



Relationship control factors are associated with experience and perpetration of GBV.

Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna

Key facts

- ✓ There was no difference between age groups in the proportion of women who had experienced IPV, or men who had perpetrated IPV, in Gauteng province.
- ✓ The research showed no statistically significant difference in the proportion of women experiencing IPV between racial groups, but there were differences in the proportion of women experiencing non-partner rape. Coloured women reported this much more often. The proportion of men disclosing rape perpetration was highest among African men.
- ✓ Women who were not South African were significantly more likely to have experienced sexual or physical IPV than South African nationals.
- ✓ Only 3.9% of women who had been raped by a partner or non-partner had reported it to police.
- ✓ Men who have been abused as children often become perpetrators of violence.
- ✓ Alcohol and drug use are associated with rape and IPV.
- ✓ There is evidence suggesting that gender attitudes may be changing in South Africa: since the 1998 MRC Three Provinces Study women's attitudes have become much more progressive.



| (Boy Mabeta) was 14 years old and living with my mother and step father. He beat me up for no reason all the time. I always watched him beat up my mother so growing up I thought it was the normal thing to do. It was a way of showing that you are a “real man” so that women succumb to whatever you say.

The abuse continued for a long time. I went to bed every day hating my stepfather. I sometimes used to go to school without a lunch box or money to buy something to eat at break time.

I went to live with my grandfather. He would beat me with a sjambok (whip) or hammer my head. I became aggressive. I lived a life without hope and felt that I had no choices. This had a negative impact on my life and caused me to become a perpetrator of violence. I felt I needed to let others feel the pain that I went through growing up.

Eventually I was cast out of my grandfather's house. I went to father's house. While at that house my father's younger brother abused me.

It was such a vicious cycle of violence as I was taken from one relative to the next. Most family members and relatives I lived with abused me emotionally, financially and physically. I became more rebellious and grew up to be a stubborn boy. I did not consider the importance of respect for others.

I decided to live with street gangs because I needed a sense of belonging. The life I lived with my peers led me to be a drug addict, criminal and irresponsible boy who lived a reckless life.

I became involved in criminal activities which caused me pain and sorrow because I was arrested for various crimes. As a result I have learned life lessons the hard way. I have been arrested eight times and sentenced three times. This includes for house-breaking, theft, house robberies, car theft, and armed robbery and for car hi-jacking.

I joined gangsters due to the bitterness I held because of abuse which I have experienced. In the process I hurt other innocent souls and was full of hatred.”

Mabeta's story is an example of how children who are abused or live in abusive homes are more likely to perceive violence as normal and hence become perpetrators of violence themselves. Mabeta witnessed his stepfather beating his mother and perceived it as a sign of masculinity. Such experiences later impacted on his life and he became a gang member and criminal.

He attributes his abusive nature later in life to his childhood experience. The boy experienced violence not only at home but also in the community, where he was beaten by other children and older men. In addition to family and community factors, there were other factors such as peer pressure and abuse of drugs that may have exacerbated his abusive behaviour.

Mabeta has since turned his life around. He serves as the Communication Officer of Mo Afrika Tlhokomelo and assists men who have a criminal past reintegrate into their communities. It is important to note that not all men who have experienced abuse become abusers.

But GBV in South Africa takes place in a context in which *all* of South Africa's 11 ethnic groups are steeped in patriarchal traditions. As Constitutional Court judge Albie Sachs once put it, "the only truly non-racial institution in South Africa is patriarchy."

Men expect to be dominant and many women accept the perception that women are subservient to men in relationships. Rules and prescriptions relating to gender roles and relations are mainly applied to women; the work they must do, the role they must play in family and society, who they may associate with, their movements, and so on. These rules aim to "keep women in their place".

Cultural and societal factors are compounded by the country's history of apartheid. Some individuals and communities internalised the brutality experienced in that era such that it became a way of life.

Black men who had been belittled at work or imprisoned would come home angry and take out their anger on those over whom they had power - their families. White men who learned to glorify violence also took their violent habits back into the home. All this compounded the glorification of brutality and male violence in South Africa's macho culture.



Poverty contributes to GBV.

