The war @ home

Preliminary findings of the Gauteng Gender Violence Prevalence Study by Gender Links and the Medical Research Council

Over half the women of Gauteng (51.2%) have experienced some form of violence (emotional, economic, physical or sexual) in their lifetime and 78.3% of men in the province admit to perpetrating some form of violence against women.

Emotional violence - a form of violence not well defined in domestic violence legislation and thus not well reflected in police data - is the most commonly reported form of violence with 43.7% women experiencing and 65.2% men admitting to its perpetration. One in four women in the province has experienced sexual violence in their lifetime. An even greater proportion of men (37.4%) disclosed perpetrating sexual violence.

Yet violence against women is still regarded as a private affair with only 3.9% of women interviewed reporting this crime to the police. One in 13 women reported non-partner rape and overall only one in 25 rapes had been reported to the police.

These are some of the stark findings of the Gauteng Gender Violence Indicators Pilot Project conducted by Gender Links (GL) and the Medical Research Council (MRC) released on the eve of the 2010 Sixteen Days of Activism. The international theme for this year highlights the link between militarism and gender violence. The survey in South Africa’s most densely populated and cosmopolitan province shows that while political conflict in the country has subsided, homes and communities are still far from safe, especially for women.

Inspired by the Southern African Development Community Protocol on Gender and Development that aims to halve gender violence by 2015, the study is the first comprehensive community-based research study of the prevalence of gender violence in the province.

Unlike police data that relies on reported cases, the study involved self-reported behaviour and experiences obtained through in-depth interviews with a representative sample of 511 women and 487 men: 90% black and 10% white, reflecting the demographics of the province. Eight percent women and 5% of the men interviewed were foreigners. This is also in keeping with the make up of the province.

The study made use of two separate questionnaires for women (focusing on their experiences) and men.
(focusing on perpetration) of violence. The focus on women is justified by overwhelming evidence that the majority of gender violence cases consist of violence against women and these cases result in the extensive and well documented adverse health consequences (Krug et al. 2002). Comparing what women say they experience to what men say they do adds credibility to the findings. In almost all cases, as will be elaborated in this pamphlet, men confirmed what women said even more strongly than the women themselves.

The prevalence survey is a component of a broader study to measure the extent and effect of gender violence, as well as response and prevention measures taken. In addition to the prevalence survey, tools being used include interrogating administrative data (like police, court and shelter statistics); qualitative research; a costing exercise; political discourse analysis and media monitoring that will establish a range of baseline indicators on gender violence for the province.

The full Gauteng Gender Violence Indicators Study will be launched at the annual Gender Links Gender Justice and Local Government Summit in March 2011, with the aim of encouraging the South African and other governments to cascade the study across the country and the region. The preliminary findings of the prevalence survey show why this is important as police statistics either fail to cover many forms of gender violence or understate the extent of the problem. Population surveys like the one just conducted in Gauteng are the only way to obtain meaningful data against which the targets of the SADC Gender Protocol can be measured. This leaflet highlights key findings and recommendations that will be elaborated in the final report.

**Rate of violence**

Violence against women in this leaflet refers to any act that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or emotional harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life (Article 2 of the 1993 UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women).

![Focus on prevention at the Gender Justice and Local Government Summit.](Photo: Coleen Lowe Morna)

Figure one shows that some 51.2% (263) of all women recruited in the study had experienced some form of gender violence in their lifetime while 78.3% (370) of all men said they perpetrated some form of violence. About one in five (18.1%) women experienced and over a quarter (29%) men said they perpetrated violence in the past 12 months.

**Different forms of violence in a lifetime measured in the prevalence survey**

![Figure 2: Forms of violence: experiences and perpetration in a lifetime](Chart)

Figure two breaks down the types of violence (emotional, physical, sexual and economic) according to what women in the province said they experienced, and what men admitted to perpetrating. The graph shows that in all instances men confirmed what women said even more strongly than what the women themselves said. By far the highest rate of violence that women in the province said they experienced, and that men said they perpetrated, is emotional violence, followed by physical, sexual and economic abuse.
Most of the violence is still addressed in the family domain. About a third of men and women had intervened over violence in another relationship with about one in six having done so in the past year. This statistic is another indicator of high rates of violence in the home.

**Rate of emotional violence**

Emotional violence was the most common form of abuse reported by women and disclosed by men, with 43.7% of women having experienced these on one or more occasions and 65.2% of men disclosing perpetration.

Figure three gives a breakdown of responses by women and men to the six questions asked to assess emotional violence. The graph shows that the most common form of emotional abuse is men insulting women or making them feel bad with men (47.5%) affirming this even more strongly than women (32.8%).

