!

Respondents: laughter

According to these participants, the Kuria people living in Kirumba believed that: 1) women needed discipline to be good wives; and that 2) beating symbolised that a husband loved his wife. These beliefs justifying wife beating contradicted the majority view in the study that women should only be beaten if they transgressed the normative expectation that a good wife is below her husband i.e. if she has made a mistake. The discussion also revealed that the Kuria customs regarding wife beating were legitimised by bride price.

The Kuria migrants thus committed to the norms of their tribe, even in anonymous conditions where they were separated from the original group to which the norm applied. Furthermore, these individuals continued to self-identity with their original group, even at the cost of being ridiculed by the 'new' people in their social surround. Note in the above group discussion how participants mocked the Kuria customs as indicated by the repeated bursts of laughter, including how some men overtly expressed their disapproval of such customs. For example one participant exclaimed that beating one's wife as a show of love entailed "cruel love". In a similar vein, another participant expressed that the custom of marrying young brides entailed "cruelty".

A good wife acquiesces when her husband wants to have sex

Participants' accounts also revealed a second realm whereby women deferred to their husbands: the narrative of male sexual entitlement emerged in the data and was articulated in the form of empirical expectations and normative expectations linked to sanctions.

Empirical expectations

There was a widespread belief in Kirumba that women did not refuse to have sex with their husbands. The following group of women (15-24 years) explained that male sexual entitlement was common in marriages:

R: For most men, whenever he wants sex, he wants it to happen

R: For the men, once you start complaining, then you have found other men

R: For a man it is a must that you accept

R: There are some men who when they are stimulated understand if you are not ready

R: These are a few men only

The women agreed that "most men" felt entitled to have sex with their wives, thereby signalling an empirical expectation that men have unfettered sexual access to their wives. Similar views emerged in the individual accounts: "Most men don't understand if a woman refuses to have sex" (M, A35, I4); "You know when you live with your husband, we women grow tired of having sex but our partners, the men are never content. He can't stay for four days or even five days without having sex with you" (F, A52, I18). That the participants collectively expressed that men were not accommodating when women refused to have sex with them reinforced their belief or their empirical expectation that it was common practice for men to expect to get sex from their wives when they so desired.

Normative expectations

As well as revealing empirical expectations, the narrative of male sexual entitlement was also embedded in normative conceptions of appropriate womanly behaviour. One woman explained that if a woman refused, "she will be denying her husband his right" (F, A23, I14). Male sexual entitlement was constructed as an individual's beliefs about the appropriate behaviour expected of a wife, i.e. the normative expectation that a good wife does not turn down her husband's overtures for sexual intercourse.

As highlighted in the following discussion amongst the younger men (15-24 years), the narrative that marriage grants men unfettered sexual access to their wives existed as a normative expectation attached to marriage:

R: Damian (character in vignette) is her husband, why does he request for sex when it is his right in marriage? Why does Pendo (character in vignette) refuse?

R: It is his right and she is his wife. If he requests her, she will not refuse

R: If she comes back from work tired and recently she was also tired and today she is tired, can you just accept because she is tired?

R: The Swahili people say that once you accept to get married, you sleep without your underwear-that you must sleep naked, isn't it?

R: The way things happen, the man always does what he wants, whenever he wants to have sex because on the subject of sex, actually we shouldn't lie to each other, the man always becomes so furious

The men demonstrated a shared understanding that within marriage, there exists a widespread belief that a wife should not turn down her husband's overtures for sexual intercourse. Further, the participants revealed that the knowledge of appropriate male and female sexual conduct, i.e. the normative expectation, existed as a widely shared schema amongst the "Swahili people". Norms were thus constructed as part of a common narrative and constituted pre-existing schemas. The notion of norms as common knowledge was reinforced in the account of an individual participant who explained: "Even the cultures say that a woman should do this thing (sex) when a man requires" (F, A50, I1).

Sanctions

The same men continued to discuss what would happen in cases where a woman transgressed the expectation of compliance with her husband's sexual advances:

R: If he wants to have sex with the woman, and then she refuses, he might even slap her

Respondents: (laughter)

R: That is why, on the subject of sex, she is your wife. When you consider that she is your wife, he must use force. According to the law, you are not supposed to force the woman. But you use your own law as an individual because you want to do it (have sex), which is why somebody goes to the point of rape

Participants reported that when faced with the counterfactual situation of non-sexual compliance amongst women, men would resort to physical and sexual violence as a punishment.

Further, the data revealed that a woman's non-compliance would be linked to infidelity, which further compounded the violence. "If a woman tells a man she does not feel like having sex, most of them would think that she is having an affair…some conflict will arise and he will force her to have sex" (M, A35, I4); "He might even slap you. He can't just accept that. He knows very well that this woman is a prostitute, she is having an affair" (F, A19, I5); "(If you refuse) you are beaten very badly and you are told you have a man outside" (F, A50, I9).

The normative expectation of male sexual entitlement was thus enforced by sanctions, and in particular VAW. Individual accounts further highlighted that the experience of physical and sexual violence for sex refusal were not mutually exclusive: "If she refuses you, you can beat her in anger or you decide to do something else that will bring quarrels in the family" (M, A23, I2); "…he will force her and when there is force, you must fight…you must beat her because you will be forcing and she doesn't want (to have sex)" (M, A25, I13). The overlap of physical and sexual violence is reinforced in the following account:

> "A man can rape a woman, he rapes her because that man wants to have sex and the woman has refused. The man is forcing her because he says I am a man. In marriage, you can beat the woman, you can beat her and beat her and he might feel it is his right (to   beat her) because he had asked to have sex as she is his wife in marriage" (M, A35, I16).

Furthermore, several accounts, such as the following, conveyed that, in addition to violence, women could face the dissolution of their marriage if they refused to comply with their husband's requests for sexual intercourse:

> "It is a very big fight (when the woman refuses), she will get beaten or at times she is sent away…and you might find the marriage breaks up due to such things…"(F, A24, I12).

Another participant confirmed that in such a situation: "What will follow is divorce…people say that once a woman breaks the rules of marriage, you will just have to divorce her" (M, A45, I17).

The data revealed an exceptional circumstance whereby a woman was justified in turning down her husband's advances for sexual intercourse. According to the majority view, which is highlighted in the following accounts, a woman could legitimately refuse to have sex with her husband if she was menstruating: "OK, if she is menstruating, fine, but there are other reasons that are not valid" (F, A50, I1); "There is refusing to have sex because you are menstruating (in which case) you have the right to refuse" (F, A44, I6); "When she is within her menstruation period, she has the right to tell you that today I don't feel like doing such a thing" (M, A25, I10).

The following group discussion amongst older females contributed additional knowledge about resistance on the part of men who denied women's requests regarding condom use and STI testing, even in cases of suspected male infidelity:

> R: What if he goes outside (marriage)?
>
> R: You should just refuse (to have sex)
>
> R: You will be beaten
>
> R: I would tell him that we should go get tested
>
> R: You are just saying that…he won't agree (to getting tested)
>
> R: Even if your husband is a truck driver and travels to many places?
>
> R: I would tell him let's go test if he wants to have sex. I would convince him to use a condom
>
> R: A man wouldn't agree to that everyday. He might agree for the first and second day, and on the third he doesn't wear protection

The women argued about what approaches women could take to ensure safer sex practices if they suspected their husband of "going out of marriage" or "traveling to many places" i.e. when they suspected him of infidelity. Any option available was dismissed on the basis that a man would and could insist on his privileges. The group interaction thus facilitated a deeper understanding of male authority over sexual matters. As reflected in the dialogue, men could not be convinced to negotiate safer sex practices since they would employ coercive tactics, i.e. violence, to reinforce their privilege. As expressed by the group, the man would do the following: 1) he would beat a woman if she simply refused, 2) he would refuse to get tested if she suggested this, and, 3) he would not agree to

wearing protection on a daily basis. Further, the women discussed how male coercion in the domain of a married couple's sexual relations presented a grave risk for women:

> R: Nowadays the married people have more infections than the single people
>
> R: The married couples are more affected by HIV than single people

The HIV narrative emphasised that women lacked autonomy in matters regarding their sexual lives, even in the face of imminent danger. Similar findings about men's resistance to undertake STI testing were reported in the other group discussion amongst older women. In addition, two personal accounts confirmed that women's use of birth control had ramifications for the women. One of the younger men reported how he constantly fought with his wife because she refused to go off birth control and that it reached a point where he had to take her to his parents to be counselled:

> "It's (because of) the family planning pills…so we started having fights, fights and fights. Later on we took the issue to my family home…she was called to the table once again and we were given time (to conceive)…she kept on (taking the pills). I told her that my friend you are not suitable for me…we have come to the family to have children…then you don't want to have children…" (M, A25, I10).

In another account, a woman recounted the story of how her tenant beat his wife when he accidentally discovered that she was on birth control:

> "When he found her with the pills, he asked what they were for, (he said), 'how can you join with family planning while I don't want to? We only have one child…we should start with family planning when we have three or four children'. Now she got a beating…"(F, A50, I1).

Men's anger in response to female birth control reinforces the narrative seen across the data linked to a man's right to decide over sexual matters, including family size. The narrative was linked to the normative expectation that a good woman should not turn down her husband's overtures for sexual intercourse. Participants recounted how transgression of the norm would result in VAW. The

norm linked to male sexual entitlement was thus upheld by sanctions. Whereas the behaviours linked to this norm were enacted in private, i.e. outsiders are not privy to what happens in a couple's bedroom, participants' narratives confirmed that beliefs about male sexual entitlement were embedded in cultural conceptions linked to male privilege. Participants evoked schemas of marriage amongst the "Swahili people" to theorise their normative expectations.

The data further revealed that religion embedded normative expectations of male sexual privilege. Multiple accounts attested to the idea that a husband's right to sex was sanctioned by religion. For example, one participant explained that: "According to our Islamic beliefs, when she refuses you, you get annoyed and have an extra-marital affair. You have committed that mistake because of her. And God says that woman has made a mistake" (M, A46, I11). According to this man's account the onus of a man's infidelity was on a woman because she had committed a mistake by denying her husband his marital right. In the same light, another participant confirmed that: "According to Islamic beliefs, what has made the woman to come there (and marry you) is to give birth to children…when you get back home, she refuses…why should she refuse? We agreed that let's go to my home, you will stay with me and you will give me what I want at any time. You should serve me" (M, A45, I17).

Indeed, justification of sexual IPV on the basis of Islamic law can be found. Sura two, verse 223 provides a Qur'anic basis for men's unrestrained sexual access to their wives: this verse stipulates that "your wives are ploughing fields for you; go to your fields when and as you like" (55).

Another participant who recounted the beating she faced for refusing to have sex with her husband when she was seven months pregnant and unwell explained how Islam justified male privilege, which deterred men and women alike from questioning such beliefs:

> "According to the fundamentals of Islam, they say that when you want to do something and your husband refuses, then you do as he wants. In the basics of religion, you are told that you have to obey. If he says yes, it's yes. When he says no, it's no. Now when you oppose the orders of religion, the outcome is to get beaten" (F, A52, I18).

Dominant interpretations of the Quran accord men the status as heads of the their families, and the complement to this is the expectation that women have a duty to obey their guardians (55). Islam thus exerted a powerful influence on family life, and compounded the norm linked to male sexual entitlement. Recall from Chapter 2 how norms rarely exist in a vacuum. Islamic law in Tanzania functions both as specific legal rules and as a general cultural framework of Islamic norms and values, which is based on the Qur'anic principles of male authority and female obedience, from which gender differentiated rights and duties are derived (55).Thus, a gender discriminatory norm may be experienced within the household but is held in place several factors, including perceptions of what is required by religious tradition (30).

Feminist writings on gender conceptualise how norms manifest at various levels, perpetuated by both social and religious institutions. Social norms in Kirumba were thus constantly reinforced, for example by religious institutions, which legitimised male dominance and female subordination.

A social norm connected to male dignity

A good wife is faithful in her marriage

The data revealed a social norm in Kirumba connected to male dignity, which was bound up with female fidelity. The following data on empirical expectations, as well as normative expectations linked to emotions and sanctions, establish the social constructions of male dignity.

Empirical expectations
This group discussion amongst older males (35-50 years) revealed how, in particular, older women working in the fish trade were implicated in exchanging sex for fish:

> R: I am not saying that all the women are doing that kind of work, but there are those women who work at the lakeshores and who carry fish and bring them here (to the market). The requirement is that the woman must have someone to enable her to obtain that fish. She gets the fish after they have had sex, they must have sex.

> R: Whatever he said is happening. Those women in the fish business, a large percentage of them have gone out of their marriages, they sleep with a homeless man whose bed sheet is the boat. For that woman to be able to get fish and come to the market to sell it, she has to sleep with the fisherman.

The male assumption was that some types of women's work, and in particular fish-mongering was linked to transactional sex. Participants' remarks that: 1) "those women who work at the lakeshores…get the fish after they have had sex"; and that 2) "a large percentage of them have gone out of their marriages", indicated shared beliefs that it was common for women involved in the fish trade to have extramarital affairs, i.e. this was the empirical expectation. Indeed, the Lake zone area is inextricably tied up with transactional sex. The "Fish-for-Sex" (FFS) phenomenon is a practice increasingly reported in many developing countries, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. According to Béné et al (217) and in accordance with these findings, in the case of Lake Victoria, women fishmongers have become victims of fishermen who are now demanding sexual favours on top of cash to supply the fish.

Normative expectations

The same discussion uncovered how empirical expectations regarding what women typically did in the fish business (engage in transactional sex) was conflicting with expectations about appropriate female behaviour:

> R: Now ask yourself as Damian, not just Damian, even for me, how can you tolerate such circumstances whereby the woman embarrasses herself to the extent that the people in the society know that the business Damian's wife is doing requires her to sleep with a fisherman? Now look at the image of Damian.

> R: It depends on what type of work a woman is doing and what Damian or the society think about it. If it is legitimate, they will be happy, but if what she is doing embarrasses the society, they won't be happy

There was a consensus amongst the men that it was inappropriate for a married woman to engage in Fish-for-Sex. The proscription of women's extramarital affairs signalled the existence of a normative expectation that a good wife was faithful in her marriage. If a woman transgressed this expectation, she

"embarrassed" her husband because her behaviour had implications for her husband's "image" in the "society". The following individual informants expressed similar views that a man's image was at stake if his wife had an affair, and that a woman's infidelity manifested in feelings of embarrassment in the man:

> "You might hear him asking, 'how can I show my face?' There are some men that leave that area and some move from that province" (M, A25, I13).

That he explained that men felt the need to move from the area was testament to the extent of the damage caused to a man as a result of his wife's infidelity. The normative expectation proscribing female infidelity thus exerted a profound influence on individual choices in Kirumba.

Emotions

The strength of this normative expectation was repeatedly linked to the emotions that were triggered in a man whose wife was unfaithful. The same participant above elaborated that men moved from that province where the adulterous act had been committed "due to the fear of embarrassment" (M, A25, I13).

   A man thus experienced profound shame as a result of his wife's infidelity. As seen from participants' views, shame was elicited depending on the social context. Recall from Chapter 2 the empirical research on moral emotions (125), which revealed how feelings of shame are often associated with a desire to hide or escape, as in the above account. Shamed people feel exposed, and there is often an image of how one's defective self would appear to others. According to Bicchieri, the fear of embarrassment is a social motive linked to the desire to fit in and indicates the existence of a normative expectation. The data have indicated how male dignity was linked to female virtuous behaviour. That is, a key component of masculine reputation was the good name of one's female partner (218).

Sanctions

One man explained how a woman's infidelity carried sanctions for her husband:

> "I know most men think that if his wife roams around with another man, he will be looked down upon a lot, his dignity will have been lowered" (M, A25, I13).

Recall how sanctions are linked to Bicchieri's normative expectation. The participant believed, like "most men" that a man "will be looked down upon a lot, his dignity will have been lowered" if his wife had an extramarital affair. His view indicates how female infidelity was associated with a loss of dingity for men. Recall also the men who discussed how women who traded fish for sex undermined their husbands' "image". Participants across the study thus concurred that female sexual modesty had implications for male dignity.

The same man above elaborated how if a woman embarrassed her husband via an act of infidelity, he would use physical violence to reprimand her:

> "Most of the time you find somebody becomes harsh, he is envious. He becomes harsh and hits his wife because he finds her standing with somebody. He must complain and become furious, and there must be fighting. So with the issue of envy, it is not that somebody loves somebody so much. No. It is due to the fear of being shamed-that an individual should not feel disgraced in front of other people."

These accounts highlight how IPV is experienced as a male reaction to shame, which is mediated through ideas of masculinity. Shame induced-externalisation is manifested in interpersonal hostility, and it is the imagery of a "disapproving other" which facilitates the shift in from shame to anger (125). Indeed, the men from the above group discussion explained how a man does not fail to take appropriate measures to punish his wife's sexual immodesty:

> R: Think about Damian's image. He is not a guy that can let his wife be with a homeless man
>
> R: When he sees such a situation, the kind of measures that he might decide to take is more severe than the measure of slapping you...

