

THE SOCIOCULTURAL INFLUENCE ON ATTITUDES
TOWARD WIFE BEATING IN KUWAIT AND THE
IMPLICATIONS FOR KUWAITI EDUCATION

By

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Abstract: This study investigated the influence of several predictor variables on attitudes toward wife beating among Kuwaiti college students (N=208). The hypothesized predictors of attitudes toward wife beating were (1) attitudes toward gender roles, (2) intrinsic religiosity, (3) extrinsic religiosity, (4) experiencing physical violence in childhood, and (5) witnessing physical violence between parents in childhood. Specifically, it was hypothesized that there would be a significant difference between male and female participants' attitudes toward wife beating. In addition, it was hypothesized that there would be a significant negative relationship between egalitarian attitudes toward gender roles and supportive attitudes toward wife beating. Moreover, it was hypothesized that there would be a significant positive relationship between intrinsic religiosity, extrinsic religiosity, experiencing physical violence in childhood, and witnessing physical violence between parents in childhood and supportive attitudes toward wife beating. It was also hypothesized that combinations of the five predictor variables would explain a significant portion of the variance in attitudes toward wife beating.

The sample consisted of 208 male and female students, recruited from The College of Basic Education in Kuwait. Participants completed the Inventory of Beliefs about Wife Beating (IBWB) scale, the Sex-Role Egalitarianism Scale (SRES), the intrinsic and extrinsic subscales of the Islamic Behavioral Religiosity (IBR) scale, the physical abusiveness subscale of the Exposure to Abusive and Supportive Environments Parenting Inventory (EASE-PI), the physical assault subscale of the adult-recall version of the revised Conflicts Tactics Scales (CTS2), and a demographic questionnaire. The data were analyzed using independent samples t-test, Pearson correlation coefficient r , and multiple regression analysis.

The study found that male participants were significantly more likely to support wife beating than female participants. In addition, there was a significant support for all the hypothesized relationships between predictor variables and attitudes toward wife beating. Moreover, a combination of predictor variables in this study significantly explained 43.1% of the total variance in attitudes toward wife beating. Based on the findings of this study, implications for education in Kuwait and recommendations for future research are discussed.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The term “wife beating” is used to describe intimate physical violence that is specifically targeted at women by their husbands (Fields, 1978). This could happen repeatedly or occasionally, with or without the intention of injuring the wife (Campbell, 1991; Fields, 1978). However, the main aim of wife beating is to control a woman not only by physically assaulting her but also by issuing threats and verbal abuse, which may happen during the act of beating or before it (Fields, 1978). Men who beat their wives may sometimes view their abusive behavior as physical chastisement to correct the wife’s behavior (Jejeebhoy, 1998). Feminist scholars have used the term to look at gender and power dimensions of violence (Davis & Hagen, 1992; Yllo & Bograd, 1988).

Wife beating is a widespread problem across the globe. However, the prevalence of men perpetrating intimate partner violence against women varies considerably across the world. In Western countries such as the United States, Canada, and Australia, 20 to 25 percent of women have reported experiencing intimate partner violence at some point in their lives (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1996; Breiding, Black, & Ryan, 2008; Johnson, & Sacco, 1995; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). But, the prevalence rate is considerably higher in Arabic countries. For example, researchers have reported rates of

Physical violence against Arab women ranging from 33 to 76 percent (Al-Atrushi, Al-Tawil, Shabila, & Hadithi, 2013; Al-Badayneh, 2012; Afifi, Al-Mubaideb, Hadish, Ismail, & Al-Qeamy, 2011; Diop-Sidibe, Campbell & Becker, 2006; El-Zanaty, Hussein, Shawky, Way, & Kishor, 1996; Haj-Yahia, 2001; Khawaja & Barazi, 2005). Further, a compilation of 48 population-based surveys from 33 countries reviewed by the World Health Organization suggested the percentage of women who had been physically assaulted by an intimate partner at some point in the previous 12 months ranged from 3% or less among women in developed countries (Australia, Canada, and the United States) to 52% of currently married Palestinian women in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (WHO, 2002).

Nayak and Al-Yattama (1999) conducted a study that surveyed 248 pregnant, married women, aged 15–46 years, who presented to obstetric clinics in Kuwait. In this study, a very restrictive definition of assault was used: “physical assault,” which was defined as an attack with a weapon, attacks without a weapon when the perpetrator was perceived as intending to injure, or attacks that resulted in physical injuries to the victim. The study found that a significant proportion of women (one in six) reported lifetime histories of physical victimization. Three percent reported being physically assaulted with a weapon, seven percent reported having suffered injuries, 12% reported experiencing a physical assault with intent to injure, and eight percent reported a recent physical assault (in the last three months). Before 1960, wife beating and domestic violence were commonly viewed in American society as private or even normal aspects of family life. Since 1960, the women’s movement has succeeded in bringing more attention to this problem (Dobash & Dobash, 1979).

For instance, the battered women's movement was the first to identify this issue and, aided by other reformers, to bring it to public attention (Schechter 1982; Tierney 1982). As a

result, "wife abuse" has been transformed from a private, largely invisible matter to one viewed as a social problem for which appropriate remedies should be sought (Gordon, 1988). Still, this viewpoint is very different in other countries. In Arabic countries, for example, many people believe that wife beating is a personal and familial concern rather than a social or legal matter (Haj-Yahia, 2005).

Dobash and Dobash (1979) have argued that the norm of male supremacy and female subordination in patriarchal societies creates the foundation for wife beating. Moreover, Straus (1976) suggested that there may be implicit cultural norms that legitimize and justify physical violence in husband-wife relations. Variations in the rate of violence against women from one society to another may reflect the degree of tolerance toward intimate partner violence. In addition, in Arab countries wife abuse is frequently viewed as a private family concern rather than a social problem (Douki, Nacef, Belhadj, Bouasker, & Ghachem, 2003; Haj-Yahia, 2002, 2005). So it is not surprising that in most Arab societies there is no law that clearly opposes wife beating. The larger sociocultural environments in which people live exert great influence on how they view wife beating and violence against women in general. They shape people's attitudes towards wife beating.

Attitudes toward wife beating refers to how people perceive wife beating. Researchers have found men's tolerant or approving attitudes toward wife beating to be an important factor for predicting physical abuse (Basile, Hall, & Walters, 2013; Carr & Vandusen, 2002). Part of prevention efforts should therefore concentrate on changing such attitudes. If we understand how attitudes are shaped and changed, we may suggest ways to counter and diminish such attitudes toward wife beating in order to prevent or at least reduce the rate of wife abuse. Education can play a major role in this regard, as education is often

deliberately used to influence opinion and question false beliefs. Programs designed to raise awareness about and to discourage violence against women have been implemented at all levels of the education system. Such interventions can exert a positive influence in changing men's and boys' violent attitudes toward women (Flood, 2005-2006; Whitaker et al., 2006). The tendency to support gender equality increases at higher levels of education; both the men and women who had completed higher education were found to be less likely to believe that abuse was ever justifiable (Mann & Tukai, 2009). Strategies to help combat spousal violence and change social norms condoning this behavior may be centered on the concept of female empowerment.

Social norms govern standards of appropriate and inappropriate behavior, and these norms vary across cultural contexts (Albrecht, Chadwick, & Jacobson, 1987). Individual behaviors and attitudes are generally shaped by social and cultural factors, and attitudes toward violence against wives are especially susceptible to cross-cultural variance (Albrecht, Chadwick, & Jacobson, 1987; Flood & Pease, 2009). Thus, in a society where severe restrictions on women are accepted as a cultural norm, when a woman violates the restrictions placed upon her, people may feel that she deserves to be punished and may justify violence against her (Al-Badayneh, 2012).

The present study examines how sociocultural factors influence attitudes toward wife beating in the context of Arabic and Islamic society, focusing on a Kuwaiti population as a sample. In particular, it investigates how elements such as gender role attitudes, religiosity, and exposure to family violence in childhood are related to attitudes towards wife beating. Based on the result of the study, effective interventions that can be incorporated into school curriculums will be proposed.

Cultural Influence on Attitudes toward Wife-Beating

The many cultural factors that have been found to be closely related to attitudes towards wife beating include gender roles and gender role attitudes, religiosity, and exposure to domestic violence in childhood.

Gender roles and gender role attitudes

According to Kornblum and Smith (2011) gender roles are the sets of behaviors considered appropriate for individuals of a particular sex and are highly influenced by culture. In most cultures, there are distinctions between behaviors that are deemed as appropriate for males and females. Gender role attitudes can be defined as people's beliefs regarding what are "appropriate" and "inappropriate" behaviors for men and women. For example, cultures prescribe appropriate behaviors and social relationships for men and women in the family, the workplace, and in public settings (King & King, 1983). One way to consider attitudes toward gender roles takes the form of a continuum, with traditional attitudes at one end of a spectrum and egalitarian attitudes at the opposite end. At the traditional end, people place great importance on gender role stereotypes and feel that men and women should conform to distinct cultural norms specific to their sex. At the egalitarian end, people feel that it acceptable for men and women not to strictly conform to traditional ideas about what is appropriate for their sex and that men and women should be treated equally (King & King, 1983). Traditional (non-egalitarian) gender role expectations for men require men to be breadwinners, to make major decisions, and to protect family and nation. Traditional gender role expectations for women require them to be nurturing, to be caregivers

for children, or sacrifice their personal interests on behalf of the family, and to rely on men for protection (Aronson & Buchholz, 2001; Sollie, 2000).

In Arabic culture, the family is the most sacred social institution and is to be protected at all costs (Haj-Yahia, 2000). The family offers security to its members, however in return for this security, family members must conform to a cultural code (El-Islam, 1983). A family consists of various roles assigned to its members; the father/husband role entails the responsibility to protect or guard the family structure, while female members are assigned a role akin to property of the men, to whom they are to depend upon for protection (Al-Krenawi & Lev-Wiesel 2002; Takash, Ghaith, & Hammouri et al., 2013).

Women's gender role expectations subject them to traditional expectations such as sexual purity, faithfulness, obedience and loyalty to the husband or father, and acceptance of male dominance. Women are expected to adhere to traditional feminine virtues such as selflessness for the sake of the family (Haj-Yahia, 1998a). Although men's protector role could be seen as a good thing to maintain the survival of the family, men may feel obliged to use the power and authority assigned to them to protect the family reputation. When a violation of traditional gender roles occurs, this violation threatens to tarnish family honor, and men may feel justified resorting to physical means to protect and assert this honor (Al-Badayneh, 2012; Al-Krenawi & Lev-Wiesel 2002)

Family honor is a very important concept in Arabic culture and is always linked to the behaviors of the female members in the family. According to Glazer and Abu-Ras (1994), a woman can bring shame to her family in many ways, including premarital sex, flirting, divorce, asking for divorce, and challenging men's authority. For example, if a woman perceived to dresses provocatively, she may be perceived as belittling the family honor,

which is vested in female sexual purity and subordination to male demands (Glazer & Abu-Ras, 1994). Thus, the honor concept is used to restrict women's behavior by limiting what she can do and even what she can wear. In policing women's behavior, her male guardians may feel they have the right or the justification to control her in the name of protecting the family reputation and honor. Men may even feel they have the right or obligation to enforce these norms by using physical means.

The superiority of men over women and the enforcement of traditional gender roles for both sexes is not only found in the patriarchal structure of the Arab family but also extends to the laws of the country. For example, in 1970 after a time of economic growth in Kuwait, the government embarked on a housing program for Kuwaiti citizens, granting a Kuwaiti man who marries a Kuwaiti or non-Kuwaiti woman a free government house; on the other hand, a Kuwaiti woman who marries a non-Kuwaiti man did not qualify for a government house. The policy was formulated to benefit men rather than women by installing men as heads of households. When a divorced man remarries, the divorced wife either shares the same house with the second wife, or returns to her family (Al-Mughni, 2001). According to Al-Mughni (2001), the entire policy of the Kuwaiti state was designed to perpetuate patriarchal relationships and to maintain the traditional role of women.

Islam, gender roles, and wife-beating

Among sociocultural factors, religion is an important element shaping how gender roles are defined and how individuals should live their gendered lives. In Arabic nations that are highly influenced by the principles of Islam, there is a strong emphasis on hierarchical family structures and rigid gender roles in which men are expected to be the masters of the

house and women are expected to submit to male authority (Ayyub, 2000; Hajjar, 2004). The concepts of surrender or submission are central to Islam, as “Islam” means submission, and “Muslim” means one who submits to the will of Allah (God). In Islam, Muslims use the Quran, the holy book that is believed to contain the words of Allah, and the Prophet’s Mohammad sayings and traditions (sunnah), to inform their religious practice. Both, the Quran and sunnah deal with many topics, such as how to worship god, how to deal with issues in politics, economics, and social life, and how to treat other people in general, including how members of the family should treat each other.

At the inception of the religion, Islam granted women certain legal rights that were absent in pre-Islamic Arab societies. For example, under Islam, female infanticide was banned, and women became entitled to contract their marriage, receive a dowry, and retain control of the family wealth (Karam, 2004; Moghadam, 2004). Islam also granted women the right to study and work and receive shares of family inheritance (Karam, 2004; Moghadam, 2004). However, although women gained many rights under Islam, these rights were not equal to the rights of men. For example, in inheritance rights, men were entitled to inherit twice much as women, and in trial testimonies, one man’s testimony equaled that of two women (Karam, 2004).

Under Islam, the only socially sanctioned venue for sexual activity is marriage. Although marriage in Islam is not compulsory, Islam encourages marriage and emphasizes marriage as an important part of religious practice. Accordingly, Sherif (1999) reported that “throughout the Islamic world, marriage is at the heart of social and religious life” (p. 619). Many Muslims consider the peace and security a stable home life offers as essential for spiritual growth (Faizi, 2001). Furthermore, according to Islamic teaching, marriage should

be a union based on love and mercy. The Quran implies this meaning, "He created mates for you from yourselves that you may find rest, peace of mind in them, and he ordained between you love and mercy. Lo, herein indeed are signs for people who reflect." (Quran 30:21). The Quran thus contains instructions telling husbands and wives how to treat each other. These rules for good family relations are intended to promote marital stability.

The prophet Mohammad emphasized that men should be good to their wives and children when he said "The best of you is he who is best to his family, and I am the best among you to my family". Many other examples in the Quran and sunnah instruct both men and women to treat their spouses with kindness, mercy, affection and compassion.

Verse 4:34 is a controversial passage of the Quran that discusses male-female relations in marriage. Any discussion of the role and status of women in Islam should address the issues raised by this verse. The verse begins with the question of men's authority over women, and ends with a pronouncement on the legality of wife beating. Verse 4:34 states:

Men are in charge of women, because Allah has made some of them excel the others, and because they spend some of their wealth. Hence righteous women are obedient, guarding the unseen which Allah has guarded. And those of them that you fear might rebel, admonish them and abandon them in their beds and beat them. Should they obey you, do not seek a way of harming them; for Allah is Sublime and Great.

This verse contains three important concepts or principles in Islam; they are: *qawama*, *ta'a*, and *nushuz*. These concepts need to be discussed in detail in order to understand this verse, according to the predominant interpretation by contemporary and past Islamic scholars. *Qawama* means authority and guardianship, *ta'a* means obedience, and *nushuz* means disobedience or rebellion (Ammar, 2007; Asadinejad, 2012; Dunn & Kellison,

2010). When applied to men, the concept *qawama* suggests that a man should be the head of the household, and that the appropriate role of a husband or father is to guard and protect his wife and daughters, who are assumed to be weaker and submissive because they are female (Ammar, 2007; Hajjar, 2004). So, a common interpretation of this verse claims that because God made men physically and mentally stronger than women, men therefore have both a duty to protect and provide for female family members and a corresponding right to lord over the household (Ayyub 2000; Dunn & Kellison, 2010; Hajjar, 2004; Faizi, 2001). The characterization of women as weaker in nature is used to justify her subservient role: a good wife should obey (*ta'a*) her husband (Asadinejad, 2012; Hajjar, 2004; Hassouneh-Phillips, 2001a). This passage, then, is commonly interpreted as providing religious ground for gender inequality; the argument proceeds from the assumption that because God made men and women "essentially" different, men and women should be assigned different family roles. The roles of husband and wife can be specified in terms of unequal but complementary rights and duties. Traditionalists have claimed that conformity to these complementary roles supports family and social stability (Hajjar, 2004; Zakar, Zakar, & Kraemer 2011).

The second part of this verse advises men on how to deal with those women who show signs of *nushuz*, which has been defined as disobedience or rebelliousness. This concept also includes disloyalty, ill conduct, adultery, sexual refusal, disobedience, and cruelty (Asadinejad, 2012; Ammar, 2007; Dunn & Kellison, 2010; Scott, 2009). Ammar (2007) reviewed and classified the different interpretations of the second part of Quranic verse 4:34 on wife beating and presented them in the order of the most to the least strict patriarchal interpretations. The most patriarchal interpretation sees wife beating as permissible if a wife does not obey her husband. This extreme patriarchal interpretation

places practically no limits or regulations on wife beating. In contrast, the least patriarchal interpretation uses linguistic rules to show that verse 4:34 has been misinterpreted and does not even refer to beating when using the Arabic word *daraba* (beating). The proponents of this school have said that there are a number of meanings ascribed to the word *daraba*, and that only one of these means beating. The other meanings related to the word include: to leave, to set up, to give examples and to multiply in a mathematical formula, among other meanings (Ammar, 2007; Dunn & Kellison, 2010; Karam, 2004).

However, the mainstream interpretation of the verse is that in Islam men have authority over women, who are expected to be obedient, and in case of *nushus*, Islam permits the beating of wives and such beating can only be a last resort in a preferential order of behaviors found in the same Quranic verse: first admonish her, next refuse to share her bed, and lastly beat her (Asadinejad, 2012; Ammar, 2007; Dunn & Kellison, 2010; Scott, 2009). This view has been supported by many famous Islamic scholars and Quranic interpreters including al-Tabari (838- 923), Ibn Kathir (1301–1373), Muhammad ‘Abduh (1849–1905), Rashid Rida (1865–1935), Sayyid Qutb (1906–1966), and Al-Qaradawi (1926). According to this view, a husband has a right to admonish his wife for disobedience. This admonishment should initially consist of kind words to reason with her and to gently persuade her, using hadiths and Quranic verses to remind her of her wifely duties (Asadinejad, 2012; Ammar, 2007; Dunn & Kellison, 2010). If gentle persuasion does not work, he should go to the next step: sleep apart from her (sexual separation). She should take this sexual separation as a sign that her husband is unhappy, and she should take steps to fix the problem. If this approach fails, it is permissible for him to beat her (Asadinejad, 2012; Ammar, 2007; Dunn & Kellison, 2010).

All proponents of this view emphasize the hitting should not be severe or vigorous; the husband may hit his wife lightly with his hand, avoiding her face and other sensitive areas. According to this view, such light hitting does not constitute violence (Ammar, 2007). His blows should not result in injury, and should not intensify hatred (Asadinejad, 2012; Ammar, 2007; Dunn & Kellison, 2010). It is mentioned in some Hadiths that beating a woman in her face is prohibited and a toothbrush could be used as the beating stick. Islamic scholars who support a husband's right to hit his wife point out that the permitted punishment is light and not intended to inflict physical injury. These scholars infer that such punishment must be given out of love and present a positive alternative to divorce (Ammar, 2007; Asadinejad, 2012). To summarize the discussion of the verse 4:34, whatever the controversy regarding this verse of the Quran may be, it clearly implies that men have more power, authority, and leadership over women, and that women should obey, respect their husbands and accept her subordinate position. When a wife deviates from the norm by engaging in disobedience, the husband should take some measures to rectify the situation through discipline, first by advising her, second by shunning her in bed, and if the first two strategies prove ineffective, by a light beating.

Two important issues that also need to be considered when discussing the relationship between Islam and abuse of women are divorce and marital rape. Although divorce is permitted in Islam, it is nonetheless discouraged. The Prophet Mohammed said, "Allah did not make anything lawful more abominable to Him than divorce." Because divorce itself tends to be seen as disobedience to God and displeasing him in the Islamic faith, many Muslim women will avoid this option (Cohen & Savaya, 1997; Faizi, 2001). The bias against divorced women may be a product that incorporates elements of both Arabic culture and

Islamic religion (Ayyub, 2000). There is a double standard here, as divorce is largely perceived as the wife's failure, and is more shameful for women than for men. A divorced woman may be perceived as “damaged goods”, and people may blame her for the failed marriage, assuming that she must be at fault (Ayyub, 2000; Haj-Yahia, 2000). For example, in some Arabic societies, a divorced woman is called a “broken glass”, from the Arabic saying “Glass once broken can never again be made whole” (Cohen & Savaya, 1997, p. 236). Even if a woman is abused by her husband, leaving her abusive partner may result in social ostracism, and she may be labeled “loose, rebellious, disrespectful, selfish, and not caring about her family and children” (Haj-Yahia, 2000, p. 240).

Although rape is a punishable crime in every Islamic society, marital rape is not considered a crime in most Islamic countries, including Kuwait (UN Women, 2011). This may be because sharia law sanctions sex within marriage and does not conceive of any possible harm in this context (Hajjar, 2004). Thus, marital rape is literally "uncriminalizable" under dominant interpretations of sharia (Hajjar, 2004). There is even a passage in the Quran that is thought to support the husband's right to unfettered sexual access to his wife. Quranic verse 2:223 states, “Your wives are a sort of tilth for you; so approach your tilth when and as you like”¹. Moreover, a widely known hadith of the Prophet Mohammed that is often cited when discussing marital rape in Islam states, “If a husband calls his wife to his bed and she refuses and causes him to sleep in anger, the angels will curse her till morning”. The above passages are controversial. While some claim that these passages grant husbands unrestricted sexual access to their wives, others have argued that this must not include forced sex (Franiuk & Shain, 2011).

¹ “Tilth” means land that is tilled or cultivated.

The principle of female obedience also tends to undermine those Quranic verses and hadiths that instruct husbands not to force themselves sexually upon their wives (Hajjar, 2004). When a wife refuses to have sex with her husband, he may rationalize that he is allowed to strike her for what he takes to be “disobedience”. Refusing to have sex with one's husband is one of most common justifications given for violence against women in Islamic countries (El-Zanaty et al., 1996; Haj-Yahia, Wilson, & Naqvi, 2012). For example, El-Zanaty et al., (1996) in a demographic and health survey of Egypt, a predominantly Islamic country, found that 70% of Egyptian women said that beatings were justified if the woman refused to have sex with her husband.

According to Fortune and Enger (2005), “in the context of violence against women, religious teachings will play a role; they will never be neutral”. Religion has been criticized by feminists as a mainstay of patriarchy, which condones violence within marriage (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Walker 1988). Many teachings of Islam that came from the Quran and the hadith contain passages that can be read or interpreted and misinterpreted, to justify and condemn violence against women (Ammar, 2007; Douki et.al., 2003; Hajjar, 2004). Religious teachings associated with Islam that may be used to justify or excuse wife beating include: submission to the husband as the head of the family, interpretation of the verse 4:34 to justify violence, disapproval of divorce, and no concept of marital rape.

An interpretation of verse 4:34 may lead men to believe that their wives are their property, and that their wives should obey and serve them. This passage therefore becomes a means for male domination over women as well as a religiously based legal license that condones intimate partner violence (Niu & Laidler, 2015). A qualitative study of abused Chinese Muslim women related a case in which a woman's husband beat her until she could

no longer stand after she had gone out of the house for a couple of hours without telling him. This man justified his behavior as a requirement of Islam (Niu & Laidler, 2015).

Because marriage in Islam is a form of religious practice, and because divorce itself tends to be seen as disobedience to Allah (Cohen & Savaya, 1997), Islamic views of marriage may contribute to the normalization and acceptance of violence perpetrated by men against their wives (Hong Le, Tran, Nguyen, & Fisher, 2014). Oyediran and Isiugo-Abanihe (2005) used data from the 2003 Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS) to investigate Nigerian women's attitudes toward violence against women in marital relationships. The survey found that about three quarters of Muslim women accept using physical violence against wives compared to approximately fifty percent among their Christian counterparts. Another study conducted on a sample of 422 refugee women in Ethiopia found that Muslim women were significantly more likely to experience physical violence at the hands of their husbands, and that Muslim women were about two and half times more likely to experience physical violence during their lifetime than their Christian counterparts (Feseha, Gmariam, & Gerbaba, 2012).

As stated before, all major religions are patriarchal, and their patriarchy legitimizes and enforces male dominance over women. But why are Muslim women more likely to experience violence or show more tolerant attitudes toward violence as indicated by the above studies? and why is patriarchy or male superiority associated with Islam more so than other major world religions (Hasan, 2012). The answer to these questions is that Muslims might be more patriarchal not just because they are Muslim but because more of them are strongly religious (Alexander & Welzel, 2011). For example, in a study conducted in Israel to identify major risk factors associated with violence against women, the authors found the

highest level of wife abuse among Muslim families and the lowest among Jewish families (Eisikovits, Winstok & Fishman, 2004). However, when taking the total sample and dividing it into two groups – violent and nonviolent men – a higher percentage of religious men (both Muslim and Jewish) were found in the violent group than in the nonviolent group. Similarly, in a predominately Christian sample of American undergraduates, Higginbotham et al. (2007) found religiosity to be positively associated with the perpetration of violence. Thus, religiosity seems to be an important variable to consider when discussing attitudes toward violence against women.

Religiosity is a complex concept. It can be roughly defined as an individual's degree of religious commitment and has also been identified by feminist scholars as a good indicator of patriarchal ideology. Some scholars have argued that there will never be a satisfactory definition or measurement of this quality (Hill & Hood; 1999; Holdcroft, 2006) and cross-cultural studies seeking to find links between religiosity and violent attitudes toward women have yielded mixed findings. This inconsistency across studies may be due to differences in measurements and definitions. Trimble (1997) and Donahue (1985), in reviews of the sociological research on religion and wife abuse, indicated Allport and Ross's (1967) Religious Orientation Scale as the most widely used instrument for conceptualizing and measuring religiosity. Allport and Ross considered personal motives behind an individual's religiosity as a key explanatory component. Their work produced a self-report instrument that distinguishes between intrinsic and extrinsic dimensions of religiosity. According to Allport and Ross (1967) an "extrinsically motivated person *uses* his religion, whereas the intrinsically motivated *lives* his religion" (p. 434). *Intrinsically* religious individuals attempt to live out the precepts of their faith, and to align their personal priorities with those dictated

by the religion. They do not adjust their religious beliefs to their personal interests. In contrast, *extrinsically* religious individuals use their religion as a means to an end. They tend to look to their religious community for social benefits, such as comfort and protection, friendship, status, or support (Allport & Ross, 1967).

