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Attitudes Of Jordanian Women Towards Interpersonal Violence Against Women And Help-Seeking Preferences

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ATTITUDES OF JORDANIAN WOMEN TOWARDS INTERPERSONAL VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND HELP-SEEKING PREFERENCES

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DEDICATION

Dedicated to my family: Children and Grandchildren

All thanks to Allah, the most Compassionate, and the most Merciful. All praises are due to him. Without his guidance, mercy, and love, I would have never finished this dissertation.

I want to thank my late father and mother Mohammed Ali Zarzour and Kamar Rashid Khaznehkatbi, for raising me and teaching me how to be strong, sincere, and determined. My father's dream was to see me achieve academically and graduate with a doctorate degree. Both my father's dream and my mother's legacy, amazing love and compassion have been the true motivation to reach this far. May Allah raise you both to the highest place in Paradise.

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To my lovely Ayah Awad, Zaynab, and Abubakr Safi, and all my future grandchildren, I have a special message to you: I want you to always remember, "*If your grandma can do it, you can do it."* Make your parents and your community proud, and seek knowledge until the last day of your life.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose

"Ain't I a Woman?" is a famous saying by Sojourner Truth in 1851 while she delivered her historic speech on racial inequalities. Until her old age, Truth continued to fight for the rights of all people, and she spoke passionately on the subject of women's rights and freedom, having spent most of her life as a slave as well as losing most of her children to slavery. Her life, her passion, and courage to make a change spoke volumes to me and motivated me to look beyond my own experiences of a happy marriage to the lives of other women who are abused and trapped in failing marriages with limited hope. This goal stayed with me for years, throughout both my work and my studies.

While working as a clinical therapist for Arab Americans, I sometimes dealt with clients who suffered from abusive relationships. When faced with such a client, I found myself time and time again going home and pouring over articles on intimate abuse in order to help me better understand the situation. One of the articles that opened my eyes to the depth of the problem was written by two Jordanian scholars, Dr. Muntaha Gharaibeh and Arwa Oweis (2009), titled "Why Do Jordanian Women Stay in an Abusive Relationship?: Implications for Health and Social Well Being." According to the authors, Jordanian women are trapped by traditions and cultural rules which leave them powerless and with limited choices: either stay or lose everything, including their children. The common belief in Jordan is to view wife-abuse as a private, personal and family problem rather than a social and criminal problem that requires immediate intervention. Interestingly, I discovered that their findings were also relevant to my Arab clients in America. Like all immigrants, they bring their cultural beliefs, values, and norms to the host country. A second article that influenced my direction toward conducting future research in this field was by Haj- Yahia (2005), titled "Can People's Patriarchal Ideology Predict Their Beliefs about Wife Abuse? The case of Jordanian Men." His study revealed that men blame women for violence against them, and they believe that women somehow benefit from beating. Other studies have shown that attitudes towards violence in a relationship are of the most prominent predictors of the violence itself (Uthman, Lawoko & Moradi, 2009).

These two ideas of cultural influence and pre-formed attitudes drew me in. It did not take long before I found myself drawn to the idea of conducting my own research in intimate partner violence against women (IPVAW) among Jordanian women. In 2009, I applied for a Fulbright Scholarship and was accepted

to conduct research in Irbid, Jordan, at the Jordan University of Science and Technology (JUST) with the prominent scholar, Dr. Gharaibeh, whose aforementioned article had sparked my interest and was enlightening and relevant to the issues of my Arab clients in the U.S.

I went to Jordan in the academic year 2010-2011. Visiting Jordan for the first time, and being a PhD student, was a very unique and uplifting experience. It helped me to realize the importance of pursuing the dream of a higher academic level. The benefits I gained from the visit and research provided me with a direction and an unimaginable strength – a strength that encouraged me to pursue my dream to help women to the end – despite falling ill and being diagnosed with stage three cancer soon after my return to the U.S. Being at home again, I remembered the warmth and hospitality of the Jordanian people, characteristics which distinguished them from many other people. These things, coupled with their simple way of life and humbleness, help connect them to people right away and build special bonds.

This dissertation is my attempt to scuffle with many important questions in my life. They are questions that have resided with me for years and yet I had no answers. As a therapist, as a woman, and simply as a human, I found it very troubling to accept that there are women all over the world being abused and humiliated by their husbands. In Jordan, the situation seemed more complex because the larger society loomed above with its patriarchal roots. It made me wonder: Were some women's beliefs implicitly allowing for such a situation to continue? And further, why do some women seek help while others do not? Can a woman be judged for not being strong enough to fight when she is part of an entire society that has notions of the abuse being acceptable or justified, or of the victim as actually being responsible for the abuse? In Jordan, divorce is highly stigmatized, and custody is not easily attainable by the mother, and if attained, will only remain with her until the child reaches puberty (Safadi, 2012; Rafiq, 2014). The responsibility of keeping the family functioning and united belongs to the wife (Gennari, Giuliani & Accordino, 2017). How do these cultural conditions influence the situation?

The purpose of this dissertation is to study Jordanian women's attitudes towards IPVAW and their help-seeking preferences. For the purposes of this dissertation, IPVAW is defined as threatened, attempted, or completed physical or sexual or emotional abuse (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2005). I am interested in *attitudes* in particular because they are the precursor to action, or behavior. Attitudes are the foundation for social, cultural, and behavioral transformation of a specific society

(Uthman, Lawoko & Moradi, 2009). Therefore, attitudes towards IPVAW should be related to women's and men's behaviors related to IPVAW. It may be, however, that socio-demographic factors cause attitudes (and later, behavior) to vary. It is important to study the variation in attitudes as a result.

The first goal of this dissertation is to examine the variances in women's attitudes towards IPVAW with respect to socio-demographic factors such as age, working status, education, financial mobility, family type, relationships with in-laws and religious teaching. The second goal is to examine women's preferences in seeking help if in an abusive relationship, taking into account the influence of cultural norms and stigma.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework which I use in my study is an overarching model which situates almost all of my research questions. It is the ecological framework described by Lori Heise in "Violence Against Women: An Integrated Ecological Framework." This framework is extended from her original theory to include cross-cultural references and international research.

1.2.1 The Ecological Theoretical Framework for IPVAW

The ecological model was first developed in the 1970s in order to examine the causes of child abuse (Krumm 2014). Risk factors that contribute to violence are grouped into different levels: (1) the core, or ontogenic, level constitutes of personal factors such as age or education; (2) the microsystem is grouped around the core which constitutes family-related factors such as male-dominance in family and marital conflict; (3) the community level, known as the exosystem is next, which constitutes formal and informal social networks and relationships, including extended family relationships; and (4) the final is the society level, or the macrosystem, which includes gender roles and societal acceptance of IPV. As a result of this layer-styled framework, the outward layers directly impact the factors near to the center (Krumm 2014). By 1990, scholars linked the ecological model to all forms of gender-based violence (Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi and Lozano, 2002). Lori Heise's Ecological Model (1998) further extended the model to highlight the societal layer and to show how the model can be applied across cultures. Her framework was designed to demonstrate that no one factor is solely responsible for IPVAW and that gender norms, which belong to the outer societal layer of the model, are an important part of the risk factors of IPVAW, and consequently have an impact on all other layers. While the framework is designed for research, there are practical applications of it as well, such as understanding the how an abusive situation arises or what triggers it. Heise (1998)

gives an example of a husband who was abused as a child (i.e. a factor at the ontogenic level) and grew up in a culture where women are meant to be submissive and maleness dictates an aggressive response to conflict (i.e. factors at the macrosystem level). In the stressful situation of losing a job and his wife's recent acquisition of a job (i.e. factors at the exosystem level), he reacts violently to his wife. Heise concludes that it could be that the man would not have been violent had he not lost his job or been threatened by his wife's newfound autonomy. However, given strong enough ontogenic and macrosystem factors, perhaps the man would become violent even without the exosystem stresses that he faced. This example highlights how Heise's attention to the macrosystem uncovers the influence of society that may be overlooked in abuse cases.

Popular social science theories of domestic violence, such as feminist theory, state that gender norms grant men the right to control women's behavior and delimit women from their power in public and private settings as well as hinder their ability to seek help, relief, or an end to their situation (Heise, 2011). Heise takes this idea further but argues that due to the unique aspects of each culture, it is not easy to determine the particular gender norms that have a direct effect on violence against women. Nonetheless, general gender roles and norms contributing to the rise of violence against women can be traced. Heise considers gender norms practiced by male dominance over women within a society as risk factors. Son bias, social acceptance of a male right to discipline female behavior, stigma for divorced women, acceptance of wife beating and male honor to female purity are all a true indication of male dominance (Heise, 2011). In developing countries, gender imbalance is often displayed in strict gender hierarchical structures and norms that interpret power to be men's right. While scholars still dispute the reasons behind IPVAW, most agree upon the theory of ecological model of violence, which asserts that the risk of violence is increased through an interplay of several factors, rather than a single one (Krumm, 2014).

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 IPVAW Around the World and in the Middle East

Violence against women is not a specific nation's problem; rather it is a worldwide problem that continues to go unreported. Due to this, its prevalence has been underestimated (Abdel Meguid, 2006). According to the 1995 United Nations' Report, the most pervasive form of violence in 1995 was abuse by a husband or intimate partner. The fact that the perpetrator is usually a woman's spouse makes the abuse unlikely to be reported. Global statistics indicate that between 25% and 50% of women have been subject to partner abuse (United Nations Report, 1995). Statistics from the United States indicate that every year, 1,000 to 1,600 women die at the hands of their male partners, often after a long, escalating pattern of battering (Websdale, 2003).

Various research indicate that attitude that IPVAW is justified and is found across the Middle East. A study by Almosaed, cited in Niaz et al (2017 p. 60), reports a survey conducted in Saudi Arabia in 2004, which indicated that 53% of men who abused their wives justified their violence acts because they strongly believe that they are responsible for correct their wives behaviors and wrong actions.

In his book Gender and Violence in Middle East, David Ghanim (2009) argues that domestic violence in the Middle East continues to be under investigation due to the fact that it has long been neglected or the issue is completely internalized. He quotes Al-Khayyat (1990) in her study of Iraqi women: "Although many women were conscious of their oppression, they all saw this as an individual problem and their everyday behavior merely encouraged such oppression." (Ghanim, 2009, p 106). The limited availability of research on this issue within the professional literature reflects the consideration of it as a private and family issue rather than criminal (Abugideiri, 2007; Hassouneh-Phillips 2003, as cited in Jayasundara et al., 2014).

In their article "Violence Against women in Arab and Islamic Countries," Douki, Nacef, Belhadj, Bouasker, and Ghachem (2002) examine important studies from Egypt, Palestine, Israel and Tunisia with the attempts to explain the under-recognition of IPV in those countries. Their studies reveal that at least one out of three women is beaten by her husband. According to the authors, the differences between Arab/Islamic countries and Western societies in regard to IPV is that the violence in the former regarded

domestic violence as a private matter and attitude that, in most cases, women are to reason for the violence against them.

The Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) surveyed 4,212 households in 2005-2006 and found that 23% of women surveyed reported being physically abused by their husbands, 61.7% reported psychological violence, and 10.5% reported sexual violence. In Lebanon, a survey in four primary care centers conducted in (2002), revealed that out of 1,418 number of participants who participated in the study, 494 (35%) experienced domestic violence, and 307 participants (22%) witnessed other family members experiencing domestic violence (Ennaji & Sidiqi 2011, p. 166).

Violence against women is not the only serious phenomenon found in all the Middle Eastern society. Women supporting violence by men, is also widespread and pervasive (Ghanim, 2009). Anahid Kulwicki from Oakland University has focused most of her research on domestic violence. Her study on attitudes and behaviors towards domestic violence of the Arab immigrant community in Michigan revealed that 58% of women and 59% of men approved of a man slapping his wife if she hits him first in an argument. The author indicates that it is staggering that, 18% of the women believed that a man could kill his wife if she were having an affair with another man (Kulwicki, 1999).

Ennaji and Sidiqi (2011) report that in Egypt, around 86% of the women believe that men have the right to beat their wives if they are disobedient or refuse to sex with them according to a study by the National Center for Social and Criminological Studies. Despite the fact that violence against women exists in all societies, Ghanim (2009) indicates that the Middle Eastern cultural values considered to be more supportive of any acts of violence against women by justifying it "*to be a woman is to be the subject of violence, control and intimidation"* (Ghanim, 2009 p. 111).

Another study by Khawaja et al. (2008) examined important factors associated with the acceptance of wife beating among men and women in twelve Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan. Results indicated that the majority of men (60.1%) and women (61.8%) believe that wife beating is justified in at least one of the eight theoretical marital circumstances presented to them. Results indicate that women who had been victims of intimate partner violence are notably more likely to report acceptance of wife beating, while men's acceptance of wife beating is highly associated with their current age, labor force participation, their view on women's autonomy, and their own history as perpetrators of IPV (Khawaja et al. 2008 p4).

2.2 Introduction to Jordan

Jordan is a small country, but it is very strategic in terms of location. It is located in the center of the Middle East, surrounded by Saudi Arabia to the south and east, Iraq to the northeast, Syria to the north, and Palestine to the west. Jordan's population was estimated to be 6,508,271 in 2011 (Federal Research Division, 2006). Amman, the capital, is the largest of Jordan's twelve cities, with a population of two million (The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan Department of Statistics, 2011). About 78% of all Jordanians live in urban areas. The Jordanian population consists of 94% Muslims and 6% Christians, which encompasses groups such as Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Armenian Orthodox, Assyrian, Maronite, and varied Protestant churches, among others (Federal Research Division, 2006). Non-Arabs such as Caucasians, Chechens, Armenians, Turkmens and Gypsies comprises 2% of the entire population. Based on a report prepared by the United States Library of Congress, approximately 33% of the Jordanian population is under 15 years old, 62% is between 15 to 64, and only about 4% are older than 65 (Federal Research Division, 2006). Arabic is the principal language; however English is understood and used partially or fully by college students and academic institutions, hospitals and large companies (Federal Research Division, 2006). According to the Jordanian government's Department of Statistics, the reported literacy rate is 94.8% at the end of 2017 (2018). In Jordan, it is obligatory to attend primary and secondary education and this education is free of charge until the age of fifteen.

The culture of the Jordanian people is generally based in Islamic beliefs, rituals and values (Al-Qadire, Omran, Tayyem, 2014). People rely on religious practices to help them cope with crises and hardships. However, Western ideology and way of living inspires many Jordanian people, and this is reflected in their attire, architecture and spoken language (Federal Research Division, 2006). Jordanian people are known for their hospitability, love and tolerance of others. In Jordan, minority groups demonstrate a high level of assimilation, and as a result the differences are almost indistinguishable from the natives (Multicultural America, 2006).

2.3 IPVAW in Jordan

In Jordan, researchers and clinicians have documented for nearly three decades the incidence of male abuse directed toward women. Currently, the magnitude of the problem has been assessed as part of the national surveys, which revealed one third of women who have ever been married have experienced

physical abuse since the age of 15 years (Gharaibeh & Oweis, 2009). Results also showed that one in five married women have reported physical abuse by their husbands, 8% reported sexual abuse, and one in five reported emotional abuse. More than 15% reported that violence took place in the year prior to the survey (Gharaibeh & Oweis, 2009).

Literature reveals that most Jordanian women experienced more than one type of spousal violence. For example, a study in Jordan reveals that women who experienced physical violence and control behaviors constituted 41.5% (n = 294) (Al-Modallal, 2017, p. 174). Similar rates of IPV have been found in surveys of neighboring countries in the Middle East. A survey conducted in 2001 by the Women's Affairs Center sampled 670 women from Gaza and revealed that 46.7% reported that their husbands used "force and brutality" during sex and 17.4% reported their husbands beat them to have sex (Human Rights Watch, 2006). Unfortunately, there are no laws to protect women from being forced to have sex because culturally men have the "right" to have sex with their wives even against their will (Ennaji & Sadiqi, 2011, p. 165).

A study by Spencer et al. (2014) titled " Women's Help Seeking for Intimate Partner Violence in Jordan," is among the first in-depth studies in the Middle East on women's use of nonfamily resources in cases of IPV. The study indicates that most participants either do not seek help or consult with family members; only a minority of women seek resources outside the family in Jordan. However, formal help-seeking is only considered for severe forms of violence, and sexual violence is considered a severe type of violence. According to the study, sexual violence was reported by 46% of participants and it increased the likelihood of help-seeking outside the family by threefold. Controlling behavior was also marked as severe type of violence by 61% of participants, but was not significantly related to help-seeking outside of the family.

Various cultures define abuse pertaining to the norms of that society; thus, generalization of what constitutes emotional abuse may be inappropriately applied in different contexts (Alkhateeb & Abugideiri, 2007). However, in general, emotional abuse includes verbal assault, dominance, control, and if practiced early in a marriage relationship it could predict subsequent physical spousal abuse (Schumacher & Leonard, 2005). A husband can use emotional abuse at the beginning of the marriage as a method of employing dominance over the wife (Alkhateeb & Abugideiri, 2007, p 15). However, a lot of times emotional

abuse is regarded as less severe than physical. If a husband is physically abusing his spouse, he will most likely be emotionally abusing her as well (Abdel Meguid, 2006)

Despite the apparent role of husbands in an abusive relationship, there is limited empirical evidence about factors related to Jordanian husbands and IPV (Abu Sabbah, et al., 2017). In Arab culture and in Jordan, men are accustomed to use violence as a way to discipline their children and wives. Men are more likely to feel empowered in a society that does not consider such violence as worthy of divorce; to the contrary, women are expected to bear the anger of male members and accept it as something good and beneficial (Al-Badayneh, 2012). As a result, women are forced to come into agreement and accept the social and cultural rules that justify violence as part of women discipline and husband authority.

"Violence Against Women in Jordan" is an informative study by Diab Al-Badayneh, published in 2012. Al-Badayneh's goal in this study was to explain the social and cultural etiology of violence against women in Jordan. With a randomly selected sample of 1,854 women from twelve governorates of Jordan, the study revealed that 45% of women experienced and 55% witnessed violence during their childhood. An astounding 98% of the sample was subjected to at least one type of violence; 28% believed that a husband has the right to control a woman's behavior; and 93% believed a wife must obey a husband. Women indicated that after each abusive incident they felt insecure, stigmatized and ashamed. Al-Badayneh's study (2012) revealed that violence against women in the Arab society is achieved through men exerting power over women, and whatever violence committed against them is considered as a way of discipline.

Furthermore, Al-Badayneh argued that violence against women was not only perceived as a method of discipline, but it was also supported through the notion that family violence is strictly a personal and familial problem rather than a social and legal problem. The success or failure of one member is equal to the success and failure of the entire community; therefore family problems must be kept private. Al-Badayneh references Haj-Yahia as saying every family member holds a sense of responsibility for others' behaviors, needs and living conditions (2012). Al-Badayneh explained that Jordanians have authoritarian attitudes about gender roles; men's and women's behaviors are strictly defined and established. For instance, Jordanian women are required to obey her husband by the law and by the social structure (Al-Badayneh, 2012).

2.4 The Role of Attitudes toward IPVAW

As previously mentioned, the first goal of my study is to examine women's attitudes towards IPVAW, and the second goal is to examine help-seeking preferences. I will also study the factors which influence these two variables, and I will organize my discussion of these factors according to the four levels of Heise's Ecological Framework.

A study by Flood and Pease in 2009, entitled "Factors Influencing Attitudes to Violence Against Women," represents a great contribution to the literature on IPVAW because it focuses on providing a better understanding of the complex range of effects on attitudes toward violent behavior. The study of attitudes is critical because research indicates that attitudes have an underlying and causative relationship to the perpetration of violence against women. Flood and Pease (2009) considered not only attitudes, but those cultural ideas which influence the attitudes. Their study shows that factors found to have an impact on attitudes with regards to violence could be grouped into either *gender* or *culture*. It asserts that gender is a consistent predictor of attitudes that support use of violence against women. They mention that Heise and other researchers found that men who hold to traditional, rigid, and female-hatred gender-role attitudes are more likely to commit marital violence.

Flood and Pease (2009) found a powerful association between attitudes toward violence against women and attitudes toward gender, especially among men. They cite other researchers, such as Berkel, Vandiver, & Bahner (2004); Good, Heppner, Hillenbrand-Gunn, & Wang, (1995); and Simonson & Subich (1999), as having similar findings, namely that the best and most consistent predictor of attitudes supporting the use of violence against women is beliefs about gender roles. This substantiates Heise's framework which claims that societal structures influence the individual person, here particularly via attitudes, in the "layer" fashion described earlier in the ecological model.

2.4.1 Gender Roles and Patriarchy

The degree to which women's attitudes and actions are informed by authoritarian gender roles, in comparison to other social factors, is unknown. While statistics from Al-Badayneh and others show that gender roles and social norms supporting authority and patriarchy play an important role,[1] basic theoretical

[1] I plan to investigate the influence of patriarchy, authority and "acceptable" forms of discipline through the inclusion of survey questions such as the following in my study, "Do you agree that: A man who beats his wife is an displaying an example of his manhood?"

frameworks of IPVAW – most importantly Heise's Ecological Framework – would argue that many other factors including personal, situational, and sociocultural, are at play. All of these factors, including a more in-depth analysis of patriarchy and male-dominance which are found at the macrosystem level, will be considered in my study.

Another study by Haj-Yahia in 2005, entitled "Can People's Patriarchal Ideology Predict their Beliefs About Wife Abuse? The Case of Jordanian Men," sheds further light on the powerful association between men's attitudes toward gender and men's attitudes toward violence by surveying only men in his study. Haj-Yahia examined the correlation between patriarchal ideology and Jordanian men's beliefs about wife abuse using a self-administered questionnaire to 349 Jordanian men in Israel. His study revealed that high percentages of Jordanian men tended to justify wife abuse, blame women for violence against them, and believe that women benefit from beating.[2] The results also indicated that participants with more negative and non-liberal attitudes toward women as well as well as rigid sex-role stereotypes also maintained higher levels of sexual conservatism and greater tendencies to blame wives for being beaten (Haj-Yahia, 2005 p. 558). Haj-Yahia found that 80% of the men and women in his study indicated that wife-abuse "doesn't justify reporting the husband to the legal authorities" (Haj-Yahia, 1998b). Further importance on the role of attitudes was emphasized by Hindin in his description that, "women's attitudes serve as a marker for social acceptability of wife beating" (2003, p. 506).

2.5 The Role of Help-Seeking

While some research on IPVAW has a limited focus on factors that influence violence, other research seeks to explore models of change and improvement, which includes an analysis of the availability of help-seeking avenues and whether they are utilized or not. Saltanat Childress' Help-Seeking Model, based on her research in Kyrgyzstan, is an example of research which specializes in the help-seeking aspects of IPVAW. Her study, "Plates and Dishes Smash; Married Couples Clash: Cultural and Social Barriers to Help-Seeking Among Women Domestic Violence Survivors in Kyrgyzstan," has shown to be appropriate for women globally. Childress seeks validation in studies conducted by several international researchers of IPV, including Jordanian ones that I have repeatedly come across as leaders in their field.

[2] To understand what Jordanian women's attitudes are on the justification of IPVAW I included the following question in my survey: "Do you consider yourself responsible for your husband hitting you?"

My own research will reflect Childress' approach because I will study and research what may cause Jordanian women to stay in abusive relationship and not seek help.