As seen in the above account male VAW was seen as the appropriate and proper "measure" to preserve the "image" of "Damian". Men were thus pressured to

restore their reputation, which was done through punishment with violence (218). The notion that it was a man's duty to restore his reputation after a perceived female infidelity was reinforced in the following account:

> "I mean many of them (the neighbours) thought I will find out that she is having an affair and many of them thought that I would decide to beat her, to chase her away. (If you don't do that), most of the people will take you as being controlled by a woman, you see"(M, A35, I4).

Men faced social pressure to sanction their wives once adultery is committed, by "chasing" them away and/or "beating" them. Furthermore a man who let his partner get away with straying was perceived as having no control of his wife i.e. he was seen as less of a man. As seen repeatedly in the study, the axis of masculinity in Kirumba is male authority over female behaviour.

In summary, the data have indicated that a social norm of male dignity linked to female fidelity existed in Kirumba. The norm was diagnosed by applying the constructs in Bicchieri's theory. In particular, the data indicated that female fishmongers were engaged in transactional sex (empirical expectations), and this represented an infringement of both the man's rights (connected to the normative expectation that a good wife is faithful in her marriage), and a *demonstration* of failure in his duty to preserve the reputation of his family (sanctions). The data further revealed that violence was the appropriate response to restore the man's integrity.

As with the norm of female fidelity, the violence that resulted when women transgressed the norms linked to female compliance (including the belief that a woman should be polite when addressing her husband and that she should acquiesce to his sexual wishes) derived from a narrative of ensuring women abided by what was expected of them i.e. holding them accountable to the social norms. That is, the violence was not simply instrumental: men were not employing violence to get women to obey their personal wishes. Rather, the violence had a social meaning: the husband could enforce accountability to womanly roles because society expected women to perform those same roles (172). The behaviours the beating enforced were those that society allocated to

wives, and the behaviour that was enacted – being in charge – was the behaviour allocated to men (172).

Conclusion

The following table summarises participants' accounts of how the social norms linked to notions of headship perpetuated VAW in Kirumba.

Table 5: Headship norms linked to violence

Norm linked to:	Empirical Expectation	Normative Expectation	Typical Emotion	Sanction	Material and Structural Contributing Factors
Male Authority	Other men do not bring home enough money	A real man provides for his family		Community scorns men who fail at breadwinning as being powerless in the household	Male poverty is forcing women into waged labour and is conflicting with the normative expectation of male breadwinning and the notion of a woman's 'place', which is exacerbating violence
	Other women are below their husbands	A good wife is below her husband		Physical violence	Women's greater economic mobility is conflicting with the normative expectation of wifely subservience
	Other men do not do household work	A real man does not help around the house		Men who engage in chores are belittled as being under the control of their wives	
	Other women do not refuse to have sex with their	A good wife acquiesces when her husband wants		Physical and/or sexual VAW	

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Male dignity					
	husbands	to have sex		Husband will divorce you	
Male dignity	Female fishmongers are engaging in transactional sex	A good wife is faithful in her marriage A real man punishes his wife when she commits adultery	Men are ashamed by wives' infidelity		Male poverty is forcing women into waged labour; women in waged labour have greater mobility (unrestricted movement and economic success); women's increased mobility is linked to transactional sex, which undermines male dignity and conflicts with ideas about a woman's 'place'

The narrative of male dominance and female subservience in Kirumba derived from a set of interconnected beliefs or expectations that were unpacked using Bicchieri's social norms theory. That is, beliefs about typical and appropriate womanly and manly behaviour ascribed to headship conferred masculinity in Kirumba.

In particular, applying Bicchieri's theory revealed that for the following three norms: 1) a real man does not help around the house; 2) a good wife is below her husband; and 3) a good wife acquiesces when her husband wants to have sex, there was a correlation between participants' beliefs of what was typical behaviour and their normative expectations of what ought to happen.

On the other hand, her theory revealed a conflict between empirical and normative expectations linked to the norms of male provision and female fidelity. Male poverty in Kirumba had led to a shift in empirical expectations regarding male provision: many participants expressed the belief that men were not bringing home enough money, which appeared to present a problem for the community at large as men's failure to provide conflicted with the normative expectation of male breadwinning. The male poverty narrative also revealed a conflict where women's roles were concerned. There was a belief amongst community members that older women were engaging in transactional sex to

be able to provide for the family (i.e. the empirical expectation), and that this was in opposition to the normative expectation proscribing women from having affairs.

According to Bicchieri, individuals conform to a norm on the condition that both expectations, empirical and normative, are met (29). The data have indicated, however, that when empirical expectations and normative expectations were in conflict, the norm did not cease to exist. As seen in the data, participants preserved ideas of the male breadwinner and of female fidelity, despite witnessing the opposite i.e. men not providing and women having affairs. In addition, men were negatively sanctioned by the community if they failed at breadwinning or if their wives were adulterous. The normative expectation thus continued to exert an influence on participants' choices despite a change in empirical expectations in the opposite direction.

In addition, the dominant beliefs about headship were generally shared amongst community members in Kirumba. That is, the geographical community served as reference group who were seen as uniform in their beliefs about what constituted typical and appropriate behaviour. On the other hand, a specific reference group only seemed to matter for norms when the norms in question distinguished a particular group from the others. The data reinforce findings in the previous chapter that the Kuria ethnic group minority was defined by group-specific norms that signalled the uniqueness of the group. In particular, the data in this chapter revealed how members were defined by their unique customs regarding wife beating, which were connected to the following beliefs: 1) a wife needs discipline to stay in line; and 2) beating symbolises love within an intimate partnership. According to Bicchieri, individuals belonging to cohesive groups conform to group norms because they value the particular group. Indeed, the Kuria migrants upheld the above norms even in the absence of sanctions i.e. conformity was not rational choice. That is, group members continued to abide by group customs even though they were isolated from the original group who therefore could no longer apply sanctions.

Further, the data revealed that the dominant norms ascribed to headship were also followed based on personal judgments of the rule's acceptability. Recall how VAW was constructed in the data as a man's 'right'. In

particular, women who were not below their husbands faced violence, which was generally constructed as a legitimate response for challenging the authority of the patriarch. According to Bicchieri, partner violence is not necessarily the result of a male's sudden outburst of rage; it is, instead, the result of a chain of inferences that are triggered by the violation of a schema that is perceived to be natural and right (31). The schema of headship incorporated several scripts relating to the specific behaviours that are expected from a good wife. Any violation of the good wife script might be perceived as rebellious and disrespectful; partner violence is thus justified by the violation of what appears to be legitimate and normal expectations (31). Men and women were therefore not simply obliged to play their prescribed roles where headship was central. The roles were perceived to be right and legitimate, and men and women felt men were thus justified in employing violence when the good wife script was violated.

As in the previous chapter, participants repeatedly narrated that external factors (highlighted in the above table) interacted with norms to sustain violence. These findings are explored in detail in the subsequent chapter to reveal how the patriarchal system resides in the fact that male authority has a material base (39). That is, men's position as the head of the family was linked to them having greater control of economic resources, which was the main axis of male dominance over women. The data has already shown that due to poverty, men faced difficulties in maintaining their expected role as head of household. Chapter 6 will detail how men's failure to provide for the family had a cascading effect on multiple norms connected to headship and was linked with escalating VAW. The chapter will glean participants' perspectives on the relationship between norms and multiple external factors in sustaining violence.

Chapter 6: Material and Structural Factors Impinging on Social Norms Sustaining IPV

Introduction

This chapter answers the study's second question about how material and structural factors interacted with and influenced social norms sustaining IPV in Kirumba. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section articulates how urban living conditions in Kirumba fuelled the secrecy around IPV. Couples were spatially constrained as well as isolated from friends and family. Although not responsible for VAW, this isolation appeared to contribute to families taking extra precautions to protect their privacy. This prevented women from disclosing violence or seeking help, and prevented neighbours from intervening in a couple's fight. The second section explores how women's financial dependency on their husbands, as well as laws against women's land ownership impeded victims from leaving abusive relationships, thereby compounding the violence. In particular, women's socially constructed role as the caretakers of their children was severely undermined if they left. The third section of the chapter will explore the role of socio-economic changes in the perpetration of violence. The findings will reveal that poverty was undermining men's ability to provide for the family, which was linked to escalating violence. In particular, the violence was mediated via norms ascribed to headship, which required men to assert control over women. The conclusion will summarise the findings in all the sections by emphasising how external factors exacerbated the risk of violence, mediated through social norms.

Urban living arrangements facilitate norms connected to family privacy

Urban living arrangements intersected with specific gender expectations associated with domesticity to exacerbate IPV. The relationship between external contributing factors and normative expectations focuses on the

following three gender expectations respectively: 1) a good wife does not disclose violence; 2) a good wife does not seek help; and 3) a good neighbour does not interfere when a couple is fighting.

A good wife does not disclose violence

The data in Chapter 4 revealed that a norm existed in Kirumba proscribing women from disclosing violence. Evidence presented in this section uncovers how urban living conditions in Kirumba were eroding the boundaries of the domestic sphere, making it harder for couples to conceal personal family matters, including violence. The following participant explained that it was common for different families in Kirumba to rent separate rooms in the same house, which was undermining family privacy:

> "In the houses in town, some rooms have a ceiling board (while) others don't. So when a couple is fighting, if the room doesn't have a ceiling board, you will hear the fight. You say 'my wife, listen they are fighting (in) there.' So people are beaten but they don't want to show, they don't want to reveal the secrets of their families" (M, A 35, I18).

According to the above account, a private beating in Kirumba was not always hidden due to communal living arrangements, and this was conflicting with a couple's wish not to "reveal the secrets of their families". Dense urban living arrangements were thus making it difficult for couples to subscribe to social norms mandating family privacy.

As reinforced in the following account, participants in Kirumba took great pains to conceal their fights because the privacy afforded to families was compromised by urban living arrangements:

> The village is different. You (the couple) chase each other up to there, you understand? But in town people are fighting according to different styles…he leaves it and waits until he is done eating, he goes inside (his room) to sleep so they both finish it (the fight) up there" (M, A50, I7).

Like his older counterpart cited above, this man's description established the nature of living arrangements in Kirumba. He drew comparisons to the village to convey how couples were spatially constrained. Since multiple couples

shared one house, a husband must "wait until he is done eating" with others in the communal living space and once "he goes inside his room…they both finish it (the fight) up there" in the privacy of their room. The view that the density of urban living posed a challenge to family privacy was reinforced in another participant's account:

> "In our life, our issues really circulate outside (the home). For instance, at times I have had a fight with my husband. Even though I have not had the sort of fight that might attract a neighbour, and neither do I want it or wish to – I am really trying – but they are used to hearing you (fighting)" (F, A44, I6).

The woman claimed that although she fought discreetly with her husband i.e. it was "not the sort of fight that might attract a neighbour", the neighbours were "used to hearing you (her) fighting' because their "issues really circulate outside" the home. The general narrative therefore indicates that couples found it hard to subscribe to the ideological boundaries of family privacy mandated by social norms, because the physical boundaries of the couples' dwelling places were permeable. Material living arrangements thus interacted with social norms of family privacy and created a conflict between what was expected of couples regarding family privacy (i.e. normative expectations) versus typical behaviour (i.e. empirical expectations).

A good wife does not seek help

Chapter 4 has already indicated how in general, younger women lacked trustworthy networks, which prevented them from disclosing violence, thereby compounding the secrecy around IPV. The following discussion about help seeking amongst younger women (15-24 years) reveals that women in Kirumba lacked trustworthy alliances *because* they lacked familiarity with other community members:

> R: It is not possible to go to just anyone
>
> R: It has to be somebody that you trust completely, somebody who is older and has experience in life
>
> R: For instance, you look for somebody who is an older woman like your grandmother, or an adult who is the age of your mother or somebody who

> could be your father. If you get accustomed to each other, you can tell him
> or her about your problem, and you trust that if I tell this one, he or she
> can't tell anyone else, my secret is safe with them

Participants described the context in which help seeking was possible, namely when an alliance of trust could be established with the responder. The concept of trust was built on the premise that: 1) the responder would not divulge the secret being disclosed; and 2) the responder was older and would therefore be in the position to offer appropriate advice about how to deal with the problem. Further, participants specified how one could only trust someone who was like an older blood relation, such as one's "grandmother...mother...father", people with whom one is "accustomed". Indeed women's help seeking pathways described in Chapter 4, revealed how younger individuals only disclosed violence once they became familiar with the responders. Further, the individuals explained that the reason they got to know the responders was because they lived in a communal house. The narrative of women's help seeking reveals that women in Kirumba were not accustomed to people in their social environment. It can be hypothesised that women lacked trustworthy networks and alliances because they have left the familiarity and support of their natal home to reside with strangers (219).

The notion that women in Kirumba were anonymous to one another was reinforced in the dialogue that continued amongst the same women:

> R: You might find that each person has her own motives: one might tell you
> 'it is good for you to leave', another one tells you 'now that he has beaten
> you, what are you waiting for? It is better for you to leave and go to your
> parents'. Each person has her own advice.
>
> R: Another one might sympathise to your face, but in her heart she is
> rejoicing that you have been beaten

Participants' speculation regarding how responders might react indicates that they were unaccustomed to seeking and/or receiving advice from other women in Kirumba. In addition, the view that responders would be "rejoicing" instead of sympathising with victims indicates participants were sceptical of the "motives" of other community members. Similarly a man explained: "Sometimes the neighbour is not good, she might rejoice when there is a fight between

married couples because her thoughts are not sincere" (M, A45, I17). The ambiguity surrounding the nature of the relationship between women in Kirumba lends support to the hypothesis that women in Kirumba probably did not have relationships built on trust because they did not know each other.

Further, Chapter 4 uncovered that women refrained from disclosing violence because this would incite gossip. As well as signalling the existence of a normative expectation against disclosing, the particular context in which gossip occurred reveals the relationship dynamics between women in Kirumba. As seen in the following accounts and reiterated across the study, the gossip that ensued spread quickly: "I have told my wife many times when a conflict arises it is between us. You shouldn't go and tell anyone. I don't want to involve anyone because you find that your small issue has spread all over the area" (M, A25, I13); "I don't trust anyone at all. If you wrong her, she uses everything you told her to insult you. When she announces it in public, she tells people everything" (F, A44, I6); "The women from around here, we are not united. There is gossip from one house to another" (F, A19, I5). The accounts indicated women were not "united" and as such could not "trust anyone at all" because responders would "spread (the issue) all over the area". That women do not have ties with other women build on fidelity was further testament that women in Kirumba were not embedded in familiar networks.

Indeed, almost all of the participants interviewed were born elsewhere and had moved to the area in the pursuit of economic or educational opportunities. Recall from Chapter 3 the context of economic migration into Mwanza, which has resulted in inhabitants being separated from their communities of origin. Furthermore, the community in Kirumba was in flux: new migrants were continually arriving from the rural areas as well as from other cities across Tanzania. Additionally, some individuals interviewed described how they were not permanently based in Kirumba. The narrative of the 24-year-old man established that he was a student in Dodoma and frequently travelled back and forth to visit his partner who was living in Kirumba and who worked as a bank manager in the city centre. One of the participants was the 52-year old woman who moved from Zanzibar with her husband. At the time of the interviews she worked at a governmental electric

company in the city centre. When asked about her working life, she described how in addition to making trips back to Zanzibar to buy clothes to sell in Kirumba, she also travelled to rural Mwanza during the harvest to buy maize for re-sale in Mwanza City. Participants' accounts of the fluidity of Kirumba's landscape help explain why women were not embedded in secure social networks, which would allow abused victims to seek help from other women.

A good neighbour doesn't interfere when a couple is fighting

Additional narratives regarding the configuration of individuals in Kirumba confirmed that many community members in Kirumba were new to the area and were not well acquainted with one another. For example, a young man who was a recent migrant to Kirumba explained that the relationship between him and his neighbours "is not a relationship of people from the same province or (that) you were born together but it (the relationship) is due to being close to each other because of your (work) plans" (M, A25, I13).

He then elaborated how being in a "new place" made it "difficult for people to intervene" when a woman was being beaten:

> When you are in a new place, it is actually difficult for people to intervene…actually it is impossible for the neighbours to intervene in a fight of a new person. Even if it was me, somebody can't have moved to my area yesterday and today he beats his wife, I can't go intervene."

Similarly, when another young recent migrant was asked about what his neighbours would do if a couple was fighting, he expressed how in Kirumba, the lack of social connectivity between a couple and the intervener made it difficult to intervene:

> "You know when there is someone's dwelling place, and you don't have the habit of going to greet them (couple), it is very difficult to intervene…it is hard, even parents who don't have frequent communication with a couple, it is hard also for them" (M, A23, I2).

