

INTIMATE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN:

A report on the incidence and correlates of intimate violence against women - an
Mdantsane, Eastern Cape sample.

BY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	
Acknowledgements	
Table of Contents	
List of Tables	
List of Figures	
CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE SURVEY	
1.1 Introduction to the thesis	1
1.2 Introduction to the topic	1
1.3 Incidence of Violence Against Women	4
1.3.1 International Studies	
1.3.2 Incidence in South Africa	
1.4 Consequences of the Violence	6
1.5 Accounting for Violence against Women	6
1.5.1 Sociobiology - Accounts from Evolution	
1.5.2 Accounts emphasising individuals	
1.5.2.1 The Psychodynamic Explanation	
1.5.2.2 Learning Theory	
1.5.2.3 Studies of Violence and Conflict	
1.5.3 Sociological Accounts	
1.5.4 Feminist Accounts	
1.5.5 Cross-Cultural Risk Factors	
1.6 Summary	9
CHAPTER 2 : CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH	
2.1 Introduction	10
2.2 The Child and Family Centre	10
2.3 "Local" explanations and assumptions in the field of Intimate Violence...	11
2.4 Initial Investigations	12
2.4.1 Child & Family Centre Records	
2.4.2 Incidence at Cecilia Makiwane Hospital	
2.5 New Questions, New Directions	14
2.5.1 New Questions	
2.6 Pilot Study	16
2.6.1 Introduction	
2.6.2 Purpose of the Study	
2.7 Preliminary Conclusions and Implications for Research	17

CHAPTER 3 : THE STUDY

3.1 Aims of the Study	17
3.2 The Study	18
3.3 Conducting the Study	18
3.3.1 Selecting and Training Field Workers	
3.3.2 Sampling	
3.4 The Survey Instrument	20
3.4.1 Dependent Variables	
3.4.1.1 Measures of Intimate Violence	
3.4.2 Individual Variables	
3.4.2.1 Demographic Variables	
3.4.2.1.1 Personal Variables	
3.4.2.1.2 Socio-Economic Status	
3.4.2.1.3 Social Life and Substance Use	
3.4.2.2 Experiences with Violence	
3.4.2.2.1 Past Experiences with Violence	
3.4.2.2.2 Current Experiences with Violence	
3.4.2.3 Beliefs and Attitudes	
3.4.2.3.1 Sex Role, Relationships and Battering Myths	
3.4.2.3.2 Beliefs Regarding Interpersonal and Intimate Violence	
3.4.3 Background Variables	
3.5 Notes on Data Analysis	24

CHAPTER 4 : RESULTS

4.1 Results I -The Sample	25
4.2 Results II - Incidence and Patterns of Violence Experienced	26
4.2.1 Introduction and Summary	
4.2.1.1 Important Findings	
4.2.1.1.1 Factor Structure	
4.2.1.1.2 Incidence	
4.2.1.1.3 Witnessed Violence	
4.2.2 Factor Structure and Scale Characteristics of Intimate Violence Items	
4.2.2.1 Male Sample	
4.2.2.2 Summary and Resulting Variable - Male Factor Scores	
4.2.2.3 Factor Structure - Female Sample	
4.2.2.4 Summary and Resulting Variables - Female factor scores	
4.2.3 Incidence of Intimate Violence	
4.2.3.1 Detailed Incidence by Area - Men	
4.2.3.2 Detailed Incidence by Area - Women	
4.2.4 Incidence of Witnessed Violence	
4.2.4.1 Number of Witnessed Fights	
4.2.4.2 Type of Fights Witnessed	
4.2.4.3 Combatants and Weapon use	
4.2.4.4 Combatants and Intervention	
4.2.4.5 Combatants and Alcohol	
4.2.5 Summary Discussion : Results II	

4.3 Results III : Intimate Violence and other Variables	34
4.3.1 Introduction and Summary Results III	
4.3.1.1 Important Findings - Results III	
4.3.1.1.1 Individual Variables	
4.3.1.1.1.1 Personal Variables	
4.3.1.1.1.2 Substance Use and Socialising	
4.3.1.1.1.3 Experiences with Violence	
4.3.1.1.1.4 Myths, Attitudes and Beliefs	
4.3.1.1.2 Background variables	
4.3.2 Individual Variables	
4.3.2.1 Personal Variables	
4.3.2.1.1 Age and Intimate Violence	
4.3.2.1.1.1 Men	
4.3.2.1.1.2 Women	
4.3.2.1.2 Relationship Status	
4.3.2.1.3 Socio Economic Status	
4.3.2.1.3.1 Education	
4.3.2.1.3.2 Employment	
4.3.2.1.3.2 Support	
4.3.2.1.3.4 Control	
4.3.2.1.3.5 Payment	
4.3.2.1.3 Social Life and Substance Use	
4.3.2.1.4 Experiences with Violence	
4.3.2.1.5 Myths Attitudes and Beliefs	
4.3.2.1.5.1 Male Sample	
4.3.2.1.5.2 Female Sample	
4.3.3 Background Variables	
4.3.4 Summary Discussion : Results III	
4.4 Results IV: multivariate Regression Analysis	46
4.4.1 Beating as Dependent Variable	
4.4.2 Battering as Dependent Variable.	
4.4.3 Summary Discussion Results IV	
CHAPTER 5 : DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	49
REFERENCES	51
APPENDICES	

LIST OF TABLES

- Table 1: Comparison of weapon used in CFC and Casualty samples p.13
- Table 2: Scope and conceptual structure of variables included in the study p.20
- Table 3: Sample size by Area and Sex p.25
- Table 4: Factor Loadings (Varimax Normalised) on the full male sample p.27
- Table 5: Factor Loadings (Varimax Normalised) for Urban and Rural Male Samples separately p.28
- Table 6: Intimate Violence Factor Loadings, Full Female Sample p.29
- Table 7: Scale of Intimate violence on three-point scale reported as frequency counts (percentages in parenthesis) p.30
- Table 8: Chi-square results: Area vs. Intimate violence items (Male Sample) p.31
- Table 9: Chi-square results: Area vs. Intimate violence items (Female Sample) p.31
- Table 10: Number of fights witnessed by sex (Column percentages in Parentheses) p.32
- Table 11: Chi-square results on 'Combatants' against Sex, Area, Type of Weapon ... p. 32
- Table 12: Chi-square results on combinations of alcohol use and combatants p.33
- Table 13: Correlations of Age *Total/Beating/Battering, presented by Area. p.36
- Table 14: ANOVA results: full male sample Age * Intimate Violence categories p.36
- Table 15: ANOVA results: full female sample Age * Intimate Violence categories p.37
- Table 16: Chi-square results: Relationship Status vs. Intimate violence items (Male Sample) p.38
- Table 17: Chi-square results: Relationship Status vs. Intimate violence items (Female Sample) p.38
- Table 18: Chi-square results: Employment Status (Employ) vs. Intimate violence items (Male sample) p.39
- Table 19: Correlations between Sex and Social Life and Substance use items - Full sample p.41
- Table 20: Pearson's r Correlations between Sex and Social Life and Substance Use items - Male sample p.41
- Table 21: Pearson's r Correlations between Sex and Social Life and Substance Use Items - Female Sample p.42
- Table 22: Pearson's Correlation Co-efficient: Intimate Violence Scales*Experience of Violence Variables (Male and Female Samples by Combined, Urban and Rural groups) p.42
- Table 23: Background Variables (%) - value per area (scores are rounded off for ease of reading) p.44
- Table 24: Significant Standardised beta coefficients - Exploratory Path Analysis p.47

LIST OF FIGURES

- Figure 1: Variables included in the exploratory path analysis p.24
- Figure 2: Exploratory path analysis - Beating p.46
- Figure 3 : Exploratory path analysis - Battering p.48

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE SURVEY

1.1 Introduction to the thesis

Gender issues, especially in South Africa, have over recent years moved decisively into the public domain. In this context intimate violence by men of their women partners, so long shrouded in silence, is now being hailed as one of our most serious and prevalent social problems. But despite this awareness the circumstances which underpin this sort of violence remain controversial and obscure and its effective management elusive.

This study explores some of the factors which may promote or protect against its use in order to identify which would both assist individuals personally affected by personal violence as well as influence any societal factors which perpetuate it.

This study uses the words 'wife abuse', 'wife beating', 'spouse abuse' and 'intimate violence' interchangeably to refer to violence towards women by their intimate male partners whether they qualify strictly as 'husbands' or not.

The report starts with a brief review of selected literature on the topic of intimate violence. The context of the current study and the pilot work is then discussed. Following this, the Domestic Violence Survey, the core of this report is introduced and the results presented. Finally a brief discussion brings together some of the major findings and makes some tentative suggestions for further investigations.

1.2 Introduction to the topic

Violence against women by their male intimates has received considerable attention since it came out of the closet in the course of the feminist spring cleaning of the early 1970's (Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Hyden, 1994; Stark & Flitcraft, 1996). While it is to this feminist movement that the issue of battering owes its present exposure, the practice of wife beating has a long history (Dobash & Dobash, 1992). Hampton and Washington Coner-Edwards (1993) report a 1998 study which published evidence that women living 2000 to 3000 years ago had an incidence of bone fractures of up to 5 times that of men. These injuries were predominantly skull fractures and were adjudged to have occurred in peacetime (Dickstein, 1988 c.i. Hampton & Washington Coner-Edwards, 1993). The same paper (ibid.) reports that as early as 508 AD the female co-ruler of the Byzantine Empire was an active campaigner for women's rights and, specifically, worked to end the physical abuse of women by their male partners.

In 1878 Francis Cobbe, an English journalist, wrote an article entitled Wife Torture in England in which she exposed the level of violence against wives in England from the working class to the drawing rooms of gentlemen (quoted in Stark and Flitcraft, 1983). This article was probably the first detailed feminist and economic analysis of patriarchal violence (ibid.). However, the topic did not remain out of the closet for long and, by and large, wife beating left the public domain until the early 1970's.

It is to the Chiswick's Women's Refuge opened by Erin Pizzey (Hyden, 1994; Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Stark & Flitcraft, 1996) that the modern battered women's movement can trace its roots. It was in places like these, where women began to share experiences, that the scale of the violence began to be recognised. The first shelter in America opened its doors in California in 1974 (Stark & Flitcraft, 1996) and other western countries soon followed suit (Hyden, 1994).

The response to violence against women in South Africa has a much shorter history (Segal & Labe, 1990; Van der Hoven, 1992). This lack of response was not due to a lack of gender victimisation (Chinkanda, 1992). In fact, as Guy's (1990) marxist analysis of precapitalist societies in Southern Africa demonstrates, the control and ownership of access to women's fertility was a central part of the the cultural organisation. The practices of Apartheid tended to divide women from one another and, also, required of many women that they put gender issues aside until the battle for democracy was won (Walker, 1990). This meant that although women had organised themselves much earlier and were active in many aspects of the political struggle the issues that might be considered 'gender issues' had to wait their turn (Walker, 1990; Human Rights Watch, 1995). This tendency was seen in the TRC hearings where, although it was acknowledged that women suffered and were abused as women, the majority of female witnesses spoke on behalf of their husbands and sons, not themselves (Jacobs and de Gruchy, 1998). Women have however found space to campaign and work for their rights in post apartheid South Africa¹ (Human Rights Watch, 1995) which includes the creation of the Wynberg Sexual Offences Courts in Cape Town and the creation of the Commission on Gender Equality which is a prescribed institution in terms of section 187 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) and the passing of the Domestic Violence act of 1993, which is currently under revision (see Padayachee & Manjoo, 1996) which despite its many problems (Clark, 1996) is a step in the right direction. These and other similar gains can be traced to activism by women's movements and could not have been sustained without active toil (Padayachee & Manjoo, 1996). These organisations also oversaw the provision of hotlines and shelters in the early 1990's (de Sousa, 1991; CEDAW, 1998; De la Rey & Eagle, 1997).

Although violence against women was brought into the public domain by the feminist movement this topic has not remained a purely feminist issue and has been adopted by a number of professional disciplines and service organisations (Loseke & Cahill, 1984). Most of the work on battered women is now being undertaken by two groups - the academic (including the clinical disciplines) vs. the feminist (Hoff, 1990).

The entry of violence against women into the discourse of mainstream scholarship has been regarded as a mixed blessing (Stark & Flitcraft, 1996). Some academic authors have argued that the added exposure and resultant interventions has in some cases decreased the rates of violence in the USA (Straus & Gelles, 1986), a finding disputed on methodological grounds (Egley, 1991) but none the less an indication of the mainstream industry that

¹Women had of course worked towards these aims prior to 1992 but the moves towards democracy and consequent law reforms undoubtedly had a positive effect - see *Violence Against Women in South Africa: State response to domestic violence*, Human Rights watch (1995) and Walker (1990) for excellent and detailed discussions of this topic.

has become a feature of the topics related to violence against women. While public exposure of the violence may have benefits, as early as the 1870's Francis Cobbe expressed concerns that too energetic an involvement by institutions in the lives of women may constrain rather than expand their already limited choices (Stark & Flitcraft, 1996, 1983; Dobash & Dobash, 1992). Indeed this trend has arguably already taken root with a substantial industry aimed at understanding, treating and speaking on behalf of battered women (Loseke & Cahill, 1984; Biden, 1993). This approach serves to define battered women and their plight and demands a certain level of compliance from them if they are to receive help and may even contribute to their isolation (Stark, Flitcraft & Frazier, 1979).

The struggles for the appropriate constructions of violence against women located between mainstream and feminist literature are clearly outlined in two issues; 1) whether to focus on the violence or on the purposes of the violence and 2) the question of sexual symmetry in spousal violence. These are briefly considered.

The mainstream literature (Straus, 1979; Straus & Gelles, 1986; Gelles and Cornell, 1990; Hampton, Gullotta, Adams, Potter III, & Weissberg, 1993; Ammerman & Herson, 1992) have tended to privilege the issue of the *violence* per se, tending to treat the beating of wives as a subcategory of 'family' or 'domestic' violence which are themselves subcategories of societal violence (Dobash & Dobash, 1992, Hyden, 1994). This treatment of the issue obscures the gendered nature of the violence (Stark & Flitcraft, 1996) and opens the door to a body of research emphasising wife beating in terms of violence, aggression and conflict management (Murphy & Cascardi, 1993; Archer & Haigh, 1997; Babcock, Waltz, Jacobson, & Gottman, 1993; Hall, Gordon, Shondrick, & Hirshman, 1993). The feminist literature on the other hand emphasises the intent of the violence, arguing that it is *essentially* a gendered event expressing an extreme form of patriarchal control (Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Gil, 1986; Gilmore, 1990; Mugford, 1990). Such theorists present arguments and evidence that place patriarchy at the centre of the explanation and violence as merely one expression of this ideological system (Stark & Flitcraft, 1996).

On the issue of sexual symmetry of sexual violence there has been heated debate culminating in threats on the life of academic theorists who attempted to publicise the plight of a proposed group of 'battered husbands' by feminist activists (Hyden, 1994). The evidence for the 'sexual symmetry' argument comes exclusively from large national surveys in the USA and spousal murder data (Steinmetz & Lucca, 1988). This data, using the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) developed by Straus (1979) has tended to show that women are as violent, if not more violent, than men. This has led to some theorists, most notably Steinmetz (Steinmetz, 1977, 1986), arguing that it is in fact husband battering that is the most hidden crime (Steinmetz, 1977). A number of theorists have challenged this contention perhaps most notably Dobash, Dobash, Wilson and Daly (1992) who raise a number of empirical and methodological issues. The primary sources behind the sexual symmetry argument, the CTS and USA homicide statistics are challenged. The nearly symmetrical rates of spousal homicide found in the USA are also dismissed as an American anomaly and, further, it is pointed out that though the CTS scale and the American rates of spousal homicide largely agree, the failure of the CTS to discern the lowered homicide rates in other countries speak

strongly against its validity. Additional evidence that is brought against the sexual symmetry debate is that service organisations do not see 'battered men' (Steinmetz, 1977) despite evidence that when men are assaulted they are more, rather than less, likely to lay a charge than women (Kincaid, 1982).

In the rest of this report it will be assumed that the most damaging form of spousal violence is violence by men on their female partners, and only literature relating to the incidence and or explanation of wife beating will be reviewed.

1.3 Incidence of Violence Against Women

Incidence rates of violence against women are generated from three areas of research; 1) clinical or shelter data, 2) official records and 3) survey data (Gelles, 1993). There are problems with all of these types of data collection in that the first is biased in favour of women who seek assistance, the second by the fact that most official statistics do not specifically target wife abuse and, where they do, tend to use a criminal context which results in under reporting (Fergusson, Horwood, Kershaw, & Shannon, 1986; Mihilac & Delbert, 1997). The third data collection strategy is potentially useful but is plagued with difficulties inherent in trying to measure what is a complex contextual event (a violent act) through behavioural 'act based' self reports (Gelles, 1993; Dobash & Dobash, 1992). These concerns notwithstanding, a significant amount of data has been collected in many parts of the world.

1.3.1 International Studies

Surveys of violence around the world suggest that, in western countries between 10% and 30% of women are subject to violence at the hands of their intimate partners (Straus, 1979; Gelles, 1993; Hampton, 1988). Heise (1995) reviewed studies in twenty countries including American, South American, European, Australasian and African, eleven of which used probability samples with $N > 1500$, which reported rates of wife beating at between 25% and 67%.

Physical violence is not the only form of violence women to which women are subject. A number of studies have found high levels of marital rape (Hampton and Washington Coner-Edwards, 1993). In an early study Russell (1982) found that in a sample of 644 married women 14% had been sexually assaulted by their husbands. Similarly Finkelhor and Yllo (1988) in a sample of 323 found that 10% had been raped by their husbands. Interestingly there is evidence that sexual and physical abuse vary independently, with only some men engaging in both forms of abuse (Browne, 1993).

A large number of women are killed around the world by their male partners. In fact women are at greater risk of being killed by their male partner than by any other person (Frieze & Browne 1989)

It is clear that violence against women by their male partners happens at significant rates across many national

boundaries.

1.3.2 Incidence in South Africa

It is difficult to provide good estimates of the incidence of violence against women in South Africa due to the lack of survey data and the fact that official data sources do not record battering as a distinct category of crime. Some workers in the field suggest that 1 in 3 South African women are subject to violence from their male partners (Rape Crisis, quoted in Hansson & Hofmeir, 1992); other estimates are 1 in 4 (The Advice Desk for Abused Women 1994, quoted in Human Rights Watch, 1995) with an estimated 1 in 6 women experiencing regular assaults although the exact source of these figures is unclear.

Two surveys carried out in Cape Town during 1990 and 1991/2 reported that violence in the home, although not necessarily between spouses, represented 30% of all violence, and that while men were as likely to be assaulted outside the home women were almost always assaulted at home, clearly locating the home as a potentially dangerous place (South African Medical Research Council, 1994). Another survey in 1991 (*ibid.*) which sampled all of the assault patients presenting at Grootte Schuur (Cape Town's main teaching hospital) for a week reported that 4 times as many women presented for assault related injuries and eighty-four percent of these knew their assailant.

Motsei (1993), in her study of women using the Alexandra Health Clinic, reported that up to 50% of women presenting at the clinic, particularly those aged between 21 and 30, were the victims of an assault. While 78% of the records studied failed to record the assailant, when the assailant is recorded 86% were in an intimate relationship with the woman at the time of the assault. In addition 10% reported a rape during the study period. Similar studies have found that 1 in 3 women attending antenatal health services were subject to abuse (Jewkes & Mvo, 1997) with rates as high as 2 in 3 for adolescent girls (Jewkes, 1998). Similarly Jacobs and de Gruchy (1998) found that 48.5% (N=412) of women attending a Cape Town clinic reported current or past abuse at the hands of a male partner. Butchard, Nell, Yach, Brown, Anderson, Radebe, and Johnson (1991), in a study of non-fatal injuries, reported that 50% of injuries were caused by interpersonal violence and, in the case of women, the substantial majority were at the hands of male intimates.

Ethnographic studies carried out with adolescent girls in Transkei and Cape Town (Wood & Jewkes, 1998; Wood, Maforah, & Jewkes, 1996; Wood, 1995) suggest near 100% violence rates with young girls recounting rape as the expected first sexual experience and beatings a matter of course if sexual favours are refused.

It is estimated that a woman is killed by her partner in South Africa every six days (Jacobs & de Gruchy 1998). Lerer (1992) in studies of female homicides noted significantly higher rates of homicide in black communities than in white communities and, while the assailants were not recorded most, women were killed at or near their homes.

It is clear then that while accurate randomised survey data is not available, a problem that the current study attempts to address, the evidence for high levels of violence against women in South Africa is substantial.

1.4 Consequences of the Violence

Wife abuse has a number of negative consequences for both the victims and the society generally. For the victims there are reports of substantial physical injury (Motsei, 1993), psychological distress (Leon & Strebel, 1998; Hampton & Washington Coner-Edwards 1993; Orava, Mcleod, & Sharpe, 1996) and economic hardship (Dobash & Dobash, 1992). For the state the fact that approximately one quarter of female trauma patients can be traced to wife abuse makes wife abuse the single largest risk to women's health (Stark & Flitcraft, 1996).

1.5 Accounting for Violence against Women

1.5.1 Sociobiology - Accounts from Evolution

Evolutionary psychologists and ethnographers have noted the prevalence of intergender violence and coercion among non-human primates and other animals (Tracy & Crawford, 1992). These observations and the near ubiquity of wife beating in human societies suggests to them that male violence towards 'wives' may have an evolutionary origin and relate to the 'beneficial effect' of access to mates resulting from male violence and male competition (Barash, 1978; Trivers, 1985). Put simply, females seek to choose a good mate, males compete with other males for access to females. This pattern, it is argued, results in the sexual dimorphism seen in most primate species and accounts for the male's tendency to use his size to fend off other males and coerce females into pairing with him.

1.5.2 Accounts emphasising the individuals

A number of writers have emphasised the individual characteristics of the batterer or battered women (eg. Celani, 1994; Moore, Greenfield, Wilson, & Kok, 1997). Theories have implicated personality disorders (Celani, 1994), past experiences of violence (Walker, 1986; Barnette, & LaViolette, 1993), substance abuse (McGregor, 1990), psychopathology and neurophysiology (Johnson, 1996), to name a few (see Yegidis, 1992). However, as Carpiano (1998) points out, many people suffer from these problems but do not act violently towards their intimate partners. Some theorists argue that all such individual level accounts combined will explain less than 10% of violent acts (Gelles & Cornell, 1990). In addition there is evidence that, where violence occurs, the alleviation of socio-economic stressors, substance abuse and/or psychopathology does not necessarily end or even reduce the violence (State of Iowa, 1994). Theories of this kind then, while possibly helpful in explaining isolated violent persons, are unlikely to account for the scale of violence seen around the world. It is within this cautionary context that we examine some of the specific accounts which, in one way or another, reduce the explanation to the violent individual or his victim. These criticisms aside it is clear from the commonly asked question 'Why do they stay?' that these individual accounts are readily available as popular explanations and for this reason it is worth dwelling on the form of a typical individually based explanation.

1.5.2.1 The psychodynamic explanation

The psychodynamic accounts (Snell, Rosenwald, & Robey, 1964; Gayford, 1979; Celani, 1994), were among the first employed in attempting to understand battering (Hyden, 1994; Stark & Flitcraft, 1996). Indeed Erin Pizzey the founder of Chiswick's Women's Refuge, the first shelter for battered women, used tacitly psychodynamic accounts of the violence focussing on the dependency needs of the victims (Stark & Flitcraft, 1996). It has been suggested that battering results from the characteristics of the victim, that she is Inadequate, Provocative or too Competent (Gayford, 1979) and that each of these traits invite or incite violence in men.

The psychodynamic theories have come under considerable attack in recent times (Stark & Flitcraft, 1996; Hyden, 1994; Dobash & Dobash, 1992) for their lack of sensitivity to the political context of gender violence as well as their focus on the victim, not the perpetrator, as the unit of analysis. Critics point out that there is no clear empirical data which supports this hypothesis (Dobash & Dobash, 1992) and, anyway the data collected, from clinical settings and shelter environments, are not representative (Gelles & Cornell, 1990), especially since the bias towards studying women is in part because men refused to be interviewed (Hyden, 1994). The descriptions offered of battered women frame them as failed women, that is, too assertive, or as too womanly, that is too dependent. Both offences are apparently legitimate targets for male anger and aggression.

A recent theorist taking up the psychodynamic cause is Celani (1994). Like many individual level theorists she sees the answer to the question 'why does she not leave?' as the most important explanatory task. The implication is clear. If she left he could no longer hit her, therefore, it is her continued presence which maintains the violence. Celani (1994) answers this question through the lens of Object-Relations. The battered woman is framed as 'borderline' in personality structure, a state constructed through repeated failures at the hands of caregivers. These failures have the character of promising to meet the individuals (infants) needs but then rejecting or failing the infant. This pattern is said to produce an attachment to the 'bad object' i.e. the object which promises, raises hope, and then disappoints. This pattern, Celani argues, is exactly that seen in battering where the woman (perhaps with a 'normal' man, perhaps a similarly 'borderline' man) struggles to recreate the conflictual object relations of her early years, ensuring that she gets her love in the only way it will sustain her - on and off, with some violence thrown in. Celani (1994) is unimpressed by the criticisms raised by more critical theorists, neither does she accept Walker's (1986) view that the 'pathology' seen in battered women is an *effect* of the violence, not its cause, a position which medical records support (Stark & Flintcraft, 1996). Celani (1994) argues for the 'fact' that "[t]he battering scenario occurs when two extremely damaged individuals with *pre-existing personality disorders* come together and try to re-experience their unmet childhood needs in relationship with each other" (p. 150, my emphasis). Any account denying this basic 'reality' "adds to the denial and misinformation that has plagued this topic [battering] from its inception"(p. 150). Strong hard hitting words in the certain style of the Object-Relations genre but is the account satisfying? One could argue that it is not. The type of evidence that Celani offers here is circular. She argues that battered women will always reveal a past characterised by care giving failures under the conditions

of the therapeutic interview. The reliance on this kind of retelling in the light of current events and in the overall frame of having to account for the ever present question 'why do you stay/go back/let it happen?', even if the fundamentally flawed sample techniques are forgiven, cannot but produce an account of a victim, a problem saturated story (White & Epston, 1990). This is circular. And as these stories of loss are the only evidence brought against the question of causal sequencing when working with a woman after she has been subject to violence Celani has no recourse but to the theory of the 'bad object' if hoping to retain the 'bad object/prior pathology' view. This is also circular.

1.5.2.2 Learning Theory

The major proponent of the learning theory model is Walker (1986). She has focussed on the victim of battering and sought to understand her apparent inability to access and use help in terms of the 'learned helplessness paradigm' developed in the laboratory (Barnett & LaViolette, 1993). This paradigm emphasises the level of environmental control that batterers hold over the victim, how through the 'cycle of violence' she is, through intermittent reinforcement and punishment trapped into immobility. This suggests that otherwise normal women come to develop 'helplessness' in the face of continued assault. It is this helplessness which prevents them from leaving the violent relationship.

Learning theory has also been used to explain the actions of violent men, suggesting that they have learned the violence from their family of origin (Walker, 1986; Mihalic & Elliot, 1997) or have come to see violence as an essential part of being male through various forms of socialisation (Seltzer & Kalmus, 1988).

1.5.2.3 Studies of Violence and Conflict

An additional strand of research from the individualist tradition is that which seeks to explain the violence with references to aggression, sexual arousal and deficits in conflict resolution (Holden & Ritchie, 1991; Lore & Shultz, 1993; Margolin, John, & Gleberman, 1988). A basic shortcoming of these studies is that they fail to address the clearly gendered nature of wife abuse (Stark & Flitcraft, 1996; Dobash & Dobash, 1992).

1.5.3 Sociological Accounts

Sociological, or more properly, social psychological accounts (Gelles, 1993) tend to examine the relationship between the person and the context. The emphasis is typically on stressors in the environment which cause tension and conflict resulting in violence (McClue, 1995). A number of specific theories have been suggested, of which two prominent ones are: General Systems theory (Straus & Gelles, 1990) which emphasises the manner in which systems maintain their 'system' goals through feedback. Violence in this model is seen as an 'equalising' event; and Exchange Theory (Gelles, 1983), based on behavioural theory. This model emphasis the 'cost' of an action as compared to its 'gain'. The theory is summed up by Gelles who, when asked why men abuse responded 'because they can' (Gelles, 1993) meaning that society does not impose costs on the behaviour which has a number of

inherent gains.

1.5.4 Feminist Accounts

Feminist accounts of wife abuse emphasise the ideological implications of patriarchy (Sugerman & Frankel, 1996). This entails examining how structures like the health and welfare systems operate to further isolate women victims (Stark & Flincaft, 1996) and notes the fact that as women get more resources they experience less, not more violence as systems theories might predict (Heise, 1995), and the inverse is also supported (Malos & Hague, 1997). In addition they point to studies which demonstrate that religious and political systems can exacerbate abuse (Hegland, 1992) and in contrast, if women are allowed to use resources, like the police and courts, on their own terms they are most successful in ending the violence against them (Ellis & Wright, 1997).

1.5.5 Cross-Cultural risk factors

Cross cultural studies of wife abuse provide useful insights in understanding the violence better as well as some assistance in evaluating the explanatory accounts mentioned so far. Anthropological literature provides a useful distinction between the 'beating' and the 'battering' of wives, a distinction absent from the academic literature examined (Brown, 1992). This distinction seeks to elaborate on the finding that some violence towards wives may be accepted by a given culture. This condoned form of violence is denoted 'beating' while violence which would not be condoned by the culture is denoted 'battering'. The western literature on the topic only discusses battering and, indeed, most western societies no longer explicitly condone violence against wives.

An anthology gathering detailed ethnographic studies from fourteen cultures from around the world provides useful information in this regard (Counts, Brown, & Cambell, 1992). Of the fourteen cultures one was found to have no violence, three were found to have only minor beating and four moderate beating but minor battering, the remaining five showed high levels of both beating and battering (Cambell, 1992). This variation in violence rates allowed an examination of the cultural factors associated with violence against wives. Building on work by Levinson (1989) and Masamura (1979) the editors of the book elaborated a model they called 'sanction and sanctuary' (Brown 1992). This model accommodates their findings, consistent with Feminist and Exchange Theory arguments, which emphasise the degree to which women are afforded sanctuary from violence and the sanctions in place against violent men. In addition, societies in which there was limited emphasis on gendered roles were least likely to have violence (eg Mitchell 1992), a finding consistent with feminist theory and supported by similar studies with the Mbutie Pygme, Central Thai, Semai of Malaysia and the Tahitians all of which lack the hierarchical and differentiated gender constructs so familiar to much of the world (Heise, 1995). Other factors which are predictive of low violence are female power and autonomy, active community intervention in the violence, presence of exclusively female work groups and sanctuary (access to friends, family or neighbours when needed) (Cambell, 1992; Heise, 1995), Conversely, factors which increase the risk for violence are the use of violence in interpersonal conflict, economic inequality between men and women, a 'macho' masculine ideal and male decision making.

1.6 Summary

Wife abuse is a serious and widespread problem internationally and in South Africa where accurate incidence

statistics are urgently needed. Insights from cross cultural studies support theoretical formulations which emphasise the cultural context, nature of male-female relationships and availability of accessible sanction and sanctuary. These models support feminist, exchange theory and learning theory formulations to some extent but mitigate strongly against individual and systems theories.

CHAPTER 2 - THE CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH

2.1 Introduction

This research was undertaken in Mdantsane and three surrounding villages. Mdantsane is a 'black' dormitory township 17km outside of East London in the Eastern Cape Province with a population of +400 000 people living in 17 neighbourhood units. The earliest neighbourhood unit was established in 1976 and the most recent in 1995. Each unit accommodates about 24 000 people and socioeconomic conditions vary from 'charity' areas originally set aside for tuberculars and pensioners, through working class areas with varying unemployment rates to distinct middle class units of civil servants and professionals. Informal settlements have become an increasing phenomenon of this township over the past five to ten years.

The urban community is surrounded by 9 rural villages with populations varying from 5000 to 20 000 people whose residents are predominantly subsistence farmers and pensioners or dependent on remittances from family members working in towns.

The Mdantsane Child and Family Centre is based at Cecilia Makiwane Hospital which serves this area and the present research was conducted from this centre. This section briefly describes the Mdantsane Child and Family Centre (CFC), the context in which the guiding hypothesis was formulated and the research developed.

2.2 The child & Family centre

Late in 1993 the community health department at Cecilia Makiwane Hospital realised that domestic violence and child abuse could not be adequately addressed by the existing health services. The author became aware of these issues and, through discussion with the then Head of Community Health at Cecilia Makiwane Hospital it was decided to set up a project that would work toward providing an appropriate service for the victims of this type of violence. The author acted as the co-ordinator of the service from its inception in January 1994 to December 1995 and during this time the CFC grew from a small unit working out of shared offices and comprising two student psychologists and two registered nurses to, by the beginning of 1996, a fully fledged Centre with its own rooms and a staff allocation of a Clinical Psychologist, a student psychologist, a criminologist and four registered nurses. A psychologist working on a sessional basis provided training and supervision. The centre had also formed strong links with the East London Division of Rhodes University, sharing resources and working towards becoming a site at which academics participated in research and used the centre as a training site for students (eg. Smulders 1997).

