ORIGINAL RESEARCH ARTICLE

Determinants of wife-beating justification amongst men in southern African countries: Evidence from demographic and health surveys

Mluleki Tsawe* and Karabo Mhele

Department of Population Studies and Demography, North-West University, Mahikeng Campus, South Africa; Population and Health Research Focus Area, Faculty of Humanities, North-West University, Mahikeng Campus, South Africa

*For Correspondence: Email: *Mluleki.Tsawe@nwu.ac.za*

Abstract

Domestic violence remains a major social challenge in many countries, especially in sub-Saharan Africa. This study aimed to identify factors associated with wife-beating amongst men and determine the levels of justification. Demographic and Health Survey data from four southern African countries were used. Using a weighted sample of 26 441 men aged 15–49 years; analysis was conducted at bivariate and multivariate levels. The results indicated that a quarter of study participants endorsed wife-beating for at least one reason. The most common justification for abuse was neglecting children and going out without informing the husband. These attitudes varied significantly among countries with the highest prevalence rates observed in Zimbabwe and Zambia. Education and household wealth were the most consistently significant factors across these countries. The study, therefore, recommends that education and household wealth be improved across these countries to reduce the incidence of wife-beating. *(Afr J Reprod Health 2022; 26[9]: 85-93).*

Keywords: Wife-beating, intimate partner, domestic violence, men, southern Africa

Résumé

La violence domestique reste un défi social majeur dans de nombreux pays, en particulier en Afrique subsaharienne. Cette étude visait à identifier les facteurs associés aux violences conjugales chez les hommes et à déterminer les niveaux de justification. Les données des enquêtes démographiques et sanitaires de quatre pays d'Afrique australe ont été utilisées. À partir d'un échantillon pondéré de 26 441 hommes âgés de 15 à 49 ans ; l'analyse a été menée à des niveaux bivariés et multivariés. Les résultats ont indiqué qu'un quart des participants à l'étude approuvaient le fait de battre sa femme pour au moins une raison. La justification la plus courante des abus était le fait de négliger les enfants et de sortir sans en informer le mari. Ces attitudes variaient considérablement entre les pays avec les taux de prévalence les plus élevés observés au Zimbabwe et en Zambie. L'éducation et la richesse des ménages étaient les facteurs les plus significatifs dans ces pays. L'étude recommande donc que l'éducation et la richesse des ménages soient améliorées dans ces pays afin de réduire l'incidence des violences conjugales. *(Afr J Reprod Health 2022; 26[9]: 85-93).*

Mots-clés: Femme battue, partenaire intime, violence domestique, hommes, Afrique austral

Introduction

Domestic violence remains a major social challenge in many countries across the world. Overall, 33% of women are estimated to have experienced physical or sexual violence from intimate partners at some point in their lives[1]. Worldwide, 38% of all murders of women are committed by intimate partners[2]. These acts of violence are motivated by social attitudes that support actions of violence, which in turn are linked to gender roles. Some men believe that acts of violence affirm their masculinity and give them control over their partners[3]. In other instances, men believe they must enforce cultural expectations on women, and they frequently do so by using violence[4]. In general, society expects men to be providers for their families. Failure to fulfil that expectation often creates a sense of failure amongst them[5]. Men in this predicament are inclined to resort to violence to compensate for their perceived loss of power[5,6].

Although research shows that just five percent of people in developed countries condone gender-based violence, the situation is different in developing nations[7]. One study found that one-

third of men in sub-Saharan Africa support violent behaviour toward their partners[8]. Even more alarming is the fact that more women than men in this region believe that intimate partner violence (IPV) is acceptable[9]; a study in Nigeria found that women were 1.63 times more likely to accept wife-beating than men[10]. Often, it is women who experienced violence from their intimate partners that are more likely to justify such acts[6]. The implication of this is that violent acts are more unlikely to be reported to the authorities when they happen[11], thus normalizing them in different societies. Men who have supportive attitudes towards spousal abuse are also more likely to act violently against other members of the household, including children[12]. However, few studies in southern Africa have identified the critical factors influencing men's attitudes towards IPV.