The narratives about community responses in Kirumba suggest that the anonymity of urban residents was perpetuating the silence around IPV, and further fuelling the violence. There were a few exceptions in the data with

regards to outsiders intervening in a couple's fights. Several individual interviews revealed that unlike others in the community, the landlords living in the same house with their tenants had the authority to break up the couples' disputes.

In summary, because couples in Kirumba appeared to be living in densely populated urban conditions, their private lives were being continually exposed to outsiders and this was conflicting with norms linked to family privacy. The findings in Chapter 4 revealed that neighbours gossiped when they overheard a couple fighting. Due to the urban landscape, therefore, outsiders are probably privy to larger numbers of private beatings, thus resulting in higher levels of gossip.

Further the data above have indicated that the anonymity of urban residents was preventing disclosure and/or help seeking as women lacked trustworthy alliances that allowed for mutual support. Furthermore, the lack of familiarity between urban residents was compounding non-intervention, as men felt it is especially inappropriate to intervene in the lives of a couple with whom one had no friendship or other social ties.

Structural factors impede women's ability to divorce husbands

Restrictions on women's agency posed by social norms were exacerbated by socio-economic disadvantages as well as by legal discrimination that denied women access to key resources such as land (220). Women who left their husbands lost the means of supporting themselves and their children, which undermined women's role as caretakers. The social expectation that a good mother protects her children was thus profoundly affected by structural factors, as elaborated by participants below.

A good mother protects her children
The empirical evidence in Chapter 4 revealed that women's role as caretakers of their children was shaped by a social norm connected to the notion that a good mother protects her children. Further, a woman's role as a caretaker was seriously undermined if she left her husband. It emerged from several personal

anecdotes that women depended on their husbands for financial support, without which they would have been unable to care for their children. For example, a victim of repeated violence explained that when she left with her children she was forced to return to her husband because she could not afford to pay her child's hospital bill. Drawing from this experience, she elaborated why she decided to stay and persevere:

> "I tell myself because my children are like this (small and/or sickly), I just decide to stay and persevere…because right now if you take the children to your mother it is like you are taking the burden to her" (F, A20, I3).

The idea that women who leave their husbands shouldered a financial "burden" because they have lost the means of supporting their children was reinforced across the study: "The woman will sympathise with her children, thinking, If I go away with them, I will take my children my *burden*, I won't be able to work, I won't be free. I should continue being mistreated so that I can take care of the children…" (M, A35, I16); "My mother is getting older, how can I go and take her this *burden*? On top of it, I wouldn't have a job. It is better for me to persevere so long as he gives me money for food. It is better if I persevere and do my small business to get money to feed my children" (F, A23, I14). Women repeatedly remarked that it was best for the children if they stayed and continued to be exposed to the violence as opposed to leaving and losing the economic means of supporting their children.

The overarching narrative reveals that women in Kirumba cannot leave their husbands because this removed a major source of income. Further, multiple accounts reveal that women were acutely afraid to leave because they were unable to protect their contribution to the acquisition of shared property: "You know when the women go to start life afresh, they are bound to face many challenges, for example, she might leave you the husband with everything. She won't even go to report the husband that I don't know, let us divide (our belongings). It means that she leaves and has to start from scratch" (M, A46 I12); "She might say, first I can't leave him because I have come a long way with him. I found he didn't have anything in the house. I am the one who guided him- let us buy this and this…we were sleeping on the floor, (now) we have bought a

piece of land and constructed the house, should I leave him?" (F, A24, I12); "Some are exploited by their husbands because of the situation they are in. They have come from below (poverty) and God helped them and they have gone up a bit. So it is also because of that that the man mistreats the woman and the woman questions whether she should leave: "Who am I going to leave these things to?' It is because of the things they have already acquired…"(M, A35 I18).

The multiple references to women's fear of losing access to shared property if they left their husbands were grounded in the systematic marginalisation of women in Tanzania. Recall from Chapter 2 how customary and religious laws regarding marriage and inheritance in Tanzania continue to discriminate against and compromise women's access to land, and therefore their economic security (221).

As the data have indicated, women's financial dependency on their husbands, as well the oppressiveness of customary and religious laws and institutional policies that discriminated against women's land ownership, appear to have severely undermined their ability to leave abusive relationships. Women thus depended on their husbands, without whom they would have struggled for their and their children's economic sustenance. Whereas childcare hides the patriarchal legacy of gender roles within the domestic sphere, domesticity also favours sexual segregation and the exclusion of women from economic and political activities (222). The division between male and female spheres rendered women financially dependent on men.

Male poverty challenges norms connected to male breadwinning and male dignity

Structural factors affected the construction of gender norms in Kirumba in multiple ways. Whereas women's unequal access to land created dependency on men, male poverty was challenging the expectation of the male breadwinner, and forcing women to leave their traditional places in the home to join the cash workforce alongside their husbands.

Economic pressures were thus making it essential that women earn an income, as men were no longer able to single-handedly provide for the family.

This had placed many women in formerly male-dominated public roles, as women entered the waged labour market. A woman explained that: "Currently, the job of a wife is to work hand in hand with her husband" (F, A50, I9). Similarly her younger counterpart explained: "You can't just sit at home and wait for the man to bring you everything. Right now, the current situation is not like it was a long time ago" (F, A24, I12).

Indeed, the individual and group accounts revealed that most women in Kirumba were self-employed, and were working in the informal sector, including in petty trade and commerce and in the sale of food such as fish and fruit and vegetables. The perception amongst individuals is that it is the changing times that have forced women into the waged economy, which has created a shift in empirical expectations about what men and women typically did as compared to the past. Whereas men and women's gender roles were changing, as couples saw no other alternative in the face of economic hardship, this was conflicting with normative expectations of what is expected of men and women and was linked with escalating VAW as articulated in the following sections.

A real man provides for the family

Chapter 5 revealed a social norm in Kirumba linked to male breadwinning. The data also highlighted how breadwinning conferred upon men the status of household head. The men quoted below explained, however, that women's increased economic mobility linked to waged labour was undermining male authority in the household. For instance, speaking of his first wife, a younger man described how she gained more autonomy in the household once she started earning a salary:

> "Before she stared working she used to request me for her bus fare to go visit her parents, but once she started working, she had the ability to decide on what day she wanted to visit them " (M, A25, I13).

He elaborated why her new-found "ability to decide" on matters presented a challenge for him:

> "It affected me because she could make her own decisions since she was earning. It was disturbing me. There are some things that I had the right to ask as a man, but I was unable to because she was working"

According to him, once his wife started earning, he lost "the right...as a man" to be the decision maker in the family. His view was reiterated in the account of his 25-year-old counterpart who explained how he "didn't have the right to say anything" to his wife one she started earning more than him:

> "As days went by, as her income increased, she continued to change. Because she had a lot of money and I had a little, there was no understanding each other. She started leaving in the morning for the market, she would delay (to come home) but if you asked her, she said 'stop bothering me, I can support myself and live with my parents or my children...whereas you are seated inside.' I didn't have the right to say anything to her" (M, A25, I10).

Men thus lost the "right" or privilege to exert authority over women who were earning an income. As seen in the above accounts, male authority had a material base: it was constructed from men's wage earning powers. The male fear linked to women's increasing economic mobility was further unpacked in the following discussion among older women (35-50 years):

> R: It is the envy of men that disturbs them

> R: When you come home from doing your business, you may have gotten a good profit, you decide to buy chicken. He will definitely think that from the business you are doing, you can't afford to buy chicken, so he thinks you have been given money by a man

> R: You buy nice clothes with the money that you made from your business. He feels jealous, (he says), 'nowadays you are bought clothes by men, you style your hair and look good'. If you want to look good, he thinks it is another man who enables you to look good

> R: And that is what is disturbing the man

As indicated in the above dialogue, there was a concern amongst men in Kirumba that women's increasing economic independence was linked to transactional sex. The narrative of men's envy, however, was constructed around women's greater economic mobility. That is, rather than being about a romantic rival, men were envious that their wives "have been given money by a

man" and that "it is another man who enables (you) the wife to look good". The following informant reinforced the idea that men felt threatened that if they failed to provide for their wives, another man would do so:

> "I may earn 20,000 Shillings a day and it is not enough to cater for the needs in the house. And the woman tells you she wants a new dress. Now you are unable to buy the dress and she thinks you are refusing her deliberately and yet the business is not flourishing. Now she decides to go to another man who has the ability, who is financially stable, so that he can cater to her needs, like clothes and shoes..." (M, A45, I17).

Further, the following discussion amongst another group of women (15-24 years) revealed the links between women's greater economic mobility and violence:

> R: He comes in, *you* have bought food and he *still* causes chaos
>
> R: Day after day you cook chicken, you are frying it everyday. But there is a day when he will come (home), once you want to serve him you will be surprised to be slapped
>
> R: (He thinks), how did she get this chicken?
>
> R: Where did it come from? These are questions he might ask himself until he slaps you
>
> R: It is because he doesn't have a job. Now you may not be able to understand – this one has beaten me in a way that is so fast. At times he might beat you and tell you 'these chickens are the ones you have been given by your lovers'
>
> R: You see there is no man that accepts to be fed
>
> R: He feels sad
>
> R: He suffers in his heart. He might say, here I am being stolen from
>
> R: And that is why I have said that he will eat but he might eventually explode

In this dialogue, women's infidelity provided a narrative to justify male envy expressed through physical violence. According the group, men's envy was linked to women's superior economic status. Women's breadwinning was symbolised by a woman bringing home "chicken" for dinner, which communicated that she could afford an expensive food item. A woman was beaten because the man "doesn't have a job" and cannot "accept to be fed" the chicken. Further the expression that the man was being "stolen from" and which

makes him "sad" referred to the idea that the woman had robbed him of his rightful place as the provider of the family. Men evoked the narrative of women's infidelity to justify the violence, which was experienced as an expression of male anger for the reversal of roles.

The discussion that followed in the same group as above confirmed how physical violence was rooted in male vulnerability, stemming from men's inability to demonstrate manhood in the face of their deteriorating economic status (18):

> R: There is somebody that is making him become rude because they think his income is small
>
> R: There is that speaking of words, now he might be somewhere (and someone says), 'How come nowadays your wife has chicken at times? Nowadays what kind of work do you do my friend?' You see? He can't answer them…
>
> R: And that is why I told you he comes up with his own ideas
>
> R: Now when he comes back home and finds chicken, then he thinks about what he was told, and when he puts it all together, he says there is somebody (else)
>
> R: Yeah
>
> R: They call them lovers. There is a lover that has been imagined and that is why there must be conflict

In the above context, VAW was constructed around men's inferior economic status compared to their wives. The reference to women bringing home "chicken" was repeatedly invoked across the study to indicate female breadwinning, which was challenging the normative expectation of male provision. When women entered waged labour and/or had better access to income opportunities, men were envious that their position as the household head had been usurped, and they appeared to resort to violence.

Similarly, women's entry into waged labour contradicted beliefs that women should be preoccupied with the private sphere of domesticity. One man, for instance, said, "Actually if it was up to me, she would have been a housewife so that she would always be available to help the children" (M, A45, I17); and another: "A woman is to be married, it is to take care of the children. The woman comes to give birth…" (M, A35, I16). Further, participants unanimously

expressed the view that a woman should prioritise her domestic responsibilities. For example, a man explained how expectations of wifely servitude remained unperturbed by women's participation in the workforce:

> "If a wife works, it is required that she puts her family responsibilities first, then she should work…otherwise a man feels there are some things that I am missing or there are some things that a woman should do that she fails to do because of the work she had…"(M, A23, I2).

As reflected in the above accounts, the home and "family responsibilities" remained ideologically and materially the expected focus of women's everyday lives in Kirumba (38).

A good wife is faithful in her marriage

Men's overwhelming concern about women's entry into the public space was linked to notions of female fidelity. Men and women across the board expressed the male sentiment that unrestricted women were having extramarital affairs: "It is the lack of faithfulness in marriage. I am troubled if she works because she is a woman and she is weak, she may be lured (by a man) at any time"(M, A45, I17); "The main issue with women working is the sexual relationships. For instance, (say) she is involved in a project that is a bit of a distance from home and she finds herself operating with men, she might do something that is contrary to marriage, she might have an extra marital affair" (M, A46, I11); "If I consider my situation, the way I travel (for work), they will assume you are just being promiscuous. My husband says that 'whenever you go to do business, you have sex with your fellow businessman" (F, A52, I18).

Men perceive that women's entry into the **male** public sphere was a chance for them to meet other men; this violated the normative expectation that a good wife is faithful in her marriage. As indicated in Chapter 5, participants exhibited shared understandings about ideals of good and bad feminine behaviour, including the belief that women should not have extramarital affairs. The findings also indicated that female fidelity was crucial for men because it was infused with notions of male dignity.

Men were thus afraid that women's increasing mobility was linked to extramarital affairs. The earlier findings also revealed that women's increasing *economic* mobility, and in particular, the reversal of breadwinner roles (i.e. women as providers) implicated women in transactional sex. Several individual accounts revealed that in general, men feared their partners would be "bribed" in the workplace, which was a reference to women's work being tied up with transactional sex: "Sometimes, he (my husband) tell me, 'you just have a man there. Or if you don't have a man, I am worried that even in those shops (where you work), you are given these clothes as bribe, so I don't want (you to work in) that business" (F, A52, I18); "You can't prevent a woman (from working) but then the money we bring should be legitimate. Maybe the woman has gone (to work) and come back with 10,000 shillings. Is it possible that she made sales worth (that much), or has she been bribed with the 10,000?" (M, A35, I16); "What if your wife is bribed out there and you just eat (what she provides)?" (F, A19, I5).

The transactional sex narrative was employed across the data to explain men's resistance to women working outside the home. Recall also from Chapter 5 how older men indicated that women fishmongers traded sex for fish to sell. The (FFS) phenomenon was only mentioned amongst the older participants. Indeed, the various documents reporting FFS make explicit that the large majority of women engaging in the phenomenon are older married woman (217) My data from older women (30-50) clearly associated FFS with poverty:

> R: In today's society especially, you will find many men really harass their wives. You find in the morning the wife wakes up to go with a fish basin to collect fish…
>
> R: A man is still asleep and the woman jumps out of bed and tells him, 'I am going to look for an income' and he says yes
>
> R: Many men give the woman no choice but to enter into adultery, sexual intercourse. You buy two kilograms of fish…you give your child money for schooling, for exercise books and pens. You wonder where do I start tomorrow to get the money because I have already given it to the child, tomorrow you wake up early again, take your basin while the man is still asleep
>
> R: You go sell fish while he is at home…you run back home, come and prepare the food for the family and wash the dishes while the children are still at school. You cook for that man, set aside food for your children then run back again to work and come back late in the evening

> R: There are many women especially those following fish. When the fish is scarce those men approach her she must agree (to have sex) to be given fish. She must say yes so that she gets a lot of fish so that she covers her children's expenses and her family's sustenance

The dialogue reveals that the money received from FFS was used to support the family. That is, women provided the needs "in today's society" i.e. during a time of economic crisis whereby men did not have access to economic opportunities. The transactional sex narrative was thus associated with male poverty. When men were unable to fulfil their role as breadwinners, this had implications for female sexual behaviour.

The poverty-led narrative of transactional sex is reinforced in the following discussion amongst the older men:

> R: If Damian was able, he wouldn't have allowed his wife to leave home
>
> R: He thinks that for the sake of the family his wife should sell vegetables so that they can at least be assured of eating...but for the men that are well off, we are not supposed to let our wives do business...because 95 per cent of women are not faithful in their marriages
>
> R: Actually Damian won't be happy that his wife earns more money, she brings 20,000 and yet she has slept with a homeless person...he might feel it is better for him if she stays home, even if he only has 100 Shillings

The men agreed that if Damian (the character in the vignette who represents the prototypical man) was financially "able, he wouldn't have allowed his wife to leave home... but he must do so for the sake of the family...so that they can at least be assured of eating". The reference to the woman sleeping with a "homeless" person is linked to the FFS phenomenon. Chapter 5 revealed that the fishermen with whom women fishmongers engage in transactional sex are referred to as "homeless" because they lived out on their fishing boats as opposed to having permanent homes.

A real man punishes his wife's sexual infidelity

The subsequent discussion among the men clarified how the transactional sex narrative linked to male poverty was influencing violence via concepts of masculine identity:

R: You might have allowed your wife to work and she brings in income and the society still interferes. (They say) at times the wife is with somebody, she is doing this, and she comes back whenever she wants...

R: When you are told that your wife is doing this and this, you must investigate. If you prove it is right you must take measures because there isn't anything worse in the world...

R: You can tolerate anything that a woman does to you. You can tell her to wash your clothes and she might say I can't wash, I am tired. But the idea of involving other issues in your marriage, there are very few people who can tolerate that and when you tolerate that, the whole society that surrounds you thinks you are not a real man

R: A woman might be obedient, she gives you water for bathing, she brings you all the details of the business that she does, she has sex with you the way you want, but the woman is adulterous. Even if the woman has given you a car, she has given you a house, then you hear she is being 'stepped on' by somebody else, as is the Swahili term that is being used nowadays, I don't think you will be happy to sleep in that house...