Over this time the services offered at the centre shifted from what was initially individual counselling for women who presented at the hospital and were identified as victims of intimate violence to an emphasis on reaching out to community members and organisations through hosting workshops and conferences on topics of Intimate Violence, Child Abuse and Mental Health more generally. The tertiary services offered also expanded to include individual counselling, family therapy and play therapy with children. The centre came to be treated as a general psychological service within the hospital and consulted with other departments on psychological issues.

Despite the community outreach work already mentioned, the heavy and increasing workload tended to swamp the CFC team in individual casework and to cause them to lose sight of any other issues which might lie behind the violence. Also influencing this individual approach, however, was the way in which members of the team, in common with broader community perceptions, preferred to understand intimate violence: as a problem for some women and some families rather than a problem of the community or society. Increasingly this individual approach began to seem not just unfortunate but actively detrimental to the victims who came to the centre for help (Stark & Flitcraft, 1996; Connors, 1993)

Consequently in reviewing its work, the CFC team began to argue for a new approach. This debate, coupled with their need, as service providers, to have access to certain types of information most directly informed the style and content of the research activities described here.

2.3 'Local' explanations and assumptions in the field of Intimate Violence - The Mdantsane Experience

In its work at the centre the team came into contact with a number of local explanations, assumptions and reactions to the issues presented by intimate violence which they often shared. This set of explanations and assumptions can be divided into three areas; those held by health service providers; those held by other service providers and civic structures; and those held by persons involved in acts of intimate violence and the community more broadly.

Service providers in the health field (the CFC team included) held assumptions which related to their areas of expertise and their resources to respond, as much as they did to the nature of the problems with which persons presented. These assumptions were implicit in the questions asked of victims. Counsellors asked 'Why do you stay?', 'What do you need in order to leave?' and other similar questions with the essential element that they led to a definition of the problem which recommended a psychological intervention (Hoff, 1990; Loseke & Cahill, 1984). Medical personnel took the position that the injuries, not the violence, were the appropriate areas of concern and in so doing dramatically demonstrated the medical model's splitting off of the body from the person and the context² (Stark & Flitcraft, 1996; Foucault, 1963). This position was revealed in the notes in which careful histories were taken of any physical illnesses, including information relevant to etiology whereas in many assault cases only the details of the wounds were recorded (cf. Stark, Flitcraft, & Frazier, 1979). While this may have been a function of time pressure it is probably better understood as a function of service priorities. Persons' bodies were treated and then sent home or, at best, referred to another service provider.

Other social agencies, the police and judicial system particularly, often took the position that intimate violence did not fall within their domain, that its causes were related to private matters in which outsiders should not intervene. They would often report their belief that this sort of violence was infrequent and minor, especially when compared to other social ills.

Persons in the community (including the women who used the CFC) explained the violence as a function of alcohol, unemployment, the disobedience of women, and cultural norms (or the breakdown of cultural norms). It was suggested that intimate violence was too 'normal' to even warrant discussion, a response often encountered

² Having said this it must be noted that it was a Medical Officer in the Surgery Department who first became concerned about her own practices in 'patching them up' and drew the Community Health Department into the issue.

when attempting to engage persons in conversation on this topic.

All of these explanations tended to encourage a casework approach. They suggested that counselling was the appropriate service, that the problem was relatively minor (or so normal that ending violence was necessarily an individual choice, a choice at odds with the 'norm') and involved only a few people. Over time, however, it became increasingly difficult to sustain these explanations. The women who presented to the CFC often expressed an urgent desire to be free of the violence in their lives but felt unable to escape. They spoke of their lack of resources, the refusal of the police and courts to help them and their incomprehension that they could be treated in this manner, an incomprehension which often left them doubting their own sanity as well as their right to question the violence in their lives. The CFC team was dismayed at its failure to assist many of these women to escape the violence and began to seek ways to better understand their plight. Thus, by the end of 1994 the process, initiated and conducted by the researcher and which culminated in the Domestic Violence Survey began. The first step was the examination of the CFC hospital casualty records.

2.4 Initial Investigations

The investigation was premised on two assumptions, a) that it was necessary to gather and interpret data with which to better understand the issues (and with which to enter into persuasive arguments with others) and b) that the problem of intimate violence could not be fully understood with reference to only the persons directly involved, regardless of how this understanding was arrived at. Instead socio-political factors would have to be addressed to make sense of the apparent epidemic. In order to do this the data at our disposal, which were in the form of medical records, were examined with an emphasis on those points which might throw light on the explanations and assumptions that had come to light.

2.4.1 Child & Family Centre Records

The researcher first examined the records at the CFC itself. During the nine month period 1/1/94 to 23/9/94 the Centre saw in excess of 160 women who had experienced violence at the hands of their partners. In 150 of these the records were complete and showed that, in respect of employment status, implications of intoxication, the nature of the relationship and the degree of material dependence experienced by the victim there were a number of unexpected findings.

Challenging the notion that intimate assaults are fully explained with reference to either unemployment or alcohol abuse, both of which are routinely implicated in popular explanations, in our sample fully 68% of the assailants were employed at the time of the assault and only about half of the assailants (54%) were reported to have been drinking at the time of the assault.

Also interesting is the low level of material dependence that victims reported having on their assailants: 41% were not married (This in itself is unexpected. One might expect courtship to be rather less violent, and indeed local explanations often rested on the 'ownership' of wives.). Further 43% of the women were employed. Less than half (46%) were living with their assailants and, perhaps most importantly, only 20% relied directly on the assailant for material support.

If these figures were coupled with the fact that 70% of the victims had already experienced some prior violence

and nearly 60% frequently experienced violence, one is left having to account for how persons who are not materially dependent on their attackers are subject to repeated episodes of assault. The fact that, in this sample, the assailants are neither unemployed nor under the influence of alcohol at sufficient levels to account for the violence makes the question of why men use violence similarly difficult to explain. It is clear then that the CFC sample did not provide evidence to support the traditional, individualist and/or SES and substance abuse accounts of Intimate Violence.

2.4.2 Incidence at Cecilia Makiwane Hospital

An attempt to form a rough estimate of incidence in the Mdantsane area by using Cecilia Makiwane's casualty records was made choosing a month at random (May 1995 was chosen literally 'out of the hat'). It was found that a total of 1 398 women presented at Casualty. Of these 347 were assaults. This represented approximately 25% of the load of female patients that Casualty saw in that period. Similarly, assaults accounted for approximately 25% of male admissions. Assault, then, accounted for 25% of the total admissions to casualty during May 1995.

While there is no direct proof that the women presenting at casualty were victims of intimate assault there were some good reasons to believe that many were. Perhaps the strongest reason was simply that casualty staff, when asked, said that this is the case. There was some statistical corroboration as well. An examination of the casualty records showed that (i) The mean age of assaulted women was the same as that of the CFC sample (30yrs) and (ii) The distribution of weapon use was similar as is indicated in Table 1.

Table 1 : Comparison of weapon use in CFC and Casualty samples

Weapons used in assaults CFC vs. Casualty (Expressed as a percentage)				
	No Weapon	Knife	Stick	Sjambok
Casualty	47	23	25	5
CFC	42	26	24	8

Weapons used by the assailants. 'Knife' includes all sharp weapons eg. broken bottles etc. 'Stick' includes all blunt objects eg. iron rod, pick handle etc. These categories were used as there are very few cases that were not actually a stick or knife. It is clear from these figures that the attacks we are seeing are not 'a slap here or there', a considerable number of women were stabbed, whipped and/or assaulted with a stick or other blunt instrument. Three women were assaulted with axes. A number of women reported a history of assaults involving weapons. Not recorded in the table are two women who were shot and one who was pistol whipped.

Other important evidence to consider included the fact that of those women who presented at casualty for assault and were subsequently admitted to the wards, 50% were positively identified as cases of intimate assault. It was impossible to compare victim-assailant relationship because the medical records failed to indicate the assailants identity in fully 70% of cases.

The similarities in the two victim samples regarding age, and the assault characteristics regarding weapon use did however offer strong evidence to suggest a large degree of overlap between the two samples. In addition, the very low level of police involvement may be understood to indicate that the assaults were not muggings and the like but involved assaults that were regarded as non-police matters -- the best example of which would probably be intimate assaults.

In view of the above it did not take a large and fanciful leap of deduction to conservatively estimate that the hospital

deals with between 200 and 300 cases of intimate assaults on women every month *that require hospital care!* These assaults are not usually recorded nor even detected by the health care system although it is clear that they account for one of the largest single groups of female users of the health services (Stark & Flitcraft, 1996 report similar findings in the USA).

2.5 New Questions, New Directions

The evidence discussed so far and increasing exposure to more systemic models of thinking, particularly from the Milan Family Therapy School (eg Cecchin, 1987), and Narrative Practices (White & Epsom, 1990) led to alternative kinds of questions. These questions were initially tested in workshops and counselling settings but, with some adaptation, and additions from the Theory of Reasoned Action (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975) were later used in a pilot study (see Appendices 1 - 4). Both of these phases are described in the following section.

2.5.1 New Questions

As already noted the traditional question asked when we face a battered woman is 'Why do you stay?'. This bias is well documented in the literature (Hoff, 1991). There are many reasons for this but it is argued that the most important one is that this question leads to an intervention at an individual level, the provision of counselling or temporary shelter to the woman in order that she may find the resources to make the 'right' decision (Loseke & Cahill, 1984; Hoff, 1991; Stark & Flitcraft, 1996). In short we ask the types of questions that lead us to explanations and, therefore, interventions with which we are able to cope.

A second important factor is simply that "we" (therapists, researchers, service providers) are also part of our community and are therefore similarly bound and informed by just those explanations used by the community. Service providers, like any other individuals and groups are prevented from exposing the structural and ideological roots of the violence men use on women. Any attempt to arrive at an alternative explanation will have to be based on a different set of questions and will have to start outside of the dominant discourses (Parker, 1992; Loseke & Cahill, 1984).

From this perspective, following the insights of the Sanction and Sanctuary model as well as recent developments in social psychology (eg. Parker, 1992), one can conceptualise intimate violence, or, rather, the explanations (and justifications) of intimate violence as existing within a constellation of social constructs. A few of these constructs may be 'women', 'men', 'relationships' and 'violence'. We also began to ask 'What are the results/purposes of the violence?' rather than 'What causes the violence?', or, 'Why do women stay?'. In asking about the consequences of the violence it is interesting to find answers like 'The wife learns about her husband's needs', 'Discipline is passed from the husband, through the wife to the children', 'The wife will not have affairs', 'The wife will learn to respect her husband'. These answers come from both men and women, individually and in groups. It was telling, in contrast, that when asked about the *causes* of violence people did not say 'The need to get respect', they said 'alcohol', 'poverty' or cultural prerogative. In addition, the conceptualisation of women as 'tolerant', 'forgiving' and 'responsible' that were frequently voiced at meetings, coupled with a basic understanding of 'relationship' as being a necessary state for a woman to achieve, even at great personal cost, provided more reasons to think differently about the topic (Cambell, 1992).

The contextual/social elements of these explanations; a) women recruited into a role that is readily subverted to one of justifiable victim (through her 'responsibility'); b) explanations which avoid the consequences of the violence and focus on blame free, for the perpetrator, causes like 'alcohol' and 'poverty'; and c) a professional community which chooses to ignore or even blatantly refuse to support women who seek help provide powerful evidence that the problem is social, not individual, not with the relationship or the family but with the community (Counts, Brown, & Campbell, 1992; Levenson, 1989).

In this framework the cost of leaving a man (leaving out for a moment the economic cost) could appear catastrophic. Instead she should forgive, is responsible and, anyway could not really exist without a man. To ask an individual woman, trapped in violence, to shake off her current self and take on a role which has as yet not been written into the community begins to seem pointless and probably actively irresponsible.

A useful framework with which to explore these new questions and possible explanations is provided in the terms of cross-cultural risk factors identified in the anthropological work **Sanctions and Sanctuary: Cross Cultural Themes in the Beating of Wives** (Counts, Brown, & Campbell, 1992) already mentioned. Similarly to the idea of a constellation of social constructs they have identified a set of risk factors that appear consistently across cultures.

The point which is being emphasised is the central concern with sanctions and sanctuary, dwelling particularly on the distinction between 'wife beating' and 'battering' which essentially refers to the difference between culturally normative and acceptable use of force in relationships and the use of culturally inappropriate intimate violence.

This idea may be best illustrated with reference to work done with primates (Counts et al., 1992). While the example reported here should not be used to imply some direct parallel between the behaviour of apes and people (that is an argument for another context) it does certainly provide a powerful metaphor for the ways in which violence may become part of a relationship between people. It might be argued, following recent critical analyses in social psychology, that the 'cage' and the 'escape hatch' are not made of such mundane a material as steel in human relations but, rather, of complex psychological, ideological, political and practical conditions.

It has been found that some of the primate males beat and rape their females (Fossey, 1981). Two examples are particularly pertinent. A gorilla that lives on the African savanna may preside over a harem. If another male shows an interest in one of his females he attacks the female. Attacking the female is safer (she is smaller) and has the effect of preventing her from engaging in contact with other males. She in fact takes care to remain close to him after the beating (de Waal, 1989). When a female gorilla from a forest dwelling troop is placed in this situation she avoids the male. The reason is simple - he is too big to chase her to the top of the tree and therefore loses access to her. Her ability to escape results in the large males resorting to romance instead of violence in order to get access to mates (Brown, 1992). This relationship can also be illustrated in controlled conditions. If a male and female ape are placed in cages under two conditions, a) the female has no escape or, b) the female can escape into an adjoining cage through an access hatch just large enough for her, the male ape's use of aggression is predictable as a function of the female's access to escape (Nadler, 1988).

Male gorilla's use violence as the strategy of choice unless circumstances render violence ineffective - that is the

female a) can escape and therefore b) can understand the violence as unacceptable - she has, in a phrase, sanction and sanctuary. We might argue that as long as men are able to use the strategy of violence successfully, and with impunity, *in a context in which violence is an acceptable strategy*, they will continue to do so.

This argument, supported by the foregoing illustration from primate behaviour, would suggest that predicting the risk of a community displaying intimate violence may revolve around the explanation it provides of the violence and its willingness to provide adequate protection to victims. If, for example, the explanation, as we propose it does, for the community under observation, resides in a context of the ownership of women, the conceptualisation of women as tolerant and responsible, an acceptance of violence and a focus on issues like alcohol or poverty (rather than personal responsibility, coercion and patriarchal control) and a community which deems intervention between couples improper then it is likely that the men in this community will use violence as a strategy in their interpersonal and intimate relationships. These issues may also be related to the distinction between the 'beating' and the 'battering' of wives. Beating is used to refer to the acceptable forms of violence within any given community, battering to violence towards women that goes beyond acceptability in that community. The two forms are obviously interrelated but it is argued that the former is largely social in nature and the latter at least partly a function of the individual persons involved.

2.6 Pilot Study

2.6.1 Introduction

The largely anecdotal evidence up to now received substantial support from preliminary pilot work undertaken towards the development of the Domestic Violence Survey instrument. Following the methods pioneered by Fishbein with regard to the Theory of Reasoned Action (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980) and consistent with the 'new questions' being asked a pilot study was conducted as the first stage of compiling a suitable set of questions relating to beliefs, attitudes and normative influences relating to Intimate Violence.

2.6.2 Purpose of the Pilot Study

The pilot study had two purposes; 1) to further explore the 'new questions' that had been used in workshops and meetings and, 2) as a first step in constructing the beliefs section of the survey questionnaire. The discussion here limits itself to a brief qualitative account of the study and results. Appendix 4 provides a detailed breakdown of the actual responses to the questionnaire and may help the reader draw their own interpretations of their intent.

In terms of the second purpose the questionnaire followed the work of Fishbein (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980) in seeking to ask questions relating to both the outcomes of the target behaviour (in this case the target behaviours were violence against women and leaving violent relationships) as well as questions relating to potential normative influences on these behaviours (see Appendix 2 for a copy of the actual questionnaire). In addition to the questions demanded by the Theory of Reasoned Action model a set of questions were asked which tapped the constructions of men and women that were utilised by members of the study population.

The questions were translated into isiXhosa and administered among the hospital patient population by one of the CFC nurse counsellors (see Appendix 1 for documentation relating to gaining permission to run the survey as well as the initial proposal (see Appendix 3 for an isiXhosa translation of the questions). These questions provided the basis for much of the 'Beliefs & Attitudes' section of the final questionnaire and this section can be seen in

In terms of the first purpose the study provided additional support for much of the anecdotal material already discussed. In terms of the consequences of violence against wives, respondents, both men and women noted that the wife would obey the husband, that the home would have discipline and even that the wife would be sure of her husband's love and possibly avert adultery by the wife. In terms of negative consequences respondents noted the probability that the family would become disorganised or destroyed and would not provide a good home for children. It is clear that persons are readily able to see consequences to violence which reflect its purpose i.e. control, and its destructive potential.

Women noted that leaving a violent relationship may protect them and their children from harm, allow them to build a better life and enjoy economic prosperity. However, a number of bad consequences were also noted: that the woman would lose the home's resources, that women would lose their dignity and 'live with other women like animals' in the absence of men. There appear to be good reasons to leave a violent relationship -not least of which is to avoid emotional and physical injury - but also strong injunctions to remain in a relationship, partly in order to maintain one's 'dignity' and standing, a difficult conceptual terrain to negotiate.

Questions which focussed on the nature of men and women yielded interesting results. Both men and women were described as loving, responsible and necessary for procreation. However, only men were described as being in charge, and only women were described in terms of the dignity they bestowed on the home and in terms of their ability to tolerate hardship. These findings are consistent with suggestions that the cultural norms of the study population are essentially patriarchal (Chinkanda, 1992; Guy, 1990) and that while women do not have authority they do bear responsibility for the 'standing' of a home and, further, should endure and tolerate in the name of this responsibility.

2.7 Preliminary Conclusions and Implications for research

There was strong evidence that intimate violence (or at least interpersonal violence against women) represented a significant risk to women in this community and demanded attention. Intimate violence, also, did not seem to be adequately explained by recourse to a set of material conditions. If material conditions played a part, and if women experienced these as 'traps' we are left having to understand better the ways in which they had come to use this explanation when, on the face of it, evidence indicated that they are not always trapped in this way.

The foregoing discussion highlights a number of issues, two of which are pursued here. On the one hand, the basic 'facts' about the nature and incidence of intimate violence are contested and often underplayed; on the other, a sensitivity to the social context of intimate violence would require research that goes beyond 'description' if it is to be meaningful.

CHAPTER 3 : THE STUDY

3.1 Aims of the Study

The study reported here has a number of discrete aims:

- 1) To provide incidence data on Intimate Violence in Mdantsane.

- 2) To explore the possibility that Intimate Violence can be divided into different forms with emphasis on the 'Beating vs. Battering' distinction made by Counts et.al. (1992).
- 3) To test the hypothesis that different communities report different levels of Intimate Violence.
- 4) To examine individual and socio-cultural correlates of Intimate Violence.
- 5) To test the proposition that 'background' (area or community variables) will significantly add to the amount of variability in the use of Intimate Violence reported by men.

3.2 The Study

The study reported here was conducted between July and September 1995. The following sections describe the process followed in conducting the survey, the survey instrument (including the description of those variables pertinent to the current report) and the data analysis process.

3.3 Conducting the Survey

3.3.1 Selecting & Training Fieldworkers

The fieldworkers employed in this study were located with the help of the South African National Civic Association (SANCO) Mdantsane (urban sample) and SANCO Nowawe (rural sample). The civic organisations put forward candidates who were subjected to interviews by the researcher and staff at the Child and Family Centre. Eighteen urban fieldworkers (6 men, 12 women) were selected to carry out the urban fieldwork and 9 rural fieldworkers (3 men, 6 women). One urban fieldworker was dismissed during training. The ratio of men to women (intended to be 1:2) reflected a decision to use women for interviews with women and children³, and men for male subjects only. This decision was based on concerns for the safety of women in possibly interviewing violent men, the reticence of women in the community to speak to men in a confidential manner about violence, and a concern that men may intimidate children.

The selection of fieldworkers was based on their ability to speak and understand English, their interpersonal manner and their stated understanding of the survey procedure. Experience with market research, voter education and voter registration was a strong recommendation and, in fact, many of the fieldworkers had participated in at least one form of door-to-door canvassing (usually voter registration).

The selected fieldworkers were subjected to approximately 15 training sessions of between 2 and 4 hours in duration each. The training involved, in the main, repeated role plays of the interview procedure while being observed by the rest of the group. Any difficulties were discussed at length and strategies devised to deal with these were reached through discussion. Each fieldworker was also required to administer the questionnaire a number of times during the training. These 'practice runs' were closely scrutinised by the researcher and any problems discussed and role-played during the training sessions. When all of the fieldworkers were able to go into the community and administer 3-4 questionnaires in a morning without making any mistakes the field work proper commenced.

³ The survey being reported was carried out alongside a second survey exploring violence against children. This work is presented in an unpublished MA (Clin. Psych) degree by J. Evans (1998) at the Child Guidance Clinic, UCT.

3.3.2 Sampling

The urban sample was drawn from three neighbourhood units (NU1, NU12 and NU17) and an Informal Settlement area within the Mdantsane township boundaries. These areas were chosen because they represent distinct socio-economic strata of the Mdantsane community. NU1 is the oldest and poorest area in the township, NU12 a working class area and NU17 is one of the newer and more affluent areas, where residents are mainly government employees and professionals (eg. teachers, nurses, police officers) (Evans, 1998). The informal settlement was chosen for its contrast to those communities within Mdantsane who have access to formal housing. The informal settlements are rather newer and less homogenous in terms of economic resources than the formal neighbourhood units.

The sampling was carried out by assigning fieldworkers to areas (usually 2 men and 3-4 women in the neighbourhood units and all of the fieldworkers to the informal settlement area) and providing them with a map of the area. Initially target houses were marked on the map but this was found to be impractical as the maps were not sufficiently accurate. Fieldworkers subsequently worked through an area by simply choosing the third house from each corner. In each case the fieldworker asked for a resident man or woman older than 18 who was, if possible, a member of the 'central couple'. This judgement was made by the fieldworkers themselves based on their impression of the household. If an appropriate target was not present then the fieldworker tried next door and so on. In order to avoid duplication, and having field workers working in areas known to them, each area was covered by fairly stable 'teams' of fieldworkers for the most part.

In the case of the informal settlement all of the urban fieldworkers participated. Target households were chosen by entering the area, approaching the first dwelling and moving to adjacent dwellings if no appropriate target person was available. After a successful interview the fieldworker would stand in the doorway, locate the third doorway from where he/she stood and treat this as the next target.

Validation of the fieldwork was carried out by separately recording the house numbers that respondents came from. Using this data the researcher revisited 10% of the sample and was able to positively confirm that an interview had taken place in over 80% of this group. Those that were not validated were not at home when the researcher visited.

The rural sample was drawn from three villages in the Nowawu area around the town of Berlin (approximately 15km north of Mdantsane). The villages were chosen in consultation with the fieldworkers for their adequate size (they needed to be able to provide 80-100 households each in order to yield 30 men, 30 women and 30 children from separate households). Fieldworkers were assigned to villages in teams (2 women and 1 man) in order to control duplication and avoid placing fieldworkers in their own residential areas. It was thought that this may cause problems with confidentiality. Targets were chosen in the same manner as the urban informal settlement areas. The same instructions regarding eliciting co-operation were followed.

In the rural setting the fieldwork was validated by the village chairman who signed a form confirming that the fieldworkers had surveyed his village.

In both the urban and rural samples the fieldworkers were instructed not to engage, if possible, in any discussion with the people they approached. They were simply to state their credentials (reading the cover page and emphasising that the survey was a Health Department initiative). They did not identify themselves as members of

any civic or political organisation. If a subject was reluctant the fieldworkers simply emphasised the importance of the work, the confidential nature of the information gathered, and the opportunity to represent their community's views. If after this second request the targeted person remained reluctant the fieldworker recorded the reason for their reluctance, thanked them for their time and moved on.

3.4 The survey instrument

The questionnaires (see Appendices 5-11 for a full copy of the questionnaires) were constructed for the survey by the author. In keeping with the aims of the study the questionnaire was designed to address three main areas; Dependent Variable - Intimate Violence, Individual Variables, and Background Variables (Area and Area Proxies). It is intended that these variables provide a conceptual structure within which it is assumed that 'Background' variables will influence the DV either directly or mediated by the 'Individual Variables', a structure which makes available the space to explore the study's aims (see Table 2).

As will be obvious from an examination of the full questionnaire (Appendices 5-11) this is only a subset of the full questionnaire. The questionnaire gathers a larger set than is used in this report for two reasons; 1) this report focuses on the use of violence by men, so that, 2) a large amount of detail regarding health status, help seeking and the like which speaks to the experiences and consequences of violence for women is disregarded.

Table 2 : Scope and conceptual structure of variables included in the study

Background Variables	Individual Variables	Dependent Variables
Community Demographic, violence and cultural variables.	a) Demographic Information b) Experiences with Violence c) Beliefs & Attitudes regarding violence and related issues	Measures of Intimate Violence

The variables are described under the sections already mentioned. In some cases basic descriptive data is reported alongside the introduction to the variables.

3.4.1 Dependent Variables

3.4.1.1 Measures of Intimate Violence - Intimate Violence Scale

Intimate violence was measured on an 11-item scale. The scale is based in part on the Conflict Tactics Scale developed by Straus and his colleagues (Straus, 1979; Straus & Gelles, 1986) with some modifications for the local context. The items were designed to tap verbal, emotional, physical and sexual violence. Men and women receive the same items but men are asked if they have used violence, women if they had been the victims of violence.

Items are on a 5 - point scale from "Never" to "10+ times" in the past year that respondents had engaged in the described act (see Appendix 6, p. 7 for the men's items and Appendix 7, p. 7 for the women's items). In this way incidence was measured with the additional possibility of comparing the 'severity' of violence. The actual measures used are described and elaborated on in the results to follow.

3.4.2 Individual Variables

3.4.2.1 Demographic Variables

The demographic variables considered for this report have been subdivided into; a) Personal Variables, b) Socio-Economic Status, and c) Social Life and Substance Use. These will be considered in turn.

3.4.2.1.1 Personal Variables.

The 'Personal' variables (see Appendix 5, p. 1 for details) used here refer to **Age** in years, **Reltype** operationalised as the type of relationship where the choices are 'none', 'Civil Marriage', 'Traditional Marriage', 'Civil&Traditional Marriage', 'Cohabiting' and 'Other', and **Reltime** operationalised as persons in their current relationship for '<2yrs', '2-5 yrs', '5-10 yrs', and '10+ yrs'.

3.4.2.1.2 Socio-Economic Status

A number of measures of socio-economic status and education were used, these were intended to provide a measure of autonomy and resources a person held (item references refer to Appendix 5, p. 2 & 4).

Education was measured through **Schooling** (item 19), operationalised as the number of completed years at school (with Sub A to Std 1 scoring a 1), and **Tertiary** (derived from items 19, 21 & 23) a categorical variable operationalised as 'no tertiary', 'tertiary/technical training without matric', and 'matric + tertiary training'. Employment is examined through the **Employ** (a summary of item 25) variable, a dichotomous yes/no variable with respect to current employment status. Levels of autonomy and control were examined through the **Support** (if unemployed, who supports?: self/own family or spouse; see item 26), **Control** (who has control of your wages?: self or spouse; see item 28), and **Payment** (who makes the house payments?: self or spouse; see item 63).

3.4.2.1.3 Social Life and Substance Use

The variables in this section are intended to examine the relationship between socialising, particularly same sex socialising and substance (alcohol) use and the use/experience of Intimate Violence (see Appendix 5, p. 3). **Intox** (item 31) is a ranked variable on a 5-point scale from never to always regarding the frequency with which the respondent gets inebriated when he/she drinks alcohol, **Shebeen** (item 32), records the number of occasions per week that the respondent goes to a shebeen or similar establishment, **Alcfreq** (item 38b) records the number of occasions per week that the respondent drinks alcohol, **SocSelf** is a measure of the number of times the respondent socialises and the degree to which he/she does so without his/her partner (item 29*item 39).

3.4.2.2 Experiences with violence

Experiences with violence were elicited with reference to past and current experiences with violence.

3.4.2.2.1 Past experiences with violence

Men and women were asked to respond yes/no to the question 'In your most recent prior relationship do you beat your girlfriend/did your boyfriend beat you?: yes/no (**LastRel**). Men and women were also asked, on 4 - point scales from 1 = never to 4 = often, whether they had been subject to hitting as children (**ChildExp**) and whether they had seen their father beat their mother (**ChildWitt**) (see Appendix 6, p. 8).

3.4.2.2 Current experiences with violence

Respondents' current experiences with violence were operationalised in terms of the number of fights they had witnessed (**Witnessed**) on a five point ranked scale (0 - 10+; derived from items Exp10 & Exp11, Appendix 6, p.6). Persons who had witnessed a fight went on to detail the nature of the last fight they witnessed with respect to who was fighting with whom (**Combatants**), the possible involvement of alcohol, the weapon used (**Weapon**) and the manner in which the fight was stopped (**Intervention**). The questions from which these variables are derived can be seen in Appendix 6, pp. 6&7.

3.4.2.3 Beliefs & Attitudes

The beliefs and attitudes section of the scale was the only section translated into isiXhosa. It was considered important to translate the items in order to ensure that each subject received the same questions as a way to protect the scale reliability. The translation was done by a translator with a Masters degree in isiXhosa. She is a first language English speaker but learnt isiXhosa as a child. Her translations were independently examined by two isiXhosa first language nursing sisters to ensure that the sense of the items had been preserved. Where disagreements arose the two nurses and the researcher met and edited the items.

3.4.2.3.1 Sex Role, Relationships and Battering Myths

Sex Role, Relationships and Battering Myths were elicited through three separate scales (see Appendix 8, p.9). The Sex Role and Relationship scales were based in part on similar scales used by Burt (1980) and in part based on the pilot research already reported. They were intended to elicit the degree to which respondents held conservative/liberal views regarding Sex Roles and Relationships in addition to the degree to which relationships might be considered to be conflictual/exploitative as opposed to supportive/co-operative.

On reviewing the Sex Role and Relationships scales they were found to have poor reliability on their own. Combining the two scales improved the reliability somewhat (cronbach's alpha=.73), with an item analysis confirming that no single item(s) were negatively effecting the overall scale. In view of this the scales were combined for the analysis (**SexRole**). A principle components factor analysis of the combined scale provided weak but interpretable qualitative support for using a subset of the scale to form a second scale with moderate reliability (cronbach's alpha=.65) and some face validity (**SexFight**). This scale includes items SR3, SR4, SR5, REL1, REL3 and REL4 (see Appendix 8, p.9 for questions) and is interpreted to be a measure of the degree to which relationships are seen as combative (Burt, 1980).

The Myths scale was constructed using the 'Battering Myths' reported in the activists literature (eg. De Sousa, 1991) and measures the degree to which respondents endorse a set of common 'explanations' regarding intimate violence. An examination of this scale revealed important differences by sex. Item analysis revealed that while the scale was reliable for each sex separately (cronbach's alpha >.8) two items were problematic when the full sample was used. These two items 'Alcohol is the main cause of wife beating' and 'Usually, when a man beats his wife he has a good reason' were endorsed differently by men and women. Men tended to disagree with the claim that alcohol was a main cause of wife beating while women endorsed this item and the reverse was true for the 'men have a good reason' item, while the other items were endorsed similarly. For this reason the two items were removed from the scale which creates three measures of myth endorsement, a) the myths scale less the two items mentioned (cronbachs alpha>.8) (**Myths**), b) the 'alcohol' explanation (**Mythalc**), and c) the 'good reason' explanation

(Mythcause).

In all of the above variables a higher score corresponds with an endorsement of sex role stereotypes, combative relationships and battering myths.

3.4.2.3.2 Beliefs regarding interpersonal and intimate violence

Building on ideas reported by Velicer, Huckel, and Hansen (1989) regarding the multi-factorial nature of beliefs about violence and in keeping with the emphasis on multi-variate and contextual explanations, beliefs were elicited on a range of types of violence; violence in disciplining children, violence as an interpersonal strategy, beating of wives and, for men, the beating of their own wife/girlfriend. Women were asked for their beliefs regarding the leaving of violent relationships.

The items in this section were compiled using the model provided by Fishbein regarding the measurement of beliefs and attitudes (see Appendices 1-4 for details). While all belief variables followed the Fishbein model (i.e. Outcome*Evaluations of target behaviour) only the Intimate Violence and Leaving Violent Relationships sections had items relating to normative influence. Appendices 8 & 9 contain the full belief sections of the questionnaire in which the structure of the questions can clearly be seen to follow the Fishbein model. However it must be pointed out that Theory of Reasoned Action is premised on measuring beliefs etc. regarding very specific behaviours, an assumption not fully met in this study (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975).