Several studies found a significant relationship between religiosity in general, whether intrinsically or extrinsically motivated and tolerant attitudes toward wife beating. That is, people who score higher in religiosity were found to be more likely to tolerate wife beating (Baier, 2014; Gengler & Lee, 2002; Haj-Yahia, 1998a; 1998b; 2005; Jeffords, 1984, Koch, & Ramirez, 2010). For example, a series of studies conducted by Haj-Yahya (1998a; 1998b; 2005) measured degree of religiosity of Jordanian men, Palestinian men, and Palestinian women. The studies asked respondents to answer three items on a six-point Likert Scale: (1) to what extent do you consider yourself religious? (2) to what extent do you practice and adhere to the laws and customs of your religion? and (3) to what extent do you identify and feel affiliated with your religion? In all three studies, Haj-Yahya (1998a; 1998b; 2005) was able to establish an association between person's religiosity and his or her tendency to blame female victims for the violence directed at them. Specifically, these studies came to two significant conclusions regarding individuals with a high degree of religiosity: (1) that highly religious individuals are more likely to accept or justify violence against women, and (2) that such individuals are less likely to hold the male perpetrator responsible and instead to blame the female victim for her own victimization. Thus, religiosity seems to be a significant factor influencing people's attitudes toward wife beating.

Exposure to family violence in childhood

Childhood exposure to violence in the family is also found to be a significant influence on people's attitudes toward wife beating. Childhood exposure can take two forms: (1) children witnessing physical violence between parents, and (2) children being the victim of physical violence. The estimated number of children around the world who have been physically abused by their parents or who have witnessed violence between their parents is highly variable. In the United States, Carlson (2000) estimated that from 10% to 20% of American children witness adult domestic violence each year. Thompson, Saltzman and Johnson (2003) reported that 33% of battered women in Canada and 40% in the United States who responded to national surveys stated that their children had observed intimate partner violence.

In addition to the high rates of children witnessing in-home violence, it is estimated that in 2012 alone more than 686,000 American children were victims of abuse, and 80% of the perpetrators were parents (Child Welfare Information Gateway, 2014). In Kuwait, no national survey has been conducted regarding exposure to violence in the family. However, Nayak (1999) found that over half (54.9%) of a sample of undergraduate Kuwaiti students reported having witnessed adult family members physically attack each other. In addition, Qasem, Mustafa, Kazem, & Shah (1998) gave 337 Kuwaiti parents a list of disciplinary methods and asked them to report on which of these their parents had used while raising them. The results of this study revealed that more than half of the subjects (61%) had received physical beating by hand, and 30% had received beating with a stick or another object during childhood.

Although witnessing violence between parents and experiencing physical abuse as a child are two different experiences, they often co-occur (Edleson, 1999; Rada, 2014). For

instance, based on three cross-sectional studies including 869 randomly selected subjects conducted between 2009 and 2011 in Romania, Rada (2014) found that approximately 80% of subjects who had witnessed violence between their parents were also victims of violence by their own parents.

Children who witness violence between parents or experience physical violence at the hand of their parents or caretakers are negatively impacted. Those children personally or vicariously exposed to violence often suffer from social, behavioral, academic, and mental and health problems (DeBoard-Lucas & Grych 2011; Gershoff, 2002; Graham-Bermann, Gruber, Howell, & Girz, 2009; Wolf & Foshee, 2003; Grych, Jouriles, Swank, McDonald, & Norwood, 2000). In addition, exposure to violence in childhood increases the likelihood of aggression, delinquency, and violent forms of acting out in adolescence (Gershoff, 2002; Kemme, Hansmaier, & Pfeiffer, 2014; Zinzow et al., 2009).

Children or adolescents who are exposed to violence in their family while growing up are at greater risk of involvement in intimate partner violence in the future. According to social learning theory, violence is a learned behavior through observation and imitation. This model claims that children who experience violence at the hands of their parents or who witness parents' violence toward one another will learn from their parents, who represent significant role models, that violence is appropriate as a method of conflict resolution. The theory claims that these children will then grow up to imitate these early childhood lessons in their adult relationships (Bandura 1973). Moreover, not only does the family expose children to violence and techniques of violence, family members may also teach acceptance for the use of violence (Bandura 1973; Mihalic & Elliott, 1997). Thus, witnessing and experiencing violence early in childhood or adolescence may increase one's tolerance for violence within

marital relationships in the future because adults who were exposed to violent behavior as children may feel that violence is normative in intimate relationships. In cultures where wife beating is accepted, normalized, and practiced, children are more likely to be exposed to violence against women at home and their attitudes toward wife beating may be affected by such experiences.

Thus, cultural norms, individual's religiosity and early childhood upbringing all have a role in shaping people's attitudes towards husbands' violence against their wives.

Kuwait and Patriarchy

Kuwait is a small country of about three and a half million people that occupies 17,820 square kilometers – a little less than the land area of New Jersey. Kuwait is located in the northwestern part of the Arabian Gulf. Iraq borders Kuwait on the north and Saudi Arabia on the south. Kuwait, following traditional Arab and Islamic customs, is a patriarchal society (Tetreault & Al-Mughni, 1995).

In general, traditionally minded Kuwaitis have believed that males are superior to females, and so women should be subordinate to men. Women's primary sphere of work is thought to be within the home, where their job is to look after and care for the children and perform domestic work. With clearcut gender role differences, Men are expected to be financial providers, protectors, authoritarian, dominant, controlling, and aggressive, while women are expected to behave in more dependent and passive ways, and their proper role is within the house taking care of children (Al-Krenawi & Lev-Wiesel, 2002; El-Islam, 1983; Gharaibeh, Abu-Baker, & Aji, 2012). Generally, women are to be protected by their male relatives, assigned to the domestic sphere, and blocked from participation in the public

sphere (Tetreault & Al-Mughni, 1995). Traditional Islamic customs imposed in Kuwait and other Arab societies dictate that a single woman must always be “under the supervision, control and protection of the family’s male members, and abstain from engaging in social interaction with non-family males” (Al-Tarrah, 2002, p. 21). According to Kuwaiti feminist scholar Al-Mughani (2001), obedience, dependency, and submissiveness to men constitute the ideal picture of the Arabic women. Traditional gender norms encourage men to be dominant and aggressive, while women must appear weak, dependent and submissive. Men dominate women and exercise power over them at home and work. The situation in Kuwait is a typical case of what scholars of patriarchy have generally observed.

Since the middle of the 20th century, the state of Kuwait experienced dramatic economic growth as a result of oil discovery and its export to the world market. This economic success has had a great influence on the traditional lifestyle, customs, manners, and role of women in society and in the family. Families became wealthier, and more women were able to pursue higher education and professional careers. As the middle class grew at the end of the 20th century, more women took government jobs or pursued higher education alongside their male counterparts. Women who worked in government agencies and business often stopped wearing veils, and by the 1970s, younger Kuwaiti women came to see public removal of the veil as liberating and a way of claiming equal status with men (Al-Mughani, 2001).

However, there was a backlash against change in gender roles from conservative Muslim leaders. For example, based on traditional and Islamic views held by Kuwaitis, Al-Tarrah (2002) criticizes male heads of households if they allow women in their family to work outside the home. The new expression of freedom was also followed by a conservative

backlash against unveiling in the following years, causing many women to resume wearing veils. Thus, under social pressure from their husbands and conservative Muslim men, some modern and professional women in Kuwait came to conform to traditional values regarding their clothing. According to traditional gender norms in Kuwait, the veiling and covering of women's heads and faces represents female modesty.

In recent years, the pressure to enforce traditional gender norms has started to take a political direction. For example, on June 1, 2008, a group of conservative male parliamentarians led by Mohammed Hayef Al-Mutairi walked out during the swearing in ceremony of Modhi al-Homoud and Nouria al-Subeih, two new female ministers, to protest their decision not to wear headscarves. Al-Mutairi said that the two female ministers were not abiding by Sharia (Ellas, 2008). Sharia law is a moral code or religious dictate that is associated with Islam. Islamic law is derived from the Quran and the ways of life prescribed by the prophet Muhammad. Under Islamic rule in many countries, women must cover themselves in veils and long dresses. However, in Kuwait, full body covering for women is not mandatory as it is in neighboring Saudi Arabia. Thus, arguments over women's dress and particularly the practice of wearing head coverings continue to be a point of tension and conflict between traditionalists and reformists.

Kuwait's 1962 constitution is ambiguous regarding women's equal status as citizens. Those in favor of women's rights point to Article 29, which guarantees equal rights to "all people." Those opposed to women's rights point to Article 9, which calls the family "the cornerstone of society," and article 12, which says the state must "safeguard the heritage of Islam." Opponents then claim that this means that women must be subordinate to men in public and family life (Tetreault, 2000, p. 28).

Violence against Women in Kuwait

According to Wasti and her coauthors (2000), traditional patriarchal societies that prescribe asymmetrical sexual norms and clearly defined gender roles encourage violence against women. Other authors have argued that violence against women is a tool to discipline, correct or even punish those who do not conform to the traditional gender roles or that is seen as misbehaving (Ellsberg & Heise, 2005; King & Roberts, 2011; Oyedokun, 2008). Such “sexually repressive” culture may even sanction murdering women through practices such as “honor killing” (Nayak, Byrne, Martin, & Abraham, 2003). The term “honor killing” refers to a homicide of a female by a male relative for reasons of suspected or known “sexual impropriety” (Araji & Carlson, 2001). In a systematic review of 40 academic articles on honor killings in the Middle East and North Africa, Kulczycki and Windle (2011) found no documented cases of honor killing targeted at men, and concluded that honor killing is a crime against women only, and that it is a practice aimed at controlling female sexuality and of women in general.

Araji and Carlson (2001) contended that some men and women in Arabic countries consider abusing or killing wives who engage in sexual misconduct as normative, not deviant behavior. In Kuwait, laws also acknowledging “family honor” may result in gender discrimination. “Honor killings” are punishable under the law. However, the law allows for a more lenient sentence to a man who kills his wife, mother, sister or daughter caught in “unlawful sexual relations.” Studies from Kuwait, Syria and Saudi Arabia found that the most common justification for wife beating, given by both men and women, was the wife’s sexual infidelity (Al-Koot et al., 2010; Al-Mosaed, 2004; Gharaibeh, et al., 2012).

In a patriarchal society like Kuwait, violence against wives is commonly often justified as the husband's right, especially when a wife violates traditional gender norms. These violations include disobedience, neglect of children, infidelity, and refusing to have sex (Choi & Edleson, 1996; El Zanaty et al., 1996; Maman et al., 2002). Kuwaiti women may experience an especially high risk of violence at the hands of their husbands. There are two reasons for this increased risk. First, according to a 2011 report by UN Women, there are currently no laws in Kuwait protecting women from domestic violence or marital rape. The report found that only three countries in the Arabic region (Egypt, Jordan, and Morocco) have outlawed domestic violence. Second, widespread cultural biases in Kuwait (and other Islamic societies) discourage any woman from reporting incidents of domestic violence or leaving abusive relationships because this may result in the woman being blamed for her own victimization, a fear of losing her children, a loss of social status, or the shame of divorce (Bauer, Rodriguez, Quiroga, & Flores-Ortiz, 2000; Haj-Yahia, 2000; Mousavi & Eshagian, 2005). In Islamic countries like Kuwait, "Women's cultural lives are governed by a sexual ideology that keeps them constantly vulnerable and in fear of losing status and acceptability" (Huda, 2003, p. 58).

Statement of the Problem

Attitudes have been of central concern in relation to wife beating. In their literature review of many empirical studies concerning attitudes toward violence against women, Flood & Pease (2009), conclude that attitudes play a role in perpetuating this type of violence, in victims' responses to victimization, and in community responses to wife beating. Education campaigns aimed at preventing violence against women have therefore focused on attitude

change as a key target of intervention. However, studies about attitudes toward violence against women in marital relationships in Kuwait are limited. The few published studies used different definitions and types of violence, with different scales to measure attitudes toward violence. The findings presented by the existing research into intimate partner violence in Kuwait are therefore incomplete; these studies address only the influence of demographic variables such as gender, age, educational status, marital status and residence area (rural/urban) on attitudes toward violence against women. The studies do not, however, address cultural influences on attitudes toward wife beating (Nayak, 1999; Nayak et al., 2003; Nazar & Kouzekanani, 2007). Attitudes toward gender roles, degree of intrinsic religiosity, degree of extrinsic religiosity, the experience of violence in the family, and exposure to violent parental conflict have all been found to influence attitudes toward wife beating around the world.

However, much of the research into this problem suffers from methodological and instrumental shortcomings. For example, most of the studies that looked into gender role attitudes and how they correlate to attitudes toward women's abuse focus on attitudes towards the roles of women (e.g., the Attitudes towards Women Scale AWS of Spence and Helmreich (1972). These studies considered only judgments of attitudes toward women's roles, but did not examine men's gender roles (Beere, King, Beere, & King, 1984). Further, Ellison and colleagues (2007) criticized most studies on religiosity and violence against women for being limited to qualitative research, and called for more quantitative research on this topic.

Purpose of the Study

This study examines the relation between (a) attitudes toward gender roles, degree of intrinsic religiosity, degree of extrinsic religiosity, experiencing violence in the family of origin, and witnessing violence between parents, and (b) attitudes toward wife beating on a Kuwaiti sample. Using feminist and social learning theories, this study will explore how the independent variables listed above may influence attitudes toward wife beating. The study will also compare attitudes of Kuwaiti men and women regarding violence against women in general. If some of the variables suggested in this study are found to influence attitudes toward wife beating, then interventions designed to change attitudes toward wife beating should focus on these variables. Education programs can consider such variables when implementing programs aimed at prevention. For example, a school curriculum may include lessons that prompt students to think about gender bias and stereotypes and to solve conflicts without resorting to violence.

Definition of Terms

Attitude toward wife beating: The degree to which people deem it appropriate for a husband to use physical violence against his wife. For the purpose of this study, higher scores on the Inventory of Beliefs about Wife Beating (IBWB) (Saunders, Lynch, Grayson & Lins, 1987)) indicate a supportive attitude toward wife beating; lower scores indicate non-supportive attitudes toward wife beating.

Attitudes toward gender roles: People's beliefs regarding what are "appropriate" and "inappropriate" behaviors for men and women. For the purpose of this study, higher scores on the Sex Role Egalitarianism Scale (SRES) (King & King, 1983) indicate egalitarian

attitudes toward gender roles, and low scores indicate traditional attitudes toward gender roles.

Intrinsic Religiosity: According to Allport (1966), the intrinsically religious person regards faith as a supreme value. To such an individual, the tenets of his or her religion have an intrinsic value that must not be questioned or personally evaluated. Therefore, the true believers do not adjust their religious beliefs to fit their personal interests. Higher scores on the Intrinsic Religiosity Subscale of the Islamic Behavioral Religiosity Scale (Abou-Youssef, Kortam, Abou-Aish, & El-Bassiouny, 2011) indicate a higher degree of intrinsic religiosity, and lower scores indicate a lower degree of intrinsic religiosity.

Extrinsic Religiosity: Allport & Ross (1966) defined extrinsic religiosity as a "religion that is strictly utilitarian; useful for the self in granting safety, social standing, solace, and endorsement of one's chosen way of life" (p.455). Higher scores on the Extrinsic Religiosity Subscale of the Islamic Behavioral Religiosity Scale (Abou-Youssef, Kortam, Abou-Aish, & El-Bassiouny, 2011) indicate a higher degree of extrinsic religiosity, and lower scores indicate a lower degree of extrinsic religiosity.

Experiencing violence in the family of origin: The degree to which participants experienced physical violence at the hand of one or both of their parents before the age of 18. For the purposes of this study, experiencing violence in the family of origin will be measured as the total physical abusiveness scale scores on The Exposure to Abusive and Supportive Environments Parenting Inventory (EASE-PI) (Nicholas & Bieber, 1997).

Witnessing violence in the family of origin: The degree to which participants before the age of 18 were being "within a visual range of the physical violence between parents and seeing it occur" (Edleson, 1999). For the purpose of this study, witnessing violence in the

family of origin will be measured as the total physical assault scale scores on the Straus (2001) Adult-Recall Version of the Revised Conflicts Tactics Scale (CTS2-CA).

The first chapter has provided a background for setting up the problem of wife beating and attitudes toward wife beating in Kuwait. In Chapter II, I will discuss the theories that explain attitudes toward wife beating and that form the theoretical framework of this study. In Chapter III, I review the academic literature regarding attitudes toward violence against women in marital relationships and the social and cultural factors that may influence attitudes toward violence against women in marital relationships. In Chapter IV, I will discuss the quantitative methodology used for the current study. Chapter IV also will cover the research design, procedure, data analyses and instruments. The fifth chapter includes the results of hypotheses testing and statistical techniques used for each hypotheses. The last chapter includes the discussion and interpretation of research results, implications for education, and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Several theoretical frameworks have been used to explain violence against women in marital relationships. These theoretical frameworks have tended to fall under five main categories: biological/organic, psychopathological, family systems, social learning, and feminist (Cunningham et al., 1998). In order to understand the influence of sociocultural environment on attitudes toward wife beating, the proposed study particularly utilizes feminist theory and social learning theory to form its theoretical framework. Feminist theories explain how gender roles attitudes and degree of religiosity may influence attitudes toward wife beating. Social learning theory explains how exposure to violence in the family of origin may influence attitudes toward wife beating.

The Feminist Theoretical Framework

Feminist theories constitute a body of work representing the most prominent, sociocultural perspectives on wife beating (Smith, 1990). Variants of feminist theories include liberal, socialist, psychoanalytic, poststructuralist, radical and Marxist angles, among others (Tong, 2013). When it comes to the abuse of women, radical feminist theory has had the greatest impact in scholarships (DeKeseredy, Ellis & Alvi, 2005). Most feminist research in the area of violence against women is consistent with a radical

feminist position because of its focus on patriarchy as an explanatory principle (Lenton, 1995). Radical feminists consider the central defining condition of patriarchy to entail the denial of a woman's bodily sovereignty. Such violations of a woman's personal sovereignty often center around male control over the sexual and reproductive aspects of women's bodies (Whisnant 2007). In the view of radical feminists, oppression against women is related to other kinds of oppression. These advocates for women are especially concerned with physical violations of women's bodies (Burstow, 1992). Radical feminist theory explains violence against women in terms of men's objectification of women's bodies; men violently reduce women to their bodies, think of women's bodies in terms of men's use, and then further violate women's bodies (Burstow, 1992). This study accepts the radical feminist theory. The radical feminist theory suggests that intimate partner violence is fundamentally a gender issue; where men are the common perpetrators and women the typical victims, thus any approach that does not include gender as the central component of analysis cannot yield an adequate understanding of the problem (DeKeseredy, 2011; DeKeseredy & Dragiewicz, 2007; Dobash, Dobash, Wilson, & Daly, 1992; Johnson, 1995). Radical feminist scholars argue that patriarchy is the root cause and explanation for violence against women and supportive attitudes toward violence against women (e.g., Bograd, 1984; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Smith, 1990). In addition, feminist theory argues that most societies are patriarchal in varying degrees and that minimally patriarchal societies have lower prevalence of violence (Yllo & Straus, 1990). In the influential book, *Violence against Wives: A Case Against the Patriarchy*, feminist theorists, Dobash & Dobash (1979), explain the relationship between patriarchy and wife beating:

The seeds of wife-beating lie in the subordination of females and in their subjection to male authority and control. This relationship between women and men has been institutionalized in the structure of the patriarchal family and is supported by the economic and political institutions and by a belief system, including a religious one, that makes such relationships seem natural, morally just, and sacred. (pp. 33).

The above quote concisely expresses the core of the feminist theory of violence against women, which claims that patriarchy is a root cause of violence against women, and that patriarchy can be analyzed into structural and ideological components (Smith, 1990; Yllo & Straus). The structural component of patriarchy encompasses the hierarchical organization of social relationships and institutions. Structurally, women occupy an inferior position compared with men across an array of social institutions, including those associated with family, economics, education, religion, politics, and law.

The ideological component of patriarchy has been characterized as a (1) set of beliefs that legitimize and justify male power and authority over women within the institution of marriage and other social institutions, and (2) a set of attitudes or norms supportive of violence against women who violate, or who are perceived as violating, the ideals of the patriarchal family (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Millett, 1969; Smith, 1990). This ideology serves to legitimize and reinforce the patriarchal structure. As stated by Dobash & Dobash (1979), “The maintenance of such a hierarchical order and the continuation of the authority and advantage of the few is to some extent dependent upon its ‘acceptance’ by the many. It is the patriarchal ideology that serves to reinforce this acceptance” (p. 43). As a result of this patriarchal system, which MacKinnon (1983) calls

“perhaps the most pervasive and tenacious system of power in history”, communities sanction and tolerate the husband to control his wife (p. 638). This is done through physical abuse in order to maintain the husband’s power, dominance, position, and privilege (Smith, 1990). The structural component is beyond the scope of this study, warranting a different research design and methodology. Instead, this study will focus on the ideological component of patriarchy in order to understand how patriarchal beliefs and norms influence people’s attitudes that support and sanction violence against women.

Radical feminist Kate Millett (1969) equates patriarchal ideology with an energy source of patriarchal domination because patriarchal ideology exaggerates the biological differences between men and women. This exaggerated view of biological differences explains male domination and female subordination as a fact of “nature”. It accounts for all inequality between men and women in the family and society. In addition, the ideology of patriarchy provides a social rationale in which men and women believe that it is “natural” and “right” for women to occupy inferior social positions (DeKeseredy, 2011). According to the radical feminist model, those who internalize a patriarchal ideology believe that the husband (or patriarch) has the right to exert control over his wife when he perceives her as refusing to accept his authority. The husband’s right to assert his authority may even include the use of violence (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Smith, 1990).

Several criticisms have been leveled at the feminist account of intimate partner violence. First, the feminist explanation of domestic violence cannot account for violence in the context of same-sex relationships or for those heterosexual relationships in which women perpetrate violence against male victims (Hunnicut, 2009). Second, this theory

has been criticized for its focus on the general concept of “patriarchy” to explain violence against women (Gelles, 1993; Hunnicutt, 2009). Simply positing “patriarchy” as an explanatory model at the societal level ignores other factors that have been correlated with intimate partner violence, such as the impact of personal factors – including exposure to violence in childhood, poverty, drug or alcohol abuse, unemployment, low level of education, and immaturity (Al-Badayneh, 2012; Gharaibeh, Abu-Baker, & Aji, 2012; Habib et. al, 2011; Thompson et al., 2006). In light of such oversights, the appeal to patriarchy has been viewed as a simplistic, one-dimensional theory (Gelles, 1985). In light of the above argument, it is clear that there are individual differences, such as psychological and personality factors, that may explain violence against women. Thus, the sociocultural explanations of violence against women suggested by feminist theory may not provide comprehensive explanations of such violence. Despite the limitations of feminist theory, the current study will rely on feminist explanations of supportive attitudes toward wife beating because I wish to show how patriarchal cultural norms privilege men and oppress women in the context of a patriarchal society like Kuwait may lead to tolerant attitudes toward wife beating.

The body of feminist theories on sociocultural perspectives on wife beating can be divided into largely two categories: the influence of attitudes toward gender roles and the influence of religiosity.

Feminist framework on gender roles attitudes and attitude toward violence against women

Radical feminist theorists argue that gender role attitude is an important indicator of patriarchal ideology that support wife beating (Dobash & Dobash, 1988; Haj Yahia, 2005; Millet, 1969; Smith, 1990). The radical feminist theory suggests that in societies where men are dominant, such as Kuwait and other Arabic countries, traditional gender-role attitudes reinforce patriarchal relationships (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Haddad, 1994). Of the complex of social institutions that reinforce gender inequality, the family is one of the most important. Parents play a part in socializing their children into stereotypical gender roles. While gender role socialization occurs in all societies, not all gender regimes are equally patriarchal. Gender socialization in the Middle East has its unique aspects, which are of special relevance to this study.

Al-Badayneh (2012), Karmi (1993) and Takash et. al (2013) have described the patriarchal structure of the Arab family. In a patriarchal family, relationships are vertical, with the father occupying the status of head of the family. As the head of the family, the husband has authority over individuals residing in the household. Women and children are subordinated to the husband or father. This description of patriarchy applies to Kuwait, where many people experience social pressure to encourage conformity to traditional gender roles. For example, when relatives and friends perceive a man in Kuwait as not dominant or failing to make major decisions in the family they may criticize him for not behaving as a “real man”. Similarly, a women who is not taking care of her duties as a mother and wife (such as food preparation and childcare) may draw similar criticism. Although many Kuwaiti women are now educated and work outside the home, as women they often continue to be expected to fulfill the traditional roles of mother and wife. From birth, in Arabic countries, girls and boys are socialized into

gender specific behavior. Young girls are taught to be polite docile, submissive, dependent, discreet, modest, and soft-spoken and are assigned to duties related to nurturing and domestic duties (Al-Badayneh, 2012; Al-Krenawi & Lev-Wiesel, 2002; El-Islam, 1983; Haj-Yahia, 2000). Kuwaiti women are also expected to acquiesce to male authority, deferring to fathers, elder brothers, and husbands.

Boys, on the other hand, are socialized to be dominant, strong and aggressive. In Arabic culture, men are taught that they are more highly valued than women. This privileging of males is evident in the long-standing preference of Arabs for male rather than female children (El-Islam, 1983) and addressing the father by the name of his first son.² Moreover, when the father dies, the eldest son is expected to take responsibility for the entire family, which includes making all household decisions (Abu-Hilal & Aal-Hussain, 1997).

Feminist scholars such as Dobash & Dobash (1979), and Millet (1969) have proposed that in patriarchal societies, when men perceive women to be gaining more power, deviating from traditional gender roles, or challenging male privilege, these men may then resort to violence to maintain their dominance, punish transgression, and enforce the gender hierarchy (Anderson, 2005; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Jewkes, 2002; Yllo & Bograd, 1988). As an example, if a woman is disobedient to her husband or fails to perform domestic duties such as cleaning, preparing food, or caring for children, a man may use violence to correct this deviation from patriarchal norms and to keep her in “her place.”

2 For example if my name is Khaled and my eldest son is Muhammad, my friends and relatives will call me “father of Muhammad.”