Saltanat Childress' model of barriers for help-seeking was created through an interview process of sixteen women who left situations of IPV and sought assistance at a domestic violence shelter. Through the data elicited, she theorized how domestic violence is affected by sociocultural factors, and how the specifics of women's situations as revealed in their narratives formed patterns to reflect more general societal constructions. Through her study, Childress (2017, p.7) constructs a model in which the barriers to help-seeking are divided into three main categories: cultural barriers, legal/institutional barriers, and systemic barriers. Cultural barriers include the idea that married women no longer belong to their birth family, the status of the daughter-in-law/role of the mother-in-law, virginity/bearing a son, shame/internal factors, proverbs/beliefs, and religious influences. Legal/Institutional barriers include justice system response, fear of retribution/abuser behaviors, and health/social sector response. Lastly, the systemic barriers include lack of housing/employment, lack of childcare, and financial barriers. Childress shows through her proposed theory and the results of her study that cultural and social norms are used to justify IPV and are the primary barriers to seeking help. Furthermore, the results suggest that scholars, policymakers, and other workers at the highest levels of social, legal and institutional structure must work together to dispel the misconceptions and beliefs about gender which result in the violence and pose as barriers to help.

Results from the Childress' study in Kyrgyzstan show that many of the barriers faced by the survivors of violence in Kyrgyzstan are similar to those experienced by other women globally. Childress' findings support prior international research which has shown that some women believe that abuse is justified and that abusive behaviors on the part of a husband and his family are normal and acceptable (Childress, 2017). Another example of a common theme between Childress' study and international research on IPV is that women attributed domestic violence to interference from mothers-in-law and the influence of the mother-in-law on a husband's behavior. Childress documents that other research studies have also shown that the role of mother-in-law is "decision maker and instigator of conflict in the family in the context of a joint-living structure" (2017, p.789).

Childress' theory highlights that IPVAW is "best understood as a social problem resulting from powerful cultural factors and social norms that sanction violence and legitimize abuse" (2017, p. 792). Like with Heise's framework, there is a strong emphasis on the influence at the societal level. This understanding of causes of IPVAW and hindrances to help-seeking for victims is useful because it allows us to analyze a culture for the likelihood of normalization of IPVAW. Subsequently, it is also easier to understand the large number of unreported cases and the lack and/or poor utilization of help-seeking options.

2.5.1 Remaining in Abusive Relationships

This topic has been explored previously by the great pioneer of IPVAW in Jordan, Dr. Muntaha Gharaibeh. In "Why do Jordanian Women Stay in an Abusive Relationship," Gharaibeh and Oweis (2009) expand on our understanding of the importance of family values that Haj-Yahia and Al-Badayneh explained as a causative factor of not-seeking help outside the family. Gharaibeh and Oweis discuss how a society with strict traditional roles can create an environment where women feel entrapped. Gharaibeh and Oweis (2009) list five main reasons that abused Jordanian women defined as being the cause for staying with an abusive husband: inherited social background, financial dependency, lack of family support, sacrificing self for the sake of the children, and adverse social consequences of divorce. They used a qualitative approach to collect data from 28 abused women in 2007. The data were collected via open-ended questions and one-on-one in-depth interviews. Results from analysis of this qualitative data revealed that abused Jordanian women identified the five aforementioned reasons for staying with an abusive husband (Gharaibeh and Oweis, 2009).

In the above study, women reported lack of support from their families as a significant cultural reason for not leaving an abusive husband. This theme was apparent when women repeatedly mentioned the saying "Your hell rather than the heaven of my family," which reflects women's understanding of the cultural rules that women must confront upon marriage. That is, she does not expect to get the support of her original family if she decides to leave her husband, especially if she brings children with her.

In general, Arab family have positive values and tend to support each other and the family unit in difficult times. Therefore, Arab women usually turn to their families for protection and safety, as well as for emotional, and social assistance. According to Heise (1998), in the Arab culture, a daughter has a considerable amount of support as long as she does not stray from the social norms. However, Heise

discusses cases studied by Haj-Yahia and Hassouneh-Phillips in which families simply asked their daughter remain patient throughout abuse. Familial advice in a situation of abuse differs drastically from the typical familial support characteristic of Arab culture. Familial reactions to IPVAW do not reflect the daughter's best interest; rather, they reflect fears of a bad family reputation. Moralizing responses often given to women in order to discourage them from leaving their abusive husbands include: "your own family and children come first," "for your own good, for the good of your children, and for everyone's good you must go back to your husband," "don't embarrass us in the community; no one should find out that you are a battered woman" (Haj-Yahia 2000). Women can be conditioned to believe that the needs of their extended family always come before their own needs (Heise 1998).

Haj-Yahia, in "Attitudes of Arab Women Toward Different Patterns of Coping With Wife Abuse" (2002a), shows that the family of an abused woman may provide financial support and temporary shelter based on the Arab cultural values of strong family ties. However, the wife's father, brother and other family members may eventually exert considerable pressure to keep her anguish and suffering within the family. They feel the pressure will make her a better wife and prevent her from giving her family or community a bad reputation (Haj-Yahia, 2002a). In other words, family can help an abused woman, but the help is limited due to the shame and financial burden involved in bringing their married daughter, possibly with children, back into their own family.

While women of any culture or land may end up staying in an abusive relationship, Gharaibeh and Oweis argue that the situation of Jordanian women is unique. They found that the variation in intensity and severity of abuse does not correspond to women's varied decisions to stay or leave. Rather, decisions to leave or stay occur irrespective of the intensity or severity of abuse, even if it results in death (Gharaibeh & Oweis, 2009). The reason given for this is that Jordanian women lack empowerment due to high compliance with their traditions and cultural rules. They are entrapped because cultural tradition dictates to them that the correct choice is to stay in the abusive marriage (Gharaibeh & Oweis, 2009).

Al-Badayneh (2012) believes that Jordanian society represents a closed family and societal system whereby each family member's success or failure is not only equal to the success or failure of his/her family but also to of the success or failure of the community. According to Haj-Yahia (2005), men indicated that incidents of wife abuse should be dealt with inside the family without intervention from social service

agencies. Men expect their wives and children to obey them, follow their rules and abide by their demands (Haj-Yahia, 2000). Under this type of value system, men are encouraged to use violence if they feel that their dominance and rights are being taken away from them (Dobash & Dobash, 1992).

Other researchers have also found that women are so terrified of the social consequences of getting a divorce that the stigma of divorcing is equal to the pain of staying with an abusive husband (Hassouneh-Phillips, 2001). In one study divorced Palestinian women indicated that when a women gets divorced, she becomes forever damaged – like a "broken glass" that you can never repair (Cohen & Savaya, 1997). The lack of empowerment afforded to women by the society as well as the stigma of divorce are two major themes in the literature, and both appear to encourage women to stay in their abusive marriages. The study by Gharaibeh and Oweis (2009) reinforces these themes and suggests that Jordanian women stay in an abusive relationship because of the social consequences of divorce and their strongly inherited beliefs, citing a traditional saying: "the shadow of a man rather than a shadow of a wall." This saying reflects a cultural belief that living in the shadow of a man that is not capable to be good husband or father is better than living without a man at all.

The findings by Gharaibeh and Oweis support previous studies which imply that the social structure, whether formal or informal, plays a role in a woman's decision of whether or not to seek help. The decision is influenced by a variety of factors including those that are psychosocial, economic, and cultural. The conclusion is drawn that the women who remain in abusive relationships engage in a process of rationalization that denies the reality of the situation, the options available, the truth about the victimizer and the victimization, and the causes of the violence (Oweis, Gharaibeh, Al-Natour, Froelicher 2009). However, this conclusion's validity cannot be verified until the attitudes of women themselves are studied and women are given a voice. Thus far, it could be argued from the research that the women are not denying their reality; rather, they are simply accepting it because of their culturally-based options. It cannot be expected for a woman to operate outside the dictates of her circumstances, whether they be social, cultural or economic. In order to hear women's voices, we come back to the essential theme of women's attitudes toward IPVAW, and how their attitudes may echo the attitudes of the larger society.

2.6 Risk Factors Influencing Attitudes and Help-Seeking

Having explored the areas of attitudes and help-seeking, I now consider the factors which would influence these. I have kept the four levels in Heise's Ecological Framework for organizing the risk factors which I hypothesize to be significant in my study. However, the particular factors have been adapted from the original ones developed by Heise in order to fit the Jordanian context.

2.6.1 Ontogenic Factors

Women's age, education, socioeconomic status, financial independence and employment status were all found to influence Jordanian women's vulnerability to abuse, as well as their attitudes and beliefs toward IPV.

A. Age

Research indicates that women's level of vulnerability and acceptance to abuse as well their attitudes and beliefs toward IPV are impacted by their age (Abu Sabbah, 2017). Beyond this association, there is a lack of research done on this particular topic.

B. Education

Although findings regarding the relationship between education and attitudes toward IPVAW varied across studies, the data strongly suggested that women were less likely to be abuse or to justify their abuse if they have high educational attainment (DOS & Macro, 2008; Gharaibeh & Oweis 2009; Haj-Yahia, 2002b). However, two studies conducted in Jordan by Al-Modallal (2010 and 2015), which explored socioeconomic indicators to abuse such as employment and education, found that despite the wide variation of women's demographic characteristics in both studies, women continue to be vulnerable to violence from the spouse.

Haj-Yahia's research in the area of the influence of sociodemographic factors, including education, supports the position that education is a protective factor. He quotes a study done in Egypt by El-Zanaty, Hussein, Shawky, Way, and Kishor in 1996, with a considerably large sample number of over 14,000 people, in which attitudes about wife-beating were explored (Haj-Yahia, 2002b). The study revealed that women with higher education are less supportive of men who beat their wives, and women who worked for a salary were less likely to justify wife beating than women who did not earn a salary (Haj-Yahia, 2002b).

Though El-Zanaty et al.'s study was monumental in providing data on the justification of wife-beating in Egypt, Haj-Yahia notes that they failed to look at sociodemographic factors other than financial

independence. Haj-Yahia himself examines a wider and explicit range of beliefs about wife-beating while taking into consideration its correlations with multiple socio-demographic variables. His study "Beliefs of Jordanian Women about Wife-beating" (2002b), which explores the beliefs of 356 Jordanian women about wife beating, found that while Jordanian women expressed less tendency to blame husbands for abusing their wives, the prominent and widely practiced belief was that abusive men should not be punished for their behavior. The results of the study were analyzed based on patriarchal ideology which is dominant in Arab culture, including both Egyptian and Jordanian society. The results reveal that all four socio-demographic characteristics (age, level of education, employment for a salary, and place for residency) explain 7.5% of the variance in the participants' tendency to blame women for being beaten. More importantly, as with the Egyptian study by El-Zanaty et al., Haj-Yahia's Jordanian study reveals that unemployed women tend more than employed women to blame women for violence against them (2002b). Lastly worth noting from this study is that the results reveal no significant correlations between the participants' demographic characteristics and attitudes towards helping battered women, nor was there a significant contribution of the participants' religiosity toward explaining the belief that battered wives benefit from violence against them (Haj-Yahia ,2002b).

Akilova and Marti (2014), in "What is the Effect of Women's Financial Empowerment on Intimate Partner Violence in Jordan?", review existing statistics on sociodemographic factors and their influence on IPVAW in Jordan. They use data from the 2007 Jordan Population and Family Health Survey. According to their write-up of these data, an estimated one out of three women in Jordan have experienced IPV during their marriage (Akilova and Marti 2014). Other authors cite key risk factors as rural residence, low educational attainment and low socioeconomic backgrounds (Akilova and Marti, 2014). Furthermore, Gharaibeh and Al-Ma'aitah's found that women perceived lack of financial independence and ownership as a potential factor for abusive marriages. Education and financial empowerment were not always found to go hand-in-hand, because while Jordanian women mostly acquire a two-year diploma or bachelor's degree, most face a great challenge in finding jobs designed for educated women, and they find that gender inequality and low quality jobs continue to exist in the workplace (Akilova & Marti, 2014).

C. Financial Independence

Financial dependency is one of the main reasons for not leaving an abusive relationship. Jordanian women in a qualitative study narrated that their lower levels of education, as well as their complete dependency on their husbands who control most of their financial resources and do not allow them to work, are further deprived from any financial support from their birth family. Some indicate that their husband would not allow them to earn money until they get a divorce (Ghariabeh & Oweis, 2009). Gharaibeh and Al-Ma'aitha's findings cited by Akilova and Marti (2014) indicate that Jordanian women perceived lack of financial independence and ownership as a potential factor for abusive marriages.

Other barriers to financial empowerment of women in Jordan that were found by Akilova and Marti included the high societal expectations of implementing traditional gender roles, such as perceiving woman only as caretaker and housewife (2014). Furthermore, it was shown that women who belong to low income areas with unemployed husbands suffer more due to mobility restriction and higher gender role expectations which, in turn, provided husbands with higher sense of control over their households (Akilova and Marti 2014).

The results of the study by Akilova and Marti contribute to previous research that has detected the positive effects of empowerment on IPV. They reveal that, based on the Jordanian context, being financially empowered -- i.e., having a say in decision-making on financial matters of their household -- is critical for women. Therefore, Jordanian women who have a say in financial decision making in regards to the income they earn or the income their partners earn, have a less probability of being exposed to any type of IPV. To the contrary, not being economically empowered has indicated a higher probability for women to experience IPV at some point in their lifetime.

Findings from the Department of Statistics in 2007 showed that only 12% of married women are working for pay in Jordan, and they earn less than their husbands (Garaibeh & Oweis 2009). This widespread financial dependency of women on their husbands is also what is often indicated as among the significant barriers for leaving an abusive relationship. This is the case particularly for women with low levels of education who are completely dependent on husbands who do not permit them to work outside the house and who control all their money and financial affairs (Garaibeh & Oweis, 2009). Some of these women who are deprived financially also report that their family members do not support them. Garaibeh & Oweis (2009)

argue that a woman's lack of support from their families is considered as a major cultural reason for not leaving an abusive husband. Most women understand very well the cultural rule which dictates that, after leaving the husbands, they are not going to get the full support of their families. [3]

D. Socioeconomic Status / Family Income

A study by Alzoubi and Ali (2018) revealed that participants who earn 601 JD to 1,000 JD or more than 1,000 JD of family income reported significantly lower IPVAS mean scores than participants with low income (200-600 JD). The authors argue good income may decrease the stress level on the family and create more opportunities for supporting marital relationships (Alzoubi & Ali, 2018, p. 20).

E. Owning Property

Owning property is another important ontogenic factor, as it is an indicator of the woman's independence and would be have an expected correlation with being more likely to leave an abusive relationship. According to Islamic law, women are entitled to a share of their fathers' property; however, the wealthy women generally claim what is theirs, and among poorer families women are customarily excluded from claiming their share (Rassam & Bates, 2001). In their book *Peoples and Cultures in the Middle East*, Rassam and Bates indicate that marriage to close relatives can maintain continuity of control over lands, which helps to explain why control over marriage of women is usually a more important issue among people who own properties versus the ones who do not (2001).

F. Children

A final ontogenic factor that I have considered in my study is whether a woman has children or not. Jordanian women, like other Arab and Muslim women, consider their children the first priority; they live for their children and everything they do is for the sake of protecting their children (Haj-Yahia, 2000). Therefore, having children strengthens a woman's position in her family. The increase in female power is mainly derived from bearing children; especially sons (Ghanim, 2009).

In Jordan, infertility has increased in recent years and has negatively impacted the life of many Jordanian couple (Obeisat et al., 2012). Based on the Jordanian sociocultural context, bearing and rearing children are central to women's power and wellbeing (Morse et al., 2012, p. 7). Women who are infertile

[3] To study these issues further, I included several questions in my survey that explore the possible correlation between socio-demographic factors and attitudes of IPVAW or help-seeking preferences such as level of education, number of children, occupation/profession of wife, owning a bank account and driver's license.

are treated poorly by mothers-in-laws and sisters-in-laws, and sometimes they are coerced against their will to get treatment (Obeisat et al., 2012). Most of a woman's power and status in her family is derived from having a son (Ghanim, 2009).

2.6.2 Microsystem Factors

The factors I have considered at the microsystem level are the ones that represent family-related factors. They are grouped around the core ontogenic factors and in the Jordanian context, they mainly reflect male dominance and marital conflict. Specifically, I have considered a history of spousal abuse, whether a husband attempts to abuse in front of family, whether a husband examines the wife's phone calls, whether the woman has a driver's license, whether she has an emergency fund, the number of sons the family has, and whether the wife believes her husband religious.

A. History of Abuse

In Jordan, it was estimated that one out of three women has experienced IPV during their marriage (Clark et al. 2009a, 2009b). A study in Jordan reveals that women who experienced physical violence and control behaviors constituted 41.5% (n = 294) (Al-Modallal, 2017, p. 174).

B. Controlling Behavior

The majority of Jordanian participants (93%) in a study reported that a wife must obey her husband (Al-Badayneh, 2012). As a result, women may perceived the husband controlling behavior as less abusive. Men express their power and control by eliminating women from doing activities with others without their permission (Alzoubi, 2018). Similar results were reported by Abu Sabbah, et al. (2016). The particular indicator of controlling behavior which I included in my survey is whether a husband examines her wife's calls, as this behavior impinges on the woman's autonomy, privacy, and help-seeking options. No literature on this subject was discovered.

C. Driver's License

As holding a driver's license is an indicator of personal independence and autonomy, and it implies the ability to seek help or hold extensive social relationships, I am interested in how this might be a risk factor. I found no literature that supports or contrasts this theory. More research is needed to explore the effect of having a driver license on women's attitudes towards violence and help-seeking.

D. Abuse in Front of Family

In Arab culture a husband's humiliating remarks in front of others is particularly abusive. These can include, but is not limited to, cursing them and calling them derogatory remarks, forcing the wife to apologize to her mother-in-law, ridiculing the wife's family, making fun or talking about the sexual relations with his wife (Elkassabgi, 2009). These actions are particularly abusive in the Arab context because of the existence of the strong cultural values of women being respected by their children as mothers; the wife's position to be honored by her husband's relatives; and that sexual relations in a marriage are highly personal and must remain confidential at all costs (Haj-Yahia 2000).

2.6.3 Exosystem Factors

The risk factors at the exosystem which I have considered are those that constitute the community level. They include if the husband and wife are related, the relationship with the family of origin and in-laws, and the whether the families opposed the marriage.

A. Consanguineous Marriage

Consanguineous marriage is favored and respected in most Arab communities, and marriages within blood relations currently account for 20–50% of all marriages. First-cousin marriage unions are especially very common and constitute almost one quarter of all marriages in many Arab countries (Al-Gazali & Hamamy, 2014).

B. Relationship with Extended Families

Collectivist societies were found to provide a great safety net for most women because of the large family networks (Clark et al., 2010). In Jordanian culture, when a woman is married, she is considered to be the responsibility of her husband and his family, and residing with in-laws is common. Some studies have showed that "living close to or with in-laws was a cause of violence" (Morse et al., 2012, p. 24). However, other studies show opposing results, i.e., that living with in-law was a protective factor when compared to having a separate house arrangement for the married couple (Clark, et al., 2010). Culturally, a husband's family has a significant role in supporting domestic violence, and often the mother in-law provide justifications for her son's actions (Childress, 2017). Findings invariably show that mothers-in-law are anticipated to use physical, psychological, and economic abuse to control and discipline daughters-in-law (Childress, 2017, p. 12). Therefore, the abusive roles of mother in-laws could perpetuate abuse in the

family and prevent help-seeking. Furthermore, various studies in the Middle East indicate that experiences of daughters-in-law not only consist of being abused and oppressed by their husbands but also by their mothers-in law and other family members. As a result, daughters-in-law find no solution but to accept abuse (Ghanim, 2009, p. 151).

When a problem within a marriage occurs, the first to know is most likely the family of origin. However, sometimes closeness and heavy-handed control by the family can cause psychological and marital distress, and can create a serious problems, particularly when the wife is not related to the extended family or when her expectations of marriage are different from people around her (Abu Baker & Dwairy, 2003). Many Jordanian families believe that when their daughters get married, they do not have financial obligations to support them, given that it is socially and culturally the husband's responsibility to take care of all financial responsibilities of his wife and children (Gharaibeh and Oweis, 2009). Past literature reviews in Jordan indicate that women do not expect to get the support of their original families, especially if they bring the children with them (Ghareibah and Oweis, 2009). In Arab culture, women are encouraged to solve their problems by themselves and discouraged from seeking parental support after marriage or receive help from husbands' families (Childress, 2017).

However, other studies also indicate that despite the fact that reaching out to family members is considered the most common, and often one of the first, ways in which women seek help (Moe, 2007); unfortunately, it has also been ranked as among the least helpful, due to judgment and a lack of empathy. Furthermore, a study found that respondents' families are willing to assist them but not their children, since caring for the children means taking responsibility for a person of a different lineage (Clark et al., 2010, p. 148).

c. Familial Opposition or Acceptance of Marriage

Arranged marriage is common in Arab countries, however research indicates that the frequency of arranged marriages may have been decreased in recent years due to an increasing number of females with a high level degree of education graduating from universities, which gives them a wider choice of marriage partners. Previous research indicates that arranged marriage is common in Arab countries.

In the case that a woman disagrees with her parents in regards to marriage and marries on her own, she may have less support if she suffers marital conflicts. If the husband is abusive she may perceive

this as a punishment for not informing her family in the first place and for making such decisions on her own (Abu Baker & Dwairy, 2003). In the situation where a family exerts pressure and forces their daughter to marry someone she does not approve of, the responsibilities then fall on the family to intervene and find the appropriate solution for her marital problems. There is a lack of research on whether there is any association between the family's approval or opposition to their daughter's marriage and between attitudes towards violence.

2.6.4 Macrosystem Factors

The risk factors that I analyzed at the macrosystem level are that of the society. They constitute culture, religion and help-seeking avenues within the society.

A. Culture

According to Flood and Pease (2009), women who belong to societies with stereotypical views of gender and male authority have a limited possibility of realizing or even perceiving their own abusive experiences as violent. A study by Oweis, Gharaibeh, Al-Natour and Froelicher (2009) consisted of an interview of 13 Jordanian women to examine the experiences of abuse by their husbands. The study indicates that women dealt with abuse by tolerating and normalizing it. Gharaibeh and Oweis (2009) state that Jordanian women in an abusive relationship tend to use self-blame to help them feel in control. They blame themselves for making their husband angry and violent against them; this, in return, gives them some control over what has happened. However, as the violence continues, the blame continues and they find that there is nothing they can do to improve their situation. The women in the end feel as if they are walking on eggshells because they wanted to avoid any outbursts by their husbands.