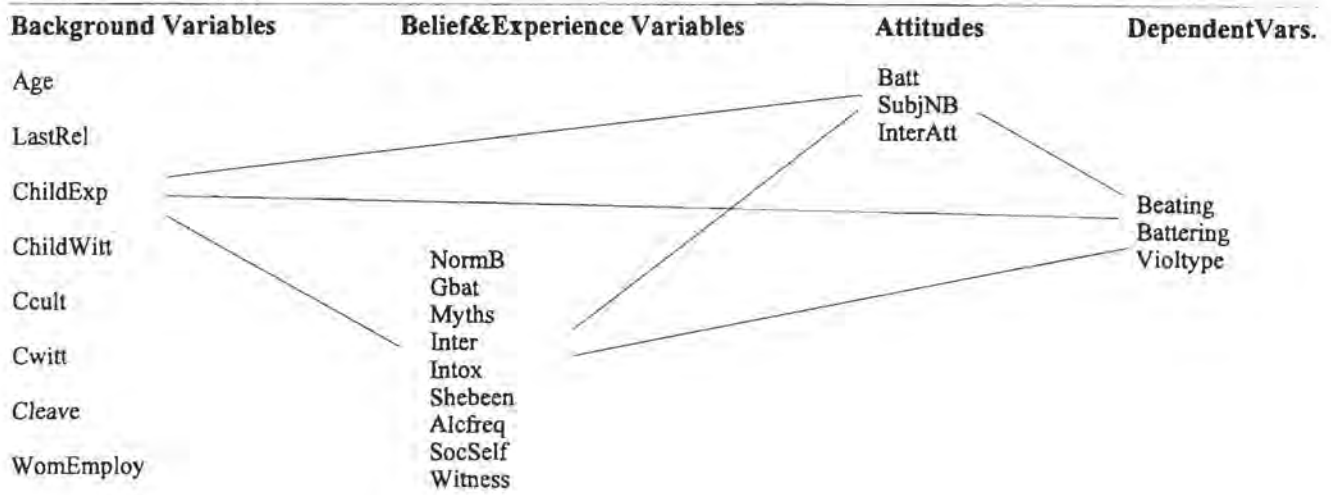
The variables used in this study are; **GBAT** (modal beliefs regarding violence against wives), **PBAT** (modal beliefs regarding violence against *one's own wife* - men only), **Disc** (modal beliefs regarding physical disciplining of children), **Inter** (modal beliefs regarding interpersonal violence - men only), **Leave** (modal beliefs regarding leaving a violent relationship - women only), **AttBatt** (attitudes to the beating of wives), **LeaveAtt** (attitudes to leaving a violent relationship), **InterAtt** (attitudes towards interpersonal violence), **NormB** (normative component, beating wives - men only), **NormL** (normative component, leaving a violent relationship - women only), **SubjNB** (subjective norm, beating wives - men only), **SubjNL** (subjective norm, leaving a violent relationship - women only)

In all belief, attitude and normative variables a higher score denotes support of violence use or leaving a violent relationship.

3.4.3 Background Variables

With the intention of providing community indices regarding the level of cultural 'traditionality', SES and violence a set of community demographic variables were computed. **Cemploy** is calculated as the percentage of unemployed persons in the area, and each person is assigned the value corresponding to their area, **Ccult**, is assigned in the same way and is calculated as the percentage of lobola marriages in the area, **Cwitt** is the percentage of persons who witnessed violence in the area. Additional variables relating to women's levels of autonomy were assigned to the male respondents for inclusion in the exploratory path analysis. These were **WomEmploy** which is the percentage of women employed in a given area and **Cleave** which is the mean for the area of the **Leave** variable and is intended as a measure of women's willingness to leave a violent relationship, providing a measure of perceived 'sanctuary'.

Figure 1. Variables included in the exploratory path analysis



3.5 Notes on Data Analysis.

Data analysis was conducted in four phases. Phase one entailed a close explanatory examination of the data, with special emphasis on the choosing and operationalising of the variables for this report. The results of this section are reported in **Results I - The sample**. Phase two involved the close descriptive examination of the Intimate Violence and Experiences with Violence sections. This second phase of the analysis is reported in the section **Results II - Incidence and Patterns of Violence Experiences** and largely fulfils the first three aims of this study; the reporting of incidence data, examining the factor structure of the intimate violence items and testing the hypothesis that different areas will have different rates of intimate violence.

The third phase of analysis, meeting the fourth aim of the study, entailed the conducting of inferential statistics on relationship between the DV's and the other variables. This section focuses primarily on the categorical intimate violence items and consequently the Chi-square statistic is heavily relied upon. Post hoc analysis is conducted using the standardised residuals with the Benferroni correction to protect against familywise error (Hays, 1994). Where appropriate correlations are computed. The results of this phase of the analysis are presented in the section **Results III - Intimate Violence and Other Variables - Relationships**. As this section focusses on the *use* of intimate violence only the male sample is used.

The fourth and final stage of the analysis involves the exploration of aspects of the Sanctions & Sanctuary model proposed in the early sections of this report. This section uses linear regression techniques to generate an exploratory path analysis with which to examine the relationships between the background, individual and Intimate Violence variables (Loehlin, 1992; Cohen & Cohen, 1983). The process involves a series of regression equations in which the dependent variable is first regressed on all of the antecedent variables. At the next stage those variables which maintained a significant influence on the DV themselves become the DV for any variables logically antecedent to them (see Burt, 1980 for a similar treatment, also Mihalic & Elliot, 1997). Figure 1 provides a summary of the variables used and their proposed relationships. All of the variables in the equation individually account for at least 10% of the variability of the **Beating** or **Battering** variables. This cut-off was adopted in order to reduce the number of variables for what was intended as an exploratory and preliminary investigation. Following the Theory of Reasoned Action (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975) the attitude variables are considered to be conceptually

closer to the target behaviour than the belief and other individual variables which, for the purposes of this exploratory model, are assumed to be under the influence of the background variables. The results of this analysis are presented in the section **Results IV : Exploratory Multiple Regression**.

Following each results section is a brief summary discussion in order to aid in the assimilation of the many variables and hold the focus on the relationships which are pertinent for the Sanctions and Sanctuary model.

CHAPTER 4 : RESULTS

4.1 Results I - The Sample

The study yielded a total of 1115 respondents. Table 3 provides a breakdown by area and sex of the sample.

Table 3 : Sample size by Area and Sex.

Area		Men	Women	Total
Urban	NU 1	57	132	189
	NU 12	101	167	268
	NU 13	92	101	193
	Informal Set.	69	72	141
Urban Total		319	472	791
Rural	Area 1	68	38	106
	Area 2	68	47	115
	Area 3	63	40	103
Rural Total		199	125	324
Total		518	597	1115

Of the full sample 538 (49.1%) were employed. An additional 123 (11%) describe themselves as economically active i.e. looking for work, selling goods informally and the like so that 60% of the sample were economically active. An additional 183 (17%) were receiving state pensions. In total therefore about 70% were receiving an income from some source.

There were no significant differences in employment rates between the urban and rural samples. There was, however a significant gender difference. Women reported employment rates of 20% (Urban and Rural) while men reported rates of 54% (urban) and 49% (rural). When five areas were considered individually there was a significant difference between employment rates across areas ($\chi^2=133.252$, $df=8$, $p=.00001$). Examination of the standardised residuals revealed that NU17 had the highest employment rate with NU 12, the Rural area and the Informal area all having similar rates and NU1 having the lowest rate of employment.

The mean income in an urban home was reported to be R222, while the median (median is used due to the skewness of the data) was R166/month in rural households. Consequently although employment rates are the same, rural homes are poorer (t-test, $p=0.00023$).

In addition urban households comprise 4.8 persons compared to an average of 5.3 in rural households giving a per capita income in rural families of R 31.32 (R166/5.3) compared to an urban amount of R 46.25 (R222/4.8).

Most people in urban areas lived in conventional brick houses (N=693) although a significant minority (N=211) were living in informal shacks. In the rural area a little over half were living in traditional dwellings. Twenty-nine respondents were boarders.

Only 282 respondents reported living in a dwelling with more than two separate rooms. In terms of home ownership 60% of the urban respondents reported ownership of their homes, with the rural population reporting 98% ownership of the dwelling. The rate of ownership also differed by sex, with urban women reporting a 50% ownership rate while urban men reported a 79% ownership rate. This pattern was similar but more marked in the rural sample with 40% of women reporting self ownership against 86% of men.

In the full sample 77% (N=859) of the respondents reported being in a relationship at the time of the interview. Of these 82% (N=689) were currently married. Somewhat higher proportions of men report being in relationships (married and unmarried) in both urban and rural samples; 90% of urban men and 86% of rural men vs. 67% of urban and 69% of rural women.

Considered as a proportion of the total sample 52% report being married (24% in civil ceremonies and 28% in traditional unions) with an additional 9% unmarried but cohabiting. The remaining 39% do not live with their partners, are unmarried and/or are not in a relationship.

Of those respondents who report being in a relationship (married or unmarried) most have been in the relationship for at least one year (N= 815 (97%)) with 344 (41%) respondents reporting relationships of longer than 10 years.

4.2 Results II - Incidence and Patterns of Violence Experiences

4.2.1 Introduction and Summary

This section describes the incidence of reported Intimate Violence, examines differences in incidence between men and women as well as across areas. The factor structure and scale characteristics of the Intimate Violence items are examined.

Also described is the reported amount of violence witnessed. The witnessed violence is described with respect to the nature of the fight and the persons involved.

4.2.1.1 Important Findings

4.2.1.1.1 Factor Structure

- Both the male and female samples yield a factor structure on the Intimate Violence items which can be interpreted in a manner consistent with the proposed distinction between Beating and Battering.

4.2.1.1.2 Incidence

- Fifty percent of male respondents report using physical violence against their partners on at least one occasion in the past year, with this figure rising to 64% if non-physical violence is included.
- Women report significantly lower rates of violence than men with 31% of women reporting at least a single incident of physical violence, which rises to 39% when non-physical items are included.
- Men, but not women, show a significant difference in reported incidence across areas with the Rural group in particular reporting higher levels of violence.

4.2.1.1.3 Witnessed Violence

- Men report witnessing more violence than women but there is no difference between the types of violence men and women report seeing.
- Fights between men and women are more likely to involve a stick or sjambok and less likely to be intervened in than fights between men which more typically involve either no weapons or a knife.
- The number of fights witnessed show a clear relationship with the amount of Intimate Violence reported by the male sample where they are considered across areas.

4.2.2 Factor Structure and Scale Characteristics of Intimate Violence Items

4.2.2.1 Male Sample

The items which make up the Intimate Violence scale produce a reliable scale ($\alpha > 0.9$) but the resulting scores are, predictably, very skewed. The scale was subjected to a Principal Components factor analysis in order to reveal any important structural relationships within the scale that may challenge the use of the full scale as a measure. The results of the Principal Components factor analysis on the whole sample suggest a two factor structure, accounting for 79% of the total variance. Table 4 presents the factor loadings (Varimax Normalised) of this two factor model.

The pattern is consistent with the Battering/Beating distinction already described with Factor 1 (Battering) encompassing items that may be interpreted as 'normal' and visible violence, while Factor 2 (Beating) is comprised of those items which emphasise private and sexual violence. The marital rape item is clearly equidistant from both and could be considered both 'private' and 'normal' for the population being studied.

Table 4: Factor Loadings (Varimax Normalised) on the full male sample.

Variable	Factor 1 (Beating)	Factor 2 (Battering)
Slap	.85	
Hit	.78	
Insult	.72	
ThreatHit	.79	
ThreatKill	.73	
Sjambok	.78	
PutDown		.87
LockIn		.82
Isolate		.72
Rape		.70
Sexual		.78

Despite the intuitive appeal of this model it has some problems when applied to subsections of the sample. In particular, the factors lose their orthogonal relationship when only the urban sample is considered. Examination of the Urban and Rural (Table 5) samples reveal somewhat different factor structures. The urban sample seems best accounted for by the a 3 factor model using both the eigen value and scree test criteria and accounting for 67% of the overall variance. The rural sample is best described, using the same criteria, by a 2 factor model which is very similar to the full scale model and accounts for 64% of the total variance.

Table 5:Factor Loadings (Varimax Normalised) for Urban and Rural Male Samples separately

Variable	Urban Sample			Rural Sample	
Slap	.84			.84	
Hit	.76			.78	
Insult	.58			.78	
PutDown		.83			.86
Lockin			.90		.87
ThreatHit	.68			.86	
ThreatKill			.64	.87	
Isolate		.52	.54	.66	.58
Sjambok	.77			.87	
Rape	.26	.43	.20	.79	
Sexual		.93		.58	.60

These important differences, and the less than compelling factor divisions aside it is clear that the conceptual interpretation of the factors is very similar. The major difference between the two groups is the degree to which the 'Isolate' and 'PutDown' variables cluster together and differ from the other item clusters. This result is likely due to the set of 'extreme' scores already noted in the rural sample which have less variability between the items and much higher incidence. This difference aside, it is clear that the initial interpretation suggesting a distinction between 'normative' and 'private/sexual' violence is still reasonable.

4.2.2.2 Summary and resulting Variables: Male Factor Scores

In response to these results a close examination of the data was carried out. It was found that, descriptively, it is the case for this sample that, while individuals who endorse an item that loads onto the Battering Factor ALWAYS also endorse items (more than one) on the Beating Factor, this relationship does not hold when the relationship is inverted. That is, not all individuals who endorsed an item which loads onto the Beating Factor also endorse an item on the Battering Factor. It is possible then to distinguish three qualitatively different groups led by the factor results, a group who do not use violence, a group who use only Beating items and a group which use both Beating and Battering items. This division could prove useful in a future analysis as a categorical/ordinal DV operationalising the 'type of violence used' (0=no violence, 1 = Beating, 2 = Beating and Battering) and would be used in a path analytic exploration distinguishing between the types of violence endorsed by individuals.

For the purposes of this report the scale is divided into two sets, those which load onto the Beating factor and those which load onto the Battering Factor. These two sets provide nearly independent scales with adequate scale characteristics ($\alpha > 0.9$) and are qualitatively supported by the factor results. The two scale scores are named after the Factors; as the **Beating** and **Battering** scales and are used in the analysis. These two scales are supplemented with the **Total** score, the summative score of all the items. The **Total** scale is retained primarily for its utility in providing some basis for continued comparison of the Male and Female samples.

4.2.2.3 Factor Structure - Female Sample

The combined intimate violence items form a reliable scale ($\alpha > 0.9$) but, as with the male sample, the resulting scores have a very skewed distribution. The items were subjected to a Principal Components factor analysis in order to reveal any important internal structure that may inform later analysis. The results of the factor analysis on the full

sample (Table 6) suggest a 3 Factor model.

Table 6 : Intimate Violence Factor Loadings, Full Female Sample

Intimate Violence Item	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Slap		.79	
Hit		.63	
Insult		.80	
Putdown	.56		
Lockin	.78		
ThreatHit	.50	.50	
ThreatKill	.78		
Isolate	.81		
Sjambok	.58		.44
Rape			.81
Sexual			.84

This factor structure is interpreted in a similar manner to the structure revealed in the male sample. That is, the scale appears to divide into a 'simple' form of violence, labelled for the purpose of this text as 'normal' violence ('slap', 'insult'), a more serious, but still 'normal' form of violence, labelled 'beating' ('putdown', 'threats', 'sjambok', 'isolate' and 'hit') with the two sexual items forming a fairly discrete cluster and labelled 'sexual violence'.

4.2.2.4 Summary and resulting Variables: Female Factor Scores

While it is clear that the factor structure for the female sample is not simple, the three factor model accounts for a significant amount of the overall variance and provides an interpretable structure. The three factor model also appears to provide an adequate model for the sub-groupings of the sample. For these reasons the actual factor scores, denoted **Minor**, **Beating** and **Battering** are used. In addition, as with the male sample, the **Total** score is retained in the analysis.

4.2.3 Incidence of Intimate Violence

A total of 940 respondents, 467 men and 473 women, completed the intimate violence portion of the questionnaire. This represents the persons who were either in a relationship at the time of the survey or had been in a relationship within the year prior to the survey taking place.

The results for men and women show a significant relationship between sex and rates of reported violence (chi-square, $p < 0.01$) except item 3 'Called you/her insulting names'. An examination of the chi-square tables with the margins taken into account reveal that in all cases men are underrepresented in the 'no violence' category and overrepresented in the 'once' and 'more than once' categories, that is, men are reporting higher rates of violence than women (Table 7 presents the frequencies for each item, and composites by sex).

Sixty-four percent (N=297) of the 467 male respondents reported using some form of violence at least once during the past year with 25% (N=119) reporting more than one occasion of violence. The most frequently reported act of violence was 'Threat to hit' which 52% (N=236) of the male sample reported using on at least one occasion and 25% (N=119) reported using this threat on more than one occasion. Fifty percent (N=233) of the male respondents

reported a single use of at least one form of physical violence, with 23% (N=109) reporting more than one occasion of using physical violence. Eighteen percent (N=86) of the men reported at least one occasion of sexual violence with 13% (N=61) reporting more than one such event.

Table 7: Scale of Intimate violence on three-point scale reported as frequency counts (percentages in parenthesis):

Intimate Violence Scale as Frequency Categories	Men (N=466/467)			Women (N=470 +3)		
	0	1	2+	0	1	2+
Combined Total	168(36%)	178(38%)	119(25%)	285(61%)	83(18%)	100(21%)
Combined Non-Physical	199(43%)	183(39%)	83(18%)	317(67%)	85(18%)	70(15%)
Verbal	319(68%)	64(14%)	83(18%)	351(75%)	50(11%)	70(15%)
Insult	324(70%)	60(13%)	82(18%)	355(76%)	46(10%)	68(14%)
Put-Down	407(87%)	36(8%)	24(5%)	429(91%)	13(3%)	27(6%)
Isolate	368(79%)	38(8%)	60(13%)	416(88%)	27(6%)	29(6%)
In Home	407(87%)	38(8%)	22(5%)	436(93%)	18(4%)	15(3%)
From Others	378(81%)	30(6%)	58(12%)	419(89%)	24(5%)	27(6%)
Threats	225(48%)	122(26%)	120(26%)	379(80%)	53(11%)	39(8%)
To Hit	231(49%)	117(25%)	119(25%)	387(82%)	46(10%)	37(8%)
To Kill	355(76%)	43(9%)	68(15%)	411(88%)	39(8%)	18(4%)
Combined Physical	234(50%)	124(27%)	109(23%)	324(69%)	72(15%)	73(16%)
Assault	235(50%)	125(27%)	107(23%)	332(71%)	69(15%)	68(15%)
Slap	265(57%)	109(23%)	93(20%)	346(73%)	72(15%)	55(12%)
Hit/Kick	324(69%)	73(16%)	70(15%)	393(84%)	45(10%)	31(7%)
Sjambok	326(70%)	57(12%)	84(18%)	417(89%)	19(4%)	30(6%)
Sexual	381(82%)	23(5%)	63(13%)	411(87%)	30(6%)	32(7%)
Rape	385(82%)	21(5%)	61(13%)	412(88%)	30(6%)	28(6%)
Degrade	402(86%)	28(6%)	37(8%)	437(93%)	8(2%)	25(5%)

In respect of the 473 women who completed the Intimate Violence items, 39% (N=183) reported at least one experience of intimate violence in the past year, with 21% (N=100) reporting more than one incident. The most frequently experienced act of violence was 'Slap' where 27% (N=127) of the women reported at least one occasion of being slapped and 12% (N=55) reported more than one such occasion.

On the verbal items women experienced fairly high rates of insulting language (24% of women reported being verbally insulted once and 15% of women reported more than one such experience), but the 'Put down in front of others' item was less often reported (9%). Seven percent of the women reported having been locked up in the house at least once with 3% having been locked up more than once. Eleven percent reported having been isolated from their friends and /or family with 6% reporting this happening more than once in the past year. Twelve percent reported being threatened with death at least once, with 4% reporting such threats more than once in the past year. Twenty-seven percent of women report having been slapped at least once (12% report more than one occasion), 16% report being 'Hit, kicked or punched' at least once and 11% reported being beaten with a stick or sjambok at least once, with 6% reporting more than one such incident. Twelve percent of women reported having been forced to have sex at least once with 6% reporting more than one such event (see Table 7).

4.2.3.1 Detailed Incidence by Area - Men

There is a significant interaction (chi-square, $p < 0.001$) between response to items (treated as nominal categories: 'no violence', 'Once', 'More than Once') and Area (see Table 8). Examination of the Standard Residuals (where

zcrit=2.14; and pbfc<0.00167) suggest that the significance is primarily due to the underrepresentation of the rural group in the 'no violence' category and their over-representation in the 'more than once' category. The tables also suggest that areas NU12 & NU17 report relatively less violence with NU1 and the Informal Settlement area falling between them and the Rural group (see Appendix 12, p.1, Table 1)

Table 8: Chi-square results: Area vs. Intimate violence items (Male Sample)

	Slap	Hit	Insult	Putdown	Lock in	Threaten to hit	Threaten to kill	Isolate	Sjambok	Rape	Degrade Sexually
χ^2	99.99	142.11	163.14	89.6	77.64	73.53	153.4	111.98	160.61	133.43	119.85
P*	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001

* p levels are rounded to the 3rd decimal point.

4.2.3.2 Detailed Incidence by Area - Women

Only the 'Threat' and 'Rape' variables show a relationship with Area in the female sample ($\chi^2>20.7$, df=8, p<0.01, see Table 9). Examination of the Standard Residuals suggests that the significance related to the 'Threat' variables are due to an over-representation of the rural group in the 'Once' category (z=3.03, pbfc<0.0015); the significance of the 'Rape' variable appears to be related to the over-representation of the NU 1 group in the 'Once' category (z=3.76, pbfc<0.0015). There are additional non-significant trends which suggest that the NU12 group are over-represented in the 'more than once' category with regard to the 'threat to kill' variable.

Table 9 : Chi-square results: Area vs. Intimate violence items (Female Sample)

	Slap	Hit	Insult	Putdown	Lock in	Threaten to hit	Threaten to kill	Isolate	Sjambok	Rape	Degrade Sexually
χ^2	8.33	9.34	10.7	7.25	15.14	20.75	25.16	12.25	10.84	26.66	8.14
P*	0.402	0.31	0.21	0.51	0.056	0.008	0.0015	0.14	0.21	0.001	0.42

* Some p levels have been rounded off where this has no affect on interpretation.

On the 'threat' items 23% of the rural women report being threatened with assault and 18% being threatened with death. This is contrasted with means of 15% and 10% respectively across the rest of the groups. Twenty-two percent of the NU1 group report having been raped at least once with 6% of these reporting more than one rape in the past year (Appendix 12, p. 2, Table 2 provides a breakdown, by Area, of those variables which interact with Area, the composite variables are also displayed..

4.2.4 Incidence of Witnessed Violence

4.2..4.1 Number of Witnessed Fights

Forty-one percent of the full sample reported witnessing a physical fight in the past year, with 30% seeing more than one and 10% seeing more than five (see Table 10). There is a relationship between sex and number of fights seen (chi-square = 206.05, p<0.0001), with men seeing proportionally more fights than women. In particular, analysis of the standard residuals shows that while similar proportions of men and women had witnessed one fight men were more likely to have witnessed two or more fights and women more likely to have not witnessed a fight at all (all z>3.1; pbfc < 0.0025). This pattern of results was consistent across all areas.

Table 10 : Number of fights witnessed by sex (Column percentages in Parentheses)

Number of fights Witnessed	Men N=518	Women N=597	Total N=1115	Comments
None	199(38%)	459(77%)	658(59%)	Chi-square on Men vs. Women is significant (chi-square = 206.05; p<0.0001). Men are significantly less likely to have seen no fights and significantly more likely to have seen more than two fights than chance expectation (z's>3.2, PBFC<0.0025). Women are more likely to have seen no fights, and less likely to have see more than one fight than chance expectation (z's>3.2; PBFC<0.0025).
One	57(11%)	61(10%)	118(11%)	
Two to Five	160(30%)	60(10%)	220(20%)	
Five to Ten	68(13%)	15(3%)	83(7%)	
More than Ten	34(7%)	2(<1%)	36(3%)	

4.2.4.2 Type of fights witnessed ('combatants')

Type of fight (**Combatants**) reports the respondents' response to the question 'Who was fighting with who?' referring to the most recent witnessed fight. Participants endorsed one of four provided options; 'Man vs. Man', 'Man vs. Woman', 'Woman vs. Woman', and 'Husband and Wife'. In the full sample (N=453) 57% of witnessed fights are between two men, 17% between a man and woman, 12% between two women and 14% between husband and wife. Fights between men and women account therefore for 32% of all witnessed fights in the combined sample. There was no relationship between sex and combatants in either the full sample or each area separately (chi-square ≤ 2.659 , df3, $p=>0.447$; Table 11). This suggest that men and women were witness to the same 'population' of fights. The proportions of '**Combatants**' show a significant relationship with Area (chi-square, $p=0.00001$). Examination of Standard Residuals suggests that the overrepresentation of Man vs. Woman and Man vs. Wife 'fights' in the rural area accounts for a large proportion of the significant result. Also of interest is the relative underrepresentation of Male vs. Female violence in Areas NU12 and NU17. In all areas bar the rural area the largest proportions of witnessed fights occur between two men, in the rural area 50% of witnessed fights are between a man and a woman with, 25% between persons positively identified as man and wife.

Table 11 : Chi-square results on 'Combatants' against Sex, Area, Type of Weapon and Intervention

Variable	Chi-square	df	p	Post-Hoc residual analyses - comments
Sex	2.6587	3	0.45	Sex is not significantly related to the type of fight ('Combatants') witnessed.
Area	44.526	12	0.00001	Benforroni corrected $p= 0.00125$; $Z_{crit}> 3.03$
Weapon	135.246	12	0.00001	Benforroni corrected $p= 0.00125$; $Z_{crit}> 3.03$
Intervention	33.986	9	0.00009	Benferroni corrected $p= 0.00125$; $Z_{crit}> 3.03$

4.2.4.3 Combatants and Weapon Use

'Weapon use' (**Weapon**) reports the type of weapons (None, Stick, Whip, Knife, Other) used in the most recent fight witnessed. There was a significant relationship between weapons and combatants (chi-square = 135.246, $p<0.00001$; Table 11). Residual analysis reveals that man vs man fights are overrepresented in the 'knife' category ($z=4.019$; $pbfc<0.002$) while being underrepresented in the 'whip' category ($z=3.23$; $pbfc<0.002$); woman vs woman fights are overrepresented in the 'no weapon' group; husband vs. wife fights are overrepresented in the 'whip' category ($z=7.209$; $pBFC<0.002$) and underrepresented in the 'knife' category ($z=3.49$; $pBFC<0.002$).

4.2.4.4 Combatants and Intervention

'Intervention' refers to the manner in which the most recent witnessed fight ended (Neighbours intervened, Police intervened, Civic Structures intervened, Ended by itself). There was a significant relationship between Intervention

and Combatants ($\chi^2 = 33.986$, $p < 0.00001$, see Table 11). Analysis of the standard residuals do not reveal any significant post hoc effects but there is a trend for male vs. male fights to be overrepresented in the 'police' and 'residence committee' categories while fights involving two women, or a man and a woman might be more likely to be stopped by neighbours or left to run its course.

4.2.4.5 Combatants and Alcohol

Participants indicated for the last witnessed fight whether both or one of the combatants were under the influence of alcohol. Fully 90% of the fights were reported to involve at least one combatant under the influence of alcohol. There was no relationship between alcohol involvement and combatants ($\chi^2 = 5.4154$, $df = 3$, $p = 0.144$) when all combatant combinations are examined against 'yes/no' regarding alcohol involvement.

Examined individually by combatants each category shows a significant relationship with alcohol use reported as 'both/ him/ her/ neither' were under the influence of alcohol (Table 12).

Table 12 : Chi-square results on combinations of alcohol use and combatants

Combatants	Identity of Combatant(s) under the influence - Percentages				χ^2	df	p level
	Both	Man	Woman	Neither			
Man vs. Man	71	20		9	161.81	2	<0.0001
Man vs. Woman	53	26	7	14	33.886	3	<0.0001
Woman vs Woman	83		13	4	61.444	2	<0.0001
Husband vs. Wife	47	38	10	5	34.59	3	<0.0001

Analysis of standard residuals reveal that all categories of combatants are overrepresented in the 'Both' category ($z > 3.95$, $pbfc < 0.0083$); 'husband vs. wife' fights show significant overrepresentation in the 'man' category ($z = 2.59$, $pbfc < 0.00625$) while 'man vs woman' fights show a significant underrepresentation in the 'woman' category ($z = -2.99$, $pbfc < 0.00625$).

4.2.5 Summary Discussion: Results II

The results described provide clear evidence that Intimate Violence occurs, in the community being studied, at levels which are at, or above, national or international reported levels. The structure of the items suggest that the distinction between Beating and Battering may well be a meaningful one. Further, the incidence of what has here been labelled **Battering** in these communities, at approximately 12-18%, is closer to the rates reported in first world countries where it is arguably the case that all violence is non-normative, or battering (Cambell, 1992).

The findings regarding witnessed violence suggest that there is a qualitative difference between fights involving men and those involving a man and woman. In particular, the fights involving men and women usually involve a stick or sjambok and are not typically stopped by onlookers. It is argued that this pattern is better described as a beating than as a fight -- most probably as a beating of the woman by the man. The fact that the rates of intergender fights corresponds, across areas, with the reported incidence of Intimate Violence is seen as further support of this conclusion.

The finding that men report significantly more violence than women is difficult to explain and any discussion will be deferred for now pending additional information.

Of peripheral importance is the fact that casualty records show similar numbers of female and male assault victims, yet many more male vs. male fights are witnessed. A plausible explanation would be that most of the assaults in which women are hurt are either not seen i.e. occur 'behind closed doors' (de Sousa, 1991) or, such assaults are witnessed but not reported as fights in the survey. Either conclusion suggests higher than reported rates of violence towards women than have been reported here.

In sum, the aim related to demonstrating and describing violence against women has largely been met by the results reported in this section.

4.3 Results III : Intimate violence and other variables - Relationships

4.3.1 Introduction and Summary - Results III

This section reports the bivariate relationships between the Intimate Violence variables and each of the variables being examined in the study. In most cases the male and female samples are considered separately and Area is examined as an important third variable in each analysis. The variables are considered in the categories to which they were assigned in the 'Sanction and Sanctuary Model'.

4.3.1.1 Important Findings - Results III

4.3.1.1.1 Individual Variables

4.3.1.1.1.1 Personal Variables

- As predicted, age shows a significant negative relationship with Intimate Violence in the male sample. This relationship interacts with the form of violence under examination and **Area**.
- Age does not show a relationship with Intimate Violence in the female sample.
- Men in civil marriages report less violence than men in traditional or mixed traditional/civil marriages. Men who were 'living with' their partner showed higher levels of single assault episodes on some items regarding physical violence (**Slap & Sjambok**).
- Men who have been in a relationship for between 2 and 5 years report the most violence.
- The female sample shows some tendency for the persons in traditional marriages to be more likely to have experienced a single assault incident. There was no relationship between Intimate Violence and **Reltime** in the female sample.
- Neither Schooling nor Tertiary education showed relationships with Intimate Violence.
- Employment shows a somewhat complex pattern. In the full sample employment is positively related to Intimate Violence, a relationship that disappears in the male sample when the Urban and Rural groups are considered separately. In the Rural area employed men are more likely to be violent whereas, in the Urban area, most strongly in NU 17, it is unemployed men that report most violence. There is tentative evidence for a similar but reversed pattern in the female group.
- The question of who **Control**'s ones wage produced mixed results with a tendency for women whose wages were controlled by their spouses to be more at risk of Intimate Violence. Similar weak and mixed results were found with respect to **Payment**.

4.3.1.1.1.2 Substance Use and Socialising

- Men spend more time involved in out of the home socialising. They are also more likely to socialise without their spouses.
- In the male sample the amount of socialising a man reports is significantly related to his reports of Intimate Violence. In particular men who gather with their friends often, go to shebeens often and/or typically socialise without their spouses tend to be more violent.
- Alcohol consumption is not related to reported Intimate Violence in the male sample.
- In the female sample there is little relationship between the socialising and substance use variables and reported Intimate Violence. The exception is in the rural group where women who report socialising without their partners report higher rates of Intimate Violence.

4.3.1.1.1.3 Experiences with Violence

- Questions relating to risk of 'criminal' violence are not related to Intimate Violence reports.
- The male but not the female sample show a number of relationships between the experiences with violence and Intimate Violence variables.
- In the male sample Witnessed Violence, the use of violence in past relationships, and having witnessed your mother being beaten is significantly related to reports of Intimate Violence. Levels of discipline as a child were not related to Intimate Violence. These relationships show some variation across area.
- The female sample showed relationships only on **PastRel** and **Witnessed**, in both cases the relationships are weaker than in the male sample.

4.3.1.1.1.4 Myths Attitudes and Beliefs

- The male sample shows positive relationships between attitudes towards battering and Intimate Violence with the exception of the NU 1 sample where a relationship between Normative beliefs and Intimate Violence was found.
- In most cases beliefs towards battering were positively related to Intimate Violence, this relationship was weaker where **Battering** is considered as the DV. In addition the NU 17 sample did not show this relationship. In general it was apparent that the NU 17 sample was less simply explained with regards the relationship between beliefs and Intimate Violence.
- The support of Myths was positively related to reports of Intimate Violence in most cases, but Alcohol as a reason for abuse either showed no relationship or, in the Informal settlement, showed a negative relationship.
- In the female sample the NU 1, Informal settlement and Rural groups showed some relationships, in expected directions, with Intimate Violence. These relationships are relatively weak and do not show any easily interpretable pattern.

4.3.1.1.2 Background Variables

- Rates of employment were unrelated to reported rates of Intimate Violence for both male and female samples.
- The measures of traditionality (**Ccult**), interpersonal violence (**Cwitt**) and female unemployment (**CWomEmploy**) were positively related to all measures of Intimate Violence in the male sample but not in the female sample.

- In the male sample all measure of Intimate Violence showed a significant negative relationship to women's mean evaluation of leaving (**Cleave**) and women's employment.

