

**Preliminary results of the Gauteng Gender Violence Indicators Project  
by Gender Links and the Medical Research Council**

**Chapter One: the extent of the problem  
Section one: gender-based violence**

**Description of the sample**

A total of 511 women and 487 men were interviewed for the study. Table 1 shows the social and demographic characteristics of the sample. The women fell into three age categories, 18-29 years, 30-44 years and 45 years and over, with about a third of the sample in each. The men interviewed were somewhat younger, with 40% aged 18-29 years and only 26% aged 45 and over. The majority of the sample were Black South Africans, but 10% of men and women interviewed were White and 8% of women and 5% of men were not of South African nationality, almost all being from other African countries. This reflects the demographic composition of Gauteng Province.

The men interviewed were relatively better educated than the women, with 54% having completed matric versus 43% of women. Men were more likely to have worked in the past year than women (66% v. 44%) and earned more. Among men, 35% earned more than R5000 per month, compared to 25% of women. There was no difference, however, in food insecurity, with 40% of men and 42% of women disclosing that they often or sometimes are without food at home.

**Table 1: Social and demographic characteristics of the sample**

	Women		Men	
	%	n	%	n
<b>Age</b>				
18-29 years	30.5	156	41.1	200
30-44 years	36.2	185	32.9	160
45 + years	33.3	170	26.1	127
<b>Nationality:</b> South African	91.5	465	95.5	466
<b>Race</b>				
Black African	86.0	436	86.9	424
Coloured, Indian and Other	4.5	23	3.1	15
White	9.5	48	10.0	49
<b>Educational level:</b>				
High school incomplete and lower	57.3	291	46.4	226
High school complete or higher	42.7	217	53.6	261
<b>Worked in the past 12 months</b>	44.2	224	65.8	321
<b>Monthly income of workers:</b>				
1-1000ZAR	19.0	41	10.5	33
1001-5 000ZAR	56.5	122	55.3	173
5001 ZAR or more	24.5	53	34.2	107
<b>Often or sometimes without food</b>	42.3	214	40	195

### Men and women's relationships

Almost all the men and women interviewed (over 95%) had been in a sexual relationship (Table 2). In all 75% of women and 84% of men said they were currently married or had a heterosexual partner, 1% disclosed having a partner of the same sex. Many of the partners were not cohabiting, and only 63 % of women and 58% of men were in cohabiting relationships. Having more than one current partner was disclosed by 10% of women and 25% of men, and many women (28%) and men (25%) suspected or knew their partner had other partners.

**Table 2 : Women and men's relationships**

	<b>Women</b>		<b>Men</b>	
	<b>%</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>n</b>
<b>Been in relationship</b>	95.1	488	95.1	466
<b>Current relationship status</b>				
Has partner/spouse	78.7	387	87.5	427
In same sex relationship	1.0	5	1.0	5
<b>Lives with husband/boyfriend</b>	63.1	244	58.1	248
<b>&gt;1 current partner</b>	9.9	38	24.7	94
<b>Partner definitely or probably has other sexual partners</b>	28.0	106	24.8	87