As revealed in the narrative arc of the group discussion, male reputation had a strong material component. When men were unable to fulfil their role as breadwinners, this had implications for female sexual behaviour, which presented a threat to male dignity. Participants agreed that adultery was the most serious form of feminine transgression in comparison, for example, to female disobedience – *because* it was associated with a loss of social status for men. Further, as revealed in Chapter 5 and reinforced in the above findings, "very few men can tolerate...their wives being 'stepped on' by somebody else" and they are expected to take appropriate "measures" or else "the whole society that surrounds (you) the man thinks you are not a real man". Chapter 5 revealed that the appropriate measures include physical violence and/or the man divorcing his wife. A man's concern regarding female infidelity is thus driven by his shame and worry over what others will think (i.e. normative expectations).

Several one-to-one accounts reveal that *younger* men were re-negotiating domestic boundaries in response to structural shifts that required women to leave the home in search of paid work. In some cases, younger men were confining their wives to working from home. This was connected to the major concern of men that income-earning work was a strategy for women to meet other men. For instance, the following participant described how one day her

husband unsuspectingly followed her to her workplace, from which point, he forbade her from working outside the home:

> "As soon as he found out that there are a lot of men (at the bus stand), he was angry that they were seducing me…that is why he made it very difficult for me, he said as of now, I should stay here at home…" (F, A20, I3).

She was selling 'dagaa' fish along the road outside her home at the time of the interview.

There were also instances of younger men reporting checking their partners' smartphones as a means of tracking their movement and behaviour:

> "For instance, like right now when you look at these digital marriages, that is these current marriages of the current youth, our marriages break up a lot because of the phone. I like to check my wife's phone but I don't like my wife to check my phone…"(M, A25, I10).

Another young participant explained that currently, women had access to many more male networks, for example through smartphone messenger applications, which was fuelling violence: "So you find someone has a husband but still continues to chat with men 'outside'. So things like that bring extreme anger for men until it reaches (the point) that you can beat her in anger" (M, A23, I2).

As reflected in the above accounts, men employed abusive and controlling behaviours, including forbidding their wives from working, checking their phones, or using violence to control women's sexual behaviour. Men's resistance to women working outside the home in Kirumba is fuelled by concerns over male dignity, which is bound up with female decency (30). Indeed, the following man explained that he prohibited his wife from working because it threatened his social position as the household head:

> "Even if your income is low, the woman must stay at home. If you allow your wife to go out to seek money, it may have an impact on your family…there are many temptations, like the job of selling cooked food, she may face a lot of tests, she meets people of all sorts…men. For instance, a man has an agenda…now for you as the father of the house, it may bring you issues in the house"(M, A24, I19).

This man has chosen to altogether prevent his partner from participating in waged labour, because he feared that his wife would face "many temptations...she meets people of all sorts...men" and for "the father of the house, it may bring issues".

Similarly, other participants in the study repeatedly explained that men's accounts of distrust derived from a narrative of women's sexuality being dangerous and uncontrolled: "Men think a woman faces temptations at work: she deals mostly with men, so people think she cannot just be seated with them, she must be having an affair" (F, A23, I14); "There are a lot of men who don't allow their wives to work because a large percentage of a woman's customers are men and if you let the woman work, she might invite things that cause problems in the family" (M, A35, I16); "I am troubled when she works because she is a woman and she is weak" (M, A45, I17); "Some men think it is better for a woman to stay at home because others leave the home and it becomes a change for them to have extramarital affairs" (M, A35, I4); "If somebody's wife is doing business far from home, her husband thinks she might end up doing prostitution. That it is not that you are doing to work, you are going to meet other men" (F, A19, I5); "If a woman works she will find another man because she has affairs when she goes to work" (M, A25, I13).

Further, the narratives of men's distrust of working women derived from the idea that male breadwinning entitled wifely sexual exclusivity. According to the following group of older men (35-50 years), if women worked, (which was linked to men's inability to provide), the women would take advantage of their physical mobility to engage in transactional sex, in order to compensate for their husband's failure at breadwinning:

> R: The problem is the husband's low income. Most of us in this society have this issue
>
> R: The woman provides everything
>
> R: A woman might tolerate the man's income, whereas another finds it difficult. She sees that Mr. Bena has a higher income so she might seduce him because of her difficult economic situation, due to the desire for money
>
> R: And that is what causes conflict in the house
>
> R: Due to the woman's average allowance, she came up with a strategy to get money for the household expenses. So her husband is worried about

this business, which causes him to be jealous, and due to a lack of trust he wonders if it is her business that enables her to earn or whether she gets her money from an illegitimate way

R: Damian doesn't like his wife to work because places of work are temptation: she will meet men with higher incomes than his and she might do other things

R: Of a sexual nature

The dialogue reinforces the recursive relationship between men's material positions and female faithfulness. Men were afraid that if women's movements were unrestricted, it became an opportunity for them to engage in transactional sex to compensate where their husbands had failed in their roles as providers. Female faithfulness was thus mediated via the norm of male provision: when men failed at breadwinning, women entered the public waged space, and women's new found mobility – linked to men's inability to provide – exacerbated the male perception that women would engage in transactional sex.

In summary, the evidence indicates that the male fear of female indecency was linked to women's unrestricted entry into the public sphere, which was a major concern for men because a man's reputation depended on his wife's fidelity. Poverty was making it a requirement for women to leave the confines of the domestic sphere in search of paid work, and this was compounding men's concerns that unrestricted and/or economically mobile women were promiscuous. Additional data revealed that younger men were responding to structural shifts, where economic pressures made it essential for women to earn an income, by restricting women's mobility. The informal confinement of women within or near the home was linked to assumptions about women's lack of ability to control their sexual impulses (38).

Conclusion

The data in this chapter have revealed that the norms ascribed to domesticity and headship in Kirumba, which were explored in the previous two chapters, did not exist in a vacuum. A matrix of factors intersected with these social norms to hold IPV in place. In particular, structural and material factors, including: 1) urban living arrangements; 2) institutional, religious and

customary laws; and 3) material factors, such as poverty and women's financial dependency on their husbands, affected the construction of gender roles or normative expectations in multiple ways.

The first section of this chapter revealed how dense urban living conditions were exposing a couple's private lives, including the 'private' beating, and this was conflicting with the normative expectation that a good wife does not disclose violence. As a result couples may have been more vulnerable to community gossip that ensued when outsiders were privy to a couple's private lives. Further, men and women's narratives regarding the nature of their relationships with other community members spoke to a lack of social cohesion in Kirumba, which was depicted as a fractured urban society. Urbanisation appeared to have a negative association with local friendship ties and attachment in Kirumba, which resulted in a low level of social integration (223). The social disconnectedness in Kirumba may help explain why men and women in the study experienced low levels of social trust and did not feel embedded within their community. The lack of personal relations among community members in Kirumba appeared to limit the space for disclosure i.e. strengthening the normative expectation that a good wife does not disclose violence, as well as preventing community intervention in cases of violence, i.e. strengthening the normative expectation that a good neighbour does not intervene in a couple's fight. Living in an anonymous community thus appeared to strengthen the influence of social norms governing family privacy and therefore fuelled the silence around IPV.

The second section revealed how economic and political factors intersected with the normative expectation that a good mother protects her children. Women's unequal access to land and income shaped the family's economic dependency on the patriarch (224). Indeed, women's access to land is a key factor through which their agency is controlled in sub-Saharan Africa (225). In Tanzania, as for most of southern Africa, customary practices regarding marriage and inheritance continue to discriminate against and compromise women's economic security (221). As a result of women's political and economic marginalisation, abused women could not leave their husbands,

as they would lose the means to support their children, and this would conflict with the normative expectation that a good mother protects her children.

As revealed in Chapter 5 and reinforced in the final section of this chapter, the patriarchal system resides in the fact that male authority requires both a symbolic and a material base (39). Men's position as the head of the family was linked to them having greater control of economic resources, which conferred their authority over women. The data have shown, however, that due to poverty, empirical and normative expectations have become conflicting and contradictory as men faced difficulties in maintaining their expected role as head of household and provider. As a result, men were using violence as an angry response to perceived transgressions that exposed the husband to questioning and ridicule. Violence thus appeared to be reactive, and a form of norm enforcement.

In particular, the data revealed that men who had fewer economic resources than their wives were violent towards them, and that the violence had several constructions, all linked to women entering public waged labour. The first finding was that men turn violent towards women who had greater economic resources because their position as the household head had been usurped. Women reported that men used violence because they were jealous that their wives had out-earned them (symbolised by the analogy of the women bringing home "chicken"). VAW was thus mediated via the normative expectation that a real man provides for his family. In the second case, VAW was mediated through normative concepts of female faithfulness, which was infused with ideas about male dignity. Failure in the role of the breadwinner had implications for female sexual behaviour. As observed in the FFS phenomenon, poverty was driving women to earn their wages through transactional sex. In this context, VAW was constructed as a mechanism to control a woman's sexuality, in order to restore male dignity. As seen in the previous chapter and reinforced in this chapter, a man who did not take appropriate "measures" when his wife was suspected of adultery was ostracised for not being a real man. Male breadwinning thus constituted a tool to control women's sexuality.

Both constructions of violence overlapped and were linked to male poverty and women's subsequent entry into public waged labour. Men's lack of

access to income-earning opportunities resulted in their failure in the role of breadwinning, and this undermined their masculine identity or the normative expectations of what a real man does. VAW appeared to represent a means of resolving the crisis of male identity when men failed at breadwinning. Men in East Africa are thus socialised into a masculinity with the aura of violent behaviour, and such behaviour is reinforced by poverty and by lack of access to employment (217).

These findings are similar to findings in another study of changing masculinities in urban Tanzania (39), whereby the process of socio-economic transformation that led to men's lack of access to income opportunities was linked with escalating gender antagonism and violence. Men's role as heads of households and breadwinners, which was embedded in normative concepts of male control over women, had come under threat, and they were resorting to multiple forms of violence linked to attempts to exercise control over women (217). Indeed, multiple studies have documented the associations between IPV and situations in which husbands have lower status and fewer resources than their wives (226-228). Gelles (226) first postulated that the link between violence and poverty could be mediated through masculine identity; men living in poverty were unable to live up to ideas of 'successful' manhood, and in the resulting climate would hit women (18). Further studies have postulated the effect of poverty on male identity as mediated through the crisis of male identity (229-233).

This chapter has linked external factors with specific gender norms to develop a better understanding of how VAW occurs in Kirumba. The findings stress the importance of understanding how material and structural contributing factors shaped and constituted the norms sustaining violence in Kirumba. Socio-economic, political, and technological factors, as well as urbanisation, influenced structures and the material arrangements they created between men and women; these material arrangements were influenced by gender norms as well (132). The evidence from Kirumba demonstrates how external factors intersected with men's and women's experience of VAW. The findings unpacked the ways in which these broader factors left their mark on gender norms that shaped intimate relationships, including IPV perpetration

and victimisation. Recall from Chapter 2 that IPV is a multi-dimensional phenomenon. The evidence gathered in this chapter indicates that an analysis of the multiple factors embedding norms, including the pathways of interaction, is useful in order to fully understand men's and women's experiences of IPV.

Chapter 7: Articulating the Role of Norms in Sustaining IPV in Kirumba

Introduction

This chapter responds to the study's third research question, namely whether Bicchieri's theory of social norms is conceptually adequate to frame participants' accounts of gender norms linked to IPV in Kirumba. The chapter is split into four sections. The first section reflects on whether Bicchieri's engagement with the cognitive aspects of norm compliance is sufficient to explain how individuals construe the domesticity and headship norms identified in Chapters 4 and 5. In this section, I draw on data from Chapters 4 and 5 that suggest that emotions and sanctions operate synergistically in ways that must be acknowledged and understood. In this manner I illustrate that Bicchieri's theory does not fully account for the role of emotions in norm compliance. I incorporate insights from literature on the motivational status of emotions to articulate how participants' emotional experiences impinge on their compliance with social norms.

The second section argues that because Bicchieri's theory focuses on how people perceive norms, it overemphasises an individual's construal process in theorising norms. The data from my study suggest that gender norms are not simply constructs that reside in people's minds: they are inculcated in childhood and are embedded in cultural, religious and biological discourses. The ecological framework discussed in Chapter 2 helps us understand how gender norms are mutually reinforcing between different levels of society. To articulate a more complete understanding of the data, I draw on additional insights from cognitive science that show how social learning is a process that begins in childhood and how this earlier learning persists in contemporary society.

This section shifts the conceptual focus on norms from an analysis of the cognitive aspects of norm compliance to an understanding of why gender norms persist. In this manner I present my third critique of Bicchieri's theory: I argue that her theory fails to account for the evidence presented in Chapter 6 that

unequivocally points to the role of material and structural factors in embedding gender norms. In the third section, I draw on additional insights from schema theory and feminist perspectives that are better capable of capturing the dynamic processes via which gender norms operate in Kirumba to sustain IPV.

Section four concludes the chapter by uniting disparate scholarships on norms into a coherent framework for articulating how gender norms affect IPV in Tanzania.

Applying Bicchieri's theory

Nature of conformity: the link between negative emotions and social norms

Bicchieri's theory maintains that for well-established norms, compliance is largely automatic and no longer depends exclusively on deliberation or the application of sanctions. In addition, she postulates that the emotions that accompany norm violations are indicators of social norms. Bicchieri's theory, however, does not fully articulate the role of emotions – especially shame and guilt – in both prompting norm compliance and forcing deliberation. The evidence provided in this study indicates that for the majority of gender norms in Kirumba, the mechanism of compliance with the normative expectation entailed a link between emotionally laden experiences and negative sanctions. Insights from the literature on the motivational status of emotions are necessary additions to Bicchieri's theory to fully account for the role of emotions in sustaining IPV in Kirumba.

The relation between emotions and sanctions
As seen in Chapters 4 and 5, participants' reference to shame and fear as a consequence of non-compliance was very common. Asked what would happen if a woman violated the normative expectations for a good wife (a good wife does not disclose violence/and or seek help; and a good wife keeps her marriage intact), participants answered that women would have felt ashamed. When pressed further, they went on to explain that failure to act in accordance with

the normative expectations would have resulted in negative sanctions (including respectively, gossip and/or damage to family reputation). Men also reported that they would be ashamed if their wives' infidelity was exposed, and that the violation would result in damage to male reputation linked to the normative expectation that a good wife is faithful in her marriage. These examples of shame share the same premise: inducing public self-consciousness triggers shame (125).

Aside from the view that guilt and shame signal that normative expectations have been violated, Bicchieri's does not carefully consider the motivational status of emotions. As suggested by the empirical evidence shown in Chapters 4 and 5, shame signals the anticipation of being observed and is sufficient to elicit a norm, which in turn prompts behaviour in accordance with the norm. In addition, shame is also linked to the anticipation of the sanction of violating the normative expectation.

According to Baumeister and colleagues (126), if one behaves in opposition to social norms, the accompanying negative emotion signals that one's behaviour was inappropriate, thus reinforcing the social norm. Indeed as seen in Chapters 4 & 5, individuals automatically associate norm violations to negative emotional experiences. These emotions subsequently 'red flag' the counterfactual situation and force deliberation of the negative consequences linked to norm transgressions, which prevents individuals from behaving in socially inappropriate ways.

The data revealed further emotions that were triggered when participants imagined violating normative expectations. Women expressed fear (*emotion*) that their husbands would divorce them (*sanction*) if they transgressed the normative expectation that a good wife does not disclose violence and/or seek help. In addition, neighbours feared (*emotion*) they would be met with physical aggression (*sanction)* if they violated the normative expectation that a good neighbour does not interfere in the fight of a couple. In both cases, the anticipation of unwanted negative sanctions linked to normative transgressions played an integral part in conformity. In summary, emotions acted via a feedback mechanism to reinforce social norms by alerting

individuals to the negative consequences of norm violations, thus prompting them to behave in the socially appropriate ways.

Additional emotional experiences

Whereas sanctions were anticipated in Kirumba for departing from norms that 1) a real man provides for his family, 2) a real man does not help around the house, and 3) a real man punishes his wife's sexual infidelity, their transgressions also elicited emotional reactions. Participants felt men were the 'natural' heads of the household, or that they were 'naturally' unfit for domestic chores. In addition, whereas the data revealed that women faced violence if they transgressed the normative expectations connected to being a good wife, both men and women felt that violence was a man's 'right'. Women were blamed for provoking their husbands and the violence was perceived to be a legitimate response when women challenged the authority of the patriarch.

Further, recall the data from Chapter 4 that showed that women would be guilt ridden if they violated the normative expectation that a good mother protects her children. Women in Kirumba appear to comply with their motherhood roles because they believe it is the 'right' thing to do, and the guilt they experience at the thought of forsaking this role reinforces their belief that motherhood is their 'duty'.