Photo: Gender Links

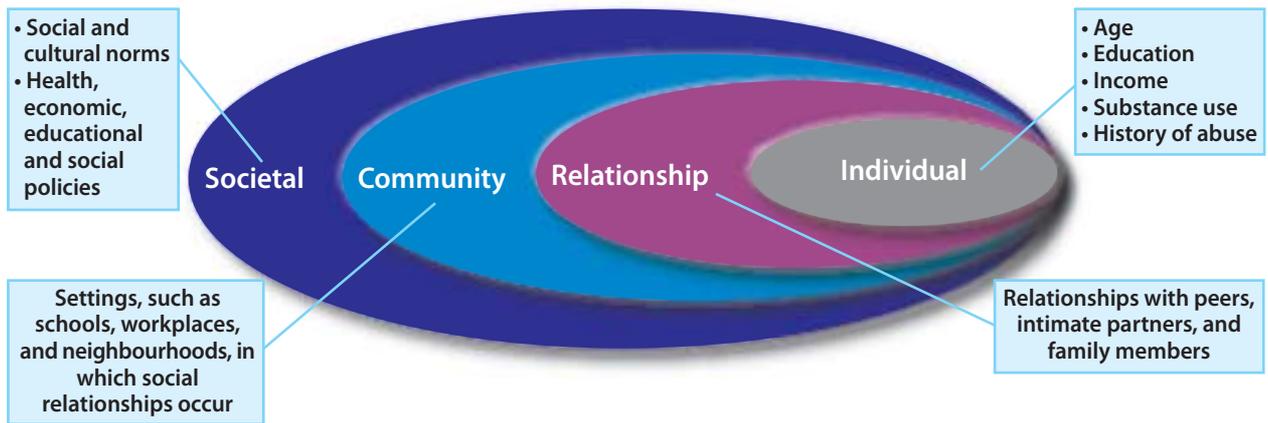
The legacy of apartheid worsened the socio-economic conditions of women as they remained at home while men went to work as migrant labour. Women were and continue to be heavily depended on their partners for their livelihood making it difficult to leave abusive relationships.

While gender violence cuts across class, race and ethnicity, there is no doubt that poor women and children are far more vulnerable to violence, and have less access to recourse, than those who are economically empowered.

This chapter explores individual, family/relationship, community and societal factors that increase the likelihood that a man will abuse his partner as shown by the ecological model framework.

The ecological model

Figure 4.1: The ecological model of factors associated with interpersonal violence²⁸



Individual level influences are personal factors that increase the likelihood of becoming an Interpersonal Violence (IPV) victim or perpetrator. Examples include attitudes and beliefs that support IPV, isolation, and a family history of violence. Prevention strategies at this level are often designed to promote attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours that support intimate partnerships based on mutual respect, equality, and trust. Specific approaches may include mentoring and education.

Interpersonal relationship level influences are factors that increase risk due to relationships with peers, intimate partners, and family members. A person's closest social circle - peers, partners and family members - can shape an individual's behaviour and range of experience. Prevention strategies at this level may include education and peer programmes designed to

promote intimate partnerships based on mutual respect, equality, and trust.

Community level influences are factors that increase risk based on individual experiences and relationships with community and social environments such as schools, workplaces, and neighbourhoods. Prevention strategies at this level are typically designed to impact the climate, processes and policies in a given system. Social norm and social marketing campaigns are often used to foster community climates that promote intimate partnerships based on mutual respect, equality, and trust.

Societal level influences are larger, macro-level factors that influence IPV, such as gender inequality, religious or cultural belief systems, societal norms, and economic or social policies. Prevention strategies at this level typically involve

²⁸ Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The Ecology of Human Development: Experiments by Nature and Design*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

collaborations by multiple partners to promote social norms, policies, and laws that support gender equity and foster intimate partnerships based on mutual respect, equality, and trust.²⁹

The ecological model in Figure 4.1 is used to examine the factors that influence the perpetration of violence and those that result in some women consistently entering abusive relationships. Understanding the reasons for, and the factors associated with, experience or perpetration of gender violence is an important precursor to the design of gender violence prevention interventions.

In this study, association between the experience or perpetration of violence with individual, family, community and societal markers of participants were investigated. The characteristics explored include:

- Age; race; nationality.
- Childhood experiences of neglect, sexual and physical abuse.
- Social norms around gender relations.

Age

There was no difference between age groups in the proportion of women who had experienced IPV, or men who had perpetrated IPV, in Gauteng province. Given that younger men have fewer years in relationships than older men this finding is consistent with the common observation that men who will be abusive generally exhibit abusive behaviour early in their relationship history. On the other hand, the reports of experience of, or

perpetration of, rape by a stranger or acquaintance varied by age.

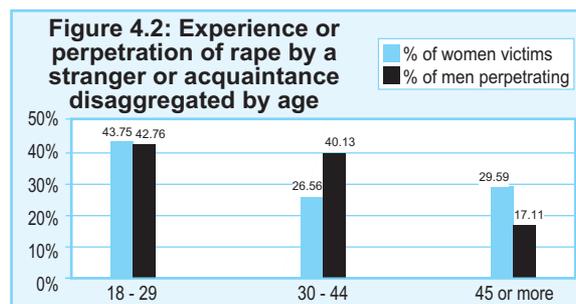


Figure 4.2 shows that younger women (less than 29 years old) were nearly twice as likely to disclose that they had been raped as women aged 30-44 years. Men who were older (more than 45 years) were half as likely to disclose having raped a non-partner. These findings could indicate that problem of rape has increased in recent years, although older men and women may have been more reluctant to disclose.