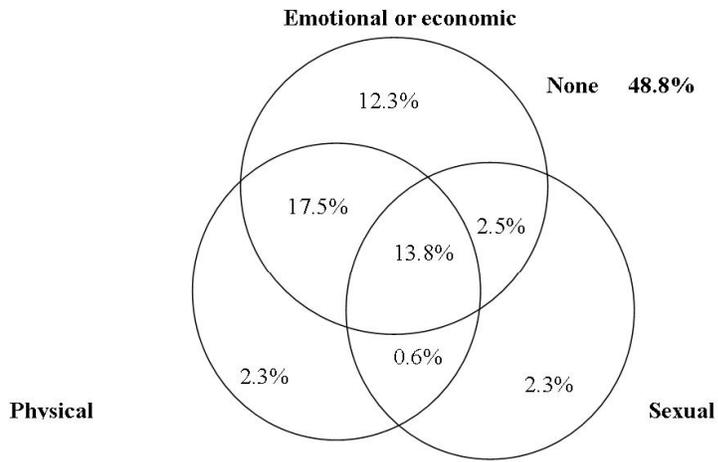
### Extent of gender-based violence

#### Intimate partner violence experienced by ever partnered women and men

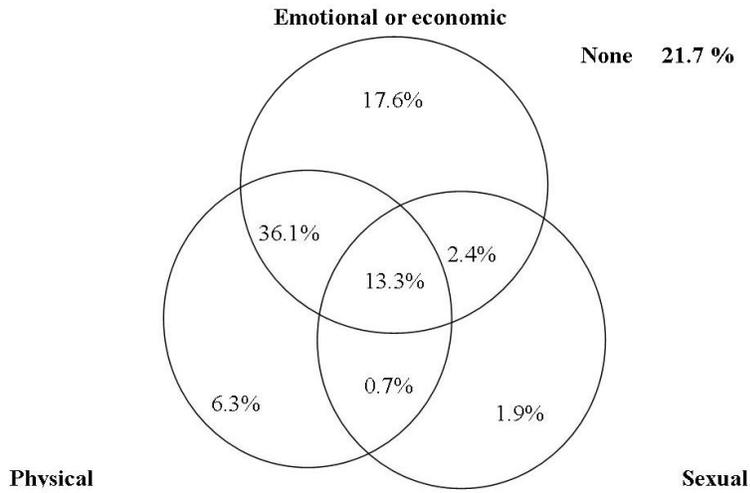
Asked about experiences of intimate partner violence, 51% of ever partnered women disclosed that they had been a victim of emotional, economic, physical or sexual IPV. The patterns of these types of violence are shown in figure one. Overall 37.7% of women had experienced physical or sexual IPV. 33.1% of women had ever experienced physical IPV and 18.8% had experienced sexual IPV. 46.2% of women had experienced emotional or economic abuse. 13.2% of women had experienced physical IPV in the past year.

Men were asked about IPV perpetration. Overall 78% of ever partnered men disclosed having ever perpetrated emotional, economic, physical or sexual IPV. Figure One also shows the patterns of these types of violence. Overall 60.3% of men had perpetrated physical or sexual IPV. 50% had perpetrated physical IPV, 18.2% had perpetrated sexual IPV and 69.5% had perpetrated emotional or economic abuse. Disclosure of perpetration in the past year by men was lower than victimisation by women, with 5.8% disclosing physical IPV perpetration.

**Venn diagram of patterns of intimate partner violence exposure : women**



**Venn diagram of patterns of intimate partner violence perpetration : men**



### **Emotional and economic abuse**

Emotional abuse was assessed by six questions which asked about experience (or perpetration) of a series of different acts that were controlling, frightening, intimidating or undermined women's self-esteem. These are shown in Table 3. Such acts were the most common form of abuse reported by women and disclosed by men, with 43.7% of women having experienced these on one or more occasions and 65.2% of men disclosing perpetration. In the past year, 13.0% of women had experienced one or more of these and 14.0% of men had perpetrated.

**Table 3 Emotional abuse (ever partnered women and men)**

	<b>Women (victims) %</b>	<b>Men (perpetration) %</b>
Ever insulted you or made you feel bad	32.8	47.5
Ever belittled or humiliated you in front of other people	25.2	24.6
Ever done things to scare or intimidate	26.6	30.1
Threaten to hurt	30.0	33.9
Ever stopped from seeing friends	21.9	20.0
Ever boasted about or brought home girlfriends	15.2	8.8
<b>Any emotional abuse</b>	<b>43.7</b>	<b>65.2</b>
<b>Emotional abuse in the past year</b>	<b>13.0</b>	<b>14.0</b>

Economic abuse had also been experienced by many women, and many men disclosed perpetration. It was assessed using four items that asked whether the male partner had ever forbidden the woman from working or doing something to earn money, taken her earnings, forced her or her children to leave the house where they were living, or not given her money to run the home or look after the children when he had money for other things. The latter was most commonly reported and usually had occurred on multiple occasions, 13.6% of women said it occurred a few or many times. Overall 22.3% of ever partnered women had experienced economic abuse and 28.5% of ever partnered men disclosed perpetration. Nearly half of the women who said it had ever occurred (9.3%), had experienced it in the past year. Perpetration in the last year was less commonly reported (5%).

