



Rapid survey on domestic violence against children

20th January 2021



Community activist interviewing a respondent in Mazar

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1. Introduction

In 2019 Zardozi carried out a rapid survey on gender-based violence experiences by Zardozi clients. The survey reported found that 15% of all women had experienced abuse from their mothers¹. After discussion with staff and clients it was decided to follow up this finding with a second survey specifically investigating violence against daughters by their mothers. It was felt that continuing research into this issue would assist Zardozi to understand the environment in which domestic violence develops and to identify family and community level strategies to counter it.

In 2020 a rapid survey of violence against daughters by their mothers was carried out and found that mothers who had been hit themselves were more likely to hit their own daughters and that 66% of respondents reported experiencing long-term negative effects consequent on the violence suffered from their own mothers. In 2021 it was decided to carry out a second rapid survey on domestic violence against children - this time analysing the relationship between poverty and violence against children and looking more closely at the relationship between violence experienced by mothers and their behaviour towards their children.

2. Key Findings

- 30% of respondents reported experiencing violence in the last 12 months
- 49% of respondents reported perpetrating violence against their children in the past 12 months
- 86% of respondents agreed that mothers who are experiencing violence themselves are more likely to be violent towards their children
- 70% of respondents said that poverty increases rates of domestic violence
- 49% of violence against children was carried out by mothers, 32% by fathers

3. Background

Zardozi has been working for more than a decade with illiterate, poor women in four urban and semi-urban areas of Afghanistan, facilitating them to establish and maintain micro and small businesses. Working with these women presents a number of challenges, for example the women are often so isolated that one of the first tasks Zardozi undertakes is to physically take them to visit local markets (which they may never have seen before despite living locally) in order to understand which products are in demand and to highlight the pressures that retailers face in terms of price and quality of product.

Business support for Zardozi target women is provided through community-based business hubs - women only spaces where, in return for a small fee, women access business support services ranging from micro finance to technical support.

So far, the Zardozi programme has supported 8,427 women in the urban and semi-urban areas of 4 provinces (Kabul, Mazar, Herat and Jalalabad). More than 50% of these women continue to

¹ Gender based Violence Survey, Zardozi, December 2018

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earn an income and to actively benefit from services provided through community business centres.

Grass roots experience over many years has taught Zardozi how to effectively support poor women to establish and maintain their own successful micro or small enterprise. In the process, Zardozi has also come to understand that women who are earning their own income gain not only self-confidence but also a greater capacity to recognise and stand up for their rights. Over the past five years Zardozi has been capacity-building community volunteer activists from amongst these confident and successful entrepreneurs to take action within their own communities on issues of concern to women. These activists, through their dedication and commitment, have demonstrated that empowered women can also be effective in improving the lives of other women in their communities.

4. Survey Methodology

4.1. Sample size and selection criteria

4.1.1 Selection criteria

30 clients (women working with the Zardozi Programme) meeting the selection criteria were selected randomly from the ID master lists in each region making a total of 120 respondents.

Criteria for respondent selection:

- Married
- Middle aged
- New clients - those who have been less than 12 months in Zardozi
- Clients who have children who are school age or younger

4.1.2 Characteristics of respondents

Table 4.1.1 Age range of respondents

Age range (years)	Kabul	Herat	Jalalabad	Mazar	Total	
					No.	%
<20	0	1	0	0	1	1
21 – 25	1	6	3	2	12	10
26 – 30	6	8	10	9	33	28
31 – 35	3	3	9	8	23	19
36 – 40	11	6	4	7	28	23
41 – 45	8	6	3	2	19	16
>45	1	0	1	2	4	3
Total	30	30	30	30	120	100

Average age of respondents was 34, the majority (28%) being in the age range 26 - 30 years.

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Table 4.1.2 Age range of children still living at home

Age range (years)	Kabul	Herat	Jalalabad	Mazar	Total	
					No.	%
(1 – 5)	16	17	16	20	69	23
(6 – 10)	26	20	19	23	88	29
(11 – 15)	26	12	19	16	73	24
(16 – 20)	17	11	12	11	51	17
(20+)	9	6	7	0	22	7
Total	94	66	73	70	303	100

Table 4.1.2 demonstrates that 76% of respondents' children were under the age of 16.