4.3.2 Individual Variables

4.3.2.1 Personal Variables

4.3.2.1.1 Age and Intimate Violence

The relationship between age and Intimate violence is examined in two ways; 1) as a correlation between age and the summative intimate violence scores. The results are presented for men and women separately, and 2) using the nominal intimate violence codings as groupings for an ANOVA on Age.

4.3.2.1.1.1 Men

When the full sample (N=460) is considered age shows moderate, significant relationships with the Total ($r = -.32$; $p < 0.00001$), Beating ($r = -.32$; $p < 0.00001$) and Battering ($r = -.29$; $p < 0.00001$) scales. These correlations are even higher when the rural group are considered ($\bar{x} = 46$; $s = 17.6$; $N = 169$) on all three measures with Battering showing a correlation of $-.55$ ($p < 0.001$) and both Total and Beating showing correlations of $-.61$ ($p < 0.001$). The Urban group show similar but less marked patterns (see table 13), with the NU17 group showing no relationships at all.

Table 13 : Correlations of Age*Total/Beating/Battering, presented by Area.

Variable	Urban (N=291)	NU1	NU12	NU17	Informal	Rural (N=170)
Total	-.19 $p < 0.001$	-.27 $p > .05$	-.38 $p < .0001$	-.002	-.23	-.61 $p < .00001$
Beating	-.18 $p < 0.002$	-.22 $p > .05$	-.38 $p < .0001$	-.023	-.24	-.61 $p < .00001$
Battering	-.14 $p = 0.017$	-.34 $p > .032$	-.34 $p < .01$	-.04	-.16	-.55 $p < .00001$

This picture is reinforced and extended through an examination of the ANOVA on Age as a function of the categorical intimate violence indices (see Table 14 for details). In light of the fairly consistent pattern of correlations presented the analysis is considered in terms of the full sample only (see Table 13).

Table 14 : ANOVA results; full male sample Age * Intimate Violence categories

Intimate Violence Item	F(df)	p	Post Hoc (Tukeys HSD for Unequal Samples)
Combined Items	16.18 (2, 457)	.0001	No difference between 'once' and 'never' but both significantly older than 'more than once' group ($p < 0.0006$).
Sex Items	21 (2, 459)	.0001	'never' group significantly older than both 'once' and 'more than once' groups ($p < 0.01$), no other differences.
Assault Items	17.07 (2, 459)	.0001	No difference between 'once' and 'never' but both significantly older than 'more than once' group ($p < 0.005$).
Threat Items	19.59 (2, 458)	.0001	No difference between 'once' and 'never' but both significantly older than 'more than once' group ($p < 0.002$).
Isolation Items	19.57 (2, 458)	.0001	The 'more than once' group are significantly younger than the 'never' group ($p = .000046$); no other differences.
Verbal Items	20.62 (2, 458)	.0001	No difference between 'once' and 'never' but both significantly older than 'more than once' group ($p < 0.00001$).

For most Intimate Violence items it is clear that users of intimate violence are younger than non-users, further, there is a distinction between persons in the 'more than once' category and both the 'never' and 'once' categories but only

the Sex Items show a significant difference between the 'never' and 'once' groups.

4.3.2.1.1.2 Women

When the full female sample is considered the only significant relationship is with the Minor Violence (**Hurt**)Factor and even this relationship is weak ($r=-.17$; $p<0.0003$; $N=461$). The **Beating** and Sexual Assault (**Battering**)Factors show correlations in the order of 0.05 ($p=.38$) which suggest that age is not related to these variables in this sample of women.

This picture is reinforced and extended through an examination of the ANOVA on Age as a function of the categorical intimate violence indices (see Table 15 for details). In light of the fact that the female sample did not show significant differences by area the analysis is considered in terms of the full sample only (see Table).

Table 15 : ANOVA results; full female sample Age * Intimate Violence categories

Intimate Violence Item	F(df)	p	Post Hoc (Tukeys HSD for Unequal Samples)
Combined Items	8.45 (2, 465)	.00025	The 'once' is significantly younger than the 'never' group ($p=.0048$). There are no other differences.
Sex Items	.28 (2, 470)	.76	NA
Assault Items	5.91 (2, 466)	.00291	There are no significant differences at the 0.01 level but there is a trend suggesting that the 'once' group is younger than the 'never' group ($p=0.029$).
Threat Items	1.00 (2, 468)	.37	NA
Isolation Items	.39 (2, 469)	.67	NA
Verbal Items	2.81 (2, 468)	.061	NA

While for most Intimate Violence items there is no relationship between age and type of violence, there is a relationship on the Combined items and the Assault Items, a result consistent with the correlations already reported. Of note is that the post hoc comparisons suggest that the 'once' group are younger than the 'never' group but not than the 'more than once group'. There is also no apparent difference in the ages of the 'never' and 'more than once' groups.

4.3.2.1.2 Relationship Status

'Relationship Status' refers to the following possible 'Types' (**RelType**) of heterosexual relationships at the time of the survey; None, Civil Marriage, Traditional Marriage, Combined Civil & Traditional Marriage, Cohabiting and 'Other' (person's in a heterosexual relationship but not married and not cohabiting) as well as the duration (**RelTime**) of the relationship measured as <2, 2-5, 5-10 and 10+ years.

Table 16 presents the results for the male sample against the Categorical Intimate Violence Items. The results indicate that while only **Beating** items show a significant relationship with **Reltype**, all items show a relationship with **Reltime**.

Residual analysis (with $z_{crit} = 2.9$, and $pbfc<0.00167$) indicates that for **Reltype** the significant relationships are primarily due to the following significant deviations from expected; men in a Civil Marriage were overrepresented in the 'never' category on all significant items excepting the **ThreatKill**, on which there when no significant post hoc effects and the **Sjambok** item; men who were 'living with' their partner were significantly overrepresented in the 'once' category on the **Slap** item, and showed a similar trend on the **Sjambok** item ($z=2.566$, $p<0.001$).

Analysis of the Standard Residuals for **Reltype** (with $z_{crit} = 2.87$, and $pbfc < 0.00167$) reveal either a significant overrepresentation of men in a relationship of 2 - 5 years in the 'more than once' category (i.e. for the items **Slap, Hit, Insult, LockIn**) or a trend towards the same relationship in the rest of the items (i.e. **Putdown, ThreatHit, ThreatKill, Isolate, Sjambok, & Rape**) with the exception of **Sexual** for which there are no post hoc relationships. There is a tendency then for men whose relationships are of between 2 and 5 years duration to report more violence use across all items.

Table 16 : Chi-square results: Relationship Status vs. Intimate violence items (Male Sample)

	Slap	Hit	Insult	Putdown	Lock- in	Threaten to hit	Threaten to kill	Isolate	Sjambok	Rape	Degrade Sexually
<i>Type of relationship (Reltype)</i>											
χ^2	55.17	30.92	30.88	9.75	7.86	9.39	22.41	10.41	27.83	11.36	13.23
P*	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.283	0.447	0.310	0.004	0.237	0.001	0.182	0.104
<i>Duration of relationship (Reltime)</i>											
χ^2	57.76	27.24	35.52	19.68	23.19	34.21	23.1	20.19	15.09	19.34	13.35
P*	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.003	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.003	0.02	0.004	0.038

* Some p levels have been rounded off where this has no affect on interpretation. \$ Df = 6 in all cases. # Df = 8 in all cases.

Table 17 presents the results for the female sample against the Categorical Intimate Violence Items. **Reltype** shows relationship with the **Hit** items (Slap & Insult) and the **ThreatKill** item. **Reltime** shows a relationship with **Beating** (Hit, Putdown, ThreatKill) and the **Sexual** items.

Table 17 : Chi-square results: Relationship Status vs. Intimate violence items (Female Sample)

	Slap	Hit	Insult	Putdown	Lock in	Threaten to hit	Threaten to kill	Isolate	Sjambok	Rape	Degrade Sexually
<i>Type of relationship</i>											
χ^2	18.80	6.29	20.35	7.26	15.32	18.25	22.49	10.10	4.5	11.65	11.58
P*	0.016	0.615	0.009	0.509	0.053	0.019	0.004	0.258	0.81	0.168	0.176
<i>Duration of Relationship</i>											
χ^2	4.67	13.43	3.87	14.04	9.64	10.49	8.04	5.22	8.1	13.20	13.79
P*	0.60	0.037	0.69	0.029	0.141	0.106	0.236	0.516	0.231	0.04	0.032

* Some p levels have been rounded off where this has no affect on interpretation.

Analysis of the Standard Residuals for **Reltype** (with $z_{crit} = 2.9$, and $pbfc < 0.00167$) reveal only one significant post hoc result; women in **Traditional** marriages are overrepresented in the 'once' category of the **ThreatKill** item. There is in addition a trend for women in a **Traditional** marriage to be overrepresented in the 'more than once' category of the **Slap** item ($z=2.4$, $p < 0.01$), and for women in **Civil** marriages to be underrepresented in the 'more than once' category of the **Insult** item ($z=2.7$, $p < 0.01$).

Analysis of the Standard Residuals for **Reltime** (with $z_{crit} = 2.9$, and $pbfc < 0.00167$) failed to reveal any post hoc relationships for the female sample.

4.3.2.1.3 Socio-Economic Status

Socio-economic status is considered in terms of education, employment, financial control, and housing.

4.3.2.1.3.1 Education

Schooling (highest standard achieved) shows no relationships with the Intimate Violence scales for either men or women, nor across areas when examined as a correlation ($p > .05$). **Tertiary** education is also unrelated to intimate violence measures for both men and women and across areas when examined as a χ^2 between intimate violence items and the **Tertiary** variable ($p > .05$). This said it must be noted that women with post matric tertiary qualifications ($N=36$) do not report any intimate violence.

4.3.2.1.3.2 Employment

The male sample shows relationships when the χ^2 ($p < 0.05$) between **Employ** and the categorical intimate violence items is considered (Table 18). There are no significant relationships between **Employ** and the intimate violence items in the Female sample. This is the case for the full sample as well as the urban and rural samples separately.

Table 18: Chi-square results: Employment Status (Employ) vs. Intimate violence items (Male sample)

	Slap	Hit	Insult	Putdown	Lock in	Threaten to hit	Threaten to kill	Isolate	Sjambok	Rape	Degrade Sexually
<i>Urban Male Sample</i>											
χ^2	7.54	17.15	13.88	2.86	6.96	2.64	2.00	5.67	1.38	7.12	9.99
p	.023	.001	.001	.23	.031	.277	.367	.059	.502	.028	.007
<i>Rural Male Sample</i>											
χ^2	34.51	23.53	18.45	9.54	6.18	34.41	20.45	11.07	21.38	15.65	9.32
p	.0001	.0001	.0001	.008	.046	.0001	.0001	.004	.0001	.0001	.009

* Some p levels have been rounded off where this has no affect on interpretation.

Examination of the standardised residuals for the urban and rural sample are difficult to calculate meaningfully as many of these tables contain cells where the expected value is below 3, where 5 is the accepted limit. In view of this the nature of the relationship was examined further by collapsing the three point intimate violence items into a dummy coded yes/no variable and using the phi correlation to test the strength of this relationship with the **Employ** variable.

The phi correlation suggests a significant ($p < 0.01$) but small positive relationship between **Employ** and the dichotomous Intimate Violence Items for the full sample. Examination of the correlations by area suggest that these correlations reflect the strong positive correlations seen in the rural sample which override the non-significant trend towards a negative relationship in the urban areas. Of the urban areas only NU17 shows a significant negative relationship ($\phi = -.31$, $p < 0.05$) and then only w.r.t. the **Hit** item. In contrast, the Rural group show significant positive relationships on all items with a number of items showing moderate to high correlations of .40 and above.

The female sample show only two significant relationships; a positive relationship between **Employ** and **Sjambok** in NU17, and a negative relationship between **Employ** and **Insult** in the rural area.

4.3.2.1.3.2 Support

Unemployed person's reported the source of their financial support. The variable **Support** is dummy coded 1 = self or own family supporting, 2 = spouse supporting. Due to the relatively low numbers all tables had one or more cells with Expected values of below 3 when the 3-point intimate violence items were used which invalidates the chi-square statistic (Howell, 1987). The intimate violence items were therefore also dummy coded; 0 = never, 1 = once

or more than once and the degree of relationship was ascertained using the phi correlation.

In the male sample only the NU17 group showed a significant relationship and then only on one item, **Hit** (Phi=.68). The female sample showed a number of significant but small positive correlations in NU1 (Rape phi=.29), NU12 (Slap phi=.25, Hit phi = .36 and ThreatHit phi= .27) and a single negative correlation in the Rural sample (Hit phi=-.40).

4.3.2.1.3.4 Control

The **Control** variable refers to the identity of the person who controls the respondents wages if they work where 1 = self and 2 = spouse. The relationships were examined against the dichotomous Intimate Violence Items using the phi correlation.

The full male sample showed significant but small positive relationships on most items, with the **Slap** item showing a negative correlation with **Control** in both the full Urban sample (phi=-.19) and the NU12 (phi=-.27) sample. The NU17 group showed positive correlations on both the **Hit** (phi=.36) and **Sjambok** (phi = .36) items.

The female sample showed only one significant relationship, that in the rural sample between **Control** and **Putdown** (phi = .38) (see Appendix 12, p.3, Table 3 for more details).

4.3.2.1.3.5 Payment

The payment variable (**Payment**) is a dummy coded variable (1= self, 2 = spouse), relating to the question 'who makes the payments [on the house]?' and is intended as a measure of financial autonomy. As with the **Control** variable already discussed, relationships with the Intimate Violence items is explored through the phi correlation with the dichotomous, dummy coded intimate violence items.

The male sample shows some positive correlations between **Payment** and selected Intimate violence items in some areas. NU1 shows positive correlations on the **Putdown** (phi = .56) and **Lockin** (phi = .56) items, while NU17 shows weaker but still significant positive relationships on a number of the **Beating** items (i.e. **Slap** (phi=.28), **Insult** (phi=.33), **Sjambok** (phi=.25)) indicating that for men where there is a relationship it suggests that violence is positively related to home ownership.

The female sample shows one positive relationship in NU 12 on the **Insult** item (phi=.26) but the remaining relationships are negative and all relate to the Informal settlement area where the items **Putdown** (phi=-.29), **ThreatHit** (phi = -.27) and **ThreatKill** (phi = -.27) show significant negative correlations (see Appendix 12, p. 4 Table 4 for more detail).

4.3.2.1.3 Social Life & Substance use

There was a significant correlation between sex as a dummy coded variable 1=male, 2=female and all measures of socialising which suggests that men score higher on all measures of socialising and alcohol use used (see Table 19).

Table 19 : Correlations between Sex and Social Life and Substance Use items - Full sample

Variable	Intox	Shebeen	Alcfreq	Soc_Self
Sex	-.61	-.58	-.62	-.42

The relationships between the social life variables and the intimate violence scale variables are presented for men in Table 20 and for women in Table 21. In both cases the samples are considered as combined, urban only and rural only.

The urban male sample showed significant ($p < 0.05$) positive correlations on all Intimate Violence Scale and Social Life variables except concerning the Battering variable and Intox. In addition, while all Social Life items correlated at a significance level of $p < 0.001$ with both Beating and Total none correlated with Battering at better than $p = 0.01$.

The rural male sample showed generally higher correlations but did not show the same differences between Battering and the other two Intimate Violence variables as did the urban group. The rural group shows significant relationships at the $p < 0.001$ level across all Intimate Violence scales with the Social Life variables (Table 20).

Table 20 : Pearson's r Correlations between Sex and Social Life and Substance Use items - Male sample

Variable	Intox	Shebeen	Alcfreq	Soc_Self
Combined Sample				
Beating	.24	.44	.40	.54
Battering	.18	.41	.36	.50
Total	.22	.45	.40	.55
Urban Sample				
Beating	.25	.21	.23	.36
Battering	.08	.19	.13	.23
Total	.23	.23	.23	.37
Rural Sample				
Beating	.28	.58	.51	.52
Battering	.27	.53	.48	.53
Total	.28	.58	.52	.54

The female sample shows generally smaller correlations than the male sample against the Social Life and Substance Use variables (see Table 21). Only the rural area show significant and moderate relationships in the form of positive relationships between the **Beating** factor and the **Total** score with the **Soc_Self** (same sex socialising) item, that is, women in the rural area who report typically socialising without their partners report higher levels of violence.

Table 21 : Pearson's r Correlations between Sex and Social Life and Substance Use Items - Female Sample

Variable	Intox	Shebeen	Alcfreq	Soc_Self
Combined Sample				
Fact1	.14	.08	.14	.12
Beating	.00	-.00	-.04	.04
Battering	.00	.03	.07	.09
Total	.09	.06	.09	.15
Urban Sample				
Fact1	.15	.10	.18	.12
Beating	.03	.08	.03	.02
Battering	.03	.05	.08	.07
Total	.13	.13	.17	.13
Rural Sample				
Fact1	.09	.09	.02	.06
Beating	-.09	-.14	-.18	.12
Battering	-.04	.01	.07	.19
Total	-.05	-.07	-.11	.28

4.3.2.1.4 Experiences with Violence

The variables **Witnessed, PastRel, ChildExp, and ChildWitt** were examined for their correlations with the Intimate Violence scales for both men and women. In general, men reported higher relationships between Intimate Violence and other violence measures than did women (see Table 22).

Table 22 : Pearson's Correlation Co-efficient: Intimate Violence Scales*Experience of Violence Variables (Male and Female Samples by Combined, Urban and Rural groups)

Variables	Men			Women			
	Beating	Battering	Total	Fact1	Fact2	Fact3	Total
Combined Sample							
Witnessed	.54	.45	.53	.13	.15	-.07	.14
PastRel	.70	.53	.65	.21	.19	.14	.33
ChildExp	.24	.13	.20	.05	-.04	.02	.02
ChildWitt	.72	.70	.74	-.01	.04	-.04	-.00
Urban Only							
Witnessed	.34	.20	.34	.15	.13	-.07	.14
PastRel	.60	.30	.60	.25	.14	.18	.33
ChildExp	.34	.15	.33	.05	-.03	.13	.02
ChildWitt	.15	.05	.14	-.02	.02	-.07	-.03
Rural Only							
Witnessed	.67	.56	.65	-.03	.23	-.06	.13
PastRel	.68	.52	.64	-.17	.42	-.03	.24
ChildExp	.33	.26	.31	-.02	-.18	.05	-.12
ChildWitt	.76	.67	.75	-.03	.11	.11	.16

4.3.2.1.5 Myths, Attitudes and Beliefs

4.3.2.1.5.1 Male Sample

When the full sample is examined **Total** and **Beating** show significant relationships with **Inter** (Modal beliefs regarding interpersonal violence, $r=.35$), **Gbat** (Modal beliefs regarding violence towards female partners, $r=.39$), **Pbat** (Modal beliefs regarding violence towards female partners -asked as 'your partner', $r=.50$), **NormB** (Normative beliefs regarding violence towards female partners, $r=.21$), **SubjNB** (subjective norm regarding violence against female partners, $r=.39$), **Myths** (adherence to typical explanations regarding violence against women, $r=.49$), **InterAtt** (Attitudes towards interpersonal violence, $r=.40$) and **Batt** (attitudes towards using violence towards female partners, $r=.40$) suggesting that beliefs regarding battering, especially one's own battering, and ones attitudes to interpersonal violence and battering are positively related to the use of normative violence (see Appendix 12, p.5, Table 5 for detailed results). Of note is the relatively weaker relationships between the measures of normative influence (**NormB**) and those measuring attitudes and the subjective norm which provides evidence consistent with the theory of reasoned action (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). The attitude and subjective norm measures have similar relationships with the intimate violence items and this is confirmed when the two are used to predict **Total** (**Batt** beta=.265, **SubjNB** beta=.267; adjR²= .2) and **Beating** (**Batt** beta=.301, **SubjNB** beta=.258; adjR²= .23).

The **Battering** measure shows a similar pattern save that the relationships observed are slightly weaker and there is no relationship between **NormB** and **Battering** (see Appendix 12, Table 5). When **Battering** is predicted from **Batt** and **SubjNB** the results (**Batt** beta=.185, **SubjNB** beta=.249; adjR²= .13) suggest that, for **Battering** the subjective norm is more influential than the respondents' attitudes in predicting the reported use of severe violence.

The results remain largely stable when the sample is considered by area. Important differences are that the normative measures (**NormB** & **SubjNB**) tend to reduce or lose their relationship with the Intimate Violence items, with NU1 being the only exception to this rule. This finding suggests that in the main it is belief and attitude rather than normative influences which most strongly relate to the reported use of intimate violence. An additional difference relates to NU17. When NU17 is considered separately only two of the attitude (**DiscAtt** (attitudes towards the use of physical punishment with children) & **Batt**) variables show a relationship with the intimate violence variables where $r_{\text{Beating} \cdot \text{DiscAtt}} = .27$, $r_{\text{batterin} \cdot \text{DiscAtt}} = .21$, $r_{\text{Beating} \cdot \text{Batt}} = .57$ and $r_{\text{Battering} \cdot \text{Batt}} = .29$. These results suggest that, for the NU17 sample, the use of intimate violence is most strongly associated with attitudes towards using physical punishment with children and attitudes to the beating of wives. That the relationship between **Beating** and **Batt** is stronger than that between **Battering** and **Batt** suggests that, for this subsample, severe and sexual violence is predicted less than 'normative' violence but any interpretations of this finding must take the relatively low incidence of violence and, especially, severe violence in the NU17 sample which, through reducing the variability, will reduce the correlation coefficient (Howell, 1987) (see Appendix 12, p. 5, Table 5 for more details).

4.3.2.1.5.2 Female Sample

The female sample shows fewer and weaker relationships between measures of intimate violence and measures of belief (see Appendix 12, p. 6, Table 6). In addition there is little consistency in relationships patterns across types of intimate violence and across areas, while when the full sample is used there are no significant relationships.

The results do however suggest some trends. Where **LeaveAtt** (attitudes towards leaving a violent relationship)

shows a relationship to Intimate Violence items, in NU 1 with **Hurt** ($r=-.25$) and **Total** ($r=-.31$), in the Informal area with **Battering** ($r=-.27$) this relationship is negative suggesting that persons who hold positive attitudes to leaving a violent relationship experience less violence. The strongest relationships are with **Leave** (modal beliefs regarding leaving a violent relationship) and **Gbat** with positive correlations of $r>.36$ in the Informal settlement area (**Total**, **Hurt**, and **Battering**), which suggests that persons experiencing higher levels of violence hold both more positive beliefs regarding the violence and leaving a violent relationship. There is evidence that the **MythAlc** (endorsement of alcohol as an explanation for violence against women) is related to the experience of **Beating** but the two areas in which the relationship occurs, NU1 ($r=.21$) and Rural ($r= -.21$) show correlations of similar strength but in opposite directions. This suggests that for women in NU1, higher rates of experienced violence corresponds with higher endorsement of the alcohol explanation but, for rural women high rates of violence corresponds with a rejection of the alcohol explanation.

These results are difficult to summarise and interpret. They may reflect the lower (than men) rates of violence reported which has tended to reduce the effect sizes or, and arguably more likely given the absolute rates of violence reporting, they provide evidence for an argument suggesting that women's' experiences of victimisation are not related to their beliefs on the issue. Rather, their beliefs on the issue may be better understood as attempts to account for the fact of the violence in their lives, an interpretation which would be consistent with the varied findings revealed in this sample.

4.3.3 Background Variables

The background variables (see Table 23), **Cemploy**, **Ccult**, **Cwitt**, **CWomEmploy**, were examined for their relationship with intimate violence using pearsons correlation co-efficient. The Background variables were also correlated against the belief variables.

Table 23 : Background variables (%) - value per area (scores are rounded off for ease of reading)

Area	Cemploy	Ccult	Cwitt	WomEmploy
NU1	41	33	44	35
NU12	37	21	42	38
NU17	19	38	33	74
Informal	49	34	41	46
Rural	29	73	43	20

Cemploy = % of person in the area who are unemployed, **Ccult** = % of marriages which involved lobola, **Cwitt** = % of person in the area who witnessed a fight, **CWomEmploy** = % of women employed in the area.

In the male sample **Ccult**, **Cwitt**, and **CWomEmploy** showed moderate to high significant correlations with all of the Intimate Violence measures ($r>.50$). **Cemploy** showed no relationships with any of the Intimate Violence Measures. These findings suggest that while employment rates do not effect reports of intimate violence, levels of traditionality regarding marriage, levels of interpersonal violence and, particularly levels of intergender violence are significantly related to the reported use of intimate violence by men. **Cleave** and **WomEmploy** were both negatively and significantly related to all of the intimate violence items ($r > .4$) suggesting that the autonomy and economic resources of women have an impact on men's violence.

In the female sample the **Sex** measure correlated significantly, but very weakly, with **Cemploy** ($r=.09$, $p=0.05$) which suggests a tendency for women to report more sexual abuse in areas were unemployment is higher and,

counter intuitively, when less male vs. female violence is witnessed. These low correlations must however be treated with caution in the context of these community level variables and would need further study if one was to elaborate on the finding.

4.3.4 Summary Discussion: Results III

The forgoing section has examined a number of bivariate relationships between measures of Intimate Violence, usually by area and with respect to the Intimate Violence items rather than with respect to summative scales. The variables presented were intended to shed light on a number of individual and background variables and their relationship to Intimate Violence.

The findings, consistent with the cross cultural risk entailed in the sanctions and sanctuary model (Cambell, 1992) suggest that younger people use and experience more violence, having greater control over one's resources is protective for women but a risk factor for men and that other forms of violence are related to Intimate Violence (this is also consistent with the learning theory model eg. Mihalic & Elliott, 1997). Levels of education, in contrast to other studies (Lockhart, 1987) had little or no effect on reported Intimate Violence which suggests the possibility that education is not by itself a protective factor if it does not also move you to a less violent area. The additional finding that employment is only marginally related again mitigates against an explanation that simply measures SES without also examining other socio-cultural and violence variables.

The findings regarding alcohol use and socialising similarly support the cross-cultural risk factor identified by Counts (1992) in that, while alcohol use is related to the use of violence, a finding consistent with much earlier research (Gelles, 1993), the context of the drinking i.e. at a shebeen during same sex (i.e. without one's partner) socialising is a more important variable in understanding men's reported use of Intimate Violence. This finding is consistent with arguments that the dominant male discourse which emphasises both interpersonal aggression and the ownership of women (Guy, 1990), bolstered by male only socialising is a considerable risk factor (Counts et. al., 1992).

The finding that the holding of beliefs and attitudes which support interpersonal and intimate violence as well as the endorsing of 'myths' about violence against women is positively related to reported use of Intimate Violence is consistent with similar prior findings (Cambell, 1992). These findings provide support for the claim by activists and feminist academics that certain beliefs serve to support violence against women (Dobash & Dobash, 1992).

The finding that, for men, variables which measured rates of traditional marriage practices, interpersonal violence and violence against women is supportive of arguments which seek to implicate social practices in explaining the actions of individuals. The demonstrated relationship between lobola marriages and Intimate Violence in particular supports those authors who have sought to raise awareness of how practices which imply the ownership of women tend to place women at significant risk (Chinkanda, 1992).

Finally, the consistent finding that individual variables prove better able to explain Intimate Violence in terms of men's use of violence than in terms of women's victimisation needs comment. While it is possible that the finding represents measurement error of some kind, and this possibility must be borne in mind, these findings suggest an

alternative explanation that should be investigated. Feminist theorists consistently argue that Intimate Violence could happen to any woman, that victims are not somehow placing themselves at risk (except of course in terms of broad cultural parameters). This argument would suggest, as found in this study, that a woman's victimisation would not be predicted from variables intended to measure individual traits. The findings reported here do no more than raise the question. It would take additional, properly focussed empirical research to more fully elaborate on this possibility.

4.4 Results IV: Multivariate Regression analysis

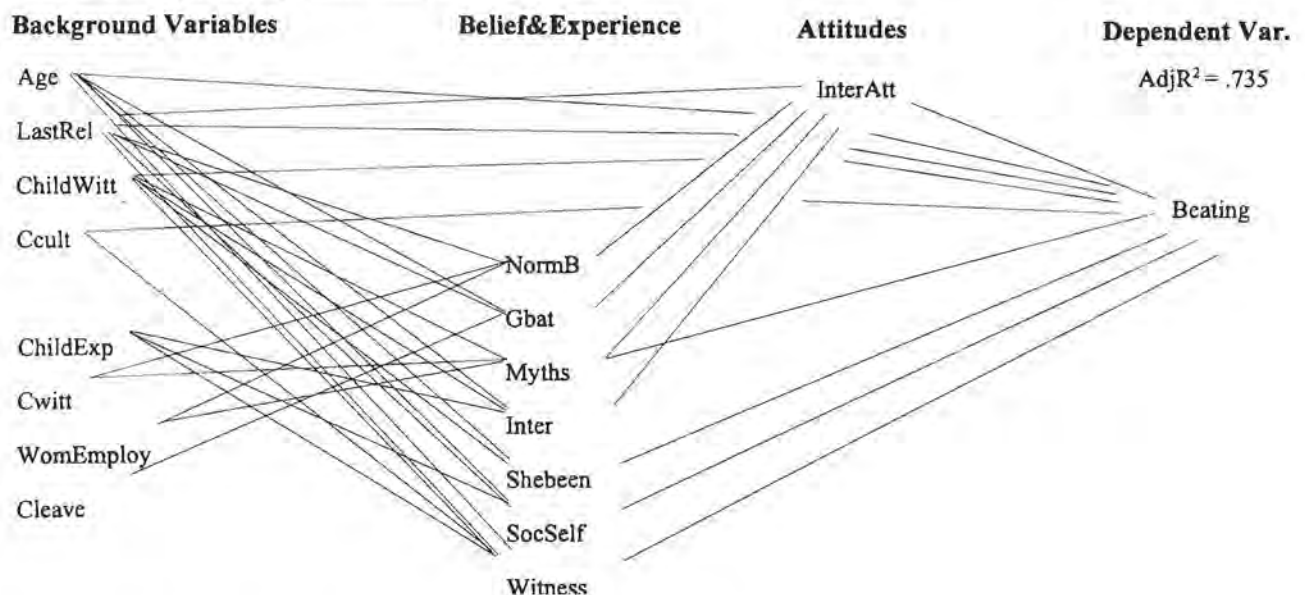
Table 24 presents the standardised beta coefficients for each dependent variable, as well as the adjusted R². This table can be read as if the columns represent the variables which significantly contribute to the prediction of the DV.

4.4.1 Beating as Dependent Variable

When all variables are entered into the equation **Age** (-ve), the use of violence in past relationships (**LastRel**), witnessing violence against one's mother (**ChildWitt**), the percentage of lobola marriages (**Ccult**), the holding of battering Myths, frequency of shebeen visits **Shebeen**, the degree to which one socialises apart from one's partner (**SocSelf**), the **Witness** of interpersonal violence and attitudes towards interpersonal violence (**InterAtt**) retain their significance, the variables together account for approximately 73% of the variability in **Beating** (see Figure 2).

Interestingly the cultural variables are mediated by the belief variables in their influencing of attitudes but variables related to high risk social practices (going to the shebeen and socialising apart from a partner) retain their direct link to **Beating**. **Age** also shows additional mediated effects through **Shebeen** and **Witness**. In all cases **Age** has a -ve

Figure 2 : Exploratory path analysis - Beating



relationship with the other variables.

Table 24 : Significant Standardised beta co-efficients - Exploratory Path Analysis

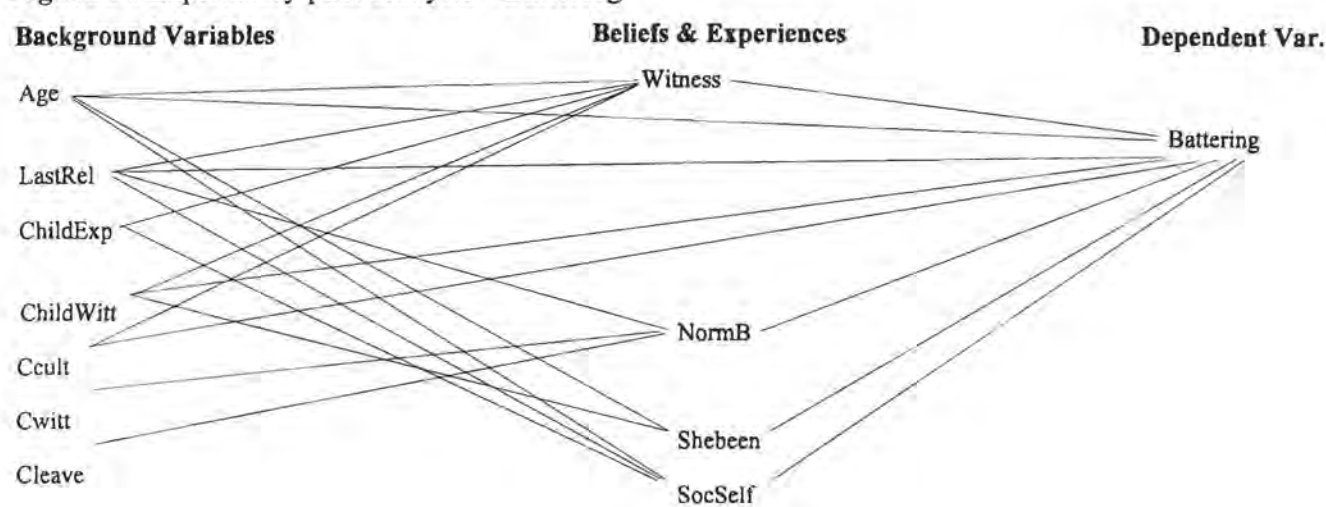
Antecedent Variable	Dependent Variables													
	Experience & Belief									Attitudes & Subj. Norm			Intimate Violence	
	NormB	Gbat	Myths	Inter	Intox	Shebeen	Alcfreq	SocSelf	Witness	InterAtt	Batt	SubjN	Mfact1	Mfact2
Background													-.13	
Age		-.15		-.12		-.29		-.28	-.16					
LastRel	.187	.160						.139	.238	.170			.231	
ChildExp				.130				.107	.118					
ChildWitt			.121	.203		-.138			.263				.289	.365
Ccult								.723	-.41				.143	
Cwitt	-1.1		-1.6					-.34						
Cleave		-.31												
DomEmploy	-1.4		-1.9											
Experience & Belief														
NormB										.139				-.07
Gbat										.143				
Myths										.139			.092	
Inter										.276				
Intox														
Shebeen													.12	.154
Alcfreq														
SocSelf													.076	.109
Witness													.146	.102
Att & SubjN														
InterAtt													.072	
Batt														
SubjNB														
R ²	.17	.14	.45	.12		.16		.27	.30	.36			.735	.60

4.4.2 Battering as Dependent Variable

In the full model a number of background variables retain significant direct links to **Battering** (see Figure 3 and Table 24), accounting for 60% of the total variability. Of particular note is the fact that the 'cultural traditions' variable maintains its significance in the presence of the other variables. Additionally it is noteworthy that the only 'belief' variable which retains significance is the variable relating to perceived approval of others, and, further that this variable is in turn predicted by background variables including the measure of women's evaluations regarding leaving violent relationships.