Overall 83.7% of women had been pregnant, and among these 25.9% had experienced economic abuse in pregnancy from their partner in the form of his failure to give her money to buy things needed for the child.

**Table 4: Economic abuse**

	<b>Women (victims) %</b>	<b>Men (perpetration) %</b>
Forbidden to work or earn	10.3	5.5
Taken her earnings	7.3	9.5
Forcibly evicted woman or children from home	9.2	5.6
Not given money for home essentials when had it	16.5	15.3
<b>Any economic abuse</b>	22.3	28.5
<b>Economic abuse in past 12 months</b>	9.3	5.0

Overall 69.5% of ever-partnered men disclosed having perpetrated either one of the six forms of emotional abuse or economic abuse. There was considerable overlap between these. Most men who reported economic abuse had also been emotionally abusive, with 24.1% of men having perpetrated both emotional and economic abuse.

Overall 46.2% of ever-partnered women disclosed economic or emotional abuse, and the pattern of overlap disclosed by men was also disclosed by women. Most women experiencing economic abuse also experienced emotional abuse, with 19.7% of women disclosing this.

**Table 5: Ever experience of economic or emotional abuse among ever-partnered women and men**

	<b>Women (victims) %</b>	<b>Men (perpetration) %</b>
<b>Ever economic or emotional abuse</b>	46.2	69.5

**Physical abuse and sexual abuse**

Experience of physical intimate partner violence was ascertained by asking five questions inquiring about whether women had been slapped, had something thrown at them, pushed or shoved, kicked, hit, dragged, choked, beaten, burnt or threatened with a weapon. Overall 33.1% of women disclosed that this had ever happened and most of these women had experienced multiple forms of violence or violence on multiple occasions (30.8%) (Table 6). Over half of men (50.5%) disclosed perpetration and usually more than once (43.4%). More than one in eight

women (13.2%) had experienced physical IPV in the past year, but fewer men disclosed recent perpetration (5.8%).

To assess experience of sexual intimate partner violence, women were asked three questions inquiring if their current or previous husband or boyfriend had ever physically forced them to have sex when they did not want to, whether they had had sex with him because they were afraid of what he might do and whether they had been forced to do something sexual that they found degrading or humiliating. Over all 18.8% of women had experienced this on one or more occasions.

To assess perpetration of sexual intimate partner violence men were asked if they had ever physically forced their current or ex-girlfriend or wife to have sex when she did not want to. A similar proportion of men, 18.2% said that they had done this.

Experience of more than one episode of sexual or physical intimate partner violence has been shown to have particularly important health implications as result on HIV shows that exposed women have a higher HIV incidence. Over a third of ever partnered women (35.8%) had experienced this and half of men (50%) disclosed perpetration.

**Table 6: Ever experience of physical or sexual intimate partner violence, among ever partnered women and men**

	<b>Women (victims) %</b>	<b>Men (perpetration) %</b>
Ever physical intimate violence	33.1	50.5
>1 episode of physical violence	30.8	43.4
Physical IPV in last 12 months	13.2	5.8
Ever sexual IPV	18.8	18.2
> 1 episode of physical or sexual IPV	35.8	50.0

**Rape of women by non-partners**

Rape of women by men who were not their partner was assessed by asking three questions. The first asked about whether they had been forced or persuaded to have sex against their will by a man who was not a husband or boyfriend, the second asked about whether they had been forced to have sex with a man when too drunk or drugged to stop him, and the third about being forced or persuaded to have sex with more than one man at the same time. The latter is an indicator of gang rape.