According to Bicchieri, the (individual) attribution of the legitimacy and appropriateness of social norms stems from the propensity to treat social interactions as 'natural' as opposed to 'artificial' categories, and what often ensues is that the norm comes to be perceived as a 'right' or a 'duty' (93). In this way, social norms become part of our value systems such that we **feel** a strong obligation to fulfil them (93).

Whereas Bicchieri acknowledges that individuals' personal judgments about the validity of the norm influence their commitment to it, her theory of motivation lacks systematic consideration of the role of emotions in decision-making. The evidence from this study suggests that a theory of social norms should be committed to specifying emotional reactions because some social norms are clearly associated with specific emotions. Alternatively, it is crucial to disentangle emotional motivations to determine the mechanism through which

the emotion is linked to the social obligation (123). Bicchieri, however, has little to say about the phenomenology of conformity to norms (124). Similarly Bicchieri does not distinguish between shame and guilt, which is partly due to the difficulty in ascertaining and distinguishing between different emotional constructs of shame and guilt (123, 125). The evidence from Chapters 4 and 5 reveals a crucial difference between shame and guilt that can help refine Bicchieri's view on the links between emotions and conformity. Whereas the earlier findings on shame indicate that shamed people felt exposed and had a heightened awareness of others' evaluations (125), guilt did not appear to depend on being observed. In addition, shame, unlike guilt, was always linked to external sanctions. The guilt associated with motherhood operated via a mechanism that excluded the anticipation or application of sanctions.

A social norms approach must therefore systematically integrate personal judgments about the validity of a norm. As seen in Chapters 4 and 5, participants were committed to the normative expectations linked to male breadwinning, female caretaking and the opposition of male domestic labour because they felt that these expectations were 'natural' or 'right'; i.e. participants personally endorsed the norms.

As the data has indicated, therefore, people's feelings often impinge on whether they think they should or should not behave in accordance with socially approved standards. The presence of these feelings also indicates the mechanisms through which participants came to understand gender norms as natural or immutable. In addition to biological justifications of men as the 'natural' heads of the household and women as their children's 'rightful' caretakers, participants narrated how cultural and religious machinery justified and enforced men's controlling and abusive behaviour: this led most people to accept at least some aspects of widely-held assumptions that are associated with their sex, and which arise from the differing social roles of men and women (128). Participants therefore felt that the domesticity and headship norms were 'right' partly because religious and cultural conceptions projected these norms as such. The evidence in Kirumba, which shows that gender norms are held in place by multiple factors that render the norms immutable, expands on the source of legitimacy associated with these norms. Insights from gender theory

on how gender roles become naturalised (elaborated in section 3) are a necessary addition to Bicchieri's theory to fully explain the persistence of gender norms, including why individuals described feeling a deep commitment to upholding the norms.

Whereas the data reinforces some elements of Bicchieri's theory, the lack of attention to, and differentiation between emotions renders her theory inadequate. As outlined above, emotions act to reinforce social norms, and individuals' describe feeling deeply committed to upholding gender norms that are reinforced in dominant cultural and religious discourses.

More to norm compliance than situational cues

A key point made by Mackie and Le Jeune (234), which is reflected in this study, is that social norms are often 'over-determined': they are held in place by a number of factors, any of which, alone, can be sufficient for a norm to continue, and which may operate on different levels. Part of the reason why Bicchieri's theory does not capture this notion of the 'embeddedness' of norms is because her theory is heavily focused on emphasising certain cognitive aspects of norm compliance. As described earlier, she is mostly interested in the role played by perceptions in understanding normative influence. As such, her analysis of norms is focused on the situations or contexts in which the behaviour is enacted (127).

Bicchieri rightly emphasises the importance of the links between context, expectations and the motivational mechanisms underlying norm compliance (123). According to her, particular features of a situation are causally relevant to the elicitation of norms (123). That is, norms are made salient within mental representations in which agents, actors and other features of the situation are matched with scripts stored in long-term memory (29). Bicchieri's account thus acknowledges the relationship between norms and cognitive processes, which is a notion that has been largely ignored by other social norms theorists. In particular, the data suggested the particular cues (or features of the social context) that focused individuals on norms. In general, imagining the viewpoint of others on the non-compliant self, primed the activation of social norms (123).

For example, when participants imagined the counterfactual situation (i.e. transgressing the norm), they mapped this onto the subsequent consequences, and they were able to articulate why they followed the rules of headship and domesticity. These findings lend support to Bicchieri's view that norms are not internalised generic imperatives: they are elicited depending on the social context. Internalisation theories instead posit the opposite: that when an internalised norm governs behaviour, the script that is activated by such situations can lead to the elimination of norm-violating options. In effect, we would rarely think about the norms and acting in accordance with them would become second nature to us (124). The evidence from the study supports Bicchieri's view: generally speaking, people are aware of the social consequences of violating the norm. Alternatively, they are aware of the socially appropriate ways of behaving. Bicchieri's theory, however, overplays the role of cognition in theorising norms, which does not help account for the persistence of social norms. As elaborated in section 3, norms become naturalised, and as such individuals are unaware that they are producing and reproducing the norms.

A conceptual shift in theorising norms: From a focus on the social context to a focus on why behaviours persist

Persistence of gender schemas

Whereas Bicchieri's work on the role of scripts and schemas in norm adherence is thus useful in the context of understanding IPV in Tanzania, what is largely missing from her theory is an understanding of the role of schemas in the maintenance of gender norms. Schema theory conceptualises social learning as a process that begins in childhood and forms the basis of subsequent learning. Further, Strauss and Quinn (138) explain that gender schemas are particularly durable and do not easily change in the face of conflicting evidence; rather than the schemas being altered by it, disconfirming evidence fits into pre-existing schemas. Bicchieri's theory, however, ignores this consideration. As a consequence, she does not acknowledge that it is possible for individuals to

observe a norm violation without this interfering with the norm, because the norm violation is not interpreted in terms of schema. The notion of the durability of schemas helps explain my finding that although individuals in Kirumba observe others violating empirical expectations associated with a particular norm, they continue to uphold the norm. Schemas thus help explain why norms persist even in the presence of widespread violation.

Gender schemas in particular are highly durable. Findings from cognitive studies show that gender stereotypes get laid down as schemas in early childhood development as boys and girls learn at an early age how they are supposed to behave according to sex (81). This earlier learning is constantly enacted throughout adolescence and in adulthood. Research from cognitive psychology has shown that we unconsciously and automatically sex categorise any person whom we cast ourselves in relation to (235-237). The male or female is the first category that people sort self and other into in social relational contexts because it is a simple binary classification (132). In addition, social cognition experiments demonstrate that sex categorisation automatically activates gender stereotypes and primes the stereotypes to affect behaviour (235).

Such findings have led Ridgeway to posit that gender is a primary cultural frame for coordinating behaviour and organising social relations (133). The implicit salience of gender schemas acts as a foreground frame that biases the behaviour and evaluations of self and other in gender-consistent directions (132). Ridgeway elaborates how relating to the other sex is a significant feature that reinforces the role of gender as a significant definer of self and other in relationship contexts (132). Because gender schemas are always primed, and gender is always performed, 'doing gender' is unavoidable, which is the point made by West and colleagues (132). Gender thus typically acts to bias in gendered directions the performance of behaviours undertaken in the name of more concrete roles or identities (133).

Whereas Bicchieri emphasises that norms must be made salient for their activation, Ridgeway stresses that the gender context is omnipresent: gender norms are cognitively primed for individuals in virtually *all* social relational contexts (132). Bicchieri's theory thus focuses on the *situations* or contexts in

which norms are elicited; Ridgeway, on the other hand, focuses on why *gender norms*, and in particular gender stereotypes, tend to persist across social situations. This difference illustrates a key conceptual difference in the engagement of norms between traditional social norms theory and feminist perspectives.

Further, the ability to call upon gender schemas when encountering novel situations helps explain why anonymous community members exhibited shared understandings of the appropriate behaviours expected of men and women in intimate partnerships. By contrast, Bicchieri's theory focuses on the elements of the external world that make norms salient; while important, this risks neglecting the intrapersonal resources people bring in favour of the extrapersonal ones available to them (138). By emphasising the particular context of norms, Bicchieri fails to identify that some norms, and in particular norms of gender, are cross-situational and they persist in novel situations.

Reference group for 'doing gender' is ubiquitous

Bicchieri has argued that social norms are always in relation to a given reference group of people that matter to the individual conforming to the behaviour under study, even if the group is transient (29). She does not, however, adequately explain why individuals may align their behaviour to what they believe is appropriate in a group that is not particularly meaningful to them. As seen in Chapter 6, although individuals in Kirumba have weak social ties, as they inhabit a community of strangers, they conformed to the norms associated with domesticity and headship, which existed as shared schema amongst the anonymous community members. According to Strauss and Quinn (138), shared schema of this kind are embedded in widely shared and observed social practices and are important in performing everyday tasks (138). Bicchieri acknowledges that broad high-level norms associated with gender are well established because they are largely shared within a culture i.e. they exist as cultural schema (31). Recall how Bicchieri's theory has already identified the deep relationship that exists between norms and certain cognitive structures. She postulates that the elicitation of norms consists of a complex mental

representation in which the current context is matched with pre-existing schemas stored in long-term memory (29).

Indeed, when participants theorised their beliefs, they mapped the context onto pre-existing schemas that elicited the typical behaviour (empirical expectations), the appropriate behaviour (normative expectations) and the counterfactual situation (i.e. what happened if the normative expectation was violated). The enactment of the various schemas linked to headship and domesticity elicited gender norms about the expectations of appropriate male and female behaviour (81). The knowledge of norms thus appears to be commonplace and implicit. People have a readily available repertoire of appropriate choices based on their own judgment and there is no need to use others' behaviour as cues to inform decisions (127). This account of normative schemas helps explain why individuals in Kirumba think and behave alike, and have mutual expectations of one another, despite having no social ties to each other. In summary, Bicchieri's theory appears to overemphasise the role of the external context in influencing behaviour with respect to gender as it is practiced in Kirumba.

'Doing gender' and social norms

Gender norms are dominant

Instead of focusing on how people interpret the norm (the traditional social norms pursuit), gender theorists are more interested in why gender discriminatory norms persist. Chapters 4 and 5 have shown that norms of gender in Kirumba reflect dominant understandings of men and women: most people know what these norms are and expect all others to share the same beliefs. The routine enactment of gender, or the 'doing gender' paradigm, embeds social differences. According to the 'doing gender' paradigm, the notion of accountability is applied to dominant ideals of masculinity and femininity that are seen to be in accord with culturally approved standards (129). Gender accountability is a feature of virtually all social interaction, and therefore

judgment is elicited by *anyone.* The concept of dominant norms aligns with feminist conceptualisations of norms at the level of cultures and societies: gender norms are ubiquitous in that the descriptions of women and men they contain are not only taught in childhood and enacted in family situations, but they are insitutionalised in the media, government policy, normative images of the family and so on (132). Given the wide availability of dominant norms, individuals are likely to encounter and be held responsible to those norms as they move into public or more uncertain settings (132).

Feminist scholars' account of the pervasiveness of gender norms also helps explain why religious justifications of male privilege in the data mutually overlap with and reinforce social norms. Participants narrated how religious rules stigmatise women who refuse sex, thereby reinforcing normative boundaries of good and bad behaviour. Men's control over women is therefore defended by religious machinery that promotes hegemonic masculinity. Recall also participants' accounts of the insensitivity of formal sources of support, namely the police. Institutional forces thus maintain distinctions between men and women that confer upon them their sense of what is expected of men and women (129).

The empirical evidence in Chapter 6 reinforces the dominant nature of gender norms. Gender beliefs overlapped and were mutually reinforcing between the social interactional level and the level of government policy and customary laws regarding women's land ownership (i.e. the structural level). For example, gender beliefs impinged on the legal system to determine the material arrangements between men and women. The evidence shows that women are excluded from accessing key resources, such as land. This subjugates them and limits their political capability and freedom to challenge roles and relations (238, 239). Women could not leave their husbands because this would seriously undermine their role as their children's caretakers (linked to the norm that a good mother protects her children).

The data has also indicated that most women in Kirumba are employed in the informal sector and draw small salaries from their work. It is reasonable to assume that if women earned more, they might be in a better position to overcome the financial obstacles that kept them from depending upon and not

being able to leave their abusive partners. Indeed, the forces of gender change come from political and economic factors that alter the everyday material arrangements between men and women in ways that undercut traditional views of status differences between men and women (146). If, over time, changes in the material arrangements between men and women continue to accumulate, the traditional content of cultural beliefs about gender will gradually change as well (146).

The data in Chapter 6, however, has indicated that in addition to material factors, part of the narrative of women's financial impediments was also linked to gender discriminatory practices, such as customary laws that disfavoured women's land inheritance. These laws perpetuated women's dependence on their husbands, and prevented women in Kirumba from leaving their abusive partners. Socio-economic factors were thus overlapping and mutually reinforcing.

In this way, the material resources available to those who occupy the home contribute to the maintenance of gendered hierarchies within the home (38). The domestic space thus exists within wider spatial contexts that are intimately connected to the organisation of household relations (38). Material structures in the household provide one terrain on which gender relations are mapped; the process of the accumulation and management of the household property acts as a significant lever in the internal dynamics of the household, compounding women's inability to leave abusive relationships (215).

The traditional exclusion of women from land ownership on gender grounds (221) emphasises how social norms operating at the household level must be conceptualised as part of the larger institutional practices upon which they impinge. Social norms of gender are in constant dialogue with structural processes, acting in the form of a dominant belief system around men and women (30). Gender norms that specify what men and women usually do and what they should do are the symbolic aspects of social structures, consisting of bounded patterns of behaviour and social interaction (128). This notion of the pervasiveness of norms is not captured in Bicchieri's theory of norms, and as a consequence, her theory is limited in its application to the dynamics of intimate

partnerships in Kirumba. The enactment of gender renders reference groups unnecessary; material and institutional factors uphold norms.

Interaction between material factors and gender norms

Gender norms in Kirumba are in constant dialogue with structural processes. Bicchieri's theory, however, does not account for the dynamic processes through which norms exert their influence. The data in Chapter 6 revealed the profound impact of material factors on norms. Due to poverty in Kirumba, men face difficulties in maintaining their expected role as heads of their households. As a result, women have been entering public waged labour, thereby occupying formerly male-dominated roles. According to Bicchieri (93), if both empirical and normative expectations are crucial to the existence of a social norm, it follows that a change in empirical expectations will always lead to a change in compliance, especially when the change in empirical expectations is widespread. That is, if a norm is publicly and saliently violated, i.e. by undermining the empirical expectation that others follow the norm, norm compliance should go down (124). Bicchieri's view is based on evidence (109) that people do not follow social norms if they believe that other people do not follow them either. According to her account, therefore, the mutual knowledge of women's large-scale entry into public labour, as well as men's general inability to provide in Kirumba (i.e. empirical expectations) should make people believe that there is really neither a norm against women leaving the home to work, nor a norm of male breadwinning.

The empirical evidence, however, challenges these assumptions: despite the widespread changes in empirical expectations of what women and men typically do, normative expectations that women should be held responsible for childcare and other household work, and that men should provide continue to persist in Kirumba. Overall, these stereotypes have not undergone marked shifts in response to changes in women and men's roles: community members in Kirumba continue to uphold conservative gender ideologies.

Bicchieri's projection of how individuals handle socially competing discourses is thus not reflected in the data. Part of the problem with her theory in accounting for the findings is that she posits that social norms operate in

isolation: in the case of norms, we infer the normative expectation from observing what others do (93). Bicchieri's interest in norms is strongly influenced by research in experimental economics and, particularly, by the ways in which compliance is elicited in experimental settings. Economic experiments, however, come with well-known caveats and must be applied with caution because the phenomena identified in the experimental context do not necessarily exist outside of the lab (123). The evidence from Kirumba illustrates that external factors influence IPV in multiple ways. Poverty is shifting empirical expectations of typical manly and womanly behaviour, which is conflicting with normative expectations and is linked to escalating IPV. The data also reveal how in addition to empirical expectations, cultural, religious and biological factors embed beliefs about what is expected of men and women in their relationships. These dominant gender discourses contribute to the naturalisation of gender norms. As a result, male breadwinning and female caretaking become intertwined with self-identities, and individuals perceive the norms to be 'natural' and 'right' (as described earlier). The data thus expand Bicchieri's view of norms by revealing how the normative expectation implied in her theory is held in place by a number of mutually enforcing factors, including perceptions of what is required by religious tradition, local culture and biology. The evidence from Tanzania suggests, therefore, that the gender norms linked to IPV are not experienced in a vacuum: they are in constant dialogue with other social as well as non-social factors.