While reasons for justification of IPV differ among countries, neglecting children and arguing with the husband/partner are commonly cited reasons for justifying IPV[6,8,13]. This reflects gender inequalities common in patriarchal societies, where women are expected to be submissive to men. In these societies, gender roles demand that women serve as caregivers for children while men engage in masculine activities. Several socio-demographic factors, including age, education level, and marital status, are associated with positive attitudes toward physical violence against intimate partners. For instance, studies show that men below the age of twenty-five have a higher risk of endorsing IPV[6,9]. Furthermore, lower socioeconomic status is an important determinant of attitudes towards IPV. For instance, residing in rural areas, having lower levels of education, and coming from the poorest households were associated with a higher likelihood of supporting IPV[8,9,14-16]. The reasons for justifying IPV also differ by marital status[8]. For instance, men who were divorced were more likely than married ones to cite refusal to have sex as the main reason for the justification of violence[13].

The countries selected for this study have different laws governing gender-based violence. These laws are intended to provide legal protection against acts of domestic violence, in addition to ensuring that the relevant state bodies are effectively implementing the laws. South Africa was the first of the selected countries to introduce legislation addressing intimate-partner violence

through the Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998[17] which was preceded by the Domestic Violence Amendment Act No. 14 of 2021 which refined earlier definitions of domestic violence and means of punishing these acts of violence[18]. In Namibia, the Combating of Domestic Violence Act was passed in 2003[19]. In Zimbabwe, the Domestic Violence Act was passed in 2007[20], while in Zambia, the Anti-Gender-Based Violence Act No. 1 of 2011 was passed in 2011[21]. One major criticism that can be levelled against some of these legislations is that they have not kept up with the ever-changing landscape of domestic violence in terms of redefining different types of violence that should be punishable by law. In the case of South Africa, amendments were made to the 1998 Act to try and redefine acts of domestic violence that should be punishable by law[18]. We, therefore, aimed to determine factors associated with the justification of wife-beating amongst men in selected southern African countries.

Methods

Data source

The study used Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) data collected during the period 2013–2018 from four southern African countries. The DHS collected nationally representative data on various health and demographic-related topics in all of these countries[22-25]. The study focused on men aged 15–49 years from Namibia (4 021 men), Zimbabwe (8 041 men), South Africa (3 202 men), and Zambia (11 177 men).

Study variables

Dependent variable

The dependent variable used in this study is wife-beating justification. It was derived from the question, "in your opinion, is a husband justified in hitting or beating his wife in the following situations": (a) wife goes out without telling husband, (b) wife neglects the children, (c) wife argues with husband, (d) wife refuses to have sex with husband, and (e) wife burns food. Based on the responses, the dependent variable was dichotomized as 1 if the man believes he is justified to beat his wife for any of the reasons listed above, otherwise as 0.

Explanatory variables

We considered eight explanatory variables, including age group, marital status, level of education, media exposure, work and earning status, household wealth, household composition, and type of place of residence. The age group was categorised into 15–19, 20–29, 30–39, and 40–49 years; with marital status categorised as never married, in-union (married and cohabiting), or no longer married; the level of education as no education, primary, secondary, and tertiary. Media exposure was categorised as no if a person did not have exposure to newspaper, television, and radio, otherwise as yes. Work and earnings status was categorised as not employed, earns cash, and does not earn cash; household wealth was categorised as poor, average, and rich. The household composition was categorised into single-member, nuclear households, extended households and complex households (households with related and unrelated persons)[26], while the type of place of residence was categorised as rural or urban. We selected these variables based on their availability in the dataset and their significant associations with attitudes toward wife-beating in previous studiesr[27-29].

Statistical analyses

We used cross-tabulations to present the prevalence of wife-beating justification amongst men by background factors. Furthermore, a chi-square (χ^2) test was conducted to examine the association between wife-beating justification and background factors. Moreover, logistic regression analysis was performed to determine the relationships at the multivariate level. The analyses were carried out using Stata[30]. The data was weighted, using the svy command, to account for clustering in the dataset. Furthermore, multicollinearity between explanatory variables was checked using the variance inflation factor (VIF) and no multicollinearity was found (min VIF = 1.06, max VIF = 1.87, mean VIF = 1.39).