4.2 Questionnaires, data collection and data management

The questionnaire was developed by programme staff, discussed and then trialled with community activist women. Activists, together with regional M&E staff were trained in the survey methodology by the M&E Manager. The survey was conducted in late December and early January 2021.

I have been through bad days and I really hope that my children do not have to face such times. My daughter committed suicide because of her father's cruelty ..

Comment by a survey respondent

5. Findings

5.1 Working children

Table 5.1.1 Number and percentage of working children

Regions	Working children	
	Number	%
Kabul	4	3%
Herat	5	4%
Jalalabad	4	4%
Mazar	6	5%
Total	19	16%

Table 5.1.1 shows that 16% of respondent's children are working; although the question was not included in the questionnaire it seems that many of the younger children are going to school as well as working.

5.2 Household income

Table 5.2.1 Mean respondent income

Regions	Respondent income Afs	Husband's income Afs
Kabul	1,433	5,867
Herat	2,680	6,593
Jalalabad	2,341	5,538

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Regions	Respondent income Afs	Husband's income Afs
Mazar	893	7,846

Husbands are in general earning more than double their wife's income - the respondents were selected as newly joining Zardozi and therefore, in general, only just starting to earn an income.

Table 5.2.2 Total family income/monthly

income range (Afs)	Kabul	Herat	Jalalabad	Mazar	Total	
					No.	%
<5000	9	7	14	8	38	32
5,001 – 10,000	10	11	12	9	42	35
10,001 – 15,000	7	7	2	6	22	18
15,001 – 20,000	1	3	2	7	13	11
>20,000	3	2	0	0	5	4
Total	30	30	30	30	120	100

Afghan family size in urban and semi-urban areas averages 6.9 members so that a family would need to have an income of at least Afs 17,000 to be above the poverty line. Table 5.2.2 shows that by this calculation only 15% of respondent families were living on more than \$1 per person per day.

5.3 Support from the family

Table 5.3.1 Family support for the respondent in running a business

Regions	Positive family support	
	Number	%
Kabul	26	22
Herat	13	11
Jalalabad	23	19
Mazar	26	22
Total	88	74

Table 5.3.1 indicates that 74% of respondents reported that they were supported and encouraged by at least one member of their family.

Table 5.3.2 Family members who encourage the respondent in her business

Relatives	Number of respondents by region				Total	
	Kabul	Herat	Jalalabad	Mazar	No.	%
Husband	24	20	7	21	72	59
Mother	2	12	1	4	19	16
Father-in-law	0	4	0	0	4	3
Mother-in-law	3	6	0	3	12	10
Brother	0	1	1	1	3	2
Sister	0	5	0	0	5	4

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Relatives	Number of respondents by region				Total	
	Kabul	Herat	Jalalabad	Mazar	No.	%
Children	1	0	0	0	1	1
Other	1	0	4	1	6	5
Total	31	48	13	30	122	100

Table 5.3.2 indicates the although support comes from almost any member of the family, the majority of encouragement was reported as coming from husbands.

Table 5.3.3 No of family members opposing the respondent running a business

Regions	Family member opposition	
	Number	%
Kabul	3	3
Herat	0	0
Jalalabad	1	1
Mazar	3	3
Total	7	7

Table 5.3.3 shows only 7% of respondents reporting active opposition from a family member towards their running a business

Table 5.3.4 Relationship of opposing family members to respondent

Relatives	Number of respondents by region				Total	
	Kabul	Herat	Jalalabad	Mazar	No.	%
Husband	3	0	0	2	5	4
Father-in-law	0	0	0	1	1	1
Other	0	0	1	0	1	1
Total	3	0	1	3	7	6

Table 5.3.4 shows that opposition comes mainly from male family members.