As with **Beating**, **Age**, **LastRel**, **Witness** and **Socself** retain significance but no attitude variables remain as part of the equation. These findings, along with the significance of **NormB** offer tentative support for the sanctions and sanctuary model which predicts that it is the degree of sanction and sanctuary, represented here in terms of women's

Figure 3 : Exploratory path analysis - Battering



willingness to leave (sanctuary) and the emphasis on normative variables (sanction) which distinguishes between beating and battering.

4.4.3 Summary Discussion: Results IV

The finding that this combination of variables is able to account for approximately 60 - 70% is remarkable. The finding that **Beating** appears to be more readily accounted for by these variables than **Battering** is consistent with much of the bivariate analysis already presented. The strong, negative, influence of age is interesting and suggests, along with the sanction and sanctuary model (Brown, 1992), that young men are more violent than older men, all other things being equal. An additional point that is worth noting is that although, in the case of **Beating**, an attitudinal variable had a unique direct effect there was a tendency for the belief and attitude variables to be obscured by variables relating to high risk practices and community traditions. This point is brought home in that it is the **Myth** and normative beliefs which retain an influence, not the beliefs directly related to an *individual's* evaluation of intimate violence. Further, the finding that the normative variable, which shares less absolute variability with **Beating** than do the belief variables, should maintain its significant effect in the company of social practice and context variables is seen as evidence that Intimate Violence, especially the more severe forms, is related to the communities overall sanction of the behaviour as it is to women's overall, but not individual, evaluations of leaving, of sanctuary. While of course this method of analysis is subject to unexplained influences because of its correlational nature (Loehlin, 1992) it is hard to imagine a 'third' variable at the individual level of analysis generating the relationships which are visible.

These findings then, albeit very tentatively, certainly encourage further investigation of links between social practices and behaviours like intimate violence whether or not they are mediated by individual belief constructs.

CHAPTER 5 : DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has investigated intimate violence and a number of possible correlates measuring individual variables and area-related cultural 'proxies'. The study is done in a context which has been described as traditionally patriarchal in structure (Chinkanda, 1992) with the added risk of marriage and courtship practices that emphasise men's ownership of 'their' women (Wood, 1995; Wood & Jewkes, 1998; Guy, 1990). This characterisation of the communities was supported by the experiences of the author as a service practitioner and through pilot studies. These facts, accompanied by the proposals of sanction and sanctuary supported a prediction that intimate violence against women would be relatively common (Brown, 1992; Cambell, 1992). The finding that men report rates of physical violence at 50-75% is consistent with these concerns, even the 'lower' rates reported by women (30%) are moderate to high when compared to internationally reported rates which varied from 20% to 60% (Heise, 1995).

A proposed qualitative distinction between beating and battering was supported (Brown, 1992). This distinction produced meaningful, though small differences in the prediction of different forms of violence suggesting that the variability of battering is less explained by the variables used although this must be seen in the light of the path analysis results which implicate cultural sanction and sanctuary in explaining the rates at which beating may escalate to battering (Campbell, 1992).

The basic aims of the study were met, incidence and characteristics of intimate violence was examined and reported. The additional finding, supporting the hypothesis that rates of violence would differ across different groups, even within the same cultural context opened the door to a socio-cultural reading of the results as it would be difficult to account for these differences individually.

Differences in rates of reported victimisation by women did not show the same pattern as reported perpetration by men, nor, typically, was an individual woman's reported victimisation as strongly related to other variables. This finding is understood in terms of the argument that while a man's violence may be predictable, a woman's victimisation is less so as her victimisation does not rest on any individual characteristic or belief but, rather, on where she lives. In addition there is evidence that women under reported violence in the fact that witnessed male-female violence reported by both men and women varied in magnitude with *men's* reports of intimate violence. Perhaps women are more likely to report the victimisation of other women than their own victimisation.

The differences in male/female reporting aside a number of factors appear to be important in predicting the variable rates of violence reported across areas. The strongest single variable seems to be age. Young men and women use and experience more violence and practice more high risk social behaviour. In addition the violence rates can be seen to vary with rates of women's employment (but not men's), mens beliefs regarding violence and their adherence to battering myths and the degree of collective acceptance of leaving a violent relationship. Importantly alcohol was not an important variable but the contexts in which alcohol is often imbibed, shebeens and parties and socialising without one's partner appears to have strong predictive effect. In addition, even crude measures of traditionality (eg. % of lobola marriages) can be seen to be important. These variables, taken together, suggest that the very high rates of violence reported in the rural area are likely the result of a combination of factors including age, low rates of female employment and low evaluation by women of leaving violent relationships, high levels of gendered traditionality and the presence of high risk social practices (same sex socialising). This area represents

a full house of risk factors and the level of violence is consistent. In contrast, NU17 has high rates of female employment, lower rates of violence and high risk socialising and lower rates of lobola marriages. These protective factors are borne out in the lower levels of reported violence.

These findings are tentative, largely because of the fact that the variables used to measure 'cultural' constructs are crude but also because, with only five areas to consider, the variation among the groups may not reflect real differences that would remain if many different areas were studied (although the high level of theoretical consistency suggests that the results are not spurious). The study does, however, provide enough evidence to support the further exploration of the manner in which certain cultural and social *practices* effect rates of violence as well as demonstrating that the conceptual map of 'sanction and sanctuary' (Cambell, 1992) provides a valuable guide at least at the start of the journey. These factors lead to the basic recommendation that any further research seeks to gather information consistent with this model across a number of sites, a strategy which would allow more detailed evaluation of the model.

An additional consequence of these findings is that attempts to explain intimate violence in terms of individual factors like personality or belief, drinking, an individuals employment status and the like without the additional use of socio-cultural variables must fail to account for the rates of intimate violence in our communities. Allied to this concern is the fact that a set of social practices were implicated in the prediction of intimate violence, this suggests that it will take actual structural change, rather than psycho-educational strategies if we wish to reduce violence and that an important place to start would be in the provision of adequate and realistically available sanction and sanctuary.

In conclusion then, this study, as predicted, reports markedly high rates of intimate violence among a sample of isiXhosa speaking persons in and around Mdantsane. This intimate violence can be usefully understood as part of a set of interpersonal and social constructs which reduce the autonomy of women within relationships and emphasises forms of masculinity which prize men's rights over, and separation from, women.

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Appendix 1

Documentation related to securing permission for conducting the Pilot Study with the Patient Population.

Description:

This section provides copies of the proposal for the pilot study sent to the hospital management and ethics committee. Also presented is the letter granting permission for the study to go ahead.



IRIPHABLIKI YECISKEI
REPUBLIC OF CISKEI

C 12

Irefrensi:
Ref. No.

Ifoni: 613111 X 2111
Telephone:

Imibuzo: Dr Zokufa
Enquiries:

I-Ofisi ka - Office of the
SUPERINTENDENT
DECKIA MAKIWANE HOSPITAL
PRIVATE BAG 103
MIDLANDS 6216

14 November 1994

TO : ETHICAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS

CONDUCTING INTERVIEWS FOR QUESTIONNAIRE DEVELOPMENT
WITH THE PATIENT POPULATION.

Enclosed herewith please find copy of letter and
questionnaire addressed to me from the Community Health
Department regarding the Domestic Violence Project.

Can we have your comments/suggestions regarding this.

Your co-operation will be appreciated.

CHIEF MEDICAL SUPERINTENDENT
HZZ/ng

Domestic Violence Project

C.M.H

From: Eric Harris and Justine Evans
Co-ordinators
Domestic Violence Project
Community Health Department
CMH

To: Dr H Zokufa
Chief Superintendent
CMH

re: Conducting interviews for questionnaire development with the patient population.

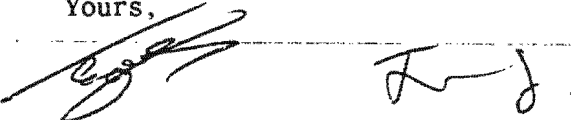
Dear Dr Zokufa

As you may know we are gearing up to conduct a survey of Mdantsane and some surrounding rural areas. The topic, not surprisingly, will be domestic violence. A part of this survey will involve the development of a path analyses model based on prior research in the areas of attitude and belief measurement. The model provides good information regarding the interactions between personal (belief and attitudinal) and societal (normative) variables. The interplay between these constructs is of utmost importance in understanding the antecedent causes of a person's attitudes, intentions and behaviours as the choice of intervention targets will be driven by such data. An initial step in the construction of such a model is to tap, from a small sample representative of the population, the salient beliefs regarding the behaviour in question as well as the salient persons and/or organisations which inform the behaviour. The task is to ask subjects for a list of possible consequences as well as a list of salient norm carriers, this list is subjected to a content analyses like procedure and a final set of questions are based on the concepts generated by the sample. It will be clear that this procedure allows the questionnaire to probe efficiently and sensitively exactly those psychological and normative constructs held salient by the population in question.

In order to conduct this first step we are hereby requesting permission to use the hospital population from which to draw our sample. The sample (N = approx. 100) will be approached in wards not directly related to injury from violence in order to avoid the obvious bias this may introduce. We considered the medical wards and the general paediatrics wards with some subjects drawn from surgical wards, casualty and out patient departments. The interviews will be carried out by Sr Mlalandla and/or ourselves. The usual research norms of informed consent, confidentiality and non-maleficence will be strictly adhered to. A copy of the questions being asked is attached to this letter (see appendix 1). Just to clarify, this sample is not part of the survey itself but simply one of the steps needed to compile a meaningful set of questions.

Thank you for your time. We wait keenly for your reply.

Yours,



Eric Harris and Justine Evans

Appendix 1

Sample of the questions to be used

Each subject will be asked to respond to only one of the sections eg. 'male section' or 'females section' or 'children's section' etc. The questions will, of course, be translated into Xhosa.

Fishbein model - male section.

1) Modal beliefs re battering,

Could you list below the advantages to wife beating:

Could you please list below the disadvantages to wife beating:

Are there any other points to wife beating that you would like to mention? You may have ideas about the causes of wife beating or perhaps you think that there are different types of wife beating that must be considered etc.:

2) Normative beliefs re: wife beating.

When you think about the topic of wife beating in your community there might be individuals or groups who think that you should or should not ever beat your wife or girlfriend.

If any such people or groups or organisations come to mind that think you should beat your wife or girlfriend please list them below:

If any such people or groups or organisations come to mind that think you should not beat your wife or girlfriend please list them below:

Fishbein model - female section.

1) Normative beliefs re: Leaving batterer:

When you think about the idea of leaving your husband or boyfriend if he beats you certain individuals, groups or organisations may come to mind who would think that you should leave your boyfriend or husband if he beats you and some may come to mind who would think that you should not leave your husband or boyfriend if he beats you.

If any such individuals, groups or organisations that would think you should leave your husband or boyfriend come to mind please list them below:

If any such individuals, groups or organisations that would think you should not leave your husband or boyfriend come to mind please list them below:

2) Modal beliefs re leaving batterer.

What would the disadvantages of leaving your husband or boyfriend if he beats you?

What would be the advantages of leaving your husband or boyfriend if he beats you?

What would be the disadvantages to staying with your husband or boyfriend if he beats you?

What would be the advantages to staying with your husband or boyfriend if he beats you?

3) Normative beliefs re wife beating.

When you think about the topic of wife beating in your community there might be individuals or groups who think that your husband or boyfriend should or should not ever beat you.

If any such people or groups or organisations come to mind that think your husband or boyfriend should beat you please list them below:

If any such people or groups or organisations come to mind that think your husband or boyfriend should not beat you please list them below:

1) Modal beliefs re battering,

Could you list below the advantages to wife beating:

Could you please list below the disadvantages to wife beating:

Are there any other points to wife beating that you would like to mention? You may have ideas about the causes of wife beating or perhaps you think that there are different types of wife beating that must be considered etc.:

Fishbein model - Parents section.

1) Modal beliefs re hitting children.

In your opinion what are the advantages of hitting children as a means of discipline?

In your opinion what are the disadvantages of hitting children as a means of discipline?

Are there any other points that you would like to make about the issue of parents hitting their children?:

2) Normative beliefs re hitting children.

When you think about the topic of parents or other care givers in your community hitting children to discipline them there might be individuals or groups who think that you should or should not ever hit a child as a way to discipline them.

If any such people or groups or organisations come to mind that think one should hit children as a way to discipline them please list them below:

If any such people or groups or organisations come to mind that think one should not hit children as a way to discipline them please list them below:

Fishbein Model - Children's model

1) Normative beliefs re reporting sexual abuse

If it ever happened that someone that you know or a member of your family touched your or forced you to touch them, or forced you to do something with your body that was painful or frightening you might think try to stop this from happening again by reporting it to someone. There might be some people who think that you should tell someone about what happened and there might be some people who think that you should not tell anyone.

If you can think of anyone who thinks that you should not tell anyone if a person that you know or a member of you family touched your or forced you to touch them, or forced you to do something with your body that was painful or frightening please list them below:

If you can think of anyone who thinks that you should tell someone if a person that you know or a member of you family touched your or forced you to touch them, or forced you to do something with your body that was painful or frightening please list them below:

2) Modal beliefs re reporting sexual abuse:

If it ever happened that someone that you know or a member of your family touched your or forced you to touch them in a way or part of you body that you did not want them to, or forced you to do something with your body that was painful or frightening what might be the good results of telling someone about it in order to stop it from happening again?:

If it ever happened that someone that you know or a member of your family touched your or forced you to touch them in a way or part of you body that you did not want them to, or forced you to do something with your body that was painful or frightening what might be the bad results of telling someone about it in order to stop it from happening again?:

3) Modal beliefs re beatings

If one or both of your parents or any other person looking after you hit you so often and painfully that you are often injured and are scared of that person or people most of the time what might be the good results of telling someone about it in order to stop it from happening again?:

If one or both of your parents or any other person looking after you hit you so often and painfully that you are often injured and are scared of that person or people most of the time what might be the bad results of telling someone about it in order to stop it from happening again?:

4) Normative beliefs re beatings

If one or both of your parents or any other person looking after you hit you so often and painfully that you are often injured and are scared of that person or people most of the time you might think try to stop this from happening again by reporting it to someone.

If you can think of anyone who thinks that you should not tell anyone if one or both of your parents or any other person looking after you hit you so often and painfully that you are often injured and are scared of that person or people most of the time please list them below:

If you can think of anyone who thinks that you should not tell anyone if one or both of your parents or any other person looking after you hit you so often and painfully that you are often injured and are scared of that person or people most of the time please list them below:

Copy for Dr Boon

*

Domestic Violence Project

4/12/94

C.M.H

Dear Dr Zokufa, Eric & Justine,

This news is vital to me & I support the project fully & will be interested in the outcome

Yvonne Boon

From: Eric Harris and Justine Evans
Co-ordinators
Domestic Violence Project
Community Health Department
CMH

To: Dr H Zokufa
Chief Superintendent
CMH

re: Responding to Dr. Boon's queries regarding our Conducting interviews for questionnaire development with the paediatric patient population.

Dear Dr Zokufa

Please find attached a copy of the consent form intended for guardians of minors that would be involved in the pilot interviews detailed in our previous communication on this topic. Dr Boon also requests further information regarding the interview protocol. Adults will be approached by Sr Mlalandle and consent will be gained verbally in the spirit of informed consent, confidentiality and non-maleficence. The interview will involve the verbal presentation of the questions by Sr Mlalandle, Sr Mlalandle will also assist in recording the answers where the patient has difficulties with writing. The answers will simply be recorded as expressed by the patient, no data coding will take place at this level.

With regard to children. Children will not be approached until consent has been granted by means of the attached form by the parent or guardian of the child. Once consent has been given the child will be approached by Sr Mlalandle and given the opportunity to give or deny their consent to the interview. Consent will be gained verbally in the spirit of informed consent, confidentiality and non-maleficence. Children in the age range of 6 - 14 yrs will be targeted. Of course the child's ability to answer the questions may dictate the lower age level somewhat.

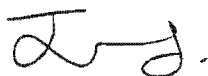
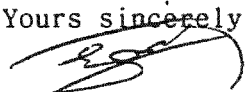
The interviews will, as far as possible be conducted in our offices in a private room. Where this is not possible the interview will only take place if a private room can be secured or, in the case of bedridden patients, at the patients bedside with the curtains drawn.

With regard to Sr Mlalandle as the interviewer. We will thoroughly prepare Sr Mlalandle for the interviews and have absolute faith in her ability to conduct the interviews and cope with any difficulties that may arise sensitively and effectively. We have chosen Sr Mlalandle as the interviewer because we wish the interview to take place in Xhosa in order to avoid, as far as possible, translation problems in the final questionnaire, we also simply consider her to be the best choice for the task.

Other issues raised were the complexity of our language and the mechanisms for feedback. With regard to the issue of language, we apologise but must point out that we, like most disciplines, require some measure of technical terminology in order to express our activities and/or constructs. As regards feedback, we will be happy to provide feedback regarding our initial findings although we must point out that at this stage all we will be able to offer is a list of attributes about men, children, relationships, violence etc. as understood by the target populations. We can give interested persons a summary as the data reflected as frequency counts and outline their contribution to the proposed survey if that would be useful. In addition we would be quite happy to discuss the information we get with interested persons.

Thank you for your time

Yours sincerely



Eric Harris and Justine Evans.

P.S. We have provided Dr Boon with a copy of this letter.

Appendix 2

Pilot Study Questionnaire - English Version

Description:

This section contains the questions put to respondents in the pilot study. The questions are in English although the actual questionnaires were in isiXhosa - see Appendix 3 for isiXhosa version.

The questions are presented under the following headings:

- 1) Modal Beliefs regarding battering
- 2) Modal Beliefs Regarding leaving a violent relationship (Women only)
- 3) Normative Beliefs regarding battering (Men only)
- 4) Normative Beliefs regarding leaving a violent relationship (Women only)
- 5) Objects - questions relating to the constructions of men/women and husband/wife

Participants were presented with the questions in isiXhosa and space was made available on the questionnaire sheet for their answers.

Pilot Study Questions

1) Modal beliefs regarding battering

People disagree as to whether it is acceptable for men to beat their wives or girlfriends. We would value your ideas on this topic:

- a) Could you list below what you believe to be the positive outcomes of a man beating his wife or girlfriend:
- b) Could you list below what you believe to be the negative outcomes of a man beating his wife or girlfriend:
- c) Are there any other points that you would like to add?:

2) Modal Beliefs regarding leaving a violent relationship (Women only):

People disagree as to whether women should leave their husbands or boyfriends if they beat her. We would value your opinion on this topic:

- a) What, in your opinion, would be the bad results of leaving your husband or boyfriend if he beat you? Please list your ideas below:
- b) What, in your opinion, would be the good results of leaving your husband or boyfriend if he beat you? Please list your ideas below:
- c) What, in your opinion, would be the bad results of staying with your husband or boyfriend if he beat you? Please list your ideas below:
- d) What, in your opinion, would be the good results of staying with your husband or boyfriend if he beat you? Please list your ideas below:
- e) Are there any other comments you would like to make about leaving or not leaving a man who beats you?

3) Normative Beliefs regarding battering (Men):

When you think about the topic of wife beating in your community there might be individuals or groups who think that it is or is not acceptable for you to beat your wife or girlfriend.

- a) If any such people or groups come to mind that think it is acceptable for you to beat your wife or girlfriend please list them below:
- b) If any such people or groups come to mind that think it is not acceptable for you to beat your wife or girlfriend please list them below:
- c) Are there any other comments you want to make regarding other peoples views about you beating your wife or girlfriend:

4) Normative beliefs regarding leaving a violent relationship (Women only):

When you think about the idea of leaving your husband or boyfriend if he beats you certain individuals, groups or organisations may come to mind who would think that you should leave your boyfriend or husband if he beats you and some may come to mind who would think that you should not leave your husband or boyfriend if he beats you.

If any such individuals, groups or organisations that would think you should leave your husband or boyfriend come to mind please list them below:

If any such individuals, groups or organisations that would think you should not leave your husband or boyfriend come to mind please list them below:

5) Objects - questions relating to the constructions of men/women and husband/wife

If you were asked to describe what pets are to another person, say from a different country or even a different planet where there are no pets, you might explain that pets are:

Loyal
Obedient
Dependent on their owners for food and shelter
Playful
Tame
Often have fleas and ticks etc.

Could you pretend that you had to explain to a person from another planet where there are no (husband/wife/man/women) and list about 5 words or phrases that you feel best explains or describes what (husband/wife/man/women) are?:

Appendix 3

Pilot Study Questionnaire - isiXhosa Version

Description:

This section contains the questions put to respondents in the pilot study. See Appendix 2 for an English version of the questions.

The questions are presented under the following headings (headings are in English):

- 1) Modal Beliefs regarding battering
- 2) Modal Beliefs Regarding leaving a violent relationship (Women only)
- 3) Normative Beliefs regarding battering (Men only)
- 4) Normative Beliefs regarding leaving a violent relationship (Women only)
- 5) Objects - questions relating to the constructions of men/women and husband/wife

Participants were presented with the questions in isiXhosa and space was made available on the questionnaire sheet for their answers.

Pilot Study Questions - isiXhosa translation

1) Modal beliefs regarding battering

Abantu abavumelani ngomba wokuba amadoda amele ukubetha kubafazi nakwizithandwa zawo. Imbono zakho ngalomba zixabisekile kuthi.

- a) Ungadwelisa apha ngezantsi izinto okholelwa ukuba yimiphumela emihle yokubethwa komfazi okanye isithandwa yindida?
- b) Ungadwelisa apha ngezantsi izinto okholelwa ukuba yimiphumela engemihle yokubethwa kwabafazi okanye isithandwa ngamadoda?
- c) Zingaba zikho ezinye izinto ongathanda ukuzikhankanya?

2) Modal Beliefs regarding leaving a violent relationship (Women only)

Abantu abavumelani nokushiywa kwabayeni, nezithandwa zabo xa zebabetha. Imbono Yakho ngesisihloko ixabisekile kuthi.

- a) Ucinga ukuba kweyakho imbono ingayinti imiphumela emibi yokushiya umyeni okanye isithandwa sakho xa sikubetha? Nceda dwelisa iimbono zakho ngezantsi:
- b) Ucinga ukuba kweyakho imbono ingayinti imiphumela emihle yokushiya umyeni okanye isithandwa sakho xa sikubetha? Nceda dwelisa iimbono zakho ngezantsi:
- c) Ucinga ukuba, kweyakho imbono iziphumo ezihle ezinokwehla ngokuhlala nomyeni wakho nesithandwa naxa sikhubetha? Uceda udweliswa iingcinga zakho ngezantsi:
- d) Ucinga ukuba kweyakho imbono zingayintoni iziphumo ezibi ngokuhlala nomyeni okanye nesithandwa naxa sikubetha? Nceda udwelise iingcinga zakho ngezantsi:
- e) Kukho ezinye izinto ofuna ukuzikhankanya ngomba wokushiywa nokungashiywa kwendoda ekubethayo

3) Normative beliefs regarding battering (Men only)

Xa ucinga ngomba wokubethwa kwabafazi ekuhlaleni, kungakho bantu bathile okanye amaqela acinga ukuba umele okanye akumele kumbetha umfazi okanye isithandwa sakho.

- a) Xa abantu abanjalo okanye amaqela lawo aganga ukuba umele ukumbetha umfazi okanye isithandwa sakho athi tha angqondweni, nceda uwadwelise ngezantsi:
- b) Xa abantu abanjalo okanye amaqela acinga ukuba akumele kumbetha umfazi okanye isithandwa sakho athi tha angqondweni, nceda uwadwelise ngezantsi:
- c) Zingaba zikho ezinye izinto ofuna ukuzikhankenya ngembono zabanye abantu malunga nokubetha umfazi wakho?

4) Normative beliefs regarding leaving a violent relationship (Women only).

Xa ucinga ngokushiya umyeni wakho okanye isithandwa xa sikubetha, abanye abatu, amaqela okanye imibutho ingathi tha engaqondweni enokucinga ukuba umele ukusishiya isithandwa okanye umyeni xa ekubetha. Kungakho nabathi tha engqondweni abanokucinga ukuba akumele kumshiya umyeni wakho okanye isithandwa xa ekubetha.

Xa abantu abanjalo, amaqela okanye imibutho enokucinga ukuba umele ukumshiya umyeni wakho okanye isithandwa sakho bathi tha engqondweni, nceda ubadwelisa ngezantsi:

Xa abantu abanjalo, amaqela okanye imibutho enokucinga ukuba akumele kumshiya umyeni wakho okanye isithandwa sakho bathi tha engqondweni, nceda ubadwelisa ngezantsi:

5) Objects - questions relating to the constructions of men/women and husband/wife

Xa ubungaciswa uchazele omnye umtu ovela kwelinye iliawe abho kungekho zilwanyana asekhaya, ubungathi xa uzichaza:

Zitembekile kubuninizo

Zithobela imiyalelo

Zixhomekeke kubaninizo ngokuty nendawo yokuhlala

Zithanda ukudlala

Zimbuna

Zidla ngokuba neentakumba namakhalane

njalo-njalo

Ungakhe ke wenza ngathi kufuneka ucacisele umntu ovela kwelinye ilizwe apho kungekho udwelise ngezantsi zibentlanu, 5 izaci okanye amagama ongawesadenziswa ukuchaza ukuba bayintoni okanye ungabachaza njani.

Appendix 4

Pilot Study : Description and Summary Results

Description:

A brief description of the pilot study and a descriptive summary of the results is presented. While the Pilot Study examined a broad range of topics only those directly pertinent to the current study are presented here.

See Appendices 8 & 9 for the various questions resulting from the pilot results.

Pilot Study : Study description and results summary

1) Description of the study

A pilot study was conducted, by the researcher, in November and December of 1994. The study aimed to continue, in a more formal vein the types of 'new questions' the CFC team had begun to ask as well as provide the starting point for the Mdantsane Domestic Violence Survey. The study was carried out in the hospital grounds on ambulatory outpatients and patients in non-surgical wards (it was felt that surgical wards may bias towards assault victims). A research proposal was submitted to the hospital ethics committee which they approved (see Appendix 1).

The study involved the administering of questionnaires based on the method developed by Fishbein (***) with respect to the Theory of Reasoned Action. This model was used for a number of reasons; a) the method provides a means of constructing context specific survey questions regarding both beliefs and normative influences, b) the model developed by Fishbein allows for a comparison of the impact of normative vs. belief variables in the prediction of action (or, more accurately, intentions to act) and, c) the manner in which the belief related questions are phrased emphasise the outcomes of the behaviour, an emphasis consistent with the systemic and narrative style of questioning that the CFC team had begun to use.

The pilot questionnaire was constructed by the researcher (see Appendix 2) and translated into isiXhosa (see Appendix 3) by a Professional Nurse and CFC counsellor who also carried out the actual interviews. The questions were presented verbally and the answers recorded by the interviewer. In total 30 men and 28 women were interviewed, making a total of 58 respondents.

2) Data analysis

The results¹ were analysed using a two tiered process of content analysis. In the first instance the frequency of similar responses was counted, where the researcher was unsure of which category a response fitted into, a new category was constructed. The resulting list was then condensed by collapsing similar categories. The resulting categories were then used as a guide to re-read the original responses and the frequency at which each response was used was recorded. This process was carried out individually for each question. The results are provided, by question, below.

3) Results

The simple frequency counts are presented in tabular form with an emphasis on inclusiveness in category choice. The data is purely descriptive and no inferential statistics were used. The questions derived from these items can be seen in Appendices 8 & 9. The results are also briefly discussed in section ***** of the main text.

3.1) Modal Beliefs About Battering.

3.1.1) What are the good results of a man beating his wife?

None, never right	10(33%)	12(43%)	22(38%)
Wife obeys	12(40%)	9(32%)	21(36%)
Stops her having Affairs	8(27%)	7(25%)	15(26%)
She knows he loves/respects her	1(3%)	4 (14%)	5(9%)
Wife will not go out without explanation	4(13%)		4(7%)
Wife will stop nagging	3(10%)		3(5%)
Teaches wife norms of communities		7(25%)	7(12%)
Discipline inherited/passed on to children		6(21%)	6(10%)
Divorce will be averted		5(18%)	5(9%)

¹ The results presented here pertain to the issues of Battering and Leaving Violent Relationships only. Additional questions on the use of physical discipline on children were also used and the results analysed in a similar manner. The resulting questionnaire items regarding child discipline are in Appendix 8 p.11)

3.1.2) What are the Bad results of a man beating his wife?

Item			
Family disorganisation/destruction etc.	20(67%)	27 (96%)	47(81%)
Women killed	3(10%)		3(5%)
She is injured/sick etc.	7(23%)	9(32%)	16(28%)
Lack of peace for children/disruption to children/neglect of children	13(43%)	16(57%)	29(50%)
Women is 'spoiled', 'disturbed', becomes 'nobody' etc.	10(33%)	6(21%)	16(28%)
Poverty	5(17%)		5(9%)
Community peace disturbed	3(10%)		3(5%)
Legal charge/arrested	4(13%)		4(7%)
Women drinks/takes drugs	2(7%)	3(11%)	5(9%)
Women takes revenge		3(11%)	3(5%)
Women is disfigured so man leaves		5(18%)	5(9%)
Single families		2(7%)	2(3%)
None	4(14%)		4(7%)

In addition one respondent suggested that men should scold, not beat, their wives, and another indicated that "adultery deserves a beating".

3.2) Modal Beliefs About Leaving a Violent Relationship

3.2.1) Good outcomes from staying in a violent relationship (N=28)

Item	
Have a home:	4 (14%)
Continue to have discipline for children:	4 (14%)
Possibility for reconciliation:	12 (43%)
Children get more resources:	3 (11%)
Man may change:	2 (7%)
Shows that she still loves him:	3 (11%)
Disappoint those trying to separate you eg. other women/his family:	2 (7%)

3.2.2) Bad Outcomes from staying in a violent relationship (N=28)

Item	
Get killed or seriously injured:	18 (64%)
Have no peace:	4 (14%)
Children suffer/are affected:	12 (43%)
Women becomes degraded:	3 (11%)
Male children learn to hit wives:	6 (21%)
Beatings continue:	4 (14%)
End of happiness:	3 (11%)
Always afraid:	3 (11%)

3.2.3) Bad Outcomes from leaving a violent relationship (N=28)

Response	Percentage
Become homeless/lose resources to man	11(39%)
Women are lawless, drunkards, sleep around, ?lesbian without men	6(21%)
Children become undisciplined	3 (11%)
Children suffer, are impoverished/unloved	24 (86%)
Home collapses/loses dignity	12 (43%)
Marriage ends	5 (18%)
Man will sleep around	6 (21%)
Wife becomes sickly/lowers her dignity	11 (39%)
Man will resort to drinking	2 (7%)
Man will be punished & regret it	1 (4%)

3.2.4) Good outcomes from leaving a violent relationship (N=28)

Response	Percentage
Economic Growth:	11(39%)
Personal growth/freedom:	19(68%)
Saved from assaults/injury or defacement:	15(54%)
Be able to work for self and children:	9 (32%)
Husband repents/changes:	8 (29%)
Children saved from witnessing assaults:	3 (11%)
Shows rejection of violence:	1(4%)

3.3) Normative Beliefs regarding battering (N=30)

3.3.1) Persons/Groups who approve of wife beating

Response	Percentage
None:	13 (43%)
Residents (CIVIC Structure):	9 (30%)
People who drink:	5 (17%)
Friends:	3 (10%)
His Parents:	2 (7%)
His girlfriend:	3 (10%)
Total Responses	35

3.3.2) Person's who would disapprove of wife beating

Response	Percentage
Residents (CIVIC Structure):	8 (27%)
Husbands Friends:	2 (7%)
Wife's friends:	3 (10%)
Welfare organisations:	7 (23%)
Husbands Family:	3 (10%)
Church:	9 (30%)
The Law:	8 (27%)
The children:	2 (7%)
Wife's family:	3 (10%)
Total Responses	45

3.3.3) Some persons took the opportunity to make 'positional' statements regarding the involvement of others in wife beating:

Three men (10%) said variations of; 'No-one outside of the family should interfere.'. Four men (13%) indicated that they were misunderstood by others who failed to understand their view of the issue eg: 'They take me for someone who is disorganising my family. They do not investigate the cause of the misunderstanding'.