According to feminist theory, a society may sanction violence against women when they transgress their gender roles, and may even tolerate wife beating when the wife has failed in her domestic duties. Additionally, the feminist theory suggests that men and women who have traditional attitudes toward gender roles may also tend to have lenient attitudes toward wife beating (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Smith, 1990). Support for connection between traditional attitudes toward gender roles and tolerant attitude toward violence against women has come from studies around the world and especially studies of Arabic and developing countries, where women are still often put in subordinate positions (Guimei, Fikry & Esheiba, 2012; Haj-Yahia, 1998a; 1998b; Lawoko, 2008; Obeid, Chang & Ginges, 2010; Ogland, Xu, Bartkowski, & Ogland, 2014; Rani, Bonu & Diop-Sidibe, 2004; Sakalli, 2001).

Feminist framework on religion and violence against women

The main argument radical feminist theory proposes regarding the relationship between religion and wife abuse is that the major world religions, such as Islam, Christianity, and Judaism, are patriarchal in nature. These religions have many sacred texts, traditions, and practices that support male authority and female submission to that authority. Men are assigned greater power by religious warrant. According to feminist theorists such Ayyub (2000), Dobash & Dobash (1979) and Walker (1988) this power imbalance facilitates the abuse of power. A resulting expression of this power imbalance is violence against women. With regard to Islam, the major religion in Kuwait, both conservative and reform scholars acknowledge that passages in both the Quran and Hadith indicate that men are superior to women, that the husband should lead the family,

and that a wife should play a subservient role and submit to her husband (Ayyub, 2000; Rahman, 2009; Zakar, Zakar, Kraemer, 2013). According to Hajjer (2004), a prominent Muslim feminist, gender inequality in Islam is justified on the religious grounds that God made men and women "essentially" different, and that these differences are manifest in unequal familial roles, rights and duties. Similarly, Ali (2007) argues that Islam perpetuates female subordination because it instructs women to obey their husbands as a sign of submission to Allah. Women's oppression is thus explicitly justified by Islamic texts. Others disagree with Ali, maintaining that skewed interpretations of religious teachings, not the religions themselves, enforce patriarchy (Fortune & Enger, 2005). However, whether the inferior status of women is shaped by correct literal interpretations of religious texts or by sexist misinterpretations, the result is the same: women are lower in status than men, and religion condones this inequality (Franiuk, & Shain, 2011).

Moreover, feminist scholars have pointed to passages in sacred books that can be read (or perhaps misread) in order to justify violence against women (Ammar, 2007; Chowdhury 2009; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Douki et al., 2003; Hajjar, 2004; Nason-Clark, 2004). For instance, some interpreters of the Qur'an have claimed that certain passages allow particular forms of violence against women by male family members, especially by husbands when women show some disobedience (Ammar, 2007; Douki et al., 2003; Hajjar, 2004; Chowdhury 2009). Thus, feminists have indicted religion for providing male batterers with a justification for their abuse of women; the men may rationalize their behavior to be in keeping with God's commandments (Douki et al., 2003; Hassouneh-Phillips, 2001a; Niu & Laidler, 2015).

Brinkerhoff, Grandin, and Lupri (1992) argued that religiosity (but not religious affiliation) is an important predictor of violence against women. According to Benson and Stangroom (2009), evidence shows that people's attitudes about particular moral issues (e.g., pre-marital sex, wife beating, etc.) are partly determined by their degree of religiosity.

Based on the arguments of feminist theory, we may speculate that highly religious Kuwaitis might be more likely to justify wife beating than those with a low level of religiosity. Indeed, several studies have found that people with a higher degree of religiosity are more likely to tolerate violence against women and to attribute responsibility for domestic abuse to the victims (the wives) instead of the perpetrators (the husbands) (Baier, 2014; Gengler & Lee, 2002; Haj-Yahia, 1998a; 1998b; 2005; Jeffords, 1984).

Social Learning Theory (SLT) and Attitudes toward Violence against Women

The social learning theory (SLT) is a prominent framework in the literature in explaining the social and familial sources of intimate partner violence. Social learning theory as developed by Bandura (1971, 1973) suggests that humans learn behavior through observation and imitation, especially during childhood. According to Bandura (1971, 1973) observational learning requires four steps, attention, retention, motor reproduction, and motivation. Attention is the first phase of learning; a subject attends to a stimulus for modeling behavior. The second phase of social modeling is retention; a subject retains the information in symbolic form. In the third phase, motor reproduction, a subject transforms symbols into action. The final component, motivation, describes the

reason a subject imitates behavior. Moreover, social learning theory claims that learning occurs more readily when behavior models demonstrate high status, power, and competence. Since children usually view their parents as having high status, power, and competence, parents provide a prime example for modeling one's behavior (Bandura, 1973; Mihalic & Elliott, 1997).

Social learning theory contrasts with other behaviorist theories, such as operant conditioning theory, which mainly focus on the rewards and punishments. Unlike operant conditioning, social learning theory contends that a child can model his or her behavior vicariously through observing others, without direct rewards or punishments from adults trying to shape the child's behavior (Bandura, 1973). Moreover, the likelihood of modeling behavior increases, when the observed behavior causes a desired outcome (e.g., changing behavior).

Concerning violent behavior, the social learning theory (SLT) rejects the assumption that people are naturally prone to aggressive behavior from birth. Instead, violence is a learned behavior. When a child experiences violence at the hands of a parent, or witnesses violent conflict between parents, that child learns to view violence as a coping method to relieve stress or to resolve conflicts, based on the adult example (Bandura, 1973; Mihalic & Elliott, 1997). Children and adolescents observe how their parents behave toward each other. These observations provide an initial model for what is "appropriate" in the context of an intimate relationship. If a child observes his or her parents acting out aggressively, the child will be at greater risk for exhibiting those same behaviors as an adult (Bandura, 1973; Mihalic & Elliott, 1997). There is strong empirical support for the social learning theory which suggests that children who witness intimate

partner violence or are themselves subjected to violence while growing up are more likely to engage violence in their adult relationships (Chen & White, 2004; Ehrensaft et al. 2003; Kerley, Xiaohe, Bangon, & Alley, 2010; Kim, Kim, Emery, & Choi, 2014; Rosen, Kaminski, Parmley, Knudson, & Fancher, 2003; Rosenbaum & Leisring, 2003; Schafer, Caetano, & Cunradi, 2004).

In line with social learning theory, childhood exposure to violence not only teaches children to use violence as a coping mechanism, but may also increase their tolerance for violence both actively (as a perpetrator) and normatively (in terms of attitudes regarding legitimacy and acceptance) (Bandura 1973). Markowitz (2001) discussed the central role of attitudes as a mediating link between exposure to violence in childhood and engaging in intimate partner violence later in life. According to Markowitz, children who are exposed to violence acquire attitudes that facilitate violence, and then later as adults, they come to perpetrate violence in their marital relationships. In other words, witnessing or experiencing violence as a child has an impact on attitude formation, which in turn influences behavior.

Several studies support the link between exposure to violence in childhood (experiencing, witnessing, or both) and acceptance or justification of violence against women in the context of adult intimate relationships (marital or dating relationships) (Briere, 1987; Jin, Eagle, & Yoshioka, 2007; Haj-Yahia & Uysal, 2008, Haj-Yahia, 2010; Riggs and O'Leary, 1996; Ulbrich & Huber, 1981).

To sum up social learning theory on the perpetuation of family violence across generations, an individual's attitudes toward violence is influenced by specific family experiences he or she has at an early age. The adults who were exposed to violence in

their family during childhood come to accept aggressive behavior as “normal,” based on how their parents behaved. Violence behavior may then be further reinforced if hitting or threats produce a desired outcome. Therefore, children’s early exposure to violence influences their adult attitudes toward violence and perpetuates the cycle.

Relevance of Feminist and Social Learning Theories to Kuwaiti Cultural Context

This study uses feminist and social learning theories to form a theoretical framework in order to explain the socio-cultural and religious sources influencing attitudes toward wife beating in Kuwait. Feminist and social learning theories are relevant for understanding attitudes toward wife beating in the Kuwaiti sociocultural context. Feminist theory views wife beating, and violence against women in general, as arising from patriarchy, which is defined as male domination over women in private and public domains. The maintenance of a gender hierarchy that privileges men over women depends upon a patriarchal ideology that supports this unequal arrangement. Through gender role socialization and religious teaching and practices that support male dominance and female submission, people come to accept gender inequality, which leads to violence against women. Thus, gender role attitude and religiosity, as derived from the feminist theory, may explain attitudes toward wife beating in a patriarchal society, such as Kuwait.

The social learning theory (SLT), which explains how exposure to violence in childhood may influence attitudes toward wife beating, is relevant to this study in two ways. First, Many people in Kuwait and other Arabic countries accept the use of violence with children as a valid method of discipline, and this use of physical force may be

considered a cultural or social norm (Al-Badayneh, 2012; Dalal, Lawoko, & Jansson, 2010; Qasem et al., 1998). Second, there is no law to protect children and women from domestic violence in Kuwait at the time of this writing. Several studies found that in countries where there are no laws to protect women and children from physical abuse, the rates of physical abuse are higher than the rates of abuse in countries that have such laws (Bitensky, 1997; Cappa, & Khan, 2011; WHO, 2002). Thus, one may speculate that Kuwaiti children are commonly exposed to family violence, which, in turn, may influence their attitudes toward wife.

From the insight of feminist and social learning theories, which guide the theoretical framework of this study, this study will test the following hypotheses for a Kuwaiti sample:

1. There is significant difference between male and female participant's attitudes towards wife beating.
2. There is a significant negative relationship between egalitarian attitudes toward gender roles and supportive attitudes toward wife beating.
3. There is a significant positive relationship between degree of intrinsic religiosity and supportive attitudes toward wife beating.
4. There is a significant positive relationship between degree of extrinsic religiosity and supportive attitudes toward wife beating.
5. There is a significant positive relationship between being subjected to physical violence in childhood and supportive attitudes toward wife beating.
6. There is a significant positive relationship between witnessing physical violence between parents in childhood and supportive attitudes toward wife beating.

7. A combination of predictor variables in this study: attitudes toward gender roles, intrinsic religiosity, extrinsic religiosity, experiencing physical violence in childhood in the family of origin, and witnessing physical violence between parents in childhood would explain a significant portion of the total variance in attitudes toward wife beating.

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this chapter is to present the existing research regarding attitudes toward violence against women in marital relationships. This chapter pays a particular attention to studies that examine the social, cultural, and religious factors that may influence attitudes toward violence against women.

From Attitudes to Behaviors

Although the relationship between attitudes and behavior has been debated in the literature for decades, there is empirical evidence that attitudes impact behavior, and most researchers agree that attitudes somehow influence, shape, or predict actual behavior (Falchikov, 1996; Kraus, 1995). With regard to attitudes toward wife beating and actual violence against women in intimate relationships, there is an enormous number of studies that associate tolerant attitudes toward IPV with male perpetrators and female victims (Basile, et al., 2013; Car, & Vandeusen, 2002; Gage & Hutchinson, 2006). Thus, reducing the phenomenon of wife abuse depends on changing people's attitudes toward wife abuse from acceptance to non-acceptance.

Social psychologists such as Falchikov (1996) and Kraus (1995) have discussed the relationship between stated attitudes and observed behavior. Although the

relationship between specific stated attitudes and particular behaviors are by no means linear or straightforward, attitudes are an important variable that influence person's behavior (Falchikov, 1996). Kraus's meta analysis of 88 attitude-behavior studies found empirical support for a predictive correlation between stated attitudes and future behavior. Furthermore, he found that the correlations were stronger when attitudes and behaviors were reported with greater specificity. Funk, Elliott, Urman, Flores, and Mock (1999), whose research was more narrowly focused on violent behavior, also found that attitudes influence behavior.

For example, there is a strong relationship between men's tolerant attitudes toward intimate partner violence and willingness to commit intimate partner violence (Hanson, Cadsky, Harris, & Lalonde, 1997; Stith, 1990). Moreover, recent studies have found that men who tolerate violence against women in marital or dating relationships are more likely to lash out violently against a female partner (Basile et al., 2013; Carr, & Vandeuken, 2002; Stith, Smith, Penn, Ward, & Tritt, 2004; Johnson & Das, 2009). For example, Johnson and Das (2009), drawing on data from a 2004 Bangladesh Demographic and Health Survey (BDHS) that represented 2,780 men, found explicit attitudes about wife-beating to be the strongest predictor of violence: men who considered wife-beating to be acceptable were over four times as likely to report having acted out violently against their wives.

Furthermore, women's attitudes concerning violence against women have also been correlated to increased risk of victimization. For instance, Gage and Hutchinson (2006) found that a wife's acceptance of her husband's "right" to strike her under some circumstances was linked to significantly higher incidence in reported violence directed

at these women. Women's attitudes involving submission to men have also shaped their own personal responses to being victimized. Women who were more tolerant of male violence were more likely to blame themselves when they were assaulted, and they were less likely to report an assault to the police or other authorities (Flood & Pease 2009).

Researchers have also investigated the broader consequences of public attitudes that condone violence against women as expressed by individuals other than the perpetrator and the victim. The opinions of family members, friends, and health care or law enforcement professionals concerning the appropriate treatment of women may play an important role on how these individuals will respond to violence against women. People with more pro-violent, anti-women attitudes are more likely to blame the victim (Gracia & Herrero, 2006a; Gracia & Tomás, 2014), less likely to hold the perpetrator responsible (Pavlou & Knowles, 2001), and less likely to report cases of abuse to the authorities (Gracia & Herrero, 2006b). From the above studies, it follows that effective efforts to prevent wife beating must include a program to change public attitudes regarding violence against women (Gracia & Herrero, 2006b). Because sexist attitudes contribute to the ongoing victimization of women, any program designed to stem the tide of violence should confront and challenge such attitudes at the level of the community. Researchers must also examine the factors that influence or shape attitudes regarding violence against women in general, and wife beating in particular.

Cross Cultural Studies on Attitudes toward Violence against Women

Research on attitudes toward violence against women is extensive for both economically developed and developing countries. However, researchers have devoted

relatively less attention to comparative cross-cultural study of attitude toward wife abuse than they have to the association between attitudes and sociodemographic variables. In order to fill this gap, Nayak et al. (2003) examined attitudes toward sexual assault and physical violence against women in samples of undergraduate students from four countries: Kuwait (236), India (189), Japan (235) and the United States (407). Two measures of attitudes toward violence against women were used. The first measure focused on attitudes toward sexual assault. Some items included in this measure were: “If a woman dresses in indecent clothes, she is to blame if raped,” and “Many women falsely report a rape for attention”. The second measure focused on attitudes toward physical violence between spouses. Some items included in this measure were: “Some women deserve to be beaten”, “Many battered women do things that cause their husbands to hit them”, and “Women who are obedient and take care of their husbands are never beaten”.

The results indicated a significant effect of both gender and nationality on attitudes toward sexual assault and physical violence between spouses. Male subjects from the United States reported the most supportive attitudes toward female victims, followed by men from Japan and India; men from Kuwait reported the least supportive attitudes. Similarly, female subjects from the United States reported the most supportive attitudes toward female victims, followed by women from India and Japan. Women from Kuwait reported the least supportive attitudes toward victims. Moreover, in order to examine gender differences across the four countries, multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was used. The analysis revealed significant gender differences for all countries on spousal physical violence attitudes. In other words, women in comparison to men in each country showed a positive attitude toward victims of spousal physical

violence. With regard to sexual assault, these analyses revealed significant gender differences on sexual assault attitudes for all the countries except Kuwait, where men and women students did not differ in their scores. One explanation for this finding is that Kuwaiti men and women tend to have very restrictive ideas regarding appropriate dress and women's behaviors, and these restrictive attitudes may lead to victim-blaming in cases of sexual assault.

Attitudes towards Wife Abuse in Kuwait

There are a few studies that have examined attitudes toward wife abuse in Kuwait (Alazmy, Alotaibi, Atwan, Kamel & El-Shazly, 2011; Al-koot et al., 2010; Nayak, 1999; Nayak et al., 2003; Nazar & Kouzekanani, 2007; Taher et al., 2010). Nayak (1999) investigated Kuwaiti medical students' attitudes toward female victims of interpersonal violence and examined associations between these attitudes and gender, personally knowing a victim, and knowledge of interpersonal violence issues. Overall, the majority of the sample (64.7%) showed a higher degree of victim blaming for rape, and 56.9% showed a higher degree of victim blaming for domestic violence. Women were found to have lower blaming scores for victims of both rape and domestic violence. Both gender and personally knowing the victim had significant independent effects on the rape victim blame score. Both male and female students who personally knew a victim obtained lower rape victim blame scores compared to those who did not personally know a victim. For the domestic violence victim blame scores, personally knowing a victim significantly reduced domestic violence blame scores for women alone. Women who knew a victim

had a lower average domestic violence blame score than women who had never known a victim personally.

Al-Koot et al. (2010) studied the attitudes toward wife beating, and factors affecting this attitude of 565 physicians in Kuwait. Attitudes toward wife beating in this study explored three domains: (1) relationships between partners, (2) management of wife beating, and (3) contextual justification of wife beating. The results of this study revealed that physicians tended to have a relatively low overall non-supportive attitude toward wife beating across all domains. For example, with regard to the relationships between partners domain, 55% agreed or strongly agreed that a good wife should obey her husband even if she disagrees with him. With regard to the management of wife beating domain, 70% agreed or strongly agreed that domestic violence is a private matter and that patients are ashamed to talk about it. With regard to contextual justification of wife beating, participants agreed that a man has a good reason hit his wife if he finds out that she is unfaithful (37.5%), lies to him (20%), or exposes her husband's weaknesses (19%). Marital status, education, age, and nationality did not show any significant relations to attitudes toward wife beating; only gender and years employed in their current job were found to affect attitudes. Men and physicians who spent more time at their current work showed more tolerant attitudes toward wife beating in comparison to women and to those who spent less time at work. Physicians, like all people, are influenced by cultural norms. So the results of this study may be explained in terms of general cultural and societal values in Middle Eastern countries (Al-Koot et al., 2010).

Taher et al. (2010) replicated the Al-Koot et al. (2010) study but with a different sample. From a sample of 988 registered nurses in primary healthcare centers in Kuwait,

the study investigated attitudes of nurses toward wife beating and factors affecting these attitudes. Results were similar to that of the Al-Koot (2010) study. This study revealed that nurses tended to have a relatively low non justifying attitude toward wife beating across all domains. Similarly, women and those who spent less time at work were found to show less accepting attitudes toward wife beating. Moreover, in contrast to the Al-Koot (2010) study, nationality and age were found to affect attitudes. Kuwaiti nurses and younger nurses were found to express less positive attitudes toward wife beating in comparison to non-Kuwaiti nurses and older nurses.

Alazmy, Alotaibi, Atwan, Kamel and El-Shazly (2011) investigated knowledge of and attitudes toward domestic violence against women of male and female medical staff in Kuwait. The researchers interviewed a sample of 1,553 health care workers, consisting of physicians and nurses in primary health care centers in Kuwait. Multivariate analysis showed that gender was a significant predictor of the overall knowledge of and attitudes toward violence against women. Female medical primary health care workers tended to be more knowledgeable about violence against women than male staff. While no significant differences were found between male and female medical staff in the identification of severe forms of domestic violence against women, such as physical harm and sexual assault, less severe forms, such as neglect, were more significantly identified by women than men.

An interesting finding of this study was the high score for both men and women agreeing that a husband may hit his wife for “a good reason”. Unexpectedly, females tended to accept the hitting of wives by their husbands for “a good reason” more than

males. Women's acceptance or rationalization of violence in this study may reflect their adherence to more general cultural norms (Alazmy et al., 2011).

In summarizing findings regarding attitudes toward wife beating in Kuwait, with the exception of Nayak (1999), all other studies (Alazmy et al., 2011; Al-Koot et al., 2010; Taher et al., 2010) found that Kuwaiti men and women showed a relatively low non-supportive attitude toward wife beating. In addition, men were more likely to justify wife beating than women (Al-Koot et al., 2010; Nayak, 1999; Taher et al., 2010). Alazmy et al. (2011) found an exception: women were found to be more likely to justify wife beating than men. All of these studies explored only the influence of socio-demographic variables such as gender, marital status, age, education, and years spent at work on attitudes toward wife beating.

Nayak et al.'s (2003) cross cultural study of attitudes toward wife beating in four countries attributed differences in attitudes to differences in beliefs about gender roles. These results suggest that sociocultural factors may have a stronger influence than some socio-demographic factors. However, there is no research on a Kuwaiti population that has explored the influence of sociocultural factors on attitudes toward wife beating. In order to fill this gap, this study will explore possible influences on attitudes toward wife beating – such as the gender roles attitudes, degree of religiosity, and childhood exposure to violence – in a Kuwaiti sample.

Relationship between Gender Role Attitudes and Attitudes towards Marital Violence

A number of studies have examined the relationship between gender role attitudes and attitudes towards marital violence in the western countries (Berkel, Vandiver, & Bahner, 2004; Finn, 1986; Hillier & Foddy, 1993; Stith, 1990). Finn (1986) studied the relationship between gender role attitudes and attitudes toward marital violence with a sample of 300 students from two universities in the American South. Students responded to the Attitudes Toward Sex Role (ASR) subscale consisting of seven items that measure the degree of agreement with traditional gender role expectations, defined as husbands occupying a superior position over their wives and to the Attitudes Toward Force in Marriage (AFM) subscale which consists of five items assessing attitudes toward the use of physical force by husbands against wives. The AFM items reflected cultural stereotypes that legitimize the use of force (e.g., “Sometimes a husband must hit his wife so that she will respect him”). The results indicate that the majority of the subjects in this sample held nontraditional (egalitarian) gender role attitudes and disapproved of a husband's use of physical violence against his wife. In addition, men (more than women) were found to hold significantly more traditional gender role attitudes and to accept violence against women in marriage. Moreover, for the total sample, the correlation between gender role attitudes and AFM was moderately high ($r=.65$), which means that the more endorsement of traditional gender role attitudes, the more an individual will accept and justify a man using violence against his wife.

The researchers used a multiple regression analysis to find out the relative contribution of gender role attitudes, race, and sex on attitude toward force in marriage. The results indicated that the three variables accounted for a significant proportion of the variance in attitudes toward force in marriage ($R^2=.442$). However, gender role attitudes

accounted for a significant proportion of the variance ($R^2=.415$). In other words, traditional gender role attitudes were the most powerful predictors of attitudes supporting violence against women in marital relationships. The findings of this study support the feminist explanation of violence against women, which proposes that patriarchal ideology (attitudes or beliefs that view men as superior and women inferior) is the reason for engaging in or tolerating violence against women. According to Finn (1986), those men and women who believe a man should “wear the pants” in the family are also likely to believe the man has the right to use physical force to maintain his dominant position.

Berkel et al. (2004) investigated gender role attitudes (using the Sex Role Egalitarianism Scale), religion (using the Religious Orientation Scale), and spirituality (using the Armstrong Measure of Spirituality) as predictors of beliefs about wife beating in a sample of 316 white college students (211 women and 105 men) attending a large, predominantly white public land-grant university located in the Mid-Atlantic region of the United States. Three subscales of the Inventory of Beliefs about Wife Beating (IBWB) were used to measure attitudes about how appropriate husband’s acts of violence were toward their wives; these subscales are Wife Beating Is Justified, Wives Gain from Beatings, and Help Should Be Given. In general, students disapproved of husbands using violence against their wives and expressed egalitarian attitudes toward gender roles. Similar to Finn (1986), male students showed more traditional gender role attitudes than female students and were more likely to justify wife beating, believing that women gain from beating, and that help should not be given.

Berkel et al. (2004) conducted two hierarchical multiple regression analyses, one for the male group and the other for female group, to test the hypotheses. For both

groups, the researchers found that only gender role egalitarianism and spiritual actions were significant predictors of sympathy for battered women in that individuals who endorsed more egalitarian gender role attitudes and those with higher level of spirituality were more likely to sympathize with battered women. However, results indicated that gender role attitudes were the best overall predictor of attitudes toward wife beating. Individuals with traditional gender role attitudes may view a woman as the property of her father or her husband (Al-Krenawi & Lev-Wiesel 2002; Berkel et al., 2004; Takash et al., 2013). Those ascribing to such ideologies may also support the use of violence as a way for men to maintain power over women (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Yllo & Bograd, 1988).

People with different gender role attitudes may look at women's behaviors differently, which may influence their attitude toward violence against women. Hiller and Foddy (1993) addressed this issue by investigating the importance of gender role attitudes and women's behavior on attitude toward cases of wife assault in a sample of 128 Australian participants (59 males and 69 females). Specifically, subjects read six wife assault vignettes that varied in level of victim provocation (low or high), and then they answered two questions about the amount of blame appropriate to assign to the perpetrator and victim. Examples of high provocation include the wife having an affair. Examples of low provocation include the wife neglecting the children. Gender role attitudes were measured by the Attitude toward Women Scale (AWS). The results indicated that men were more likely to blame the victim and less likely to blame the perpetrator than women. In addition, in both provocation conditions, subjects with

traditional attitudes toward gender roles blamed the victim more and the perpetrator less than did the subjects with egalitarian attitudes toward gender roles.

Furthermore, when the level of victim provocation increased, participants with more traditional attitudes toward women tended to attribute more blame to the victim and less blame to the perpetrator than did participants with more egalitarian attitudes. Those with more traditional attitudes may take it upon themselves to enforce conformity to gender roles. They may believe that a husband has a right or duty to punish his wife for violating her role as faithful spouse, nurturing mother, or diligent housekeeper (Hiller & Foddy, 1993).

Numerous studies have examined the relationship between gender role attitudes and wife beating in Arabic countries (Haj-Yahia, Wilson, & Naqvi, 2012; Khawaja, Linos, El-Roueiheb, 2008; Obeid et al., 2010). For example, Obeid et al. (2010) investigated the influence of patriarchal attitudes on predicting attitudes toward wife beating in a sample of 206 Lebanese university students (109 males and 97 females). Four dimensions of beliefs and attitudes toward wife beating were used separately as a dependent variable in this study, these were: (1) wife beating is justified, (2) husbands are responsible, (3) help should be given to victim, and (4) husbands should be punished. These variables derived from the Inventory of Beliefs about Wife Beating Scale (IBWB).

Patriarchal attitudes in this study included three predictor variables: (1) gender role attitudes, (2) hostile sexism, and (3) benevolent sexism. Both hostile sexism and benevolent sexism were measured by the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI). Benevolent sexism entails affectionate attitudes toward women in traditional roles, and hostile sexism entails antagonistic attitudes toward women who are seen as violating

traditional roles. The Attitudes towards Women Scale (ATW) was used to measure traditional versus egalitarian attitudes toward gender roles. The results indicated that both gender and attitudes toward women's roles seemed to be the most robust and consistent in explaining beliefs about wife beating, such that male students, and students (both male and female) with traditional attitudes toward women's roles were more likely to justify wife beating, consider husbands not to be responsible, believe that help should not be given to the victim, and believe that husbands should not be punished.