Because women eventually normalize the violence against them by their husbands, it is necessary to consider whether the violence consequently becomes socially justified, and whether people consider an actual benefit from the violence.[4] Evidence to support this idea was found by Abu Sabbah, Campbell-Heider, and Chang (2017) in their study, "Understanding Intimate Partner Violence in Jordan: Application of the Ecological Model." Sabbah et al.'s purpose was to apply Heise's (1998) ecological theory of gender-based violence in Jordan. That is, the main focus of the Abu Sabbah et al. study was to compare what is

[4] In order to research this idea, I have included the following question in my survey: "Does a husband have the right to beat his wife?" One of the further options provided within this question is: "Yes, if she does not listen to him."

already known about IPV causal factors to factors within the Jordanian socio-culture context. Like other researchers discussed above, Abu Sabbah et al. (2017) argue that within patriarchal culture, Jordanian men are viewed as vastly superior to women. As a result, male dominance is present and men are in charge of male/female relations. These values are held not only inside the family but also upheld in the entire Jordanian society. Gharaibeh and Al-Ma'aiteh are quoted as saying that part of this dominance is that, "men assume the role of the head of household and own everything" (Abu Sabbah et al., 2017, p. 160). Domination by men is inherent in the legal and sociopolitical systems, which comprise the macro-system of this model (Abu Sabbah et al., 2017).[5]

Abu Sabbah, Campbell-Heider and Chang quote from Haj-Yahia's research which found that between 71.7 and 87.4% of their participants strongly agreed or agreed that women benefit from beating. Furthermore, 83.1% and 64.4% of the participants strongly agreed or agreed that "most wives secretly desire to be beaten by their husbands," and "sometimes wives intentionally provoke their husbands in order to make them angry and get beaten," respectively (Haj-Yahia, 2002b, p.287).

Abu Sabbah and co-authors further quote Gharaibeh and Al-Ma'aitah as finding similar justifications for violence. They found a prevalent view that women who do not abide by traditional roles, such as performing their household duties, trigger men's abusive behavior, which is perceived to be completely justifiable in such situations where things needs to be put back in order. Abu Sabbah et al. reviewed research by Gharaibeh and Al-Ma'aitah, Haj Yahia, and Khawaja and found that 90% of Jordanian women approve of wife beating in at least one situation, such as disrespecting their husband's family, not obeying their husband, and neglecting their children (2017). The study by Abu Sabbah et al. is unique and noteworthy not only because it reviews research by forerunners of IPVAW research in Jordan, but also because it incorporates Heise's ecological model and molds it to fit the Jordanian context.

B. Religion

In Arab culture, religion is considered an essential part of life and self-identity. Jordan is officially a Muslim nation, and religion is practiced in almost all aspects of society. According to the Department of Statistics (DOS, 2009), 96% of Jordanian citizens are Muslims, while only 4% are Christians. In recent

[5] In order to investigate women's understanding of the Jordanian macrosystem, I asked the following question in my survey: "Is a man's hitting his wife a part of the Arab social culture?"

years, social science literature has examined the impact of religion on women's gender role attitude (Al-Krenawi & Graham, 2005). Patriarchal ideology of male superiority is imbedded in the Arab culture (Hassouneh-Philips, 2001), and especially when conflated with religious beliefs, are found to be linked to people's attitudes and beliefs regarding justification of IPVAW (Ibrahim & Abdalla, 2010). A lack of proper knowledge about religion such as believing that compliance with husband's demands are equal to that of God, and implementation of patriarchal systems into social life may facilitate abuse against women (Alkhateeb & Abugideiri, 2007). This may cause some women to feel guilty for not obeying God when their husbands are angry at them.

The impact of religion on women's gender role attitudes has been recorded in social science literature in the past three to four decades (Al-Krenawi and Graham, 2005). Nafiseh Ghafournia (2017), however, more recently argues that few studies examine the role of religious values on intimate partner violence or faith-based prevention and intervention strategies in Muslim community. Her article, "Muslim women and domestic violence: Developing a framework for social work practice," highlights the role of religion as a source of coping, comfort, and emotional support for abused ethnic minority women. The fourteen participants in Ghafournia's focus groups were Muslim women from different ethnic backgrounds living in Australia.[6] Their backgrounds included Iranian, Pakistani, Lebanese, Syrian, Iraqi, Bangladeshi, Bosnian, Somali and Afghani. The Muslim community in the West, especially after September 2001, has been highly stereotyped as a violent community, but the narratives of abused immigrant women from the study indicate a different perspective of the impact of religious values and spirituality on the experiences of domestic violence.

Ghafournia (2017) reports that contradicting perspectives in the literature were found on the way religion and domestic violence act together. She notes that spirituality and religion in communities who highly value commitment towards family, serve as a buffer to domestic violence. She quotes a study confirming that religion has a healing aspects because it provides hope and a positive meaning to life. She further quotes current studies that religiosity (measured by attending services) indicated a correlation to a

[6] Ghafournia's study used qualitative methods to cover contextual conditions of people's lives and to allow the researcher to gain an in-depth examination and a better understanding of women's feelings and experiences in their natural setting. The participants were recruited using a purposeful sampling; however, due to the sensitive nature of the subject, women chosen were selected based on particular criteria such as being self-identified as "Muslims," having lived in Sydney, Australia, and having experienced abuse in any forms from their partners.

decreased level of internal violence and low level of acceptance of domestic violence. In addition, Ghafournia cites several studies which contradicted previous research to show the corrective and healing role of religion for abused women. Nonetheless, some research continues to indicate that religion is perceived to have detrimental effects on some women survivors of domestic violence as it can contribute to women's decision to not seek help and to justify the abuse and oppression against her, or even be a strong predictor of the violence (Ghafournia, 2017).

Ghafournia (2017) found that the role of spirituality and religion did not deter women from seeking help, but to the contrary, it provided women with empowerment to defeat abuse. She indicates that religion is deceitfully used by abusers to justify their actions and emphasized that the patriarchal interpretation of religion is what facilitates abuse by replacing religious beliefs and values. In addition, women in Ghafournia's study targeted certain cultural norms that directly linked to their oppression. The findings of this research differ vastly from other studies that found religion to be a factor in promoting violence against women. Data analysis revealed four major themes, including: (a) positive role of religion and spirituality, (b) negative role of religious leaders, (c) perception of the relationship between religion and domestic violence, and (d) intersection of culture and religion. Regarding the first theme, women in the study narrated the powerful role of religion which provided them with helpful and constructive ways to resist abuse and to cope in a healthy way. The findings were consistent with the literature which highlights the constructive and beneficial role of religion in most women's life and well-being (Ghafournia, 2017). Second, in contradiction with the first theme, women who narrate a negative role of religion also report their bad experiences with religious leaders. In support of her findings, Ghafournia (2017) cites Kulwicki, Aswad, Carmona, & Ballout's findings (2010) that religious leaders prevented women's reaction to the abuse by teaching tolerance, and, furthermore, other studies engaging different religious groups such as Christianity, Judaism, and Hinduism also recognized the negative role of religious leaders in the communities. A few women in the study reported that unsupportive responses from religious leader were turning points that encouraged most of them to seek professional help.

Regarding the third theme of perception of relationship between religion and domestic violence, almost all responses indicated that religiosity did not have a negative effect on responses of domestic violence, since practicing and non-practicing Muslim women dealing with domestic violence report no

difference in their responses. Furthermore, none of the women in the sample perceived religiosity as a barrier to leaving the relationship.[7] The fourth theme examined the way culture and religion intersect and overlap. Participants were aware of the differences between Islamic values and cultural beliefs, and they reported that mostly cultural values and expectations are the cause of their hindrance to respond to abuse.

The findings of Ghafournia's study are significant to social workers and institutions offering assistance to victims of abuse. For instance, women in the study perceived spirituality and religion as an important part of their lives that contributed to their overall strength and resilience and most women felt that prayers and reciting the Qur'an helped them to cope with the abuse. As a result, social workers should consider the utilization of religious practices when engaging in client's healing process, or at the very least, ensure that service providers have a basic amount of knowledge about Muslim women's religious practices and ensure that there are no barriers for the women to engage in them. Findings from Ghafournia's study reveal a limited knowledge about accommodating crisis services available for Muslims, and women who reached out to crisis accommodation services reported having negative experiences. Women reported not being able to practice their own cultural and religious beliefs at the accommodations, and as a result, they felt reluctant to utilize services (2017).

Another study done on IPVAW in the Muslim community of Australia in 2010 also looks at the role that religion plays. Specifically, in "A Critical Examination of Qur'an 4:34 and its Relevance to Intimate Partner Violence in Muslim Families," Ibrahim and Abdalla (2010) state that religious beliefs are linked to people's attitudes and beliefs regarding justification of IPVAW. Quoting Hassouneh-Philips' study in 2001, these authors argue that male perpetrators often hold the wrong ideology of being superior and women being inferior. As a result, male perpetrators may falsely interpret and rationalize religious text in order to justify their behavior, despite the role of religious leaders who preach against the supremacy of one gender over the other (Ibrahim & Abdalla, 2010). However, these authors quote further research that shows that not all attitudes of religious leaders' are the same, because some promote violence in the community by refusing to deal with it, particularly in cases when the perpetrators are very well known in the community (Ibrahim & Abdalla, 2010). The authors quote research which echoes Ghafournia's findings that religious

[7] I explored the perception of the relationship between religion and IPVAW with questions in my survey such as "Does Islam prohibit the oppression of a wife by her husband or hitting her in any situation?" and "Does Islam require a woman to submit to her husband's commands?"

institutions in general propagate towards protection against IPV by contributing to the promotion of family life, marriage and a positive understanding of partner's roles and identities (Ibrahim & Abdalla, 2010). Furthermore, Ibrahim and Abdalla (2010) cite research that found that prayers performed by husband and wife help in reducing the level of negativity and emotional reactivity by promoting a strong feeling of forgiveness and resorting to God for guidance and healing.

In summary, the role that religion plays in IPVAW varies depending on what angle is being considered. Religion most notably has a positive role in functioning as a successful coping strategy for victims. It also was shown in multiple studies to promote healthy and harmonious family lifestyles and households, and it has been shown to be a factor that reduces the risk of IPV. However, research also shows that it can be a hindrance to abused women seeking help, particularly if services offered are not culturally and religiously appropriate. Also, religious leaders have been shown in more than one study as playing a negative role. Lastly, the greatest problem cited in both studies above is when religious texts are misconstrued to justify abusive behavior, or when cultural beliefs are confounded with religious ones such that patriarchy or male-superiority are thought to be religious.

C. Help-Seeking Avenues

Because family problems are considered private in the Arab culture, little is known about the way women seek help in the Middle East (Spencer et al., 2014). More research is needed to examine the abused women's strategies and preferences, especially in regions (e.g., Jordan) were women are more tolerant of wife beating and may seek help less frequently for less severe violence (Ghariabeh and Oweis, 2009). According to Haj-Yahia (2005), men indicated that incidents of wife abuse should be dealt with inside the family without intervention from social service agencies; specifically, 73.9% and 89.3% of the participants in his study strongly agreed or agreed that "if I hear a woman being attacked by her husband, it would be best not to do anything" (p. 559).

The avenues that do exist for abused women to seek help are not always utilized due to the social acceptance of abuse discussed above in the "Culture" section. A study about the attitudes of 356 Jordanian women towards wife beating, written by Haj-Yahia in 2002, found that a high percentage of women believed that the violence against them was justified and even beneficial, and consequently they showed reluctance to seek help from professional agencies (Al-Badaynah, 2012). Flood and Pease (2009) also argue that

societal attitudes shape the formal institutional responses to IPVAW and that "criminal justice systems may have a negative influence on attitudes when they fail to respond appropriately to the victims and perpetrators of violence against women," (p.136). However, they also contrast this idea with research that argues that the responses to help-seeking by women who have experienced abuse from a male partner is what determines the probability that other women will disclose future domestic violence to the police as well as their own future help-seeking, separation, and ultimate recovery from the abuse (Flood and Pease).[8]

While I covered the topic of help-seeking in length earlier, there should now be mention, in terms of formal structures of help at the societal level, the recent establishment by the Jordanian government of a family protection unit within the local police department to deal with cases of gender-based violence (Haddad et al., 2011). Also, the first government shelter, Dar Al Wafaq, was built in 2007 to complement three shelters for victims of domestic violence operated by civil society organizations. Studies done that explore the use and success of this protection unit and the shelters are needed in order to get a fuller picture of what avenues exist and are utilized.

2.7 Summary

In summarizing the literature available on IPVAW in Jordan, we find that there are many studies which have focused on the broader socio-cultural context that influences attitudes towards violence and prevents victims of abuse from seeking help, For example, Haj-Yahia (2002a) in "Attitudes of Arab women toward different patterns of coping with violence against women" aims to further explain for why women may normalize abuse. Others, such as Gharaibeh and Oweis (2009) in "Why do Jordanian women stay in an abusive relationship," intend to focus on the entrapment that most Jordanian women face by their holding tight to their traditions and cultural rules. It is clear that Jordanian culture has influenced women's views regarding physical acts toward women (Gharaibeh & Ma'aitah, 2002). Literature is also available on how sociodemographic factors or religious values play a role in attitudes toward IPVAW.

However, there are some gaps in the literature remaining. First, review of the literature still indicates inadequate attention to the beliefs and cultural norms (Gharaibeh & Ma'aitah, 2002). This gap is critical because it creates a barrier for health professionals who seek to develop culturally competent interventions

[8] In order to explore whether the help-seeking preferences of other women impact one's decision to seek help, I included the following question in my survey: Did you ever heard from someone you know such as a relative or a neighbor who did seek help? If yes, in your opinion, did they receive the protection and proper help they needed?

and strategies sensitive to women's personal needs. This study aims to bridge this gap by investigating the attitudes of Jordanian women towards violence against them from a theoretical and a practical perspective by focusing on their cultural perceptions of violence. For instance, despite the fact literature review reveals that Jordanian women viewed violence against them as harmful, they still believe that men have the right to beat the non-obedient woman. Second, unfortunately, most of the studies conducted to date on attitudes related to violence against women in Arab societies in general and in Jordanian society in particular have utilized objective standardized measures that are specifically tailored for Western societies, and based on attitudes prevailing in those contexts (Btoush and Haj-Yahia, 2008). Thus, the results collected from these studies are merely reflection of the cultural context prevailing in western societies rather than a true examination of the attitudes to this problem in Arab societies in general and in Jordanian society in particular (Btoush and Haj-Yahia, 2008). Understanding domestic violence and designing effective interventions should not be separated from the cultural context of the community. Third, the extended family role as a potential cause and protection against intimate partner violence (IPV) continue to be under-studied. Most findings emphasizes the importance of the continued role of the wife's and husband's kin in women's risk of IPV in Jordan, which signify the importance of a wider view of the context of IPV (Clark et al. 2010). Fourth, studies (such as that by Btoush and Haj-Yahia (2008) which examined the attitudes of Jordanian society toward wife abuse) found that some of the beliefs about the causes of wife abuse that were mentioned by the participants have no empirical support for them in the literature; and some of the solutions proposed by the participants for coping with wife abuse could be more harmful than beneficial for the women. For instance, most Jordanian women who leave abusive relationships are further victimized by a society that ostracizes them for divorcing their husband; thus women may choose to justify and accept wife-beating as “normal.” As a result, there is a dire need for more empirical research that will enhance understanding of the cultural context of wife abuse in Jordanian society and enable investigators to design future studies on the problem from the perspective of that cultural context.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

3.1 Methodology

The epistemological foundation of this thesis is based on the positivist approach in line with the quantitative survey which I designed for my study. Positivist theory argues that natural sciences are critical to study society. According to the positivist view, causal relationships between observable phenomena and theories are tested against observations (Hibberd, 2009). However, researchers who follow the positivist approach are still interested in exploring less observable phenomenon, such as attitudes and opinions (Michell, 2003), as well as researching subjective views, explaining why people behave in the way they do, and how people really feel about things, all of which are difficult to explain scientifically, but can nonetheless be quantified through surveys. Thus, adopting a social science approach using a positivistic view will help guide my research inquiry to provide a comprehensive perspective about Jordanian women's attitudes towards intimate partners and help-seeking preferences.

3.2 Sample and Procedure

My quantitative research study used a sample of Jordanian women ranging from ages 18-45. The participants were given a closed-ended questionnaire that identifies demographic information of participants and their attitudes towards domestic violence and help-seeking preferences. From this, a possible correlation can be made between the independent variables (education, immigration, and religiosity) and the dependent variables (attitudes towards domestic violence and help-seeking preferences).

Data for the study were collected from the University of Science and Technology (JUST) in Irbid, Jordan in January through April 2011 with the help of Dr. Muntaha Gharaibeh. I had reached out to Dr. Gharaibeh after looking at her work and studying her articles for many months prior, and I sent her information about a proposed study that I would like to do with her. She responded with her support and a letter of affiliation, which I submitted with my Fulbright application, and subsequently I received sponsorship for research. Prior to data collection, approval for the study was obtained from Wayne State University's institutional review board. Because part of the study looked at familial issues as possible determinants of experiences of spousal abuse, women who had never been involved in an intimate relationship were excluded from the study. To obtain a convenience sample of working women enrolled in the target

educational institution, women working in academic and administrative positions were approached and invited to participate in the study. Given the demographic of this sample, we may conclude that these privileged, empowered, working women will have generally have positive help-seeking preferences and negative attitudes towards IPVAW. However, literature has shown that Jordanian women are typically well-educated[9] and literature rate is high, yet tolerant attitudes towards IPVAW still widely remain such as women benefiting from abuse.[10] Information about the study and its purpose was given. Those who agreed to participate were handed a questionnaire to complete. Also, Dr. Gharaibeh directed me to individuals within the administration who distributed the survey for me, and I collected the completed surveys from these individuals after a given time period of typically two or three days. Anonymity of the participants and confidentiality of their information were sought by asking them not to write any identifying information, like their names, place of work or personal identification numbers, as part of the questionnaire. Women were asked to complete the questionnaire to the best of their knowledge. Return of the completed questionnaires constituted a response rate of 85%, which was 199 questionnaires. Data was evaluated according to 131 of these due to the incompleteness of the remainder of questionnaires.

3.3 Instrument

Recently, there has been an increased recognition of IPVAW in Jordan and rapid expansion of research by pioneers such as Haj-Yahia, Heise, and Al-Badayneh. However, validated research instruments about abuse in the Arab countries are scarce (Haddad, Shotar, Younger, Alzyoud & Bouhaidar, 2011). While searching for a culturally appropriate IPVAW assessment tool instrument that applies to Arab culture with the focus on marital violence, I came across a valid and culturally appropriate IPVW assessment tool by Dr. Mona Abdel Meguid. Her tool is called the Muslim Marital Violence Scale (MMVS, 2006) and is a reliable, valid, and culturally appropriate IPVAW assessment tool that can enable health professionals in Jordan and other Arab countries including the US to better understand the attitudes of Jordanian women toward IPVW. The instrument was originally created to measure Arab American immigrant women's definition of marital violence and help-seeking sources that women might ask for help in case of intimate partner abuse. Abdel Meguid's study was applied to a sample of 224 Arab-Muslim women residing in

[9] As previously cited, Akilova and Marti (2014) quote that most Jordanian women get a two-year diploma or bachelor's degree.
[10] As previously cited in Haj-Yahia's (2002b) "Beliefs of Jordanian Women about Wife-Beating."

Columbus, Ohio. She affirms the need to test the MMVS on Arab-Muslim women in other geographic areas in order to determine with different groups of Arab-Muslims have different perceptions of marital violence and different preferences of help-seeking resources.

The instrument I designed was a combination of the MMVS, which consists of 47 questions, and my own sections which consist of (a) demographic characteristics, (b) violence perceptions and related factors, (c) perceived attitudes toward the Islamic stance on abuse, and (d) help-seeking preferences. My questions totaled 43, and along with the 47 from the MMVS there was a total of 90 questions. The MMVS consists of questions adequate for measuring a woman's definition of emotional abuse, along with control, and physical abuse. The analysis of this results in two subscales which together measure Jordanian women's definition of marital violence. The first subscale consists of 25 items while the second subscale consists of 6 items. Each item is given different levels of agreement ranging from definitely not abuse, probably not abuse, probably abuse, and definitely abuse. These alternative answers are given values from 1 to 4 (a score of four is equivalent to seeing the situation or item as definitely abuse). In another meaning, the higher score the woman gets, the more probability that she perceives the situation as an abusive one.

3.4 Validity and Reliability

The original instrument was translated from English to Arabic by bilingual experts at Unlimited Services Dearborn with certification notary public authentication to ensure equivalence accuracy of terms. A panel of three experts, Dr. Gharaibeh, Dr. Oweis and another colleauge, from the Faculty of Nursing at Jordan University of Science and Technology was invited to evaluate the instrument for face and content validity, and equivalence of terms.

3.5 Research Questions

The research questions that I aim to answer through my study are the following:

1. What are the correlates of women's attitudes towards IPVAW?
2. What are the correlates of help-seeking preferences?

3.6 Independent and Dependent Variables

The study was divided into two parts. In the first part, the independent variables were the Ecological Factors (at each of the ontogenic, microsystem, exosystem, macrosystem levels) and the dependent variable was the Attitudes Towards Interpersonal Violence. In the second part of the study, the Attitudes

become the independent variable, along with the Ecological Factors, and the dependent variable is the Help-Seeking Preferences.

3.7 Measurement of Data

The value attached to the nominal data was (yes=1), (no=0). The nominal data used in this study were as follows: Do you have a children (yes=1), (no=0), did family oppose your marriage to your husband (yes=1), (no=0), is there more than ten years difference between you and your husband (yes=1), (no= 0), do you have a strong relationship with your husband's family (yes=1), (no=0), does your family provide you with financial support if needed (yes= 1), (no=0), do you have a friend you trust and who is able to protect you in case you needed it (yes=1), (no=0), do you live with her husband's family (yes=1), (no= 0), do you have a driver license (yes=1), (no=0), do you have a telephone (yes=1), (no=0), do you have a personal bank account or money reserved for emergencies (yes=1), (no=0), do you own property in your name (yes=1), (no=0), have you heard of agencies in your area which provide support for abused women (yes=1), (no=0), have any of your acquaintances, relative, or neighbors (yes=1), (no=0), sought held from these centers (yes=1), (no=0), do you think a woman being abused repeatedly by her husband is sufficient reason for her to leave her household even her children in order to protect herself (yes=1), (no=0), has your husband ever threatened to hit you in front of his family (yes=1), (no=0), is your husband a religious person (yes=1), (no=0), and have you ever experienced abuse from your husband (yes=1), (no=0).

Variables such as age (22-45 years), marriage duration, education level (less than high school, high school, diploma and bachelor's degree or higher), occupation, income, and number of years being married, relationship to the husband, causes for not seeking help, and the importance of Islam, were modeled as ordinal variables since modeling them categorically produced nearly equal increments in the effect size.

Dichotomous variables that were modeled as indicators of women's attitudes towards violence as well as indicators of help seeking preferences were as follows: owning properties, has a driver license, has a telephone, husband attempt to hit in front of his family, husband examines her calls, husband related, has an emergency funds, family can assist financially, knows of a domestic violence agency, friend has gone to an agency, either family opposed marriage, strong relationship with influential in-law, lives with husband's family, strong relationship with mother-in-law, strong relationship between in-laws and family of origin.

Dependent Variables

A modified version of the MMVS scale was utilized in order to answer my research questions of correlates to women's attitudes towards IPVAW and help-seeking preferences. The scale's items hold a specific culture and religious features of the Arab Muslim population. The original scale reveals that Arab Muslim women define marital violence on the two dimensions: 1) emotional abuse and control and 2) physical abuse (Abdul Meguid, 2006). However for my study, the analysis for Jordanian women's attitudes towards IPVAW resulted in 3 subscales: 1) Emotional/Verbal Abuse, 2) Control/Social Isolation, 3) Physical Abuse. The first subscale consists of 3 items, the second subscale consists of 2 items, while the third subscale consists of 4 items. Each item is given different levels of agreement ranging from definitely not abuse (1), probably not abuse (2), probably abuse (3), and definitely abuse (4). Therefore, these answers are given values from 1 to 4 (a score of four is equivalent to seeing the situation or item as definitely abuse). In another meaning, the higher score the woman gets, the more probability that she perceives the situation as more abusive.