3.4) Normative Beliefs regarding Leaving (Women only, N = 28)

3.4.1) Persons/Groups who approve of you leaving a violent relationship

Response	Frequency Count (%)
Neighbours	8 (29%)
Relatives	8 (29%)
Residence Association	4 (14%)
Friends	9 (32%)
Your Children	9 (32%)
Your Parents	7 (25%)
His Parents	3 (11%)
Welfare Organisations	7 (25%)
State Lawyers	2 (7%)
Women's Organisations	9 (32%)
Church	1 (4%)
Marriage Counsellors	3 (11%)
Total Responses	70

3.4.2) Person's who would disapprove of you leaving a violent relationship

Response	Frequency Count (%)
Husbands Relatives	10 (36%)
Husbands Parents	8 (29%)
Husbands Friends	5 (18%)
Neighbours	2 (7%)
Your Children	3 (11%)
Relatives	2 (7%)
Welfare Organisations	1 (4%)
Total Responses	31

3.4.3) These are distilled into the following groups who have an interest in this issue

Response	Response Count
Husbands Parents/relatives	21
Own Parents/Relatives	11
Welfare/Women's Organisations	22
Neighbours	10
The Children	12
The law/state	2
Own Friends	9
Church	1
Total Responses	88

3.5) Constructions of men and women

Participants were asked to provide characteristics of men and women and husbands and wives in order to gather information on the manner in which these categories are constructed. The question was asked the following format:

3.5.1) Characteristics of wives

Responses	Men (N=23)	Women (N=17)	Combined (N=40)
Person who brings 'love'	13 (54%)		13 (29%)
Diligent/responsible/helper	16 (67%)		16 (36%)
Respectful to others	4 (17%)		4 (9%)
Girl from another family	2 (8%)		2 (4%)
Homebuilder	11 (46%)		11 (24%)
Husbands helper	8 (33%)		8 (18%)
Bearer of 'rightful' children	6 (25%)		6 (13%)
Mother of the family	1 (4%)		1 (2%)
Kind person	5 (21%)		5 (11%)
Tolerant/understanding/peacemaker/mediator	8 (33%)	3 (14%)	8 (18%)
Cooks & Cleans etc.	1 (4%)	5 (24%)	1 (2%)
Princess of home/brings dignity		13 (62%)	13 (29%)
Man's subordinate		3 (14%)	3 (7%)
Looks after children		9 (43%)	9 (20%)
Mediates between father and children		6 (29%)	6 (13%)
Person responsible for husbands behaviour		5 (24%)	5 (11%)

3.5.2) Characteristics of Husbands

Responses	Men (N=23)	Women (N=17)	Combined (N=40)
Someone humble/loving	19 (79%)		19 (42%)
Responsible for the family	11 (46%)		11 (24%)
Helper	4 (17%)		4 (1%)
Exemplary person/example to others	7 (29%)		7 (16%)
Son/Sone in law	5 (21%)		5 (11%)
Head of the family/senior parent	14 (58%)	20 (95%)	34 (76%)
Provider	8 (33%)	4 (19%)	12 (27%)
Protector	2 (8%)	3 (14%)	5 (11%)
A dangerous person		7 (33%)	7 (16%)
Pillar of the home		2 (10%)	2 (4%)
Produces babies		1 (5%)	1 (2%)
Wife's partner in parenting		14 (52%)	14 (31%)
Homebuilder		3 (14%)	3 (7%)

3.5.3) Characteristics of women

Responses	Men (N=19)	Women (N=24)	Combined (N=43)
Princess/flower	6 (32%)		6 (14%)
Necessary for a home	10 (53%)	6 (25%)	16 (37%)
Brings happiness/dignity to a home	5 (26%)	2 (8%)	7 (16%)
Pillar of the home/watches over family	10 (53%)	12 (50%)	22 (51%)
Cooks etc.	2 (11%)		2 (5%)
Has a lot of love	3 (16%)		3 (7%)
Endures all things	5 (26%)	5 (26%)	10 (23%)
Naturally cooperates with a man	3 (16%)	3 (13%)	6 (14%)
Peacemaker	1 (5%)		1 (2%)
A person who takes advantage of kind husbands	2 (11%)		2 (5%)
Has advice		3 (13%)	3 (7%)
Pillar/backbone of a man		2 (8%)	2 (5%)
Produces children		5 (26%)	5 (12%)

3.5.4) Characteristics of men

Responses	Men (N=19)	Women (N=24)	Combined (N=43)
Head of home/family	11 (58%)	10 (53%)	21 (49%)
Loving father	4 (21%)		4 (9%)
Should be quiet/not shout too much	3 (16%)		3 (7%)
Stronger than women	5 (26%)		5 (12%)
Pillars of the home	3 (16%)		3 (7%)
Has dependents/responsibilities	9 (47%)		9 (21%)
Homebuilder	7 (37%)		7 (16%)
Chooses a wife	6 (32%)		6 (14%)
Is tolerant		3 (13%)	3 (7%)
Has a sharp eye/is watchful over others		2 (8%)	2 (5%)
Brings law to the family		5 (26%)	5 (12%)
Protector/defender of family		4 (21%)	4 (9%)
Makes children		11 (58%)	11 (26%)
Homebuilder		2 (8%)	2 (5%)

Appendix 5

Survey Questionnaire - Cover Page and Demographics Section

Description

The survey questionnaire cover page and demographics section as presented to participants is provided. All participants received the same questions regarding demography.



Child and Family Centre

Cecilia Makiwane Hospital

Survey Questionnaire

Social scientists and service providers often use questionnaires to get a better understanding of a number of community issues. These questionnaires allow us to plan our community services in ways that can best benefit the community.

This survey, which is being undertaken by the Child And Family Centre in conjunction with the University of Cape Town, is endorsed by SANCO Mdantsane and the Department of Health and Welfare, Eastern Cape. The focus of this study is family life.

The questionnaire asks you a number of questions about your background (age, marital status, number of children etc.) in addition the questionnaire asks a number of questions regarding conflict between people in your community.

Your opinion is very important in this survey. You have experiences that will help us to be more appropriate in providing our services to your community. Since we can only ask a few people to fill out the questionnaire you may be speaking on behalf of many people who did not get the opportunity to give us their views. Please answer all the questions as fully and honestly as possible.

Persons asked to participate in this study have been selected purely by chance. Neither your name nor your address appear anywhere on the questionnaire. This ensures that your answers remain anonymous. The information you provide will remain confidential and will be used for research purposes only.

This study would not have been possible without the financial support of the HSRC and Johnson and Johnson.

Abenzululwazi abazibekisa kwizinto zoluntu nabo bamele inkonzo bathanda ukusebenzisa imibuzo ukuze bafumane imvisiswano ebhetele yemicimbi yenkonzo yoluntu. Le mibuzo yenzelwa ukuba sikwazi ukucwangcisa iinkonzo zethu ngeendlela ezinokuthi zibe negalelo eluntwini.

Olu cando luthatyathwa yiSenta yabantwana nosapho kunye neYunivesiti yaseKapa, lungqinwe yiSANCO eMdantsane kunye neSebe lweZempilo neMpilontle eMpuma-Koloni. Olu cando lunoqwalaselo kubomi losapho.

Le mibuzo ikubuza inani lemibuzo ngemvelaphi yakho (iminyaka, iwonga lomtshatho, inani labantwana, njl. njl.) kwaye ikubuza inani lemibuzo ngengxabano phakathi kwabantu nabahlali.

Uluvo lwakho lubaluleke kakhulu kolu cando. Unamava ayakusinceda thina ukuba sibe nemfaneleko yokubonelela kwinkonzo yoluntu.

Njengokuba abantu bambalwa abaphendula le mibuzo, uthethela abantu abaninzi abangafumenanga ithuba lokusinika iimbono zabo. Nceda uphendule yonke imibuzo ngokupheleleyo nangokunyanisekileyo.

Abantu ababuzwe ukuthatha inxaxheba kulo mfundiso abakhethwanga, bathathwa nje. Akukho gama okanye i-adilesi yakho iza kubonakala naphi na kule mibuzo. Le nto ibonisa ukuba iimpendulo ziza kusoloko zingenamagama. Olu lwazi usibonelele lona luya kuhlala lungathethwa kwaye luya kusetyenziswa kwiinjongo zophando kuphela.

Le mfundiso ibingenakwenzeka ngaphandle kwenxaso yemali yeHSRC noJohnson noJohnson.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY	
INTERVIEWER NUMBER	
AREA	
QUESTIONNAIRE CODE	

Another *Johnson & Johnson* community project ...

Section 1 - Demographic Details

Personal Details

For official use only

1. Date of birth: ___ / ___ / ___

2. Sex: M 1 F 2

3. Marital Status:

Married	Civil (Church or Magistrate)	1
	Traditional (Labola)	2
	Civil and Traditional	3
Live together		4
Widow/Widower		5
Divorced/separated		6
Not married and not living together		7

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED 'WIDOW/WIDOWER' (CODE 5) OR 'DIVORCED/SEPARATED' (CODE 6) OR 'NOT MARRIED AND NOT LIVING TOGETHER' (CODE 7) THEN DO QUESTION (3a)+(3b). ELSE GO DIRECTLY TO QUESTION (3c)

3a. How long ago did you lose your spouse\get separated\ stop living with someone?

N/A - never lived with anyone	1
Less than one year	2
1 to 2 years	3
2 to 5 years	4
5 to 10 years	5
More than 10 years	6

3b. Are you currently in a relationship?: Y N

**IF YES DO QUESTIONS (3c) - (3e)
IF NO GO DIRECTLY TO QUESTION (4)**

3c. How long have you been in this relationship?

Less than one year	2
1 to 2 years	3
2 to 5 years	4
5 to 10 years	5
More than 10 years	6

3d. With regard to this relationship would you say that your Partner's family are

Accepting -1 Indifferent 0 Unaccepting 1

of you?

3e. With regard to this relationship would you say that your Partners family are

Supportive -1 Indifferent 0 Unsupportive 1

of you in your relationship?

1. Year
 2. Sex

3. Mstat

4. Tsep

5. Currel

6. RelT

8. InAcc

9. InSup

Personal Details cont.

4. Do you have any Children?:

Y	N
---	---

**IF YES DO QUESTIONS (4a) - (4g)
IF NO GO DIRECTLY TO QUESTION (5)**

4a. How many children?: _____

4b. How many of them live with you at present?: _____

4c. How many of your children are from your current/most recent spouse or partner?:

4d. From whom, if anyone, do you receive support for your children?:

4e. How old is your oldest?: **4f. What sex?:**

4g. How old is your youngest?: **4h. What sex?:**

5. Are you Pregnant/ Is your partner pregnant?:

Y	N
---	---

10

11

12

13

13(a)

14

15

16

17

18

Education and Occupation

1. Educational Level:

Type	Level/description
School	
Tertiary	
Trade	

19

20

21

22

23

24

2. Occupation:

Economically active	Employer	1
	Self-Employed	2
	Employee	3
	Temporarily unemployed	4
Economically inactive	Student	5
	Housewife	6
	Pensioner	7
	Unfit for work	8
	Unemployed - not looking for work	9

25

26

27

28

**IF 'ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE' (CODE 1 - 4) THEN GO TO QUESTION 3
IF 'ECONOMICALLY INACTIVE' (CODE 5 - 6) THEN ASK QUESTION (2b)**

2b. Who supports you?: _____

GO TO 'Social Life and Substance Use'

3. What type of work do you do?: _____

4. Who takes responsibility for your wages?:

1	2	3
Self	Spouse	Other

Social Life and Substance Use

1. In the average week how often do you go out with or gather with your friends?: _____

 29

2. Of these times would it be true to say that alcohol/drugs is

4	3	2	1	0
Always	Usually	50/50	Seldom	Never

consumed by you and your friends?

 30

3. Would it be true to say that when you drink alcohol you

5	4	3	2	1	0
Always	Usually	50/50	Seldom	Never	N/A

get intoxicated?

 31

4. In an average week how often do you go to a shabbeen or similar establishment?: _____

 32

5. In an average week how often, including the times mentioned above, do you drink alcohol?: _____

 38

6. On these occasions what and how much do you usually drink?: _____

 38(b)

7. In general, when you go out to visit friends or to a party/function, do you

-2	-1	0	1	2
Always	Usually	50/50	Seldom	Never

go on your own, that is, without your spouse/girlfriend?

 39

Health

1. Do you have a chronic health problem?:

Y	N
---	---

IF YES ASK QUESTIONS (1a) - (1b)

IF NO GO TO QUESTION (2)

1a. Describe your Condition: _____

 40

1b. Details of treatment:

Practitioner	Treatment	No. of visits in past year
Nurse		
Doctor		
Trad. Healer		

 41

2. In addition to that above have you consulted any of the following health services in the past year?:

Service	Y/N	No. of Visits	Most common problem
Clinic			
Hospital			
G.P.			
Trad. Healer			

 42
 44
 46

 43
 45
 47

 48
 51
 54
 57
 49
 52
 55
 58
 50
 53
 56
 59

Home Composition and Resources

1. What type of home?:

1	2	3	4	5
3+Rmd House	2 Rmd House	Shack	Traditional	Boarding Hse

60

2. Is the house owned or rented by residents?:

1	2
Owned	Rented

61

3. In whose name is the house owned/rented?:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Self	Spouse	Maternal Parents	Paternal Parents	Maternal Family	Paternal Family	Other

62

4. Who makes the payments?:

1	2	3
Self	Spouse	Other

63

5. Please indicate below the number and breakdown of the people in the house:

Members	Number Total	No. Working	No. Contrib.
Men			
Women			
Children			

64 65 66
 67 68 69
 70 71 72

6. About how much money is brought into the household per week?: _____

7. Are there people, other than those mentioned above that demand financial support from you or your husband?:

Y	N
---	---

73

IF YES PLEASE LIST THEM BELOW:

Identity of person/people	Demands from self or spouse

74 75
 76 77
 78 79

Family

1. In the table below please fill in the details as requested regarding your family of origin:

Relationship	Location 'Local' 'Distant' 'Dead'	Personal Support	Financial Support
		1 = Supportive 2 = Neither 3 = Demanding	1 = Supportive 2 = Neither 3 = Demanding
Mother			
Father			
Siblings			

<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

Social Supports

1. Do you belong to any Church or other group or organisation?:

<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
----------------------	----------------------

IF YES ASK QUESTIONS (1a)

1a. Please fill in the following table with regard to the group(s) that you belong to:

Org./ Group/ Church	Personal Support	They play a
	1 - 2 - 3 Great Some None Deal	1 - 2 - 3 Big Small in my daily life.

<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

Experiences with Violence (Men)

Community and General

1. Would you say that, in general, there is a

-2	-1	0	1	2
Very Large Amount	Large Amount	Normal Amount	Small Amount	Very Small Amount

of violence in your community?

2. How dangerous, in terms of violent crime, would you say are the following situations?:

	Very Dangerous	Dangerous	Average	Not really Dangerous	Not Dangerous
Walking home alone at night.	-2	-1	0	1	2
Travelling in a taxi or train	-2	-1	0	1	2
In your house during the week	-2	-1	0	1	2
At a shabbeen on Fri/Sat night	-2	-1	0	1	2
In your house on Fri/Sat night	-2	-1	0	1	2
Shopping in town	-2	-1	0	1	2
Waiting at a bus stop/taxi rank/train station	-2	-1	0	1	2
During an evening at home with your family	-2	-1	0	1	2

Exp1

Exp2

Exp3

Exp4

Exp5

Exp6

Exp7

Exp8

Exp9

Witness to violence

1. In the past year have you witnessed a fight between two (or more)

people?: Y N

IF YES ASK QUESTIONS (1a) - (1e)

IF NO GO TO QUESTION (2).

1a. How many such incidents have you witnessed?:

1	2	3	4
1	2 - 5	5 - 10	10+

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING FIVE QUESTIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE LAST SUCH INCIDENT THAT YOU WITNESSED.

1b. Who was fighting with whom?:

1	2	3	4
Man vs Man	Man vs Women	Women vs Wom.	Husb. vs Wife

1c. Were the participants under the influence of alcohol?:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Both	Man vs Man	Man in Man vs Wo	Women in Man vs Wo	Husb. in Husb/Wife	Wife in Husb/wife	Neither
Only one of them						

Exp10

Exp11

Exp12

Exp13

7..../Question 1d

Witness to Violence Cont....

1d. Was a weapon used?:

1	2	3	4	5
None	Stick	Whip	Knife	Other

1e. How was the fight stopped?:

1	2	3	4
Onlookers/ Neighbours	Police	Res.	By Itself

Exp14

Exp15

2. In the past year, how often did you:

	Never	Once	2 - 5	5 - 10	10+
Get into a physical fight?	1	2	3	4	5
Hurt someone enough for him/her to need bandages?	1	2	3	4	5
Get hurt by someone else enough to need bandages?	1	2	3	4	5
Hurt someone enough so that they had visible cuts, bumps or other marks?	1	2	3	4	5
Get hurt by someone else so that you had visible cuts, bumps or marks?	1	2	3	4	4

Exp16

Exp17

Exp18

Exp19

Exp20

Conflict in Relationships

IF NOT CURRENTLY IN A RELATIONSHIP THEN SKIP QUESTION (1) - GO TO 'CONFLICT IN PAST RELATIONSHIPS'

1. In the past year have you done any of the following things to your wife/girlfriend?:

	Never	Once	2-5	5-10	10+
Slapped her in the face	1	2	3	4	5
Hit, punched or kicked her	1	2	3	4	5
Called her insulting names	1	2	3	4	5
Put her down in front of others	1	2	3	4	5
Locked or kept her in the house against her will	1	2	3	4	5
Threatened to hit or hurt her	1	2	3	4	5
Threatened to kill her	1	2	3	4	5
Prevented her from seeing her friends and/or her family	1	2	3	4	5
Beat her with a stick or sjambok	1	2	3	4	5
Forced her to have sex against her will	1	2	3	4	5
Forced her to do things sexually that were painful and/or degrading to her	1	2	3	4	5

Exp21

Exp22

Exp23

Exp24

Exp25

Exp26

Exp27

Exp28

Exp29

Exp30

Exp31

../8 Question 2

Conflict in Past Relationships

1. In your most recent previous relationship, did you ever beat your wife/
girlfriend?:

Y	N
---	---

<input type="checkbox"/> Exp 33

Conflict in Childhood

1. When you were a child did your parents hit you?:

1	2	3	4
Never	Only when V. naughty	When naughty	Often

<input type="checkbox"/> Exp33
<input type="checkbox"/> Exp34

2. When you were a child did you see your father beat your mother?:

1	2	3	4
Never	Once	Seldom	Often

Appendix 7

Survey Questionnaire - Experiences with Violence Section (Women)

Description

This section of the questionnaire, 'Experiences with Violence', was slightly different for men and women. The differences relate to the phrasing of the intimate violence scale (p. 7) and the fact that women were asked about their 'Help Seeking' (p.8) and past relationships (p.9). This section of the questionnaire was printed in English with the interviewer providing interpretation where necessary.

Experiences with Violence (Women)

Community and General

1. Would you say that, in general, there is a

-2	-1	0	1	2
Very Large Amount	Large Amount	Normal Amount	Small Amount	Very Small Amount

of violence in your community?

2. How dangerous, in terms of violent crime, would you say are the following situations?:

	Very Dangerous	Dangerous	Average	Not really Dangerous	Not Dangerous
Walking home alone at night.	-2	-1	0	1	2
Travelling in a taxi or train	-2	-1	0	1	2
In your house during the week	-2	-1	0	1	2
At a shabeen on Fri/Sat night	-2	-1	0	1	2
In your house on Fri/Sat night	-2	-1	0	1	2
Shopping in town	-2	-1	0	1	2
Waiting at a bus stop/taxi rank/train station	-2	-1	0	1	2
During an evening at home with your family	-2	-1	0	1	2

-Exp1

-Exp2

-Exp3

-Exp4

-Exp5

-Exp6

-Exp7

-Exp8

-Exp9

Witness to violence

1. In the past year have you witnessed a fight between two (or more)

people?: Y N

IF YES ASK QUESTIONS (1a) - (1e)

IF NO GO TO QUESTION (2).

1a. How many such incidents have you witnessed?:

1	2	3	4
1	2 - 5	5 - 10	10+

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING FIVE QUESTIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE LAST SUCH INCIDENT THAT YOU WITNESSED.

1b. Who was fighting with whom?:

1	2	3	4
Man vs Man	Man vs Women	Women vs Wom.	Husb. vs Wife

1c. Were the participants under the influence of alcohol?:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Both	Man vs Man	Man in Man vs Wo	Women in Man vs Wo	Husb. in Husb/Wife	Wife in Husb/wife	Neither
Only one of them						

-Exp10

-Exp11

-Exp12

-Exp13

7..../Question 1d

Conflict in Relationships Cont...

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED 'NEVER' TO ALL ITEMS IN QUESTION ONE THEN GO TO 'CONFLICT IN PAST RELATIONSHIPS' BELOW.

2. Have you tried to get help from any of the people mentioned below with regard to the questions above?:

	Y/N	Response	Helpfull? Y\N
Own Family			
His Family			
Social Workers			
Police			
Clinic			
Neighbour /Friend			
Res./ Civics			
Church Worker			

3. What is your most important reason for staying with this man?

Help Seeking

1. If your husband beat you would you be more or less likely to call the police if you knew that they would treat it as an ordinary assault and arrest him immediately?:
- | | |
|----------------|----------------|
| More
Likely | Less
Likely |
|----------------|----------------|
2. If you knew of a place where you could go to with your children, where you and your children would be safe until you could make plans, if/when your husband/boyfriend beat you, would you leave your husband/boyfriend if/when he beat you?:
- | | |
|---|---|
| Y | N |
|---|---|
3. If you knew of a group of women who were trying to help each other with their violent boyfriends/husbands, and your boyfriend/Husband beats you, would you like to join the group?:
- | | |
|---|---|
| Y | N |
|---|---|

Exp32	Exp33	Exp34
Exp35	Exp36	Exp37
Exp38	Exp39	Exp40
Exp41	Exp42	Exp43
Exp44	Exp45	Exp46
Exp47	Exp48	Exp49
Exp50	Exp51	Exp52
Exp53	Exp54	Exp55
Exp55a		

Exp84
Exp85
Exp86

Conflict in Past Relationships

1. In your most recent previous relationship, did your Husband/Boyfriend
ever beat you?: Y N

IF YES THEN ASK QUESTIONS (2) AND (3)
IF NO GO TO 'CONFLICT IN CHILDHOOD' BELOW

2. In this relationship did you go to the following people for help and
were they helpfull?:

	Y/N	Response	Helpfull? Y/N
Own Family			
His Family			
Social Workers			
Police			
Clinic			
Neighbour /Friend			
Res. / Civics			
Church Worker			

5. How did the relationship end?:

1	2	3	4	5	6
He left you	You left him re: Violence	You left him re: Money	You left him re: Girlfriend	You left him re: Other	Death

Conflict in Childhood

1. When you were a child did your parents hit you?:

1	2	3	4
Never	Only when V. naughty	When naughty	Often

2. When you were a child did you see your father beat your mother?:

1	2	3	4
Never	Once	Seldom	Often

Exp56

Exp57 Exp58 Exp59

Exp60 Exp61 Exp62

Exp63 Exp64 Exp65

Exp66 Exp67 Exp68

Exp69 Exp70 Exp71

Exp72 Exp73 Exp74

Exp75 Exp76 Exp77

Exp78 Exp79 Exp80

Exp81

../9 'Conflict in Ch'

Exp82

Exp83

Appendix 8

Survey Questionnaire - Beliefs and Attitudes Section (Men) - English Version

Description

This section of the questionnaire, 'Beliefs and Attitudes', was slightly different for men and women. The differences relate to the fact that men were asked questions relating to general violence use (pp. 10, 11 - Q's 1, 2 & 5) as well as a set of questions relating to their own use of violence. In addition the 'Normative Beliefs' section (p. 12) related to battering were the women's section related to leaving a violent relationship. These differences obviously had repercussions for the Attitudes (p.13) & Evaluation (pp. 13-14) sections.

This section of the questionnaire was actually presented in isiXhosa to respondents in order to protect the reliability of the measures used. See Appendix 10 for the translated isiXhosa version.

Beliefs and Attitudes (Men)

In the following section we present you with a number of statements. Please use the table provided to indicate whether you agree with the statement, that is, think it is true or disagree with the statement, that is, think it is untrue.

1. Sex Roles

	Disagree Strongly	Disagree	Agree	Agree Strongly
Women are by nature more tolerant than men	-2	-1	1	2
Women are more responsible than men for what happens in the family	-2	-1	1	2
Men need more freedom outside of the home than women do	-2	-1	1	2
In a healthy society it is the man who goes to work and the women who stays at home	-2	-1	1	2
It is only natural for the man to be the head of the household	-2	-1	1	2
The most important thing for a women is to be a good wife and mother	-2	-1	1	2

SR1
SR2
SR3
SR4
SR5
SR6

2. Relationships

	Disagree Strongly	Disagree	Agree	Agree Strongly
Men are the dominant partner in a relationship	-2	-1	1	2
Men and women want basically the same things from a relationship	-2	-1	1	2
A women will only respect a man who will lay down he law to her	-2	-1	1	2
In a relationship one person always has to be in control	-2	-1	1	2
In a relationship a women is often trying to take advantage of the man	-2	-1	1	2

REL1
REL2
REL3
REL4
REL5

3. Conflict in relationships

	Disagree Strongly	Disagree	Agree	Agree Strongly
Wife beating is a small matter compared to other social problems	-2	-1	1	2
Alcohol is the main cause of wife beating	-2	-1	1	2
Usually, when a man beats his wife he has a good reason	-2	-1	1	2
What happens between a man and a women, even physical violence, is nobody else's business	-2	-1	1	2
Children are not effected by a man beating his wife	-2	-1	1	2
Women who stay with men who beat them like to be beaten	-2	-1	1	2
It is very rare for a women to get seriously hurt when her husband beats her	-2	-1	1	2

MYTH1
MYTH2
MYTH3
MYTH4
MYTH5
MYTH6
MYTH7

Results of using physical force

One of the ways in which people deal with conflict is to use physical force. The following set of questions provide you with some of the possible results of using force to resolve conflicts. Please use the table provided to indicate whether the statements are **LIKELY** or **UNLIKELY** results of the physical force described. We are not asking you whether the statements are good or bad, we only wish to know whether they are **LIKELY** or **UNLIKELY**.

1. Hitting a man who insults you will result in

	Highly Unlikely	Unlikely	Likely	Highly Likely
You getting more respect from him in the future	2	1	-1	-2
You getting respect from your friends	2	1	-1	-2
You getting the respect of your community	2	1	-1	-2
You getting arrested for assault	2	1	-1	-2
The man becoming more abusive in the future	2	1	-1	-2
You losing the respect of your community	2	1	-1	-2

INTA1

INTA2

INTA3

INTA4

INTA5

INTA6

2. Settling your arguments by fighting will result in

	Highly Unlikely	Unlikely	Likely	Highly Likely
You getting respect from your friends	2	1	-1	-2
You getting the respect of your community	2	1	-1	-2
You getting arrested for assault	2	1	-1	-2
Your arguments being effectively resolved	2	1	-1	-2
You losing the respect of your community	2	1	-1	-2

INTB1

INTB2

INTB3

INTB4

INTB5

3. In general, if a man beats his wife the results are that

	Highly Unlikely	Unlikely	Likely	Highly Likely
A women learns to respect her Husband	2	1	-1	-2
A women learns to obey her husband	2	1	-1	-2
The women is less likely to have an affair	2	1	-1	-2
A women learns to respect the norms and values of the community	2	1	-1	-2
The children learn that hitting women is acceptable	2	1	-1	-2
The man and wife get divorced or seperated	2	1	-1	-2
Single parent families are created	2	1	-1	-2
The women is seriously injured	2	1	-1	-2
The man goes to court for assaulting his wife	2	1	-1	-2

GBAT1

GBAT2

GBAT3

GBAT4

GBAT5

GBAT6

GBAT7

GBAT8

GBAT9

Results of using physical force cont.,

4. Hitting children to discipline them results in	Highly Unlikely	Unlikely	Likely	Highly Likely
The child being well disciplined	2	1	-1	-2
The child learning to obey adults	2	1	-1	-2
The child running away from home	2	1	-1	-2
The child feeling that his or her parents love him or her	2	1	-1	-2

INTC1
INTC2
INTC3
INTC4

5. Having a reputation as a good fighter will result in	Highly Unlikely	Unlikely	Likely	Highly Likely
You getting respect from your friends	2	1	-1	-2
You getting the respect of your community	2	1	-1	-2
You being able to get your way	2	1	-1	-2
You becoming known as someone who can solve conflicts	2	1	-1	-2
You losing the respect of your community	2	1	-1	-2

INTD1
INTD2
INTD3
INTD4
INTD5

6. If you were to beat your own wife the results would be that	Highly Unlikely	Unlikely	Likely	Highly Likely
Your wife learns to respect you	2	1	-1	-2
Your wife will learn to obey you	2	1	-1	-2
Your wife will be less likely to have affairs	2	1	-1	-2
Your wife will learn to respect the norms and values of the community	2	1	-1	-2
Your children will learn that hitting women is acceptable	2	1	-1	-2
You and your wife will get divorced or separated	2	1	-1	-2
Your wife will be seriously injured	2	1	-1	-2
You will go to court for assaulting your wife	2	1	-1	-2
Your wife will not go out without your permission	2	1	-1	-2
Your wife will suffer emotionally	2	1	-1	-2

PBAT1
PBAT2
PBAT3
PBAT4
PBAT5
PBAT6
PBAT7
PBAT8
PBAT9
PBAT10

Beliefs of others regarding your behaviour

1. The following people may have an opinion about whether you should or should not ever beat your wife. For each person or group please indicate on the scale provided whether they think that you should or should not ever beat your wife:

	Definitely Should	Should	Should not	Definitely Should not
Your parents	2	1	-1	-2
Her parents	2	1	-1	-2
The residence committee	2	1	-1	-2
The church	2	1	-1	-2
The courts of law	2	1	-1	-2
The police	2	1	-1	-2
His friends	2	1	-1	-2
The neighbours	2	1	-1	-2
Social Workers	2	1	-1	-2

- NBAT1
- NBAT2
- NBAT3
- NBAT4
- NBAT5
- NBAT6
- NBAT7
- NBAT8
- NBAT9

2. With regard to the following people, would you use the scale provided to indicate whether you are motivated to do the things that they would like you to do. That is, do you try to behave in the way that they would want you to behave or not?

	Always try to do as they would want me to	Usually try to do as they would want me to	Do not Usually try to do as they would want me to	Definitely do not ever try to do as they would want me to
Your parents	4	3	2	1
Her parents	4	3	2	1
The residence committee	4	3	2	1
The church	4	3	2	1
The courts of law	4	3	2	1
The police	4	3	2	1
His friends	4	3	2	1
The neighbours	4	3	2	1
Social Workers	4	3	2	1

- MCBAT1
- MCBAT2
- MCBAT3
- MCBAT4
- MCBAT5
- MCBAT6
- MCBAT7
- MCBAT8
- MCBAT9

3. In general, do you feel that the people who are important to you think that you

Definitely Should	Should	Should not	Definitely Should not
-------------------	--------	------------	-----------------------

beat your wife?

- SNEAT

Attitudes

These are a set of statements about how people **SHOULD** or **SHOULD NOT** behave, please use the scale provided to indicate your agreement or disagreement with the following statements

	Agree Strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
Fighting physically is usually the best way to settle an argument	2	1	-1	-2
It is alright to force your partner to have sex when she is not willing	2	1	-1	-2
It is better to turn the other cheek then hit back when you are attacked	2	1	-1	-2
It is alright to slap your partner in the face when she challenges you	2	1	-1	-2
Hitting a child is the right way to discipline them	2	1	-1	-2
The dominant partner should use force to keep control of the relationship	2	1	-1	-2
It is good to have a reputation as a good fighter	2	1	-1	-2
If your partner flirts with someone else you should beat her	2	1	-1	-2
A good beating is often the best way to show your partner who is in charge	2	1	-1	-2
A man should hit another man who insults him	2	1	-1	-2
Beating your partner occasionally is good	2	1	-1	-2
It is right for a man to beat his wife	2	1	-1	-2

	INTBA1
	BA1
	INTEA
	BA2
	INTCA
	BA3
	INTDA
	BA4
	BA5
	INTAA
	BA6
	BA7

Evaluations of the results of actions

In the section that follows we ask you to indicate whether the following ideas or events are **GOOD** or **BAD**. We are not interested in whether they actually happen or not, just whether, if they happened it would be a **GOOD** or **BAD** thing. Please use the table provided to record your answer.

	Very bad	Bad	Good	Very Good
Getting more respect from another man is	2	1	-1	-2
Getting respect from your friends is	2	1	-1	-2
Getting the respect of your community is	2	1	-1	-2
Getting arrested for assault is	2	1	-1	-2
A man becoming more abusive toward you is	2	1	-1	-2
Losing the respect of your community is	2	1	-1	-2

	INTAE1
	INTABDE1
	INTABDE2
	INTABE
	INTAE2
	INTABDE3

Evaluations cont....