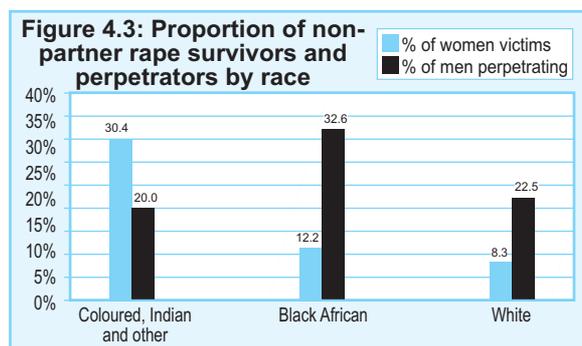
Race

The research showed no statistically significant difference in the proportion of women experiencing IPV between racial groups, but there were differences in the proportion of women experiencing non-partner rape. Coloured women reported this much more often. The proportion of men disclosing rape perpetration was highest among African men.

Figure 4.3 overleaf shows that Coloured or Indian women were nearly three times more likely to disclose rape by a stranger than African or White

²⁸ <http://www.tcfv.org/pdf/prevention/The%20Social%20Ecological%20Model%20of%20Prevention.pdf>.

women. This finding is not mirrored by the number of men in the sample who perpetrated rape. Other research has found a much higher prevalence of disclosed rape perpetration among Coloured men.³⁰



The proportion of white women reporting physical or sexual IPV was much lower in absolute

terms than the proportion of Black African women reporting physical or sexual IPV.

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 that did so was still very high (45%).

Nationality

Women who were not South African were significantly more likely to have experienced sexual or physical IPV than South African nationals. Nationality was not associated with increased risk of non-partner rape, economic and emotional violence or men's disclosure of perpetration.

Table 4.1: Nationality disaggregation of survivors and perpetrators of violence

Nationality	Any sexual or physical IPV		Any emotional or economic abuse		Any non-partner rape	
	% women survivors	% men perpetrating	% women survivors	% men perpetrating	% women survivors	% men perpetrating
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)

Table 4.1 shows that whilst there was no difference in the proportion of women who had been raped by nationality, foreign women (not of South African nationality) were significantly more likely to report having experienced physical or sexual IPV.

These findings are consistent with many studies which have shown that most demographic and

"Gender violence knows no class, no age, no status and no tradition. You may be poor as a church mouse, or be rich, living in a luxurious house, and still you have no peace if you are in an abusive situation. Abuse attacks like a slow poison and destroys you physically, mentally and spiritually. Abuse does not knock at the door when it comes, but it creeps in unexpectedly in a quite happy marriage and damages it, steady but sore. Abuse, in whatever form, drains the mind and one's self esteem and leaves you helpless and brainwashed, hoping for an undefined change of the situation." - GBV survivor Sweetness Gwabe; extracted from the foreword to the 2008 "I" Stories.

³⁰ Jewkes R. (2002). Intimate partner violence: causes and prevention. *Lancet*. 359: 1423-29.

social characteristics of men and women documented in survey research are not associated with increased risk of IPV.³¹ Like in other studies, household characteristics such as household size were not associated with IPV.

Child abuse

Women and men were asked about their childhood experiences of neglect and abuse by family, community members and school teachers. Experience of childhood abuse was common for both women and men interviewed in this study.

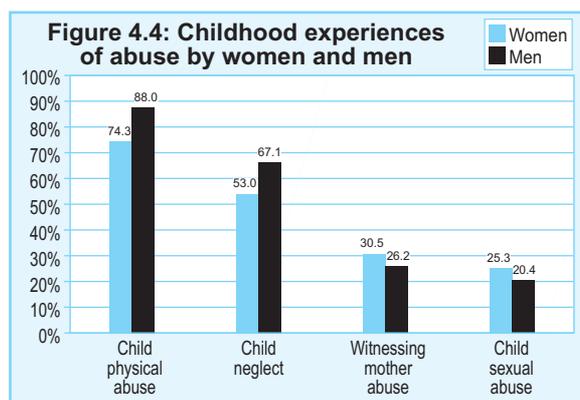


Figure 4.4 illustrates the forms of violence experienced by participants prior to their 18th birthday. The most common form of abuse was physical abuse. Physical abuse was defined as ever experiencing an incident such as being beaten with a whip and left with a bruise or mark. This could have occurred at home, school or in the community: 74.3% of women and 88% of men in the study were physically abused as children.