In all 12.2% of women disclosed that they had been raped by a man who was not their husband or boyfriend, i.e a family member, stranger or acquaintance, furthermore an additional 1.8% had experienced an attempted rape, when a man had tried to force them but had not succeeded, but not been raped. 4.2% of women had been raped when drunk or drugged and 1.6% of women disclosed gang rape. Overall 4.9% of women had been raped by a non-partner on more than one

occasion. When considering their ages the first time they were raped, 64.7% of women were aged 17 or younger, 19.6% were aged 18-24, 15.7% were aged over 24 years. Overall 1.4% of women had been raped by a stranger or acquaintance in the last year.

Women were asked about whether they had experienced being forced into sex by a boyfriend when they were still a child (i.e. before they were 18 years old), and 8.4% said this occurred sometimes, 3.1% said it occurred often and 2.3% disclosed it very often. Sexual violence had often provided the context of their first experience of sex, with 8.5% of women describing this as forced or as rape.

#### **Ever experienced of rape: women**

Overall 25.2% of women had ever had an experience of being raped by a man, whether a husband or boyfriend, family member, stranger or acquaintance.

#### **Reporting rape to the police**

Only 3.9% of women who had been raped by a partner or non-partner had reported it to the police. Sexual violence by an intimate partner was least often reported, with only 2.1% of women experiencing this ever reporting. 7.8% of women raped by a stranger or acquaintance had reported the incident. Thus one in 13 of the non-partner rapes had been reported and overall only one in 25 rapes had been reported.

#### **Sexual violence perpetrated by men**

Perpetration of rape of a woman who was not a partner was assessed by asking the same three questions, about whether men had forced or persuaded a woman who was not a wife or girlfriend to have sex against her will, had forced a woman to have sex when too drunk or drugged to consent and whether they had forced or persuaded a woman to have sex with themselves and another man at the same time (gang rape).

Overall 31.0% disclosed having raped a woman who was not a partner, and 12.7% had attempted to rape a non-partner. Among these, 25.6% disclosed that they had forced or persuaded a woman who was not a wife or girlfriend to have sex against her will. 14.4% of men had forced a woman to have sex when she was too drunk or drugged to refuse and 6.9% of men had engaged in gang rape.

#### **Ever perpetrated rape: men**

Overall 37.4% of men had ever raped a woman, whether a stranger or acquaintance, family member or intimate partner. Among the men who had ever raped, nearly half (47.0%) had done so more than once.

#### **Sexual harassment at work**

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

#### **Sexual harassment by teachers**

Sexual harassment by teachers was not very commonly reported, being disclosed by 1.4% of women. 1.0% disclosed that a teacher/principal/lecturer ever hinted or threatened that they could fail exams, get bad marks, or that their schooling would be damaged if they did not have sex with him. 1.2% had been sexually touched by a teacher.

## **Chapter two: extent of gender-based violence among different population segments**

Among the ever-partnered women in the study, there was no significant difference across the age groups in the prevalence of experience of either physical or sexual, or emotional or economic IPV (Table 7). When these proportions were considered by racial group, differences were also not statistically significant, however the proportion of white women reporting physical or sexual IPV was much lower in absolute terms than the proportion of Black African women reporting this. Women who were not of South African nationality were statistically significantly more likely to report having experienced physical or sexual IPV.

Experience of being raped by a stranger or acquaintance varied significantly by both age and race. Younger women under 29 years were twice as likely to disclose that they had been raped than women aged 30-44 years. This certainly suggests that rape may have become more common in South Africa. Whilst it is possible there is a reporting bias, it would be surprising for this to explain this finding when there is no evidence of such a bias on other variables. Women who were Coloured or Indian were nearly three times as likely to disclose rape than Black African or White women. Most of the women in this race category were Coloured. Whilst this finding is not mirrored by that reported among men, other research has found a much higher prevalence or disclosed rape perpetration among Coloured men (Jewkes et al 2009). There was no difference in the proportion of women who had been raped by nationality.