Results

Men's perceptions towards wife-beating

Figure 1 presents the percentage of males who support wife-beating for varied reasons. The reasons vary among the different countries, with participants in Zimbabwe and Zambia having the highest endorsement rates in general. Overall, disagreeing with a husband, going out without first informing him, and neglecting children were the most cited justifications.

Prevalence of attitudes toward spousal abuse

The prevalence of justification is broken down by country in Table 1. In Namibia and Zambia, there were significant relationships between age, marital status, education, work status, household wealth, household composition, and place of residence and wife-beating justification (*p< 0.001*). All the chosen characteristics were strongly linked with wife-beating justification in Zimbabwe (*p<0.001*). In South Africa, age, marital status, media exposure, employment status, household wealth, household composition, and type of residence were all strongly associated with wife-beating justification, but education level was marginally significant (*p<0.01*).

In all countries, younger males were more likely to believe that wife-beating was acceptable, but the prevalence decreased with an increase in age (*p<0.001*). Additionally, the majority of those who supported the behaviour were never-married. Moreover, those with higher levels of education had the lowest endorsement rates, whereas most who never had media exposure were most likely to justify it, although the opposite was true in Zambia. Apart from those in South Africa, most men who did not earn cash justified wife-beating more than those who did earn money. Additionally, a higher proportion of those from extended and poor households endorsed this behaviour. While the majority of those supporting wife-beating came from extended families, in Zambia, it was those coming from nuclear families. Likewise, a greater percentage of those residing in rural areas endorsed this violence than urban dwellers. Overall, 21.9% of men in Namibia, 32.8% in Zimbabwe, 9.2% in South Africa, and 25.6% in Zambia believed that wife-beating is justified.

Determinants of attitudes toward spousal abuse

The findings of the logistic regression analysis (Table 2) highlight the association between background factors and the justification for wife-beating. Participants in Zimbabwe had the highest
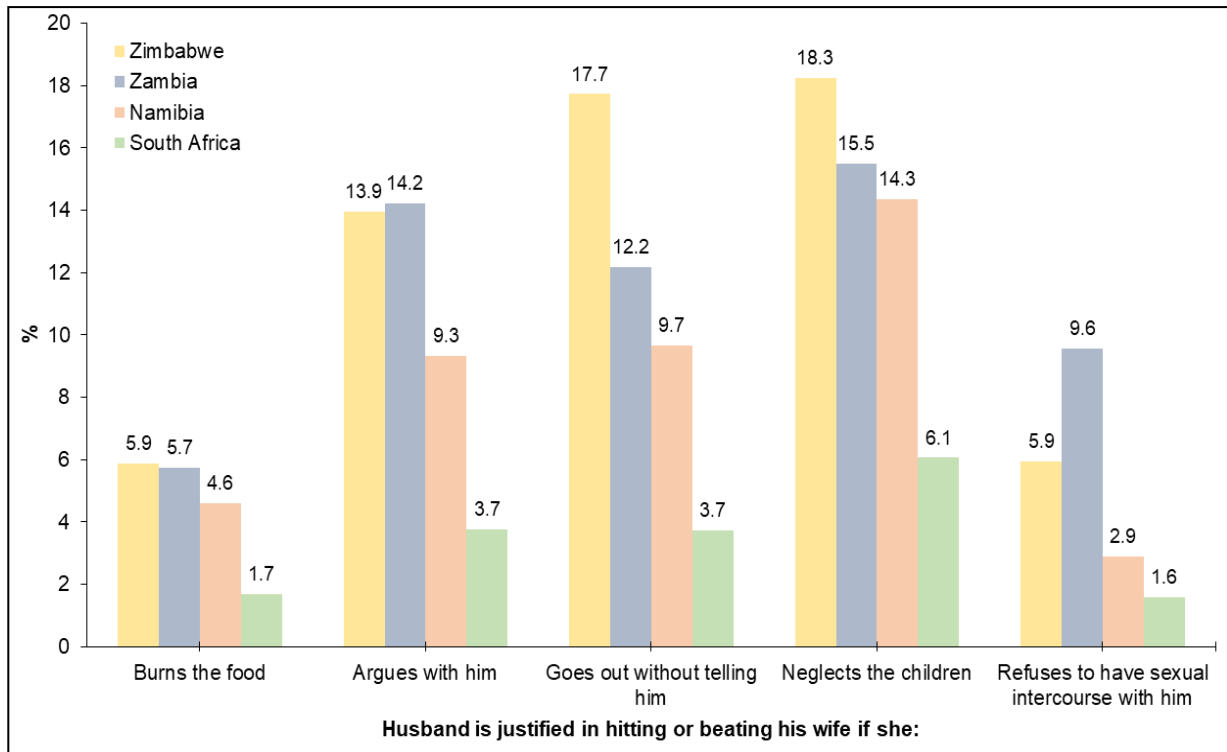
Figure 1: Percentage of men justifying wife-beating by selected reason