Men who were physically abused in childhood were more likely to be physically violent to their partners and were also more likely to have done so more than once. Experience of child physical abuse by men was associated with perpetration of physical IPV ($p=0.004$) and 53.4% of the men who physically abused their partners had themselves experienced physical abuse as boys. These findings are similar to previous research showing that physical abuse in childhood is associated with the risk of men being perpetrators of physical violence against their female partner.³²

Neglect was the second most common form of child abuse recorded. This included not being given enough food, parents being too drunk to care for their children, or children spending time outside the home without any adults aware where they were. In the sample, 53% of women and 67% of men were neglected as children.

Men who were neglected as children were more likely to perpetrate emotional violence against their partner ($p=0.006$). Of the male sample, 70% of men who emotionally abused their partners were neglected as boys.

Participants were also asked whether they had seen or heard their mother being beaten by her husband or boyfriend and 30.5% of women and 26.2% of men had witnessed their mother being abused. Men who watched their mothers beaten were more likely to perpetrate physical violence against their partners ($p=0.0085$): 64.4% of the

³¹ Jewkes R, Sikweyiya Y, Morrell R, Dunkle K. 2009. *Understanding men's health and use of violence: Interface of rape and HIV in South Africa*, Pretoria, South Africa: Medical Research Council.

³² Malamuth NM, Linz D, Heavey CL, Barnes G, Acker M (1995) *Using the confluence model of sexual aggression to predict men's conflict with women: a 10 year follow up study*. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, 69, 353-369.

men that physically abused their partners had witnessed their mother being abused.

Experiences of child sexual abuse were also investigated via a series of questions. Participants were asked whether they had ever been touched sexually or forced to touch someone, whether they had sex with someone of the opposite sex who was more than five years older, or whether they had been forced to have sex before they turned 18 years old: 25.3% of women and 20.4% of men had experienced at least one of these incidents in their childhood.

“Before I left my father’s house I witnessed physical abuse where my father beat my mother in front of me and my siblings. It looked fashionable. I got used to this because even our neighbours and uncles would beat their wives in front of us. This made me aggressive, I had anger and it completely changed me to become violent. I believed that this was a normal way of life. I started to beat anyone and everyone who was giving me problems.” - *Violence breeds violence*, “I” Story by David Mbatha

An example of how children are abused is discussed in the following “I” Story excerpt:

“When I was eight years old, we were playing house with my friends when an older man (a friend of my brothers) got into the bed with me

and raped me. He told me not to cry or make a noise. At the time I did not know what was happening to me. I felt so afraid and guilty. When I took a bath that night, my mother noticed the blood on my panties. She asked me to open my legs and checked me, but then said nothing. I have lived with this terrible guilt all my life. I have tried to block it out but when the same thing happened to my daughter several years later, it all started to come back... My daughter was raped when she was six years old and my husband blamed me for it. I was so devastated I wanted to die. He used to tell my daughter that she was stupid that is why they raped her. Whenever he said those words, I felt a sharp pain piercing my heart. I thought of all the pain my father caused me and my mom.” - From the “I” Story *I am angry, but I am also a survivor* by Nono Tintela



Nono Tintela, a survivor.

Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna

Table 4.2: Child sexual abuse as a risk factor to experience or perpetration of GBV in adulthood

Offence	Any sexual or physical IPV		Any non-partner rape	
	% women survivors	% men perpetrating	% women survivors	% men perpetrating
Experience of child sexual abuse	48.8	74.4	34.6	52
	p=0.0042	p=0.0026	p=0.000	p=0.000

Table 4.2 shows that exposure to sexual abuse in childhood by girls increased the risk of adult sexual abuse. Of the women sampled, 48.8% of women that were sexually or physically abused by their partners were sexually abused as children; 34.6% of women rape survivors were sexually abused as children.

In this study, men who experienced child sexual violence were more likely than those who had not to perpetrate sexual violence against a female partner. Of the male sample 74.4% of men perpetrating physical or sexual IPV were sexually abused as boys; 52% of men who ever raped had themselves been sexually abused as boys.



Experiences of childhood abuse impacts behaviour in adulthood.
Photo: Gender Links

This is consistent with previous research which found that boys who are abused are at increased risk of perpetration, especially of rape. One study found interpersonal violence, delinquent behaviour and hostile attitudes towards women as being significantly associated with child rape

experiences.³³ These and previous findings are evidence that violence is an example of a learned practice from childhood which is later modified in adulthood. The results also speak to the need for GBV prevention programmes that specifically target children, or better parenting of children.