Behaviors that were recognized by the research participants as emotionally abusive behaviors were "A husband tells his wife she is a failure," "A husband makes fun of his wife in front of other people," and "A husband does not consider his wife's desires and needs." Behaviors that were recognized by the research participants as controlling and isolating were "A husband prevents his wife from visiting her family of origin," and "A husband prevents his wife from making phone calls." And behaviors that were recognized by the research participants as physically abusive were "A husband throws objects at his wife," "A husband uses his belt to beat his wife," "A husband slaps his wife on her face," and "A husband twists his wife's arms."

The analysis for Jordanian women's attitudes towards help seeking resulted in one subscale: The subscale investigate the potential barriers that may hinder women from seeking outside help. The particular response scale was a 4-point Likert Scale anchored or affixed by four ordered categories of judgment: Strongly disagree (given a value of 1), Disagree (given a value of 2), Agree (given a value of 3), Strongly agree (given a value of 4). In this sense, the higher score the participant gets, the more barriers she perceives in seeking help.

Behaviors that were recognized by the research participants as barriers to help seeking were "If the wife decides to leave her husband, it might be difficult to find someone to help her," "There is no safe place to go if the wife decides to leave her violent husband," "If the wife decides to leave her violent husband, it might be difficult for her to find another source of income," and "A wife cannot leave her violent husband because of the children."

Independent Variables

Separate bivariate and multivariate logistic regression models were constructed based on women's attitudes towards violence and their hypothesized correlates detailed above, as well as help-seeking preferences. In the current scale, Arab Jordanian women were given a list of some proposed situations and were asked to classify each situation into one of five alternatives: Strongly disagree (given a value of 1), Disagree (given a value of 2), Neither agree nor disagree (given a value of 3), Agree (given a value of 4), Strongly agree (given a value of 5). The same scale was used for help-seeking preferences, the higher score indicates that the woman sees more barriers in help-seeking process. The total items selected for the 'Independent Variables' consist of 31 items. The researcher started with a group of 7 items, or situations, which measure the participants' perceptions of intimate partner violence and barriers to seeking help. Each presumed abuse situation is accompanied by five ordered categories of judgment: The participants were instructed to select one of these four choices as their response to each item. Example of these items are: 'An abused wife should seek professional help,' 'Husbands can be intimate with their wives whenever they wish,' 'A man hitting his wife is part of Arab culture,' 'A man hitting his wife is a sign of leadership/masculinity,' 'Islam encourages hitting the wife,' and 'A lack of religiosity leads to a man hitting his wife.' Only one item selected from the group of items, 'A wife cannot leave because of the children,' was classified into one of four alternatives rather than five: Strongly disagree (given a value of 1), Disagree (given a value of 2), Agree (given a value of 3), Strongly agree (given a value of 4).

The rest of 24 items were measured by seeking more details about the individual score and its indication in relation to the group average. Finally, for the sub-questions, a Pearson's correlations analysis, t-test, and multivariate logistic regression were employed to describe associations among each of the independent variables and women's attitudes towards IPVAW and help-seeking (N=131). For example, a t-test was employed to describe associations among each of the following pair of variables: marriage length and

women's attitudes towards IPVAW, owning a property and women's attitudes towards IPVAW, income and women's perceptions of barriers for seeking outside help for marital violence, and having a driver license and women's perceptions of barriers for seeking outside help for marital violence.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

Safety of the participant was considered in all stages of the study, at the initial contact, obtaining consent, and the data collection stage. Due to the fact that I, the principal investigator, am a woman and share the same language, culture, and religion with the participants, the potential negative feelings that may occur for approaching participants and ask for their participants were reduced.

Discussing personal experiences of domestic violence is an undertaking with serious multiple risks for any community, and perhaps even more for one that tends to be insular (Pickens, 2005). As a result, I felt that it was in the best interest of the participants that the study did not uncover their experiences of domestic violence. Consequently, I stressed to participants that the study was not looking for personal information and stories of abuse. Risks caused by personal interaction were minimized by ensuring confidentiality, avoiding questions that elicit personal experiences of abuse, and restricting recruitment to safe locations, such as private areas of the University and safe health clinics located within the university campus. Written consents were not to be taken because of the sensitive nature of this study; instead, a Research Information Sheet were given to potential participants. This Information Sheet outlined the study procedures, risks, benefits, and other details and I explained the information sheet to each participant privately and stopped intermittently to allow for questions or address concerns. No names were recorded. There were no identifiers used to link data to particular participants. References for local social services were provided to all participants.

The means of anonymity and privacy that have been previously explained may also help towards minimizing societal risks of being targeted or harassed by members of the Jordanian community. Other means included not using a signed consent, not advertising for the study or administering it in public areas, providing private rooms for participants to fill out the questionnaire, and allowing them to stop at any time they change their mind. Data collection was completed through a closed-ended questionnaire, which took approximately 30 minutes to complete. Participants were told that they may leave a question blank if they do not feel like answering. The information sheet and the questionnaire were available in both English and

Arabic; participants could choose which language they preferred when participating in the study. Data will be analyzed with the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) to distinguish which variables are predictive of outcomes.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

4.1 Univariate Statistics for all Independent Variables

The Statistical Package for the Social Science (SPSS v18.0) was used to analyze the data. Descriptive statistics were generated on all demographic background variables obtained from the 199 participants who agree to participate in the study. However, after list-wise deleting cases with missing data the analytic sample was 131 cases. Demographic profiles of participants are presented in Table 3. In summary, the age of participants ranged from 22-45. The average age was 34 (SD= 6.61). The average household income was 799 Dinars ($1,126). The average number of years being married was 10 years (SD=7.65, ranged from 1 to 34 years) and 15.3% of women who participated in the study had more than 10 years difference between them and their spouses. With regard to the number of sons, the respondents had on average of 2.64 sons (SD=2.29 ranged from 0 child to 14 sons). The educational level ranged from less than a high school diploma to completion of graduate studies with 64.9% of respondents indicating that they had a bachelor degree. In relation to the occupational status, the majority of the participants (68%) reported themselves to be employed outside the home, of which 23.6% reported themselves to be nonprofessional (i.e. secretaries, workers, etc.) and 44.2% reported themselves to be professional (i.e. nurses, professors, etc.). A minority of participants (29%) reported themselves to be unemployed, with the majority of these being housewives, and only three participants being housewives and students simultaneously. A study revealed that only 12% of married women are working in Jordan, and they earn less than their husbands based on the Department of Statistics, as cited by Garaibeh & Oweis (2009).

My results indicated that about third of the sample (36.3%) own property. In Islam women are entitled to a share of their fathers' property, however, among poorer families in most communities, daughters are customarily excluded from claiming their share, but among the wealthy, women generally claim what is theirs (Rassam & Bates, 2001). Around one quarter (26.7%) of women have history of abuse at some point of their lives. This result is somewhat lower than extant estimates indicating that one out of three Jordanian women have experienced IPV during their marriage (see Clark et al. 2009a, 2009b).

The percentage of women who reported that husbands attempted to hit them in front of family members was 13.7%. Roughly a third (33.6%) of participants reported having a husband that is closely or distantly related to them. This rate was expected based on the fact consanguineous marriage is favored

and respected in most if not all Arab communities, and intra-familial unions currently account for 20–50% of all marriages. In Jordan, 35% of reproductive age women are in consanguineous marriages (Department of Statistics, Jordan 2012).

Almost three quarter 69.5% of participants reported their husbands are religious. This rate is expected due to the fact that Jordan is an officially Muslim nation and religion is practiced in almost all aspects of society. More than half (61.8 %) of participants have emergency funds and family that can assist them financially. Less than half (38.2%) knows of domestic abuse agency and almost three quarters (74%) knows of a friend who has gone to a domestic abuse agency. Nearly 14% of participants reported living with in-laws and 32.8% reported having a strong relationship with their mother in-law. Collectivist societies found to provide a great safety net for most women (Clark et al., 2010). In Jordanian culture, when a woman is married is considered to be the responsibilities of her husband and his family and residing with in-laws is common (Clark, et al., 2010).

On average (mean=3.24) my participants “agreed” with the statement that ‘An abused wife should seek professional help’ (mean=3.24 and SD=1.26). Almost three quarters of our sample have a Bachelor degree 64.9% and on average (mean= 2.82) participants “agreed” with the statement with the statement that ‘A wife cannot leave because of the children (mean= 2.82) and standard deviation of (SD= 0.74). Jordanian women, like other Arab and Muslim women, consider their children priority number one; they live for their children and everything they do they do for the sake of protecting their children (Haj-Yahia, 2000).

Further, on average (mean=3.32) participants “agreed” with the statement that a “Husband can be intimate with their wives whenever they wish” (mean=3.32 and SD= 1.20). A study found that sexual abuse as a structure was considered the strongest factor among other factors and interpreted the greatest percentage of the variance (Haddad et al., 2011). However, we would need more research to be done to examine the impact of sexual abuse on women’s attitude and seeking help since sexual abuse is the Arab countries, including Jordan is not considered to be rape. On average, participants agreed with the statement indicating that ‘A man hitting his wife is part of Arab culture’ (mean=2.32 and SD=1.30) reported being more accepting of abuse. The social culture of Jordanian society accepts the use of violence with children or women as a kind of discipline, and this acceptance is supported by cultural and social norms (Al- Badayneh, 2012).

On average, participants who agreed with the statement indicating that 'A man hitting his wife is a sign of leadership and masculinity' (mean = 1.45 and SD= 0.88) were more accepting of abuse. Men in Jordanian society are allowed to use violence against their wife, sister or daughter, because they consider disciplining as a problem. To the contrary disciplining family members is considered the man's right and one of the most important features of manhood (Al-Badayneh, 2012). On average, participants who agreed with the statement indicating that 'Islam encourages hitting his wife,' (mean=1.64 and SD=1.05) were more accepting of abuse. It is worth mentioning that Islam prohibits any type of severe punishments. However, Quranic verses have been misused and misinterpreted by many Muslim men and women (Haddad et al., 2011). Finally, on average, those who agreed with the statement indicating that 'Lack of religiosity is the cause of a man hitting his wife' (mean=3.89 and SD=1.28) were less accepting of abuse.

Table 1. Attitudes Towards Abuse Scale (N=131)

Items	Definitely Abuse	Probably Abuse	Probably Not Abuse	Not Abuse
Emotional/ Verbal Abuse				
A husband tells his wife she is a failure.	70.2%	22.9%	6.1%	0.8%
A husband makes fun of his wife in front of other people.	85.5%	9.9%	3.8%	0.8%
A husband does not consider his wife's desires and needs.	61.8%	26.7%	10.7%	0.8%
Control / Social Isolation Abuse				
A husband prevents his wife from visiting her family of origin.	61.8%	25.2%	9.2%	3.8%
A husband prevents his wife from making phone calls.	55.0%	28.2%	14.5%	2.3%
Physical Abuse				
A husband throws objects at his wife.	75.6%	14.5%	6.9%	3.1%
A husband uses his belt to beat his wife.	85.5%	8.4%	3.8%	2.3%
A husband slaps his wife on her face.	84.0%	10.7%	3.1%	2.3%
A husband twists his wife's arms.	77.1%	16.8%	3.8%	2.3%

Attitudes Towards Abuse Scale (Table 1)

Attitudes Towards Abuse is measured with nine items assessing participants attitudes towards emotional/verbal abuse, social isolation abuse, and physical abuse.

The Emotional/Verbal Abuse Subscale

Three items measuring women's attitudes toward emotional abuse were included in the attitudes towards abuse scale. Table 1 illustrates that Jordanian women perceived some items measuring "Emotional/Verbal abuse" to more abusive than others. For example, women in my study perceived a

husband who makes fun of his wife in front of other people (85.5%) as more abusive than husband who tells his wife is a failure 70.2% and husband who does not consider his wife's desires and needs (61.8%). In Arab culture a husband's humiliating remarks in front of others is particularly abusive (Elkassabgi, 2009). Results show that Arab-Muslim women's perception of abuse is unique to their culture.

Social Isolation Subscale

The Social Isolation Subscale consists of two items, measuring women's attitudes toward control issues related to abuse. Table 1 indicates that Jordanian women perceived isolation and control by husband as abusive as being emotionally abused by husband who does not consider his wife's desires and needs 61.8% and less abusive than when he prevents her from making phone calls (55.0%). In a study 93% believed a wife must obey a husband (Al-Badayneh, 2012). As a result, women may perceived the husband's controlling behavior as less abusive.

Physical Abuse Subscale

The Physical Abuse subscale consists of 4 items, measuring Jordanian women's attitudes toward physical abuse. Table 1 indicates that women perceived beating the wife with a belt (85.5%) as abusive (with only slight difference) compared to if he slaps her on the face (84.4%) and less abusive when he twists her arms (77.1%) and he throws objects at her (75.6%) and Islam prohibits being hit in the face regardless of any circumstances. Results demonstrated that Arab-Muslim women's perception of abuse is not only unique to their culture but also to their faith.

Table 2. Attitudes Towards Help-Seeking (N=131)

Items	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
If the wife decides to leave her husband, it might be difficult to find someone to help her.	13.0%	26.0%	43.5%	17.6%
There is not safe place to go if the wife decides to leave her violent husband.	9.9%	26.0%	43.5%	20.6%
If the wife decides to leave her violent husband, it might be difficult for her to find another source of income.	8.4%	30.5%	42.0%	19.1%
A wife cannot leave her violent husband because of the children.	16.0%	54.2%	26.0%	3.8%

Attitudes Towards Help-Seeking Scale (Table 2)

The Attitudes Towards Help-Seeking scale consists of 4 items. All selected questions for the help-seeking scale section, were chosen to examine potential barriers that a woman may encounter when seeking help. In addition, the carefully selected questions may also help to reflect on women's knowledge about how difficult they believe it is easy to find help when they lack resources such as social support, safe place, income and other huge obstacles such as leaving their children behind which make seeking help very difficult and in some cases impossible.

Table 2 illustrates that Jordanian women perceived 'A wife cannot leave her violent husband because of the children.' This item ranked the *highest level of agreement* (70.2%) and the *lowest level of disagreement* (29.8%). Jordanian women reported in a study that they were willing to accept and tolerate any type of abuse for not losing their children (Gharibah & Oweis). Our finding was not only expected in the context of Muslim Jordanian women, but also generally among other Arab Muslim women, who consider their children to be the most important part of their lives. Both items 'If the wife decides to leave her husband, it might be difficult to find someone to help her' and 'If the wife decides to leave her violent husband, it might be difficult for her to find another source of income,' reveal matching levels of agreement (38.9%) and disagreement (61.1%). Finally, the last item with the lowest level of agreement (35.9%) and highest level of disagreement is (64.1%) is "There is not a safe place to go if the wife decides to leave her violent husband." This finding is also unique to Arab culture. Despite the fact that the level of disagreement is double the level of agreement, most women are terrified to leave the house because of the social consequences of getting a divorce and because of the stigma associated with it (Hassouneh-Phillips, 2001), and as a result, women may never actually feel secure enough to leave.

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics (N=131)

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean/Percentage	St. Dev.
Independent Variables				
Age	22	45	34.07	6.61
Marriage Length	1	34	10.20	7.65
Childless	-	-	20.6%	-
Bachelor's Degree	-	-	64.9%	-
Income	150	2500	798.97	501.05
Husband 10+ Years Older	-	-	15.3%	-
Owns Property	-	-	36.6%	-
History of Spousal Abuse	-	-	26.7%	-
Husband Attempted to Hit in Front of Family	-	-	13.7%	-
Husband Examines Calls	-	-	21.4%	-
Has a Driver's License	-	-	55.7%	-
Husband is Related	-	-	33.6%	-
Number of Sons	0	14	2.64	2.29
Husband is Religious	-	-	69.5%	-
Has an Emergency Fund	-	-	61.8%	-
Has a Friend that Can Protect Them	-	-	71.0%	-
Family Can Assist Financially	-	-	64.9%	-
Knows of a Domestic Abuse Agency	-	-	38.2%	-
Friend has Gone to Agency	-	-	74.0%	
Either Family Opposed Marriage	-	-	33.6%	-
Strong Relationship with Influential In-Law	-	-	29.0%	-
Lives with Husband's Family	-	-	13.7%	-
Strong Relationship with Mother-In-Law	-	-	32.8%	-
Strong Relationship between In-Laws and Family of Origin	-	-	67.9%	-
An Abused Wife Should Seek Professional Help*	1	5	3.24	1.26
A Wife Cannot Leave Because of the Children*	1	4	2.82	0.74
Husbands Can be Intimate With their Wives Whenever they Wish*	1	5	3.32	1.20
A Man Hitting His Wife is Part of Arab Culture*	1	5	2.32	1.30
A Man Hitting His Wife is a Sign of Leadership/ Masculinity*	1	5	1.45	0.88
Islam Encourages Hitting the Wife*	1	5	1.64	1.05
A Lack of Religiosity Leads to a Man Hitting His Wife*	1	5	3.89	1.28
Dependent Variables				
Attitudes Towards Abuse Scale	1.89	4	3.62	0.51
Attitudes About Difficulty Finding Help Scale	1	4	2.43	0.68

*(1=Strongly Disagree, 5=Strongly Agree)

Univariate Results Summary

Based on generated descriptive statistics on all demographic background variables obtained from the survey, the following information was gathered: The average age of participants is 34; the average

marriage length is 10 years; 64.9% has a bachelor's degree with an average income of 798.97 JD ($1= 0.71 JD); 15.3% has a husband 10+ years older; 36.6% owns properties; 26.7% has a history of abuse; 13.7% has a husband who attempted to hit them in front of family; 21.4% has a husband who examined phone calls; 55.7% has a driver license; 33.6% has a husband who is related; the average of number of sons is three; 69.5% has a husband who is religious; 61.8% has an emergency fund; 71.0% has a friend that can protect ; 64.9% has family that can assist financially; 38.2% knows of a domestic abuse agency; 74.0% has a friend who has gone to an agency; 33.6% has either side of the family opposed to their marriage; 29.0% has a strong relationship with in-laws; 13.7% lives with husband's family; 32.8% has a strong relationship with mother in-law; and 67.9% claim a strong relationship between in-laws and family of origin.

4.2 Bivariate Statistics

Table 4. T-Tests Probing Differences in Attitudes Towards Violence Scale Among Independent Variables (N=131)

Independent Variable	M	Df	T	P-value
Childless	3.51	129	1.303	0.195
Has Children	3.64			
Bachelor's Degree*	3.78	54	-4.447	<0.001
No Bachelor's Degree	3.31			
Husband 10+ Years Older	3.60	129	0.190	0.850
Husband Less Than 10 Years Older	3.62			
Owns Property	3.64	129	-0.5320	0.749
Does Not Own Property	3.61			
History of Spousal Abuse	3.64	129	-0.329	0.742
No Indicated History of Abuse	3.61			
Husband Attempted to Hit in Front of Family*	3.04	18.804	3.896	0.001
Husband Has Not Attempted to Hit in Front of Family	3.71			
Husband Examines Calls*	3.49	35.845	1.283	0.208
Husband Does Not Examine Calls	3.65			
Has A Driver's License	3.60	129	0.051	0.959
Does Not Have a Driver's License	3.62			
Husband Is Related	3.61	129	0.101	0.919
Husband is Not Related	3.62			
Husband Is Religious*	3.74	52.569	-3.697	0.001
Husband is Not Religious	3.34			
Has an Emergency Fund*	3.69	83.012	-1.851	0.068
Does Not Have an Emergency Fund	3.50			
Has A Friend That Can Protect Them*	3.56	109.905	2.474	0.015
Does Not Have a Friend That Can Protect Them	3.76			
Family Can Assist Financially	3.66	129	0.171	0.864
Family Cannot Assist Financially	3.61			
Knows of A Domestic Abuse Agency*	3.48	82.456	2.310	0.023
Does Not Know of a Domestic Abuse Agency	3.71			
Friend Has Gone to Agency	3.65	129	-1.159	0.252
Friend Has Not Gone to Agency	3.52			
Either Family Opposed Marriage*	3.44	50.829	2.237	0.030
Neither Family Opposed Marriage	3.70			
Strong Relationship with Influential In-Law	3.59	129	0.421	0.675
Does Not Have Strong Relationship with Influential In-Law	3.63			
Lives with Husband's Family*	3.37	18.995	1.583	0.130
Does Not Live with Husband's Family	3.66			
Strong Relationship with Mother-In-Law	3.69	129	-1.055	0.239
Does Not Have Strong Relationship with Mother-In-Law	3.59			
Strong Relationship between In-Laws and Family of Origin	3.63	129	-0.461	0.656
No Strong Relationship between In-Laws and Family of Origin	3.59			

*Equal variances not assumed, degrees of freedom adjusted using the Welch-Satterthwaite method.

Bivariate Relationships Between Attitudes Towards Violence and Predictor Variables (Table 4)

Results in Table 4 reveal that education is significantly associated with attitudes towards violence. On average women's with bachelor degree are less accepting of abuse (t(54)=, p<0.001) than those without a bachelor's degree. However, results show that If a husband has attempted to hit his wife in front of his family she is more accepting of abuse (t(18.804)=3.896 p=0.001), compared to a woman who her husband has not attempted to hit them in front of his family. Further, as shown in Table 4, women who have an emergency fund are less accepting of abuse than women who do not have an emergency fund (t(83.012)=-1.851 p=0.068). The results in Table 4 also reveal that women who have a friend that can protect her and women who know of an agency are significantly more likely to be accepting of abuse (t(109.905)=2.474, p=0.015; t(82.456)=2.310, p=0.023) than their counterparts, respectively [see table 4]. I also found that women who report not having either family opposed to their marriage are slightly less accepting of abuse, than women who did have either side, or at least one side oppose the marriage (t(50.829)=2.237, p=0.030). And women who perceive their husband as religious are less accepting of violence compared to those who perceive their husbands as not religious t(52.569)=-3.697, p=0.001).

Table 5. T-Tests Probing Differences in Help-Seeking Scale Among Independent Variables (N=131)

Independent Variable	M	Df	T	P-value
Childless	2.42	129	0.076	0.940
Has Children	2.43			
Bachelor's Degree	2.38	129	0.983	0.328
No Bachelor's Degree	2.51			
Husband 10+ Years Older	2.45	129	-0.173	0.863
Husband Less Than 10 Years Older	2.42			
Owns Property	2.30	129	1.648	0.102
Does Not Own Property	2.50			
History of Spousal Abuse	2.41	129	0.114	0.910
No Indicated History of Abuse	2.43			
Husband Attempted to Hit in Front of Family	2.58	129	-1.054	0.294
Husband Has Not Attempted to Hit in Front of Family	2.40			
Husband Examines Calls	2.38	129	0.362	0.718
Husband Does Not Examine Calls	2.44			
Has A Driver's License	2.36	129	1.241	0.217
Does Not Have a Driver's License	2.51			
Husband Is Related	2.37	129	0.668	0.505
Husband is Not Related	2.45			
Husband Is Religious	2.40	129	0.547	0.585
Husband is Not Religious	2.48			
Has an Emergency Fund*	2.36	121.095	1.384	0.169
Does Not Have an Emergency Fund	2.53			
Has A Friend That Can Protect Them	2.34	129	1.869	0.064
Does Not Have a Friend That Can Protect Them	2.60			
Family Can Assist Financially	2.33	129	2.290	0.024
Family Cannot Assist Financially	2.61			
Knows of A Domestic Abuse Agency	2.48	129	-0.714	0.476
Does Not Know of a Domestic Abuse Agency	2.39			
Friend Has Gone to Agency	2.42	129	0.081	0.935
Friend Has Not Gone to Agency	2.43			
Either Family Opposed Marriage	2.51	129	-0.978	0.330
Neither Family Opposed Marriage	2.39			
Strong Relationship with Influential In-Law	2.28	129	1.606	0.111
Does Not Have Strong Relationship with Influential In-Law	2.49			
Lives with Husband's Family	2.53	129	-0.681	0.497
Does Not Live with Husband's Family	2.41			
Strong Relationship with Mother-In-Law	2.35	129	0.828	0.409
Does Not Have Strong Relationship with Mother-In-Law	2.46			
Strong Relationship between In-Laws and Family of Origin	2.40	129	0.512	0.610
No Strong Relationship between In-Laws and Family of Origin	2.47			

*Equal variances not assumed, degrees of freedom adjusted using the Welch-Satterthwaite method.