5.4 Domestic violence

Table 5.4.1 Respondents experiencing violence in the last 12 months

Regions	Experienced violence	
	Number	%
Kabul	9	8
Herat	2	2
Jalalabad	7	6
Mazar	17	14
Total	35	30

Domestic violence against children

Table 5.4.1 shows that 30% of respondents reported experiencing domestic violence the past 12 months.

Table 5.4.2 Family members perpetrating violence against the respondents

Type of violence	Number of respondents by region				Total	
	Kabul	Herat	Jalalabad	Mazar	No.	%
Shouting at you	6	2	4	9	21	42
Calling you names	0	2	2	7	11	22
Hitting and kicking	4	0	0	3	7	14
Humiliating you in front of other	0	0	1	5	6	12
Accusing unfairly	2	0	2	0	4	8
Trying to destroy your reputation	0	0	0	1	1	2
Total	12	4	9	25	50	100

Table 5.4.2 indicates that respondents reported that although 14% experienced physical abuse, the majority of the violence was verbal and/or involving humiliating the victim.

Table 5.4.3 Relationship of violence perpetrator to the victim

Relatives	Number of respondents by region				Total	
	Kabul	Herat	Jalalabad	Mazar	No.	%
Husband	7	1	2	15	25	58
Mother-in-law	0	1	2	3	6	14
Step daughter	1	0	0	2	3	7
Children	1	0	1	1	3	7
Sister-in-law	0	1	0	1	2	5
Father-in-law	0	0	0	1	1	3
Brother	0	0	1	0	1	2
Brother-in-law	0	0	1	0	1	2
Step child	0	0	0	1	1	2
Total	9	3	7	24	43	100

The majority of violence was perpetrated by husbands.

Table 5.4.4 Frequency of violence against the respondent in the past 12 months

Frequency	Number of respondents by region				Total	
	Kabul	Herat	Jalalabad	Mazar	No.	%
Sometimes	5	1	4	9	19	50
Always	3	1	1	5	10	26
Often	3	0	3	3	9	24
Total	11	2	8	17	38	100

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Table 5.4.4 indicates that although 50% of violence was sporadic in nature, 26% occurred more regularly.

Trust is the most important pillar of family life and poverty is not an excuse for misery so people should try hard to find a way to have a happy life

Comment by a survey respondent

5.5 Domestic violence against children

Table 5.5.1 Children experiencing domestic violence in the past 12 months

Regions	Experienced violence	
	Number	%
Kabul	25	21
Herat	6	5
Jalalabad	23	19
Mazar	24	21
Total	78	66

Table 5.5.1 demonstrates that 66% of respondents' children experienced violence during the past 12 months - the very low rates in Herat are difficult to explain.

Table 5.5.2 Perpetrators of domestic violence against children

Relatives	Number of respondents by region				Total	
	Kabul	Herat	Jalalabad	Mazar	No.	%
Myself	8	2	9	20	39	49
Husband	5	2	4	14	25	32
Father	6	0	0	0	6	8
Mother-in-law	0	0	0	2	2	3
Son	1	0	1	0	2	3
Father-in-law	0	1	0	0	1	1
Brother	1	0	0	0	1	1
Daughter	1	0	0	0	1	1
Step son	1	0	0	0	1	1
Others	0	0	0	1	1	1
Total	23	5	14	37	79	100

Women reported perpetrating the most violence against their children followed by husbands and grandfathers.

Table 5.5.3 Types of violence experienced by children

Type of violence	Number of respondents by region				Total	
	Kabul	Herat	Jalalabad	Mazar	No.	%
Shouting	17	5	20	17	59	50

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Hitting and kicking	14	0	6	9	29	24
Calling names	2	4	3	7	16	13
Humiliating them in front of other	3	0	0	6	9	8
Trying to destroy their reputation	3	0	0	0	3	3
Accusing unfairly	2	0	0	0	2	2
Total	42	9	29	39	119	100

Table 5.5.3 indicates that shouting was the most frequently reported abuse followed by hitting and kicking.