likelihood of justifying violence, followed by those in Namibia and Zambia. Regarding age, compared to males aged 20–29 (the reference category), men aged 15–19 were 1.55 [95 % CI: 1.39–1.73] times more likely to have justified wife-beating, whereas those aged 40–49 were 0.59 [95% CI: 0.52–0.67] times less likely to do so. In Namibia, South Africa, and Zimbabwe, the never-married men were significantly more likely to endorse wife-beating compared to those who were in a union. In addition, never-married men were 1.5 times more likely to support wife-beating than married men (95% CI: 1.23–1.83). The support for wife-beating was lowest among males with higher levels of education, with secondary education significant in three of the four countries. Likewise, higher education was only significant in Zimbabwe and Zambia. The odds ratios were 0.84 [95% CI: 0.77–0.91] overall for those with secondary education and further reduced to 0.42 for those with a higher educational level.

Furthermore, not being exposed to media was significantly associated with justification for wife-beating in Zimbabwe and South Africa, where men with no media exposure were 1.28 [95% CI: 1.02–1.61] and 1.67 [95% CI: 1.06–2.63] times

more likely to endorse this behaviour. Furthermore, in Namibia, Zimbabwe, and Zambia, those who were unemployed were significantly less likely to endorse wife-beating. Overall, men who do not earn cash were 1.19 [95% CI: 1.05–1.34] times more likely to justify wife-beating compared to those who earned cash. Work and earnings status was not a significant factor in wife-beating justification in South Africa.

Concerning household wealth, the findings showed that coming from poor households was significantly associated with increased odds ratios for supporting wife-beating in all countries. Overall, the odds were 1.14 [95% CI: 1.01–1.29] times more compared to those coming from rich households. Furthermore, compared to those coming from households with a single member, all other household composition categories were more likely to have rationalized wife-beating in Zambia, but only extended households were significant in South Africa. Overall, men from extended households were 1.27 [95% CI: 1.09–1.47] times more likely to justify wife-beating compared to those from single-member households. Place of residence was not a significant factor in Zimbabwe, South Africa, and Zambia. In Namibia, men from