	Very Bad	Bad	Good	Very Good
Effectively resolving your arguments is	2	1	-1	-2
Becoming known as someone who can solve conflicts is	2	1	-1	-2
A women learning to respect her husband is	2	1	-1	-2
A women learning to obey her Husband is	2	1	-1	-2
A women being less likely to have an affair is	2	1	-1	-2
A women learning to respect the norms and values of the community is	2	1	-1	-2
Children learning that hitting women is acceptable is	2	1	-1	-2
A man and wife getting divorced or seperated is	2	1	-1	-2
Single parent families are	2	1	-1	-2
A women getting seriously injured is	2	1	-1	-2
A man going to court for assaulting his wife is	2	1	-1	-2
A child being well disciplined is	2	1	-1	-2
A child learning to obey adults is	2	1	-1	-2
A child running away from home is	2	1	-1	-2
A child feeling that his or her parents love him or her is	2	1	-1	-2
Your wife learning to respect you is	2	1	-1	-2
Your wife learning to obey you is	2	1	-1	-2
Your wife being less likely to have affairs is	2	1	-1	-2
Your wife learning to respect the norms and values of the community is	2	1	-1	-2
Your children learning that hitting women is acceptable is	2	1	-1	-2
You and your wife getting divorced or seperated is	2	1	-1	-2
Your wife being seriously injured is	2	1	-1	-2
You going to court for assaulting your wife is	2	1	-1	-2
Your wife not going out without your permission is	2	1	-1	-2
Your wife suffering emotionally is	2	1	-1	-2

INTBE1
INTDE
GBEV1
GBEV2
GBEV3
GBEV4
GBEV5
GBEV6
GBEV7
GBEV8
GBEV9
INTCE1
INTCE2
INTCE3
INTCE4
BEV1
BEV2
BEV3
BEV4
BEV5
BEV6
BEV7
BEV8
BEV9
BEV10

Appendix 9

Survey Questionnaire - Beliefs and Attitudes Section (Women) - English Version

Description

This section of the questionnaire, 'Beliefs and Attitudes', was slightly different for men and women. The differences relate to the fact that women were not asked questions relating to general violence use nor the set of questions relating to their own use of violence (see Appendix 8). In addition the 'Normative Beliefs' section (p. 13) related to related to leaving a violent relationship were the men's section related to battering. These differences obviously had repercussions for the Attitudes (p.14) & Evaluation (pp. 14-15) sections.

This section of the questionnaire was actually presented in isiXhosa to respondents in order to protect the reliability of the measures used. See Appendix 11 for the translated isiXhosa version.

Beliefs and Attitudes (Women)

In the following section we present you with a number of statements. Please use the table provided to indicate whether you agree with the statement, that is, think it is true or disagree with the statement, that is, think it is untrue.

1. Sex Roles

	Disagree Strongly	Disagree	Agree	Agree Strongly
Women are by nature more tolerant than men	-2	-1	1	2
Women are more responsible than men for what happens in the family	-2	-1	1	2
Women do not need the same freedom outside of the house as men do	-2	-1	1	2
In a healthy society it is the man who goes to work and the women who stays at home	-2	-1	1	2
It is only natural for the man to be the head of the household	-2	-1	1	2
The most important thing for a women is to be a good wife and mother	-2	-1	1	2

	SR1
	SR2
	SR3
	SR4
	SR5
	SR6

2. Relationships

	Disagree Strongly	Disagree	Agree	Agree Strongly
Men are the dominant partner in a relationship	-2	-1	1	2
Men and women want basically the same things from a relationship	-2	-1	1	2
A women will only respect a man who will lay down he law to her	-2	-1	1	2
In a relationship one person always has to be in control	-2	-1	1	2
In a relationship a women is often trying to take advantage of the man	-2	-1	1	2

	REL1
	REL2
	REL3
	REL4
	REL5

3. Conflict in relationships

	Disagree Strongly	Disagree	Agree	Agree Strongly
Wife beating is a small matter compared to other social problems	-2	-1	1	2
Alcohol is the main cause of wife beating	-2	-1	1	2
Usually, when a man beats his wife he has a good reason	-2	-1	1	2
What happens between a man and a women, even physical violence, is nobody else's business	-2	-1	1	2
Children are not effected by a man beating his wife	-2	-1	1	2
Women who stay with men who beat them like to be beaten	-2	-1	1	2
It is very rare for a women to get seriously hurt when her husband beats her	-2	-1	1	2

	MYTH1
	MYTH2
	MYTH3
	MYTH4
	MYTH5
	MYTH6
	MYTH7

Results of using physical force

One of the ways in which people deal with conflict is to use physical force. The following set of questions provide you with some of the possible results of using force to resolve conflicts. Please use the table provided to indicate whether the statements are **LIKELY** or **UNLIKELY** results of the physical force described. We are not asking you whether the statements are good or bad, we only wish to know whether they are **LIKELY** or **UNLIKELY**.

1. Settling your arguments by fighting will result in	Highly Unlikely	Unlikely	Likely	Highly Likely
You getting respect from your friends	2	1	-1	-2
You getting the respect of your community	2	1	-1	-2
You getting arrested for assault	2	1	-1	-2
Your arguments being effectively resolved	2	1	-1	-2
You losing the respect of your community	2	1	-1	-2

INTB1
INTB2
INTB3
INTB4
INTB5

2. In general, if a man beats his wife the results are that	Highly Unlikely	Unlikely	Likely	Highly Likely
A women learns to respect her Husband	2	1	-1	-2
A women learns to obey her husband	2	1	-1	-2
The women is less likely to have an affair	2	1	-1	-2
A women learns to respect the norms and values of the community	2	1	-1	-2
The children learn that hitting women is acceptable	2	1	-1	-2
The man and wife get divorced or seperated	2	1	-1	-2
Single parent families are created	2	1	-1	-2
The women is seriously injured	2	1	-1	-2
The man goes to court for assaulting his wife	2	1	-1	-2

GBAT1
GBAT2
GBAT3
GBAT4
GBAT5
GBAT6
GBAT7
GBAT8
GBAT9

4. Hitting children to discipline them results in	Highly Unlikely	Unlikely	Likely	Highly Likely
The child being well disciplined	2	1	-1	-2
The child learning to obey adults	2	1	-1	-2
The child running away from home	2	1	-1	-2
The child feeling that his or her parents love him or her	2	1	-1	-2

INTC1
INTC2
INTC3
INTC4

Results cont. . .

3. Leaving your husband or boyfriend if he beats you would result in	Highly Unlikely	Unlikey	Likely	Highly Likely
Your children getting neglected	2	1	-1	-2
You losing your dignity	2	1	-1	-2
You being able to provide a better home for you and your children	2	1	-1	-2
You being free to make friends	2	1	-1	-2
Your being saved from injury	2	1	-1	-2
Your husband changing his behaviour	2	1	-1	-2
Your children becoming undisciplined	2	1	-1	-2
The breakdown of your marriage	2	1	-1	-2
You being able to find happiness	2	1	-1	-2
Your husband sleeping with other women	2	1	-1	-2
You and your children being homeless	2	1	-1	-2
You losing your children to your husband	2	1	-1	-2

	L1
	L2
	L3
	L4
	L5
	L6
	L7
	L8
	L9
	L10
	L11
	L12

Beliefs of others regarding your behaviour

1. The following people may have an opinion about whether you should or should not leave your husband or boyfriend if he beats you wife. For each person or group please indicate on the scale provided whether they think that you **SHOULD** or **SHOULD NOT** leave your husband or boyfriend if he beats you:

	Definitely Should	Should	Should not	Definitely Should not
Your parents	2	1	-1	-2
His parents	2	1	-1	-2
The residence committee	2	1	-1	-2
The church	2	1	-1	-2
The courts of law	2	1	-1	-2
The police	2	1	-1	-2
His friends	2	1	-1	-2
The neighbours	2	1	-1	-2
Social Workers	2	1	-1	-2
Your friends	2	1	-1	-2
Your relatives	2	1	-1	-2

- NL1
- NL2
- NL3
- NL4
- NL5
- NL6
- NL7
- NL8
- NL9
- NL10
- NL11

2. With regard to the following people, would you use the scale provided to indicate whether you are motivated to do the things that they would like you to do. That is, do you try to behave in the way that they would want you to behave or not?

	Always try to do as they would want me to	Usually try to do as they would want me to	Do not Usually try to do as they would want me to	Definitely do not ever try to do as they would want me to
Your parents	4	3	2	1
His parents	4	3	2	1
The residence committee	4	3	2	1
The church	4	3	2	1
The courts of law	4	3	2	1
The police	4	3	2	1
His friends	4	3	2	1
The neighbours	4	3	2	1
Social Workers	4	3	2	1
Your friends	4	3	2	1
Your relatives	4	3	2	1

- MCL1
- MCL2
- MCL3
- MCL4
- MCL5
- MCL6
- MCL7
- MCL8
- MCL9
- MCL10
- MCL11

3. In general, do you feel that the people who are important to you think that you

Definitely Should	Should	Should not	Definitely Should not
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

leave your husband or boyfriend if he beats you.

- SN

Attitudes

The questions that follow ask you to respond to a question regarding whether certain actions are **RIGHT** or **WRONG**. These are a set of statements about how people **SHOULD** or **SHOULD NOT** behave, please use the scale provided to indicate your agreement or disagreement with the following statements

	Agree Strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
Fighting physically is usually the best way to settle an argument	2	1	-1	-2
A women should leave her husband if he ever beats her	2	1	-1	-2
It is better to turn the other cheek then hit back when you are attacked	2	1	-1	-2
Hitting a child is the right way to discipline them	2	1	-1	-2
The dominant partner should use force to keep control of the relationship	2	1	-1	-2
It is good to have a reputation as a good fighter	2	1	-1	-2
You should leave your husband or boyfriend if he beats you often	2	1	-1	-2
A man should hit another man who insults him	2	1	-1	-2
It is right for a man to beat his wife	2	1	-1	-2

	INTBA
	LA1
	INTEA
	INTCA
	BA3
	INTDA
	LAC
	INTAA
	BA7

Evaluations of the results of actions

In the section that follows we ask you to indicate whether the following ideas or events are **GOOD** or **BAD**. We are not interested in whether they actually happen or not, just whether, if they happened it would be a **GOOD** or **BAD** thing. Please use the table provided to record your answer.

	Very bad	Bad	Good	Very Good
Getting respect from your friends is	2	1	-1	-2
Gettinf the respect of your community is	2	1	-1	-2
Getting arrested for assault is	2	1	-1	-2
Losing the respect of your community is	2	1	-1	-2
Effectively resolving your arguments is	2	1	-1	-2

	INTABDE1
	INTABDE2
	INTABE
	INTABDE3
	INTBE

Evaluations cont....

	Very Bad	Bad	Good	Very Good
A women learning to respect her husband is	2	1	-1	-2
A women learning to obey her Husband is	2	1	-1	-2
A women being less likely to have an affair is	2	1	-1	-2
A women learning to respect the norms and values of the community is	2	1	-1	-2
Children learning that hitting women is acceptable is	2	1	-1	-2
A man and wife getting divorced or seperated is	2	1	-1	-2
Single parent families are	2	1	-1	-2
A women getting sericusly injured is	2	1	-1	-2
A man going to court for assaulting his wife is	2	1	-1	-2
A child being well disciplined is	2	1	-1	-2
A child learning to obey adults is	2	1	-1	-2
A child running away from home is	2	1	-1	-2
A child feeling that his or her parents love him or her is	2	1	-1	-2
Your children getting neglected is	2	1	-1	-2
You losing your dignity is	2	1	-1	-2
You being able to provide a better home for you and your children is	2	1	-1	-2
You being free to make friends is	2	1	-1	-2
You being saved from injury is	2	1	-1	-2
Your husband changing his behaviour is	2	1	-1	-2
Your children becoming undisciplined is	2	1	-1	-2
Your marriage breaking down is	2	1	-1	-2
You finding happiness is	2	1	-1	-2
Your husband sleeping with other women is	2	1	-1	-2
You and your children being homeless is	2	1	-1	-2
You losing your children to your husband is	2	1	-1	-2

GBEV1
GBEV2
GBEV3
GBEV4
GBEV5
GBEV6
GBEV7
GBEV8
GBEV9
INTCE1
INTCE2
INTCE3
INTCE4
LEV1
LEV2
LEV3
LEV4
LEV5
LEV6
LEV7
LEV8
LEV9
LEV10
LEV11
LEV12

Appendix 10

Survey Questionnaire - Beliefs and Attitudes Section (Men/Amadoda) - isiXhosa

Description

The isiXhosa translation of the Beliefs and Attitudes section is provided in the form that the participants were presented with - see appendix 8 for the English translation. Besides the translation to isiXhosa the isiXhosa version also differs in that each section begins with a dummy question which the interviewer and participants used to clarify the structure and intent of the questionnaire format. This was included as an aid to the interviewers and to ensure that all participants properly understood the question format.

INKOLELO NENDLELA OZICINGELA NGAYO (AMADODA)

Kweli candelo lilandelayo sikunika ezi nkcazelo. Nceda usebenzise esi sicwangciso esinikiweyo ukubonisa ukuba uyavumelana na okanye hayi.

Umzekelo:

0 = Phikisana ngamandla (PN)
3 = Vumelana (V)

1 = Phikisana (P)
4 = Vumelana ngamandla (VN)

	PN	P	V	VN
Imonti inomoya kakhulu kunebhayi	0	1	2	3

Ukuba ubungafuna ukuphikisana ngokumandla nalenteto, impendulo yakho ibiyakuma ngoluhlobo:

	PN	P	V	VN
Imonti inomoya kakhulu kunebhayi	0	1	2	3

Ngoku nceda uphendula lemibuzo ingezantsi:

0 = Phikisana ngamandla (PN)
2 = Vumelana (V)

1 = Phikisana (P)
4 = Vumelana ngamandla (VN)

1. Imisebenzi yesini

	PN	P	V	VN
Abafazi ebomini bayanyamazela ngaphezu kwamadoda	0	1	2	3
Izinto zasekhaya zixhomekeke kakhulu ebafazini ngaphezu kwamadoda	0	1	2	3
Inkululeko engaphandle kwekhaya ayifuneki ebafazini njengasemadodeni	0	1	2	3
Kumphakathi olungileyo yindoda esebenzayo, abafazi bona bahlala ekhaya	0	1	2	3
Kudaliwe ukuba indoda ibe ngumpathi wekhaya	0	1	2	3
Into ebalulekileyo ebafazini yeyokuba abengumfazi nomama olungileyo	0	1	2	3

SR1
 SR2
 SR3
 SR4
 SR5
 SR6

2. Unxulumelwano

	PN	P	V	VN
Amadoda ngawona aphambili kunxulumelwano	0	1	2	3
Amadoda nabafazi bafuna izinto ezifanayo kunxulumelwano	0	1	2	3
Umfazi uhlonipha kuphela indoda xa imbekele umteto emthethisayo	0	1	2	3
Kunxulumelwano kukho umntu ekufuneka ephethe	0	1	2	3
Kunxulumelwano umfazi udla ngokuyisebenzisa indoda	0	1	2	3

REL1
 REL2
 REL3
 REL4
 REL5

0 = Phikisana ngamandla (PN)
2 = Vumelana (V)

1 = Phikisana (P)
3 = Vumelana ngamandla (VN)

3. Ingxabano
kunxulumelwano

	PN	P	V	VN
Ukubethwa komfazi ngumcinjana xa kuthelekiswa nezinye iingxaki zoluntu	0	1	2	3
Umnxilo yeyona nto ephambili ebangela ukubethwa komfazi	0	1	2	3
Indoda xa ibetha umfazi idla ngokuba nesizathu esiphathekayo	0	1	2	3
Into eyenzeka phakathi kwendoda nomfazi, nokuba bubudlova na, asiyondaba yamntu	0	1	2	3
Abantwana abadyobheki kukubethwa komfazi yindoda	0	1	2	3
Abafazi abahlala namadoda ababethayo, bathanda ukubethwa	0	1	2	3
Efafazini kunqabile ukwenzakala kakhulu xa bebethwa ngamadoda abo	0	1	2	3

MYTH1
MYTH2
MYTH3
MYTH4
MYTH5
MYTH6
MYTH7

Iziphumo zokusebenzisa amandla

Kwelicandelo lilandelayo sicela usebenzise iibhokisana (table) ukubonisa ukuba intetho enikiweyo ingangumphumela okanye hayi wezenzo esizibekayo.

Umzekele:

Enye yeendlela abathi abantu bazonwabisa ngayo kukuya elwandle. Le mibuzo ilandelayo iyakunikisa ezinye iziphumo ezingenzeka ngokuya elwandle. Nceda usebenzise iibhokisana (tables) ukubonisa ukuba ezintetha zingabangela okanye azingebangeli iziphumo zokuya elwandle. Asikubuzi ukuba azintetha zilungile okanye azilunganga, okanye ukuba wena siqu uyaya na elwandle, singwenela kuphela ukwazi ukuba zingangunobangela okanye hayi.

0 = Ndikholwa ngamandla ukuba azinakwenzeka (NGA)
2 = Zinokwenzeka (Z)

1 = Ndikholwa azinakwenzeka (NA)
3 = Ndikholwa ngamandla ukuba zinokwenzeka (NGZ)

1. Ukuya elwandle kungakhokelela ekubeni ..

	NGA	NA	Z	NGZ
Utshe iinyawo kwisanti eshushu	0	1	2	3

INTA1

Ukuba ucinga akungefane utshe iinyawo, impendulo yakho ingema ngoluhlobo:

1. Ukuya elwandle kungakhokelela ekubeni ..

	NGA	NA	Z	NGZ
Utshe iinyawo kwisanti eshushu	0	1	2	3

INTA1

Ngoku nceda uphendula lemibuzo ingezantsi:

Enye yendlela esetyenziswa ngabantu ukubonisa ingxabano yeyokusebenzisa amandla. Le mibuzo ilandelayo iyakunikisa ezinye iziphumo ezingenzeka ngokusetyenziswa kwamandla ukubonisa ngengxabano. Nceda usebenzise esi sicwangciso sinikiweyo ukubonisa ukuba iingcaciso ziziphumo zamandla achaziweyo ezinokwenzeka okanye ezinokungenzi na. Asikubuzi ukuba iingcaciso zilungile na okanye zimbi, sifuna ukuqonda qha ukuba zinokwenzeka na okanye hayi.

0 = Ndikholwa ngamandla ukuba azinakwenzeka (NGA)
2 = Zinokwenzeka (Z)

1 = Ndikholwa azinakwenzeka (NA)
3 = Ndikholwa ngamandla ukuba zinokwenzeka (NGZ)

1. Ukubetha indoda ekuthukayo kuza kuphumelela kwezi zinto:

	NGA	NA	Z	NGZ
Ukufumana intlonipho kuye kwixesha elizayo	2	1	-1	-2
Ukufumana intlonipho kwizihlobo zakho	2	1	-1	-2
Ukufumana intlonipho wena eluntwini	2	1	-1	-2
Ukubanjelwa ukuhlaselela wena	2	1	-1	-2
Indoda ikuthuke kakhulu kwixesha elizayo	2	1	-1	-2
Ukuphelelela yintlonipho wena eluntwini	2	1	-1	-2

INTA1
INTA2
INTA3
INTA4
INTA5
INTA6

0 = Ndikholwa ngamandla ukuba azinakwenzeka (NGA)

1 = Ndikholwa azinakwenzeka (NA)

2 = Zinokwenzeka (Z)

3 = Ndikholwa ngamandla ukuba zinokwenzeka (NGZ)

2. Ukuthomalalisa iingxabano ngokulwa iza kuphumelela kwezi zinto:

	NGA	NA	Z	NGZ
Wena ufumane intlonipho kubahlobo bakho	0	1	2	3
Wena ufumane intlonipho eluntwini	0	1	2	3
Wena ubanjelwe ukuhlaselela	0	1	2	3
Iingxabano isombululwe kakuhle	0	1	2	3
Wena uphelelwe yintlonipho eluntwini	0	1	2	3

NTB1
NTB2
NTB3
NTB4
NTB5

3. Ngokubanzi xa indoda ibetha umfazi wayo iziphumo ziza kuba:

	NGA	NA	Z	NGZ
Umfazi ufunda ukuhlonipha indoda yakhe	0	1	2	3
Umfazi ufunda ukuthobela indoda yakhe	0	1	2	3
Umfazi akacingi ngokukrexeza	0	1	2	3
Umfazi aqonde ukuba makahloniphe imigangatho neenkolelo zoluntu	0	1	2	3
Abantwana baqonde ukuba ukubetha abafazi kulungile	0	1	2	3
Indoda nomfazi baqhawule umtshato okanye bohlukane	0	1	2	3
Kudala usapho olunomzali omnye	0	1	2	3
Umfazi wenzakala kakhulu	0	1	2	3
Indoda iya enkundleni njengokuba ihlasele umfazi wayo	0	1	2	3

GBAT1
GBAT2
GBAT3
GBAT4
GBAT5
GBAT6
GBAT7
GBAT8
GBAT9

4. Ukubetha abantwana xa uqeqeshayo kuneziphumo ezinje:

	NGA	NA	Z	NGZ
Umntwana uziphatha kakuhle	0	1	2	3
Umntwana ofunda ukuthobela abadala	0	1	2	3
Umntwana obaleka ikhaya	0	1	2	3
Umntwana oqonda ukuba uyathandwa ngabazali bakhe	0	1	2	3

INTC1
INTC2
INTC3
INTC4

5. Ukuba nendumasi yomlwi olungileyo kuneziphumo ezinje:

	NGA	NA	Z	NGZ
Wena ufumane intlonipho kubahlobo bakho	0	1	2	3
Wena ufumane intlonipho eluntwini	0	1	2	3
Ubenakho ukuqhuba ngendlela yakho	0	1	2	3
Wena uqondeke ukuba ungumntu okwazi ukuphelisa iingxabano	0	1	2	3
Ulahlekelwe sisidima eluntwini	0	1	2	3

INTD1
INTD2
INTD3
INTD4
INTD5

0 = Ndikholwa ngamandla ukuba azinakwenzeka (NGA)

1 = Ndikholwa azinakwenzeka (NA)

2 = Zinokwenzeka (Z)

3 = Ndikholwa ngamandla ukuba zinokwenzeka (NGZ)

6. Xa uza kubetha umfazi wakho, iziphumo zingaba nje:

	NGA	NA	Z	NGZ
Umfazi ofunda ukukuhlonipha wena	0	1	2	3
Umfazi ofunda ukukuthobela wena	0	1	2	3
Umfazi akanakukrexeza ngokulula	0	1	2	3
Umfazi ofunda ukuhlonipha imigangatho neenkolelo zoluntu	0	1	2	3
Abantwana bakho baza kufunda ukuba kulungile ukubetha abafazi	0	1	2	3
Wena nomfazi wakho niza kuqhawula umtshato okanye nihlukane	0	1	2	3
Umfazi uza kwenzakala kakhulu	0	1	2	3
Wena uza kuya enkundleni njengokuba uhlasele umfazi wakho	0	1	2	3
Umfazi wakho akazi kuphuma ngaphandle kwemvume yakho	0	1	2	3
Umfazi wakho uza kukhubeka kakhulu entliziyweni	0	1	2	3

	PBAT1
	PBAT2
	PBAT3
	PBAT4
	PBAT5
	PBAT6
	PBAT7
	PBAT8
	PBAT9
	PBAT10

Iinkolelo zabanye malunga nendlela oziphatha ngayo

Kwelicandelo lilandelayo sikubuza ukuba abanye abantu bacinga ntoni ngokuziphatha kwakho.

Umzekele:

Ababantu balandelayo basenganembono yokuba umele okanye akumele kuze uye elwandle uyekonwaba. Ngomntu ngamnye okanye iqela ngalinye nceda ubonise kwiibhokisana oziinikiweyo ukuba bangaba bacinga ngokuba uye okanye ungayi elwandle ukuya kuzonwabisa.

3 = Umele ngonyameko (UN)

2 = Umele (U)

1 = Akumele (A)

0 = Akumele ngonyameko (AN)

	UN	U	A	AN
Abazali bakho	3	2	1	0

NBAT1

Ukuba abazali bakho mhlawumbi bacinga ukuba akumele ukuya elwandle impendulo yakho iyakuma ngoluhlobo:

	UN	U	A	AN
Abazali bakho	3	2	1	0

NBAT1

Ngoku nceda uphendula lemibuzo ingezantsi:

Abantu abalandelayo bangaba noluvo malunga nokuba umele ukubetha umfazi wakho okanye hayi. Kumntu ngamnye okanye kwigela ngamnye nceda ubonise kwisikali esinikiweyo ukuba bangacinga ukuba umele ukubetha umfazi okanye hayi.

3 = Umele ngonyameko (UN)

2 = Umele (U)

1 = Akumele (A)

0 = Akumele ngonyameko (AN)

	UN	U	A	AN
Abazali bakho	3	2	1	0
Abazali bakhe	3	2	1	0
Ikomiti yabahlali	3	2	1	0
ICawa	3	2	1	0
Inkundla yomthetho	3	2	1	0
Amapolisa	3	2	1	0
Izihlobo zakhe	3	2	1	0
Abameiwane	3	2	1	0
Abasebenzi eluntwini	3	2	1	0

NBAT1
NBAT2
NBAT3
NBAT4
NBAT5
NBAT6
NBAT7
NBAT8
NBAT9

2. Malunga nabantu abalandelayo, nceda usebenzise isikali esinikiweyo ukubonisa nokuba unembangeli / udlamkile ukusenza izinto ezingwenelwa ngabo. Ngamanye amazwi, uyazama ukuziphatha ngolo hlobo olungwenelwa ngabo okanye hayi?

Umzekele:

4 = Ndizama lonke ixesha ukwenza njalo (NLI) 3 = Ndidla ngokwenza njalo bafuna ndenze (NNN)
 2 = Ndidla ngokungenzi njalo (NN) 1 = Andizami tu ukwenza njalo (AT)

	NLI	NNN	NN	AT
Abazali bakho	4	3	2	1

MCBAT1

Ukuba awukhe wenze into abazali bakho abafuna uyenze impendulo yakho ingemangoluhlobo:

	NLI	NNN	NN	AT
Abazali bakho	4	3	2	1

MCBAT1

Ngoku nceda uphendula lemibuzo ingezantsi:

NLI = Ndizama lonke ixesha ukwenza njalo **NNN** = Ndidla ngokwenza njalo bafuna ndenze
NN = Ndidla ngokungenzi njalo **AT** = Andizami tu ukwenza njalo

	NLI	NNN	NN	AT
Abazali bakho	4	3	2	1
Abazali bakhe	4	3	2	1
Ikomiti yabahlali	4	3	2	1
ICawa	4	3	2	1
Inkundla yomthetho	4	3	2	1
Amapolisa	4	3	2	1
Izihlobo zakhe	4	3	2	1
Abamelwane	4	3	2	1
Abasebenzi eluntwini	4	3	2	1

MCBAT1
 MCBAT2
 MCBAT3
 MCBAT4
 MCBAT5
 MCBAT6
 MCBAT7
 MCBAT8
 MCBAT9

3. Ngokubanzi, ucinga ukuba abantu ababalulekile kuwe bacinga ukuba:

3	2	1	0
Kumele nakanjani	Umele	Akamele	Akamele nakanjani

SN

ukubetha umfazi wakho?

Iindlela ozicingela ngayo

Kulemibuzo ilandelayo uyacelwa ukuba uphendule ukuba izenzo ezithile zilungile okanye azilunganga. Kukho iintetha ezichaza iindlela abantu bamela ukuziphatha ngazo okanye iindlela abantu bamelo ukungaziphathi ngazo. Nceda usebenzise isikali esinikiweyo ukubonisa nokuba uhambisana nezinkcazo okanye hayi.

Umzekele:

- 3 = Ndihambisana kakhulu nale nkcazo (HK) 2 = Ndiyahambisana (H)
 1 = Ndiyaphikisana (P) 0 = Ndiyaphikisana kakhulu (PK)

	HK	H	P	PK
Ukungaphangeli kulungile	3	2	1	0

	INTBA1
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Ukuba ucinga lentetha ayilungile kwaye, okuyinene, kukuba ukungaphangeli yinto embi kakhulu, ungangavumelani konke-konke. Impendulo yakho ingema kanje:

	HK	H	P	PK
Ukungaphangeli kulungile	3	2	1	0

	INTBA1
--	--------

Ngoku nceda uphendula lemibuzo ingezantsi:

- 3 = Ndihambisana kakhulu nale nkcazo (HK) 2 = Ndiyahambisana (H)
 1 = Ndiyaphikisana (P) 0 = Ndiyaphikisana kakhulu (PK)

	HK	H	P	PK
Ukulwa kudla ngokuba yindlela elungileyo ukuphelisa ingxabano	3	2	1	0
Kulungile ukusebenzisa amandla xa umfazi engafuni nesondo	3	2	1	0
Kungcono ukujika esinye isidlele kunokuziphindezela xa uhlaselwa	3	2	1	0
Kulungile ukumbetha ngempama umlingana wakho xa akutyhola wena	3	2	1	0
Ukubetha umntwana yindlela efanekileyo yokumqeqesha yena	3	2	1	0
Umntu ophambili umele ukusebenzisa amandla wakuphatha kunxulumelwano	3	2	1	0
Kulungile ukuba nendumasi yomiwi olungileyo	3	2	1	0
Xa umlingana ekrexeza nomnye umntu umele ukumbetha	3	2	1	0
Ukumbetha kakuhle kudla ngokuba yindlela elungileyo ukubonisa ukuba nguwe ophetheyo	3	2	1	0
Indoda imele ukubetha enye indoda xa imthukayo	3	2	1	0
Ukubetha umlingana ngamathuba athile kulungile	3	2	1	0
Kufanelekile ukuba indoda ibethe umfazi wayo	3	2	1	0

	INTBA1
	BA1
	INTEA
	BA2
	INTCA
	BA3
	INTDA
	BA4
	BA5
	INTAA
	BA6
	BA7

Uthelekelelo lweziphumo zezenzo

Kwicandelo elizayo siyakucela ukubonisa nokuba iingcamango okanye iziganeko ezilandelayo zinexabiso okanye zingcolile. Asikhathaleli nto yokuba ziyenzeka okanye hayi, kodwa okubhetele xazenzeka zizinto ezinexabiso okanye zingcolile na. Nceda usebenzise isicwangciso esinikiweyo ukubhala impendulo yakho.

Umzekele:

- 0 = Kungcolile kakhulu (KK)
- 1 = Kungcolile (K)
- 2 = Kunexabiso (KK)
- 3 = Kunexabiso kakhulu (KKK)

	KK	K	KK	KKK
Ukufumana intloniphoengaphezulu kwenye indoda ku...	0	1	2	3

INTAE1

Ukuba ucinga ukuba ukutshisha iinyawo zakho kwisanti eshushu, yinto embi, kodwa ingembi kakhulu. Impendulo yakho ingema ngoluhlobo:

	KK	K	KK	KKK
Ukufumana intloniphoengaphezulu kwenye indoda ku...	0	1	2	3

INTAE1

Ngoku nceda uphendula lemibuzo ingezantsi:

- 0 = Kungcolile kakhulu (KK)
- 1 = Kungcolile (K)
- 2 = Kunexabiso (KK)
- 3 = Kunexabiso kakhulu (KKK)

	KK	K	KK	KKK
Ukufumana intloniphoengaphezulu kwenye indoda ku...	0	1	2	3
Ukufumana intlonipho kwizihlobo zakho ku..	0	1	2	3
Ukufumana intlonipho eluntwini ku....	0	1	2	3
Ukubanjelwa ukuhlasela ku...	0	1	2	3
Indoda ekuthuka kakhulu	0	1	2	3
Ukuphelelwa sisidimaeluntwini ku...	0	1	2	3
Ukugqiba iingxaban ngokunesiqhamo ku...	0	1	2	3
Ukugondwa ngumntu onakho ukuphelisa ingxabano ku..	0	1	2	3
Umfazi ofunda ukuhlonipha indoda yakhe u ...	0	1	2	3
Umfazi ofunda ukuthobela indoda yakhe u...	0	1	2	3
Ukukrexeza akunakwenzeka ngokulula kumfazi ku..	0	1	2	3
Umfazi ofunda ukuhlonipha imigangatho neenkolelo zoluntu u...	0	1	2	3
Abantwana abafunda ukuba ukubetha abafazi kulungile ba.....	0	1	2	3
Indoda nomfazi abaghawula umtshato okanye abahlukanayo ba...	0	1	2	3
Usapho olunomzali omnye lu....	0	1	2	3
Umfazi oyenzakala kakhulu u...	0	1	2	3
Indoda eya enkundleni njengokuba ihlasele umfazi wayo i.....	0	1	2	3
Umntwana oqeqeshiwe kakuhle u....	0	1	2	3
Umntwana ofunda ukuthobela abazali u....	0	1	2	3
Umntwana obaleka ekhaya u....	0	1	2	3

INTAE1
 INTABDE1
 INTABDE2
 INTABE
 INTAE2
 INTABDE3
 INTBE1
 INTDE
 GBEV1
 GBEV2
 GBEV3
 GBEV4
 GBEV5
 GBEV6
 GBEV7
 GBEV8
 GBEV9
 INTCE1
 INTCE2
 INTCE3

0 = Kungcolile kakhulu (KK)

1 = Kungcolile. (K)

2 = Kunexabiso (KK)

3 = Kunexabiso kakhulu (KKK)

	KK	K	KK	KKK
Umntwana oqonda ukuba uyathandwa ngabazali u...	0	1	2	3
Umfazi wakho ofunda ukukuhlonipha wena u.....	0	1	2	3
Umfazi wakho ofunda ukukuthobela wena u.....	0	1	2	3
Umfazi wakho ongafuni ukukrexeza u..	0	1	2	3
Umfazi wakho ofunda ukuhlonipha imigangatho neenkolelo zoluntu u...	0	1	2	3
Abantwana bakho befunda ukuba ukubetha abafazi kulungile, ku...	0	1	2	3
Wena nomfazi nighawula umtshato okanye nohlukana ku...	0	1	2	3
Ku.....xa umfazi wakho wenzakala kakhulu	0	1	2	3
Wena uya enkundleni njengokuba uhlasele umfazi wakho ku....	0	1	2	3
Ku..... xa umfazi angaphumi ngaphandle kwemvume yakho	0	1	2	3
Ku..... xa umfazi wakho akukhubeka entliziyweni	0	1	2	3

INTCE4
BEV1
BEV2
BEV3
BEV4
BEV5
BEV6
BEV7
BEV8
BEV9
BEV10

Appendix 11

Survey Questionnaire - Beliefs and Attitudes Section (Women/Abafazi) - isiXhosa

Description

The isiXhosa translation of the Beliefs and Attitudes section is provided in the form that the participants were presented with - see appendix 9 for the English translation. Besides the translation to isiXhosa the isiXhosa version also differs in that each section begins with a dummy question which the interviewer and participants used to clarify the structure and intent of the questionnaire format. This was included as an aid to the interviewers and to ensure that all participants properly understood the question format.