Table 5.5.4 Frequency of violence during the past 12 months

Frequency	Number of respondents by region				Total	
	Kabul	Herat	Jalalabad	Mazar	No.	%
Sometimes	21	4	14	14	53	60
Often	12	0	9	4	25	28
Always	2	1	1	6	10	12
Total	35	5	24	24	88	100

Table 5.5.4 indicates that violence was most frequently reported as occurring sporadically.

5.6 Opinions on disciplining children

Table 5.6.1 Hitting/slapping children is the only way of make sure that they grow up well behaved and are successful in their lives

Relatives	Number of respondents by region				Total	
	Kabul	Herat	Jalalabad	Mazar	No.	%
Strongly agree	0	0	2	0	2	2
Agree	2	0	2	0	4	3
Disagree	19	2	6	7	34	29
Strongly disagree	9	28	19	23	79	66
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	30	30	29	30	119	100

Table 5.7.1 indicates that 95% of respondents disagreed that slapping and hitting children is the only way of make sure that they grow up well behaved and are successful in their lives.

Table 5.7.2 Shouting at children is necessary to make sure that they grow up well behaved and are successful in their lives

Relatives	Number of respondents by region				Total	
	Kabul	Herat	Jalalabad	Mazar	No.	%
Strongly agree	1	1	2	0	4	3

Domestic violence against children

Relatives	Number of respondents by region				Total	
	Kabul	Herat	Jalalabad	Mazar	No.	%
Agree	4	0	2	0	6	5
Disagree	18	1	5	4	28	24
Strongly disagree	7	28	19	24	78	65
Don't know	0	0	2	2	4	3
Total	30	30	30	30	120	100

Table 5.7.2 illustrates that again 89% of respondents disagreed that shouting at children is essential to make sure that they grow up well behaved and are successful in their lives.

Table 5.7.3 If I knew of another way to discipline children that did not involve slapping or shouting then I would prefer to follow that way

Relatives	Number of respondents by region				Total	
	Kabul	Herat	Jalalabad	Mazar	No.	%
Strongly agree	13	14	12	3	42	35
Agree	16	9	13	17	55	46
Disagree	0	0	1	0	1	1
Strongly disagree	0	6	2	0	8	7
Don't know	1	1	2	9	13	11
Total	30	30	30	29	119	100

Table 5.7.3 demonstrates that 81% of respondents agreed that they would prefer another way of disciplining children that did not involve slapping or shouting.

5.7 Opinions on violence in the home

Table 5.8.1 Any type of violence in the home (including shouting, slapping, hitting, calling names and humiliating) is bad for family life

Relatives	Number of respondents by region				Total	
	Kabul	Herat	Jalalabad	Mazar	No.	%
Strongly agree	7	22	20	15	64	53
Agree	12	3	2	15	32	27
Disagree	9	0	1	0	10	8
Strongly disagree	1	5	7	0	13	11
Don't know	1	0	0	0	1	1
Total	30	30	30	30	120	100

Table 5.8.1 demonstrates that 80% of respondents agreed that domestic violence is bad for family life.

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Table 5.8.2 Children who observe violence in their home are more likely to grow up to be violent themselves

Relatives	Number of respondents by region				Total	
	Kabul	Herat	Jalalabad	Mazar	No.	%
Strongly agree	1	24	15	11	51	43
Agree	25	5	7	15	52	43
Disagree	4	0	1	0	5	4
Strongly disagree	0	1	7	0	8	7
Don't know	0	0	0	4	4	3
Total	30	30	30	30	120	100

Table 5.8.2 indicates that 86% of respondents agreed that children who observe violence are more likely to grow up to be violent themselves.

Table 5.8.3 Mothers are more likely to slap/hit their children if they themselves are experiencing violence

Relatives	Number of respondents by region				Total	
	Kabul	Herat	Jalalabad	Mazar	No.	%
Strongly agree	0	25	7	7	39	33
Agree	8	4	6	18	36	30
Disagree	21	0	6	0	27	23
Strongly disagree	1	0	6	1	8	7
Don't know	0	1	5	4	10	8
Total	30	30	30	30	120	100

Table 5.8.3 illustrates that double the number of respondents agreed that mothers are more likely to slap/hit their children if they themselves are experiencing violence (63%) than those who disagreed (30%).