Table 1: Prevalence of justification of wife-beating among men

Characteristics	Namibia	Zimbabwe	South Africa	Zambia	All countries
Age group	χ^2=47.39*	χ^2=424.26*	χ^2=53.12*	χ^2=100.44*	χ^2=558.57*
15–19	29.5	48.9	14.0	32.4	35.6
20–29	20.7	33.4	10.9	26.7	25.7
30–39	20.3	24.7	7.0	21.1	20.3
40–49	16.5	18.9	4.2	19.7	16.9
Marital status	χ^2=54.22*	χ^2=264.58*	χ^2=35.42*	χ^2=42.84*	χ^2=180.58*
Never married	25.0	42.4	11.4	28.5	28.9
In-union	14.5	24.6	4.7	22.6	21.0
No longer married	23.0	28.8	8.8	28.4	25.5
Level of education	χ^2=39.07*	χ^2=213.12*	χ^2=10.63**	χ^2=213.34*	χ^2=472.50*
No education	21.6	45.4	10.6	23.5	22.8
Primary	29.5	40.1	11.0	30.7	31.8
Secondary	20.4	33.3	9.4	24.8	24.6
Tertiary	12.8	13.7	5.8	7.7	10.3
Media exposure	χ^2=2.13	χ^2=83.88*	χ^2=23.37*	χ^2=0.04	χ^2=124.27*
No	21.9	34.5	10.8	25.5	26.1
Yes	21.8	20.1	5.1	27.2	15.0
Work and earnings status	χ^2=16.62*	χ^2=91.50*	χ^2=23.29*	χ^2=63.81*	χ^2=199.64*
Not employed	23.8	38.5	11.4	24.8	25.7
Earns cash	20.3	29.0	7.2	24.0	23.3
Does not earn cash	35.9	40.3	8.0	34.7	36.7
Household wealth	χ^2=53.01*	χ^2=155.33*	χ^2=48.03*	χ^2=189.52*	χ^2=310.45*
Poor	29.3	39.0	13.6	32.6	31.3
Average	20.5	37.6	7.6	27.7	26.7
Rich	17.0	26.5	5.4	19.5	20.0
Household composition	χ^2=21.46*	χ^2=29.73*	χ^2=19.90*	χ^2=15.23*	χ^2=70.39*
Single-member	22.1	29.0	6.2	19.4	18.9
Nuclear	16.0	30.5	7.6	26.2	24.7
Extended	24.2	35.8	11.5	25.6	26.7
Complex	20.8	29.1	7.5	25.9	24.1
Type of place of residence	χ^2=50.13*	χ^2=147.38*	χ^2=40.78*	χ^2=62.23*	χ^2=365.17*
Urban	17.1	25.0	6.6	21.0	18.7
Rural	28.3	37.2	14.9	29.3	31.0
Total	**21.9**	**32.8**	**9.2**	**25.6**	**25.2**
N	**4 021**	**8 041**	**3 202**	**11 177**	**26 441**

Note: ** = $p < 0.01$; * = $p < 0.001$

rural areas were 1.44 [95% CI: 1.13–1.85] times more likely to justify wife-beating compared to those from urban areas.

Table 3 presents the findings from the logistic regression analysis by country. The findings showed that men from Zimbabwe and Zambia had higher odds of justifying wife-beating compared to men from South Africa. Compared to the reference category in South Africa, the odds in Zimbabwe were 4.80 [95% CI: 3.98–5.80] times higher and 3.38 [95% CI: 2.79–4.10] and 2.76 [95% CI: 2.24–3.41] times higher for those in Zambia and Namibia, respectively.

Discussion

This study sought to determine factors associated with wife-beating justification amongst men in southern Africa. The study is motivated by the observation that such attitudes often translate into actual violence against spouses and other members of the household[12,14]. Overall, a quarter of participants justified wife-beating for at least one reason, but notable differences were observed among countries. Zimbabwe and Zambia had the highest prevalence rates with almost 33% and 26% endorsing wife-beating, respectively. Consistent with previous findings, South Africa and Namibia had the least number of those supporting it[14]. The differences observed correspond with the levels of development between the selected countries[9]. The primary justifications for violence against intimate partners were identified in the second section of this study. Overall, the most frequently cited justifications for wife-beating were neglecting

Table 2: The odds ratios for attitudes towards spousal abuse by different socioeconomic factors

Characteristics	Namibia	Zimbabwe	South Africa	Zambia	All countries
Age group					
15–19	1.45**	1.67*	1.03	1.32**	1.55*
20–29®	1	1	1	1	1
30–39	1.12	0.73*	0.81	0.72*	0.75*
40–49	0.96	0.53*	0.50***	0.64*	0.59*
Marital status					
Never married	1.67*	1.33**	1.88**	1.15	1.15**
In-union®	1	1	1	1	1
No longer married	1.61	1.22	2.58***	1.69**	1.50*
Level of education					
No education	0.77	1.54	1.46	0.71**	0.74**
Primary®	1	1	1	1	1
Secondary	0.75**	0.86***	1.05	0.86**	0.84*
Tertiary	0.57	0.45*	1.17	0.30*	0.42*
Media exposure					
No	0.99	1.28***	1.67***	0.72	1.32**
Yes®	1	1	1	1	1
Work and earnings status					
Not employed	0.78***	0.81**	1.07	0.68*	0.69*
Earns cash®	1	1	1	1	1
Does not earn cash	1.28	1.08	0.58	1.18	1.19**
Household wealth					
Poor	1.43***	1.25***	2.2**	1.81*	1.14***
Average	0.98	1.14	1.28	1.43*	0.98
Rich®	1	1	1	1	1
Household composition					
Single member®	1	1	1	1	1
Nuclear	0.88	1.03	1.81	1.46**	1.26**
Extended	1.14	0.99	1.84**	1.44**	1.27**
Complex	0.95	0.79	1.29	1.60***	1.17
Type of place of residence					
Urban®	1	1	1	1	1
Rural	1.44**	1.17	1.44	0.92	1.52*
_cons	0.17	0.35	0.01	0.31	0.19