Hostile sexism didn't predict any of the four dimensions of the attitudes toward wife beating, however, benevolent sexism did predict one dimension, which is that help should be given to the victim. This is very interesting finding, which suggests that people who are high in benevolent sexism are more likely to help the victim than those who are low in benevolent sexism. People high in benevolent sexism view women as weak and in need for help and protection as long as the woman does not violate traditional gender roles. And since the Help Should Be Given subscale items does not include items that depict women transgressing traditional roles, benevolent sexism serves a protective role here, with men helping women from the standpoint of the male protector role (Obeid et al., 2010).

Gender role attitudes not only influence attitudes toward wife beating but may also influence the perceived severity of violence against an abused wife, the perceived degree of bodily harm, and the perception of the husband's physical violence against the wife as a crime in general. Haj-Yahia et al. (2012) examined the perception of various dimensions of wife abuse in 624 adult Palestinian men and women (53.8% were men and 46.2% were women) from the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Specifically, the researchers

examined the perceptions of Palestinian subjects toward wife beating, its severity, and criminality of wife abuse and the possible relationships between these perceptions and marital role expectations.

Marital role expectations were measured by Marital Role Expectations Inventory. Examples of statements in this instrument are as follows: “When there is a disagreement of opinion between a husband and wife, the outcome should be the husband’s view and decision”, and “The husband has the primary responsibility to provide for the family’s financial needs”. Higher scores on this instrument indicate more egalitarian and liberal expectations of marriage, whereas lower scores indicate more traditional and patriarchal expectations. On the issue of justification of violence, the study's findings revealed a significant tendency among men to justify physical abuse against women. Such justifications were especially pronounced in the context of perceived violations of the woman's role in a marital relationship. For example, 65% justify wife beating when the woman is having an affair with another man, 60% when she physically attacks the husband, 36% for being a “nagger” or a “complainer,” 38% for reminding the husband of his mistakes or weaknesses, and 31% for refusing to have sex with the husband.

In addition, a small but significant portion of participants considered using a weapon (11%), having sex with the wife against her will (14%), punching (15%), shoving (27%), and kicking (18%) as mild acts of violence. Similarly, a small but significant portion of both Palestinian men and women in the study thought that these acts should not be considered a crime (11%, 15%, 25%, 30%, 28%), respectively. Not surprisingly, a significant relationship was found between marital role expectations and all dimensions of wife beating. In other words, individuals who hold more traditional and patriarchal

expectations of marriage had significantly higher tendency to justify wife beating, to consider the above-mentioned acts of husband to wife physical violence as less severe, and less likely to consider wife beating as a crime.

Khawaja et al. (2008) investigated associations between acceptance of wife beating and attitudes toward women's autonomy in a sample of 395 displaced Palestinians in a refugee camp in Jordan (262 married women and 133 married men). On the issue of acceptance of wife beating, participants were asked if they accepted wife beating in eight different situations such as if she disobeys her husband, or if she does not have meals prepared properly or on time. Women's autonomy was measured using an instrument that included nine questions on the acceptability of a woman running a business, voting in elections, driving a car, and so forth. Supportive attitudes toward women's autonomy may reflect egalitarian attitudes toward gender roles. Egalitarian attitudes include the belief that women are as capable as men in running businesses, and that both men and women should be granted equal opportunities in educational and professional pursuits (Beere et al., 1984).

Surprisingly, women more than men expressed support for wife beating in at least one situation (61.8 for women, 60.1% for men). The cases in which women were more likely than men to accept wife beating were: doesn't respect his family (43% for women, 39% for men), goes out alone (40% for women, 36% for men), neglects the children (33% for women, 28% for men), doesn't do household chores (22% for women, 18% for men), and doesn't prepare meals on time (20% for women, 17% for men). Only in two situations were men relatively more likely than women to accept wife beating: disobeying

the husband (49% for women, 50% for men), and talking back (36% for women, 38% for men).

In addition, only for men, not women, was there a significant relationship between acceptance of wife beating and an unsupportive attitude toward women's autonomy. As Arab women experience more autonomy and enter the workforce in greater numbers than in past decades, those Arab men who do not support women's autonomy may see such workforce participation as a threat to established social norms and male power. This sort of perceived threat may account for some domestic violence, as men may accept and physically punish their wives in order to keep them in place (Khawaja et al., 2008).

In summarizing the literature regarding gender role attitudes and wife beating attitudes in Western and Arabic populations, it seems that individuals from both populations who endorse traditional gender roles are more likely to support or justify wife beating (Berkel et al., 2004; Finn, 1986; Haj-Yahia et al., 2012; Khawaja et al., 2008; Obied et al., 2010), more likely to blame the victim (Hiller & Foddy, 1993), less likely to blame the perpetrator (Hiller & Foddy, 1993; Obied et al., 2010), and not consider the act of violence as a crime worthy of punishment (Haj-Yahia et al., 2012; Obied et al., 2010). In addition, gender role attitudes were found to be the most powerful predictors of attitudes toward wife beating in both settings (Berkel et al., 2004; Finn, 1986; Haj-Yahia et al., 2012). Moreover, men in all studies were more likely to show supportive attitudes toward wife beating than women, except for one study of an Arabic population (Haj-Yahia et al., 2012). Individuals in Arabic countries were more likely to justify wife beating than individuals in Western countries. Differences in sociocultural

context may account for differences acceptance of violence against women when comparing Western and Arabic countries. Patriarchal institutions, sexist norms, and a historical legacy of male dominance may influence how an individual perceives violence against women, and such cultural legacies vary dramatically across national borders (Dobash et al., 1992; Harris, Firestone, & Vega, 2005; Yllo & Straus, 1990).

The literature on gender roles attitudes and violence against women suffered from methodological issues. For example, with the exception of Berkel (2004), all studies on gender roles attitudes and violence against women used a scale that assesses only attitudes toward women roles but not attitudes toward men's roles. Furthermore, although there were a few studies relating gender role attitudes and violence against women in Arabic countries, none of these studies extended across the entire Arabian Gulf region. There were no studies on Kuwait.

Studies on Attitudes toward Gender Roles

Several studies have examined attitudes toward gender roles in Kuwait (Abdalla, 1996; Al-Salehi, 1998; Simmons, Duffy, & Alfraih, 2012). These studies are complementary, and each of them increases our understanding about gender role attitudes in Kuwait in different ways. Simmons et al. (2012) studied a sample of 89 men from Kuwait and the United States (39 from Kuwait, 50 from the United States), comparing them on two variables: power distance (PD), and attitudes about women as managers. PD is defined as the extent to which one accepts the assertion that power in institutions and organizations should be distributed equally. Individuals high in PD accept the inequality between groups (e.g., men and women) and support policies and procedures

that ensure this inequality. The Women as Manager Scale was used to measure attitude toward women in managerial positions. A sample items in this scale is “Challenging work is more important to men than it is to women.”

With regard to PD, a t-test was conducted to test the relationship between Kuwaiti and US men on PD. The researchers found that Kuwaiti men had significantly higher levels of PD as compared to the American men. This result indicates that US men are more egalitarian than Kuwaiti men and the American are more likely to believe that assets, wealth, and status should be distributed equally among groups within society.

The study also found a significant difference between attitudes of Kuwaiti men and American men toward female managers. The average score of 5.37 for the American men indicates a more favorable attitude toward women in managerial positions. The average score of 4.45 for the Kuwaiti men, in contrast, indicates a significantly less positive attitude toward female managers. This result provides further support for the generalization that women in Kuwait are commonly seen as occupying a lower status than men, and that many Kuwaiti men think that women's work should be limited to the domestic sphere. With regard to the Kuwaiti sample, the study found that age and education predict attitudes toward women as managers, with older individuals with a higher education expressing a more positive attitude toward women as managers. A limitation in this study is the sample size. Although the sample size was sufficient for this analysis, the study should be replicated using larger samples of men to confirm the results. In addition, it would be interesting to see if the inclusion of female students would yield similar results.

Abdallah (1996) investigated attitudes toward women in a sample of 13,356 male and female Kuwaiti and Qatari professionals. The Attitudes toward Women Scale (AWS) was used to measure attitudes toward women's roles. The Kuwaiti and Qatari groups had low AWS scores. This means that these groups had more traditional attitudes concerning gender roles. However, there was a significant difference between the Kuwaiti sample and the Qatari sample. Kuwaiti professionals had more positive attitudes toward women's roles than did Qataris. This result was expected because Kuwaiti women have relatively more educational and employment opportunities than Qatari women. Moreover, the t-test results suggest a difference between Qatari and Kuwaiti professional men but not women. Kuwaiti men have more positive attitudes favoring gender equality than do Qatari men. Both Qatari women and Kuwaiti women have a more positive attitude toward women's roles than Qatari and Kuwaiti men. This result suggests that Arab women were willing to accept more responsibilities in political, occupational, educational and social spheres, but that Arab men were not so willing to grant women such responsibilities (Abdallah, 1996).

Al-Salehi (1998) investigated attitudes toward gender roles and variables related to these attitudes in a sample of 100 male and 100 female students at the College of Education in Kuwait. To measure attitudes toward gender roles he used the Sex Role Egalitarian Scale (SRES), which contains five subscales covering the following domains of attitudes toward gender roles: marital roles, parental roles, employment roles, educational roles, and social/interpersonal roles. For the total sample, students showed a relatively low egalitarian attitude toward gender roles. Female students showed a significantly higher egalitarian attitude than males across all domains except for the social domain. For the total sample, age, father's education, student travel, parent travel,

mother's employment, movies and television significantly related to gender role attitudes. For the male sample, higher education of the father, personally traveling abroad, having parents who have traveled abroad, seeing American movies, and watching TV had a significant positive correlation with positive attitudes toward gender roles. For the female sample, listening to the radio was the only variable that predicted egalitarian attitudes toward gender roles.

Studies on the Relationship between Religiosity and Attitudes toward Wife Beating

Religiosity is a complex concept, which is subject to alternate definitions. However, Allport and Ross (1967) formulated an operational definition of religiosity that has been widely used across various studies. Allport and Ross distinguished two dimensions of religiosity: intrinsic and extrinsic. As they put it, “an extrinsically motivated person uses his religion, whereas the intrinsically motivated lives his religion” (Allport & Ross 1967, p. 434). Extrinsic religiosity suggests an *instrumental* relationship to religion – something one uses to accomplish others ends, while intrinsic religiosity takes religious beliefs and practices as a *terminal* value – pursuing religious ideals as ends in themselves.

The radical feminist theory of violence against women that is of interest to this study specifically identifies the influence of religiosity on attitudes toward violence against women. A number of studies have examined the relationship between intrinsic, extrinsic, and general religiosity and attitudes towards marital violence (Baier, 2014; Gengler & Lee, 2002; Haj-Yahia, 1998a;1998b; 2005; Jeffords, 1984, Koch, & Ramirez, 2010). For example, Baier (2014) investigated the effect of religiosity on violent behavior

and norms of masculinity on a German sample drawn from a school survey of 16,545 male students in the ninth grade. This sample included both Christian and Muslim students. Religiosity for both Christian and Muslim adolescents was measured by a scale developed by the author that contains three items and has been found to be reliable. “Violent behavior” was indicated by any act that resulted in minor and or grievous bodily harm, or robbery in the past 12 months. Norms of masculinity in this study operate as a measure for attitudes toward violence either to defend the family from an external threat, or violence within the family, especially targeting the wife. Examples of items used to measure attitudes toward violence within the family included: “If a woman cheats on her partner, he is allowed to beat her”, and “Being the father, a man is the family’s head and in case of need, he is allowed to assert himself violently” (Baier, 2014, p. 111).

The results indicated that Muslim adolescents had a higher degree of religiosity, were more likely to accept norms of masculinity, and were more likely to engage in violent behavior than the Christian adolescents. For Christian adolescents, as religiosity increased, the frequency of agreement to norms of masculinity and the violent behavior decreased. For Muslim adolescents, as religiosity increased, agreement to norms of masculinity increased. Moreover, among Muslim adolescents, there is a slight positive but non-significant effect of religiosity on violent behavior. However, after controlling for alcohol consumption, the effect of religiosity on violent behavior reached significance. The results of this study indicate that religiosity may be relevant for explaining violent behavior and violent attitudes directed at a female partner.

More interesting is the way that religiosity differently influences violent behavior and attitudes when comparing Christian and Muslim adolescents (Baier, 2014). A

limitation of this study is that religiosity was measured only in terms of traditional religious behavior and not religious ideology. Moreover, this study only gathered information on adolescents. It is possible that the religious understandings of these young people differs from those of an adult population.

Koch and Ramirez (2010) explored the relationship between religiosity and intimate partner violence using survey data that been gathered from a sample of 626 undergraduate students from two universities in the American southwest. Two dimensions of religiosity were used as independent variables: general religiosity, and Christian fundamentalism. General religiosity was measured by using a four-item scale: questioning belief in God, strength of religious faith, church attendance, and frequency of prayer. Christian fundamentalism was measured with a six-item scale, including such items as: “I am sure the Bible contains no errors or contradictions”, and “It is very important for true Christians to believe that the Bible is the infallible Word of God”. Intimate partner violence approval was measured by Strauss’s Personal and Relationships Profile, while psychological aggression and intimate partner violence were measured by the Conflict Tactics Scale. Analysis found no association between general religiosity and violence approval, psychological aggression, or intimate partner violence. However, another dimension of religiosity – Christian fundamentalism – was positively associated with both violence approval and acts of intimate partner violence, but not with psychological aggression. The study found that for each one-point increase in the fundamentalism scale score there was .63-point increase in the violence approval scale.

The effect of religiosity on attitudes toward different forms of violence against women has also been investigated. Jefford (1984) investigated the role of religion,

religiosity and attitudes toward gender roles on attitudes toward forced marital intercourse (FMI) in a sample of 267 Texas residents. For the religion variable, only respondents with a Judeo-Christian affiliation or no religious preference were included in the analysis. Religiosity was measured by six items from the Putney and Middleton Religious Orthodoxy Scale (PMROS). The attitudes toward FMI scale included such items as “A wife should have sexual intercourse with her husband whenever he wants it”, and “The wife is usually to blame for this behavior”. The results of this study indicated that both gender role attitudes and religiosity were statistically significantly related to FMI attitudes, but religion was not. In other words, those who held traditional gender role attitudes and those with high religiosity were more likely to have attitudes that were supportive of FMI. The author found that persons with high religiosity were about twice as likely to have supportive attitudes toward forced marital intercourse than were persons with low religiosity.

Attitudes toward wife beating are an important variable when predicting whether people will intervene when witnessing an attack on a woman. For example, Gengler and Lee (2002) investigated the effects of religiosity on attitudes regarding wife abuse and interventions with battered women in a sample of 294 Catholic and Protestant ministers in Southern California. Beliefs and attitudes concerning wife abuse included myths of spousal abuse (such as the belief that the abuse cannot be that terrible or the woman would leave), recognitions of signs of battered women (such as blame-taking for mishaps in the family), and breadth of definition (extending “wife abuse” to physical, psychological and financial abuse). Religiosity was measured by using the revised version of a subscale of Brown’s Religious Attitudes Inventory Scale. The results of this

study suggested that a minister's degree of religiosity may influence his attitudes toward wife beating, and may also influence his choice of interventions with battered women. Specifically, religiosity has a significant effect on the breadth of definition and beliefs in myths of spousal abuse. In other words, ministers with a higher degree of religiosity have a narrower definition of wife abuse, greater belief in myths of spousal abuse, and indicated more victim-blaming responses to battered women.

Haj-Yahia (2005) examined correlations between religiosity and attitudes toward wife beating among Muslims in a convenience sample of 349 married Jordanian men. Six dimensions of beliefs and attitudes toward wife beating were examined in this study and were treated as different dependent variables. Five of these six dimensions were measured by the Inventory of Beliefs About Wife Beating (IBWB) (Saunders et al., 1987), which tests for beliefs that: (1) wife beating may be justified, (2) wives gain from beating, (3) services should be given to battered women, (4) offenders should be punished, and (5) offenders are responsible for their violent and abusive behavior. The sixth belief tested in this study was that the wife may be to blame for the violence directed at her. This belief was measured by a scale developed by the author. To measure level of religiosity, the study used a three-item scale of high reliability that was developed by the author in a previous study (Haj-Yahia, 1998a). The results revealed that high percentages of Jordanian male subjects tended to justify wife abuse, to blame women for violence against them, and to believe that women benefit from beating. For example, 52% of the participants strongly agreed or agreed that "a husband has the right to beat his wife if she disobeys him" (justifying wife beating), 52% strongly agreed or agreed that "in most cases the wife's behavior toward her husband or children is the

cause of violence against her” (blaming battered wives), and 82% strongly agreed or agreed that “battered wives try to get their husbands to beat them in order to gain attention and sympathy from others”. In addition, the study found that Jordanian men expressed low levels of willingness to help battered women, to believe that husbands are responsible for their violent behavior and that violent husbands should be punished. For example, 74% of the participants strongly agreed or agreed that “if I hear a woman being attacked by her husband, it would be best to do nothing” (helping battered women), 10% strongly agreed or agreed that “violent husbands should always be held responsible for their behavior” (holding husbands responsible for their violence), and only 11% strongly agreed or agreed that “the best way to deal with wife beating is to punish the violent husband by arresting him” (punishing violent husband).

Moreover, only 14% of the participants strongly agreed or agreed that “wife beating should be given high priority as a social problem by government agencies”, and “social service agencies should do more to help battered women”. This last result reflects the widespread view among many Arabs that wife abuse is a personal family matter rather than a social or legal issue (Haj-Yahia, 2005). More importantly, the results indicated a significant relationship between religiosity and all dimensions of attitudes toward wife beating except helping battered women. In other words, the higher the Jordanian men's level of religiosity, the greater their tendency to justify wife beating, blame wives for violence against them, believe that wives benefit from violence against them, believe that abusive husbands should not be held responsible for their violent behavior, and refuse to support punishment of violent husbands.

Two earlier and similar studies were conducted also by Haj-Yahia on a sample of married Palestinian men (N= 291) (1998a) and women (N= 425)(1998b). The results of these studies found that married Palestinian men and women with a higher level of religiosity tended to justify violence against women (1998a, 1998b).

Islamic teachings that support marriage promote the maintenance of family bonds, instruct both spouses to avoid divorce, and place the husband at the head of the family may influence how abused women cope with abuse. Haj-Yahia (2002) examined the relationship between religiosity and coping patterns that address wife abuse. A convenience sample of 291 married Arab women in Israel participated in the study. After reading three stories of abused women, the participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they supported or opposed each coping pattern on a seven-point scale. Sixteen patterns of coping were classified in five main categories of coping with abuse: (1) “the wife changes her behavior toward her husband”, (2) “the wife assumes responsibility for changing her husband”, (3) “the wife seeks help from informal agents”, (4) “the wife seeks help from formal agents”, and (5) “the wife expresses her desire to break up the family unit” (p. 732).

The study found that the women strongly supported the following coping mechanisms: persuading the husband to change, changing her own behavior toward the husband, trying to appease the husband, seeking advice from welfare services, and avoiding the husband when he is angry. In addition, Arab women in this study expressed great opposition to the following mechanisms: threatening divorce, going to a battered women’s shelter, filing for divorce, attacking the husband, registering a complaint with the police, and leaving home without notifying the husband or family members. For

example, 80%, 77%, and 72% of the Arab women in this study expressed high level of opposition to divorce being filed in court by victims of psychological, moderate physical, and severe physical abuse, respectively. Moreover, a significant relationship was found between level of religiosity and the five main categories of coping with abuse. That is, the higher the level of religiosity, the stronger the support for the first three coping patterns (changing behavior toward the husband, assuming responsibility to change the husband, and seeking help from informal agents), and the lower the levels of support for the fourth and fifth coping patterns (seeking help from formal agents, and expressing a desire to break up the family).

To summarize findings regarding the relationship between religiosity and attitudes toward violence against women: Gengler and Lee (2002) found that a high degree of religiosity correlated with a narrower definition of wife abuse. Other studies found religiosity to correlate with a greater acceptance of, and or willingness to justify, violence against women in intimate relationships (Baier, 2014; Haj-Yahia, 1998a, 1998b, 2005; Jefford, 1984; Koch & Ramirez, 2010), willingness to blame battered women (Gengler & Lee, 2002; Haj-Yahia, 1998a; 1998b; 2005), the belief that wives benefit from violence against them (Haj-Yahia, 2005), and the refusal to support punishment of violent husbands (Haj-Yahaia, 2005). However, Baier (2014) found that religiosity had different effects on violent behavior in different religious traditions. Comparing Muslims and Christians, Baier found that higher degrees of religiosity decreased violent behavior in general and acceptance of violence against women for Christian and increased it for Muslims. Finally, Haj-Yahia (2002) found that highly religious women were more likely to accept abuse and to cope with it by changing their behavior toward the husband,

assuming responsibility to change the husband, or seeking help from informal agents, while refusing to break up the family. In addition, the only studies that have investigated the relationship between religiosity and attitudes toward violence against women in the Arab Middle East were in Jordan and Palestine. Although Jordan and Palestine are culturally similar to Kuwait, all three countries are unique. Thus, there is a need to investigate the relationship between religiosity and attitudes toward violence against women with a Kuwaiti sample.

Exposure to Violence in Childhood and Attitudes toward Violence against Women

As indicated by social learning theory, exposure to family violence in early childhood may influence attitudes toward violence against women in adulthood. Numerous studies have examined this correlation (Gharaibeh et al., 2012; Graham-Bermann & Brescoll, 2000; Haj-Yahia, 2010; Lichter & McCloskey, 2004; Martin et al., 2002; Stith & Farley, 1993; Ulbrich & Huber, 1981). Ulbrich and Huber (1981) sought to determine the effects witnessing parental violence as a child on gender role attitudes, attitudes toward rape victims, and attitudes toward violence against women. The researchers employed a telephone survey to obtain a random United States sample consisting of 1,092 women and 910 men (totaling 2002). They asked questions about the observation of violence in the home as a child (father hitting the mother, mother hitting the father, both hitting each other), attitudes about women's employment and motherly roles, and attitudes regarding violence against women. Seventeen percent of the total sample reported having witnessed their parents hitting. Witnessing violence in the home between parents as a child did not show a significant relationship with traditional gender

role attitudes. Witnessing a father hitting the mother in the home was significantly correlated with victim blaming by males in cases of rape. Moreover, witnessing parental hitting affected the approval of wife beating, but the effects varied by sex. For men, all types of hitting (father to mother, mother to father, both) positively affected approval of wife hitting. However, for women, witnessing their mother hitting their father increased the women's tendency to approve wife hitting. This study lent some support for the social learning theory and may also suggest that observing parental violence may affect men and women differently, and this could be due to gender role socialization.

Graham-Bermann and Brescoll (2000) with 221 children (6- to 12-year-olds) and their mothers, examined the relationship between the amount of violence experienced by the mother and their children's beliefs about power and violence in family. More specifically, the researchers were interested in investigating the relationship of physical and emotional abuse of mothers and children's beliefs in four areas: (1) male power in the family, (2) female power in the family, (3) violence privilege (violence as the parent's prerogative), and (4) family autonomy (the right to privacy and autonomy from outside institutions). The results indicated a significant correlation between the child's belief in male power, violence privilege, and the amount of physical and psychological abuse that the mother reported enduring. In other words, the more physical violence and emotional abuse that the mother reported, the more the child believed in male privilege and superiority, and the more the child saw violence as an acceptable and even necessary part of family interactions. Although the researchers did not ask if the children witnessed their father abusing their mother, the researchers infer from the mother's accounts of abuse that

children's beliefs around gender and family violence may be affected by witnessing the abuse of their mothers.

A similar study conducted in India but with an adult sample of 6,902 married Indian men (mean age 31) to examine whether witnessing violence in childhood would predict attitudes supportive of husband's control over their wives (Martin et al., 2002). To assess men's attitudes concerning husband's control of their wives, each subject was asked how a man should respond if his wife disobeys him. Four possible courses of actions were given to the husband: (1) verbally persuading his wife, (2) physically isolating his wife, (3) verbally insulting his wife, and (4) physically beating his wife. Men who witnessed violence in their family growing up were more likely to approve beating disobedient wives than men from nonviolent families. Moreover, the results of the logistic regression analysis after adjusting for all of the sociodemographic variables, witnessing violence in the family of origin predicted the numbers of controlling actions made by the husband. In other words, compared to men from nonviolent homes, men from violent homes were significantly more likely to approve of one (OR=1.40), two (OR=2.50) and three (OR=2.36) controlling actions over no controlling actions.

Lastly, a logistic regression analysis, after adjusting for all of the sociodemographic variables, found that witnessing violence in the family of origin predicted sexual and physical abuse by men toward their wives. For example, men who witnessed violence in their family of origin were approximately four times more likely to physically and sexually abuse their wives (Martin et al., 2002). The results of this study support the social learning theory that exposure to violence in the family of origin makes children to view physical violence as an acceptable way of dealing with conflict in their

future adult relationships, thus childhood experience predicts both accepting attitudes toward violence and actual violence.

Stith and Farley (1993) tested a predictive model of severe marital violence using the variables of observation of marital violence, approval of marital violence, marital stress, gender role attitudes, alcoholism and self-esteem. The results of their study, based on a sample of 91 men (39 in a batterers' treatment program and 52 in an alcoholic treatment program), found that this model accounted for 19% of the variance in severe violence against female spouses. Of the six predictor variables, sex-role egalitarianism and approval of marital violence significantly predicted severe violence, indicating that that as traditional attitudes toward gender role increases and as approval of marital violence increases, severe violence increases. Moreover, a significant relationship was found between observations of parental violence and approval of marital violence, which were positively correlated.

More importantly, the researchers conducted a multiple regression analysis in order to ascertain the effects of witnessing marital violence, alcoholism, egalitarianism, self-esteem and marital stress on approval of marital violence. This analysis produced an R-square of .35, indicating that the independent variables accounted for 35% of the variance in the level of approval of marital violence. However, only the participant's observation of violence during childhood, level of marital stress, level of alcoholism, and sex-role egalitarianism significantly predicted approval of marital violence. Specifically, male respondents who witnessed marital violence during childhood, who had experienced a higher level of stress in their marriage, a higher level of alcohol use, and show a

traditional attitude toward gender role were more likely to approve violence against women in marital relationships.