Parents must work to lift their families out of poverty because poverty is a major cause of violence against children

Comment by a survey respondent

Table 5.8.4 Mothers are more likely to slap/hit their children in families where there is so little money that mothers cannot care for their children properly

Relatives	Number of respondents by region				Total	
	Kabul	Herat	Jalalabad	Mazar	No.	%
Strongly agree	3	20	8	3	34	28
Agree	13	7	9	21	50	42
Disagree	11	0	2	0	13	11
Strongly disagree	3	2	10	0	15	12
Don't know	0	1	1	6	8	7
Total	30	30	30	30	120	100

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Table 5.8.4 illustrates that 70% of respondents agreed with the mentioned statement in the above table.

5.8 Respondents' comments on violence against children

Comments concerning the long-term effect of violent behaviour

- We must not use violence against our children because when they grow up, it will have a bad effect on them.
- We must not shout at our children or hit them because it will affect their mental health
- Behaving badly towards children can affect their mind which will make it difficult for them to finish their education.
- Parents should not quarrel in front of their children because it has a negative effect on them.
- We should never use inappropriate words for our children because it has a negative effect and turns them into a violent child in the future.

Comments concerning the role of parents in guiding children

- Being silent when we are mad at them could be the best option.
- Don't be violence with children instead behave nicely.
- Violence can be reduced if mothers are well educated and have enough money.
- If we have wealth and a comfortable life, we can reduce the level of violence.
- We must love our children and have good behaviour with them
- Parents should be kind to their children because they need their parent's love and families should respect their children.
- When we have money and be educated, it eases our life.
- Parents should use patience in any difficult situation to educate their children.
- We must give time and love to our children, and listen to their expectations.
- We must take care of our children and let them go to school and guide them
- We should teach them to be polite and good person
- We should make our children busy in a task to avoid them from bad things
- We must encourage our children and treat them well.
- We need advice on how to take care of our children.
- Parents must work to eradicate poverty in the family because poverty is a major cause of violence against children.
- We should convince our children to do good deeds.
- We have to find better ways to keep children satisfied
- They should behave well with their children and fulfil their expectations
- Mothers need to know that violence against children is not the right thing to do. They must educate them properly and send their children to school.
- All mothers should behave good towards their children to be a role model for them
- Parents should increase their level of awareness in the field of child education.
- Parents must try to find job for themselves so that economic problems should not be a problem for the children.
- Wishing for better future of their children as they have faced lots of difficulties in life. They don't want that their children face those problems, too.

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- Advising is the best method for children to avoid selecting any wrong way
- Parents are responsible for their children behaviour; Poverty makes the problems of our lives unsolvable.
- The more a mother treats her children well, the more she develops her children.
- Mother's good behaviour affects the family too much and avoids the violence.

Comments concerning hitting children

- Violence with children is not good. Children need to be given care and kindness.
- Hitting and kicking the children are not good actions when we become old. We need them.
- Beating children is not a good thing. I beat them because my husband is in prison and it made me less bored.
- Beating children is not the right thing to do, and that is what I want from others not to beat their children.
- We must be kind to children and not beat them
- Instead of beating them, we must convince our children to study
- Beating is not a good option but sometimes we have to punish them in order to raise them in a better way.
- Beating is not good for anyone in a family. It can badly affect the children's manner. Beating causes children to stutter.

Comments regarding the rights of children

- Kindness and respect to children and literacy can reduce violence.
- Respect your children.
- We must encourage our children to go to school and be kind with them.
- We must give time and love to our children, and listen to their expectations.
- Parents should try for their children education as it's the only way to success.