Alcohol and substance abuse

South Africa has one of the highest levels of alcohol consumption per drinker than anywhere else in the world. This study looked at the links between alcohol and substance abuse and GBV.

Men's alcohol consumption in the past 12 months was associated with perpetration of violence and all forms of violence. Men who drank alcohol were more likely to physically abuse their partners and do so more than once ($p=0.0210$).

Rape was also associated with alcohol consumption: 4.2% of women had been raped when drunk or drugged while 14.2% of men had forced a woman to have sex when she was too drunk or drugged to refuse.

These findings are consistent with previous research that links abuse of alcohol and drugs to violent behaviour. Some men who participated in 1999 research conducted by the MRC described using alcohol in a premeditated manner to enable them to beat their partner because they felt this was socially expected of them.³⁴ Although alcohol is known to reduce inhibitions, cloud judgment, and impair ability to interpret social cues, the relatively high occurrence of

³³ Malmuth, 1995.

³⁴ Jewkes R. (2002). Intimate partner violence: causes and prevention. *Lancet*. 359: 1423-29.

alcohol abuse by men who abuse women should not be interpreted as a casual relationship. Alcohol is generally rather regarded as a contextual factor, and thus cannot be “blamed” for the rape or act of violence. However, reducing harmful drinking is essential for IPV and rape prevention.



Apart from alcohol, reformed perpetrators participating in the “I” Stories study also spoke

of how the abuse of other substances impacted their behaviour. In the excerpt below, David Mbatha remembers how he abused drugs from an early age, an addiction that carried on into his adult life. He blames his drug use for his abusive behaviour towards his partner and children.

“At the age of 16 I started to smoke. I would sometimes go and steal dagga from my father’s house. I went out of control. I began to steal from my grandmother too just to get the money to buy dagga. Sometimes I would buy it from my father who would sell it to me without any questions asked because he knew I sometimes used to sell on his behalf. As an adult I continued with this wrong attitude and behaviour towards woman and children, as I believed that it was a way of showing that you are a man.” - From the “I” Story *Violence breeds violence* by David Mbatha

Gender attitudes

GBV is rooted in gender inequity, manifested in social norms that legitimate men’s control and dominance over women. This study explored attitudes held by women and men and their perceptions on gender relations.

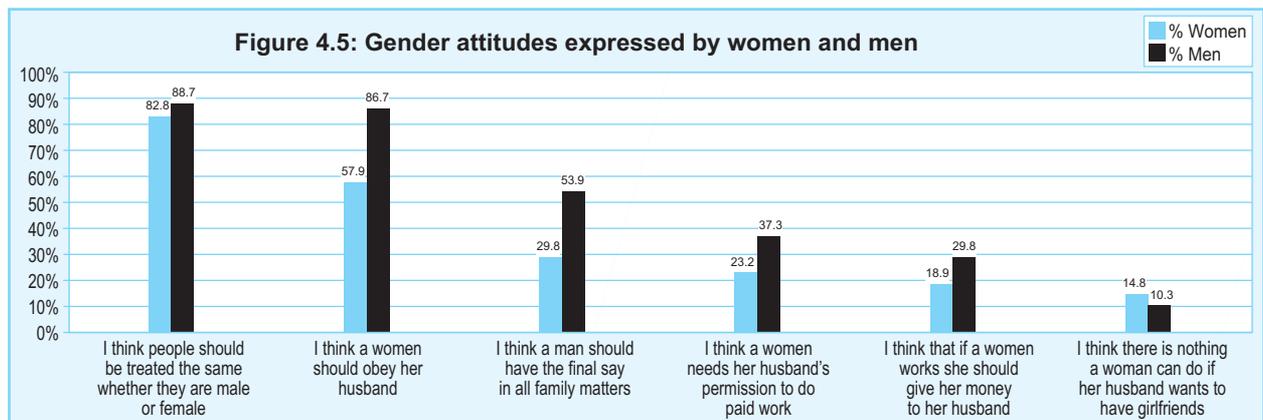


Figure 4.5 shows the responses of men and women on questions about gender relations. Both men and women expressed a high level of

general support for “equal treatment” but men’s attitudes around gender relations in the home clearly indicated that these views did not extend

to the domestic domain. Men's views were much more conservative than women's. This is particularly illustrated by higher proportions of men agreeing that women were expected to obey their husbands (86.7%). It is noteworthy that many women affirm conservative gender roles. This is evidence in the fact that cultural norms of traditional gender roles based on male dominance have widespread support among men and women. However, many participants did not support traditional gender roles, and

there was considerable evidence that these are slowly being challenged.

The findings point to a limitation in women's empowerment programmes, which have often focused on women, assuming they could change in isolation to men. This may explain why many economically- and politically-empowered women accept situations that are far from equitable in their intimate relationships.