What we conclude from this study is that although all of the predictor variables except self-esteem directly predict approval of using violence against women in marital relationships, only traditional attitudes toward gender role and approval of marital violence directly predict use of violence in marriage. This is a particularly important finding that supports the social learning model. The results of this study may inform educational programs aimed at prevention of wife abuse.

Gharaibeh et al. (2012) explored perceptions of, attitudes toward, and justifications for wife abuse among 621 Syrian medical and nursing students. The study found relationships between attitudinal variables, sociodemographic characteristics, and personal experience of violent family conflict (witnessing and experiencing violence in their families). Attitudes regarding the use of interpersonal violence and the beliefs about contextual justifications were measured by two subscales from the PAWAQ questionnaire developed by Yick (1997). The Attitudes toward the Use of Interpersonal Violence subscale measures the respondents' attitudes toward the use of violence in various situations, including violence toward children, one's wife, and in general as a means of solving problems. The Contextual Justification of Wife Beating subscale is used to assess individuals' attitudes about whether certain circumstances might justify or warrant the use of interpersonal violence. A scenario describing a man hitting his wife forcefully under different situations is presented to respondents, who are then asked to select the extent to which they agree or disagree that the violence was justified. Examples

of statements are “She was unwilling to have sex”, “She was always nagging”, and “She did not obey him”.

The study found that 26% of medical students and 32% of nursing students had experienced violence in their life, 32% of medical and 39% of nursing students had observed their father beating their mother, and 75% of medical and 71% of nursing students had witnessed violence in their life. The total sample was divided into three groups for each attitudinal variable, reflecting high, low, and neutral scores. Only 18.4% of the participants show supportive attitudes toward domestic violence, reflecting low tolerance for wife beating and the use of physical force for disciplining children and for solving problems, while 17.7% show high tolerance. With regard to contextual justification of wife beating, 16.1% did not justify wife beating while 15% did justify it.

Students who had experienced violence in their lives had significantly more supportive attitudes toward wife beating and significantly more justification for wife beating than those who had not experienced violence. In addition, students who had witnessed violence between their parents had significantly more supportive attitudes toward wife beating and significantly less justification for wife abuse. Furthermore, students who had not witnessed violence in their lives had significantly more positive attitudes toward wife abuse and significantly less justifications for wife beating. The results of this study are very important to the issue of wife beating because the sample here is medical and nursing students who are future healthcare providers and their attitudes toward wife beating may influence their interventions with abused women (Gharaibeh et al., 2012).

Similarly, Haj-Yahia (2010) examined a sample of 396 Palestinian physicians who worked in four major hospitals in the West Bank and East Jerusalem to explore these physicians' misconceptions about abused wives and abusive husbands. The study explored which of 10 independent variables might predict the physicians' approval of moderate and severe violence against wives. "Moderate" abuse included slapping, kicking, and pushing, and "severe" violence included attacking a woman with an object, pulling her hair, and choking her. The 10 independent variables were the subject's age, religion, place of residence, gender, sex role stereotypes, attitudes toward women's social involvement, attitudes toward women, marital role expectations, and whether the subject had witnessed interparental violence or been subjected to parental violence.

The results revealed that between 10% and 49% of the Palestinian physicians held misconceptions about abused wives. For example, only 55% disagreed with the statement that "Most abused wives feel relieved after their husbands batter them", and 25% disagreed that "If the abused wife understood her husband's life conditions, he certainly would not have abused her". Between 15% and 63% held misconceptions about abusive husbands. For example, 63% agreed that "Drinking alcohol definitely causes husbands to abuse their wives".

The study also found that substantial percentages of physicians tended to approve of moderate and severe violence against wives. For example, approximately one third of the participants approved of a husband's slapping his wife if he "suspects she is having an affair", if the wife "insults her husband in front of their children", or if she neglects the home while spending most of her time visiting relatives. In addition, about 24% and 27% of the participants approved of a husband's severe violence against his wife if "she

irritates and provokes her husband by constantly putting him down”, and “if the wife returns home drunk”, respectively. In addition, the results reveal that the more frequently the participants witnessed inter-parental violence, the more they supported moderate violence and severe violence against wives; furthermore, the more they experienced violence by their parents, the more they supported both moderate and severe violence against wives.

Lastly, two multiple regression analyses were conducted to predict approval of moderate and severe violence against wives as a function of the 10 independent variables. The first multiple regression analyses revealed that 36% of the variance in the participants’ approval of moderate wife abuse due to all independent variables. However, a significant amount of this variance was accounted for by only five variables: sex role stereotypes, attitudes toward women’s social involvement, attitudes toward women, marital role expectations and experiencing parental violence. Specifically, 7% of the variance in the participants’ approval of moderate physical violence against wives could be explained by their exposure to family violence (both experiencing and witnessing). However, only experiencing parental violence had a significant effect on their approval of moderate wife abuse. This result means that experiencing parental violence, not witnessing parental violence, predicts supportive attitude toward moderate wife abuse.

The results of the second multiple regression analysis revealed that 44% of the variance in the participants’ approval of severe wife abuse was due to all independent variables. However, a significant amount of this variance could be significantly attributed to only five variables: sex role stereotypes, attitudes toward women’s social involvement, attitudes toward women, marital role expectations and witnessing parental violence.

Specifically, 9% of the variance in the participants' approval of severe wife abuse could be explained by their exposure to family violence, however, only witnessing parental violence had a significant effect on their approval of severe wife abuse. This result means that witnessing parental violence, not experiencing abuse by parents, predicts supportive attitudes toward severe wife abuse.

Lichter and McCloskey (2004) used a longitudinal methodological approach to examine the role of witnessing violence between parents and gender-based beliefs and attitudes in IPV. This was a longitudinal prospective study of adolescents and their mothers (N = 208) over a seven- to nine-year period. Gender-based beliefs and attitudes included three variables: (1) egalitarian sex-role attitudes, (2) gender-typed dating scripts, and (3) acceptance of dating violence. Egalitarian sex-role attitudes were measured by The Family Roles Scale (FRS). An example from the scale is "Married women should stay at home and not work when they have young children". Gender-typed dating scripts were measured by The Dating Scripts Scale (DSS), an instrument designed to assess perceptions of normative dating behavior. An example from the DSS is "A girl has to let her boyfriend have the upper hand if she wants to stay in the relationship". Acceptance of dating violence was measured by the Attitudes About Dating Index (AADI). This scale asks how justifiable it is for a boyfriend to hit his girlfriend under certain circumstances, such as if she smashes his belongings, has an affair, or flirts with someone else.

The study found a significant relationship between witnessing violence in childhood and acceptance of dating violence, but parental violence was not significantly correlated with gender-typed family roles or dating scripts. That is, individuals who witnessed their parents fighting were more likely to accept dating violence. In addition, to

explore the family origins of these attitudes, the authors conducted a regression analyses to test whether exposure to marital violence in childhood increased the risk of developing gender-typed and pro-violence attitudes with three separate regression equations, one for each attitude scale when controlling for age and gender. They found that witnessing marital violence in childhood was unrelated to the FRS or the DSS. These results suggest that growing up in a violent home does not necessarily lead to a person developing traditional patriarchal beliefs. On the other hand, adults who were exposed to parental violence during childhood were more likely to endorse the use of physical tactics of control in dating relationships.

In summary, the literature on exposure to violence in childhood and attitudes toward violence against women has reported a link between witnessing and experiencing violence in the family of origin and adult attitudes toward violence against women. More specifically, individuals who witness violence between their parents are more likely to approve of wife beating than those who do not witness parental violence (Graham-Bermann & Brescoll, 2000; Haj-Yahia, 2010; Lichter & McCloskey, 2004; Martin et al., 2002; Stith and Farley, 1993; Ulbrich & Huber, 1981). However, one study finds that witnessing parental violence affects men and women differently. For men, witnessing all types of violence between parents positively affects acceptance of wife beating; however, for women, witnessing their mother beating their father increases the women's tendencies toward approval of wife beating (Ulbrich & Huber, 1981). With regard to the relationship between experiencing violence in the family of origin and attitudes toward wife beating, one finds that individuals who experience parental violence are more likely to approve

and justify wife beating than those who do not experience parental violence (Gharaibeh et al., 2012; Haj-Yahia, 2010).

Summary of Literature Review

In this literature review, I have surveyed many studies examining the relationship between gender role attitudes, religiosity, and exposure to family violence in childhood and attitudes toward violence against women. Several of these studies are methodologically problematic in their use of inadequate instruments for measuring attitudes toward gender roles and degree of religiosity. However, recurrent findings in the literature suggest that traditional gender role attitudes, higher degrees of religiosity, exposure to family violence in childhood, and witnessing parental violence are predictors of tolerant attitudes toward violence against women. Since these factors have been linked to tolerant attitudes toward violence against women, and since no study of Kuwaiti society has examined the influence of these factors, this calls for an investigation on exactly these factors in a Kuwaiti sample.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

As informed by the theoretical framework of radical feminist and social learning theories and based on the literature review of existing research, this study examines the relationship between gender role attitudes, religiosity, experiencing violence in the family of origin, witnessing violence in the family of origin, and attitudes toward wife beating. The study hypothesizes that traditional attitudes toward gender roles, a high degree of religiosity, experiencing family violence during childhood, and witnessing family violence during childhood will be associated with increased tolerance of wife beating. This study assumes an objectivist epistemology. Objectivism, in this sense, posits a non-subjective reality, independent of the researcher's views, feeling, interpretations, or interactions with the participants (Crotty, 1998). An objectivist approach requires the researcher to investigate the phenomenon from a distance and to avoid direct, personal involvement with the research subjects. The goal of such research is to produce probabilistic findings that are factual rather than subjective interpretations. The study deploys standardized social research instruments and a questionnaire asking respondents to report on their gender roles attitudes, religiosity, and exposure to violence in their family of origin, and personal attitudes toward wife beating. The results of these instruments are then taken as objective findings to be statistically analyzed.

Research Design

This study employs a non-experimental, correlational research design to examine the relationship between gender role attitudes, religiosity, experiencing violence in the family of origin, witnessing violence in the family of origin and attitudes towards wife beating. The correlational approach allows the researcher to explore the extent to which two or more variables co-vary, that is, where changes in one variable are reflected in changes in the other. Correlational research can also measure the magnitude and the strength of relationships between variables (Creswell, 2008). Correlational studies can be used to make predictions when they are designed to reveal relations between independent (predictor) variables and dependent (criterion) variables (Creswell, 2008). The predictor variables in this study are gender role attitudes, religiosity, and the witnessing and experiencing of intra-familial violence in childhood; the criterion variable is attitude towards wife beating.

Participants

The sample population for this study consists of students who are enrolled in the College of Basic Education in Kuwait. In this study, there are five predictor variables, and one criterion variable. Based on Cohen's (1988) formula as calculated by the G-Power computer software, a sample size of 138 is needed for a moderate effect size ($f^2 = 0.15$, $p < .05$, predictors = 5). Two hundred twenty one surveys were completed. However, 13 surveys were excluded from the analyses due to over 10% missing data, which would likely have biased the results (Bennett, 2001). Therefore, the final sample size was 208.

Fifty one percent of participants were female (n = 106) and 49% male (n = 102). Participants had a mean age of 21.24 (SD = 3.9) with a range from 18 – 40 years old. Approximately 90% (n = 188) of the sample were Kuwaiti citizens and 10% were non-Kuwaiti citizens (n = 20). Additionally, 100% of the sample identified as Muslim. In terms of marital status, the majority were single and represent 79% of the sample (n = 164), while 13% were married (n = 38), and only 3% were divorced (n = 6). Regarding respondents' year in college, 52% were first year students (n = 109), 19% in their second year (n = 39), 18% in their third year (n = 37), and 11% in their fourth year or beyond (n = 23). With regard to the family monthly income, 15% (n = 31) had a monthly income less than 800 KD (less than \$2,600), 31% (n = 65) had a monthly income between 800 to 1200 KD (between \$2,600 to \$3,900), 24% (n = 49) had a monthly income between 1200 to 1600 KD (between \$3,900 to \$5,200), 14% (n = 29) had a monthly income between 1600 to 2000 KD (between \$5,200 to \$6,500), 9% (n = 19) had a monthly income between 2000 to 2400 KD (between \$6,500 to \$7,800), and 7% (n = 15) had a monthly income more than 2400 KD (more than \$7,800).

Instruments

Sex-Role Egalitarianism Scale. Attitudes toward gender roles were measured by the Sex Role Egalitarianism Scale (SRES), developed by King and King (1983). The SRES was designed to measure attitudes concerning equality between men and women in reference to sexual stereotypes and nontraditional gender roles. Sex role egalitarianism is defined as “an attitude which causes one to respond to another individual independently of that other individual’s sex” (King, et al., 1983, p. 1200). There are four forms of the SRES:

(1) the full form B (SRES-B), (2) the full form K (SRES-K), (3) the short form BB (SRES-BB, and (4) the short form KK (SRES-KK). Each of the full forms consists of 95 items, and each of the short forms is composed of 25 items.

The SRES measures egalitarian attitudes across five adult gender role domains: marital roles, parental roles, employment roles, educational roles, and social-interpersonal-heterosexual roles. Each domain of the SRES is represented by 19 items in the full forms and by five items in the short forms. Items are rated on a five-point Likert scale (from strongly agree to strongly disagree).

This study will use the SRES-BB. The total scores range from 25 to 125. The short form SRES-BB was constructed based on the long form SRES-B by taking five items from each domain of the SRES-B that had the highest item-total correlations. Administration of the SRES-B and SRES-BB on the same occasion yielded a correlation of $r = .95$. When administered at a six-week interval, a correlation of $r = .75$ was yielded, providing a strong indication that the SRES-BB is a reliable measurement of sex-role egalitarianism (King & King, 1993). Low scores on the SRES reflect traditional gender-role attitudes, while high scores indicate egalitarian (non traditional) attitudes toward gender roles.

The reliability of the SRES-BB has been found to be high, with a reliability coefficient of .94 (King & King, 1990). Additionally, a test-retest with a three weeks interval showed a stability coefficient of 0.88 (King & King, 1990). The SRES-BB is also a highly valid instrument. For example, Stith, Grossman, and Bischof (1991) tested the discriminant validity of SRES-BB by relating its scores to Marlowe-Crowne (a measure used to measure social desirability) scores using a sample of 115 male substance abusers

and batterers and found a non significant coefficient of - 0.02. Thus, there seems to be little evidence that SRES-BB responses are influenced by social desirability, and this lends credibility to the construct assessed by the SRES in the form of discriminant validity.

The convergent validity of the SRES was supported by the finding that the SRES scores correlate highly with, but are not identical to, scores of other measures of gender role attitudes (King & King, 1990). For example, Royse and Clawson (1988) compared the SRES scores of women who rated very low on the commitment to feminism scale to those of women who rated very high on the same scale. The researchers found a highly significant difference in SRES scores, with women in the high commitment group having a mean of 119.4, compared to a mean of only 77.2 for women in the low-commitment group.

In this study, the Arabic version of the SRES-BB (Alsalehi, 1998) will be used. Alsalehi employed several measures to validate this instrument. First, an expert translator made the translation from English to Arabic. Then, to ensure the maintenance of themes from the original English form, the Arabic version was reviewed by several bilingual social researchers who read and speak both Arabic and English. After that, Alsalehi (1998) conducted a pilot study on 64 students at the Basic College of Education in Kuwait; he gave them the Arabic form of the SRES. This pilot study led to a few modifications of the instruments (e.g., improved readability, clarified items) until a satisfactory form of the questionnaire was achieved. Then, Alsalehi calculated the reliability of the instrument. After finding that one item (item 23) had a negative correlation with the other items, he omitted the outlying item from the computation of the

total score. Then, he recalculated the reliability of the scale and found a good reliability with an Alpha Coefficient of 0.76. The validity of the instrument also was achieved through expert validity technique (judgment validity).

Inventory of Beliefs about Wife Beating Scale (IBWB). Attitudes toward wife beating will be measured by the Inventory of Beliefs about Wife Beating Scale (IBWB) (Saunders et al., 1987). The IBWB is a 30-item scale that only assesses beliefs and attitudes regarding violence against married women. The IBWB consists of five subscales: (1) Wife-beating is Justified (WJ), (2) Wives Gain from Beatings (WG), (3) Help Should Be Given (HG), (4) Offender Should Be Punished (OP), and (5) Offender is Responsible (OR). Subjects respond to each item on a seven-point Likert scale (from Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree). Scores of the IBWB can range from 30 to 210, with higher scores indicating more supportive attitudes toward wife beating. The internal consistency of the five subscales, as indicated by alpha coefficients are: WJ = .86, WG = .77, HG = .67, OP = .61 and OR = .62, with a median coefficient of 0.77. According to Saunders et al. (1987), one of the limitations of the IBWB is the “internal reliability of three of the scales (HG, OR, and OP) that fell at the low end of acceptable reliability” (p. 52).

Saunders et al. (1987) assessed construct validity of the IBWB in a large sample of diverse subjects representing both sexes, different races, and various professions, including students, nurses, and physicians. Saunderson's subjects included men entering treatment for abusing their female partners, and women advocating on behalf of battered women. In order to examine construct validity of the IBWB, these researchers examined the relationship between IBWB and other related constructs, such as hostility toward

women and sex role stereotyping. They found both hostility toward women and sex role stereotyping scales to be correlated with subscales of IBWB. Additionally, using the Marlowe-Crown Social Desirability Scale, social desirability bias was not found to be a major problem. Moreover, the known group validity was supported by a highly significant difference between the abuser group and the advocate group in all subscales and in the predicted direction.

The Islamic Behavioral Religiosity Scale. Degree of intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity will be measured by the Islamic Behavioral Religiosity Scale (Abou-Youssef, Kortam, Abou-Aish, & El-Bassiouny, 2011). In designing the Islamic Behavioral Religiosity Scale, the researchers selected to adapt and modify the Religiosity scale developed by Ji and Ibrahim (2007). The religiosity scale developed by Ji and Ibrahim (2007) was based on Allport and Ross (1967) religiosity scale. The Islamic Behavioral Religiosity Scale is a self-report measure that uses a 5-point Likert scale (1-strongly disagree to 5-strongly agree) that contained three subscales: Islamic doctrinal, intrinsic religiosity, and extrinsic religiosity. The Islamic doctrinal subscale measures the degree to which participants express agreement with specific statements, such as “Mohammad is God’s prophet” and “The Quran is the word of Allah”. The intrinsic subscale assesses a type of religious motivation. Intrinsic religious orientation refers to a motivation that stems from a religious belief itself. People with an intrinsic religious orientation identify their religious commitment as an end in itself and as the core aspect of their personal identity. This includes items such as “My religious beliefs are what really lie behind my whole approach to life”. Extrinsic religious orientation refers to a more utilitarian or pragmatic religious motivation. External religiosity stems from social or external values and beliefs.

Items in this sub scale include “Occasionally I find it necessary to compromise my religious beliefs in order to protect my social and economic interest”. For the purpose of this study, only the intrinsic and extrinsic subscales will be used. The intrinsic subscale contains 14 items, and ranges from 12 to 60, with high scores representing a greater degree of intrinsic religiosity. The extrinsic subscale contains 8 items and the total scores ranges from 8 to 40, with high scores representing a greater degree of extrinsic religiosity.

The Islamic Behavioral Religiosity Scale has a good reliability and validity. The Islamic Behavioral Religiosity Scale has good internal consistency reliability with coefficient Cronbach alpha of .94, .91, .85 for Islamic doctrinal, intrinsic religiosity, and extrinsic religiosity respectively. In addition, test-retest reliability for the subscales was good with Cronbach alpha of 0.99, 0.90, and 0.84 for Islamic doctrinal, intrinsic religiosity, and extrinsic religiosity respectively. The validity of the scale has been achieved through many techniques such as content validity, face validity, and construct validity. For example, construct validity of Islamic Behavioral Religiosity Scale was measured by confirmatory factor analysis. The researchers found that the variables (Islamic doctrinal, intrinsic religiosity, extrinsic religiosity) are highly significant. This indicates that every statement reflects its corresponding construct.

The Exposure to Abusive and Supportive Environments Parenting Inventory

(EASE-PI). Experiencing physical violence in the family of origin at the hands of parents will be measured by The Exposure to Abusive and Supportive Environments Parenting Inventory (EASE-PI) (Nicholas & Bieber, 1997). The EASE-PI is a scale measuring detrimental and positive childhood experiences with parents. Specifically, the EASE-PI

contains six scales which are: the emotional abusiveness scale, the physical abusiveness scale, the sexual abusiveness scale, the love and support scale, the promotion of independence scale, and the positive modeling and fairness scale (Nicholas & Bieber, 1997). Each item on the EASE-PI uses a 5-point Likert scale that ranges from “never” to “very often” and asks respondents to rate the frequency of parenting behaviors based on their recall of childhood experience. For the purpose of this study, only the physical abusiveness scale will be used. The physical abusiveness scale contains 13 items (e.g. “threw things at you” and “hit you” with scores ranging from 0-52).

The six scales of the (EASE-PI) have a good reliability and validity. With regard to the physical abusiveness scale, test re-test reliability with 10-week period report a coefficient of 0.91. Other scales that each addresses a particular component of the EASE-PI have been used to assess the convergent validity of the EASE-PI. The Physical Abusiveness subscale of the EASE-PI, for example, is positively correlated with the Conflict Tactics Scale (Strauss, 1979), and the Physical Maltreatment Scale (Briere, & Runtz (1988). Additionally, Milosh (1992) established criterion validity of the EASE-PI in an investigation of men who had been physically aggressive with their partners. Milosh found that men who were physically aggressive with their intimate partners were more likely to have been abused as children compared to nonabrasive men.

Adult-Recall Version of the Revised Conflicts Tactics Scale (CTS2-CA). The construct of witnessing interparental violence will be measured by the Adult-Recall form of the Conflict Tactics Scale 2 (Straus, 2001). The Conflict Tactics Scale 2 is a revised version of the original Conflict Tactics Scale. The CTS and the CTS2 can be used to assess violence between spouses, parents and children, and to assess parental violence.

The original scale was slightly revised by simplifying the wording of some items and changing the order of the items for improved reliability and validity. The CTS2-CA is a 31 paired items self-report measure designed to assess violence that participants witnessed in their homes growing up. The measure consists of four subscales including negotiation, psychological aggression, physical assault, and injury. Questions could be asked in different format. For example, could be asked in pairs so that the participants were able to report on father-to-mother violence and mother-to-father violence. However, for the purposes of this study, and based on the recommendation of the author, each question will be asked only once to determine if the participant had witnessed physical violence between parents without taking into consideration the direction of that act (father-to-mother violence or mother-to-father violence). Participants responded to each item using a 6-point Likert scale: 0 = Never, 1 = Once, 2 = Twice, 3 = 3-5 times, 4 = 6-10 times, 5 = 11-20 times, 6 = More than 20 times.

However, for the purpose of this study, only the physical assault subscale will be used. The Physical assault scale is composed of 12 items measuring the participants witnessing their parents using of physical force as a means of resolving the conflict before the age of 18 (e.g. one of my parents kicked the other, one of my parents beat up the other). The score for the Physical assault subscale range from 0 to 72, with higher scores indicating higher levels of witnessing interparental violence.

The CTS2 scale has a good reliability and validity. The internal consistency reliability for the CTS2 ranged from 0.79 (psychological/verbal aggression) to 0.95 (injury) and the internal consistency reliability for the physical assault subscale scale is 0.86. The construct validity was investigated and supported by the significant correlation

between psychological aggression scale scores and the physical assault scale scores and the significant correlation between the physical assault scores and the injury scale scores. In addition, support for the discriminant validity came by comparing the negotiation scale scores to scores on the sexual coercion and injury scales and found non significant correlations for these scales.

Demographic Questionnaire. A demographic questionnaire will be used in this study to gather information about the participant's age, sex, marital status, monthly income, nationality, and religion.

Translation. Three scales from the five scales used in this study were translated from English to Arabic. These scales are Inventory of Beliefs about Wife Beating Scale (IBWB), The Exposure to Abusive and Supportive Environments Parenting Inventory (EASE-PI), and Adult-Recall Version of the Revised Conflicts Tactics Scale (CTS2-CA). Brislin, (1970) recommended the careful selection of translators and use of a back-translation technique in order to reduce errors in translated scales used in cross-cultural research. Thus, the original version in English was translated into Arabic by the researcher, and then a graduate student who works as a professional translator back translated it to English. Back-translation serves to reduce the problem of nonequivalence in translation and to double check the accuracy of the translation (Brislin, 1970). The back translated version of the IBWB, EASE-PI, and CTS2-CA seemed to be identical to the original IBWB, EASE-PI, and CTS2-CA. In addition, the final Arabic versions of the

IBWB, EASE-PI, and CTS2-CA were approved by three graduate students (two in psychology and one in education), to whom the scales were submitted for evaluation.

Research Procedure

The researcher contacted instructors at the Basic College of Education in Kuwait and asked them for permission to conduct this study with their students. Subjects were surveyed in their classrooms. The student volunteers were given a packet that includes a demographic survey, the measures, and a consent form explaining the purpose of the study and how the data will be used. Subjects were informed that their participation is voluntary and that they can refuse to participate in this study or quit at any time.

Data Analyses

The data obtained were analyzed using the IBM SPSS 20 version for Windows. Three types of statistical analyses were used. First, descriptive statistics (e.g means, standard deviation, percentages etc.) were used to analyze the demographic data. Second, a reliability analyses of the study main variables was conducted. Specifically, Cronbach's Alpha was calculated to assess the internal consistency for the Sex-Role Egalitarianism Scale, Inventory of Beliefs about Wife Beating Scale (IBWB), intrinsic religiosity subscale of the Islamic Behavioral Religiosity Scale, extrinsic religiosity subscale of the Islamic Behavioral Religiosity Scale, the physical abusiveness subscale of the Exposure to Abusive and Supportive Environments Parenting Inventory (EASE-PI), and The Physical assault subscale of the Adult-Recall Version of the Revised Conflicts Tactics Scale (CTS2-CA). Third, several analyses were applied to test the seven research

hypotheses in this study. These were Independent Samples t Test for the first research hypothesis, Pearson correlation coefficient (r) for hypotheses two through six, and Stepwise Multiple Regression analysis for the seventh hypothesis.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

Reliability

Internal consistency reliability was assessed using Cronbach's coefficient alpha for all scales used in this study: Inventory of Beliefs about Wife Beating Scale (IBWB), Sex-Role Egalitarianism Scale (SRES), the intrinsic religiosity subscale, the extrinsic religiosity subscale, the physical abusiveness subscale from The Exposure to Abusive and Supportive Environments Parenting Inventory (EASE-PI), and the physical assault subscale from the Adult-Recall Version of the Revised Conflicts Tactics Scale (CTS2-CA). The coefficient alpha for the scales used in this study are presented in Table 1. For this sample, a coefficient alpha of .92, .86, .85, .73, .89, .91 was obtained for the Inventory of Beliefs about Wife Beating Scale (IBWB), Sex-Role Egalitarianism Scale (SRES), the intrinsic religiosity subscale, the extrinsic religiosity subscale, the physical abusiveness subscale from The Exposure to Abusive and Supportive Environments Parenting Inventory (EASE-PI), and the physical assault subscale from the Adult-Recall Version of the Revised Conflicts Tactics Scale (CTS2-CA) respectively. As noted in Table 1, coefficient alpha for all scales were greater than 0.70 which indicate that all these scales has a good internal consistency.