Note: *** = $p < 0.05$; ** = $p < 0.01$; * = $p < 0.001$; ® = reference category

Table 3: Logistic regression analysis of men's justification of wife-beating by country

Country	Odds ratio	Std. error	t	95% CI Lower	Upper
Namibia	2.76*	0.30	9.41	2.24	3.41
Zimbabwe	4.80*	0.46	16.30	3.98	5.80
South Africa®	1.00				
Zambia	3.38*	0.33	12.33	2.79	4.10
_cons	0.10	0.01	-25.13	0.09	0.12

Note: * = $p < 0.001$; ® = reference category

children, leaving the house without informing the husband, and arguing with him. This result is consistent with previous research findings in other world regions[6,8,13], suggesting that the influence of these factors is not isolated to the country in this study. These justifications reflect the imbalanced gender relations, where women are supposed to be subordinate partners in relationships and are not expected to act autonomously from their husbands.

Moreover, human behaviour and gender relations play a crucial role in justifying wife-beating. In Zimbabwe, violence against women by men is viewed as part of normal life and can be related to the stereotypes that are entrenched in

gender roles[31]. Equally, women are seen as caregivers and therefore obliged to take care of children in the family. On the other hand, society accords a superior status to men that leads them to believe that it is their responsibility to force women to adhere to the expected socially-sanctioned norms by using violence[4]. It is worth noting that the reasons provided in the study are not exhaustive as other additional factors may justify spousal abuse by men. For example, a study in Ethiopia found that almost two-thirds of women endorsed abuse when a woman is suspected of having been unfaithful to her partner[16], while other studies found that physical violence was more likely to occur among women who had multiple sexual partnerships[3,32].

The results demonstrated that several socioeconomic factors were linked to favourable attitudes about spousal abuse. Perhaps because such beliefs change with age, older men were less likely than younger men[6,8] to endorse wife-beating. Men who never married were more likely to favour wife-beating than men in unions, which is in line with the findings of another study[8]. This could be because married men frequently assume the role of "protectors" in the home. Another important factor in the argument for wife-beating was educational attainment. Men with higher levels of education had a decreased likelihood of supporting wife-beating, as found in prior studies[6,27,33]. This shows that higher education has a significant influence on how society views various issues, such as spousal physical abuse[6,34-36]. Also, media exposure was associated with lower odds of endorsing spousal abuse. The probable reason is that individuals who are exposed to the media may also be exposed to different opinions on those media platforms, including campaigns advocating for the rights of women, which is likely to change their attitudes towards IPV. Similar to other studies[8,27], we found that men from poor households had higher odds of justifying wife-beating.

Strengths and limitations

One of the advantages of using data from the DHS is that they are comparable across different countries. Moreover, most studies looking at attitudes toward wife-beating focus on women and therefore, focusing on men adds a unique perspective, especially in southern Africa. The study provides further understanding of men's attitudes toward wife-beating in a patriarchal society to assist policymakers and relevant stakeholders devise strategies to develop relevant programs aimed at teaching men about IPV in these societies. However, some of the differences observed in this study may be due to temporal effects given that these countries collected data in different years. For example, five years elapsed between data collection in Namibia to the time it was completed in Zambia. Therefore, one needs to interpret the differences with caution. Moreover, because of the cross-sectional nature of the data, we cannot make any causal inference between the variables used.