Comments regarding Mothers demand from social networks

- Create and broadcast educational programs in the field of child education in the media.
- Create educational programs in the field of child education in the media.
- TV, Radio... Should broadcast programs about violence reduction because amount of violence against is increasing nowadays.
- Raise parents' awareness of how to eliminate violence against children.

Comments regarding Key points to improve the family environment

- I suggest all families to try their best for building trust within their families and such families can be a good example for others as well. Personally, I have raised my children in a safe and trusting environment Alhamdulillah and all of them have higher education.

Comments regarding the worst result of violence

- I have been through real bad days and I really wish that my children do not face such times, and have a healthy life. My daughter committed suicide because of her father's cruelty.

6. Discussion and lessons learned for Zardozi

6.1 Poverty and domestic violence against children

The data on household income demonstrates extreme poverty amongst respondents, to some extent this is as a result of the pandemic. Analysis of the data did not show any decrease in domestic violence in general as income increased. There was however 8% more violence reported against children in the 50% of respondents in the lower income scale compared to the upper 50%. When asked whether they thought that poverty is a factor in maternal violence against children, 70% of respondents agreed.

6.2 Domestic violence as a factor in increasing violence against children

Although 63% of respondents agreed that women experiencing violence themselves are more likely to perpetrate violence against their own children, in fact no relationship could be found between experiencing violence and perpetrating it.

7. Conclusions

'In .. rural and urban areas [of Afghanistan] .. corporal punishment is accepted as a normal way to parent children. As such, using violence to discipline children is commonplace².

AREU's 2008 study on domestic violence towards children found that the majority of parents considered violence as a normal mode of disciplining children. It also found that although an increasing number of parents felt that violence was not acceptable, primarily because of the long-term psychological effect on the child, they continued to accept it (AREU 2008).

The same study found that adults gave two reasons why children experience such strong discipline: firstly, parents fear that without violent discipline their children will not grow up as moral and well-behaved adults and secondly parents do not know any other way of managing the behaviour of their children. Parents were reported as having strong ambitions for their children, wanting them to have an education so that their lives would be better than that of their parents, and they believed that the only way to make a child study well was to make them afraid of adults. They also fear that if children are not fearful of punishment they will not learn to abide by cultural rules and values by the time they are adults in which case, particularly girls, they risk much harsher punishments.

Several studies have found that women are more likely to slap, punch or beat their children^{2, 3}. This may be related to the fact that violence against children seems to take two forms - deliberate punishment for a misdemeanour and lashing out in frustration and anger. Women spend more time with their children and are therefore more likely to become tired and frustrated and verbally or physically abuse their children.

² D J Smith, LOVE, FEAR and DISCIPLINE: Everyday violence toward children in Afghan families. AREU Issues Paper Series, Feb 2008

³ L W R Pilogo, C R Echavez, Gender-based Violence among IDP children in Kabul: Measures to take. AREU, August 2018

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Other studies have underlined the damaging long-term effects of domestic violence, including violence towards children, on children's mental health, assessing it as more damaging than other socio economic and war-related stressors⁴.

The survey results show that although people accept violence against children many, probably a growing number, do not find it acceptable. Given the strength of feeling against violence towards children shown by the final comments it is reasonable to suggest that community leaders would be motivated and sincere in trying to change attitudes towards disciplining children. Providing information on other ways to discipline children and forums where practical details and feedback on disciplining can be exchanged would go some way to undermining the mindset that insists that making children fear adults is the only way to ensure that they become moral and well-behaved adults who succeed in life.

It is possible that bringing the issue of violence against children, into the open for discussion might have the added benefit of providing an opportunity to change attitudes towards all domestic violence. As mentioned in the Zardozi 2020 survey report, violence against children especially by their mothers and fathers may be an effective place to start a discussion on GBV in that, if men think that women are also to blame for violence, they may be more likely to be accepting of discussions on the issue.