Table1: Internal Consistency Reliability (Coefficient Alpha) for Scales (N = 208)

Scales	Items	Alpha
Inventory of Beliefs about Wife Beating Scale (IBWB)	30	.92
Sex-Role Egalitarianism Scale (SRES)	25	.86
Intrinsic Religiosity Subscale	13	.85
Extrinsic Religiosity Subscale	9	.73
Physical Abusiveness Subscale	13	.89
Physical Assault Subscale	12	.91

In this study, IBWB scores ranged from 42 to 187 with a mean of 103 (SD = 31.6). Low scores indicate less support for wife beating and higher scores indicating stronger support toward wife beating. In this study, scores on the SRES ranged from 39 to 109 with a mean of 75.9 (SD = 14.35), low scores indicating traditional attitudes toward gender roles and higher scores indicating egalitarian attitudes. Scores on the intrinsic religiosity subscale ranged from 30 to 65 with a mean of 51.1 (SD = 8.02). Low scores on this scale indicate low level of intrinsic religiosity and higher scores indicating high level of intrinsic religiosity. Scores on the extrinsic religiosity subscale ranged from 10 to 41 with a mean of 26.6 (SD = 6.77), low scores indicating low level of extrinsic religiosity and higher scores indicating high level of extrinsic religiosity. In this study, the physical abusiveness subscale scores ranged from 0 to 43 with a mean of 6.28 (SD = 7.62), low scores indicating low level of experiencing violence by parents in the family and high scores indicating high level of experiencing violence by parents in the family. Finally, the physical assault subscale scores ranged from 0 to 40 with a mean of 3.78 (SD

= 6.91), low scores indicating low level of witnessing violence between parents and high scores indicating high level of witnessing violence between parents. The means, standard deviations, range of possible scores and minimum and maximum scores are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Means, Standard Deviations, Range of Possible Scores and Minimum and Maximum Scores for Scales Used in this Study

Scales	M	SD	Range of Possible Scores	Lowest Actual Score	Highest Actual Score
Inventory of Beliefs about Wife Beating Scale (IBWB)	103	31.6	30 - 210	42	187
Sex-Role Egalitarianism Scale (SRES)	75.9	14.35	25 - 125	39	109
Intrinsic Religiosity Subscale	51.1	8.02	13 - 65	30	65
Extrinsic Religiosity Subscale	26.6	6.77	9 - 45	10	41
Physical Abusiveness subscale	6.28	7.62	0 - 72	0	43
Physical Assault Subscale	3.78	6.91	0 - 52	0	40

Results of research hypothesis

The results confirmed all research hypotheses. In other words, the results of the study confirmed that acceptance of non egalitarian (traditional) attitudes toward gender

roles, high degree of intrinsic religiosity, high degree of extrinsic religiosity, and experiencing and witnessing intra-familial violence in childhood all significantly correlate with increased supportive attitudes toward wife beating. These results will be addressed in details in the following section.

Hypothesis 1: There is significant difference between male and female participant's attitudes towards wife beating. Independent Samples t-Test analysis was used to investigate the difference between male and female student's attitudes toward wife beating. The summary statistics in Table 3 explain the result of the Independent Samples t-Test that compared the attitudes of male and female participants toward wife beating. Table 3 shows the calculated means and standard deviations between sexes.

Table 3: Means, Standard Deviations, Independent Samples T-test, and p Comparing Male and Female Attitudes Toward Wife Beating

sex	N	Means	standard deviations	t	P
Males	102	116.78	31.38	6.81	0.000
Females	106	89.73	25.72		

Independent samples t-test analysis showed that there was a significant difference in attitudes toward wife beating between male and female participants ($t = 6.81$ $p = .000$). The mean for males (116.78) was higher than the mean for females (89.73). This shows that males have more supportive or tolerant attitudes toward wife beating than females.

Hypothesis 2: There is a significant negative relationship between egalitarian attitudes toward gender roles and supportive attitudes toward wife beating. The Pearson correlation coefficient (r) procedure was used to investigate the relation between participants' attitudes toward gender roles and attitudes toward wife beating. A correlation of matrix of scales used in this study is shown in Table 4. The results of the Pearson r correlation analysis show that there is a significant negative relationship between egalitarian attitudes toward gender role and supportive attitudes toward wife beating ($r = -0.58, p < .01$). In other words, participants with more egalitarian attitudes toward gender roles were less likely to tolerate or support wife beating.

Table 4: Inter-correlations for Inventory of Beliefs about Wife Beating Scale (IBWB) and other scales

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. IBWB	–	–	–	–	–	–
2. SRES	-.58**	–	–	–	–	–
3. Intrinsic Religiosity Subscale	.355**	-.356**	–	–	–	–
4. Extrinsic Religiosity Subscale	.341**	-.273**	.247**	–	–	–
5. Physical Abusiveness Subscale	.268**	-.150*	-.018	.132	–	–
6. Physical Assault Subscale	.265*	-.127	-.003	.205**	.468**	–

* $P < .05$. ** $P < .01$

Note. IBWB is Inventory of Beliefs about Wife Beating Scale; SRES is Sex Role Egalitarian Scale.

Hypothesis 3: There is a significant positive relationship between degree of intrinsic religiosity and supportive attitudes toward wife beating. The Pearson correlation coefficient (r) procedure was used to investigate the relation between participants degree of intrinsic religiosity and attitudes toward wife beating. The results of the Pearson (r) correlation analysis shows that there is a significant positive relation between intrinsic religiosity and supportive attitudes toward wife beating ($r = 0.355, p < .01$). In other words, respondents who scored higher in intrinsic religiosity were more likely to support wife beating than those with a lower level of intrinsic religiosity. See Table 4.

Hypothesis 4: There is a significant positive relationship between degree of extrinsic religiosity and supportive attitudes toward wife beating. The results of the Pearson (r) correlation analysis shows that there is a significant positive relation between extrinsic religiosity and attitudes toward wife beating ($r = 0.341, p < .01$). In other words, participants with higher degree of extrinsic religiosity were more likely to support wife beating. See Table 4.

Hypothesis 5: There is a significant positive relationship between being subjected to physical violence in childhood and supportive attitudes toward wife beating. The results of the Pearson (r) correlation analysis shows that there is a significant positive relation between being subjected to physical violence in childhood and supportive attitudes toward wife beating ($r = 0.268, p < .01$). These results indicate that participants who subjected by their parents to physical violence more frequently as children were more likely to show supportive attitudes toward wife beating. See Table 4.

Hypothesis 6: There is a significant positive relationship between witnessing physical violence between parents in childhood and supportive attitudes toward wife beating. The results of the Pearson r correlation analysis shows that there is a significant positive relation between witnessing violence in childhood and supportive attitudes toward wife beating ($r = 0.265, p < .01$). These results indicate that participants who witnessed physical violence between their parents more frequently, were more likely to express supportive attitudes toward wife beating. See Table 4.

Hypothesis 7: A combination of predictor variables in this study: attitudes toward gender roles, intrinsic religiosity, extrinsic religiosity, experiencing physical violence in childhood in the family of origin, and witnessing physical violence between parents in childhood would explain a significant portion of the total variance in attitudes toward wife beating. A Multiple Regression analyses was conducted to investigate if a combination of predictor variables in this study: attitudes toward gender roles, intrinsic religiosity, extrinsic religiosity, experiencing physical violence in childhood in the family of origin, and witnessing physical violence between parents in childhood would explain a significant portion of the total variance in attitudes toward wife beating. Multiple regression analysis accounts for the effects of two or more independent variables on a single dependent variable (Aron, Aron, Coups, & Publishing, 2012). Stepwise multiple regression extends upon linear regression by selecting the combination of independent variables with the most predictive power (Aron et al., 2012). This technique determined if the combination of attitudes toward gender roles, intrinsic religiosity, extrinsic religiosity,

experiencing physical violence in childhood in the family of origin, and witnessing physical violence between parents in childhood would explain a significant portion of the total variance in attitudes toward wife beating (see Table 5). In addition, the One Way ANOVA for the final model is presented in Table 6, and regression coefficients are presented in Table 7.

The regression analysis found that a combination of attitudes toward gender roles, intrinsic religiosity, extrinsic religiosity, experiencing physical violence in childhood, and witnessing physical violence between parents as a child significantly explained 43.1% of the total variance in attitudes toward wife beating $F(5,202) = 30.544, P < .001, R^2 = .431$. In particular, attitudes toward gender roles, witnessing physical violence between parents, intrinsic religiosity, extrinsic religiosity, and experiencing physical violence in childhood significantly contributed to explaining 33.7%, 3.7%, 2.8%, 1.7%, and 1.1% of the variance respectively.

Table 5: Stepwise Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting Attitudes Toward Wife Beating From Attitudes Toward Gender Roles, Intrinsic Religiosity, Extrinsic Religiosity, Experiencing Physical Violence in Childhood in the Family of Origin, and Witnessing Physical Violence Between Parents in Childhood

Model	R	R ²	Adjusted R ²	Std. Error of the Estimate	R ² Change
1	.580 ^a	.337	.334	25.813	.337
2	.612 ^b	.374	.368	25.139	.037
3	.634 ^c	.402	.394	24.623	.028
4	.647 ^d	.419	.408	24.334	.017
5	.656 ^e	.431	.416	24.154	.011

Note. Dependent variable: attitudes toward wife beating.

- a. Predictors: (Constant), attitudes toward gender roles.
- b. Predictors: (Constant), attitudes toward gender roles, witnessing violence between parents.
- c. Predictors: (Constant), attitudes toward gender roles, witnessing violence between parents, intrinsic religiosity.
- d. Predictors: (Constant), attitudes toward gender roles, witnessing violence between parents, Intrinsic religiosity, Extrinsic religiosity.
- e. Predictors: (Constant), attitudes toward gender roles, witnessing violence between parents, Intrinsic religiosity, Extrinsic religiosity, experiencing violence in the family by parents.

Table 6: One Way ANOVA for the Final Regression Model

Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	89101.165	5	17820.233	30.544	.000 ^a
Residual	117851.830	202	583.425		
Total	206952.995	207			

- a. Predictors: (constant), attitudes toward gender roles, witnessing violence between parents, Intrinsic religiosity, Extrinsic religiosity, experiencing violence in the family by parents.
- b. Dependent variable: attitudes toward wife beating.

Table 7: Regression Coefficients

Model	B	Std. Error	Beta	t	p
Constant	124.684	18.905	–	6.595	.000
Attitudes toward gender roles	-.998	.129	.453	-7.729	.000
Witnessing violence between parents	.564	.279	.123	2.019	.045
Intrinsic religiosity	.621	.228	.158	2.723	.007
Extrinsic religiosity	.639	.266	.137	2.400	.017
Experiencing family violence	.504	.251	.121	2.010	.046

- a. Dependent variable: Attitudes toward wife beating

In addition, in order to check if there is a condition of multicollinearity between predictors in this study, a multicollinearity test has been conducted. According to Berman and Wang (2011), multicollinearity problems occur when two or more predictors are

highly correlated so that “their individual effects on the dependent variable (criterion variable) are statistically indistinguishable” (p. 85). A multicollinearity is detected when the variance inflation factor (VIF) exceed five. The results of the multicollinearity test show that the variance inflation factor for predictor variables in this study ranges between 1.153 and 1.322, which is less than five. These results indicate no multicollinearity problem (see Table 8).

Table 8: Test for Multicollinearity

Predictors	B	S.E	Beta	t	Sig.	VIF
Attitudes toward gender roles	-.998	.129	-.453	-7.7	.000	1.218
Intrinsic religiosity	.621	.228	.158	2.7	.007	1.187
Extrinsic religiosity	.639	.266	.137	2.4	.017	1.153
Witnessing violence between parents	.564	.279	.123	2	.045	1.322
Experiencing family violence	.504	.251	.121	2	.046	1.295

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study is to investigate the influence of gender role attitudes, religiosity (intrinsic and extrinsic), experiencing violence in childhood, and witnessing violence between parents as a child on attitudes toward wife beating in a Kuwaiti sample. This chapter summarizes, interprets, and integrates the results of the research as they relate to findings in the literature review and ends with a discussion of its educational implications and recommendations for future research in wife beating or violence against women in general.

Interpretation of Findings

The following section presents a discussion and interpretation of findings for the seven research hypotheses, based on survey responses, and relates these findings to the relevant literature.

Research hypotheses #1: There is significant difference between male and female participant's attitudes towards wife beating. This study found that male participants were more likely to have tolerant or supportive attitude toward wife beating than female participants. Such findings highlight the role of gender on attitudes toward wife beating and are supported by past studies (Al-Koot et al. 2010; Nayak et al. 2003; Taher et al.,

2010). Men more than women may support or tolerate wife beating because the physical abuse and intimidation of women may serve to maintain the patriarchal status quo, enabling men to assert their power, control and privilege over women in the family and society in general. Women, on the other hand, may reject spousal abuse because they are more often the victims of such violence (Locke & Richman, 1999). According to the defensive attribution hypothesis, the more people see themselves as similar to the victim of an aggressive act (such as wife beating), or the more they imagine themselves as personally confronting such aggression in the future, the less they will blame the victim and the more they will attribute responsibility to the perpetrator (Shaver, 1970). Because the instruments used in this study measured attitudes toward wife beating specifically, and not attitudes toward women's abuse of men as well, female participants would be expected to identify with the female targets of wife beating (because of their gender), and may imagine that they might even face this problem in the future. Further, because women are more likely than men to be victims of domestic violence, they may be better able than men to understand the harmful physical and mental health consequences. It follows that women would be less likely to show supportive attitudes toward wife beating compared to men.

Research hypotheses #2: There is a significant negative relationship between egalitarian attitudes toward gender roles and supportive attitudes toward wife beating.

The results of hypotheses 2 suggest that there is a strong significant negative relationship between egalitarian attitudes toward gender role and supportive attitudes toward wife beating. In other words, participants with more egalitarian (non-traditional) attitudes

toward gender roles are less likely to support wife beating, and the opposite is also true. This finding was expected and has been supported by many studies around the world (Berkel et al., 2004; Finn, 1986; Haj-Yahia et al., 2012; Hillier & Foddy, 1993; Khawaja et al., 2008; Obeid et al., 2010; Stith, 1990).

The findings of this study support the feminist explanation of violence against women, which proposes that people who adhere to a patriarchal ideology (attitudes or beliefs that view men as superior and women inferior) are more prone to engaging in or supporting violence against women. Individuals with traditional gender role attitudes believe that men and women should have distinct roles, that women should have fewer rights, and that women should be subordinate to men in the family and in society in general. Individuals with traditional gender role attitudes support sexual inequality, male domination, and the subordination of women. Such gender traditionalists may also accept the use of violence as a means for men to maintain power over women (Berkel, 2004).

Additionally, those with more traditional attitudes may take it upon themselves to enforce conformity to gender roles. They may believe that a husband has a right or duty to punish his wife for violating her role as faithful spouse, nurturing mother, or diligent housekeeper (Hiller & Foddy, 1993). The findings of this study indicate a strong negative relationship between egalitarian attitudes toward gender roles and supportive attitudes toward wife beating in the Kuwaiti sample. The study therefore found a very strong relationship between attitudes toward gender roles and attitudes toward wife beating. In addition, these findings reflect the pervasiveness of gender role socialization in Kuwait — a patriarchal society in which wife beating may be widely tolerated or supported.

Research hypotheses #3: There is a significant positive relationship between degree of intrinsic religiosity and supportive attitudes toward wife beating. The result of hypotheses 3 suggests a moderate significant positive relationship between participant's degree of intrinsic religiosity and supportive attitudes toward wife beating. In other words, participants with a higher degree of intrinsic religiosity were more likely to support wife beating than those with a lower level of intrinsic religiosity. This result is supported by past research (Baier, 2014; Haj-Yahia, 1998a, 1998b, 2002; 2005; Jefford, 1984).

For example, Jefford (1994) found that individuals with a high degree of intrinsic religiosity were more likely to defend the use of violence to force their wives to have sex with them than participants with lower degree of intrinsic religiosity. In addition, Haj-Yahia (2005) on a sample of Jordanian men found that individuals with a high level of intrinsic religiosity were more likely to justify wife beating, blame women for their own victimization, believe that wives benefit from violence against them, believe that abusive husbands should not be held responsible for their violent behavior, and refuse to support the punishment of wife abusers than those with a lower level of intrinsic religiosity.

The results of hypotheses 3 could be explained according to Allport and Ross's (1967) definition of intrinsic religiosity. Individuals who are intrinsically religious tend to live their daily lives according to religious dictates. For such individuals, religion is an end in itself rather than a means to other benefits. This type of person does not live his or her religious life to please others or gain status but instead to fulfill their relationship with an imagined higher power. Many Muslims view maintaining a stable marriage as central to their religious practice and consider divorce an act of disobedience to Allah (Cohen &

Savaya, 1997). According to Hassouneh-phillips (2001b) “Muslims know that Allah hates divorce. For Muslim women whose purpose in life is to submit to the will of God, displeasing Allah is a painful, even scary, thing to consider” (p. 422). The strong pressure under Islam to maintain a marriage at all costs may contribute to the normalization and acceptance of violence of husbands against their wives (Hong Le, Tran, Nguyen, & Fisher, 2014). Thus, intrinsically religious Muslims (both men and women) may be more tolerant of wife beating and may stay in abusive relationships because divorce is seen as offensive to God.

In addition, intrinsically religious Muslims who read passages in the Quran that seem to allow for physical punishment against rebellious wives may follow these passages believing that they represent God’s commandments. A common interpretation of the Quranic verse 4:34 provides an illustrative example. Many point to this verse to prove that a husband should be dominant over his wife, and that he therefore has the right to beat her if she resists his authority. In this interpretation of the holy text, beating one’s wife is not something that displeases God. This passage may even be read to “prove that men who beat their wives are following God’s commandments” (Douki et al., 2003, p. 165). Thus, those Kuwaitis high in intrinsic religiosity may tend to support wife beating because of their belief that it is a man’s God-given duty to correct his wife misbehavior by physical means if necessary.

Kuwaitis who are high in intrinsic religiosity may accept the common patriarchal interpretation of verse 4:34 and other controversial Quranic verses and hadiths, while they reject or overlook Islamic texts that promote alternative values such as egalitarianism, modernization, and equality between genders. Kuwaitis who are high in

intrinsic religiosity may accept these patriarchal interpretations simply because they have often encountered such interpretations from famous Islamic scholars and Quranic interpreters such as al-Tabari (838- 923), Ibn Kathir (1301–1373), Muhammad ‘Abduh (1849–1905), Rashid Rida (1865–1935), Sayyid Qutb (1906–1966), and Al-Qaradawi (1926).

Due to the historic influence of patriarchal power structures in Arab and Islamic societies on Islam, patriarchy and Islam have become inextricably conflated in these societies (Keddie & Baron, 1991; Moghadam, 2004). In assessing the problem, the historical conflation of Islam with patriarchy in Arab societies may have led to patriarchal interpretations of the Quran and hadith by prominent Islamic scholars. These patriarchal interpretations of religious texts may have, in turn, further reinforced connections between traditional religion and regressive social values in popular public opinion. These cultural trends mutually reinforce religious justifications for continued gender inequality and male domination. Consequently, the conflation of Islam and patriarchy continues to be widespread among Arabic peoples. For example, Bowen (2004) argues that the legacy of patriarchy among pre-Islamic Arab societies came to influence the customary practices and interpretations of Islamic law in a negative manner.

As stated earlier, the highly patriarchal nature of pre-Islamic Arab people has been well documented and is made manifest in terms of restricted roles for women and greater rights for men (Karam, 2004; Moghadam, 2004). Since people are the products of their culture, Islamic scholars who interpret holy texts will tend to influence religious devotees. The end result is a conflation between the longstanding traditions of a patriarchal culture with Islam. For instance, Bowen (2004) argues that women’s unequal

access to educational opportunities evidences the conflation of culture with Islam, even though refusing to educate women is contrary to Islamic teachings and values. Karam (2004) provides another example in asserting “the purportedly Islamic custom of female circumcision is practiced only in African countries, and is effectively absent from Asia” (p. 58).

In addition, interpretations of holy texts that promote a more egalitarian worldview or condemn wife beating may have been downplayed or overlooked historically because of male-dominance in Islamic scholarship. Wadud (2006) argues that the absence of discussions of gender equality in Islam follows from the privileged male access to Islamic scholarship. This tradition of male religious authority maintains the exclusive position of men to dictate what Islam does and does not say, and to interpret Islam as supportive of patriarchy.

Research hypotheses #4: There is a significant positive relationship between degree of extrinsic religiosity and supportive attitudes toward wife beating. The results supported hypothesis 4; participants with a higher degree of extrinsic religiosity tend to be more likely to support wife beating than those with lower level of extrinsic religiosity. This result could be explained according to Allport and Ross’s (1967) definition of extrinsic religiosity. According to Allport and Ross, extrinsically religious people conceive of religion as a means to an end. They tend to look to religion to fulfill self-serving, non-religious needs, such as comfort and protection, friendship, social status, or business connections. Thus, people with a higher degree of extrinsic religiosity may use religious teaching and passages from the Quran for their own purposes. To this end, an

extrinsically religious man could cite passages from the Quran – especially those that seem to grant husbands the right to physically discipline their wives – in order to keep his own wife under control and maintain his status as head of the family.

Further, a patriarchal culture like Kuwait is made up of many institutions in which traditional gender roles are learned and encouraged. This is true especially of the institution of the family, where men are encouraged to be dominant and aggressive, and women are taught to be passive and to accept male authority. A Kuwaiti man who does not assert his dominant role in the family may come under criticism by his relatives or friends for not behaving as a “real man”, just as a Kuwaiti woman who behaves in a dominant manner may be criticized for not behaving as a “real women”. Thus, extrinsically religious individuals may use their religious convictions to promote conformity to social expectations. Some may even tolerate wife beating as a normal or expected behavior in order to counter criticisms regarding their own personal failures as “masculine men” or “feminine women”.

In addition, as discussed in the above literature review on divorce in Arabic countries, divorce is largely perceived as the wife's failure and is more shameful for women than for men. Even if a woman is abused by her husband, leaving him may result in social ostracism, and she faces the risk of being labeled “selfish,” “rebellious”, or “disrespectful”. Some may accuse her of not caring for her family and abandoning her children (Haj-Yahia, 2000, p.240). By definition, extrinsically religious individuals are those who use religion to achieve non-religious goals. Thus, highly extrinsically religious Kuwaiti women, and men to lesser degree, may tolerate wife beating in order to protect their status and to avoid the tremendous social stigma associated with divorce.

The confirmation of hypotheses 4 supports the findings of Higginbotham et al. (2007), who found that men with a higher degree of extrinsic religiosity were more likely to perpetuate physical violence against their partners.

Research hypotheses #5: There is a significant positive relationship between being subjected to physical violence in childhood and supportive attitudes toward wife beating. This study found low to moderate significant positive relationship between experiencing violence in childhood and supportive attitudes toward wife beating. In other words, the more participants experienced physical violence from their parents during childhood, the more likely they were to report approving attitudes toward wife beating. This result is consistent with Haj-Yahia's (2010) and Gharaibeh et al.'s (2012) findings. For instance, Haj-Yahia found that the more people experienced physical violence at the hand of their parents, the more likely they were to report supportive attitudes toward moderate and severe wife beating. Examples given in that study included kicking and pushing alongside more severe forms of wife beating, such as attacking a woman with an object or choking her. Similarly, in a sample of Syrian medical and nursing students, Gharaibeh et al. (2012) found that students who had experienced violence in their family had significantly more supportive attitudes toward wife beating and significantly more justification for wife beating than those who had not experienced violence. The findings of the current study provide some empirical support for the explanatory power of the social learning theory to account for the participants' tendency to approve of wife beating. According to social learning theory, experiencing violence in one's family while

growing up not only teaches children to use violence with people they love (intimate partners, children) but also teaches acceptance for the use of violence (Bandura 1973).

In Kuwait, physical punishment has been traditionally used as a means of child discipline, and various forms of misbehavior are thought to constitute valid reasons for physical punishment (Qasem et al., 1998). A survey of Kuwaiti parents found that all but 14% agreed that physical punishment is a valid means of child discipline (Qasem et al., 1998). In the current study, the researcher found that approximately 65% (n= 135) of the participants reported experiencing at least one form of physical violence before the age of 18 at the hand of their parents. Children who experience violence at the hand of their parents may learn many lessons from this physical abuse. Experiencing violence from their parents at an early age may teach children that (1) violence is an appropriate form of conflict resolution and an appropriate means of stress management, (2) violence has a place in normal family interactions, (3) violence may be seen as an expression of love, (4) physical discipline is necessary to promote appropriate behavior (Bandura 1973; Straus, 1991). Experiencing violent parents in childhood may work to promote accepting attitudes toward violence among future family members and intimates (Pournaghash-Tehrani, 2011; Spaccare, Coatsworth, & Bowden, 1995). Thus, Kuwaiti participants who experienced violence in their family of origin may have learned that using violence is a normal way of dealing with conflicts in the family and thus may tolerate wife beating. Although, the current study asked only about attitudes toward wife beating and not violence in the family in general, respondents who experienced violence by their parents in childhood might be expected also to accept or support all manner of domestic violence.

Research hypotheses #6: There is a significant positive relationship between witnessing physical violence between parents in childhood and supportive attitudes toward wife beating. This study found low to moderate significant positive relationship between witnessing physical violence between parents in childhood and supportive attitudes toward wife beating. In other words, the more the participants witnessed physical violence between parents in childhood, the more they were willing to express supportive attitudes toward wife beating. This result is consistent with past studies (Graham-Bermann & Brescoll, 2000; Haj-Yahia, 2010; Lichter & McCloskey, 2004; Martin et al., 2002; Stith and Farley, 1993; Ulbrich & Huber, 1981). This finding can be explained by the social learning theory, which holds that children model their own behavior and beliefs through observing adults. These models, which are especially salient to children, facilitate the development of beliefs about appropriate or expected behavior (Bandura, 1973). Bandura (1973) argues that children who observe violence in their own family will become violent themselves, following their parents as influential role models. According to the social learning theory, children who witness parents interacting violently with one another will learn from this experience that violence is an appropriate method of conflict resolution in marital relationships. Individuals raised in abusive family settings may come to believe that violence between intimate partners is “normal” and an acceptable way to resolve conflicts. They may come to internalize these normalizing attitudes by virtue of witnessing such clashes between their parents (Bandura, 1973; Pournaghash-Tehrani, 2011).