Bivariate Relationships Between Help-Seeking and Predictor Variables (Table 5)

I used t-tests to determine if there were differences in the means of the two groups. Only two significant mean differences were observed in Table 5. As shown in this table, those who do have a friend who can protect them is associated with the belief that finding help is easier ($t(129)=1.869$, $p=0.064$). Additionally, those who have a family that can help her financially is associated with the belief that finding help is easier ($t(133)=2.290$, $p=0.024$).

Table 6. Pearson's Correlations of Attitudes Towards Violence and Help-Seeking Scales with Independent Variables (N=131)

Independent Variable	Att. Towards Abuse	P-value	Att. Towards Help-Seeking	P-Value
Age	-0.256	0.003	-0.130	0.140
Marriage Length	-0.172	0.049	-0.116	0.188
Income	0.305	<0.001	-0.158	0.071
Number of Sons	-0.042	0.633	-0.013	0.315
An Abused Wife Should Seek Professional Help*	0.417	<0.001	-0.088	0.254
A Wife Cannot Leave Because of the Children*	-0.066	0.707	-	-
Husbands Can be Intimate With their Wives Whenever they Wish*	0.058	0.510	-0.195	0.026
A Man Hitting His Wife is Part of Arab Culture*	-0.066	0.452	0.044	0.614
A Man Hitting His Wife is a Sign of Leadership/ Masculinity*	-0.438	<0.001	0.130	0.140
Islam Encourages Hitting the Wife*	-0.333	<0.001	0.096	0.275
A Lack of Religiosity Leads to a Man Hitting His Wife*	0.164	0.062	-0.007	0.937

*(1=Strongly Disagree, 5=Strongly Agree)

Significant Correlations (R) for Attitude Towards Abuse (Table 6)

In this section of the results, the correlations between attitudes and interval level independent variables are reported. Results in Table 6 reveal that the sociodemographic characteristics of participants such as age, length of marriage and income are statistically significant. As age increases the acceptance of abuse increases, (r=- 0.256, p=0.003). As the length of time being married increases, the acceptance of abuse also increases **(**r=- 0.172, p=0.049). Finally income was also found to be positively and weakly correlated (r= 0.305, p<0.001); as her income increases her acceptance of abuse decreases. The lower values on our DV, mean more acceptiong of abuse.

The results in Table 6 also reveals a moderately strong correlation between seeking professional help and acceptance of abuse. As a women increases in her beliefs that abused wife should seek professional help, her acceptance of abuse decreases (r= 0.417, p<0.001). The belief that a man hitting his wife is a sign of his leadership also found to be negatively correlated and moderately strong. As the belief that 'a man hitting his wife is a sign of his leadership' and as his being a "man" increases, the acceptance of abuse also increases (r = - 0.438, p < 0.001).

Furthermore, the teachings of Islam and lack of religiosity were also found to be statistically significant. 'The teachings of Islam encourage hitting the wife' was found to be weakly and moderately correlated and statistically significant. As women agrees with this statement, her acceptance of abuse

increases (r=-0.333, p<0.001). Also, as a woman agrees more with the statement 'Lack of religiosity or incorrect religious beliefs as the main cause of a man to hit his wife' she become less accepting of abuse (r=0.164, p=0.062).

Significant Correlations (R) for Help-Seeking (Table 6)

Income in the Help-Seeking Model Table 6 was the only variable in the sociodemographic section that found to be marginally significant. As women's income goes up, the belief of how difficult is to find help goes down (r= - 0.158, p = 0.071). The man having the right to ask his wife to be intimate any time he wishes was also found to be significant. As the wife agrees with the statement, her belief of how difficult it is to find help goes down (r=-0.195, p=0.026).

Bivariate Results Summary

In summary, the follow predictor variables are significant for attitudes towards IPVAW: the woman has a bachelor's degree, she has an emergency fund, she has a friend that can protect, she knows of an agency, either her family or her in-laws do no oppose the marriage, and her husband is religious. The following predictor variables are significant for attitudes towards help-seeking: the woman as a friend that can protect, and she has a family that can assist financially. Correlation findings between attitudes towards IPVAW and predictor variables are as follows: Age, length in marriage, income, agreement with 'an abused wife should seek professional help,' agreement with 'a man hitting a wife is a sign of his leadership/ masculinity and as being a 'man', agreement with 'the teachings of Islam encourage hitting the wife,' and agreement with 'the lack of religiosity or incorrect religious beliefs is the main cause to hit his wife.' Correlation findings between attitudes towards help-seeking and predictor variables are as follows: income, and agreement with 'a man can be intimate with his wife anytime he wishes.'

4.3 Multivariate Statistics

Table 7. Regression Analysis of Attitudes Towards Violence Scale (N=131)

Variable	Model 1	P-Values	Model 2	P-Values	Model 3	P-Values	Model 4	P-Values	Model 5	P-Values
Ontogenic System										
Age	-0.024	0.017	-0.019	0.046	-0.027	0.010	-0.013	0.166	-0.014	0.054
Marriage Length	0.009	0.333	0.007	0.477	0.010	0.289	0.004	0.659	-0.005	0.590
Childless	-0.271	0.013	-0.217	0.072	-0.243	0.029	-0.208	0.038	-0.292	0.012
Bachelor's Degree	0.378	0.001	0.294	0.007	0.292	0.009	0.317	0.002	0.198	0.051
Income	0	0.181	0	0.214	0	0.119	<0.001	0.583	0	0.282
Husband 10+ Years Older	-0.007	0.950	-0.027	0.799	-0.050	0.667	-0.048	0.639	-0.159	0.141
Owns Property	0.006	0.945	0.092	0.272	0.055	0.503	-0.040	0.599	0.073	0.357
Microsystem										
History of Spousal Abuse			0.147	0.100					0.122	0.140
Husband Attempted to Hit in Front of Family			-0.418	0.002					-0.261	0.064
Husband Examines Calls			-0.054	0.623					-0.039	0.707
Has a Driver's License			-0.184	0.046					-0.220	0.013
Has an Emergency Fund			-0.010	0.924					0.078	0.446
Number of Sons			-0.005	0.839					-0.011	0.658
Husband is Religious			0.148	0.103					0.103	0.236
Exosystem										
Has a Friend that Can Protect Them					-0.206	0.023			-0.088	0.296
Family Can Assist Financially					-0.067	0.432			-0.133	0.084
Knows of a Domestic Abuse Agency					-0.215	0.017			-0.186	0.024
Friend has Gone to Agency					0.144	0.141			0.083	0.342
Husband is Related					0.009	0.921			-0.022	0.789
Either Family Opposed Marriage					-0.057	0.528			0.060	0.482
Strong Relationship with Influential In-Law					-0.098	0.283			-0.138	0.101
Lives with Husband's Family					-0.242	0.037			-0.225	0.033
Strong Relationship with Mother-In-Law					-0.029	0.755			-0.018	0.835
Strong Relationship between In-Laws and Family of Origin					-0.029	0.764			-0.172	0.058

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Table 7 (Continued). Regression Analysis off Attitudes Towards Violence Scale (N=131)

Variable	Model 1	P-Values	Model 2	P-Values	Model 3	P-Values	Model 4	P-Values	Model 5	P-Values
Macrosystem										
An Abused Wife Should Seek Professional Help							0.101	0.042	0.098	0.036
A Wife Cannot Leave Because of the Children							-0.008	0.881	-0.029	0.569
Husbands Can be Intimate With their Wives Whenever they Wish							0.042	0.215	0.024	0.482
A Man Hitting His Wife is Part of Arab Culture							-0.014	0.621	0.002	0.955
A Man Hitting His Wife is a Sign of Leadership/ Masculinity							-0.143	0.002	-0.084	0.063
Islam Encourages Hitting the Wife							-0.073	0.963	-0.061	0.090
A Lack of Religiosity Leads to a Man Hitting His Wife							-0.001	0.881	-0.012	0.669
R^2	0.234		0.342		0.297		0.402		0.493	

In Table 7, I present results from multivariate OLS regression models predicting attitudes towards violence. As shown in Model 1 of Table 7, age is marginally significant; as a woman grows older the more accepting she is of an abusive behavior (*B = - 0.024 p= 0.017*). Whether or not she has kids is also shown to be significant in this model. If she does not have kids then she is more accepting of abuse (*B = - 0.271 p= 0.013*). Finally, having a bachelor degree is shown to be significant. If she has a bachelor degree she is less accepting of abuse (*B= 0.378 p= 0.001).*

In Model 2, I added all of the microsystem variables. As shown in this model, having a bachelor degree continues to be significantly correlated with accepting attitudes towards above (*B= 0.265 p= 0.107).* However, if her husband has attempted to hit her in front of his family is *highly* significant and has a remarkable effect on women's acceptance of abuse to a large extent (*B= -0.534 p= 0.127).* If she has a driver license is also significant. If she has a driver license she is more accepting of abuse (*B= - 0.196 p= 0.091).*

As shown in model 3 of Table 7, I added all the exosystem variables. As shown in this model having a bachelor's degree continues to be associated with less accepting attitudes towards abuse *(B= 0.292 p= 0.009).* Age is also shown to be marginally correlated with attitudes towards abuse in Model3. The older the women gets, she is more accepting of abuse *(B= - 0.027 p= 0.010).* Furthermore, findings show having no kids (*B= - 0.243 p= - 0.029*), knows of an agency (*B= - 0.215 p= 0.017),* living with the husband's family *(B= - 0.242 p= 0.037),* and having a friend that can protect *(B= - 0.206 p= 0.023)* are all shown to be significant predictors of attitudes towards abuse.

Model 4 presents results from a model that added all of the macrosystem variables. Consistent significant results in previous models holding a bachelor degree is significantly associated with less acceptance of abuse (*B= 0.317 p= 0.002).* Moreover, having no kids also appear to be significant and consistent with both Models 1 and 3. If she has no kids she is slightly more accepting of abuse *(B= - 0.208 p = - 0.038).* Furthermore, women that agree with the statement that 'A wife should seek professional help' is associated with less acceptance of abuse (*B= 0.101 p= 0.042).* Finally, the results also reveal that the more participants held patriarchal beliefs and are in agreement with the statement 'A man hitting his wife is a sign of leadership and his being a man' the more accepting of abuse (*B= - 0.143 p= 0.002).*

Model 5 is a full model that included ontongenic system, microsystem, exosystem and macrosystem level predictor variables. As shown in this model, net of the effects of all other variables in the model having a bachelor degree is continues to be associated with less accepting attitudes towards abuse (*B= 0.198 p= 0.051).* Likewise, results show that ***whether*** or not she has kids continues to have a net association with attitudes towards abuse (*B= -0.292 p= 0.012).* If her husband has attempted to hit her in front of his family is marginally significant in the full model. If a husband attempted to hit his wife in front of his family, she is more accepting of abuse (*B= - 0.261 p = 0.064*). If she has a driver license is also significant in the full model. If she has a driver license she is more accepting of abuse (*B= -0.220 p= 0.0130).* If her family can help financially is marginally significant. If they can help she is more accepting of abuse *(B= -0.133 p= 0.084).* If she knows of an agency, if she lives with her husband's family, if her family of origin has a strong relationship with her in-laws all appear to be significant in our results (*B= - 0.186 p= 0.024), (B= - 0.213 p= 0.104), (B= - 0.225 p= 0.033)* respectively [see Table 7]).

The results also show that the more women agree with the statement, 'An abused wife should seek professional help,' they are less likely to accept abuse *(B= 0.098 p = 0.036).* Furthermore, the findings indicate that the higher the participants agree with the statement 'The teaching of Islam encourages hitting the wife,' the more likely they accept abuse. The more a woman agree with the statement above, the more she is accepting of abuse *(B= - 0.061 p= 0.090).* Similarly, as shown in both Models 4 and 5, the more participants held patriarchal beliefs and are in agreement with the statement 'A man hitting his wife is a sign of leadership and his being a man' the more accepting of abuse. The more a woman agrees with the statement the more accepting she is of abuse (*B= - 0.084 p= 0.063)*.

Table 8. Regression Analysis of Help-Seeking Difficulty Scale (N=131)

Variable	Model 1	P-Values	Model 2	P-Values	Model 3	P-Values	Model 4	P-Values	Model 5	P-Values
Ontogenic System										
Age	-0.004	0.802	-0.003	0.854	-0.011	0.495	-0.016	0.307	-0.026	0.120
Marriage Length	-0.015	0.283	-0.019	0.252	-0.013	0.386	-0.010	0.452	-0.010	0.551
Childless	-0.146	0.375	-0.202	0.315	-0.154	0.380	-0.180	0.276	-0.222	0.289
Bachelor's Degree	-0.110	0.504	-0.051	0.775	-0.160	0.362	-0.152	0.361	-0.195	0.292
Income	0	0.275	<0.001	0.675	<0.001	0.990	0	0.180	<0.001	0.706
Husband 10+ Years Older	0	0.999	-0.014	0.939	-0.105	0.571	0.012	0.942	-0.111	0.566
Owns Property	-0.192	0.132	-0.176	0.207	-0.174	0.187	-0.101	0.431	0.020	0.892
Microsystem										
History of Spousal Abuse			-0.083	0.578					-0.025	0.865
Husband Attempted to Hit in Front of Family			0.182	0.403					-0.267	0.298
Husband Examines Calls			-0.149	0.417					-0.171	0.371
Has a Driver's License			-0.061	0.692					-0.242	0.130
Has an Emergency Fund			-0.085	0.626					0.031	0.868
Number of Sons			0.002	0.966					0.006	0.887
Husband is Religious			-0.110	0.467					-0.174	0.276
Exosystem										
Has a Friend that Can Protect Them					-0.113	0.428			-0.298	0.055
Family Can Assist Financially					-0.226	0.099			-0.188	0.178
Knows of a Domestic Abuse Agency					0.013	0.928			-0.073	0.622
Friend has Gone to Agency					-0.064	0.680			-0.077	0.629
Husband is Related					-0.132	0.353			-0.239	0.112
Either Family Opposed Marriage					0.117	0.417			0.237	0.133
Strong Relationship with Influential In-Law					-0.259	0.074			-0.247	0.107
Lives with Husband's Family					0.029	0.874			0.068	0.717
Strong Relationship with Mother-In-Law					-0.084	0.566			-0.098	0.528
Strong Relationship with In-Laws and Family of Origin					0.054	0.729			0.142	0.385

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Table 8 (continued). Regression Analysis of Help-Seeking Difficulty Scale (N=131)

Variable	Model 1	P-Values	Model 2	P-Values	Model 3	P-Values	Model 4	P-Values	Model 5	P-Values
Macrosystem										
An Abused Wife Should Seek Professional Help							0.011	0.825	-0.029	0.619
Husbands Can be Intimate With their Wives Whenever they Wish							-0.161	0.004	-0.184	0.002
A Man Hitting His Wife is Part of Arab Culture							0.044	0.360	0.081	0.127
A Man Hitting His Wife is a Sign of Leadership/ Masculinity							0.105	0.176	0.133	0.108
Islam Encourages Hitting the Wife							0.033	0.603	0.041	0.527
A Lack of Religiosity Leads to a Man Hitting His Wife							0.027	0.581	0.011	0.836
R^2	0.017		-0.025		0.012		0.061		0.048	

In Table 8, I present results from multivariate OLS regression models predicting help-seeking. As shown in Model 1 of Table 8, demographics non are significant age, marriage length, having no children, having a bachelor degree, income, husband is 10 years or older, and owing property show no association with help-seeking.

As shown in Model 2 of Table 8, history of spousal abuse, husband attempted to hit in front of family, husband examines calls, has a driver license, has an emergency fund, having sons and husband is religious show no association with help-seeking.

As shown in Model 3 of Table 8 only one significant variable was found. If her family can help her financially is significant. If her family can help her financially she believes it is easier to find help (*B= - 0.226, p= 0.099).*

The rest of the variables in Model 3, has a friend that can protect her, knows of a domestic abuse agency, know of a friend who has gone to an agency, husband is related, either family opposing the marriage, strong relationship with influential in-law, lives with husband's family, strong relationship with mother-in-law and strong relationship between in-laws and family of origin, show no association with help-seeking.

As shown in Model 4 of Table 8, only one significant variable was found. The more participants are in agreement with the statement 'The husband has the right to ask his wife to be intimate anytime he wishes,' the more they think it is easier to find help (*B= - 0.161 p= 0.004).* And the rest of the variables on Model 4, an abused wife should seek professional help, a wife cannot leave because of the children, a man hitting his wife is part of the Arab culture, a man hitting his wife is a sign of leadership/masculinity, Islam encourages hitting the wife, and a lack of religiosity leads to a man hitting his wife, show no association with help-seeking.

As shown in Model 5 of Table 8, only two significant variables were found. If she has a friend that can protect her is marginally significant; if she has a friend that can protect her, she is more likely to believe that it is easier to find help (*B= - 0.298, p= 0.055).* The more participants are in agreement with the statement 'The husband has the right to ask his wife to be intimate anytime he wishes,' the more she is likely to believe that it is easier to find help (*B= - 0.184, p= 0.002).* The variable also appeared to be significant in Model 4. The rest of the variables show no association with help-seeking.

Multivariate Results Summary

In summary, the following predictor variables were significant for attitudes towards IPVAW: age, has a bachelor's degree, and whether or not has kids (Model 1); has a bachelor's degree, husband has attempted to hit in front of family, and if she has a driver license (Model 2); age, has a bachelor's degree, no kids, knows of an agency, living with the husband's family, and having a friend that can protect financially (Model 3); has a bachelor degree, no kids, a wife should seek professional help, and a men hitting his wife is a sign of leadership and his being a 'man' (Model 4). In the combined multivariate results of all models (Model 5), the following predictor variables are significant for attitudes towards IPVAW: has a bachelor degree, whether or not she has children, has a driver license, family can assist financially, knows of an agency, living with in-laws, husband attempted to hit her in front of his family, family of origin has a strong relationship with in-laws, agreement with 'an abused wife should seek professional help,' agreement with 'the teaching of Islam encourages hitting the wife,' and agreement with 'a man hitting his wife is a sign of leadership and his being a 'man.' The following predictor variables are significant for attitudes towards help-seeking: family can support financially, a friend that can protect her, and agreement with 'husband has the right to ask his wife to be intimate anytime he wishes.'

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

5.1 Findings

The purpose of this study was to examine women's attitudes toward violence against them and their help-seeking preferences. Several research studies and investigators who examined diverse cultural communities, both in the US and communities outside the US, have come to similar conclusions that the perceptions of spousal abuse are culturally related. Despite the fact that my findings are limited to Jordanian women only, I expect that by examining their attitudes towards violence and help-seeking preferences, I can gain some depth into the role of Arab cultural values on women's perceptions of violence and help-seeking. I consider my research to be a part of, and highly interrelated to, past available literature that has emphasized that attitudes toward violence against women may reflect particular cultural values (Levinson, 1989; Yllo, 1984).

In order to best interpret my results and demonstrate the importance of my findings, I used the theoretical model by Heise. The Heise model was implemented in my study as an organizing framework to explain my data by examining four interrelated and interconnected systems (ontogenic system, microsystem, exosystem and macrosystem). Each of these four systems were used for the Attitudes section of my study and the Help-Seeking section of my study. Furthermore, the Heise ecological model (1998) is well suited for understanding violence in Jordanian society as it includes gender-based and non-gender related factors to understand IPV within the patriarchal society of a country such a Jordan (Abu Sabbah et al., 2017).

5.2 Factors for Attitudes

First I will discuss the results for the Attitudes section of my study, by dividing the factors according to Heise's four systems.

5.2.1 Ontogenic System

In the Heise model (1998), ontogenetic factors refer to personal characteristics such as witnessing marital violence as a child, being abused during childhood, and having an absent or rejecting father are all factors related to IPV victimization and perpetration. However, my adapted model included other demographic features such as age, marriage length, whether women have children or not, and income. The selected demographic variables were chosen because there were evidences from literature indicating

the presence of certain relationships between them and women's attitudes toward violence. Available data on previous studies strongly suggested that women were less likely to be abuse or to justify their abuse if they have a high educational attainment (DOS & Macro, 2008, Gharaibeh & Oweis, 2009; Haj-Yahia, 2002). Based on the data, this study found conclusions that were be supportive of previous studies. The women who held a bachelor's degree were less accepting of violence.

In the 2014, women's age was found to influence Jordanian women's vulnerability to abuse, as well as their attitudes and beliefs toward IPV. Previous research indicates that women's level of vulnerability and acceptance to abuse as well their attitudes and beliefs toward IPV are impacted by their age (Abu Sabbah, 2017). Younger women, with fewer years of marriage are more likely to experience IPV (El-Zanaty et al., 1996), and as women age and their marriage length increases, their acceptance of abuse increase as they have less drive and motivation to put an end to it (Sayem et al., 2012). The average age of women in my sample is 34 with 10 years of marriage length. My results study were congruent with previous studies. I found that as a woman's age increase, her acceptance of abuse also increase.

A study by Alzoubi (2018) revealed that participants who earn 601 JD to 1,000 JD, or more than 1,000 JD of family income, reported significantly lower IPVAS mean scores than participants with low income (200-600 JD). Participants indicated that on average their income was 7,900 JD and findings revealed no association between income and women's attitudes towards violence and was not supportive to previous findings.

In the narrative review, women's employment status was found to influence Jordanian women's vulnerability to abuse, as well as their attitudes and beliefs toward IPV. However, based on two studies, which were conducted in Jordan by Al-Modallal (in 2010 and 2015), exploring socioeconomic indicators to abuse such as employment and education, found that despite the wide variation of women's demographic characteristics, women continue to be vulnerable to violence from the spouse. Findings from this study were congruent with previous research studies. Being employed showed no association with attitudes towards violence.

Few studies have examined the relationship between asset ownership and IPV. One study by Petermen et al. (2017) found that women's asset ownership may be protective against IPV because it helps to secure sufficient economic independence for women, which may provide them with more choices if they

decide to leave abusive situations. Qualitative work in Tanzania indicates that “women’s land ownership was a pathway for women’s economic empowerment, and raised perceived status and respect of women” (Peterman, 2011, p. 9). More than one third of participants in this study indicated owning properties, and two thirds indicated having emergency funds. However, this study showed no association between women who own properties and women who have emergency funds in regards to their attitudes towards violence or help-seeking. More studies are needed to examine the impact of marriages to close relatives, which is done in order to maintain continuity of control over lands, on women’s attitudes towards violence and help-seeking.