⁴ C, Panter-Brick, A Goodman, W. Tol & M. Eggerman, Mental health and childhood adversities: A longitudinal study in Kabul, Afghanistan. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 50 (4). 2011

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Annex 1 Levels of domestic violence related to disciplining children - Survey Questionnaire

Clients ID				Date of joining Zardozi			
Clients Name				Survey Date			
Client's age (approximately)				No. of children			
List the people apart from yourself and your children who live in your house						Ages of the children who live at home with you	
A Working children							
A1	Do any of the children (under 18 years) who live at home with you work to earn money?					Yes	No
	Age of the child				Do they also go to school?		Yes No
	What work do they do?						
	Age of the child				Do they also go to school?		Yes No
	What work do they do?						
B Household income							
B1	What was your income last month?			What was your husband's income?			
	Did your family receive any other income - how much			Total family income for last month			
C Support from the family							
C1	Does anyone in your family support and encourage you in your business?					Yes	No
	Who encourages you?	Husband	Mother	Mother-in-law	Brother/sister	Other (specify relationship)	
C2	Does anyone in your family oppose you in your business?					Yes	No
C3	Who opposes you?	Husband	Mother	Mother-in-law	Brother/sister	Other (specify relationship)	
D Violence in the family							
D1	In the past 12 months did you experience any kind of violence from your family?					Yes	No
D2	What kind of violence did you experience in the past 12 months						
	Calling you names	Shouting at you	Accusing you unfairly of things that were not your fault	Trying to destroy your reputation with your children	Humiliating you in front of others	Hitting or kicking you	
D3	List under each heading who did it in the past 12 months						
D4	Indicate under each heading how often it happened in the past 12 months. Sometimes/ Often/Always						
	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always
E Violence against children							
E1	In the past 12 months was there any violence against your children?					Yes	No
E2	Who was violent? (<i>more than one person is acceptable</i>)		Myself/Husband/mother-in-law/brother hit sister/Other - please specify				
E3	What kind of violence took place against your children in the past 12 months?						
	Calling them names	Shouting at them	Accusing them unfairly of things that were not their fault	Humiliating them in front of others	Hitting or kicking them		

Domestic violence against children

E4	List under each heading who did it in the past 12 months				
E5	Indicate under each heading how often it happened in the past 12 months. Sometimes/ Often/Always				
	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always
F	Other violence in the family				
F1	What other violence is there in your family in the past 12 months - specify what kind, who does it and how often				
	By whom		Against whom		
	Type of violence?				
	Calling names	Shouting	Accusing unfairly	Trying to destroy reputation	Humiliating in front of others
	Hitting or kicking				
	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always
	By whom		Against whom		
	Type of violence?				
	Calling names	Shouting	Accusing unfairly	Trying to destroy reputation	Humiliating in front of others
	Hitting or kicking				
	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always
	By whom		Against whom		
	Type of violence?				
	Calling names	Shouting	Accusing unfairly	Trying to destroy reputation	Humiliating in front of others
	Hitting or kicking				
	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always
	By whom		Against whom		
	Type of violence?				
	Calling names	Shouting	Accusing unfairly	Trying to destroy reputation	Humiliating in front of others
	Hitting or kicking				
	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always
	By whom		Against whom		
	Type of violence?				
	Calling names	Shouting	Accusing unfairly	Trying to destroy reputation	Humiliating in front of others
	Hitting or kicking				
	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always	Sometimes/often /always
	By whom		Against whom		
G	Opinions on disciplining children				
G1	Hitting/slapping children is the only way to make sure that they grow up well behaved and are successful in their lives				
	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
G2	Shouting at children is necessary to make sure that they grow up well behaved and are successful in their lives				
	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
G3	If I knew of another way to discipline children that did not involve slapping or shouting then I would prefer to follow that way				
	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
H	Opinions on violence in the home				
H1	Any type of violence in the home (including shouting, slapping, hitting, calling names and humiliating) is bad for family life				
	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
H2	Children who observe violence in their home are more likely to grow up to be violent themselves				
	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
H3	Mothers are more likely to slap/hit their children if they themselves are experiencing violence				
	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
H4	Mothers are more likely to slap/hit their children in families where there is so little money that mothers cannot care for their children properly				
	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree

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