This study found evidence supporting this claim; participants who witnessed violence between parents were more likely to show tolerant attitudes toward wife beating.

In an earlier study, For example, Stith and Farley (1993) found a significant relationship between observations of parental violence and approval of marital violence, which means that the more the participants witnessed parental violence the more likely they will approve marital violence.

Research question #7: A combination of predictor variables in this study: attitudes toward gender roles, intrinsic religiosity, extrinsic religiosity, experiencing physical violence in childhood in the family of origin, and witnessing physical violence between parents in childhood would explain a significant portion of the total variance in attitudes toward wife beating. Hypotheses 7 was supported. A combination of attitudes toward gender roles, intrinsic religiosity, extrinsic religiosity, experiencing physical violence in childhood in the family of origin, and witnessing physical violence between parents in childhood significantly explained 43.1% of the total variance in attitudes toward wife beating. In other words, 43.1% of the variance in the participants' tolerant or supportive attitudes toward wife beating can be attributed to all predictors in this study. More specifically, participants with more traditional attitudes toward gender roles, those with a higher degree of intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity, and those who experienced or witnessed physical violence in childhood showed a significantly a higher tendency to express supportive attitudes toward wife beating.

This finding expands upon the research of Finn (1986) and Stith and Farley (1993). For example, in a sample of white and black university students, Finn (1986) used a multiple regression analysis and found that gender, race, and attitudes toward gender roles were the only significant predictors of attitudes toward marital violence.

Furthermore, Stith and Farley (1993) performed a multiple regression analysis on data gathered from a clinical sample of men in a batterers' and alcohol treatment programs to show that attitudes toward gender roles, witnessing violence between parents during childhood, level of marital stress, and level of alcoholism significantly predicted approval of marital violence. Surprisingly, similar to the findings of this study were the studies of Finn (1986) Stith and Farley (1993), who both found that attitudes toward gender roles was the strongest predictor of attitudes supporting marital violence. For example, Finn (1986) found that attitudes toward gender roles, race, and sex accounted for a significant proportion of the variance in attitudes toward force in marriage ($R^2=.442$). However, gender role attitudes accounted for a significant proportion of the variance ($R^2=.415$). The current study found that a combination of attitudes toward gender roles, intrinsic religiosity, extrinsic religiosity, experiencing physical violence in childhood, and witnessing physical violence between parents in childhood significantly explained 43.1% of the total variance in attitudes toward wife beating. However, attitudes toward gender roles alone explained 33.7% of the total variance in attitudes toward wife beating. The patriarchal nature of Kuwait society may explain the strong predictive power of traditional attitudes toward gender roles on attitudes supporting wife beating. Legal, educational, and religious discrimination against women is rampant in Kuwait. For instance, under Kuwaiti law, when a foreign woman marries a Kuwaiti man, she can be granted Kuwaiti nationality, but the foreign man who marries a Kuwaiti woman has no right to obtain Kuwaiti nationality. This is just one example among many that show how the state policies in Kuwait emphasize the distinction between men and women. Addressing this imbalance, the feminist scholar Al-Mughni (2001) suggested that “the

entire policy of the state has been designed to perpetuate patriarchal relationships and to maintain the traditional role of women” (p. 65).

Beyond state legal sanctions, cultural attitudes and expectations reflecting male dominance, authority, and privilege, particularly in the family, remain prevalent. As a result, from early ages, Kuwaitis are socialized into specific gender roles for men and women, where men are encouraged to be aggressive and dominant, and women are told to be submissive and to accept male authority. According to Wasti and her coauthors (2000), traditional patriarchal societies that prescribe asymmetrical sexual norms and clearly defined gender roles encourage violence against women. Men and women who believe that a man should act as head of the family are also likely to believe that the husband ultimately has the right to resort to physical force in order to maintain his position (Finn, 1986).

Social-cultural Factors and Attitudes toward Wife-beating in Kuwait

The current study found support for all its hypotheses. Specifically, the results indicated that male participants were more likely to show supportive attitudes toward wife beating than female participants. In addition, participants with traditional attitudes toward gender roles, higher degrees of intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity, and those whose parents physically punished or who witnessed violence between parents during childhood were more likely to express support for wife beating. In addition, attitudes toward gender roles were found to be the strongest predictor of attitudes toward wife beating. Dobash and Dobash (1979) suggested a possible explanation for the strong predictive power of attitudes toward gender roles on attitudes toward wife beating. They analyzed attitudes

about wife beating as one component in a more general set of attitudes concerning women's rights and roles in society. In other words, those men and women who believe in traditional gender roles and believe that men should wield power and authority over women may also believe that a husband has the right to physically discipline his wife, especially if she transgresses her traditional feminine role expectations. In a patriarchal society like Kuwait, where women have fewer rights than men and are subordinate to men in both public and private spheres, socialization into these gender roles may cause both men and women to internalize a belief in the superiority of men. This may lead to a general acceptance of a husband's right to use violence against his wife.

In addition, the current study found a similar moderate positive relationship between both extrinsic and intrinsic religiosity and attitudes toward wife beating. This similarity in the strength of the relationship suggests that both types of religiosity may have similar influence on attitudes toward wife beating. However, the motivation for supporting wife beating may be different between intrinsically and extrinsically religious individuals. While intrinsically religious individuals tolerate wife beating because they believe that God grants men the right or duty to discipline and correct their wives, extrinsically religious individuals use religion to achieve status and to conform to social expectations. This difference in religious motives is compatible with the notion that we cannot discuss Islam without taking into consideration how cultural forces and social structures influence the religion or become part of it (Ammar, 2007). On the one hand, the patriarchal culture may influence the interpretation of religious texts to support patriarchy, and on the other hand, religious texts may also be used to maintain traditional patriarchal expectations in family relationships.

The finding also lends support to feminist theory, which proposes that religious teachings that support male authority and female submission may work to create an ideological climate of tolerance of violence against women in the context of marriage. When religious teaching is used to justify gender inequality, assigning different and unequal familial roles and rights for men and women and granting men power over women, this may lead men to abuse their power by behaving violently against their wives. Additionally, this may also lead both men and women to tolerate a husband's violent acting out against his wife (Ayyub, 2000; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Walker, 1988).

Moreover, the strength of the relationship between witnessing physical violence between parents and supportive attitudes toward wife beating was low to moderate. This was similar to the strength of the relationship between experiencing violence by parents in childhood and supportive attitudes toward wife beating. The similar strength between the two types of exposure to violence in the family (experiencing violence first hand and witnessing it vicariously) and attitudes toward wife beating may be due to the fact that that approximately 82% of the current study participants who had witnessed physical violence between their parents were also victims of violence at the hands of their parents. Indeed, several prior studies found that the experience of seeing parents fight and experiencing physical abuse as a child often co-occur (Edleson, 1999; Rada, 2014). The similar strength in correlation between the two types of exposure to violence prior to age 18 and attitudes toward wife beating in adulthood may indicate that both types of exposure to violence teach children the same lesson — that using violence with people

who we love is normal. Witnessing violence and being violently punished in childhood may thus influence attitudes toward wife beating in a similar manner.

Although the relationship between the two types of exposure to violence and attitudes toward wife beating show a significant positive relationship, the strength of these relationships was low to moderate. The low to moderate relationship between experiencing violence and witnessing violence in the family and attitudes toward wife beating may indicate that not all those who are exposed to violence in their family as children simply come to accept it. Indeed, Dobash and Dobash (1979) argued that not all children who witness physical abuse or experience violence from their parents might learn the same lessons. While some children may learn to accept and emulate such behavior, others may be repulsed by it and grow up to reject it (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). Further, the low to moderate relationship between the two types of exposure and attitudes toward wife beating may indicate that there are additional factors, such as attention, motivation and so on, which impact observational learning in different ways (Bandura, 1973). For instance, a boy who witnesses his father beat his mother will be more motivated to imitate this behavior and accept it if the boy observes that his father gained the desired outcome such as changing the behavior of the woman.

Lastly, the results of the current study showed that social and cultural factors (i.e., attitudes toward gender roles, intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity, and experiencing and witnessing family violence in childhood) significantly explained 43.1% of the total variance in attitudes toward wife beating. The large amount of variance in attitudes toward wife beating explained by social and cultural factors in this study suggests that, at least for this study's sample, social and cultural factors have predictive power in

explaining attitudes toward wife beating. In addition, the findings may suggest that social and cultural factors are important to consider when investigating attitudes toward wife beating in patriarchal societies such as Kuwait and other Arab countries.

Implications for Education

The results of this study suggested that cultural beliefs in gender role stereotypes have the strongest influence on people's attitudes toward wife beating. These findings have important implications for education reform. In order to reduce violence against women, a goal of education should be on changing cultural beliefs and values. Because cultural beliefs form the core of patriarchal attitudes, curriculum reforms aimed at promoting cultural change should start in primary school. As part of the basic core curriculum, young children should be taught the value of gender equality and of not resorting to violence in an attempt to resolve family conflicts. Moreover, because religion often plays a major part in promoting and reinforcing cultural values, in Kuwait and other Islamic nations, this curriculum reform should also include a shift in emphasis to the more liberal and progressive teachings of Islam that value women as equal to men.

The current study found that attitudes toward gender roles strongly influence attitudes toward wife beating. Traditional attitudes toward gender roles were the strongest predictor of approval of wife beating. Thus, the promotion of egalitarian, nontraditional gender attitudes should be included as a major element when designing educational policies or educational curriculum in Kuwait.

A program of gender role reform should begin in elementary school. For example, schools can invite Kuwaiti women who have worked and succeed in fields which have

been dominated by men to talk with students about the challenges they have faced and how they achieved this. Schools can invite activists who participated in women's political rights campaigns that succeeded in bringing women the right to vote and be elected to the Kuwaiti parliament. These activists can talk with students and be held up as successful role models in the struggle to empower women.

School curriculum and school textbooks can play a significant role in fighting existing gender stereotypes. Instead of promoting the idea of men as heroes and leaders and women as nurturers and domestic servants, schools should empower young girls by giving examples of women who have fought for their rights and equality with men. Teachers might also have their students examine why some men or women come to choose a particular field of study or career track based on their gender. Students might do a school project to understand what factors shape such choices (Council of Europe, 2004). Teachers should be made aware of the ways in which their own explicit and implicit gender biases might affect how they relate to students in the classroom. Additionally, teachers should consider ways to confront the gender biases of young students in order to reduce peer policing of gender roles (Council of Europe, 2004). Teachers might also be made aware of sexism and gender stereotypes in the course books and curriculum materials. They could then develop strategies to counter such sexism, and even to point out examples of sexist language and images to their students. Student then might become more aware of gender and equality issues in the context of school itself.

Antiviolence instruction should also be part of the educational agenda from the earliest grades. The current study found that exposure to family violence during childhood — either passively witnessing violence or being personally abused — predicts

supportive attitudes toward wife beating. Because most children, even those exposed to family violence, attend school, it follows that schools constitute a strategic site for programs aimed at intervention and prevention of violence (Wolfe & Jaffe, 1999). These programs should include a focus on changing attitudes and beliefs that have been associated with exposure to family violence during formative years. Graham-Berman and Brescoll (2000) have suggested that attitudes conducive to the perpetuation of violence against women are shaped by beliefs about gender and power, and programs aimed at intervention should therefore address such ideas. Potentially harmful and regressive ideas about gender and power, these theorists suggest, can be directly addressed in the classroom. Teachers can be an important influence in the lives of children. Teachers can, therefore, use their position to influence positive culture change (Wolfe & Jaffe, 1999). Therefore, school teachers in Kuwait need to educate children and adolescents that using violence as a way to solve problems is not acceptable even if some of them exposed to violence in their families. They must teach them effective conflict resolution skills so they do not resort to violence as a form of solving problems.

Since religious education is provided in the hope of instilling proper values in Kuwaiti children, gender equality should be included as part of the national religious curriculum. The current study found that religiosity influences attitudes toward wife beating; individuals with a higher degree of intrinsic or extrinsic religiosity were more likely to tolerate wife beating. In Kuwait, Islamic study is mandatory for all students from first to 12th grade. Although a few passages in the Quran could be interpreted to justify unequal treatment of women, there is an unmistakable egalitarianism that runs through the Quran and the sayings of the Prophet Mohammed (Rizzo, Meyer, & Ali, 2002). Thus,

teachers of Islamic studies must be encouraged to offer to their students the many passages from the Quran and sayings of the Prophet Mohammed that support gender equality and the fair and equal treatment of women instead of focusing on the few passages that support gender discrimination.

Since this study found men's attitudes toward wife beating often be more regressive than women's, some resources aimed at cultural reform and prevention should be targeted at teenage boys. To this end, Boroumandfar, Javaheri, Ehsanpour, and Abedi (2010) investigated the influence of an educational program designed to change Iranian males' attitudes toward violence against women. Participants were given tests of attitudes toward violence against women before and after an intervention. The intervention consisted of an educational package that included a pamphlet about domestic violence against women — providing definitions, effects, examples, and methods to fight it. The study found that the educational package was effective in changing participants' attitudes toward physical and sexual violence against women. Although such evidence of attitude change does not guarantee changed behavior, a change in attitude is a prerequisite of changed behavior (Boroumandfar et al., 2010).

Gender inequality also has implications for higher education reform. For instance, the admission policy of Kuwait University discriminates against female applicants by requiring them to have a higher GPA compared to male applicants in order to be accepted to the university. Policies that treat men and women differently may reinforce and institutionalize power imbalances and norms that value men over women. This, in turn, may lead to tolerant attitudes toward wife beating. Thus, the admission policy of Kuwait

University and all educational institutions should treat all students equally, regardless of their gender.

Kuwait University and the Public Authority for Applied Education and Training send hundreds of Kuwaiti students around the world every year on scholarship programs for masters and doctorate degrees in many fields. Some of these scholarships should be directed toward the study of gender issues in women's studies programs or similar fields.

The pursuit of higher education can be a source of empowerment for women. College courses can provide a context for rethinking social issues around gender norms and promoting gender equality. Education may also enable women to gather and assimilate information in a way that empowers them to influence the modern world (Kane, 1995). Access to higher education can benefit women in several respects. At a general cultural level, education can raise awareness of gender inequality, and widespread knowledge of the problem can lead to solutions. On an individual level, education can increase women's access to higher social status and economic opportunity (Kane, 1995). Higher education has been found to have a liberalizing inflect on gender role attitudes in both men and women (Blunch & Das, 2007). Educated parents also tend to have more liberal attitudes, and they pass these on to their children (Kulik, 2002). Moreover, men and women who have attained higher education have been found to be less likely to justify violence against women (Haj-Yahia, 2005; Mann & Tukai, 2009; Rani et al., 2004). Furthermore, women with college degrees were found to be less likely to experience violence (Al-Badayneh, 2012; Habib, Abdel Azim, Fawzy, Kamal & El Sherbini, 2011) and men with more education were less likely to perpetuate violence against women (Habib et al., 2011).

Universities might also address issues of gender equality as part of their curriculum. Some topics that might be incorporated into course curriculums include gender and education, gender and technology, or gender and culture. These topics could provide the basis for courses in their own right, or be incorporated into lectures in other courses.

At the higher education levels, there should be an emphasis on supporting women who wish to pursue advanced degrees. As more professional women enter the workforce, gender inequalities will be reduced. Higher education will also raise consciousness of the problem among both men and women, and an educated populace is likely to adopt more egalitarian views on gender roles and to pass these down to their children.

To summarize, given that individual behavior is influenced by cultural-religious beliefs interventions aimed at reducing wife abuse might focus on educating school children, teenagers, and young adults on the value of gender equality in marriage (Nagae, 2007). The education system can play an important part in promoting programs designed to prevent violence against women. Schools should give young people the opportunity to learn about behaviors considered to be violent, the different types of violence against women, the causes of such violence, its harmful effects, and strategies for dealing with it. School curricula and activities that address these issues may raise awareness among students about healthy relationships between married couples. Schools at all levels can thus promote unfavorable attitudes toward wife beating.

Limitations and Strengths

This study had several limitations. Because the current study drew upon responses from a convenience sample that was homogeneous in terms of age and education, the

study's findings are not readily generalizable to all Kuwaiti people. In addition, the Sex-Role Egalitarianism Scale and the Inventory of Beliefs about Wife Beating were not developed in Arabic or within the context of Arab society. The scales therefore fail to include potentially culturally relevant items, such as questions concerning family honor and dress code. Furthermore, the attitudes toward violence against women instrument did not include items covering the full range forms of violence that women may face, such as emotional or sexual violence.

In addition, there may be other factors influencing attitudes toward wife beating – such as age cohort, past experience of violence at the hand of a husband, media images, peer group attitudes, and socioeconomic status – that were not included in this study (Choi & Edleson, 1996; Flood & Pease, 2009; Khawaja et al., 2008). Also, although participants were asked to recollect their personal exposure to violence in their families of origin before the age of 18, human memory is faulty, and some may have forgotten incidents of violence that they witnessed or experienced in childhood. Memory failure may unavoidably compromise the accuracy of the findings in studies of this nature.

Concerning the strengths of this study, this study is the first study to investigate the influence of sociocultural factors on attitudes toward wife beating in a Kuwaiti population. Another strength was the exploration of two theories to explain attitudes toward wife beating. This dual model framework should give us a better understanding of the phenomenon of wife beating and what factors foster approving attitudes toward it.

Implications for Future Research

The current study was limited in population size, therefore a national population survey investigating prevalence of and attitudes toward wife beating in Kuwait is needed for a better understanding of the scope of the problem. In addition, because this study relied on instruments developed in non-Arabic or Islamic countries, future research is needed to establish the reliability of these instruments and to develop more comprehensive attitude scales specific to Arab cultural contexts. Future research examining attitudes toward violence against women should include not only measures of attitudes toward physical violence against women but also attitudes toward emotional and sexual violence against women.

In addition, it would be valuable to investigate attitudes toward wife beating and gender role explications that are held by Kuwaiti professionals (e.g., police officers, lawyers, physicians, nurses, etc.) who routinely deal with female victims and/or male abusers as part of their job to see if they deal with cases of abused women differently based on their gender roles attitudes. Moreover, because some studies found that witnessing violence between parents had a different effect on attitudes toward wife beating for men and women (Ulbrich & Huber, 1981), it would be useful to compare the responses of male and female participants as a two distinct samples. The findings of the present study have important implications for prevention and intervention efforts in Kuwait and Arab societies more generally. In Kuwait, as in most Arab countries, there is no law to protect women from domestic violence. Thus, there is a need for consciousness-raising about this issue, and intervention efforts should start at early ages and continue throughout the school curriculum. Community activism and media

information campaigns are needed to promote understanding of violence against women as a social and criminal problem, not a private matter. New legislation should be written to facilitate interventions by the criminal justice system.

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APPENDIX A

IRB Approval

Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board

Date: Tuesday, May 05, 2015
IRB Application No: ED1574
Proposal Title: The Sociocultural Influence on Attitudes towards Wife Beating in Kuwait and Education

Reviewed and Processed as Exempt

Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved Protocol Expires: 5/4/2018

Principal Investigator(s):
Khaled Al-fadhlah 4701 N. Washington St. Stillwater, OK 74075
Guoping Zhao 211 Willard Stillwater, OK 74078

The IRB application referenced above has been approved. It is the judgment of the reviewers that the rights and welfare of individuals who may be asked to participate in this study will be respected, and that the research will be conducted in a manner consistent with the IRE requirements as outlined in section 45 CFR 46.

The final versions of any printed recruitment, consent and assent documents bearing the IRB approval stamp are attached to this letter. These are the versions that must be used during the study.

As Principal Investigator, it is your responsibility to do the following:

1. Conduct this study exactly as it has been approved. Any modifications to the research protocol must be submitted with the appropriate signatures for IRB approval. Protocol modifications requiring approval may include changes to the title, PI advisor, funding status or sponsor, subject population composition or size, recruitment, inclusion/exclusion criteria, research site, research procedures and consent/assent process or forms.
2. Submit a request for continuation if the study extends beyond the approval period. This continuation must receive IRB review and approval before the research can continue.
3. Report any adverse events to the IRB Chair promptly. Adverse events are those which are unanticipated and impact the subjects during the course of the research; and
4. Notify the IRB office in writing when your research project is complete.

Please note that approved protocols are subject to monitoring by the IRB and that the IRB office has the authority to inspect research records associated with this protocol at any time. If you have questions about the IRE procedures or need any assistance from the Board, please contact Dawnett Watkins 219 Cordell North (phone: 405-744-6700, dawnet.watkins@okstate.edu).

Sincerely,


Hugh Crawford, Chair
Institutional Review Board

APPENDIX B

Participant information

(in English and Arabic languages)

Participant information

Title: The Sociocultural Influence on Attitudes towards Wife Beating in Kuwait and Education

Principal investigator: Khaled Alfadhlah, a doctoral student at college of education, Oklahoma state university.

Purpose: The purpose of the research study is to investigate attitudes toward wife beating in Kuwait. Specifically, this study will investigate the influence of attitudes toward gender roles, degree of religiosity, witnessing and experiencing violence in the family of origin on attitudes toward wife beating.

What to Expect: Participation in this research will involve completion of six questionnaires. These questionnaires are: demographic questionnaire, two attitudinal surveys (attitudes toward wife beating and attitudes toward gender roles), and two surveys that measure experiencing and witnessing violence in the family of origin, and finally, a survey that measures participant's degree of religiosity. You may skip any questions that you do not wish to answer. You will be asked to complete the questionnaire once. It should take you about 40 minutes to complete.

Risks: There are no risks associated with this project which are expected to be greater than those ordinarily encountered in daily life. However, because some of the questions inquire into personal experiences that some may consider sensitive in nature, any participant may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.

Benefits: There are no direct benefits to you. However, one potential benefit of this study is the dissemination of information that could improve women's lives or heighten community awareness of female victims of intimate partner violence.

Compensation: No compensation is offered for the completion of this survey

Your Rights: Your participation in this research is voluntary. There is no penalty for refusal to participate, and you are free to withdraw your consent and participation in this project at any time, without penalty.

Confidentiality: participation in this study does not require to sign any forms. The records of this study will be kept private. Any written results will discuss group findings and will not include information that will identify you. Research records will be stored on a password protected computer in a locked office and only researchers and individuals responsible for research oversight will have access to the records. Data will be destroyed three years after the study has been completed.

Contacts: If you have any questions about the study, you may contact Khaled Alfadhlah at telephone number (405) 714-4363 or via email at alfadha@okstate.edu, or the faculty advisor, Dr. Guoping Zhao at 211 Willard Hall Stillwater, OK 74078, 405-744-9897.

المعلومات الخاصة بالمتطوعين للمشاركة في الدراسة

عنوان الدراسة: مدي تأثير العوامل الاجتماعية و الثقافية علي اتجاهات الأفراد نحو ضرب الزوجات في دولة الكويت

الباحث: خالد محمد الفضاله - طالب دكتوراه في جامعة أوكلاهوما – ولاية أوكلاهوما – الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية.

هدف الدراسة: تهدف هذه الدراسة الي معرفة اتجاهات الأفراد نحو ضرب الزوجات في الكويت.

المشاركة في هذه الدراسة تتطلب الاجابة عن مجموعة من الاستبانات خلال مدة زمنية لا تتجاوز الأربعين دقيقة.

بالتحديد، المشاركين في هذه الدراسة سوف يجيبون علي ست استبانات: اثنان يتعلقان بالاتجاهات تجاه ضرب

الزوجات و وظائف الرجال و النساء، اثنان يتعلقان بمشاهدة و التعرض للعنف الاسري، و استبيان يتعلق بدرجة

التدين. بإمكانكم عدم الاجابة عن أي سؤال.

المخاطر المحتملة: لا توجد مخاطر حقيقية محتملة تفوق ما قد تتعرض له في حياتك اليومية جراء مشاركتك في هذه

الدراسة. بعض الأسئلة قد تتعرض لتجاربك الشخصية والتي من المحتمل أن يراها البعض بشئ من الحساسية أو عدم

الارتياح، لذلك لك مطلق الحرية في التوقف عن الاجابة و الانسحاب من الدراسة في أي وقت دون أن يعرضك ذلك

لأي مسألة.

الفوائد المرجوة من الدراسة: علي الرغم من عدم وجود فائدة مباشرة للمشاركين في هذه الدراسة، الا أن نتائج هذه

الدراسة من الممكن أن تحسن من ظروف النساء بشكل عام و الزوجات اللاتي يتعرضن لبعض أنواع العنف الأسري

بشكل خاص.

التعويضات: لا توجد أي تعويضات أو اي خدمات معينة سوف تقدم لك نتيجة المشاركة في هذه الدراسة

حقوق المشاركين: مشاركتك في هذه الدراسة تطوعية. ولا يوجد أي أثر سلبي في حالة رفضك المشاركة أو

الانسحاب من هذه الدراسة في أي وقت.

سرية المعلومات: المشاركة في هذه الدراسة لا تتطلب التوقيع علي أي مستند. جميع المعلومات التي سوف تدلي بها

ستبقي سرية و تحفظ في مكان خاص. معلومات و نتائج هذه الدراسة سيتم مناقشتها جماعيا، ولن تحتوي علي أي

معلومات من شأنها أن تكشف هوية المشارك. نتائج الدراسة سوف يتم الاحتفاظ بها علي الكمبيوتر الشخصي للباحث

وسوف يتم التخلص منها بعد ثلاث سنوات تقريبا أو عند الانتهاء من الدراسة.