Among ever partnered men, there was no difference across the age groups in the proportion disclosing having perpetrated physical or sexual, or emotional or economic IPV. Given that younger men have fewer years in relationships than older men, this finding points to a common observation that men who will be abusive generally exhibit abusive behaviour early in their relationship history. Whilst men's disclosed perpetration of emotional and economic abuse did not differ by racial group, their perpetration of physical and sexual abuse did differ significantly. White men were much less likely to disclose this, although the proportion who did so was still very high (45%). Differences in perpetration by nationality showed no statistically significant difference.

Men who were older (over 45 years) were statistically significantly less likely to disclose having raped a non-partner. This could be due to disclosure bias, but it may also reflect true increases in the prevalence of rape perpetration. There was nearly a two fold difference in the proportion of men aged 30-44 and that of men aged 45 and over disclosing rape perpetration. Differences in prevalence by racial group and nationality were not statistically significant, although the proportion of Black African men disclosing rape was substantially higher than that of other racial groups.

**Table 7: Prevalence of experience of IPV and non-partner rape by age, race and nationality**

	<i>Any sexual or physical IPV</i>		<i>Any emotional or economic abuse</i>		<i>Any non-partner rape</i>	
	<i>% of women victims</i>	<i>% of men perpetrating</i>	<i>% of women victims</i>	<i>% of men perpetrating</i>	<i>% of women victims</i>	<i>% of men perpetrating</i>
<i>Age</i>						
18-29	38.5	58.1	43.3	69.0	17.8	32.5
30-44	40.2	66.7	49.7	74.0	9.1	38.1
45 or more	34.7	54.5	44.4	64.9	11.2	20.5
	(p=0.561)	(p=0.102)	(p=0.437)	(p=0.248)	(p=0.036)	(p=0.005)
<i>Race</i>						
Black African	39.5	62	46.2	70.6	12.2	32.6
Coloured, Indian and Other	36.4	63.6	55.0	66.7	30.4	20.0
White	23.3	45.5	39.0	61.4	8.3	22.5
	(p=0.145)	(p=0.051)	(p=0.700)	(p=0.250)	(p=0.011)	(p=0.306)
<i>Nationality</i>						
South African	37.0	60.3	45.4	70.1	12.7	31.3
Non South African	55.2	61.1	53.6	55.6	11.9	27.3
	(p=0.046)	(p=0.947)	(p=0.289)	(p=0.205)	(p=0.898)	(p=0.691)

### **Chapter three: attitudes towards gender relations, IPV and rape**

The problem of gender-based violence in South Africa is rooted in social norms around gender relations, including those that excuse or legitimate the use of violence. Changing these is very important as part of a strategy for violence prevention. Most men and women felt that their communities, and they themselves, endorsed a notion of gender equity expressed as support for men and women being treated 'the same'. Yet their attitudes to gender relations in the home differed greatly from this, suggesting that their support for being treated 'the same' related to the public arena of non-intimate relations. In the home, completely different standards were applied.

The men and women clearly perceived that norms around gender relations at home were strictly patriarchal. Most perceived that women were expected to obey their husbands and the great majority of men, and over half of women personally endorsed this view, thus indicating a substantial degree of support for their hierarchical gender order.

There was much greater diversity of opinion on the way such control should be enacted and expressed by men (Table 8). Between a third and a half of women felt their community expected the man to have the final say in family matters, to be the one to give permission for a woman to work, to accept a man having girlfriends and a wife to give her earnings to her husband. Women generally held views that were more liberal than those of their community, and women mostly did not agree that men should control their earning power or that they should accept his girlfriends. Thus it seemed that whilst most women were endorsing a patriarchal gender order, it was a benevolent patriarchy that they personally supported.

Men generally perceived gender norms in their community to be even more conservative than women did, and men's personal views were more conservative than women's. More than half of men said they expected to have the final say in family matters, but most did not expect to control women's earning power and fewer men than women perceived that social norms legitimated married men having girlfriends.

Two-thirds of men and women felt that men and women should share domestic labour, and interestingly there was no difference between personal views and perceived social norms on this question.