As such, Bicchieri's theory has limits when applied to studying IPV in Tanzania. Cislaghi and Heise (71) have suggested that gender norms operate on a spectrum of influence: they do not exert exclusive influence on a given behaviour, but rather, they interact with other material, structural and social factors in affecting the persistence of a practice. In this vein, Cislaghi and Heise distinguish between 'proximal' and 'distal' norms. Proximal norms are those directly related to the behaviour in question, as underpinned by Bicchieri's theory, whereas distal norms are those that indirectly relate to the practice. An example of a proximal norm on littering practices is that one should not litter as opposed to the distal norm that one should recycle. As seen in the data, domesticity and headship norms all operate distally – i.e. indirectly. For

example norms around family privacy perpetuate IPV by preventing victims' disclosure and/or help seeking even though there is no norm directly promoting IPV. Cislaghi and Heise (26) hypothesise, as confirmed by this study, that unlike proximal norms, distal norms interact with many indirect social factors and moderators.

Bicchieri's theory on the other hand, is designed to explain outcomes that are directly linked to the norm; i.e. behaviours under proximal influence. With regards to the norms of cooperation studied by Bicchieri, behaviour is carried out exclusively to meet other people's expectations. As such there is a high interdependence between empirical and normative expectations, such that individuals will abandon a shared social norm if they believe that others are changing too (105)**.** In the case of IPV, however, the norms sustaining the practice are among the many social processes that influence people's actions; i.e. the norms are not the only factor sustaining the practice. That is, the behaviours linked to IPV are carried out for varied reasons, in addition to meeting other people's expectations (26).

The data has also revealed that IPV is held in place by multiple norms. Bicchieri's theory, on the other hand, originated as explanations of economic phenomena under the influence of a single norm. As a consequence, therefore, her theory has not been developed to account for complex phenomena like IPV. The evidence has shown how a change in empirical expectations about female breadwinning is having a cascade effect on multiple norms linked to domesticity and headship. Women's entry into the public sphere not only contradicts the belief that a woman's 'place' is in the home, which is linked to the ideas that 1) unrestricted women are 'loose', and 2) women should be primarily responsible for childcare and housework; women's income earning is also conflicting with the norms ascribed to headship, including notions of wifely subservience and male dignity. The evidence further indicates that in spite of women's role change, these gender norms continue to persist in the face of shifts in the external environment.

The evidence has also pointed to circumstances whereby men were enacting contradictory roles. Recall, for example, how Muslim men narrated that by helping around the house – in line with their religious obligations – they

were violating social norms linked to notions of male control in the household. Nonetheless, these same men continued to exert dominance in other domains: they expected their wives to be subservient in their manner of speaking, as well as in sexual matters. If their authority was questioned, they would employ IPV to re-establish it. For these men, role contradictions between their position as the head of the household and the reality of them helping in the household may go unnoticed; competing roles can be compartmentalised in separate and unconnected schema so that expressions of one are not linked to expression of the others, and as such the person is not even aware of the conflict (138). In this way, normative expectations of male dominance and wifely obedience continued to persist, despite, for example, evidence that appears to suggest otherwise.

As reflected in the data on IPV in Kirumba, the cognitive mechanisms that exist for handling socially discrepant ideas represent complex and nuanced pathways. Bicchieri's theory would thus benefit from a wider understanding of how social norms can influence different types of behaviour. As Cislaghi and Heise have suggested (26), understanding exactly how norms influence behaviours depends in part on the behaviour under study. In the case of IPV, although individual action appears to be less dependent on what others are doing (empirical expectations), norms still influence behaviour because of the persistence of normative expectations; individuals care about violating social norms because they would lose the approval of others in their social surround. Individuals in Kirumba thus felt the need to comply with what others approved of to avoid social disapproval, but they did not need others to comply to continue to uphold the norm (26). Recall how women's income-earning activities as a consequence of men's failure to provide were linked to a loss of male dignity for men. The empirical evidence revealed that sanctions established the pressure for individuals to continue to comply with norms despite changes in empirical expectations.

These findings challenge Bicchieri's assumption that a lack of consistency between expectations and actions would suggest that other factors (as opposed to norms) are at work. On the contrary, this study has revealed that norms can still be at play despite incongruence between expectations and behaviour.

Similarly, Cislaghi and Heise (26) caution that even if one does not care about what others are doing, this does not mean that their actions are outside the normative sphere; practices incurring heavy sanctions are under the strong influence of normative expectations.

Bicchieri's view thus overemphasises the role of empirical expectations in eliciting conformity with social norms. As seen in the data, the knowledge of whether or not others engage in a specific behaviour (i.e. empirical expectations) does not appear to be the only determining factor affecting behaviour. The power of normative influence in the context of IPV is determined by several other factors, including 1) an individual's judgment about the validity of gender norms, 2) external factors that moderate the relationship between norms and IPV, and 3) the desire to avoid negative sanctions. With regards to the latter, Bicchieri's theory does not give enough credibility to the role of sanctions. As seen in the data, violating normative expectations is coupled with a perceived threat of social sanctions. As such, although people observe many others engaging in a particular behaviour, they do not conclude that the behaviour is socially acceptable: women's public employment and men's failure at breadwinning is widespread but continues to be perceived as deviant (127). Whether particular behaviours are constructed as being socially acceptable or deviant is likely to depend on observations about whether the actors are subsequently sanctioned for their behaviours (240).

The data on IPV thus indicate the importance of delineating the conditions that moderate the influence of normative expectations: different behaviours are under different normative influences (127). In the case of gender roles linked to IPV, these behaviours are enacted routinely. As such, individuals do not need to engage in social comparison to determine the appropriate course of action. Indeed, empirical expectations are hypothesised to be crucial in influencing behaviour in situations of ambiguity. That is, when people do not know how to behave, they look for cues in their external environment.

For some behaviours, therefore, the situational context is particularly important. Norms that operate via group identity are another example, in addition to ambiguous situations, that illustrate the importance of situating

oneself in comparison with relevant others. In the case of the group norms that characterise the Kuria group, individuals are greatly influenced by what group members do because they feel some degree of affinity with their reference group. The identity with one's reference group enhances the likelihood of being influenced by empirical expectations (127). For the routine enactment of gender roles, however, individuals do not need to look to others to determine the appropriate course of action. Resources for performing gendered behaviours rest heavily on internal, rather than external or situational factors. IPV is thus under a different normative influence than the behaviours from which Bicchieri's social norms theory is derived.

Bicchieri's theory can thus only fully operate in a vacuum: it does not incorporate multiple or distal norms. In addition, sanctions are more important in influencing behaviour than is theorised by Bicchieri.

The persistence of gender norms: Men as breadwinners, women as caretakers

Recall Bicchieri's view that for a social norm to exist, both empirical and normative expectations need to be fulfilled. If indeed both conditions are crucial to the existence and stability of a norm, it follows that a change in expectations will always induce a change in compliance and the abandonment of the norm (105). According to the findings, however, although empirical expectations about what women and men do have changed, the resistance to female mobility is underpinned by normative expectations, which appear to be hindering women's increased autonomy in the household.

Feminist insights enable us to understand why normative expectations of gender are critical in influencing behaviour: they are generally part of more extensive world views about how societies should be organised, themselves often reflecting particular religious or cultural traditions (30). In effect, normative expectations operate as dominant beliefs.

Further, in the case of gender norms that specify routine behaviours such as being a good mother (for women), or being a reliable breadwinner (for men), our motivation to perform them rests on not only on dominant discourses, but also on the repeated observation of the practice (implied in the 'doing gender'

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paradigm). In the realm of division of labour, in particular, significant social categories such as 'female' or 'male' seem to become pointedly relevant and condition the exhibition and dramatisation of one's essential nature as a man or woman (129). The result is that sex strikes people as a natural kind of category such that women are perceived to possess an essential nature that is different from that of men (128). Recall how in Kirumba the norms of motherhood and breadwinning were perceived by participants to be 'natural' categories. Feminist analyses theorise that gender norms encapsulate gender identities, with people believing more, for example, in women's essential nature as caretakers of their children and men's essential nature as breadwinners (241).

Socialisation into gender norms, both in childhood and through everyday practice in adolescence and adulthood, serve to naturalise gender inequalities such that the idea of mothers as caretakers are taken for granted and are beyond questioning (30). Indeed, women in Kirumba defined themselves by their traditional caretaker roles in the family, which produced single roles and self-identity; domesticity had allocated childrearing to the women's sphere and associated it with femininity such that the link between women and care essentialised women (155). Social norms that discriminate against women are reproduced effortlessly, such as when motherhood comes to symbolise the essential nature of a woman. Recall how sanctions were not evoked in association with the norm that a good mother protects her children. The schema of motherhood represents the mental mediating structure that operates without the help of artefacts, and it is important in performing the routine behaviour associated with childcare (138). Some feminist accounts of the naturalisation of gender roles help explain why participants expressed a strong obligation to uphold the gender norms that prescribed these roles: they felt the norms were 'natural' and 'right' and they were personally committed to what the norms represented.

The links in the data with some feminist conceptualisations of the 'essentially different natures' (129) of men and women further help to explain why despite women's entry into public waged labour in Kirumba, norms about women as caretakers and men as breadwinners have largely remained unchanged. Individuals appear to be striving to maintain their gender identities.

Since breadwinning relates what a man does to what he is, and similarly, since household production relates what a woman does to what she is, these norms are not seen as what men and women do but they are seen as part of who they are (129). The strength of these gender norms arises from several sources: the shared beliefs that comprise these roles seem to be consensual *and* they appear to describe qualities that are deeply embedded within human nature (132). Being a 'girl' or 'boy' is being competently female or male; that is, learning to produce behavioural displays of one's 'essential' female or male identity (129).

Indeed men in Kirumba were described as the 'natural' breadwinners and strong sanctioning mechanisms were in place for men who violated the norm linked to breadwinning. Some evidence suggests that men's gender identity requires continual social proof and is thus more easily threatened than women's identity (128). Indeed, the evidence in Kirumba indicates that while female infidelity violated the norm that a good wife is faithful in her marriage, it was ultimately her husband's reputation and his dignity that was at stake. According to Ridgeway, sex categorisation becomes a *status difference* in that men are seen as more worthy, valuable and powerful, so they have more to lose in terms of status if they behave in non-conforming ways (132). Preserving the fundamental assumption that men are rightly more powerful and that they have more status and authority than women has persisted in the west during major socio-economic transformations such as industrialisation, the entry of women into the paid labour force, and more recently, the movement of women into male-dominated professions such as law or medicine (132).

In, respectively, 'doing breadwinning' and 'doing childcare', therefore, men are also 'doing dominance' and women are 'doing deference'. The ensuing social order, which reflects 'natural differences', reinforces and legitimises these norms based on hierarchical arrangements (129). The self-fulfilling mechanisms of normative expectations regarding the sexual division of labour give the basic hierarchical structure of these expectations a devilish resistance (132). Gender norms might *bend* or relax as the roles and activities that men and women undertake change but much less change happens at the ideological level (30). Change in empirical expectations is therefore slowed by societal ideologies and

status beliefs that legitimise social inequalities on the basis of sex (132). Dominant gender discourses naturalise gender norms.

Conclusion

The chapter has highlighted how the phenomenon of IPV in Kirumba can be explained by applying Bicchieri's theory of norms in combination with insights from research the motivational status of emotions, schema theory and feminist perspectives. Whereas Bicchieri's theory is useful for diagnosing the gender norms linked to IPV, it does not account for the role, source and persistence of gender norms.

Insights on the influence of emotions on behaviour, and schema theory, help explain the durability of gender norms at the cognitive level. The data has shown, however, that if we limit our discussion on IPV to the cognitive processes associated with norm compliance, we fail to completely understand the role of gender norms in catalysing gender inequality. Gender theorists' conceptualisation of gender as a structure facilitates our understanding of how gender norms manifest beyond the individual and interactional levels. As seen in the findings on IPV in Kirumba, norms reflect differences between men and women at the cultural, religious, political, and structural levels. Gender norms in Kirumba do not simply exist as equilibria that solve coordination problems (Bicchieri's view); norms persist because they are embedded in the social fabric of society, reinforced via childhood socialisation and enacted automatically across different levels of society.

The discussion of the source of gender norms, as well as the recursive effects of gender norms across multiple levels of society, is missing in traditional social norms theory. As confirmed in the data, the embedding of gender norms begins in childhood and is acquired through parents. In addition, the evidence unequivocally illustrates that gender norms represent entire systems through which gender inequality is maintained. Gender norms manifest at various levels, beyond households, families, communities, and into wider society. This perpetuates social traditions that govern and constrain the

behaviours of both women and men, as well as the social institutions that produce laws and codes of conduct that maintain gender inequality (64). The conceptualisation of gender as a social structure is also useful in accounting for why participants evoked religious, biological and cultural discourses in connection with normative expectations of appropriate behaviour. Some feminist accounts of how routine gender roles become naturalised, with links to the 'doing gender' paradigm, were also helpful in explaining the persistence of the ideology of women as caretakers and men as breadwinners in Kirumba despite shifts in what men and women typically do.

The feminist discourse that focuses on why gender norms persist is thus crucial in articulating the role of norms in maintaining the inequitable gender relations that influence IPV. To conclude, therefore, Bicchieri's theory of social norms is conceptually incomplete in explaining the phenomenon of IPV: it fails to engage with the crucial role of gender in social norms.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Gender norms and IPV

The aim of this study was to advance knowledge of how social norms sustain IPV in Tanzania. I started with two assumptions: 1) feminist scholars, while giving prominence to gender norms as a key driver of IPV, lack conceptual clarity on norms as a construct, and 2) traditional social norms theory must be tested against empirical realities before it can be applied to programmatic efforts targeting discriminatory gender norms linked to IPV. I addressed these assumptions by testing the adequacy of norm theory to account for the realities of IPV in Tanzania (Chapters 4, 5 and 6), and by drawing on additional bodies of scholarship to that theory to accommodate the Tanzanian findings (Chapter 7).

Chapter 3 discussed the design and implementation of the research conducted in Kirumba, an urban community in Tanzania whose characteristics emerged in the data. Given that I was primarily testing Bicchieri's social norms theory when interpreting the findings, I operationalised the constructs in her theory in order to design the data collection and analysis tools using a social norms theoretical lens.

My first research sub-question asked the following: how do local people describe the social norms sustaining IPV in light of Bicchieri's theory of norms? I examined local discourses on IPV to identify norms that served to drive the practice. Bicchieri's theory was useful in diagnosing how social norms assign women, men and neighbours specific roles that fuel IPV (Chapters 4 and 5). Specifically I examined four constructs underpinning Bicchieri's theory – empirical expectations, normative expectations, sanctions, and emotions – to determine whether behaviours associated with IPV were under normative control. This analysis revealed eight norms key to sustaining IPV, relating to being a 'good wife', a 'good mother', a 'good neighbour' and a 'real man'.

Chapter 4 generated evidence of how the family dwelling entailed specific roles for its members that were articulated in terms of space and place, and that fuelled abuse in intimate partnerships. In particular, the good wife in Kirumba refrained from disclosing violence and/or seeking help. Neighbours'

behaviour was also under normative control. The domestic space represented a symbolic barrier that a good neighbour did not overstep when a couple was fighting. Bicchieri's theory was also useful in understanding how the household was organised around women's role as primary caregivers: a good mother was one who, out of concern for her children, did not leave an abusive husband. In this chapter, I argued that the social and spatial aspects of IPV were inseparable: social norms that regulated what women and neighbours did and ought to have done operated at the level of the household where intimate partnerships were played out.

Chapter 5 generated evidence on how men's primary role as the household head entailed several norms of typical and appropriate action for women and women. A real man in Kirumba was one who provided economically for his family. Male breadwinning further structured the relationship between men and women by justifying norms of male dominance and female subordination. A good wife was expected to respect the male patriarch in her manner of speaking, by acquiescing to his sexual wishes, and by being faithful in her marriage. Respondents widely agreed that violating these gender norms could have negative repercussions for women, including violence.

The second research sub-question was framed as follows: how do material and structural factors interact with and influence the social norms to keep IPV in place? I explored how the norms established in Chapters 4 and 5 interacted with the external factors that undergird IPV. Participants' accounts in Chapter 6 revealed extensive evidence that male poverty was escalating women's experience of IPV, mediated through multiple gender norms. For one, male poverty challenged the authority conferred upon men via breadwinning: the data demonstrated that men employed violence as a means to re-establish their position as head of the household. Secondly, male poverty was linked to women's increasing economic and physical mobility as they left the house in search of money to support the family; mobile women were suspected of having transactional sex, which undermined male dignity, and men employed violence to restore their reputation. Female employment in Kirumba (as a result of male poverty) is not liberating for women. This observation expands the understanding of the dynamics of gender norm change in urban Tanzania.

The third and final research sub-question asked the following: is Bicchieri's theory of norms adequate in explaining the findings? In Chapter 7, I showed that Bicchieri's theory lacks a deeper understanding of the motivational status of emotions. I applied insights from the literature to account for how negative emotions act as a feedback mechanism to reinforce social norms by alerting individuals of the unwanted consequences of behaving inappropriately (Bicchieri's normative expectation).