Most of women’s power and status in her family is derived from having a son (Ghanim 2009). Participants who indicated having sons had an average of 2.64 (SD=2.29). Around one quarter of participants indicated being infertile. In Jordan bearing and rearing children are central to women’s power and overall status in the community *(*Morse et al., 2012, p 7). And based on Jordanian sociocultural context, women who do not bear children are treated poorly by mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and sometimes they are coerced against their will to get medical treatment for infertility (Obeisat et al., 2012). As a result, these women bear bad treatment and carry guilt about not being able to have children. Findings from this study are congruent with previous research; women who have no children are more accepting of violence.

5.2.2 Microsystem

Referring to the Heise model, the microsystem includes the family context such as marital conflict and male control of wealth and decision making (Heise, 1998). These factors that represent the nature of marital relationships of Jordanian women were also considered to be very important at the microsystem level of my model.

Violence in Jordanian culture is common and is considered as a way to discipline children and wives. Therefore, violent practices provide men with feeling of empowerment since society does not consider such a violence as justification for divorce. To the contrary, women are expected to bear the anger of male members and accept it as something good and beneficial (Al-Badayneh, 2012). As a result, women have to come into agreement and accept the social and cultural rules that justify violence as part of disciplining women and the husband’s authority. In his research in Jordan, Haj-Yahia found that 80% of the

men and women in his study indicated that wife abuse "doesn't justify reporting the husband to the legal authorities" (Haj-Yahia, 1998b).

My results indicate that more than one quarter of participants reported a history of abuse. In Jordan, it was estimated that one out of three women has experienced IPV during their marriage (Clark et al. 2009a, 2009b). I expected this number to be lower due to the sample makeup and socioeconomic status. However, literature reveals that most Jordanian women experienced more than one type of spousal violence. For example, a study in Jordan reveals that women who experienced physical violence and controlling behavior constituted 41.5% (n = 294) (Al-Modallal, 2017, p. 174).

Only ten percent reported that a husband throwing an object at his wife was 'not abusive.' Results show that Arab Muslim women's perception of abuse is unique to their culture. According to Arab Muslim culture, it is acceptable for a man to take his anger out on his wife and kids, especially in a situation when the husbands are not meeting traditional male expectations due to unemployment or economic difficulties. As a result, violence could be used as outlet for the associated stress involved (Morse et al., 2012). As a result of this cultural belief, women perceived the husband's violent behavior as less abusive.

The majority of participants (94.7%) indicated that a husband hitting his wife in her face is 'definitely abuse,' compared to 5.4% that indicated that slapping on the face is 'not abuse.' Based on the practiced religion in Jordan, Islam, hitting the face is prohibited, even in fighting. "When any one of you fights, let him avoid (striking) the face" (Al-Bukhari). Results demonstrated that Arab-Muslim women's perception of abuse is not only unique to their culture but also to their faith.

Around 17% of participants reported that a husband who prevents his wife from making phone calls as 'not abusive,' and 13% indicated that a husband who prevents his wife from visiting her family of origin as 'not abusive.' Based on a study, the majority of Jordanian participants (93%) reported that a wife must obey her husband (Al-Badayneh, 2012). As a result of this belief, women may perceive the husband's violent behavior as less abusive. Men express their power and control by eliminating women from doing activities with others without their permission (Alzoubi, 2018). Similar results were reported by Sabbah et al. (2017).

Table 2, illustrates that Jordanian women who agreed to the statement 'A wife cannot leave her violent husband because of the children,' ranked this item as the *highest level of agreement* (70.2%) and

the *lowest level of disagreement* (29.8%). Jordanian women reported in a study that they were willing to accept and tolerate any type of abuse for not losing their children. This is not only applicable to the context of Jordanian women but also generally to Arab Muslim women (Gharibah & Oweis, 2009). My finding results are congruent to previous studies.

A woman having a driver's license is also significant in the full model. If she has a driver's license she is more accepting of abuse (see Table 7). I found no literature reviews on the topic; more research should be done.

A woman being abused by her husband in front of his family is marginally significant in the full model. If a husband attempted to hit his wife in front of his family, she is more accepting of abuse. It is acceptable for men in Jordanian society to use violence against their wife, sister or daughter, because they consider disciplining as a solution to a problem. Disciplining family members is considered the man's right and one of the most important features of manhood (Al-Badayneh, 2012). Finding results were congruent with this previous study (see Table 7).

5.2.3 Exosystem

The exosystem in the Heise model refers to social structure, both formal and informal. Heise included low socioeconomic status, delinquent peer association, isolation of women and family as exosystem factors. Building on Heise description of exosystem, my model examined the relationships between women and their family of origin and family-in-law, as well as informal social networks. Therefore, I am hoping that by defining the interactions that Jordanian women have with informal (family and in-laws) and formal (agencies) entities, my data and findings could be used to explore and examine the extent of disclosures of IPV to formal and informal resources. The selected demographic variables were chosen because there was evidence from literature indicating the presence of certain relationships between them and women's attitudes toward spousal violence.

Arranged marriage is common in Arab countries. However, depending on the situation, women may disagree with the parents' choices in regards to marriage and marry on their own. As a result, if the husband is abusive, they may perceive this as a punishment for not informing their families and as a result of making important decisions on their own (Abu Baker & Dwairy, 2003). One third of participants indicated

that either family opposed their marriage. No association was found between women who reported that either family opposed marriage and between the women's attitudes towards violence.

Marriages within blood relations currently account for 20–50% of all marriages in Arab communities, and first-cousin marriages are very common and constitute almost one quarter of all marriages in many Arab countries (Al-Gazali & Hamamy, 2014). One third of participants in this study indicated that husband is related. This is similar to previous literature indicating that in Jordan, 35% of reproductive age women are in consanguineous marriages (Department of Statistics, Jordan, 2012).

Mothers-in-law are known to perpetrate violence against their daughters-in-law, and their interference has been shown to have a negative effect on their marriage (Clark et al., 2010). One study found that living close to or with in-laws was a cause of violence (Morse et al., 2012). Around 14% indicated living with their in-laws. My results are supportive of previous research that if a woman lives with her husband's family she is more accepting of abuse.

One third of participants in this study indicated that they have strong relationships with their mothers-in-law. The result was higher than I expected based on various research in the Middle East revealing the role of mothers-in-law as the perpetrator of violence. Results indicated no association between having a strong relationship with mothers-in-law and between women's attitudes towards violence. As a result, extended and family relationships deserve a greater attention, given the importance of family, as both a potential risk and potential protective factor of intimate partner violence (Clark et al., 2010). Women reported that husbands attempted to hit them in front of another family member. Past literature indicated that engaging in abusive behavior in front of the in-laws and neighbors is considered as a marker of abuse (Haj Yahia, 2000).

Research studies indicate family of origin to be the most important and reliable source of assistance for IPV, especially if the couple lives in a close distance from family members (Clark et al., 2010). This finding is also supported by previous research in Jordan. In one study, 84% of the female respondents believed that the family could provide them with all the support and assistance a victim of violence needs (Haj Yahia, 2002). My results are congruent with previous studies; around three quarters of the respondents indicated that their families would provide financial support if needed.

More than a half of participants “agreed” with the statement indicating that “Family that can assist financially.’ I had expected to have lower results, based on the fact that culturally, many Jordanian families believe that when their daughters get married, they do not have financial obligations to support them. Socially and culturally it is the husband’s responsibility to take care of all the financial responsibilities of his wife and children (Gharaibeh and Oweis, 2009). If her family can help financially is marginally significant. If they can help she is more accepting of abuse. I have no valid explanation to support my findings, more research is needed.

Around 38% of participants knew of a domestic abuse agency. In Jordanian culture, violence against women is considered a private matter. According to a report by the United Nations Development fund for Women Amman Jordan (2002), victims of IPV seldom seek police or authorities’ help out of fear of social stigma and shame. Women also are pressured by their families to drop their charges. Seeking formal systems were the least utilized among several studies globally (Jayasundara et al., 2014). My results were congruent with these findings. Even if a woman knows of an agency, she is still more accepting of violence. Knowing of an agency, living with husband’s family, and a strong relationship between the family of origin and in-laws all appear to be significant according to this study.

Thirty-six percent of participants agreed with the statement ‘There is no safe place to go if the wife decides to leave her violent husband.’ Families in Arab culture provide their daughters with support the majority of time; however when they are abused, they are encouraged to go back to their husbands for reconciliation (Ghariabeh & Oweis, 2009). Therefore, women are conditioned to believe that family reputation is more important than their well-being and personal safety (Haj-Yahia, 2000).

Around 39% of participants agreed with the statement ‘If the wife decides to leave her husband, it might be difficult to find someone to help her.’ Based on previous research, IPV is perceived as a familial matter. Therefore, breaking the privacy of a family could cause shame and social stigma, and it discourages women from seeking professional help. Only few studies have examined barriers to these resources (Haj-Yahia, 2002; Oweis et al., 2009), particularly in rural areas of Jordan (Hamdan-Mansour et al., 2002).

However, in recent years there has been an increased recognition of IPV in Jordan and a rapid expansion of research. The Jordanian government has established a family protection unit within the local police department to deal with cases of gender-based violence (Haddad et al., 2011). Seventy-four percent

of participants indicated that they know of a friend who has gone to an agency. The results were much higher than I expected due to various literature reviews indicating that in Jordan any complaint to police, courts of law, or the social services mirrors the family's failure to socialize the woman. (Buchbinder & Karayanni, 2015). However, I can attribute the results to the new changes instituted by the Jordanian government (Haddad et al., 2011).

5.2.4 Macrosystem

According to Heise's model, the macrosystem constitutes the "broad set of cultural values and beliefs that permeate and inform the other three layers of the social ecology" (Heise, 1998, p. 277). The factors that I included in my system at the macrosystem level are (a) leadership/masculinity linked to physical aggression and dominance, (b) Arab culture permeates the use of violence, (c) misconception of religious beliefs about wife beating, (d) sacrifice the self for children is culturally acceptable and highly encouraged, and (e) seeking help.

In Heise's model, male dominance as a factor in the family context was placed in the microsystem level, however based on a study by Abu Sabbah et al. (2017), titled "Understanding Intimate Partner Violence in Jordan: Application of the Ecological Model," dominance of Jordanian men was evident in the macrosystem. Domination of men over women is rooted in the social culture (Al-Badayneh, 2012). As result, placing it at the macro level is the broadest approach.

On average, participants who "agreed" with the statement 'A man hitting his wife is part of Arab culture,' (mean= 2.33 and SD= 1.309) reported being more accepting of abuse. Based on our sample, most participants were leaning towards disagree with slight lean toward neither agree or disagree. We would expect that our results show more agreement with above statement based on the fact that Jordanian social culture accepts the use of violence with children or women as a kind of discipline, and this acceptance is supported by cultural and social norms (Al-Badaynah, 2012).

Haj-Yahia (2002a) examines in "Attitudes of Arab Women Toward Different Patterns of Coping with Wife Abuse," that the more the participants were characterized by negative and traditional perceptions of women and stereotyped attitudes toward gender roles, the greater their tendency to expect abuse. "In general, men can be seen as practicing the masculine power to achieve power and control over the wife or a method of family (wife) discipline (Al-Badaynah, 2012, p. 37). On average, women who "agreed" with the

statement ‘A man hitting his wife is a sign of leadership and masculinity’ (mean =1.44 and SD= 0.869), were more accepting abuse. We expected that participants would agree more with the above statement based on our assumption that they are likely hold a more traditional views and stereotypical attitudes towards women in general.

Haddad et al. (2011) indicates in his study that the consideration of mild physical abuse in studies may conflict with the Islamic cultural religion, in which the husband is asked to discipline his wife. Furthermore, he emphasizes that wife discipline in Islam does not involve severe physical forms. On average, women who “agreed” with the statement ‘Lack of religiosity leads to a man hitting his wife’ (mean=3.88 and SD=1.29), were less accepting of abuse. A lack of proper knowledge about religion such as believing that compliance with husbands highly demands are equal to that of God, and implementation of patriarchal systems into social life may facilitate abuse against women (Alkhateeb & Abugideiri, 2007).

Ibrahim and Abdalla (2010) indicate that religious beliefs are linked to people’s attitudes and beliefs regarding violence. They further argue that male perpetrators often use false ideology to interpret and rationalize religious text (Hassouneh-Philips 2001). They may distort important concepts of religious texts by interpreting in ways that justify their behaviors. Thus, Quranic verses have been misused and misinterpreted by many Muslim men and women (Haddad et al., 2011). Muslim women often cite religion as a basis for enduring abuse and refusing to leave the abuser (Elkassabgi, 2009). On average, women who “agreed” with the statement ‘Islam encourages hitting his wife’ (mean=1.63 and SD=1.04), were more accepting of abuse.

5.2.5 Summary

In answering my first research question, what the correlates of women's attitudes towards IPVAW are, I found important factors from all levels of the ecological model. At the first level, or the ontogenic system, two variables correlate with women’s attitudes towards IPVAW. First, women who hold bachelor’s degree were less accepting of violence; however, women regardless whether they had children or not were accepting of abuse. At the second level, or the microsystem, I found one variable that correlates with women’s attitudes towards IPVAW. Women who indicated that husbands attempted to hit them in front of his family are more accepting of abuse. At the third level of the ecological model, the exosystem, I found four correlates with women’s attitudes towards IPVAW. First, the more family can assist financially, the

more accepting of abuse women are. Second, women who indicated that they know of a domestic abuse agency are more accepting of abuse. Third, participants who live with their in-laws are more accepting of abuse. Fourth, women who indicated strong relationship with in-laws and family of origin are more accepting of abuse. At the last level of ecological model, the macrosystem, I found three correlates with women attitudes towards IPVAW. First, women who agree with the statement 'An abused wife should seek professional help,' were more accepting of abuse. Second, women who agree with the statement that 'The teachings of Islam encourage hitting the wife,' were more accepting of abuse. Third, women who agree with the statement 'A man hitting his wife is a sign of leadership and his being a man,' were more accepting of abuse.

One important point among all of the findings is the role of family relationships. While the family is considered the most prominent source of assistance for a Jordanian woman, there are various circumstances under which families are reluctant or unable to provide. Sometimes, the extended family could be a source of abuse and harm to the wife (in most cases the mother in-law), particularly if the wife lives with her in-laws. I found that women who have a good relationship with their in-laws are more accepting of violence and women who indicated strong relationship with in-laws and family of origin, are more accepting of abuse.

Based on the information gained from this study, several issues should be considered when future research is conducted on wife abuse in Arab societies and in traditional and transitional societies that resemble the Arab context. In Jordan, similar to other Arab societies in the Middle East, violence against women is structured, institutionalized and internalized in the culture. As a result, direct violence also tends to become institutionalized, repetitive, and ritualistic. Therefore, the integrated and interrelated systems of violence lead to violence justification (Ghanim, 2009). Thus, members of society can use cultural violence to justify and legitimize direct and structural forms of violence by making it look or feel right or, at least, not necessarily wrong. Without radical changes within the multiple layers of abuse, violence against women will continue to exist and grow with more men finding a new ways to justify and break the law and violate human rights. Providing adequate support services for survivors of domestic violence may help women to not become the perpetrators themselves, with may eventually create a multiplier effect. Furthermore, providing several educational systems classes at schools, universities and for parents that can instill

awareness about the damages of domestic violence that affect women on individual, community and societal levels. Students and their parents should be taught to be active participants in the change to having a better and healthier community. Healthy attitudes toward IPV have been related to low prevalence of violence (Alzoubi & Ali, 2018).

5.3 Factors for Help-Seeking

Evidence suggests that beliefs held by family, friends and the wider society about the acceptance of violence make it harder for victims to seek help and leave violent relationships. Less than half of women in violent relationships will leave the relationship and up to 70% of women that do leave return to the same relationship (Overstreet & Quinn, 2013). A study that examined intimate partner violence stigmatization and barriers to help-seeking found that despite social support networks that are an important component in providing safety for abusers, there exist several barriers that can hinder help-seeking from partner abuse (Hien & Ruglass, 2009). As a result, recent research has shifted from understanding the barriers on individual level to focus more on the sociocultural context in which intimate partner violence occurs. This trend in research is support by my results, as cultural beliefs had the strongest association with beliefs about help-seeking.

My study found that a woman having a friend who can protect her is marginally significant; a woman having a friend who can protect her is more likely to believe that it is easier to find help; and the more a woman agrees with the statement 'The husband has the right to ask his wife to be intimate anytime he wishes,' the more she is likely to believe that it is easier to find help.

Now I will discuss the conclusions from the results of the Help-Seeking part of my study. They will likewise be divided into four factors, based on Heise's model.

5.3.1 Ontogenic System

In Haj-Yahia's study which examined the beliefs of Jordanian women about wife-beating" (2002b), results indicated that all four socio-demographic characteristics (age, level of education, employment for a salary, and place for residency) explain 7.5% of the variance in the participants' tendency to blame women for being beaten. It is worth noting from this study that the results reveal no significant correlations between the participants' demographic. Similarly, my study found that socio-demographic variables do not seem to

impact beliefs about how difficult it is to find help. Lack of significance may also be due to the socio-economic similarity in my sample.

Younger women may be more vulnerable to isolation within their relationships due to a complex range of factors of social, cultural, and economic factors. Results of multivariate regression analysis studies revealed that women's age had no significant impact on their attitudes towards informal help-seeking (Sayem et al., 2012). Based on my results, I would expect age to be significant in terms of difference between perceptions in help-seeking, but I found no difference.

5.3.2. Microsystem

IPV is perceived as a private matter in Arab societies, and it is common practice that women should bear the suffering to maintain the unity of the family (Abu Sabbah et al., 2017). Previous research found that women have strong tendencies to be in favor of physical abuse and believe that wife benefit from being beaten (Haj-Yahia, 2002a). Furthermore, women were reluctant for any interference by formal agencies (Alzoubi & Ali, 2018, p. 4). Our results support previous studies; history of abuse was found not to be associated with a decrease in the belief that it is difficult to find help.

Morse et al., (2012) argue that Arab Muslim men often distort religion to justify abuse against women. However, other research shows that religion could be a protective factor as women and men learn how to protect themselves by changing their traditional attitudes toward wife beating. Regardless of these findings, a study by Haj-Yahia (2002b) found no significant contribution of Jordanian participants' religiosity toward explaining the belief that battered wives benefit from violence against them. Our study results show no relationship between the religiosity of the participants' husbands and help-seeking behavior. I would expect this, given that religion can both be used to justify abuse or be a protective factor.

My study found no association between women with a driver's license and their attitudes of seeking help, and also no association between women whose husbands examined their phone calls and their attitudes of seeking help. No literature reviews were found to back my findings. More research should be done to examine how some of these aspects at the microsystem level impact women's attitudes towards seeking help for IPV.

5.3.3 Exosystem

At the exosystem level, Jordanian women's informal support system (such as families, friends, and in-laws) was explored in relation to help-seeking, as well as other formal support systems (such as professional help from agencies). Therefore, the exosystem in my model underscored not only women's help-seeking behavior regarding their knowledge or that of others of existing agencies, along with their interactions with these kinds of formal structures, but also women's help-seeking behavior towards informal system. Ghariabeh and Oweis (2009) study implied that social structure, whether formal or informal, plays a role in a women's decision of whether or not to seek help.

According to Al-Modallal (2017), women in Jordan use different methods for reporting spousal abuse. Jordanian women have shown a strong preference to seek help from family members (Clark et al., 2010; Haj-Yahia, 2002). However, seeking help from family may discourage women from seeking formal help or ending the relationship (Spenser et al., 2014).

Abdel Meguied's study (2006, p.151) found that family member(s) was the first source of help Arab-Muslim women might seek in case of family violence (mean=1.76), followed by friends as the second source of help (mean=1.84). The result of another study conveyed that seeking family help is a more approved method than agencies (Btoush & Haj-Yahia, 2008). It would follow that the women who have this resource believe that seeking help for IPV is easier, as the potential avenue they see for themselves is more socially accepted. This is reflected in my results, where the women's perception of her family's ability to help her influenced her to believe that help-seeking is easier.

Several studies indicate that people within the victim's social network, including family, friends, neighbors, or colleagues, play a crucial role in the overall help-seeking process of IPV victims (Sayam et al., 2013). My findings support previous research; women who have supportive friends find it easier to seek help.

According to a study on family ties affecting partner violence, 26% percent of women had experienced violence perpetrated mostly by their mother-in-law or sister-in-law, and 46% reported that the interference had a negative effect on their marriage (Clark et al., 2010). This result is congruent with my study since I found having a good relationship with in-laws would not affect a women's perception of how easy it is to find help for IPV.

In my sample, 33.6% participants were married to a relative. I was expecting that women would have more advantage in terms of help-seeking, however my results were congruent with previous studies where being a close relative to the husband or having a good relationship with the in-laws shows no significance in terms of help-seeking.

The majority of Jordanian women do not share their abuse with anyone outside of their families' circles, and some are reluctant to even talk about their abuse with their families (Haj-Yahia, 2002). However, in some situations, Jordanian women who turn to their families may not receive help from them, and many also feel pressure against seeking outside help. My findings revealed that 38.9% agreed with the statement 'If the wife decides to leave her husband, it might be difficult to find someone to help her.' Therefore, lacking the opportunity to seek help from family, women have no choice except to tolerate the abuse and keep it to themselves. As a consequence, some women may choose to isolate themselves from families, friends, and any other possible interactions with people around them. Limited contact with natal family was found to be a risk factor for IPV occurrence (Clark et al., 2010). Therefore, I conceptualized that the lack of support from the natal family to be a risk for IPV occurrence at the exosystem level.

Findings at the exosystem level show that violence against women is rooted not only in the social and cultural system but also in the family systems. Past data indicates that the most prominent barriers to help-seeking were the social construction of marriage, fear of stigma and shame related to divorce, status of daughter-in-law and role of mother-in-law, and justification of abuse by cultural and social norms (Childress, 2017). Therefore, women have tolerated violence to avoid social stigma and fear of being generalized and of being divorced and to protect their personal, familial reputation and the reputation of the family she married too. Therefore, women are trapped between original and extended family systems where each side may push her further to stay and to comply. As a result, women may not find any real avenue to support her and her children, regardless of the otherwise positive relationships with her family and in-laws.

5.3.4 Macrosystem

Findings at the fourth level show that Jordanian women's help-seeking is a process that is confined by and defined within existing social norms (Spencer et al., 2014). In the Arab and Muslim cultures, a family is not complete without children (Obeisat et al., 2012). Jordanian culture highly values children and considers raising children an obligation and the main goal of marriage. As a result, children are considered

the most important aspect of women's life after marriage. Jordanian women who decide to leave their abusive husbands may lose their children, as cited by Morse et al., "Although leaving the relationship could end the violence, divorce laws were reportedly unhelpful, resulting in minimal alimony payments and fathers receiving custody of children" (2012, p 25). A study conducted in Jordan indicates that women who were abused mostly resisted treatment for their injuries to maintain their children's best interest by keeping the family united (Haj-Yahia, 1995, 2000). Based on a study by Ghareibah and Oweis (2009), women indicated that they were willing to accept and tolerate any type of abuse in order to not lose their children. Our results were congruent with previous research studies; the belief that a women cannot leave her violent husband because of children is associated with an increase belief that it is difficult to find help. Based on the extensive literature showing that the presence of children is a strong limitation for women leaving abusive relationships, this is the relationship we would expect to see.