INKOLELO NENDLELA OZICINGELA NGAYO (ABAFAZI)

Kweli candelo lilandelayo sikunika ezi nkcazelo. Nceda usebenzise esi sicwangciso esinikiweyo ukubonisa ukuba uyavumelana na okanye hayi.

Umzekele:

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 0 = Phikisana ngamandla (PN) | 1 = Phikisana (P) |
| 3 = Vumelana (V) | 4 = Vumelana ngamandla (VN) |

	PN	P	V	VN
Imonti inomoya kakhulu kunebhayi	0	1	2	3

Ukuba ubungafuna ukuphikisana ngokumandla nalenteto, impendulo yakho ibiyakuma ngoluhlobo:

	PN	P	V	VN
Imonti inomoya kakhulu kunebhayi	0	1	2	3

Ngoku nceda uphendula lemibuzo ingezantsi:

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 0 = Phikisana ngamandla (PN) | 1 = Phikisana (P) |
| 2 = Vumelana (V) | 4 = Vumelana ngamandla (VN) |

1. Imisebenzi yesini

	PN	P	V	VN
Abafazi ebomini bayanyamazela ngaphezu kwamadoda	0	1	2	3
Izinto zasekhaya zixhomekeke kakhulu ebafazini ngaphezu kwamadoda	0	1	2	3
Inkululeko engaphandle kwekhaya ayifuneki ebafazini njengasemadodeni	0	1	2	3
Kumphakathi olungileyo yindoda esebenzayo, abafazi bona bahlala ekhaya	0	1	2	3
Kudaliwe ukuba indoda ibe ngumpathi wekhaya	0	1	2	3
Into ebalulekileyo ebafazini yeyokuba abengumfazi nomama olungileyo	0	1	2	3

SR1

SR2

SR3

SR4

SR5

SR6

2. Unxulumelwano

	PN	P	V	VN
Amadoda ngawona aphambili kunxulumelwano	0	1	2	3
Amadoda nabafazi bafuna izinto ezifanayo kunxulumelwano	0	1	2	3
Umfazi uhlonipha kuphela indoda xa imbekele umteto emthethisayo	0	1	2	3
Kunxulumelwano kukho umntu ekufuneka ephethe	0	1	2	3
Kunxulumelwano umfazi udla ngokuyisebenzisa indoda	0	1	2	3

REL1

REL2

REL3

REL4

REL5

0 = Phikisana ngamandla (PN)
2 = Vumelana (V)

1 = Phikisana (P)
3 = Vumelana ngamandla (VN)

3. Ingxabano
kunxulumelwano

	PN	P	V	VN
Ukubethwa komfazi ngumcinjana xa kuthelekiswa nezinye iingxaki zoluntu	0	1	2	3
Umnxilo yeyona nto ephambili ebangela ukubethwa komfazi	0	1	2	3
Indoda xa ibetha umfazi idla ngokuba nesizathu esiphathekayo	0	1	2	3
Into eyenzeka phakathi kwendoda nomfazi, nokuba bubudlova na, asiyondaba yamntu	0	1	2	3
Abantwana abadyobheki kukubethwa komfazi yindoda	0	1	2	3
Abafazi abahlala namadoda ababethayo, bathanda ukubethwa	0	1	2	3
Ebafazini kungabile ukwenzakala kakhulu xa bebethwa ngamadoda abo	0	1	2	3

MYTH1
MYTH2
MYTH3
MYTH4
MYTH5
MYTH6
MYTH7

Iziphumo zokusebenzisa amandla

Kwelicandelo lilandelayo sicela usebenzise iibhokisana (table) ukubonisa ukuba intetho enikiweyo ingangumphumela okanye hayi wezenzo esizibekayo.

Umzekele:

Enye yeendlela abathi abantu bazonwabisa ngayo kukuya elwandle. Le mibuzo ilandelayo iyakunikisa ezinye iziphumo ezingenzeka ngokuya elwandle. Nceda usebenzise iibhokisana (tables) ukubonisa ukuba ezintetha zingabangela okanye azingebangeli iziphumo zokuya elwandle. Asikubuzi ukuba azintetha zilungile okanye azilunganga, okanye ukuba wena siqu uyaya na elwandle, siqwenela kuphela ukwazi ukuba zingangunobangela okanye hayi.

0 = Ndikholwa ngamandla ukuba azinakwenzeka (NGA)
2 = Zinokwenzeka (Z)

1 = Ndikholwa azinakwenzeka (NA)
3 = Ndikholwa ngamandla ukuba zinokwenzeka (NGZ)

1. Ukuya elwandle kungakhokelela ekubeni ..

	NGA	NA	Z	NGZ
Utshe iinyawo kwisanti eshushu	0	1	2	3

INTA1

Ukuba ucinga akungefane utshe iinyawo, impendulo yakho ingema ngoluhlobo:

1. Ukuya elwandle kungakhokelela ekubeni ..

	NGA	NA	Z	NGZ
Utshe iinyawo kwisanti eshushu	0	1	2	3

INTA1

Ngoku nceda uphendula lemibuzo ingezantsi:

Enye yendlela esetyenziswa ngabantu ukubonisa ingxabano yeyokusebenzisa amandla. Le mibuzo ilandelayo iyakunikisa ezinye iziphumo ezingenzeka ngokusetyenziswa kwamandla ukubonisa ngengxabano. Nceda usebenzise esi sicwangciso sinikiweyo ukubonisa ukuba iingcaciso ziziphumo zamandla achaziweyo ezinokwenzeka okanye ezinokungenzi na. Asikubuzi ukuba iingcaciso zilungile na okanye zimbi, sifuna ukuqonda qha ukuba zinokwenzeka na okanye hayi.

0 = Ndikholwa ngamandla ukuba azinakwenzeka (NGA)
2 = Zinokwenzeka (Z)

1 = Ndikholwa azinakwenzeka (NA)
3 = Ndikholwa ngamandla ukuba zinokwenzeka (NGZ)

1. Ukuthomalalisa iingxabano ngokulwa iza kuphumelela kwezi zinto:

	NGA	NA	Z	NGZ
Wena ufumane intlonipho kubahlobo bakho	0	1	2	3
Wena ufumane intlonipho eluntwini	0	1	2	3
Wena ubanjelwe ukuhlaselela	0	1	2	3
Iingxabano isombululwe kakuhle	0	1	2	3
Wena uphelelewe yintlonipho eluntwini	0	1	2	3

NTB1
NTB2
NTB3
NTB4
NTB5

0 = Ndikholwa ngamandla ukuba azinakwenzeka (NGA)

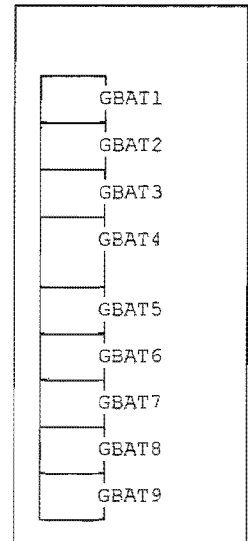
1 = Ndikholwa azinakwenzeka (NA)

2 = Zinokwenzeka (Z)

3 = Ndikholwa ngamandla ukuba zinokwenzeka (NGZ)

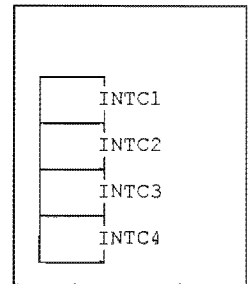
2. Ngokubanzi xa indoda ibetha umfazi wayo iziphumo ziza kuba:

	NGA	NA	Z	NGZ
Umfazi ufunda ukuhlonipha indoda yakhe	0	1	2	3
Umfazi ufunda ukuthobela indoda yakhe	0	1	2	3
Umfazi akacingi ngokukrexeza	0	1	2	3
Umfazi aqonde ukuba makahloniphe imigangatho neenkolelo zoluntu	0	1	2	3
Abantwana baqonde ukuba ukubetha abafazi kulungile	0	1	2	3
Indoda nomfazi baqhawule umtshato okanye bohlukane	0	1	2	3
Kudala usapho olunomzali omnye	0	1	2	3
Umfazi wenzakala kakhulu	0	1	2	3
Indoda iya enkundleni njengokuba ihlasele umfazi wayo	0	1	2	3



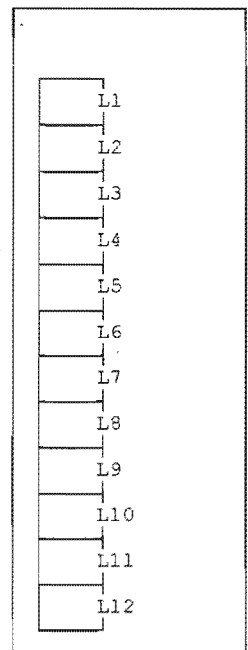
3. Ukubetha abantwana xa ugeqeshayo kuneziphumo ezinje:

	NGA	NA	Z	NGZ
Umntwana uziphatha kakuhle	0	1	2	3
Umntwana ofunda ukuthobela abadala	0	1	2	3
Umntwana obaleka ikhaya	0	1	2	3
Umntwana oqonda ukuba uyathandwa ngabazali bakhe	0	1	2	3



4. Ukushiya indoda okanye isithandwa xa sikubetha kuneziphumo njengezi:

	NGA	NA	Z	NGZ
Abantwana bakho batyeshelwe	0	1	2	3
Ulahlekelwe sisidima	0	1	2	3
Uba nekhaya elingcono nabantwana bakho	0	1	2	3
Ukhululeke uzenzele izihlobo	0	1	2	3
Usinde ekwenzakaleni	0	1	2	3
Indoda yakho itshintshe indlela eziphethe ngayo	0	1	2	3
Abantwana bakho ababinangqeqesho	0	1	2	3
Uqhawulo lomtshato wakho	0	1	2	3
Ubenakho ukonwaba	0	1	2	3
Indoda yakho ilale nabanye abafazi	0	1	2	3
Wena nabantwana bakho ningabi nakhaya	0	1	2	3
Uhluthwe abantwana yindoda	0	1	2	3



Iinkolelo zabanye malunga nendlela oziphatha ngayo

Kwelicandelo lilandeleyo sikubuza ukuba abanye abantu bacinga ntoni ngokuziphatha kwakho.

Umzekele:

Ababantu balandelayo basenganembono yokuba umele okanye akumele kuze uye elwandle uyekonwaba. Ngomntu ngamnye okanye iqela ngalinye nceda ubonise kwiibhokisana ozlinikiweyo ukuba bangaba bacinga ngokuba uye okanye ungayi elwandle ukuya kuzonwabisa.

- 3 = Umele ngonyameko (UN) 2 = Umele (U)
 1 = Akumele (A) 0 = Akumele ngonyameko (AN)

	UN	U	A	AN
Abazali bakho	3	2	1	0

NBAT1

Ukuba abazali bakho mhlawumbi bacinga ukuba akamele ukuya elwandle impendulo yakho iyakuma ngoluhlobo:

	UN	U	A	AN
Abazali bakho	3	2	1	0

NBAT1

Ngoku nceda uphendula lemibuzo ingezantsi:

1. Aba bantu balandelayo bangaba noluvo nokuba umele ukuyishiya indoda xa ikubetha wena mfazi okanye hayi. Kumntu okanye kwiqela labantu ngamnye nceda ubonise kwisikali esinikiweyo ukuba bacinga ukuba umele ukuyishiya indoda xa ikubetha okanye hayi.

- 3=Umele ngonyameko (UN) 2 = Umele (U)
 1 = Akumele (A) 0 = Akumele ngonyameko (AN)

	UN	U	A	AN
Abazali bakho	3	2	1	0
Abazali bakhe	3	2	1	0
Ikomiti yabahlali	3	2	1	0
ICawa	3	2	1	0
Inkundla yomthetho	3	2	1	0
Amapolisa	3	2	1	0
Izihlobo zakhe	3	2	1	0
Abamelwane	3	2	1	0
Abasebenzi boluntu	3	2	1	0
Izihlobo zakho	3	2	1	0
Amawenu	3	2	1	0

NL1
NL2
NL3
NL4
NL5
NL6
NL7
NL8
NL9
NL10
NL11

2. Malunga abantu abalandelayo, nceda usebenzise isikali esinikiweyo ukubonisa nokuba udlamkile ukwenza izinto ezingwenelwa ngabo. Ngamanye amazwi, uyazama ukuziphatha ngolo hlobo olungwenelwa ngabo okanye hayi?

Umzekele:

- 4 = Ndizama lonke ixesha ukwenza njalo (NLI) 3 = Ndidla ngokwenza njalo bafuna ndenze (NNN)
 2 = Ndidla ngokungenzi njalo (NN) 1 = Andizami tu ukwenza njalo (AT)

	NLI	NNN	NN	AT
Abazali bakho	4	3	2	1

MCBAT1

Ukuba awukhe wenze into abazali bakho abafuna uyenze impendulo yakho ingemangoluhlobo:

	NLI	NNN	NN	AT
Abazali bakho	4	3	2	1

MCBAT1

Ngoku nceda uphendula lemibuzo ingezantsi:

Malunga abantu abalandelayo, nceda usebenzise isikali esinikiweyo ukubonisa nokuba udlamkile ukwenza izinto ezingwenelwa ngabo. Ngamanye amazwi, uyazama ukuziphatha ngolo hlobo olungwenelwa ngabo okanye hayi?

- 4 = Ndizama lonke ixesha ukwenza njalo (NLI) 3 = Ndidla ngokwenza njalo bafuna ndenze (NNN)
 2 = Ndidla ngokungenzi njalo (NN) 1 = Andizami tu ukwenza njalo (AT)

	NLI	NNN	NN	AT
Abazali bakho	4	3	2	1
Abazali bakhe	4	3	2	1
Ikomiti yabahlali	4	3	2	1
ICawa	4	3	2	1
Inkundla yomthetho	4	3	2	1
Amapolisa	4	3	2	1
Izihlobo zakhe	4	3	2	1
Abamelwane	4	3	2	1
Abasebenzi boluntu	4	3	2	1
Izihlobo zakho	4	3	2	1
Amawethu	4	3	2	1

MCL1
MCL2
MCL3
MCL4
MCL5
MCL6
MCL7
MCL8
MCL9
MCL10
MCL11

3. Ngokubanzi ucinga ukuba abantu ababalulekile kuwe bacinga ukuba:

4	3	2	1
Kumele nakanjani	Umele	Akamele	Akamele nakanjani

SN

ukuyishiya indoda yakho xa ikubethayo.

Iindlela ozicingela ngayo

Kulemibuzo ilandelayo uyacelwa ukuba uphendule ukuba izenzo ezithile zilungile okanye azilunganga. Kukho iintetha ezichaza iindlela abantu bamela ukuziphatha ngazo okanye iindlela abantu bamelo ukungaziphathi ngazo. Nceda usebenzise isikali esinikiweyo ukubonisa nokuba uhambisana nezinkcazo okanye hayi.

Umzekelo:

- 3 = Ndihambisana kakhulu nale nkcazo (HK) 2 = Ndiyahambisana (H)
 1 = Ndiyaphikisana (P) 0 = Ndiyaphikisana kakhulu (PK)

	HK	H	P	PK
Ukungaphangeli kulungile	3	2	1	0

	INTBA1
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Ukuba ucinga lenteta ayilungile kwaye, okuyinene, kukuba ukungaphangeli yinto embi kakhulu, ungangavumelani konke-konke. Impendulo yakho ingema kanje:

	HK	H	P	PK
Ukungaphangeli kulungile	3	2	1	0

	INTBA1
--	--------

Ngoku nceda uphendula lemibuzo ingezantsi:

- 3 = Ndihambisana kakhulu nale nkcazo (HK) 2 = Ndiyahambisana (H)
 1 = Ndiyaphikisana (P) 0 = Ndiyaphikisana kakhulu (PK)

	HK	H	P	PK
Ukulwa kudla ngokuba yindlela elungileyo ukuphelisa ingxabano	3	2	1	0
Umfazi umele ukuyishiya indoda xa imbethayo	3	2	1	0
Kungcono ukubonisa esinye isidlele kunokubetha xa uhlaselwa	3	2	1	0
Ukubetha umntwana yindlela yokuqeqesha efanelekileyo	3	2	1	0
Umntu ophambili umele ukusebenzisa amandla xa ezama ukuphatha kunxulumelwano	3	2	1	0
Kulungile ukuba nendumasi yomlwi olungileyo	3	2	1	0
Umele ukuyishiya indoda yakho xa ikubetha amaxesha amaninzi	3	2	1	0
Indoda imele ukubetha enye indoda xa imthukayo	3	2	1	0
Kufanelekile ukuba indoda ibethe umfazi wakhe	3	2	1	0

	INTBA
	LA1
	INTEA
	INTCA
	BA3
	INTDA
	LA2
	INTAA
	BA7

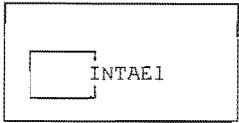
Uthelekelelo lweziphumo zezenzi

Kwicandelo elizayo siyakucela ukubonisa nokuba iingcamangokanye iziganeko ezilandelayo zinexabiso okanye zingcolile. Asikhathaleli nto yokuba ziyenzeka okanye hayi, kodwa okubhetele xa zenzeka zizinto ezinexabiso okanye zingcolile na. Nceda usebenzise isicwangciso esinikiweyo ukubhala impendulo yakho.

Umzekele:

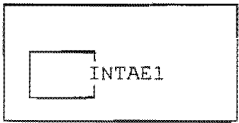
- 0 = Kungcolile kakhulu KK 1 = Kungcolile K
 2 = Kunexabiso KX 3 = Kunexabiso kakhulu KXX

	KK	K	KX	KXX
Ukufumana intloniphoengaphezulu kwenye indoda ku...	0	1	2	3



Ukuba ucinga ukuba ukutshisha iinyawo zakho kwisanti eshushu, yinto embi, kodwa ingembi kakhulu. Impendulo yakho ingema ngoluhlobo:

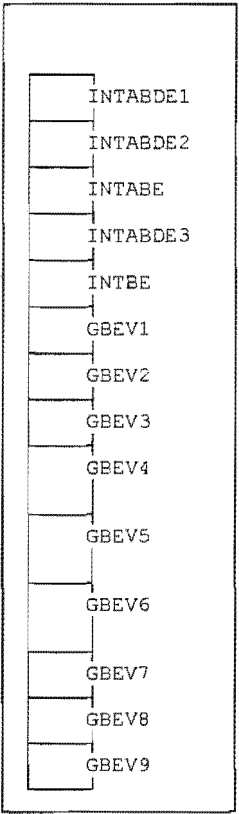
	KK	K	KX	KXX
Ukufumana intloniphoengaphezulu kwenye indoda ku...	0	1	2	3



Ngoku nceda uphendula lemibuzo ingezantsi:

- 0 = Kungcolile kakhulu KK 1 = Kungcolile K
 2 = Kunexabiso KX 3 = Kunexabiso kakhulu KXX

	KK	K	KX	KXX
Ukufumana intlonipho kwizihlobo zakho ku...	0	1	2	3
Ukufumana intlonipho eluntwini ku...	0	1	2	3
Ukubanjelwa ukuhlasele ku	0	1	2	3
Ukuphelelwa yintlonipho eluntwini ku...	0	1	2	3
Ukusombulula iingxabano kakuhle ku...	0	1	2	3
Umfazi ofunda ukuhlonipha indoda yakhe u...	0	1	2	3
Umfazi ofunda ukuthobela indoda yakhe u...	0	1	2	3
Ukukrexeza akunakwenzeka ngokulula kumfazi	0	1	2	3
Umfazi ofunda ukuhlonipha imigangatho neenkolelo zoluntu u...	0	1	2	3
Abantwana abafunda ukuba ukubetha abafazi kulungile ba.....	0	1	2	3
Indoda nomfazi abaqhawula umtshato okanye abahlukanayo ba...	0	1	2	3
Usapho olunomzali omnye lu...	0	1	2	3
Umfazi oyenzakala kakhulu u...	0	1	2	3
Indoda eya enkundleni njengokuba ihlasele umfazi wayo i.....	0	1	2	3



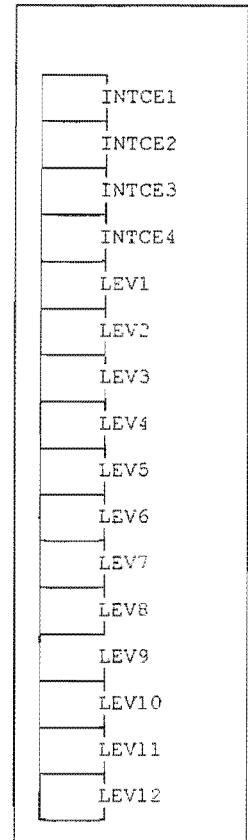
0 = Kungcolile kakhulu KK

1 = Kungcolile K

2 = Kunexabiso KX

3 = Kunexabiso kakhulu KXK

	KK	K	KX	KXK
Umntwana oqeqeshiwe kakuhle u....	0	1	2	3
Umntwana ofunda ukuthobela abazali u....	0	1	2	3
Umntwana obaleka ekhaya u....	0	1	2	3
Umntwana oqonda ukuba uyathandwa ngabazali u...	0	1	2	3
Ukutyeshelwa kwabantwana bakho ku..	0	1	2	3
Ukulahlekelwa sisidima sakho ku...	0	1	2	3
Ukuba nekhaya nabantwana bakho ku..	0	1	2	3
Ukubanakho ukukhululeka nokubanezihlobo ku...	0	1	2	3
Ukusinda ekwenzakaleni ku...	0	1	2	3
Ukutshintsha kwesimo sendoda yakho ku..	0	1	2	3
Ukungabinangqeqesho ebantwaneni bakho ku..	0	1	2	3
Ukughawula umtshato wakho ku..	0	1	2	3
Ukufunyanwa kwolonwabo nguwe ku...	0	1	2	3
Ukukrexeza kwendoda yakho nabanye abafazi ku...	0	1	2	3
Ukungabi nakhaya wena nabantwana ku...	0	1	2	3
Ukuhluthwa abantwana yindoda ku....	0	1	2	3



Appendix 12

Appendices to the results

Description:

This section contains a number of tables referred to on the results.

Table 1 Intimate violence incidence (Male Sample): Reported as percentages within each area.

		NU 1			NU 12			NU 17			Informal			Rural		
		0	1	2+	0	1	2+	0	1	2+	0	1	2+	0	1	2+
Combined All		41%	33%	26%	40%	53%	7%	48%	49%	3%	49%	41%	10%	21%	25%	54%
Non-Physical		49%	45%	6%	45%	54%	1%	61%	38%	1%	51%	43%	6%	27%	29%	44%
Verbal		72%	22%	6%	95%	4%	1%	92%	7%	1%	83%	11%	6%	35%	21%	45%
Q3#	Insult	72%	22%	6%	95%**	4%	1%*	93%**	7%	0%*	83%	11%	6%*	37%*	20%*	44%**
Q4	Put-Down	92%	8%	0%	100%	0%*	0%	99%	0%*	1%	98%	2%	0%	68%*	18%	13%**
Isolate		92%	6%	2%	92%	8%	0%	98%	1%	1%	93%	5%	2%	52%	14%	34%
Q5	In Home	96%	4%	0%	99%	1%*	0%	99%	1%*	0%	94%	5%	1%	69%*	18%**	12%
Q8	From Friends	94%	4%	2%	92%	8%	0%*	98%	1%	1%*	94%	5%	1%*	58%*	10%	32%**
Threats		51%	39%	10%	46%	37%	17%	61%	33%	6%	54%	21%	25%	39%	15%	46%
Q6	To Hit	51%	39%	10%	46%	37%	17%	62%	32%	6%*	53%	20%	27%	43%	12%*	45%**
Q7	To Kill	84%	16%	0%	96%	3%	1%*	97%	2%	1%*	90%	10%	0%	47%	14%	39%
Physical		51%	25%	24%	64%	29%	7%	62%	34%	3%	69%	26%	5%	29%	21%	50%
Assault		51%	27%	22%	64%	29%	7%	62%	36%	2%	69%	26%	5%	29%	21%	50%
Q1	Slap	61%	21%	18%	72%	22%	6%*	70%	28%	2%*	72%	23%	5%*	35%*	22%	43%**
Q2	Hit/Kick	73%	27%	0%*	92%**	4%*	4%*	91%*	8%	1%*	81%	16%	3%	41%*	22%	37%**
Q9	Sjambok	65%	27%	8%	80%	20%	0%*	92%**	7%	1%*	83%	15%	2%*	49%*	5%	46%**
Sexual		96%	2%	2%	98%	2%	0%	99%	0%	1%	96%	2%	2%	54%	11%	35%
Q10	Rape	96%	2%	2%*	98%	2%	0%*	99%	1%	0%*	97%	1.5%	1.5%*	56%*	9%	35%**
Q11	Degrade	100%	0%	0%	100%	0%*	0%*	99%	0%*	1%*	98%	0%	2%	63%*	16%**	21%**

Bold entries differ from expected ($z > 2.13$; $pbfc < 0.00167$) where rows can be read as tables depicting each Area vs. Intimate Violence Items. * = significantly lower

then expected; ** = significantly higher than expected. # refers to the item number in the questionnaire.

Table 2 : Incidence of intimate violence by area (Female Sample, composites and items that vary across area only):
Reported as percentage per Area.

	Area														
	NU 1			NU 12			NU 17			Informal			Rural		
	0	1	2+	0	1	2+	0	1	2+	0	1	2+	0	1	2+
Combined	57	21	22	60	17	23	58	12	30	70	15	15	62	21	17
Total															
Non-Physical	71	15	14	63	15	22	68	16	16	75	11	14	63	29	8
To Hit	87	6	7	79	8	13	83	8	9	90	5	5	77	19	4
To Kill	90	5	5	89	4	7	89	8	3	90	4	4	82	18	0
Physical	62	20	18	69	18	13	63	14	23	74	17	9	77	9	14
Rape	78	16	6	84	8	8	93	1	5	92	1	6	94	3	4

Table 4: Phi correlations: Payment vs. Dichotomous Intimate violence items

Area	Skip	Hit	Insult	Putdown	Back in	Threaten to hit	Threaten to kill	Isolate	Stimulate sex	Rape	Deny Sexually
<i>Male Sample</i>											
Full Sample											.12
Urban Sample				.22							
NU1				.56	.56						
NU12											
NU17	.28		.33							.25	
Informal											
Rural											
<i>Female Sample</i>											
Full Sample											
Urban Sample											
NU1											
NU12			.26								
NU17											-.23
Informal	-.20	-.21		-.29		-.27	-.27			-.21	-.21
Rural											

Table 3 : Phi correlations: Control vs. Dichotomous Intimate violence items

Area	Slap	Hit	Insult	Push/shove	Lock in	Threaten to hit	Threaten to kill	Isolate	Stomach	Rape	Forcefully sexually
<i>Male Sample</i>											
Full Sample	.04	.15	.14	.18	.17	.14	.22	.16	.17	.25	.20
Urban Sample	-.19										
NUI											
NU12	-.27										
NU17		.36							.36		
Informal	.27										
Rural											
<i>Female Sample</i>											
Full Sample			-.15								
Urban Sample											
NUI											
NU12	-.21					-.20					
NU17											
Informal											
Rural			-.25	.38	.26			.26			.25

Table 5 : Correlation co-efficient for beliefs and Attitudes against Intimate Violence Scales (Male Sample; N ranges from 43 to 464) reported as Full Sample and by Area. Only Correlations >.20 and significant at p<0.05 are reported.

Variables	INTER	Disc	GBAT	PBAT	NORM	SubjN	Alcohol	Cause	Myths	InterAtt	DiscAtt	BatAtt
Total3												
Full Sample	.35	--	.39	.50	.21	.39	--	--	.49	.40	--	.40
Urban Sample	.30	--	.29	.27	--	--	--	--	.21	.36	--	.38
NUI	.46	--	.47	--	.42	.19	--	-.23	.42	.42	--	--
NU12	.27	--	.23	.32	--	--	--	.21	.27	.34	--	.34
NU17	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.30	.38
Informal	.54	.36	.37	.31	--	--	-.38	.26	.35	.66	.33	.60
Rural	.34	--	.41	--	--	.29	--	--	.23	.21	--	.39
Beating												
Full Sample	.36	--	.41	.51	.23	.39	--	--	.49	.43	--	.42
Urban Sample	.30	--	.30	.26	--	--	--	--	.22	.37	--	.34
NUI	.54	--	.46	--	.40	--	--	--	.38	.47	--	--
NU12	.27	--	.23	.32	--	--	--	--	.28	.33	--	.33
NU17	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.27	.33
Informal	.42	.27	.46	.20	.30	--	-.28	--	.30	.65	.33	.57
Rural	.34	--	.41	--	--	.34	--	--	.24	.25	--	.44
Battering												
Full Sample	.29	.35	.35	.44	--	.33	--	--	.43	.30	--	.29
Urban	--	--	--	.25	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.34
NUI	--	--	--	--	.28	--	--	--	.34	--	--	.33
NU12	.24	--	--	.29	--	--	--	--	--	.31	--	.32
NU17	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	-.26	--	.21	.29
Informal	.54	.37	.36	.31	--	--	-.38	.26	.35	.52	.27	.55
Rural	.31	--	.38	--	--	.20	--	--	--	--	--	.26

INTER = Modal beliefs regarding interpersonal violence; Disc. = Modal beliefs regarding physical punishment of children; GBAT= Modal beliefs regarding violence towards female partners; PBAT= Modal beliefs regarding violence towards female partners asked as 'your partner'; NORM = Normative beliefs regarding violence towards female partners; SubjN = Subjective norm regarding violence towards female partners; Alcohol=Degree of agreement that alcohol is the main cause of intimate violence; Cause= belief that men usually have a good reason to beat their female partners; Myths= Sum of 'Myths' items less 'Alcohol' and 'Cause' items; InterAtt=Attitudes towards interpersonal violence; DiscAtt= Attitudes towards physical punishment of children; BatAtt= Attitudes towards intimate violence.

Table 5 : Correlation co-efficient for beliefs and Attitudes against Intimate Violence Scales (Female Sample; N ranges from 63 to 449) reported as Full Sample and by Area. Only Correlations >.20 and significant at p<0.05 are reported.

Variables	INTER	Disc	GBAT	Leave	NORML	SubjNL	Alcohol	Cause	Myths	InterAtt	DiscAtt	LeaveAtt
Total3												
Full Sample	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Urban Sample	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
NU1	--	.24	--	--	--	--	.20	--	--	--	--	-.31
NU12	--	--	--	--	.22	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
NU17	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	-.27	--	--	--	--
Informal	--	--	.37	.38	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Rural	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Minor												
Full Sample	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Urban Sample	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
NU1	--	.20	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	-.25
NU12	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.20	--
NU17	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	-.23	--	--	--	--
Informal	--	--	.36	.37	.30	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Rural	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Beating												
Full Sample	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Urban	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
NU1	--	--	--	--	--	--	.21	--	--	--	--	--
NU12	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
NU17	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Informal	--	-.29	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.29	--
Rural	--	--	--	--	--	--	-.21	--	--	--	--	--
Sexual												
Full Sample	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Urban	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
NU1	.26	.22	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
NU12	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
NU17	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Informal	.28	--	--	.38	.28	--	--	--	--	--	--	-.27
Rural	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.24	--	--	--	--

INTER = Modal beliefs regarding interpersonal violence; Disc. = Modal beliefs regarding physical punishment of children; GBAT= Modal beliefs regarding violence towards female partners; Leave= Modal beliefs regarding leaving a violent male partner; NORML = Normative beliefs regarding leaving a violent male partner; SubjNL = Subjective norm regarding leaving a violent male partner; Alcohol=Degree of agreement that alcohol is the main cause of intimate violence; Cause= belief that men usually have a good reason to beat their female partners; Myths= Sum of 'Myths' items less 'Alcohol' and 'Cause' items; InterAtt=Attitudes towards interpersonal violence; DiscAtt= Attitudes towards physical punishment of children; LeaveAtt= Attitudes towards leaving a male violent partner.