Germina Setshedi. Photo: Colleen Lowe Morna

Germina Setshedi tells a story of how, even as an empowered woman, she remained in an abusive relationship: "I had a choice to stop the cycle of abuse, a privilege that same women in my position do not have. I was empowered and fully aware of my rights as a woman, a person and a citizen. I knew all the steps I could take to report domestic violence in my community, but distanced myself from this practice and suffered in silence. I did not tell anybody about my husband who was abusive." - From the "I" Story *When abuse can lead to disability* by Germina Setshedi.

Interventions to change gender attitudes and practices should ideally involve both women and men, whilst also recognising that not all women

are in intimate relationships with men. Doing this is likely to deepen the potential for greater impact across communities.

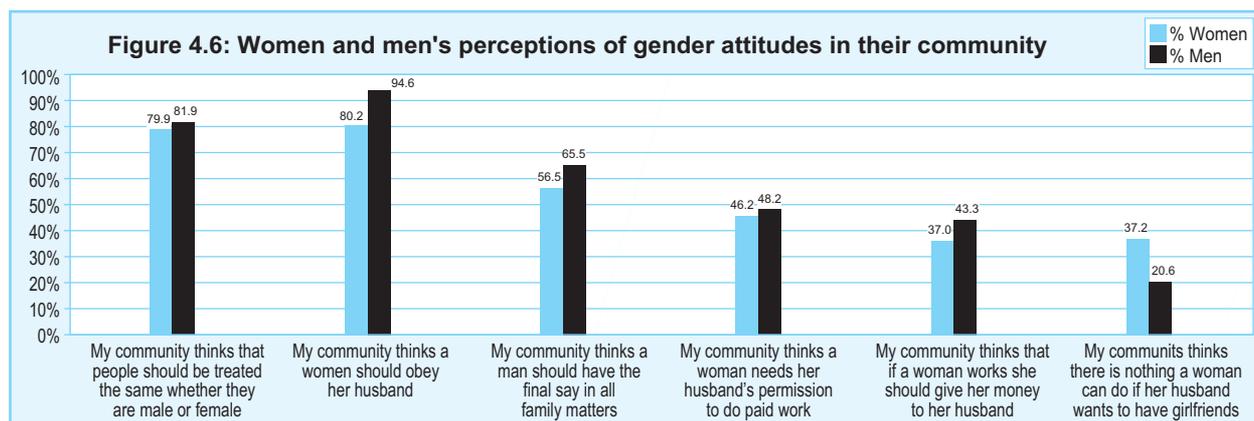


Figure 4.6 shows that most men and women feel their communities expressed support for men and women being treated “the same”. However, their community’s attitudes to gender relations in the home differed greatly and were generally perceived to be more conservative than those expressed by the participants themselves. This is shown by an even higher affirmation of the

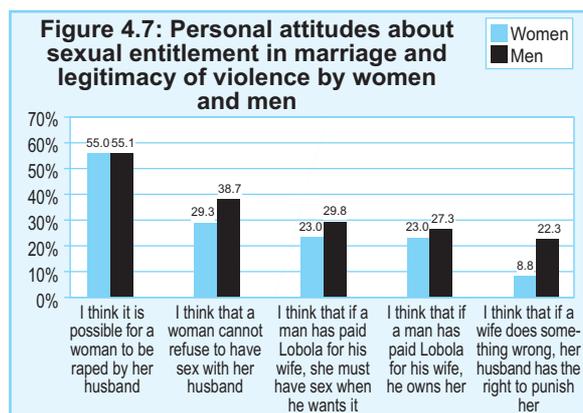
notion that women should obey their husbands than that expressed by participants,

The results of the survey show a general acknowledgement of abuse occurring as a component of gender relations as also illustrated in the following “I” Story by Sipiwe Didishe.

“In the early eighties I paid *lobola* for a woman I loved. I treated her like my own property that I had bought. She was not allowed to visit her family. I remember one day we were arguing about her not visiting her family. I ended up beating her so much that she was hospitalised. After her release from the hospital she went back to her family where she was accepted. She decided that she did not want to see me again. I wrote her letters and phoned her begging her to forgive me and come back home and promised her that I will never beat her again. I even asked her friend to talk to her for me. Eventually she agreed and came back home, I tried so hard to change and welcomed her home with gifts.

I started to bring my girlfriend into our house and we would share the bed and sometimes make her sleep on the floor. I really was abusing my ex-wife emotionally and physically. When she complained, I would tell her that I paid *lobola* and the girls are to relieve her from having sex with me. While I was doing all the bad things her family and my family were not happy but they could not do anything as they were also afraid of me. I remember my mother told me what I was doing made her sad and she was even scared to go around the streets, because of the community. She only went out when she was going to church.”