Further, I showed that whereas traditional social norms theory is useful for identifying normative influence, it is inadequate for understanding how gender norms sustain inequality between men and women, thereby perpetuating IPV. I illustrated that the conceptual focus of gender norms must expand from an analysis of how situations or contexts trigger behaviours to a focus on how learned behaviours are repeatedly enacted across multiple contexts. In theorising the underlying cognitive processes of normative influence, what the norms literature has largely ignored is how the magnitude of normative influence varies according to the behaviour in question. As suggested by Ridgeway (129) gendered behaviour is cross-situational. One circumstance that attends almost all actions is the sex category of the actor; we are always women or men, which means our 'identificatory displays' will provide an ever-available resource for doing gender under an infinitely broad range of circumstances. Such findings illustrate the importance of specifying why behaviours that are under the influence of gender norms persist across space and time.

Several additional scholarships came to my assistance in accounting for the persistence of gender norms. Schema theory helped explain why participants referred to the 'African system', notions of 'manhood', the culture of the 'Swahili people' or the 'meaning of marriage' as resources containing pre-existing knowledge about appropriate male and female conduct within intimate relationships. The notion of schemas is also useful in explaining why participants repeatedly evoked pre-existing knowledge (i.e. schemas) when discussing appropriate behaviour.

The evidence of schemas also assists the interpretation of why a community of strangers inhabiting Kirumba shared similar understandings

about the appropriate behaviours expected of women and men within intimate relationships. The domesticity and headship norms exist as widely shared cultural schema and individuals thus do not need to anticipate cues in their social environment of how to behave appropriately.

Given the wide availability of cultural schemas, individuals are likely to be treated according to these schemas as they move into more public or more uncertain settings (132). In this way, new members in Kirumba were enrolled into self-regulating processes as they began to monitor their own and others' conduct with regard to its gender implications (129). The shared understandings of gender norms amongst strangers in Kirumba lends support to Ridgeway's analysis of gender as a background identity that operates as an implicit cultural and cognitive presence that affects people's actions (132).

Participants also highlighted how schemas that influenced gender relations in contemporary society are transmitted via parental socialisation. The learning of norms thus begins in childhood. This early learning regarding gender expectations is reinforced daily, as individuals repeatedly observe men and women perform gender-stereotypical behaviours (such as men serving as breadwinners). Thus gender norms effortlessly emerge (128). The 'doing gender' paradigm emphasises gender as a social system, where norms and associated behaviours are socially produced and reproduced over time.

The conceptualisation of gender norms as a social system helps explain why participants evoked religious, biological and cultural discourses in describing normative expectations of appropriate behaviour. It also assisted the interpretation of the evidence in Chapter 6 of the role of external factors in undergirding social norms. Structural factors such as gender inequitable laws in Tanzania, as well as material factors such as poverty and women's financial dependency on their husbands, interacted with and reinforced social norms sustaining violence in Kirumba. Further, the feminist call to position gender norms within larger socio-economic processes was reflected in the data: the findings in Chapter 6 showed that male poverty was influencing the construction of gender norms in multiple ways.

The research further made sense of the relationship between male poverty and gender norms: male poverty was undermining the norm of male

breadwinning. As a result, women were leaving their traditional places in the home to enter public waged labour to support the family. Whereas Bicchieri's theory evidenced participants' dissonance between what they saw, i.e. empirical expectations (men being unable to provide, women enacting new roles) versus what was socially expected of men and women, her theory was inadequate for explaining the outcome of this conflict. Schema theory, on the other hand, offered several appropriate explanations of how individuals in Kirumba were dealing with socially discrepant ideas. The chapter provided a deeper analysis of the cognitive psychological processes of norms, and expanded feminist discourse on how changing gender roles can co-exist with unchanged gender norms and ideologies. The resulting analysis illustrated that the gender norms of male breadwinning and female caretaking are sticky and persist in the face of changes in the external environment that might undermine these norms.

Chapter 7 illustrated that the notion of gender norms is not a unitary endeavour: different theories hold potential for guiding understandings of how norms influence IPV. This consideration, however, has not been systematically integrated in the current discourse on IPV. The analysis in Chapter 7 of how norms are linked to IPV incorporates both theory-based insights about social norms, and an understanding of how social norms intersect with gender processes to produce IPV.

Contribution to research

Building dialogue between different traditions: A new framework of how social norms are linked to IPV

This study has employed a multi-disciplinary approach to studying how social norms are linked to IPV in Kirumba, Tanzania. In doing so, it helps bridge the gap between traditional social norms theory and feminist perspectives on norms. The study unites disparate bodies of scholarship into a coherent framework for articulating how gender norms affect IPV in low-income countries that are contextually like Tanzania. This framework fills two critical gaps in the violence field: 1) it enhances the field's understanding of what a

social norm is; and 2) it provides evidence of the utility of applying traditional social norms approaches to studying IPV empirical realities. It also has utility for donors and programmers wishing to design and evaluate programmes aimed at transforming gender discriminatory norms that sustain IPV.

My contribution to the violence field is five-fold. First, I have provided evidence that shows the pathways through which emotions reinforce gender appropriate behaviour linked to IPV. My analysis thus extends Bicchieri's theory by systematically articulating the role of negative emotions in regulating social norms. In particular, I distinguish between participants' accounts of shame and guilt. Shame appears to be closely linked to Bicchieri's normative expectations: she theorises that embarrassment is a social motive linked to the desire to fit in and indicates people's sensitivity to normative expectations. In addition, according to my findings, shame is always linked to sanctioning mechanisms. The experience of guilt, on the other hand is neither linked to being observed, nor is it linked to sanctions. Guilt like shame, however, forces deliberation of norms. By anticipating guilt and changing their course of action to prevent feeling guilty, individuals bring their behaviour in line with valued, socially desirable patterns (126).

In addition, my work contributes knowledge on how beliefs that are linked to gender norms become naturalised. Respondents described gender norms as 'right' and 'natural' because dominant religion religious and culture discourses about men and women deem them so. Recall from Chapter 2 that Islamic law plays a critical role in influencing family relations in Tanzania. The belief that domestic relationships are naturally and/or divinely hierarchical is derived from and reinforced by Islamic law, which tends to be interpreted to give men power over women family members (55). Gender inequality is thus justified in religious terms on the grounds that God made men and women 'essentially' different; that these differences contribute to different family roles, rights and duties that are crucial to the cohesion of the family (55). Religious influence thus not only preserves private household matters, but it lends intimate partnerships a social reality (138). That is, contrary to what Bicchieri suggests, gender norms are not simply constructs that are construed (either accurately or not) by individuals. Gender norms are 'real'; they unequivocally

exist as part of religious, cultural and biological discourses on family matters. The notion of schemas is the mechanism that ensures cultural durability – i.e. the cognitive mechanism through which norms are expressed outside of minds.

The above point leads to my second contribution to the field. I have shown that in order to have an effective change on the ground, the application of social norms theory has to limit the cognitive component in theorising norms. This must be coupled with an expansion of the focus of norms to include gender as a category of analysis. In particular, theory-based insights should incorporate feminist perspectives that articulate why certain gendered behaviours that are linked to IPV permeate biological, cultural and religious discourses, and as such persist across space and time.

As seen in this study, norms experienced at the level of the household interact with multiple social processes. I have generated evidence on the relationship between women's roles in public waged labour in Kirumba and their autonomy in the household. Recall the literature (in Chapter 3) that gender relations are changing in light of neo-liberal economics in urban Tanzania: the evidence is mixed for how these changes affect men and women's lives. The data from this study reveals that the stickiness of some gender norms makes them hard to uproot: despite women's participation in public waged labour, gender norms linked to male breadwinning and female caretaking continue to persist and are associated with escalating IPV in Kirumba. I have thus contributed knowledge on the specific pathways through which Bicchieri's normative expectations intersect with gender processes to prevent women's increased autonomy in the household. Whereas gender discriminatory normative expectations are experienced primarily within the household, they are held in place by cultural ideas linked to manhood, local customs, perceptions of what is required by religious tradition, male and female poverty, and gender discriminatory laws and traditions (30). My framework thus emphasises the intersection between gender norms and the external factors that undergird them.

In addition to contributing evidence that urban women's employment – linked to male poverty – is far from liberating for women, the study contributes evidence of how features of the urban landscape in Kirumba are linked to IPV

via the construction of gender norms. Chapter 6 evidenced the dual relationship of how different characteristics of urban living are linked to notions of family privacy. For example, the anonymity of urban residents prevented women from disclosing violence and/or seeking help. However the dense urban living arrangements, whereby different families rented separate rooms in the same house also meant that some younger women experienced familial ties with older women living in the same house, which facilitated younger women's help seeking (as seen in Chapter 4). Similarly, while the anonymity of residents in Kirumba exacerbated the norm proscribing neighbours from intervening in a couple's fight, shared living spaces meant that landlords who lived under the same roof as their tenants had the authority to intervene when couples were fighting.

Recall also the evidence from Chapter 4 that the strength of the norm proscribing women from leaving abusive relationships was experienced with greater intensity amongst the Kuria ethnic group minority. Since this group was defined by traditional marital customs that called for a bride price, women belonging to this group were in a more difficult position than those in informal marriages (without a bride price) to leave their abusive partners, as they could not afford to pay back the bride price. The strength of some norms thus varied according to group identity.

The evidence from this study suggests that there are multiple moderating factors, in addition to the behaviour in question that can influence the power of social norms linked to IPV. In Kirumba, age, ethnicity and features of the urban environment are all linked via social norms to IPV. These nuances are particular to Kirumba and emphasise the importance of contextualising how local features that are specific to where the influenced live interact with social norms linked to IPV.

My third contribution to research is the finding that empirical and normative gendered expectations are not always aligned, contrary to Bicchieri's view. Further, the evidence from my study has revealed that both sets of expectations do not need to be met for the behaviours linked to IPV to be under normative influence. Traditional social norms theory confounds the influence of empirical and normative expectations because these theorists model

behaviours where there is a strong interaction between these expectations – i.e. they interact synergistically. The findings on IPV in Kirumba show, however, that not only are normative expectations more powerful than empirical expectations, but they are sufficient to influence behaviours that are linked to IPV. This finding is crucial as it paves the way forward in IPV intervention design, emphasising that practitioners can effectively transform gender discriminatory norms by targeting normative expectations in isolation.

The wider evidence is mixed about which of the two expectations is stronger. Cialdini's littering experiments in the United States (242) revealed that making normative expectations salient had a bigger behavioural impact across situations compared to when empirical expectations were made salient. Whereas most studies commonly integrate the analysis of both empirical and normative expectations, normative expectations have also been studied in isolation as powerful drivers of behaviour. Similarly, the data derived from studying IPV in its real-life context suggest that in urban Tanzania, normative expectations are powerful drivers of gendered behaviour. As seen in this study, normative expectations of gender in Kirumba are not only steeped in a network of social beliefs (including religious norms as well as customs), but they also reflect personal beliefs about the legitimacy of the norm. Gender norms are further strengthened by external factors (including structural and material drivers).

The Tanzanian case study therefore suggests that practitioners must pay closer attention to the distinction between empirical and normative expectations when designing their interventions. Uncritically applying social norms theory to behaviour change can lead to unexpected, and potentially harmful results. In a field experiment on energy conservation in the United States, for example, empirical messages detailing average neighbourhood energy usage produced an uptick in energy usage in households that were below the average rate (243). In addition, in Wechsler's review of college drinking in the United States (244), the total volume of alcohol consumption actually increased in colleges that had experimented with normative curtailing campaigns. With regards to social norms marketing campaigns, the view is that

using empirical expectations can have unintended negative consequences by portraying discriminatory practices as normal or accepted (24, 25).

Most of the above evidence on the utility of social norms approaches, however, comes from the United States, with a heavy focus on reducing anti-social behaviours, including high-energy consumption and drinking on college campuses. This study's findings from the Tanzanian context contribute to the literature about the utility of normative as opposed to empirical expectations in programme design linked to IPV; normative expectations independently might be more useful insights to drive change where IPV is concerned.

My fourth contribution to the research is based on my findings that sanctions play a key role in motivating compliance, even when norms become automatic. Bicchieri suggests the opposite: that when norms become well established, sanctions do not play a prominent role in motivating compliance. The data from Kirumba has indicated how, in particular, men's masculine identity is built around ongoing social rewards and punishments that establish his standing as a man. That is, social rewards and punishments are part and parcel of a man's self-identity; they are the routine measures according to which he defines himself. The data also revealed that IPV was a common narrative in men and women's lives, despite both men and women agreeing that that women should be below their husbands, and that violence was the legitimate response if women transgressed this expectation. The behaviours the violence enforced were not only those that society allocated to wives; the behaviour that was enacted – being in charge – was the behaviour allocated to men (172). Violence did not simply operate as a sanctioning mechanism when women in Kirumba 'slipped up'; it was also employed as a routine display of male authority, and of female subservience.

My fifth and final contribution to research on IPV explains why individuals do not always need to engage in social comparison to determine the appropriate ways of behaving. According to Bicchieri, individuals position themselves in reference to a particular group in order to gather information about how to behave in a particular situation. The notion that individuals are constantly engaging in social comparison was partly developed as a means of explaining the concept of pluralistic ignorance, where individuals who hold

similar private attitudes misinterpret the social norm by mistakenly believing their attitudes and preferences are different from those of similarly situated others, although their public behaviour is identical (92). As such, all the individuals end up conforming to the 'false' social norm, oblivious to the reality that many individuals who pretend to endorse the norm, in fact, dislike it (93). The evidence of pluralistic ignorance was used by scholars theorising norms to emphasise how individuals engage in social comparison with relevant others to get clues as to others' preferences and appropriate behaviours (93). As seen in my study on IPV, however, gender norms do not appear to be strongly dependent on what others do (or empirical expectations). Traditional social norm theory overplays the role of the external context in norm compliance. My findings are testament to the notion proposed by some feminist scholars about the automaticity of gender norms; social relational contexts make gender a persistently available social difference around which to structure behaviours that are enacted through such contexts, and shape the meanings participants attach to those activities (132). Further, these gendered meanings are learnt in childhood, acquired through parents; they get laid down as schemas, they are reinforced daily, and they reflect religious, biological and cultural discourses. The notion of gender norms operating as an entire social system eliminates the need for constant social comparison; 'doing gender' is unavoidable.

Future research trajectories

The findings in this study suggest that it is counterproductive for the violence field to maintain a separation between traditional social norms theory and feminist conceptualisations of gender norms. To fully understand the role that norms play in sustaining IPV, a multi-disciplinary approach is required: the different conceptualisations of norms must speak to one another. The study has generated a framework of the intersection between social norms theory and feminist perspectives. Future empirical research should be conducted to test whether this framework is relevant to study IPV in other settings.

While this study has contributed extensive evidence that effective IPV research and programming need to embed the understanding of social norms

within a larger framework that acknowledges and specifies the role played by structural and material factors in sustaining IPV, the question still remains of how additional factors can moderate normative influence. Researchers should seek to understand, for example, how individual attributes (such as age) and contextual factors (such as urban versus rural contexts) influence the power of norms over one's behaviour. Further, this research should explore how different moderating attributes interact with one another and with social norms in order to generate a comprehensive understanding of how norms operate in the particular setting of interest.

Due to its scope, the research did not fully explore all the processes that interact with social norms. The focus of the research was on social norms as a set of determinants of gender inequality and violence. As the evidence from Kirumba revealed, however, social norms interacted with different categories of social difference (including religion and ethnicity), as implied in the intersectionality approach discussed in Chapter 2. Future studies on IPV that benefit from greater time and material resources should aim to specifically isolate the different factors that sustain IPV in a given context and to explore the varying influence of these different factors, including how they feed together to sustain gender inequality and violence.

The data has also revealed that particular features of the urban landscape in Kirumba affected how people experienced and responded to dominant norms. The data indicate multiple acts of resilience that were facilitated by features of the urban landscape. Future studies can adopt my framework that emphasises the ideological shape that gender norms take and integrate it with other critical approaches. One possible approach is to apply this framework to understand how empirical realities differ across urban settings, or how rural settings fare in comparison to urban ones. Taking into consideration how people respond to the physical features of their environments may help generate an even more nuanced understanding of how gender ideologies operate in practice, thus avoiding painting people as hopeless victims of patriarchy.

In sum, three important trajectories emerge from this study that future research should address: 1) expanding our understanding of how individuals

perceive social norms i.e. the social cognitive aspects linked to social norms (including how insights from traditional social norms theory combine with schema theory, and research on the motivational status of emotions); 2) pushing forward the feminist discourse that emphasises how some gender behaviours and norms are persistent, underpinned by larger structural discourses; and 3) understanding more how features or attributes of the local context moderate normative influence. Reducing IPV globally is a worthy and necessary goal; understanding how social norms contribute to sustaining IPV is key to achieving this goal. My research has furthered this understanding and paved the way for future theoretical and practical work in the violence field.