Among married men and women, traditional marriage with payment of lobola remains a dominant form of union. About half of those interviewed perceived that the community expected such payment to allow men to 'own' their wife. A quarter of those interviewed indicated they personally endorsed this. Half of those interviewed perceived social norms to be that children are owned by their father and his family. Most people were not in agreement, but more than a quarter of women and nearly half of men were.

**Table 8 : Attitudes towards gender relations perceived community norms and personal views**

	<b>Women % Strongly agree or agree</b>	<b>Men % Strongly agree or agree</b>
My community thinks that people should be treated the same whether they are male or female	79.7	81.9
I think this	82.8	88.7
<b>Gender relations in the home: control</b>		
My community thinks that a woman should obey her husband	80.2	94.6
I think this	57.9	86.7
My community thinks that if a woman works she should give her money to her husband	37.0	43.3
I think this	18.9	29.8
My community thinks that a man should have the final say in all family matters	56.5	65.5
I think this	29.8	53.9
My community thinks that there is nothing a woman can do if her husband wants to have girlfriends	37.2	20.6
I think this	14.8	10.3
My community thinks that a woman needs her husband's permission to do paid work.	46.2	48.2
I think this	23.2	37.3
<b>Shared domestic work</b>		
My community thinks that men should share the work around the house with women such as doing dishes, cleaning and cooking	60.3	62.7
I think this	69.4	66.6
<b>Ownership</b>		
My community thinks that if a man has paid Lobola for his wife, he owns her	55.0	46.7
I think this	23.0	27.3
My community thinks that children belong to a man and his family	50.3	56.2
I think this	28.7	43.7

**Sexual entitlement in marriage and the legitimacy of violence**

Over half of those interviewed perceived that their community generally expected male entitlement to sex to accompany marriage (Table 9). This was expressed as support for the idea that married women cannot refuse their husband sex and therefore cannot be raped by him. There was almost no gender difference in these views. Fewer women personally supported these ideas. The great majority of women did not think that a married women was sexually obligated towards her husband, and over two thirds of men similar perceived there to be no obligation.

Most of those interviewed did not perceive that husbands could legitimately punish their wives or would express love by so doing through beating. However the proportion that did perceive social norms as endorsing punishment was not small,

being a quarter of women and a third of men. Very few women personally agreed men had a right to punish them, but nearly a quarter of men did so. Very few of either gender expressed a belief that beating might show love.

**Table 9: Sexual entitlement in marriage and the legitimacy of violence**

	<b>Women % Strongly agree or agree</b>	<b>Men % Strongly agree or agree</b>
<b>Sexual entitlement in marriage</b>		
My community thinks that if a man has paid Lobola for his wife, she must have sex when he wants it	53.8	46.1
I think this	23.0	29.8
My community thinks that a woman cannot refuse to have sex with her husband.	61.5	57.9
I think this	29.3	38.7
My community thinks that it is possible for a woman to be raped by her husband	42.5	48.2
I think this	55.0	55.1
<b>Legitimacy of violence</b>		
My community thinks that if a wife does something wrong her husband has the right to punish her	26.9	35.5
I think this	8.8	22.3
My community thinks that if a man beats you it shows that he loves you	25.3	18.7
I think this	7.6	8.8

### **Social norms and views on rape**

A series of questions were asked to explore social norms around blame and stigmatisation of rape victims. Between a quarter and a half of men and women interviewed perceived community social norms to be generally blaming and stigmatising. There were notable gender differences in the responses, with men perceiving communities to be less ready to blame and stigmatise than women. Given the high prevalence of rape, this may reflect women's personal experiences. There were also very notable differences between personal views and perceptions of social norms. The great majority did not agree that women were to blame for rape, wanted it to happen or would not be raped if they did not fight back. Somewhat less encouragingly, a third of men and women felt that when a woman alleged she was raped her sexual history would be pertinent.