- Except from an “I” Story by Sipiwe Didishe



Sexual entitlement in marriage and the legitimacy of violence

The notion of equating payment of *lobola* with purchasing property and wife “ownership” impacts on sexual relations and the manner in which sex is negotiated between partners.

Figure 4.7 shows that there was almost no difference in the proportion of women and men that thought a woman could be raped by her husband and it was well below the proportion

desired in a country where rape in marriage is against the law. Fewer women (29.3%) than men (38.7%) thought that a married woman was always sexually obligated towards her husband and could not refuse him sex whenever he wanted it. A quarter of men and women thought that if lobola had been paid a woman could not deny her husband sex whenever he wanted it, in other words, a woman in a marriage would lose the right to consent to, or withhold consent to, sex.

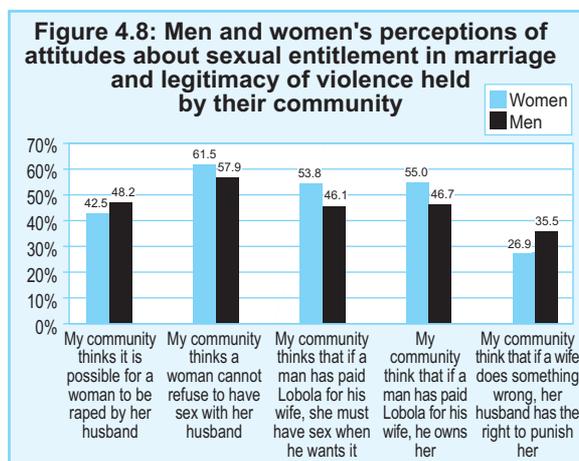


Figure 4.8 illustrates men's and women's perceptions at the attitudes they think their community holds on issues of sexual entitlement in marriage. Once again, most participants thought members of their community to be more conservative in their views. This finding may also point to evidence that attitudes have started to change.

Equating masculinity with toughness and legitimate use of force

The survey explored a series of statements related to dominant South African ideas of masculinity and control over women, including:

- "If someone insults me, I will defend my reputation, with force if I have to."
- "I would be outraged if my wife asked me to use a condom."
- "There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten."
- "I think it is right for a man to punish his wife when she does wrong."

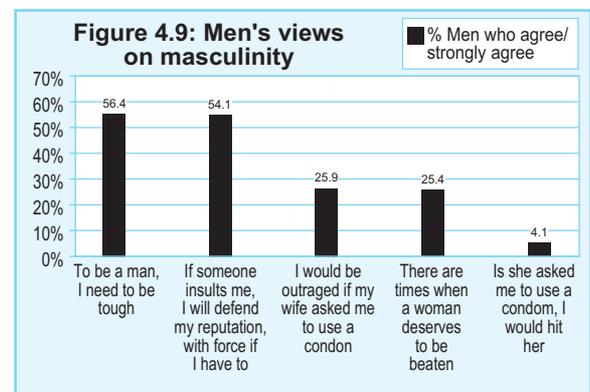


Figure 4.9 shows that 56.4% of men agreed that a man needs to be tough while 54.1% think that if insulted they would use force to defend their reputation. Meanwhile, 25.9% of men agreed that they would be outraged if their partner asked them to use a condom and 4.1% said they would hit a partner who wanted to use a condom.

Conspiracy of silence

There is still a huge gap between women who are abused and those who speak out. Most of the women (86.87%) who have been abused have not spoken about the abuse. This may be because most women (18.8%) suffer at the hands of intimate partners, which makes speaking out difficult as women fear the reactions of those around them. Although speaking out is

empowering and helpful, some women are still victimised for it. About one in seven women who spoke out about abuse were later victimised because of it. This is consistent with some of the perceived community attitudes which stigmatise and blame survivors.

"My mother told me that I must forget about it because she and my grandmother had been raped. This is something that just happens in the family. After that day it was never talked about. No one asked me how I felt. As a result I felt dirty and had low self esteem." - From the "I" Story Rape will not be my daughter's legacy! By Thandeka (not her real name)*

Only 3.9% of women who had been raped by a partner or non-partner had reported it to police. The survey shows that about half of the survivors of gender violence do not go to police, instead confiding in family members as Thandeka*, in the excerpt, did. While exploring other reasons why women never speak out it became clear that in some instances, like in Thandeka's* case, it became clear that coercion from family and friends means survivors are often convinced not to disclose their experience. This is one example of the many underlying factors contributing to the high levels of unreported abuse.