للتواصل: إذا كانت لديك أي أسئلة متعلقة بهذه الدراسة، يمكنك التواصل مع الباحث مباشرة علي هاتف رقم

99702255(965) أو عبر البريد الالكتروني alfadha@okstate.edu أو يمكنك التواصل مع المشرف

الأكاديمي علي هذه الدراسة Dr. G. Zhao (د. جوبين زاو) علي هاتف رقم 9897-744(405). بالإضافة الي

ذلك، اذا كانت لديك بعض الملاحظات حول حقوقك كمشارك في هذه الدراسة يمكنك مراسلة المجلس الجامعي

للمراجعات في جامعة أوكلاهوما علي هاتف رقم 3377-744(405) أو من خلال البريد الالكتروني

irb@okstate.edu

Appendix C

Demographic data sheet

(in Arabic and English languages)

الجزء الأول: البيانات الشخصية

يرجى التكرم بالاجابة او اختيار الاجابة المناسبة للأسئلة التالية:

١. الجنس: أ- ذكر ب- أنثي
٢. العمر: -----
٣. الجنسية: أ- كويتي ب- غير كويتي
٤. الديانة: أ- مسلم ب- غير مسلم
٥. الحالة الاجتماعية: أ- أعزب/عزباء ب- متزوج/متزوجة ج- مطلق/مطلقة د- أرمل/أرملة
٦. المرحلة الدراسية الحالية في الكلية: أ- سنة أولى ب- سنة ثانية ج- سنة ثالثة د- سنة رابعة أو أكثر
٧. الدخل الشهري للأسرة: أ- أقل من ٨٠٠ ب- ٨٠١ - ١٢٠٠ ج- ١٢٠١ - ١٦٠٠ د- ١٦٠١ - ٢٠٠٠ هـ- ٢٠٠١ - ٢٤٠٠ و- أكثر من ٢٤٠٠

Appendix D

Sex-Role Egalitarianism Scale

(SRES; the English and Arabic version)

Sex-Role Egalitarianism Scale

Instructions: Below you will find a series of statements about men and women. Read each statement carefully and decide the extent to which you agree or disagree with each. We are not interested in what society say; we are interested in your personal opinions. Using the scale below as a guide, please circle the number of the choice that best expresses your level of agreement with each statement. Please do not omit any statements. Remember to choose only one of the five possible choices for each statement:

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral or Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

1. Home economics courses should be as acceptable for male students as for female students.

1 2 3 4 5

2. Women have as much ability as men to make major business decisions.

1 2 3 4 5

3. High school counselors should encourage qualified interested women to enter technical fields like engineering.

1 2 3 4 5

4. Cleaning up the dishes should be the shared responsibility of husbands and wives.

1 2 3 4 5

5. A husband should leave the care of young babies to his wife.

1 2 3 4 5

6. The family home will run better if the father rather than the mother, sets the rules for the children.

1 2 3 4 5

7. It should be the mother's responsibility, not the father's to plan the young children's birthday party.

1 2 3 4 5

8. When a child awakens at night, the mother should take care of the children's needs.

1 2 3 4 5

9. Men and women should be given equal chance for professional training.

1 2 3 4 5

10 . It is worse for a woman to get drunk than for a man.

1 2 3 4 5

11 . When it comes to planning a party, women are better judges of which people to invite.

1 2 3 4 5

12 . The entry of women into traditionally males jobs should be discouraged.

1 2 3 4 5

13 . Expensive job training should be given primarily to men.

1 2 3 4 5

14 . The husband should be the head of the family.

1 2 3 4 5

15 . It is wrong for a man to enter a traditionally female career.

1 2 3 4 5

16 . Important career-related decisions should be left to the husband.

1 2 3 4 5

17 . A woman should be careful not to appear smarter than the man she is dating.

1 2 3 4 5

18 . Women are more likely than men to gossip about people they know.

1 2 3 4 5

19 . A husband should not meddle with the domestic affairs of the household.

1 2 3 4 5

20 . It is more appropriate for a mother than a father to change their baby's diapers.

1 2 3 4 5

21 . When two people are dating, it is best if they base their social life around the man's friends.

1 2 3 4 5

22 . Women are just as capable as men to operate a business.

1 2 3 4 5

23 . When a couple is invited to a party, the wife, not the husband, should accept or decline the invitation.

1 2 3 4 5

24 . Men and women should be treated equally when applying for student loans.

1 2 3 4 5

25 . Equal opportunity for all jobs regardless of sex is an ideal we should support.

1 2 3 4 5

الجزء الثاني: استبيان حول وظائف النساء و الرجال

التعليمات: العبارات التالية تدور حول وظائف الرجال و النساء في المجتمع. يرجى قراءة كل عبارة بتمعن ثم حدد الي أي درجة تتفق أو تختلف مع كل عبارة. لا توجد اجابات صحيحة و أخرى خاطئة. يرجى الاجابة عن جميع العبارات. يرجى الاجابة بحسب آرائك و انطباعاتك الشخصية لا بحسب ما يراه المجتمع.

رقم	العبارات	موافق بشده	موافق	محايد	غير موافق	غير موافق بشده
١	يجب ان تكون مواد الاقتصاد المنزلي مقبولة للطلبة كما هي مقبولة للطالبات					
٢	للمرأة القدرة كالرجل علي اتخاذ القرارات المالية					
٣	علي ادارات المدارس الثانوية تشجيع الفتيات علي الالتحاق بالتخصصات العلمية كالهندسة					
٤	يشارك الزوج زوجته في تنظيف الاواني المنزلية					
٥	المفروض علي الزوج ترك تربية الأطفال الصغار للزوجة					
٦	الادارة المنزلية تكون أفضل اذا كان الأب هو الذي يضع القوانين					
٧	الاعداد لخطة عيد ميلاد الطفل مسؤولية الأم وليس مسؤولية الأب					
٨	انها مسؤولية الأم تلبية احتياجات الطفل اذا ما استيقظ من نومه ليلا					
٩	يجب أن يعطي كل من الرجل و المرأة فرص متساوية في التدريب المهني					
١٠	التدخين للمرأة أسوأ من الرجل					
١١	فيما يتعلق بتخطيط اللقاءات الاجتماعية تعتبر المرأة أكثر حكمة بمعرفة الأفراد الذين يمكن دعوتهم					
١٢	يجب عدم تشجيع المرأة علي دخول المهن المتعارف عليها علي أنها خاصة بالرجال					
١٣	الرجل أولى من المرأة بالتدريب الوظيفي العالي الثمن					
١٤	يجب أن يكون الرجل المسؤول الأول في العائلة					
١٥	من الخطأ أن يدخل الرجل المهن المتعارف عليها علي أنها خاصة بالنساء					
١٦	القرارات المهمة المتعلقة بالحياة المهنية يجب أن تترك للزوج					
١٧	يجب علي المرأة الحذر من أن تظهر أكثر ذكاءا من الرجل الذي تنوي الزواج به					
١٨	النساء أكثر ميلاً للحديث عن الناس من الرجال					
١٩	يجب علي الرجل أن يبتعد عن العمل في شؤون المنزل					
٢٠	من المناسب للأم وليس للأب تغيير حفاظات الطفل					
٢١	من الأفضل أن تقوم الحياة الاجتماعية للزوجين علي أساس أقارب او أصدقاء الزوج					
٢٢	قدرة المرأة مكافئة لقدرة الرجل في ادارة الأعمال التجارية					
٢٣	عندما يدعي الزوجان الي مناسبة فإن الزوجة هي التي يجب أن تقرر قبول أو رفض الدعوة					
٢٤	يجب أن يعامل الرجل و المرأة بالتساوي عندما يتقدمون للمساعدات المالية					
٢٥	يجب أن تتاح فرص متساوية عند التقدم للوظيفة بغض النظر عن جنس المتقدم					

Appendix E

Inventory of believes about wife beating (IBWB; the original and the Arabic translated version)

Instructions: below are number of statements about violence toward wives that some people agree with and others disagree with. There are no right or wrong answers. Using the scale below as a guide, please circle the number of the choice that best expresses your level of agreement with each statement. Please do not omit any statements. Remember to choose only one of the five possible choices for each statement:

Strongly Agree	Agree	Agree slightly	Don't know	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

1. A husband has no right to beat his wife even if she breaks agreements she has made with him

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. Even when a wife's behavior challenges her husband's manhood, he's not justified in beating her.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. A wife doesn't deserve to be beating even if she keeps reminding her husband of his weak points.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

4. Even when women lie to their husbands they do not deserve to get a beating.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5. A sexually unfaithful wife deserves to be beaten.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. Sometimes it is OK for a man to beat his wife.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. It would do some wives some good to be beaten by their husbands.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. Occasional violence by a husband toward his wife can help maintain the marriage.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. There is no excuse for a man beating his wife.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. Battered wives are responsible for their abuse because they intended it to happen.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. A woman who constantly refuses to have sex with her husband is asking to be beaten.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

12. Wives who are battered are responsible for the abuse because they should have foreseen it would happen.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

13. Battered wives try to get their partners to beat them as a way to get attention from them.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

14. When a wife is beaten, it is caused by her behavior in the weeks before the battering.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

15. Most wives secretly desire to be beaten by their husbands.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

16. Wives try to get beaten by their husbands to get sympathy from others.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

17. Episodes of a man beating his wife are the wife's fault.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

18. Wives could avoid being battered by their husbands if they knew when to stop talking.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

19. If I heard a woman being attacked by her husband, it would be best that I do nothing.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

20. If I heard a women being attacked by her husband, I would call the police.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

21. Women feel pain and no pleasure when beaten up by their husbands.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

22. Cases of wife beating are the fault of the husband.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

23. If a wife is beaten by her husband, she should divorce him immediately.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

24. The best way to deal with wife beating is to arrest the husband.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

25. A wife should move out of the house if her husband beats her.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

26. Husbands who batter are responsible for the abuse because they intended to do it.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

27. wife-beating should be given a high priority as a social problem by government agencies.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

28. Social agencies should do more to help battered women.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

29. Women should be protected by law if their husbands beat them.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

30. Husbands who batter should be responsible for the abuse because they should have foreseen that it would happen.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

الجزء الثالث:

تعليمات: نسرّد فيما يلي بيانات عن العنف الموجه ضد الزوجات والذي يتفق أو يختلف معه بعض الأشخاص، حيث لا توجد إجابات صحيحة أو خاطئة، كل ما عليك استخدام المعيار التالي للتعبير عن رأيك، قم بوضع دائرة حول أفضل اختيار يعبر عن مدى قبولك لهذه العبارات، كذلك يرجى منك عدم ترك أي من هذه العبارات، تذكر أن عليك أن تختار اختيار واحد فقط من بين الخيارات المتاحة لكل عبارة.

أوافق بشدة	أوافق	أوافق الي حد ما	محايد	غير موافق الي حد ما	غير موافق	غير موافق بشدة
١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٦	٧

- ١- لا يحق للزوج أن يُقدم على ضرب زوجته حتى وإن أخلت بأمر أنفقت عليها معه.
١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧
- ٢ - لا يوجد مبرر للزوج لضرب زوجته حتى وإن كانت سلوكيات الزوجة تتحدى رجولة زوجها.
١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧
- ٣ - لا تستحق الزوجة الضرب حتى وإن دأبت على تكدير زوجها بنقاط ضعفه
١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧
- ٤ - لا تستحق الزوجة الضرب حتى وإن كذبت على زوجها
١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧
- ٥ - تستحق الزوجة التي خانته زوجها جنسيا الضرب
١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧
- ٦ - لا مانع في بعض الأحيان أن يضرب الرجل زوجته
١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧
- ٧ - قد تتحقق بعض الزوجات بعض المنافع نتيجة ضرب الزوج لها.
١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧
- ٨ - يمكن أن يساعد العنف الموجه من الأزواج ضد الزوجات في الحفاظ علي استمرارية الزواج.
١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧
- ٩ - لا يوجد عذر للرجل في ضرب زوجته.
١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧
- ١٠ - تتحمل الزوجات مسؤولية ضرب أزواجهن لهن لأنهن يقصدن حدوث ذلك.
١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧
- ١١ - المرأة التي ترفض باستمرار المعاشرة الجنسية مع زوجها تستدعي ضرب الزوج لها.
١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧
- ١٢ - تتحمل الزوجات مسؤولية تعرضهم للضرب من قبل أزواجهن لأنه كان يتوجب عليهن توقع ذلك.
١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧
- ١٣ - تحاول الزوجات المتعرضات للضرب أن تستفز الأزواج لضربهن لنيل اهتمامهم.
١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧

- ١٤ - يرجع ضرب الزوجة لسلوكيات قامت بها في الأسابيع التي سبقت تعرضها للضرب.
٧ ٦ ٥ ٤ ٣ ٢ ١
- ١٥ - ترغب معظم الزوجات سراً في أن يضربهن أزواجهن.
٧ ٦ ٥ ٤ ٣ ٢ ١
- ١٦ - تحاول الزوجات أن تستفز الأزواج لضربهن لكسب تعاطف الآخرين.
٧ ٦ ٥ ٤ ٣ ٢ ١
- ١٧ - دائماً يكون السبب في ضرب الأزواج لزوجاتهن هو خطأ الزوجات.
٧ ٦ ٥ ٤ ٣ ٢ ١
- ١٨ - قد تتجنب الزوجات تعرضهن للضرب من أزواجهن إذا تعلمن متى يمكنهم التوقف عن التحدث.
٧ ٦ ٥ ٤ ٣ ٢ ١
- ١٩ - إذا رأيت امرأة تتعرض للضرب من زوجها، فمن الأفضل أن ألا أفعل شيء.
٧ ٦ ٥ ٤ ٣ ٢ ١
- ٢٠ - إذا رأيت امرأة تتعرض للضرب من زوجها، فسأتصل بالشرطة.
٧ ٦ ٥ ٤ ٣ ٢ ١
- ٢١ - تشعر النساء بالألم وعدم السعادة عند تعرضهن للضرب من أزواجهن.
٧ ٦ ٥ ٤ ٣ ٢ ١
- ٢٢ - تعرض الزوجات للضرب من قبل أزواجهن تعتبر خطأ من الزوج.
٧ ٦ ٥ ٤ ٣ ٢ ١
- ٢٣ - إذا تعرضت الزوجة للضرب من زوجها فعليها أن تطلب الطلاق فوراً.
٧ ٦ ٥ ٤ ٣ ٢ ١
- ٢٤ - أفضل أسلوب للتعامل مع قضية ضرب الزوجات هو إلقاء القبض على الزوج المعتدي.
٧ ٦ ٥ ٤ ٣ ٢ ١
- ٢٥ - يلزم على الزوجة مغادرة بيت الزوجية إذا ضربها زوجها.
٧ ٦ ٥ ٤ ٣ ٢ ١
- ٢٦ - يتحمل الأزواج المعتدين على زوجاتهم مسؤولية إساءة المعاملة لأنهم يتعمدوا ذلك.
٧ ٦ ٥ ٤ ٣ ٢ ١
- ٢٧ - يلزم أن تعطي المؤسسات الحكومية أولوية كبيرة لمشكلة الزوجات المتعرضات للضرب لأنها مشكلة اجتماعية.
٧ ٦ ٥ ٤ ٣ ٢ ١
- ٢٨ - يتعين على المؤسسات المجتمعية بذلك جهد أكبر لمساعدة النساء المعتدى عليهن
٧ ٦ ٥ ٤ ٣ ٢ ١
- ٢٩ - يجب أن يحمي القانون النساء إذا تعرضن للضرب من أزواجهن.
٧ ٦ ٥ ٤ ٣ ٢ ١
- ٣٠ - يتحمل الأزواج الذين يضربوا زوجاتهم مسؤولية إساءة المعاملة لأنهم كانوا يعلمون أن الضرب سوف يحدث.
٧ ٦ ٥ ٤ ٣ ٢ ١

Appendix F
The Islamic Behavioral Religiosity Scale
(the English and Arabic versions)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each statement below by using the following scale:

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly agree	agree	Neither agree or disagree	disagree	Strongly disagree

Statement	1	2	3	4	5
1. Religion is especially important to me because it answers many questions about the meaning of life.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I read the literature and books about my Islamic faith.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I watch Islamic programs on TV or listen to religious programs on radio.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I believe that more Islamic programs, channels should be offered.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I try to carry my religion over into all my other dealings in life (human dealings with my network (family members, friends and colleagues... Etc) and financial dealings).	1	2	3	4	5
6. I will send my kids to Islamic schools and not to secular schools.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I believe that veil is obligatory.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I am veiled (for female respondents)/ I would convince my wife to get veiled (for male respondents).	1	2	3	4	5
9. My religious beliefs are what really lie behind my whole approach to life.	1	2	3	4	5
10. If not prevented by unavoidable circumstances, I pray at the mosque	1	2	3	4	5
11. I believe that praying at the mosque is an added benefit rather praying at home or at work	1	2	3	4	5
12. I believe that praying Sunna, nawafil, qiyamelleil are extremely beneficial for Muslims.	1	2	3	4	5
13. I always pray Sunna, nawafil, qiyamelleil.	1	2	3	4	5

14. One reason for my being a member of a Mosque (or attending religious sessions) is that such membership helps to establish a person in the community.	1	2	3	4	5
15. Although I am a religious person, I refuse to let religious considerations influence my everyday affair.	1	2	3	4	5
16. A primary reason for my interest in religion is that my mosque or my affiliation with a religious group has pleasant social activities.	1	2	3	4	5
17. Occasionally I find it necessary to compromise my religious beliefs in order to protect my social and economic interest.	1	2	3	4	5
18. It does not matter so much what I believe as long as I lead a moral life.	1	2	3	4	5
19. I pray mainly because I have been taught to pray.	1	2	3	4	5
20. The primary purpose of prayer is to gain relief and protection.	1	2	3	4	5
21. What religion offers me most is comfort when sorrows and misfortune strike.	1	2	3	4	5
22. The purpose of prayer is to secure a happy and peaceful life.	1	2	3	4	5

Note: Intrinsic religiosity statements: 1-13

Extrinsic religiosity statements: 14-22

الجزء الرابع:

تعليمات: بين إلى أي حد تتفق أو تختلف مع العبارات التالية وفقا للمعيار التالي:

٥	٤	٣	٢	١
غير موافق بشدة	غير موافق	لا أوافق ولا غير موافق	أوافق	أوافق بشدة

العبارات					
٥	٤	٣	٢	١	١- يعد الدين أمرا شديدا الأهمية بالنسبة لي لأنه يجيب على العديد من الأسئلة عن معنى الحياة.
٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٢- اقرأ بعض الأدبيات والكتب عن الدين الإسلامي.
٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٣- أشاهد البرامج الإسلامية على التلفاز أو أستمع إلى البرامج الدينية في الراديو.
٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٤- اعتقد بأنه يلزم توفير برامج وقنوات إسلامية أكثر.
٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٥- أحاول تطبيق ديني في كافة معاملاتي في الحياة (التعاملات البشرية مع المحيطين بي (عائلتي- أصدقائي - ورفاقي في العمل.... إلخ) وكذلك في المعاملات المادية.
٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٦- سألق أطفالا بمدارس إسلامية وليس في مدارس عادية.
٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٧- أؤمن بأن الحجاب فريضة
٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٨- أنا محبة (الإجابة من الإناث)/أود أن أقنع زوجتي بأن ترتدي الحجاب (الإجابة من الذكور)
٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٩- معتقداتي الدينية هي التي تسيطر على منهجي في الحياة.
٥	٤	٣	٢	١	١٠- اذا لم تحدث ظروف لا يمكن تجنبها، فأنا أصلي بالمسجد
٥	٤	٣	٢	١	١١- أؤمن بأن الصلاة في المسجد أكثر فائدة من الصلاة في المكتب أو المنزل
٥	٤	٣	٢	١	١٢- أؤمن بأن صلاة السنة والنوافل وقيام الليل مفيدة للغاية للمسلمين
٥	٤	٣	٢	١	١٣- أحافظ دائما على صلاة السنة والنوافل وقيام الليل.
٥	٤	٣	٢	١	١٤- أحد الأسباب لدي في المواظبة على الذهاب إلى المسجد (أو حضور مناسبات او دروس دينية) هو الحصول علي تقدير وقبول الناس لي في المجتمع
٥	٤	٣	٢	١	١٥- على الرغم من كوني شخص متدين، إلا أنني أرفض أن أسمح للاعتبارات الدينية أن تؤثر على أعمالي اليومية.
٥	٤	٣	٢	١	١٦- أحد الأسباب الأساسية في اهتمامي بالدين هو أن المسجد الذي أعتاد الذهاب إليه أو أن الجماعة الدينية المنظم إليها تؤدي أنشطة اجتماعية رائعة.
٥	٤	٣	٢	١	١٧- في بعض الأحيان أجد أنه من الضروري التنازل قليلا عن معتقداتي الدينية من أجل حماية مصالحنا الاجتماعي والاقتصادية.
٥	٤	٣	٢	١	١٨- لا يهم ما هو المعتقد الذي أؤمن به طالما أعيش حياة قائمة على الأخلاق.
٥	٤	٣	٢	١	١٩- السبب الرئيسي في أنني أصلي هو أنه تم تعليمي أن أصلي.

٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٢٠- السبب الرئيسي في للصلاة هو الحصول على الراحة والحماية.
٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٢١- أكثر ما يقدمه الدين لي هو الراحة عندما تحل بي المصائب أو المحن.
٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٢٢- إن الغرض من الصلاة هو الحصول على حياة سعيدة وهانئة.

Appendix G

**Adult-Recall Version of the Revised Conflicts Tactics Scale
(CTS2-CA; the original and the Arabic translated version)**

Instructions: Some ways of settling disagreements that your parents (or stepparents) may have used with each other are listed below. please circle how many times you saw these things happen between your parents before you were 18 years old. Please answer the questions using the following scale:

How often did this happen?

0=This has never happened

1=Once

2=Twice

3=3-5 times

4=6-10 times

5=11-20 times

6=More than 20 times

1. One of my parents threw something at the other that could hurt.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6
2. One of my parents twisted the other's arm or hair.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6
3. One of my parents pushed or shoved the other.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6
4. One of my parents used a knife or gun on the other.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6
5. One of my parents punched or hit the other with something that could hurt.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6
6. One of my parents choked the other.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6
7. One of my parents slammed the other against a wall.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6
8. One of my parents beat up the other.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6
9. One of my parents grabbed the other.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6
10. One of my parents slapped the other.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6
11. One of my parents burned or scalded the other on purpose.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6
12. One of my parents kicked the other.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6

الجزء الخامس:

تعليمات: نيين فيما يلي بعض من أساليب تسوية الخلافات بين الوالدين (الأب والأم) أو مع زوجة الأب أو زوج الأم في حالة وفاة أحد الوالدين. يرجى وضع دائرة حول عدد المرات التي شاهدت فيها هذه الأمور تحدث بين والدك (الأب والأم) أو مع زوجة الأب أو زوج الأم قبل أن تبلغ سن ١٨ عام، يرجى الإجابة على الأسئلة باستخدام المعيار التالي:

ما هو عدد مرات تكرار وقوع هذا الفعل؟

٠ = لم يحدث مطلقاً ١ = مرة واحدة ٢ = مرتان ٣ = من ٣ إلى ٥ مرات

٤ = من ٦ الي ١٠ مرات ٥ = من ١١ إلى ٢٠ مرة ٦ = أكثر من ٢٠ مرة

١- ألقى أحد والديني الآخر بشيء من الممكن أن يتسبب في إيذائه

٠ ١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦

٢- قام أحد والديني بلي ذراع الآخر أو جذب من شعر رأسه

٠ ١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦

٣- قام أحد والديني بدفع الآخر

٠ ١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦

٤- استخدم أحد والديني السكين أو المسدس في وجه الآخر

٠ ١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦

٥- لكم أحد والديني الآخر أو ضربه بشيء قد يتسبب في إيذائه

٠ ١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦

٦- أقدم أحد والديني على خنق الآخر

٠ ١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦

٧- دفع أحد والديني الآخر باتجاه الحائط

٠ ١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦

٨- ضرب أحد والديني الآخر

٠ ١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦

٩- جذب أحد والديني الآخر بعنف

٠ ١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦

١٠- صفع أحدي والديني الآخر على وجهه

٠ ١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦

١١- أحدث أحد والديني حرقاً في جسد الآخر بتعمد

٠ ١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦

١٢- ركل أحد والديني الآخر

٠ ١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦

Appendix H

The Exposure to Abusive and Supportive Environments Parenting Inventory

(EASE-PI; the original and the Arabic translated versions)

**The Exposure to Abusive and Supportive Environments Parenting Inventory
(EASE-PI)**

Instructions: This questionnaire covers experiences you may have had before the age of 18 with your parents. If you lived with stepparents rather than both biological parents, please substitute stepfather/stepmother for mother/father. Please rate each of the following as to how frequently each activity occurred in your relationship with your parents. Please answer the questions using the following scale:

0 = Never 1 = Rarely 2 = Sometimes 3 = Often 4 = Very Often

- | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1- Broke or smashed objects near you when angry with you. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2- Threw things at you. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 3- Pulled your hair. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 4- Pushed, grabbed, or shoved you. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 5- Deliberately scratched you. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 6- Hit you. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 7- Hit you with objects. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 8- Beat you up. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 9- Choked you. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 10- Kicked you. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 11- Threatened to kill you. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 12- Threatened you with a weapon (such as a knife or a gun). | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 13- Used a weapon (such as a knife or a gun) on you. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

الجزء الساد □ :

تعليمات: فيما يلي مجموعه من العبارات التي تحتوي علي مجموعه من التجارب التي من الممكن أن تكون قد تعرضت لها قبل سن الثامنة عشرة من قبل أحد الوالدين (الأم أو الأب) أو كلاهما أو من قبل زوجة الأب أو زوج الأم في حالة وفاة أحد الوالدين. يرجى وضع دائرة حول الاجابة التي تعبر عن مدي تكرار تعرضك لمثل هذه التجارب باستخدام المعيار التالي:

٠ = لم يحدث مطلقا ١ = نادرا ٢ = بعض الأحيان ٣ = عادة ٤ = دائما

١- كسر بعض الأشياء بالقرب مني في حالة الغضب
٠ ١ ٢ ٣ ٤

٢- حذف بعض الأشياء علي
٠ ١ ٢ ٣ ٤

٣- جري من شعري
٠ ١ ٢ ٣ ٤

٤- دفعي أو سحبي
٠ ١ ٢ ٣ ٤

٥- قرصي أو خدشي
٠ ١ ٢ ٣ ٤

٦- ضربي
٠ ١ ٢ ٣ ٤

٧- ضربي باستخدام أداة أو شئ معين
٠ ١ ٢ ٣ ٤

٨- ضربي بشده
٠ ١ ٢ ٣ ٤

٩- خنفي
٠ ١ ٢ ٣ ٤

١٠- ركلي أو رفسي
٠ ١ ٢ ٣ ٤

١١- تهديدي بالقتل
٠ ١ ٢ ٣ ٤

١٢- تهديدي باستخدام السلاح (كالسكين أو المسدس)
٠ ١ ٢ ٣ ٤

١٣- استخدام سلاح ضدي (كالسكين أو المسدس)

VITA

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