Other forms of emotional violence involved: threats to hurt women; being scared or intimidated; belittled or humiliated in front of others; being stopped from seeing their friends or men boasting about or bringing home girlfriends, with women (15.2%) more likely than men (8.8%) to see this last form of emotional violence as an issue. In the past year, 13.0% of women said they had experienced one or more of these forms of violence, and 14.0% of men admitted to perpetrating such violence.

**Rate of physical violence**

Physical violence was the second most common form of violence reported. The research assessed experience of physical intimate partner violence by asking five questions inquiring about whether women had been slapped, had something thrown at them, pushed or shoved, kicked, hit, dragged, choked, beaten, burnt or threatened with a weapon. Overall 33.1% of women disclosed that this had ever happened and most of these women had experienced multiple forms of violence or violence on multiple occasions (30.8%). The experiences of women are in keeping with figures cited previously for the Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga provinces in the MRC three provinces study (Jewkes et al 1999). Over half of men (50.5%) disclosed perpetration and usually more than once (43.4%).

More than one in eight women (13.2%) had experienced physical Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) in the past year, but fewer men disclosed recent perpetration (5.8%). Some 30.8% of the women experienced, and 43.4% men perpetrated, more than one episode of physical violence. Some men justified physical violence as a corrective measure of “wrong” behavior. A quarter of the women and a third of the men interviewed perceived social norms as endorsing punishment. Nearly a quarter of men (22.3%) agreed that men had a right to punish their wives, compared to a mere 8.8% of women. Very few of either sex expressed a belief that beating might show love.

**Rate of sexual violence**

Figure four shows that overall 25.2% of women had ever had the experience of being raped by a man, whether a husband or boyfriend, family member, stranger or acquaintance while an even higher 37.4% of men admitted to ever raping a woman. More women (7.8%) said they had experienced sexual violence...
than men (4.7%) said they had perpetrated sexual violence against any woman over the last year. The lifetime experience results correspond to a number of studies from different parts of the country that have reported a prevalence range between 12% and 28% over the past 20 years (Dunkle et al., 2004a; Pettifor et al., 2004; Jewkes, et al. 2009).

Partner rape experience by women was assessed by three questions inquiring if their current or previous husband or boyfriend had ever physically forced them to have sex when they did not want to; whether they had had sex with him because they were afraid of what he might do and whether they had been forced to do something sexual that they found degrading or humiliating. Overall, 18.8% of women had experienced this on one or more occasions.

Perpetration was assessed by asking men if they had ever physically forced their current or ex-girlfriend or wife to have sex when she did not want to. 18.2% of the men admitted to such perpetration. In all 12.2% of women disclosed that they had been raped by a man who was not their husband or boyfriend while 31.0% of men disclosed having raped a woman who was not a partner. An additional 1.8% women had experienced an attempted rape, when a man had tried to force them but had not succeeded, but not been raped. 12.7% of men had attempted to rape a non-partner. 4.2% of women had been raped when drunk or drugged and 1.6% of women disclosed gang rape. 14.4% of men had forced a woman to have sex when she was too drunk or drugged to refuse and 6.9% of men had engaged in gang rape.

Experience of being raped by a stranger or acquaintance varied by age and race. Younger women under 29 years were twice more likely to disclose that they had been raped than women aged 30-44 years. Sexual violence had often provided the context of their first experience of sex, with 8.5% of women describing this as forced or as rape. In other studies about 7.4-7.6 women reported forced first sexual intercourse at age 15 years or older (Dunkle et al., 2004, Pettifor et al., 2009).

**Rate of economic violence**

Overall 22.3% of ever partnered women had experienced economic abuse and 28.5% of ever partnered men disclosed perpetration. Nearly half of the women (9.3%) who said this had ever occurred had experienced economic violence in the past year (compared to 5% men who said they had perpetrated such acts).

Figure five shows that the most common act of economic violence reported by women, and corroborated by men, consists of the refusal by men to contribute financially towards household consumption. Forbidding women to work or earn has been shown in a previous study as a means of ensuring that women are economically dependent. Women who do not work have a lesser ability to resist other abusive acts (Jewkes et al., 1999).

Similar proportions of evictions (9.2%) were reported for Mpumalanga in the Three Provinces Study (Jewkes et al., 1999). Previous research has shown that evictions emanated from attempts by women to complain against extra-marital affairs or other forms of abusive behaviour such as spending money on girlfriends instead of family (Jewkes et al., 1999). An even higher proportion of men (9.5%) than women (7.3%) said that they have taken their partner’s earnings.