Abdel Meguid's study revealed that Arab Muslim women ranked formal authority and domestic violence shelter closely as the last two help sources they might seek, which reflects the findings that Arab women typically keep domestic problems inside the house. However, when participants were asked if seeking outside help could be a practical option to deal with family violence, 73.3% either agreed or strongly agreed with this statement (mean = 2.98 on a 4-point scale and SD = 1.046, (Abdel Meguid, 2006, p. 52). This particular result is consistent with previous research in the literature of non-Muslim women, which reveals that women deal with partner violence through informal means as long as possible before seeking help from formal agencies. My findings support Abdel Meguid's study. According to this study, on average, women who "agree" with the statement 'An abused wife should seek professional help' (mean= 3.24 and SD=1.26), show no association with help-seeking. 38.2% of participants indicated that they knew of a domestic abuse agency; however, no association between participants with previous knowledge of an agency and between seeking help was found. Therefore, my results support various research which indicates that Jordanian women's first preferences when encountering abuse is informal help (e.g., family or friends).

On average, women who "agree" with the statement 'Husbands can be intimate with their wives whenever they wish' (mean=3.32 and SD=1.20), shows an association with seeking help. This association was found in more than one model, and it was one of the three associations that were found in my analysis.

The more a woman agrees with the statement, the more she is likely to believe that it is easier to find help. Surveys indicate that severe physical violence and sexual violence increase the likelihood of help-seeking outside of the family; women may face repercussions for revealing sexual violence to her family, especially if she is perceived to refuse to have sex with her husband (Haj Yahia, 1998). Therefore, women may not have a choice except to seek help from outside sources. Our results support previous research.

According to Abdel Meguid's study, the statement indicates that 'Forcing the wife to have sexual intercourse against her will' is recognized by the western definitions of violence against women as rape; however, it is acknowledged in a much different way among Arab-Muslim families (Abdel Meguid, 2006, p.133). The Prophet Mohammed, reported that a wife must fulfill her husband's sexual desires as this is the only legitimate outlet for intimacy in the religion. However, he also encouraged regulation of sexual relationship between the husband and wife and directly orders men not to force themselves on their wives. Nevertheless, sometimes men use the sexual relationship as a way to "punish" their wives based on a Quranic verse which discusses removing oneself from a disobedient wife. Such use of the verse does not consider numerous Quranic verses and prophetic sayings on treating one's wife well, such as "And treat them in a good, kind manner" (the Holy Qur'an, al-Nisaa, 19).We would like more research to be done to examine the relationship between sexual abuse and women's attitudes toward violence and seeking help, since sexual abuse is prominent in Arab countries, as it is worldwide.

5.3.5 Summary

In answer to my second research question, the correlates of help-seeking preferences, I found two at the exosystem and macrosystem level, while none were present at the ontogenic and microsystem levels. At the exosystem level, the woman's family providing financial help is significant. If her family can help her financially, she is more likely to believe it is easier to find help. At the macrosystem level, women who agree with the statement 'The husband has the right to be intimate anytime he wishes' are more likely to believe it is easier to find help.

As shown in the last statistical model, number 5, which includes the results of all models combined, I found two correlates of help seeking preferences. First, if she has a friend that can protect her is marginally significant; if she has a friend that can protect her, she is more likely to believe that it is easier to find help, the previous results was also significant in the macrosystem level. Second, the more a woman agrees with

the statement 'The husband has the right to be intimate anytime he wishes,' the more she is likely to believe it is easier to find help.

I found that sexual violence is strongly associated with help seeking from nonfamily resources. In this study, women who agree with 'A husband has the right to ask his wife to be intimate anytime he wishes' are more likely to believe that seeking help outside the family is easier. This is supported by a research study conducted in Jordan (Spencer et al., 2014) which indicates that a woman's sexuality can bring shame to the entire family, particularly if a woman refuses to have sex with her husband or has a relationship with another man. Therefore, out of fear of being penalized, women would refrain from disclosing sexual violence to their families, and would prefer formal help rather than non-formal.

Our study has contributed to Heise's overall model by examining not only how all systems in the model act, interact and are interrelated, based on the unique aspects of the Jordanian cultural context, but also the effect on women's decision to seek help. This in turn may contribute to a better understanding of the Jordanian's society functional system of abuse which is preserved and maintained to create barriers for women to seek help. As Al-Badayneh points out, "Violence against women is a transferable phenomenon, from family to formal and informal social institutions such as school, university, and workplace and to the wide society" (2012, p. 7).

Like women in traditional Arab cultures, Jordanian women may tolerate violence to protect themselves from potential negative consequences of nonfamily help-seeking (Gharaibeh & Oweis, 2009). Nonfamily resources, while permitted by the Jordanian government, are taboo and threaten the relevance of the existing structures and the dominance and reputation of the family members and collectivist values (Hassouneh-Phillips, 2001). As a result, from the beginning of the marriage, these cultural biases hinder help-seeking and made it difficult for women to seek help outside her family. However, studies indicate that sometimes natal families do not provide any kind of support to their daughters and ask them to return back to their husbands; or if they decide to support, their support will be only temporarily (Childress, 2017). The majority of the participants in my study believes that their family would be supportive financially. This incongruity may be due to the convenience sampling representing a very small section of Jordanian population.

An important sociocultural barrier to help-seeking among Jordanian women is the social construction of marriage (Gharaibeh and Oweis, 2009). Culturally, when a Jordanian woman marries, she leaves her family and becomes part of the husband's family. As a result, women lose the protection of their family when they marry. Women also are discouraged from seeking parental support after marriage and are socialized to focus on their new family and to try to solve their problems by themselves. A study reveals that women were negative to seeking help from parents or in-laws (Sayem et al., 2012). One can argue that other family members often witness violence against women due to regular exposure to the couple; as a result, it may not be helpful to seek support from parents since in-laws perpetrate violence against women (Farouk, 2005; Naved et al., 2005). One important cultural pattern that I found in my results is that women living with in-laws or having a good relationship with them may not be regard them as a helpful source if they decide to leave an abusive relationship.

Many of the women in various qualitative research studies referenced the cultural belief that it is unacceptable for children to grow up without a father (Childress, 2017). A study by Al-Matalka (2014) reveals that majority 65.21% of Jordanian women do not react to violence for the sake of their children. As a result, women tolerate all kinds of abuse so they do not lose their children and keep their family united. I found that agreeing with the idea that women should stay with their husband for the children is the greatest perceived obstacle to seeking help in my model. The belief that a woman cannot leave her violent husband because of the children is associated with an increased belief that it is difficult to find help. Therefore, seeking help may not seem a viable option for most Jordanian women to undertake alone, surpassing huge sets of cultural barriers, while managing to go against all cultural expectations and norms.

In conclusion and based on previous literature reviews, it seems very difficult, almost impossible, for Jordanian women to escape a systematic abuse rooted in traditional socio-cultural practice. Even if a woman decided to escape, she may get caught in the process at some point; escaping the first level of abuse does not guarantee the success of the next. "When one form of violence was found, other forms were more likely to also occur that violence in the family has a direct relationship to community violence and other forms of aggression and gender-based violence" (Walker, 1999, p. 23). Walker further argues that the interaction among gender, political structure, religious beliefs, attitudes toward violence in general, and violence toward women will eventually determine women's safety and vulnerability to abuse.

Haj-Yahia (2002a) argues that the nuclear family has maintained a patriarchal hierarchical structure, where the husband is at the top of the power pyramid. As a result, for women to leave, new coping responses must be activated. These must include acquiring social support, since women often isolated themselves from friends and family to overcome the shame and humiliation.

5.4 Limitations

It is important to acknowledge the fact that the findings of the present study may have limited generalizability to the rest of the Jordanian society. This study should only be considered in light of its limitations. Although the study employed a self-administered questionnaire, which maintains a high level of confidentiality to reduce possibilities of social desirability effects, it is still important to well comprehend the important fact that wife abuse is a very sensitive issue in traditional and transitional societies such as Jordan. Therefore, in these contexts, considerations of social desirability may still impact the responses of participants in studies dealing with this topic. Hence, it is recommended that future studies develop a social desirability measure that is tailored specifically to Arab culture in the research instrument to help neutralize any potential confounding effects of this factor.

Despite the fact that the sample of participants in this study was large enough to allow for statistical analyses, and despite the broad range of ages and levels of education, it is important to bear in mind that the findings are based on a convenience sample of women rather than on a random sample. Furthermore, the sample of the study was small and mostly composed of middle-class university employees; thus, the findings of this study may have limited generalizability to upper and lower socioeconomic classes, people of diverse backgrounds, and the rest of the society.

Based on the literature review, the influence of personal victimization on attitudes toward violence was heavily reported. However, personal victimization was not assessed in the study because of concerns that such questions would be seen as culturally very insensitive. As a result, such questions would be unwelcomed in such a culturally conservative society as Jordan. Despite these limitations, the present study provided critical information which examined existing underlying causes and questions such as why for instance Jordanian families (natal and in-laws) were not always an effective source of assistance, even though various literature indicates that in general having supportive family can be a protective factor against IPVAW.

5.5 Implications for Future Studies

The current study attempted to explain the attitudes of Arab Jordanian women toward various patterns of violence and help-seeking based on variables related to the patriarchal con- text of Arab society. However, future research should examine other important factors that were uncovered due to the limitation of this study.

Differences in Arab populations' attitudes toward IPV and help-seeking reveal the necessity for future research to utilize standard measures to examine men's and women's attitudes toward IPV with the goal for comparison across countries and over time.

Also, important future studies should include the impact of good versus poor relationships between the family of origin and in-laws, and how the nature of the relationships will eventually influence women's attitudes toward domestic violence and help-seeking preferences. My results indicate that if a woman's family of origin has a strong relationship with her in-laws, she is more accepting of violence. More research is needed in order to explain if such a finding is implausible.

Further studies should include women's personal resources and mobilities, such as having a driver's license and emergency fund, or owning properties, and the impact of this on their attitudes towards violence and help-seeking.

Various studies by Araji and Carlson; Kawaja; Kawaja et al. (cited by Al-Badayneh, 2012, p. 7), indicated that 8% of educated people, such as university students, perceived physical abuse against women as not being a problem. The results of these studies are consistent with most relevant literature. One study revealed that between 10% and 49% of the Palestinian physicians held misconceptions about abused wives, and between 15% and 63% held misconceptions about abusive husbands (Haj-Yahia, 2009). Therefore, informative classes about the issue should be integrated in the curriculum as well as in hospitals and health care systems to discuss openly the effect of violence against women and to implement better strategies to deal with it.

Depending on the region, women apply different strategies to deal with violence. However, very little is known about the way women seek help in the Middle East (Spencer et al., 2014). Because women in the Middle East do not seek help for abuse, more research is needed to examine the abused woman's strategies and preferences, especially in regions, such as Jordan, wwere women are more tolerant of wife

beating and may seek help less frequently for less severe violence (Ghariabeh and Oweis 2009). Future research should help to explore situations where Arab women's attitudes towards certain acts of violence as being 'tolerable' depending on the cultural values versus other situations where she would consider it as being 'unacceptable' or 'less tolerable.' Based on the information provided by future research, tailored prevention programs can assess how best to help women to comprehend the important fact that "tolerable' is not always the healthiest and safest option, in particular when an important decision needs to be made such as whether or not to seek the proper professional help.

According to Haj-Yahia (2005), men indicated that incidents of wife abuse should be dealt with inside the family without intervention from social service agencies; specifically, 73.9% and 89.3% of the participants strongly agreed or agreed that "if I hear a woman being attacked by her husband, it would be best not to do anything (p. 559)." And despite the effort that the Jordanian law exerted in 2008 to recognize violence and protect vulnerable women and children, women continue to suffer all types of violence (Alzoubi & Ali, 2018, p. 2).

CONCLUSION

My passion to help women in my community who face a life-threatening circumstances of serious abuse and have no way out, in addition to my deep passion to provide a better understanding to an often misunderstood culture, is what encouraged me to commit myself to my research study. The interest for pursing this particular research study has developed over a long period of time and was solidified after many deep reflections over articles, such as “Why do Jordanian Women Stay in an Abusive Relationship” by Gharaibeh and Oweis (2009). Why would a female participant in a study mark “agree” or “strongly agree” when asked if she believes that women in her community should be beaten after disobeying their husbands? And what makes a woman keep her sufferings to herself and cope with intolerable pain when she could pursue outside help? These questions combined encouraged me to focus on women’s attitudes towards violence and help-seeking preferences.

From a review of existing literature, we know that those who hold attitudes which are accepting of violence are more at risk of engaging in violence. My research will help researchers, health care providers and social workers in Western and Eastern societies to better understand the challenges and obstacles that push women who live in fear to stay in fear. We need to better examine the impact of women’s attitudes toward violence and help-seeking preferences on their coping mechanisms, safety and well-being, while highlighting the fact that cultural factors that blame women for their victimization are not enough to explain why women prefer to take blame over seeking outside help. While understanding these cultural factors that make up the macrosystem has been an indispensable contribution to the research (particularly contributions made by Abu Sabbah et al. (2017) in their adaptation of Heise’s model), risk factors at other levels must be identified as well, such as the interactions between the nuclear and extended family. These interactions are often disregarded in analyses of violence against women (Clark, Silverman, Shahrouri, Everson-Rose, and Groce, 2010). One of my interests for my research is to explore the underlying causes of why families were not always an effective source of assistance, even though having a supportive family may be found as a protective factor against IPVAW.

Clark, Silverman, Shahrouri, Everson-Rose and Groce (2010), in their article titled “The role of the extended family in women’s risk of intimate partner violence in Jordan”, examine the relationship between IPV and prime related factors such as residence, family interference, and family violence and family support.

The study found that family interference was significantly associated to IPV but only when the respondent perceived it as being harmful to her relationship with her husband. Residency with the in-laws showed mixed effects. Having a supportive family was found to be protective against IPV, however families were not always a good source of help. Despite the fact that collectivist societies such as Jordan are culturally very protective of their kinships and family members, the question that I could not find a clear answer to in most literature reviews is: Why would a family, described as being part of a culture that is highly supportive of its members, send their daughter back to their abusive husband, even in the face of potentially being killed by him, when they could provide help and shelter? As a result, I decided to add some questions in my survey that could help provide a better understanding of women's perceptions of the nature of the relationship between themselves, the natal family and the in-law family. This further investigation will add to the literature critical information on the strategies that women can utilize for help in their marriages or in cases of IPV. The hope is that such research will serve to construe women, not as a passive member of her family, but rather, as a person with a strong will and strategies; one who knows her culture very well and can carefully calculate the steps to having a safe marriage. Based on this, further questions to include are: 1) Does your family have a strong relationship with your in- laws? 2) Did your family stand against your marriage to your husband? If yes, were both sides (natal family and in-laws) in disagreement for the marriage? 3) How would you describe your relationship with your mother in-law? If you have a strong relationship with your in-laws, do you think they have a say over your husband?

I hope that my research will bring important knowledge to the rest of the literature that will be used effectively and critically towards guiding our focus as scholars and health professional to see Arab women as a powerful entity that hold strengths and tactical strategies even in the face of the most harmful situations.

APPENDIX A: ARABIC INSTRUMENT

الجزء الأول

١. كم هو عمرك بالسنوات؟ _____

٢. منذ متى وأنت متزوجة؟ (بالسنوات تقريبا) _____

٣. هل لديك أولاد؟ نعم ☐ لا ☐

إذا كان الجواب نعم، كم من الأبناء لديك؟ _____
كم عمر أصغر طفل لديك بالسنوات؟ _____
كم عمر أكبر ولد/بنت لديك بالسنوات؟ _____

٤. ما هو أعلى مؤهل علمي حصلت عليه؟
☐ أقل من ثانوي
☐ ثانوي
☐ بكالوريوس أو أعلى

٥. ما هو معدل دخل أسرتك الشهري؟ _____

٦. أي من التالي يصف مهنتك؟
☐ موظفة خارج البيت، غير مهنية (مثل سكريتره، عاملة في مصنع)
☐ موظفة خارج البيت، مهنية (مثل طبيبة، ممرضة، محامية، أخصاء اجتماعية)
☐ غير موظفة، ربة منزل فقط
☐ طالبة وربة منزل في آن واحد

٧. هل زوجك

☐ من أقربائك ☐ من العائلة ☐ لا قرابة بيننا

الجزء الثاني

٨. هل صلة أهل زوجك بأهلك قوية؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا

٩. هل عارض الأهل زواجك مع شريك حياتك؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا

إذا كان الجواب نعم، فهل هذا كان من كلا الطرفين (من أهلك، وأهل زوجك)؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا

١٠. هل هناك فرق في العمر أكثر من ١٠ سنوات بينك وبين زوجك؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا

١١. كيف تصفين علاقتك بوالدة زوجك؟
☐ قوية جداً ☐ جيدة ☐ عادية ☐ غير جيدة ☐ عدائية

١٢. هل لديك صلة قوية بأحد أفراد عائلة زوجك؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا

إذا كان الجواب نعم، فهل هذا الطرف له نفوذ على زوجك؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا

١٣. هل عائلتك تمدك بالمال عند الحاجة؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا

١٤. هل لديك أصدقاء تثقين بهم وقادرين على حمايتك إذا لزم الأمر؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا

١٥. هل تعيشين مع أهل زوجك؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا

١٦. هل لديك رخصة سواقة؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا

إذا كان الجواب نعم، هل لديك سيارة مسموح لك باستخدامها عند الحاجة؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا

١٧. هل عندك تلفون؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا

إذا كان الجواب نعم، هل سبق ودقق زوجك على المكالمات السابقة التي أجريتها؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا

١٨. هل لديك حساب في البنك خاص بك أو مبلغ مخصص في المال للاستخدام عند الحاجة؟
☐ نعم ☐ لا

١٩. هل تمتلكين عقار باسمك؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا

٢٠. إذا كانت الزوجة المعنفة رافضة لفكرة اللجوء إلى الجهات المختصة لطلب المساعدة عند الحاجة، ما هو برأيك السبب؟
☐ خوفها من فقدانها لأطفالها
☐ خوفها من انتقام الزوج لها فيما بعد
☐ خوفها في نظرة المجتمع القاسية لها
☐ خوفها من امتناع الزوج عن الإنفاق عليها وعلى أولادها إذا علم ذلك

٢١. هل سبق وسمعت بوجود مراكز مختصة في المنطقة أو البلد التي تعيشين بها؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا

إذا كان الجواب نعم، هل لديك المعلومات الكافية عنها مثل رقم الهاتف أو العنوان؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا

٢٢. هل سمعت بأن أحد معارفك أو أقاربك أو جيرانك قد سبق ولجأ إلى هذه المراكز لتلقي المساعدة؟
☐ نعم ☐ لا

إذا كان الجواب نعم هل تلقوا برأيك الحماية الكافية والمعونة اللازمة ؟
☐ نعم ☐ لا

٢٣. هل برأيك تكرار تعرض المرأة للضرب من قبل الزوج قد يشكل حجة كافية لتخلي المرأة عن كل شيء حتى عن أولادها لحماية نفسها؟
☐ نعم ☐ لا

٢٤. هل للزوج حق في ضرب زوجته؟ (بإمكانك أن تختاري أكثر من إجابة)
☐ عندما تكون الزوجة غير مطيعة لزوجها
☐ عندما تكون الزوجة تشكو من مرض عقلي أو جسمي ممكن أن يؤدى إلى العقم
☐ عندما تكون الزوجة غير قادرة على إشباع رغبات زوجها الجنسية
☐ عندما ترتدي الزوجة لباس غير محتشم، أو فاضح
☐ لا يحق له ضرب زوجته

٢٥. في حالة ضرب الزوج لزوجته، في رأيك الزوجة يجب أن تلجأ إولا إلى :
☐ رجال الدين كإمام المسجد مثلا
☐ أهلها أو أقاربها
☐ الجهات المختصة لحماية المرأة
☐ تبقي الأمر سراً, آملة بأن تحل المشكلة بدون وساطة أحد

٢٦. ما مدى أهمية الدين في حياتك اليومية؟
☐ مهم للغاية
☐ مهم إلى حد ما

☐ مهم
☐ غير مهم على الإطلاق

٢٧. هل سبق أن هددك زوجك بالضرب بحضور أهله؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا

إذا كان الجواب نعم هل تقدم أحد من أهله لحمايتك؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا

٢٨. هل زوجك إنسان متدين؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا

٢٩. هل سبق إن تعرضت لاي نوع من انواع العنف من قبل الزوج؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا

إذا كان الجواب لسؤال ٢٩ نعم، أجيبي عن الأسئلة التالية:
اذا كان(لا) انتقلي لسؤال ٣٠

كم هي عدد المرات التي تعرضت فيها للعنف في خلال الستة الأشهر الماضية؟ _____

ما هو نوع العنف الذي تعرضت له؟ (بإمكانك أن تختاري أكثر من إجابة)
☐ عنف جسدي
☐ عنف جنسي
☐ عنف لفظي
☐ عنف عاطفي

أمام من عادة تتعرضي للضرب؟
☐ أبنائك
☐ أهل زوجك
☐ أهلك
☐ أصحابك / أصدقائك
☐ عندما تكونين بمفردك

هل تعتبرين نفسك مسؤولة عن ضرب زوجك لك؟
☐ أنا مسؤولة في الدرجة الأولى عن ذلك
☐ أنا مسؤولة في بعض الشيء عن ذلك
☐ ليس لدي إجابة
☐ أنا غير مسئوولة عن ذلك

ضعي دائرة حول الرقم الذي يناسب موقفك على السؤال.

	لا أوافق بشدة	لا أوافق	لا يوجد لدي موقف	أوافق	أوافق بشدة
٣٠. على الزوجة المعنفة أن تلجأ إلى الجهات المختصة لطلب المساعدة.	١	٢	٣	٤	٥
٣١. للزوج حق في ضرب زوجته.	١	٢	٣	٤	٥
٣٢. تعاليم الإسلام تحرّم اضطهاد الزوج لزوجته أو ضربها بأي حال.	١	٢	٣	٤	٥
٣٣. الإسلام يطلب من المرأة الخضوع لأوامر زوجها.	١	٢	٣	٤	٥
٣٤. تعاليم الدين الإسلامي تسمح للمرأة اللجوء للجهات المختصة لطلب المساعدة.	١	٢	٣	٤	٥
٣٥. ضرب الزوج لزوجته هو جزء من ثقافة المجتمع العربي.	١	٢	٣	٤	٥

٣٦. مبدأ التحكيم في الإسلام (وضع حكم في أهله وحكم في أهلها) في حال النزاع بين الزوجين الناجمة عن الضرب أو الاضطهاد الجنسي كافية لحل المشكلة.	١	٢	٣	٤	٥
٣٧. للرجل الحق بأن يطلب زوجته للفراش في أي وقت يريد.	١	٢	٣	٤	٥
٣٨. يحق للرجل أن يضرب زوجته اذا امتنعت عن فراشة.	١	٢	٣	٤	٥
٣٩. ضرب الزوج لزوجته دليل على قوامته وإثبات رجولته .	١	٢	٣	٤	٥
٤٠. تعاليم الدين الإسلامي تحض على ضرب الزوج للزوج.	١	٢	٣	٤	٥
٤١. البعد عن الدين أو الفهم الخاطئ لمفاهيمه هو السبب الرئيسي في تبرير ضرب الزوج لزوجته.	١	٢	٣	٤	٥
٤٢. الأفكار الخاطئة من قبل رجال الدين عن اهمية حقوق المرأة في الاسلام	١	٢	٣	٤	٥
٤٣. الصلاة اليومية والدعاء كافين بإصلاح كافة المشاكل الزوجية.	١	٢	٣	٤	٥

الجزء الثالث

مثال

	درجة الاتفاق			
	ليست إساءة معاملة على الإطلاق ١	قد لا تكون إساءة معاملة ٢	قد تكون إساءة معاملة ٣	إساءة معاملة واضحة (بلا ريب) ٤
زوج يضرب زوجته كل يوم بلا سبب.	١	٢	٣	(٤)

الشخص في هذا المثال يرى هذا الموقف على أنه إساءة معاملة واضحة (بلا ريب).