Conclusion

In general, the findings demonstrated that attitudes towards wife-beating differ between the selected countries. Amongst the several factors associated with wife-beating justification, socioeconomic status was found to be significant. The implication arising from this study concerning national policies is that the improvement of socioeconomic status is critical in reducing the support for IPV. Therefore, policymakers need to ensure increased uptake of higher-level schooling to improve the socioeconomic status in these countries. Moreover, men need to be empowered through media exposure campaigns and literacy programs that are geared towards educating them about IPV and women's rights in general.

Authors' contributions

Karabo Mhele conceptualized the study and supplied the literature search. Mluleki Tsawe contributed to the data analysis and interpretations. Both authors contributed to the final draft of this paper.

Acknowledgements

References

1. World Health Organization. Violence against women prevalence estimates, 2018: global, regional and national prevalence estimates for intimate partner

violence against women and global and regional prevalence estimates for non-partner sexual violence against women. Geneva: World Health Organization 2021:xix, 87 p.

2. García-Moreno C, World Health Organization, Pallitto C, Devries K, Stöckl H, Watts C and Abrahams N. Global and Regional Estimates of Violence Against Women: Prevalence and Health Effects of Intimate Partner Violence and Non-partner Sexual Violence: World Health Organization 2013.

3. Seloilwe E and Thupayagale-Tshweneagae G. The intersection of HIV and AIDS risk behaviours and gender-based violence among youths in Botswana. *African Journal for Physical Health Education, Recreation and Dance* 2015;21(sup-1):41-49. doi: 10.10520/EJC175313

4. Gennari M, Giuliani C and Accordini M. Muslim Immigrant Men's and Women's Attitudes Towards Intimate Partner Violence. *Europe's journal of psychology* 2017;13(4):688-707. doi: 10.5964/ejop.v13i4.1411

5. Graaff K and Heinecken L. Masculinities and gender-based violence in South Africa: A study of a masculinities-focused intervention programme. *Development Southern Africa* 2017;34(5):622-34. doi: 10.1080/0376835X.2017.1334537

6. Okenwa-Emegwa L, Lawoko S and Jansson B. Attitudes Toward Physical Intimate Partner Violence Against Women in Nigeria. *SAGE Open* 2016;6(4):2158244016667993. doi: 10.1177/2158244016667993

7. Frieze IH, Newhill CE and Fusco R. Dynamics of Family and Intimate Partner Violence. Switzerland: Springer International Publishing 2020.

8. Darteh EKM, Dickson KS, Rominski SD and Moyer CA. Justification of physical intimate partner violence among men in sub-Saharan Africa: a multinational analysis of demographic and health survey data. *Journal of Public Health* 2021;29(6):1433-41. doi: 10.1007/s10389-020-01260-9

9. Tran TD, Nguyen H and Fisher J. Attitudes towards Intimate Partner Violence against Women among Women and Men in 39 Low- and Middle-Income Countries. *PLOS ONE* 2016;11(11):e0167438. doi: 10.1371/journal.pone.0167438

10. Alabi TA and Ramsden MJ. Gender differences in the acceptance of wife-beating in Nigeria: evidence from the 2018 Demographic and Health Survey. *Heliyon* 2021;7(10):e08191. doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2021.e08191

11. Odwe G, Undie C-C and Obare F. Attitudes towards help-seeking for sexual and gender-based violence in humanitarian settings: the case of Rwamwanja refugee settlement scheme in Uganda. *BMC International Health and Human Rights* 2018;18(1):15. doi: 10.1186/s12914-018-0154-6

12. Lansford JE, Zietz S, Putnick DL, Deater-Deckard K, Bradley RH, Costa M, Esposito G and Bornstein MH. Men's and women's views on acceptability of husband-to-wife violence and use of corporal punishment with children in 21 low- and middle-income countries. *Child Abuse & Neglect* 2020;108:104692. doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2020.104692

13. Hayes BE and Boyd KA. Influence of Individual- and National-Level Factors on Attitudes toward Intimate Partner Violence. *Sociological Perspectives* 2016;60(4):685-701. doi: 10.1177/0731121416662028

14. Behrman J and Frye M. Attitudes Toward Intimate Partner Violence in Dyadic Perspective: Evidence From Sub-Saharan Africa. *Demography* 2021;58(3):1143-70. doi: 10.1215/00703370-9115955