**Rate of sexual harassment at work**

Overall 2.7% of women who had ever worked disclosed that a man had ever hinted or threatened that they would lose their job if they didn’t have sex with him. 2% of women had been told they would have to have sex with a man in order to get a job.

**Intimate partner violence and its multiple forms**

Almost all the men and women interviewed (over 95%) had been in a sexual relationship. In all, 75% of women and 84% of men said they were currently married or had a heterosexual partner; one percent disclosed having a partner of the same sex. Only 63% of women and 58% of men were in cohabiting relationships. Having more than one current partner was disclosed by 10% of women and 25% of men, and many women (28%) and men (25%) suspected or knew their partner had other partners.
police, instead confiding in family members. The other half choose not to confide in either family or police. The majority of those that go to the police have also confided in family.

Gaps in police data
Analysis of the South African Police Service (SAPS) dataset of all crimes committed in Gauteng coded as “domestic violence” for the period 2008 to 2009 proved problematic. In South African law, there are a range of offences that can be labeled as domestic violence. These include common assault, assault with the intent to do grievous bodily harm, contravention of a protection order, murder, crimen injuria, sexual offence, abduction, indecent assault, rape of wife by own husband rape, compelled rape, pornography and sex work. Issues arising include:

• **What is domestic violence?** It is unclear under what circumstances data capturers use the “domestic violence” variable and this may have varied from station to station. No data on the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim is available. This means that crimes occurring in a domestic setting such as an adult male child abusing an elderly male parent could have been captured as “domestic violence”. It is also unclear whether an episode of violence perpetrated against an intimate partner outside of the home would have consistently been captured using the “domestic violence” code.

• **Still no accurate figures on femicide:** Whilst murder is a category under the Domestic Violence Act, it is difficult to ascertain which of these are female murders and more specifically femicide. There is need for SAPS to capture data on the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim if this statistic is to be obtained. Previous research on murder dockets by the SAPS shows that it is possible to ascertain the circumstances surrounding murder.

Table one shows that 51% of ever partnered women had experienced some form of violence within an intimate partnership while 78% of ever partnered men disclosed having ever perpetrated violence against a female partner. 13.8% of women reported experiencing all three forms of violence; a statistic very similar to the 13.3% of men who reported perpetrating all three forms of intimate partner violence.

### Under-reporting to the police

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Data from the South African Police Service (SAPS) for the period April 2008 to March 2009 (see Figure two) shows that 3207 men and 12093 women reported being victims of domestic violence with 11,789 men and 970 women recorded as perpetrators. Using the STATSA mid-year population estimate for Gauteng for 2009, an estimated 0.09% of men and 0.3% of women reported a case of domestic violence over the time period.

These figures for victimisation of women are way below the one in five (18.1%) women who said they had experienced violence in the past year in the survey. This discrepancy is indicative of the high rates of under-reporting of violence against women.

Indeed, only 3.9% of women who had been raped by a partner or non-partner in the survey had reported this to the police. Sexual violence by an intimate partner was least often reported, with only 2.1% of women experiencing this ever reporting. Only 7.8% of women raped by a stranger or acquaintance had reported the incident. Thus women had only reported one in 13 of the non-partner rapes and only one in 25 of all rapes. The survey shows that about half of the survivors of gender violence do not go to the police support the campaign but lack credible data.
Routine inclusion of this information when capturing data will go a long way in providing femicide statistics.

- **Including pornography and sex work under sexual offences in police reports** masks the true statistics of violence occurring in the home as well as the exact rape statistics. The result is that we are never certain if there is an increase or decrease in the actual extent of sexual offences as reported by police or whether more or less people have been charged for running brothels or soliciting sex. It is imperative that the domains where the offences take place are confined to the “public” or “private/home” as spelled out in the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women.

- **Excluding domestic violence from analysis** in annual police reports is a serious omission that needs to be addressed.

Conclusions and recommendations

The study confirms the disturbingly high prevalence of violence against women in Gauteng; the inadequacy of police statistics; and the extent of under-reporting. When the full study is complete there is need to:

- Engage with SAPS to improve collection of administrative data, especially in obvious areas such as femicide.
- Obtain buy-in from the Inter Departmental Committee (IDMT) addressing gender violence in government to cascade the study across all provinces of South Africa to provide meaningful baseline data for measuring progress in achieving the SADC target of halving gender violence by 2015.
- Work through the SADC Gender Unit to cascade the study across the region.
- Use the GBV indicators project to strengthen the 365 Day National Action Plans to End Gender Violence in South Africa and across the region.


References