Appendices

Data collection tools

Focus group discussions

Norm domains explored in vignettes

	Vignette 1	**Vignette 2**
Norm domains	• Explore community sanctions in place for transgression of feminine/masculine roles • Explore counterfactual situations to ascertain the believed consequences of what would happen if one were not to comply with social norms • Explore whether gender norms are in transition in light of changing economic conditions by ascertaining what an individual believes are the opinions of the community on working wives and whether this translates into their increased autonomy in the domestic sphere • Explore context of physical, emotional and economic forms of IPV, including the links between violence and discipline • Explore norm of help seeking including the notions of shame/blame that entail abused women's willingness to disclose violence/seek help/leave abusive partners	• Explore acceptability of physical and emotional IPV • Explore acceptability and context of sexual PV • Explore social and economic consequences faced by women who leave violent relationships • Explore family/community responses to women leaving violent partners • Explore norm of family privacy that entails community responses to physical violence and interpersonal reactions to community intervention

Vignette 2

Pendo lives with her husband Damian and her two children; a five-year-old boy and a nine-year-old daughter. She has completed standard 7and works in the market selling fruit and vegetables, as Damian does not give her enough housekeeping money. Today, things are slow at the market, and Pendo stays later than usual to try and sell her fruit and vegetables. While waiting to catch a piki piki (motorcycle taxi) to get back home, Pendo is seen talking and laughing with another man behind the market. When she gets back to the house, Damian is already back. Pendo has not prepared dinner and the household chores have not been completed.

QUESTION (asked of both men and women unless otherwise indicated)	**JUSTIFICATION**
1. **What do you think will happen when Pendo gets home?** • Probe: How might Damian react? Why? • Probe: If Damian had been out drinking with his friends do you think he might react differently? In what way?	• Question 1 explores the interpersonal level of sanctioning for women's transgression of gender roles and whether men's use of violence is a response to legitimate social expectations being violated. The question probes different types of violence.
2. **How does Damian feel about Pendo trying to earn an income?** • Probe: Is he glad that she is bringing money into the household, or does he feel threatened by it? • Probe: Is he likely to be more or less	• Questions 2 and 3 explore how traditional gender roles are negotiated/reconstructed as men and women confront changes in the political economy. There is evidence that the youth in Tanzania are confronting traditional

forgiving that dinner is not ready because Pendo is out trying to earn money?	forces and larger political economic changes, with young women having more opportunity for education and work than before. Are women's actions recognised as legitimate, and do they set new standards in the community?
3. What do people in the community think about Pendo working? • Probe: Would most of Pendo's neighbours tend to respect her more or less because she is out working in the market? Does anyone support her?	Or rather, are women's economic activities not recognized as income generation, but rather as an extension of their household duties, which sit comfortably within traditional constructions? Are opinions changing about working wives/mothers and if so are they driven by a shift in norms or facilitated by economic conditions? In other words, have women's public roles translated into their increased autonomy in the domestic sphere, thus signaling a change in the social norms of appropriate gender conduct? • Question 2 also seeks to explore the notion of hegemonic masculinity. In circumstances where women are becoming upwardly mobile, IPV may be increasingly used as a control mechanism; men may have become belligerent because their partners are gaining economic independence, and violence against women is used as a compensatory mechanism, which allows men to reassert their dominance in the household[7]. Findings from the 2008-2009 Tanzania National Panel Survey[8] support

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[7] Boudet AMaMo, Petesch P, Turk C. On Norms and Agency: Conversations about Gender Equality with Women and Men in 20 Countries. 2013;
Taylor N, Nair Rd, Braham L. Perpetrator and victim perceptions of perpetrator's masculinity as a risk factor for violence: A meta-ethnography synthesis. Aggression and Violent Behavior. 2013;18(6):774-83;
Jewkes R. Intimate partner violence: causes and prevention. The Lancet. 2002;359(9315):1423-9.
[8] Vyas S. Estimating the Association Between Women's Earnings and Partner Violence: Evidence from the 2008-2009 Tanzania National Panel Survey. 2013.

	the view that partner violence and women's self-employed work is positively linked. Furthermore, a qualitative study among female market traders in Tanzania[9] reveals that some women felt that their income earing work was perceived by their partner as a strategy to meet other men, which created (further) room for violence.
4. __WOMEN ONLY: Who might have seen Pendo talking and laughing with the man behind the market?__ • Probe: Does she worry about what they will think? • Probe: Would she be concerned if Damian saw her laughing with the man?	• Question 4 xplores whether anyone expects Pendo to pursue certain gender roles. What are the sanctions in place for transgression of feminine conduct i.e. talking and laughing with another man? This question ascertains the reference group and sanctioning mechanisms to ensure conformity to gender roles. This question is also crucial in the investigation of counterfactuals to discern causality and distinguish other social practices. What matters for compliance with a social norm is not just the believed consequences of what would happen if one were to comply (i.e. women complying with the expectations of feminine conduct) but **especially** the believed consequences of what would happen if one were NOT to comply. In this way a more complete picture can emerge. This is a hypothetical question to determine what sort of punishment would follow 'norm' violation. This question also seeks to explore how much the threat of punishment weighs in

[9] Vyas S, Watts C. How does economic empowerment affect women's risk of intimate partner violence in low and middle income countries? A systematic review of published evidence. Journal of International Development. 2009;21(5):577-602.

	determining norm compliance, and whether the punishment is considered legitimate. The reference network may not sanction behaviour, but the fact that Pendo worries they may find out may indicate that she finds their expectations legitimate. This question aims to ascertain whether norms are held in place by deeply internalised gender beliefs.
5. **<u>MEN ONLY:</u> If Damian does not punish Pendo for disobeying him, does he worry that anyone will think less of him?** • Probe: Who? What would they say/do?	• Question 5 investigates counterfactual situation in Damian's situation i.e. the believed consequences of what would happen if Damian does not comply with the 'norm' of punishing Pendo for her transgression. This question also seeks to explore how much the threat of punishment weighs in determining norm compliance, and whether the punishment is considered legitimate. The reference network may not sanction his behaviour, but the fact that Damian worries they may find out may indicate that he finds their expectations legitimate. This question aims to ascertain whether norms are held in place by deeply internalised gender beliefs.
6. **Let's say that Damian gets very angry and hits her. What is Pendo likely to do?** • Probe: Is she likely to hit him back? -Would Pendo be likely to tell anyone about being hit? If so, who would she mostly likely tell? Probe: How would	• The literature on domestic violence consistently reports that women hide being abused due to gossip, public shame, for fear of being blamed for the violence they experience (and being labeled a bad wife/mother) and because violence is seen as a private matter that should not be revealed. Question 6 explores the expectations regarding help seeking by exploring women's willingness to disclose violence/seek help.

they likely react?	
7. **Let's say the neighbour overhears Damian beating Pendo, what will they think?** • Probe: What types of reasons might justify his behaviour?	• Question 7 explores whether the neighbours (i.e. the community) expect Damian to pursue certain gender roles. It also asks about violence and discipline and under what circumstances the use of violence against women is justified.
8. **What happens if Pendo decides to leave Damian and wants to return home to her family because of the violence?** • Probe: What would Pendo's family think of her decision? Would they be supportive of her leaving Damian or not? What would her mother likely say to her? • Probe: What about people in the wider community – what would they think of Pendo?	• Question 8 explores the notion that it is shameful for woman to leave a marriage.

In-depth interviews

Semi-structured in-depth interview guide: women

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

   How old are you?

   What is your level of education?

   Do you have children?

   How do you normally spend your days?

   Do you engage in activities beyond the household?

   Probe: Do you earn money from these activities?

2. **How do you think your community perceives working women/mothers?**
   Probe: Does anyone support them? Do you agree with their views?

3. **Tell me a bit about your husband. How old were each of you when you became a couple?**

   What does he do?

   (Only for women who are earning money): How does your partner feel about you working?

   Probe: Does he respect you more or less because you are trying to earn money?

   Probe: Does he ever voice concerns about you working? What worries him?

4. **Husbands and wives sometimes have conflicts and disagreements in their relationships. Do you know of/Have you heard of other women in your community who have conflicts?**
   Probe: What is the source of the conflict?

   Probe: Have you heard of women who are beaten by their husbands?

   Probe: Why are they beaten?

5. **What might the neighbours do or think if they hear couples fighting?**
Probe: Would they ever intervene or try to stop the fighting? Why or why not?

Under what circumstances?

Have you ever intervened?

6. **What kinds of things do you and your husband disagree about?**

(If respondent answers that they do NOT disagree, skip to QUESTION 8)

If YES, Probe: The last time you had an argument, what was it about?

7. **When you and your husband have disagreements, what happens?**
Probe: Does he ever insult or yell at you? Have you insulted him?

Probe: Are there times when he beats you?

If YES, Probe: Tell me about the last time he hit or threatened to hit you. What happened?

What reason did he give for his behaviour?

Do you think he was justified in hitting you? Why or why not?

Have you ever hit your husband?

Have you ever been afraid of your husband?

8. **How is domestic violence viewed in your community?**
Probe: Do people talk about it openly?

Probe: Have you ever discussed your problems with anyone? How did they respond?

Has anyone ever discussed their problems with you? What did you do?

Do women ever leave violent marriages and return home to their families? What are the most difficult challenges they face? How do their families react?

9. **How common is it that women refuse to have sex with their husbands when they don't want to?**

   Probe: What is likely to happen if a woman refuses her husband?

   Probe: Are there reasons why a woman can legitimately refuse to have sex with her husband?

Semi-structured in-depth interview guide: men

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

   How old are you?

   What is your level of education?

   Do you have children?

   Do you work?

   Does your partner work? <mark>Is she earning an income</mark>?

2. **How do you think your community perceives working women/mothers?**
   Probe: Does anyone support them? Do you agree with their views?

3. **Tell me a bit about your wife. How old were each of you when you became a couple?**

   (<mark>Only for men whose partners are earning money</mark>): How do you feel about your partner working?
   Probe: Do you respect her more or less because she is trying to earn money?
   Probe: Do you have any concerns about her working? What worries you?

4. **Husbands and wives sometimes have conflicts and disagreements in their relationships.**
   Do you know of/Have you heard of other men and women in your community that have conflicts?
   Probe: What is the source of the conflict?
   Probe: Have you heard of women who are beaten by their husbands?
   Probe: Why are they beaten?

5. **What might the neighbours do or think if they couples fighting?**

Probe: Would they ever intervene or try to stop the fighting? Why or why not? Under what circumstances?

Have you ever intervened?

6. **What kinds of things do you and your wife disagree about?**

<mark>**(If respondent answers NO, go to question 8)**</mark>

If YES, Probe: The last time you had an argument, what was it about?

7. **When you and your wife have disagreements, what happens?**
Probe: Do you ever insult or yell at her? Has she insulted you?

Probe: Are there times when you beat her?

If yes, PROBE: Tell me about the last time you threatened to hit her. What happened?

What reason did you give her for your behaviour?

Do you think you were justified in hitting her? Why or why not?

Has your wife ever hit you?

8. **How is domestic violence viewed in your community?**
Probe: Do people talk about it openly?

Probe: Have you ever discussed your problems with anyone? Has your partner ever discussed your problems with anyone? How did they respond?

Do women ever leave violent marriages and return home to their families? What are the most difficult challenges they face? How do their families react?

9. **How common is it that women refuse to have sex with their husbands because they do not want to?**

Probe: What is likely to happen if a woman refuses her husband?

Probe: Are there reasons why a woman can legitimately refuse to have sex with her husband?

Interviewer Training

Day 1

On the first day of the training, the study was introduced, including the background and sampling rationale. The interviewers engaged in interactive exercises to reinforce the concepts the study is trying to probe. For example, they were given examples of different constructs asked to discuss whether they constituted attitudes versus normative expectations, and to elaborate the difference.

Day 2

The second day began with an experiential piece on violence to encourage interviewers to think about their own experiences and attitudes, as well as their responsibility as data collectors not to carry their biases into the interviews. The discussion around non-judgment and creating a safe space for participants led to general discussion around the significance of ethics, including the issues of confidentiality and the need to ensure adequate and informed consent. The interviewers also practiced handling consent on each other by asking potential questions that participants in the field might raise about the study and their participation in it. This was to ensure that the team could fully and satisfactorily answer any questions raised, so as not to compromise the consent process in any way. The team also had a brief training in crisis intervention techniques, which was put into practice by asking them to role-play potential scenarios that could arise, such as how they would handle the situation if someone walked in on the interview, or if the woman started to cry. That afternoon, I handed out the in-depth interview guides and we went through the questions as a group, with interviewers discussing the concepts that each question was trying to probe, thus revisiting the study objectives and how they are being applied in the instruments. I then had two interviewers role-play in front of the group, stopping them to discuss how the person in the role of the 'interviewer' had approached the questions, probed effectively, spot the missed opportunities, and picked up on leading threads in responses. This exercise was repeated with the two remaining pairs of interviewers. In subsequent exercises, however, I took a back seat and asked the 'observers' to take notes critiquing the interview

style of their colleagues, which were discussed as a group only once the interview was over in order to allow space for the interview to proceed naturally, and giving interviewers the chance, for example to probe concepts as and when the opportunities arose during the course of the interview. Based on the teams' observations, the order of questions in the in-depth interview guide was revised after the practice sessions to ensure a better flow.

Day 3

The third day began with several more practice in-depth interviews and critiques. In the afternoon, the purpose of group discussions was introduced, including why they are best suited to exploring norms. The group was asked to discuss from their experience in conducting FGDs, what are the skills required for an effective moderator. (I emphasised that there are no right or wrong answers in a group discussion, as a means of fostering respect for diverse opinions and reinforcing a non-judgmental style of interviewing). The structure of vignettes was then described and I explained why the study is employing this technique. Subsequently, an illustrative vignette was introduced to the group who were asked to discuss what they understood about the questions in terms of the concepts the study is trying to probe (thereby refreshing the concepts from day 1). Upon volunteering, one of the interviewers practiced the vignette on the rest of the group, and I paused the discussion where relevant to alert the group to missed opportunities to probe key concepts.

Day 4

The entire fourth day consisted of the group practicing vignettes on each other and critiquing the moderator styles so that interviewers grew accustomed to the vignettes and learnt ways to effectively probe. Shagihilu, took the initiative (perhaps because he felt comfortable by way of his superior age) to enact situations that may arise in the field, such as posing as a dominant speaker or going off tangent, as a means of stimulating the interviewer in charge to handle such situations. His approach engaged the rest of the group and fostered learning through an interactive process that was driven by the team. It made me aware of the competence of my team in taking on board the learning of the training, and I was confident that they felt they were an integral part of the study.

Framework of focus of group analysis

Framework to ensure interaction between participants is focus of group analysis: Adapted from Kitzinger[10].

Attention to:	Explanation
Process	• Examine what information is censured/muted to provide insight into the operation of social processes and how knowledge is articulated, including how norms come to be legitimate
Similarities/differences in participants	• Examine how similarities and differences between group participants allows one to observe how people theorise their own point of view and how they do so in relation to other perspectives; • Examine how participants reflect upon each other's ideas to ensure the data is organic and interconnected
Conflict	• Use conflict between participants to clarify whey people believe what they do, and identify the factors which influence participants to change their minds
Stories	• Examine how facts and stories operate in practice; what 'work' they do
Context	• Take context into account, including the context of 'talk', the context of the setting and be cognizant of what work the interaction does in terms of how people perform age, gender and identity appropriate roles

[10] Kitzinger J. The methodology of focus groups: the importance of interaction between research participants. Sociology of health & illness. 1994;16(1):103-21.

Participant identifiers

In-depth interviews

Participant Identifier (Interview (I) 1-20)	Sex	Age	Occupation
(F, A50, I1)	Female	50 years	Subsistence farming
(M, A23, I2)	Male	23 years	University student
(F, A20, I3)	Female	20 years	Sells 'dagaa' fish
(M, A35, I4)	Male	35 years	Tailor
(F, A19, I5)	Female	19 years	Sells charcoal
(F, A44, I6)	Female	44 years	Has a car wash and sells clothes
(M, A50, I7)	Male	50 years	Small odd jobs
(F, A52, I8)	Female	52 years	Sells alcohol
(F, A50, I9)	Female	50 years	Sells peanuts
(M, A25, I10)	Male	25 years	'Boda boda' bus taxi driver
(M, A46, I11)	Male	46 years	'Boda boda' bus taxi driver
(F, A24, I12)	Female	24 years	Unemployed (breastfeeding)
(M, A25, I13)	Male	25 years	Fisherman
(F, A23, I14)	Female	23 years	Runs MPESA stall
(F, A21, I15)	Female	21 years	Unemployed (husband has forbidden her to work)
(M, A35, I16)	Male	35 years	Small odd jobs
(M, A45, I17)	Male	45 years	Sells chicken
(F, A52, I18)	Female	52 years	Sells maize and clothes
(M, A24, I19)	Male	24 years	Small odd jobs
(M, A24, I20)	Male	24 years	University student (in Dodoma)

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