	درجة الاتفاق			
	ليست إساءة معاملة على الإطلاق ١	قد لا تكون إساءة معاملة ٢	قد تكون إساءة معاملة ٣	إساءة معاملة واضحة (بلا ريب) ٤
١. زوج لا يسمح لها بأن تعبر عن رأيها.	١	٢	٣	٤
٢. زوج يطلق على زوجته أنها قبيحة.	١	٢	٣	٤
٣. زوج يخبر زوجته بأنها فاشلة.	١	٢	٣	٤
٤. زوج يسخر من زوجته أمام الآخرين.	١	٢	٣	٤
٥. زوج يطلب من زوجته أن تشاهد أفلام ذات محتوى جنسي.	١	٢	٣	٤
٦. زوج لا يراعي حاجات ورغبات زوجته.	١	٢	٣	٤
٧. زوج يهدد زوجته لكي يرغمها فى استمرار في العلاقة.	١	٢	٣	٤
	١	٢	٣	٤

٨. زوج يصيح في زوجته إذا لم تطيعه.				
٩. زوج يهدد بزواج زوجة ثانية.	١	٢	٣	٤
١٠. زوج يتزوج زوجة ثانية عندها تكون الزوجة الأولى ضد ذلك.	١	٢	٣	٤
١١. زوج يهدد بطلاق زوجته	١	٢	٣	٤
١٢. زوج يطلق زوجته ضد رغبتها.	١	٢	٣	٤
١٣. زوج يرفض أن يطلق زوجته على الرغم من أنها تطلب الطلاق.	١	٢	٣	٤
١٤. زوج يصيح في زوجته.	١	٢	٣	٤
١٥. زوج يمنع زوجته من زيارة أسرتها.	١	٢	٣	٤
١٦. زوج يمنع زوجته من الخروج خارج المنزل.	١	٢	٣	٤
١٧. زوج يمنع زوجته من الذهاب إلى المسجد.	١	٢	٣	٤
١٨. زوج يسيطر على كل الموارد المالية بما فيها ما يخص زوجته.	١	٢	٣	٤
١٩. حساب البنك والممتلكات الأخرى تحت اسم الزوج وليس الزوجة.	١	٢	٣	٤
٢٠. زوج يمنع زوجته من التقابل مع صديقتها.	١	٢	٣	٤
٢١. زوج يمنع زوجته من عمل أي مكالمات تليفونية.	١	٢	٣	٤
٢٢. زوج يمنع زوجته من الرد على التليفون.	١	٢	٣	٤
٢٣. زوج ركل زوجته أثناء مشادة/مشاجرة.	١	٢	٣	٤
٢٤. زوج يرمي زوجته بالأشياء.	١	٢	٣	٤
٢٥. زوج يستخدم حزام ليضرب زوجته.	١	٢	٣	٤
٢٦. زوج يصفع زوجته على وجهها.	١	٢	٣	٤
٢٧. زوج يلوي زراع زوجته.	١	٢	٣	٤
٢٨. زوج يستخدم مسدس أو سكين ليهدد زوجته.	١	٢	٣	٤
٢٩.زوج يقتل زوجته عندما يشك أنها على علاقة مع رجل آخر.	١	٢	٣	٤
	١	٢	٣	٤

٣٠. زوج يقتل زوجته عندما يكتشف أنها على علاقة مع رجل آخر.				
٣١. زوج يطلب من زوجته أن تؤدي حركات جنسية لا تحبها.	١	٢	٣	٤
٣٢. زوج يرغم زوجته على المعاشرة الجنسية ضد إرادتها.	١	٢	٣	٤
٣٣. زوج يرفض معاشرة زوجته.	١	٢	٣	٤

الجزء الرابع

من فضلك أشيري إذا ما كنت لا توافقي بشدة، أو لا توافقي، أو توافقي، أو توافقي بشدة مع العبارات التالية:

مثال

	درجة الاتفاق			
	لا أوافق بشدة ١	لا أوافق ٢	أوافق ٣	أوافق بشدة ٤
الزواج رابطة قوية تحتاج التزام من جانب كلا الزوجين.	١	٢	٣	(٤)

الشخص في هذا المثال يوافق مع هذه العبارة.

	درجة الاتفاق			
	لا أوافق بشدة ١	لا أوافق ٢	أوافق ٣	أوافق بشدة ٤
٣٤. لو أن هناك عنف في الأسرة فإنه من الصعب على الزوجة أن تبلغ عن عنف زوجها لأنها تخشى من رحيله.	١	٢	٣	٤
٣٥. الزوجة لا تستطيع ترك زوجها لأنها تعتقد أن ذلك ضد تعاليم القرآن.	١	٢	٣	٤
٣٦. لو أن الزوجة تقرر ترك زوجها العنيف فقد يكون من الصعب أن تجد أحداً يساعدها.	١	٢	٣	٤
٣٧. لا يوجد مكان أمن تذهب إليه الزوجة لو قررت ترك زوجها العنيف.	١	٢	٣	٤
٣٨. لو أن الزوجة تقرر ترك زوجها العنيف فقد يكون من الصعب أن تجد مصدر آخر للرزق.	١	٢	٣	٤
٣٩. لا تستطيع الزوجة ترك زوجها العنيف بسبب الأطفال.	١	٢	٣	٤
٤٠. تخجل الزوجة أن تتحدث عن مشاكلها الزوجية أمام الآخرين.	١	٢	٣	٤
٤١. تشعر الزوجة بالحرج بأن تخبر الآخرين أن زوجها يسيء معاملتها.	١	٢	٣	٤
٤٢. في بعض المواقف، البحث عن مساعدة خارجية قد يكون حل عملي للتعامل مع العنف الأسري.	١	٢	٣	٤
٤٣. طلب مساعدة مهنية (أخصائيين اجتماعيين ، إرشاد أسري، الشرطة، أو المحكمة) يجب أن يكون آخر اختيار للجوء إليه بعد فشل جميع الحلول.	١	٢	٣	٤
٤٤. لو قررت الزوجة طلب المساعدة المهنية فمن الصعب معرفة أين تذهب.	١	٢	٣	٤
٤٥. أنه أفضل للزوجة المعنفة أن تتعايش مع العنف من أن تطلب المساعدة المهنية الرسمية.	١	٢	٣	٤

٤٦. عنف الزوج، مثل أشياء عديدة، يميل إلى أن يختفى أو يرحل مع الوقت.	١	٢	٣	٤

الجزء الخامس

في السؤال التالي من فضلك ضعي نعم (✓) أو لا (✗) للإشارة إذا ما كانت المصادر المذكورة ممكن أن تكون معينة لزوجة تبحث عن مساعدة في حالة **وجود عنف من قبل زوجها**. ثم من فضلك رتبي المصادر بإعطاء كل مصدر أشرت أليه بنعم (✓) قيمة رقمية تتراوح من ١ – ٨ لتشير إلى رأيك في أين يجب أن تذهب الزوجة أولا، ثانيا، ثالثا، إلخ. على سبيل المثال: ١ تشير إلى أكثر المصادر إعانة أو مساعدة، ٢ تشير إلى المصدر التالي في المساعدة وهكذا.

المصدر	لو أن الزوجة لديها مشاكل في الزواج، هل هذا مصدرجيد لها لطلب المساعدة؟		من فضلك رتبي هذه المصادر من ١-٨ (التي يجب على الزوجة أن تذهب أولا، ثانيا، ثالثا، إلخ
	نعم	لا	
صديق (أصدقاء)			
عضو أسرة (أعضاء أسرة)			
سلطة رسمية (محكمة أو شرطة)			
مساعدة مهنية (عن سبيل المثال: مرشد أسري أو أخصائي اجتماعي)			
ملجأ عنف أسري			
الإمام في المسجد			
أخرى (من فضلك حددي)			

APPENDIX B: ENGLISH INSTRUMENT

PART ONE

1. What is your age (in years)? _____

2. How long have you been married (approximately, in years)? _____

3. Do you have children? ☐ yes ☐ no
   If yes, how many son/s do you have? _____
   How old is your youngest child boy/girl (in years)? _____
   How old is your oldest child boy/girl (in years)? _____

4. What is the highest education you have completed?
   ☐ less than high school
   ☐ high school
   ☐ Diploma
   ☐ Bachelor's degree or higher

5. What is your average monthly household income? _____

6. Which of the following describes your occupation?
   ☐ non-professional work outside of the house (for example: secretary, sales clerk)
   ☐ professional work outside of the house (for example: doctor, nurse, lawyer)
   ☐ no occupation other than housewife
   ☐ student and housewife

7. Your husband is _____.
   ☐ from your distant relatives
   ☐ from your close relatives
   ☐ not related to you

PART TWO

8. Does your family and your husband's family have a strong relationship?

   ☐ yes ☐ no

9. Did family oppose your marriage to your husband? ☐ yes ☐ no

   If yes, was the opposition from both his family and your family? ☐ yes ☐ no

10. Is there more than ten years age difference between you and your husband?
    ☐ yes ☐ no
11. How would you describe the relationship with your mother-in-law?
    ☐ very positive
    ☐ good
    ☐ normal
    ☐ not good
    ☐ very negative

12. Do you have a strong relationship with any of your husband's family members?

    ☐ yes ☐ no

If yes, does this member have influence over your husband?
☐ yes ☐ no

13. Does your family provide you with financial support if needed? ☐ yes ☐ no

14. Do you have friends you trust and who are able to protect you in case you need it?
☐ yes ☐ no

15. Do you live with your husband's family? ☐ yes ☐ no

16. Do you have a driver's license? ☐ yes ☐ no

If yes, do you have a car you are able to use in emergencies? ☐ yes ☐ no

17. Do you have a telephone? ☐ yes ☐ no

If yes, has your husband ever examined your phone calls? ☐ yes ☐ no

18. Do you have a personal bank account or money reserved for emergencies?
☐ yes ☐ no

19. Do you own property in your name? ☐ yes ☐ no

20. If an abused wife is opposed to seeking professional help, which of the following would you think is the cause?
☐ fear of losing her children
☐ fear of her husband getting revenge
☐ fear of a negative opinion in society
☐ fear of her husband cutting her off financially

21. Have you heard of agencies in your area which provide support for abused women?

☐ yes ☐ no

If yes, do you have sufficient information to contact them (for example: phone number or address)?
☐ yes ☐ no

22. Have any of your acquaintances, relatives, or neighbors sought help from these centers?

☐ yes ☐ no

If yes, in your opinion, did they receive sufficient protection and help such that they cannot be harmed by the husband?
☐ yes ☐ no

23. Do you think a woman being abused repeatedly by her husband is sufficient reason for her to leave her household, even her children, in order to protect herself?

☐ yes ☐ no

24. Does a husband have the right to hit his wife?

☐ yes ☐ no

If yes, in what situations does he have this right? (You may choose more than one answer).
☐ if the wife does not obey her husband
☐ if the wife has a physical or mental disability which results in infertility
☐ if the wife is unable to fulfill her husband's sexual desires
☐ if the wife dresses inappropriately or in immodest attire
☐ He does not have the right to hit his wife

25. If a husband hits his wife, where should the wife first seek help?
☐ from religious authorities (for example: imam of masjid)
☐ from her family or relatives
☐ professional agencies
☐ she should keep the issue secret and hope that the problem will be solved without intervention

26. How important is Islam in your daily life?
☐ extremely important
☐ somewhat important
☐ important
☐ not important at all

27. Has your husband ever threatened to hit you in front of his family?
☐ yes ☐ no

If yes, did any of his family members try to protect you?
☐ yes ☐ no

28. Is our husband a religious person?
☐ yes ☐ no

29. Have you ever experienced abuse from your husband? ☐ yes ☐no
If you answered yes to Question 21, please answer the following questions:
How many times have you experienced domestic violence in the past six months? _____
What type of abuse did you experience? (you may choose more than one)
☐ physical abuse
☐ sexual abuse
☐ verbal abuse
☐ emotional abuse
Who did this abuse occur in front of?
☐ your child(ren)
☐ your husband's family
☐ your family
☐ your friends
☐ no one
How responsible do you feel for the abuse?
☐ completely responsible
☐ partially responsible
☐ uncertain about my responsibility
☐ not responsible at all

Circle the number which corresponds to your opinion regarding the given statement.

	I strongly disagree	I disagree	I neither agree nor disagree	I agree	I strongly agree
30. An abused wife should seek professional help.	1	2	3	4	5
31. A man has the right to hit his wife.	1	2	3	4	5
32. The teachings of Islam prohibit a man from abusing his wife or hitting her in any situation.	1	2	3	4	5
33. Islam requires a wife to be submit to the commands of her husband in all circumstances.	1	2	3	4	5
34. The teachings of Islam permit a woman to seek professional help when in an abusive relationship.	1	2	3	4	5
35. A man hitting his wife is part of the Arab culture.	1	2	3	4	5
36. The Islamic prescription of seeking an intermediary from the wife's family and an intermediary from the husband's family in order to solve domestic abuse problems is a sufficient solution to marital problems.	1	2	3	4	5
37. The husband has the right to ask his wife to be intimate anytime that he wishes.	1	2	3	4	5
38. The husband has the right to hit his wife if she refuses to be intimate with him.	1	2	3	4	5
39. A man hitting his wife is a sign of his leadership and his being a "man."	1	2	3	4	5
40. The teachings of Islam encourage hitting the wife.	1	2	3	4	5
41. A lack or religiosity or incorrect religious believes is the main cause for a man to hit his wife.	1	2	3	4	5
42. Misconceptions are from religious authorities such as the Imam about the rights of women in Islam.	1	2	3	4	5
43. The *salah* and making *du`a* is sufficient for solving marital problems.	1	2	3	4	5

PART THREE

Muslim Marital Violence Scale

Designed by Mona Meguid 2006

Please indicate whether you believe the following situations can be classified as **Definitely Abuse, Probably Abuse, Probably not Abuse, or Definitely not Abuse**. Please circle your answer.

EXAMPLE

Level of Agreement

Definitely not abuse	Probably not abuse	Probably abuse	Definitely abuse

A husband beats his wife every day for no reason.	1	2	3	(4)

The person in this example sees this situation as definitely abuse.
END EXAMPLE

	Level of Agreement			
	Definitely not abuse	Probably not abuse	Probably abuse	Definitely abuse
1. A husband and his wife are having an argument; he does not allow her to express her opinion or feelings.	1	2	3	4
2. A husband calls his wife ugly and fat.	1	2	3	4
3. A husband tells his wife she is a failure.	1	2	3	4
4. A husband makes fun of his wife in front of other people	1	2	3	4
5. A husband asks his wife to watch movies with sexual content.	1	2	3	4
6. A husband does not consider his wife's desires and needs.	1	2	3	4
7. A husband threatens his wife in order to get her to stay in the relationship.	1	2	3	4
8. A husband shouts at his wife if she does not obey him.	1	2	3	4
9. A husband threatens to marry a second wife.	1	2	3	4
10. A husband marries a second wife even when the first wife is opposed to it.	1	2	3	4
11. A husband threatens to divorce his wife.	1	2	3	4
12. A husband divorces his wife against her will.	1	2	3	4
13. A husband refuses to divorce his wife even though she asks for a divorce.	1	2	3	4
14. A husband yells at his wife.	1	2	3	4
15. A husband prevents his wife from visiting her family of origin.	1	2	3	4
16. A husband prevents his wife from going outside the house.	1	2	3	4

17. A husband prevents his wife from going to the mosque.	1	2	3	4
18. A husband controls all the economic resources including his wife's, if she has any.	1	2	3	4
19. The bank account and other properties are under the husband's name, not the wife's.	1	2	3	4
20. A husband prevents his wife from meeting with her friends.	1	2	3	4
21. A husband prevents his wife from making any phone calls.	1	2	3	4
22. A husband prevents his wife from answering the phone.	1	2	3	4
23**.** A husband kicks his wife during an argument.	1	2	3	4
24. A husband throws objects at his wife.	1	2	3	4
25. A husband uses his belt to beat his wife.	1	2	3	4
26. A husband slaps his wife on her face	1	2	3	4
27. A husband twists his wife's arms.	1	2	3	4
28. A husband uses a gun or a knife to threaten his wife.	1	2	3	4
29. A husband kills his wife when he **suspects** she is having an affair with another man.	1	2	3	4
30. A husband kills his wife when he **discovers** she is having an affair with another man.	1	2	3	4
31. A husband asks his wife to perform sex acts that she does not like.	1	2	3	4
32. A husband forces his wife to have sexual intercourse against her will.	1	2	3	4
33. A husband refuses to have sex with his wife.	1	2	3	4

PART FOUR

Please indicate whether you **Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Agree, or Strongly Agree** with the following statements

EXAMPLE

	Level of Agreement			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Marriage is a strong bond that needs commitment from both spouses.	1	2	3	(4)

The person in this example agrees with this statement. End Example

	Level of Agreement			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
34**.** If there were violence in the family, it would be difficult for the wife to report her husband's violence because she might fear his leaving.	1	2	3	4
35. A wife cannot leave her husband because she believes it is against the teachings of the Qur'an."	1	2	3	4
36. If the wife decides to leave her violent husband, it might be difficult to find someone to help her.	1	2	3	4
37. There is no safe place to go if the wife decides to leave her violent husband.	1	2	3	4
38. If the wife decides to leave her violent husband, it might be difficult for her to find another source of income.	1	2	3	4
39. A wife cannot leave her violent husband because of the children.	1	2	3	4
40. A wife would be ashamed to speak about her marital problems in front of other people	1	2	3	4
41. A wife would feel embarrassed to tell others that her husband abuses her.	1	2	3	4
42. In some situations, seeking outside help can be a practical option to deal with family violence.	1	2	3	4
43. Seeking professional help (social workers, family counseling, police, or the court) should be the last choice to use after trying all other options (family members, friends, or the Imam at the mosque).	1	2	3	4

44. If the wife decides to seek professional help, it is hard to know where to go.	1	2	3	4
45. It is better for a wife to live with her husband's violence than going through the process of seeking help from the formal system (court or police).	1	2	3	4
46. A husband's violence, like many things, tends to go away over time.	1	2	3	4

Part III

51. In the question below, please check either √ Yes or √ No to indicate whether the sources listed on the left might be helpful for a wife who is seeking help **in case of abuse in her family**. Next, please rank order the sources by giving the source you checked √ Yes a number value ranging from 1 to 8, to indicate ***in your opinion***, where the wife should go first, second, third, etc.. For example, 1 would indicate the most helpful source, 2 would indicate the second helpful source, etc.

Source	**If the husband is beating and threatening his wife or the children, is this a good place for her to seek help?**		**Please, rank order these sources ranging from 1 to 8 by where the wife should go first, second, third, etc.**
	Yes	**No**	
● Friend(s)			
● Family member(s)			
● Formal authority (court or police)			
● Professional help (for example, family counselor or social worker)			
● Domestic violence shelter			
● The Imam at the mosque			
● Others (please, specify)			

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ABSTRACT

ATTITUDES OF JORDANIAN WOMEN TOWARDS INTERPERSONAL VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND HELP-SEEKING PREFERENCES

by

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Violence against women is a public health concern bearing substantial importance in developed and developing countries. In Jordan, there are no specific foundations or legislations in the penal code that illegalize domestic violence, and there are no confining orders to apply in cases of abuse. The purpose of this study was to examine Jordanian women attitudes towards spousal abuse and help-seeking preferences. A quantitative study was conducted using a self-administered questionnaire; the survey contained questions from the Muslim Marital Violence Scale (MMVS, 2006) as well as demographic questions. A convenience sample of 199 women was recruited from Jordanian University of Science and Technology (JUST) located in Irbid. Statistical analysis was used to test for the significance of the selected factors (such as economic status, cultural and religious views, relationship with family, and financial independence) on women's attitudes towards spousal abuse and help-seeking preferences. Findings indicated that 26.7% of women have a history of abuse at some point in their lives. One third of participants indicated that either family opposed their marriage, however no association was found between women who reported that either family opposed marriage and between the women's attitudes towards violence. More than a third of women knows of domestic abuse agency; however 35.9% of women indicated that there is no safe place to go if the wife decides to leave her violent husband. More importantly, the majority of participants reported that they cannot leave the husband because of the children indicating a strong cultural values. Data findings also emphasized that despite the fact that 64.9% of women indicated having a family that can support them financially, the percentage of women who indicated being hit in front of family was 13.7%. Results found an association between being hit in front of family and women's acceptance of abuse. Therefore the extended family role as potential cause and protection against intimate partner

violence should be studied further to examine the continued role of the wife's and husband's kin in women's risk of IPV in Jordan. The findings may also apply to Arab American immigrants who hold similar cultural values. The results of this study can help in designing tools and culturally meaningful approaches for the prevention and treatment of violence.

Keywords: Attitudes, Spousal abuse, Jordanian women, Help seeking preferences, family of origin and in-laws.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT

My family and I immigrated from Syria to United States of America in 1984. I came from a family who highly appreciated education and believed in hard work and dedication. My father faced numerous struggles and hardships throughout his life in order to afford paying for better schools for his children. His desire was for them to utilize their academic knowledge to strive further and ensure a better life for them and their future children and families.

My belated husband Dr. Fayez Safi was another great example for me. He was my role model. He practiced psychiatry in the US for years before he died. His dedication to his profession, patients and non-patients alike, and particularly to his immediate family and children, until the last moment of his life, had an immense effect on me until today.

One month before my husband died (1997), I was accepted to University of Michigan as an undergraduate starting my third year. Soon after, I received a prestigious scholarship from the University of Michigan's Center of Education of Women (CEW), the Ann Francis Millman scholarship (1997-1999). In 2004, I graduated from the same school from a dual master's degree program in Social Work and Public Health. During this program I participated in the "Women and Family Life Project" at Harvard University's School of Public Health. After graduation in 2005, I traveled to Jordan and served as a Senior Research Associate and worked on Project: Islam and Citizenship in the Arab World.

Four years later, while working as a clinical therapist in Dearborn, Michigan and serving clients from diverse backgrounds, I started my PhD program at Wayne State in Sociology. Happily, two of my children Leenah and Tayssir are following a similar path and they both started their PhD course work and are very inspired to serve their community soon after graduation.

As a result of my academic and personal interests in topics related to women issues both nationally and internationally, I am greatly motivated to work on creating new programs tailored to help establishing new and healthy communities, where women are empowered to have leadership positions in in their communities. I would love to utilize my skills and educational expertise to provide teaching and training whenever it is needed.