**Table 10: Rape attitudes**

	<b>Women % Strongly agree or agree</b>	<b>Men % Strongly agree or agree</b>
<b>Rape attitudes</b>		
My community thinks that when a woman is raped, she is usually to blame for putting herself in that situation	42.1	32.6
I think this	16.2	18.0
My community thinks that in some rape cases women actually want it to happen	46.0	25.3
I think this	20.1	15.6
My community thinks that if a woman doesn't physically fight back, it's not rape.	37.7	29.9
I think this	17.1	19.6
My community thinks that in any rape case one would have to question whether the victim is promiscuous	53.2	46.3
I think this	32.4	32.6

**Experience of and willingness to take action**

Less than half of women said they knew someone abused in their community or in their family. Somewhat more men said they knew someone abused in their community. Given the large proportion of the sample who had ever experienced of perpetrated violence themselves its perhaps surprising that more did not know abused women. It's likely that this reflects the frequently hidden nature of partner violence and also social norms about what constitutes 'abuse'. The hidden nature of violence is also supported by the finding that half of women and just over a quarter of men had never spoken about domestic violence. Among those who had spoken about it, many did so often. About a third of men and women had personally intervene over violence in another relationship and about 1 in 6 had done so in the past year. The most common intervention was one with the man to stop him abusing, but nearly 1 in 10 interviewees had called the police. This is another indicator of how common severe violence is in the community. Men were more likely to make a victim blaming intervention with the woman to try and stop her 'causing' the violence.

**Table 11: Experience of and willingness to take action**

	<b>Women %</b>	<b>Men %</b>
Knows someone abused by a partner in the community	40.3	55.9
Knows someone abused in their family	42.2	36.7
Talked to someone about domestic violence:		
never	51.3	27.0
once or twice	16.2	56.8
more often	32.4	43.2
Personally intervened in violence in a relationship	29.0	33.7
Intervened in the past 12 months	14.0	18.4
Intervened : called police	8.6	9.7
Intervened: tried to make man stop	12.3	22.9
Intervened: tried to stop woman	3.9	9.3
Intervened: reported to family	4.1	8.3

## Chapter four: health consequences associated with violence

Women interviewed were asked questions on a range of indicators of their health, including on contraceptive use, condom use, HIV testing and results, sexually transmitted infections, and aspects of their mental health. Only consistent condom use and contraceptive use were similar between victims and non-victims of gender-based violence (Table 12). Women who had experienced IPV or been raped were statistically significantly more likely to have tested for HIV and been found to be HIV+. They were also much more likely to have been told by a health worker that they have a sexually transmitted infection. Nearly one in five women who had experienced IPV and one in four of those raped had attempted suicide and more than 10% had had suicidal thoughts in the week before the interview. A third of victims of IPV and of rape had very high levels of depressive symptomatology, suggesting current depression. Depression was much more common among raped women, but the difference in prevalence of depression between those who had and had not been raped was not statistically significant. A quarter binge drunk alcohol monthly or more often. More than a quarter of women who had been raped had symptomatology indicative of a diagnosis of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). These findings indicate a particularly high burden of mental ill health among women who have been raped or experienced IPV.

**Table 12: Indicators of the health status of women who have experienced physical or sexual IPV or been raped by a non-partner**

	<i>Any sexual or physical IPV</i>		P	<i>Any non-partner rape</i>		p
	% victims	% non-victims		% victims	% non-victims	
Partnered women on contraception	57.1	50.1	P=0.19	63.0	52	p=0.18
Always used condom in last year	16.2	19.9	P=0.27	26.1	17.4	p=0.14
Tested HIV positive	10.9	3.8	P=0.03	5.3	14.3	p=0.007
Told by a health worker she has a STI	28.7	12.9	P=0.001	35.0	16.8	p=0.001
Attempted suicide	19.1	6.4	P=0.002	25.0	9.2	p=0.0004
Suicidal thoughts in past 4 weeks	10.6	4.7	P=0.05	14.3	6.5	p=0.05
Currently high levels of depressive symptoms (CESD 21+)	34.2	15.3	p=0.0001	31.3	21.6	p=0.08
Has 5 or more drinks on one occasion weekly or monthly	24.7	7.2	p<0.0001	27.4	11.9	p=0.002
PTSD - DSM IV score>2.5	15.4	9.2	P=0.034	28.1	8.8	p<0.0001