15. Copp JE, Giordano PC, Longmore MA and Manning WD. The Development of Attitudes Toward Intimate Partner Violence: An Examination of Key Correlates Among a Sample of Young Adults. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 2016;34(7):1357-87. doi: 10.1177/0886260516651311

16. Azene ZN, Yeshita HY and Mekonnen FA. Intimate partner violence and associated factors among pregnant women attending antenatal care service in Debre Markos town health facilities, Northwest Ethiopia. *PLOS ONE* 2019;14(7):e0218722. doi: 10.1371/journal.pone.0218722

17. South Africa. Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998, 1998.

18. South Africa. Domestic Violence Amendment Act No. 14 of 2021, 2022.

19. Namibia. Combating of Domestic Violence Act No. 4 of 2003, 2003.

20. Zimbabwe. Domestic Violence Act No. 24 of 2006, 2007.

21. Zambia. The Anti-Gender-Based Violence Act No. 1 of 2011, 2011.

22. Nambia Ministry of Health and Social Services, and ICF International. Namibia Demographic and Health Survey 2013. Windhoek, Namibia: MoHSS/Namibia and ICF International, 2014.

23. Zambia Statistics Agency, Ministry of Health Zambia, and ICF International. Zambia Demographic and Health Survey 2018. Lusaka, Zambia: ZSA, MOH, UTH-VL and ICF, 2020.

24. Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency, and ICF International. Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey 2015: Final Report. Rockville, Maryland, USA: Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZIMSTAT) and ICF International, 2016.

25. National Department of Health, Statistics South Africa, South African Medical Research Council, and ICF. South Africa Demographic and Health Survey 2016. Pretoria: National Department of Health - NDoH - ICF, 2019.

26. Statistics South Africa. General Household Survey 2020, Statistical release. Pretoria, 2021.

27. Dickson KS, Seidu A-A, Eliason S, Darteh F and Darteh EKM. Intimate Partner Violence Approval in South Africa: Evidence from the 2016 Demographic and Health Survey. *Global Social Welfare* 2021 doi: 10.1007/s40609-021-00214-7

28. Zegeye B, Shibre G, Ahinkorah BO, Keetile M and Yaya S. Urban-rural disparities in wife-beating attitude among married women: a decomposition analysis from the 2017 Senegal Continuous Demographic and Health Survey. *Archives of Public Health* 2021;79(1):102. doi: 10.1186/s13690-021-00612-5

29. Tayyab F, Kamal N, Akbar T and Zakar R. Men and Women's Perceptions of Justifications of Wife Beating: Evidence from Pakistan Demographic and

Health Survey 2012–13. *Journal of Family Violence* 2017;32(7):721-30. doi: 10.1007/s10896-017-9910-y

30. Stata Statistical Software: Release 14 [program]. College Station, TX: StataCorp LP, 2015.

31. Chuma M and Chazovachii B. Domestic Violence Act: Opportunities and Challenges for Women in Rural Areas: The Case of Ward 3, Mwenezi District, Zimbabwe. *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance* 2012;3(3.4):1-18.

32. Ogum Alangea D, Addo-Lartey AA, Sikweyiya Y, Chirwa ED, Coker-Appiah D, Jewkes R and Adanu RMK. Prevalence and risk factors of intimate partner violence among women in four districts of the central region of Ghana: Baseline findings from a cluster randomised controlled trial. *PLOS ONE* 2018;13(7):e0200874. doi: 10.1371/journal.pone.0200874

33. Cools S and Kotsadam A. Resources and Intimate Partner Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa. *World Development* 2017;95:211-30. doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2017.02.027

34. Bhowmik J and Biswas RK. Married Women's Attitude toward Intimate Partner Violence Is Influenced by Exposure to Media: A Population-Based Spatial Study in Bangladesh. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 2022;19(6):3447.

35. Bhattacharya H. Mass media exposure and attitude towards spousal violence in India. *The Social Science Journal* 2016;53(4):398-416. doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.soscij.2016.02.011

36. Sayem AM, Begum HA and Moneesha SS. Attitudes towards justifying intimate partner violence among married women in Bangladesh. *Journal of Biosocial Science* 2012;44(6):641-60. doi: 10.1017/S0021932012000223 [published Online First: 2012/06/12].