Table 4.3 compares the responses of women in the 1998 MRC Three Provinces Study and the 2010 Gauteng Study. Twelve years have passed since women in Limpopo, Mpumalanga and the Eastern Cape were interviewed for the Three Province Study and asked about their personal attitudes towards gender relations and their perceptions of attitudes generally held in their community. Many interventions have followed the research, among them messages like "Real men do not abuse women" and the Sixteen Days of Activism Campaigns.

While recognising that Gauteng may be more progressive than the more rural provinces, it seems likely that there has been real change in personal attitudes since 1998. Table 4.3 illustrates that for almost every dimension of gender relations, women in Gauteng in 2010 expressed views that were much more progressive from a gender perspective than those measured in three other provinces in 1998. However, given that more than half of women in 2010 still believe a woman should obey her husband, it is also evident that there is still a long way to go.



Many GBV cases are not reported due to the lack of institutional support.
Photo: Trevor Davies

The research also reveals substantially more gender equitable community perceptions on every dimension measured except expectations

that wives cannot refuse to have sex with their husbands, with similar findings for the community in both studies.

Table 4.3 Gender attitudes of women in the Gauteng and 1998 MRC Three Provinces Study

	3 Provinces pooled responses 1998 % Agreeing	Gauteng Women 2010 % Strongly agree or agree	p value* (Gauteng women v. 3 prov. pooled)
Gender relations in the home: control			
My community thinks that a woman should obey her husband	95.4	80.2	<0.0001
I think this	84.0	57.9	<0.0001
My community thinks that if a woman works she should give her money to her husband	58.9	37.0	<0.0001
I think this	41.7	18.9	<0.0001
My community thinks that a man should have the final say in all family matters	75.1	56.5	<0.0001
I think this	53.1	29.8	<0.0001
My community thinks that there is nothing a woman can do if her husband wants to have girlfriends	48.6	37.2	0.007
I think this	26.5	14.8	0.0001
My community thinks that a woman needs her husband's permission to do paid work	88.3	46.2	<0.0001
I think this	71.7	23.2	<0.0001
Shared domestic work			
My community thinks that men should share the work around the house with women such as doing dishes, cleaning and cooking	35.8	60.3	<0.0001
I think this	60.5	69.4	0.007
Ownership			
My community thinks that if a man has paid Lobola for his wife, he owns her	80.8	59.0	<0.0001
I think this	64.1	23.9	<0.0001
My community thinks that children belong to a man and his family	71.6	50.3	<0.0001
I think this	51.0	28.7	<0.0001
Sexual entitlement in marriage			
My community thinks that if a man has paid Lobola for his wife, she must have sex when he wants it	76.0	53.8	<0.0001
I think this	46.6	23.0	<0.0001
My community thinks that a woman cannot refuse to have sex with her husband	63.5	61.5	0.563
I think this	54.0	29.3	<0.0001
Legitimacy of violence			
My community thinks that if a wife does something wrong her husband has the right to punish her	58.1	26.9	<0.0001
I think this	40.7	8.8	<0.0001
My community thinks that if a man beats you it shows that he loves you	41.7	25.3	<0.0001
I think this	25.4	7.6	<0.0001

*adjusted Wald test

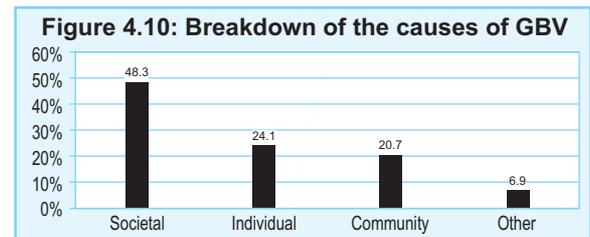
The Three Province Study did not assess the attitudes of men; thus there is no data against which to compare the attitudes of men in the 2010 Gauteng study. It is worth noting that the attitudes of men in the 2010 Gauteng study are consistently less progressive than attitudes expressed by women. This may explain why the prevalence of experience of GBV has remained high, despite substantial shifts in the attitudes of women.

Conceptualisation of GBV causes by politicians

The political discourse analysis measured the extent to which leaders located the causes of GBV with the individual, the community or the society using the ecological model framework.

Figure 4.10 illustrates that the most commonly identified cause of GBV is societal. It is noteworthy that in locating causes of GBV in society, leaders

acknowledge the structural nature of GBV. This reflects the need to redress social and cultural norms that affirm or support GBV.



Conclusions

This study shows that, as in other settings, GBV in Gauteng occurs as a result of factors at the individual, community and societal level acting in concert. GBV in Gauteng is deeply entrenched in patriarchal gender norms that condone violence against women. Individual factors such as child abuse are also significant, increasing the likelihood that a man will abuse his partner.