

CHAPTER 4

PATTERNS AND DRIVERS



Different socio-demographic and background factors influence the prevalence of GBV.

Photo courtesy of GCIS - Government Communications and Information Systems

Key facts

- Women of all ages are equally vulnerable to IPV experience.
- Women and men of different educational status are equally vulnerable to VAW experience or perpetration respectively.
- Research found women are vulnerable to IPV experience regardless of whether they had worked in a job or stayed home.
- There is a link between alcohol use and IPV experience among women in the 12 months before the survey.
- Alcohol and drug use is associated with IPV perpetration among men in the 12 months before the survey.
- More than three quarters of women experienced some form of child abuse in the form of sexual, physical abuse or neglect.
- A greater proportion of men who had been physically, sexually abused or neglected as children disclosed that they perpetrated IPV at least once in their lifetime compared to men who had no experiences of child abuse.
- Two in every five (41%) men who had been sexually abused as children reported that they had raped, compared to 18% of men who did not experience child sexual abuse.



I (Promise) am an unemployed woman. In 2009 I started dating Ndivhuwo, but he was also dating another woman. I became pregnant and gave birth to a baby boy. His parents were not interested in discussing marriage (lobola) with my relatives. When he came home drunk he would wake me up and force me to prepare food for him. He would also force me to eat with him even though I had already eaten. His mother would say, "A woman perseveres through everything even if she is abused in front of other people."

I didn't know what to do because I loved him. Even when he talks, I would just agree to do anything he told me to do. He told his sisters and mother that they mustn't do any house work; instead I must do all the work. If he found me sitting doing nothing he would start shouting at me in order to please them.

The day he found out that his other girlfriend was also dating his friend, he came home and beat me with a piece of iron saying that he no longer loved me. He said he had found another woman at the shebeen who is more beautiful than me. The other day, another girlfriend of his came to the house and told me to leave her husband. Then Ndivhuwo beat me with a piece of iron until I decided to run away. My body was swollen and blue. I went to my grandmother's home that same night and left our son with Ndivhuwo because I couldn't run away carrying him. My grandmother told me not to get Ndivhuwo arrested because he is the father of my child.

In 2012 I became pregnant while he was not working. He was abusing me all the time. When his mother came to visit she said I should give her my children and go back home because the children belonged to her son. On 2 August 2012 he came back in the evening and found me sleeping and he said to me, "I want food." So I woke up and gave him food. Then he said to me I shouldn't bother cooking for him anymore, he can cook for himself. I said that was fine. So he didn't eat the food. He saw a purity bottle on the floor and started saying to me, "Nowadays you are lazy and the house is dirty."

He took the pap and threw it at me and it landed on my back. He said he wanted to sleep with me forcefully because I am disrespecting him. I then ran to an outside toilet. While sitting there I heard my baby crying in the house and when I tried to get inside I found that my husband had locked the door and would not open the door. I sat there at the door until it was around 1am. I knocked again and he opened the door holding a broomstick. He started chasing me. I decided to run to the police station. I was not wearing clothes, I was only wearing panties. The police gave me clothes to cover myself. They took me home and when we got there I found him sleeping with my children. The police asked him to open the door and when he did I took my children and went to the trauma centre at Tshilidzini Hospital. I opened a case, but it never progressed because the accused was the father of my children. Back at home Ndivhuwo was remorseful and said, "It was alcohol not me." He said he was sorry.

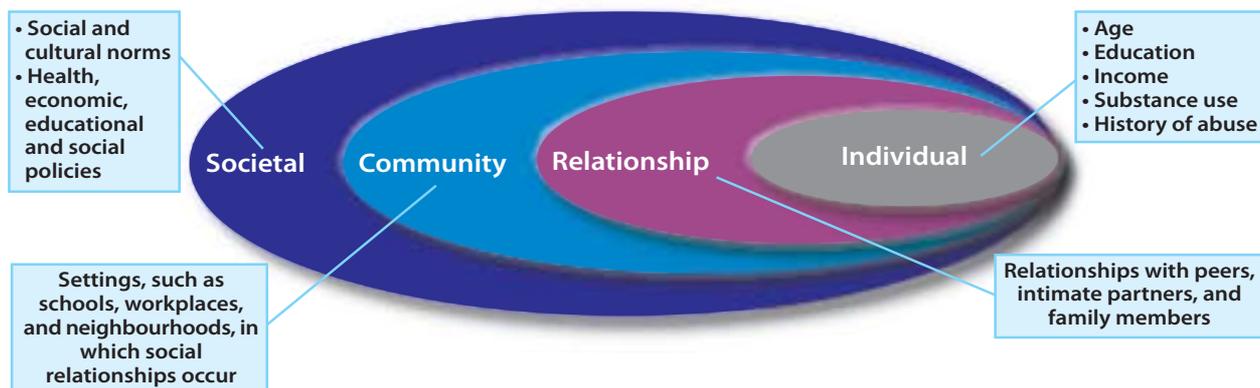
Now we have our own separate lives, even though we are still living together, but there is no love anymore. He doesn't want me to succeed in life. He doesn't want me to visit places with other women where we would be talking about girly things. I said, "Let's separate," he said he would kill me and be with another woman that he loves. My children will suffer without their father. He said he wants me to stay because he doesn't want his children to suffer. He wants to build a good future for them and I should forgive him. I also could not leave because I am an orphan and don't have anyone to support me. I really regret that I bore his children because he abuses me. With everything that has happened I am scared to continue living with him.

Promise's husband physically, sexually and emotionally abuses her, citing alcohol as an excuse. As an orphan with nowhere else to go she is left with no option other than to endure the abuse for the sake of her children. External influence from family members as well as extra-marital affairs can both be seen as drivers of violence. Promise expresses her wish to leave the relationship as well as the fears that hold her down.

This chapter explores individual, family/relationship, community and societal factors that impact on adult behaviours as shown by the Ecological Model Framework. The chapter draws on the prevalence

and attitude survey, as well as the political content analysis, to draw out the causes or drivers of gender violence in Limpopo - both immediate and longer term.

Figure 4.1: The ecological model of factors associated with VAW



The ecological model in Figure 4.1 attempts to explain why some violence occurs, why some men can be more violent than others and why some women consistently find themselves in abusive relationships. Understanding the reasons for, and the factors associated with, experience or perpetration of gender violence is a precursor in the design of GBV prevention programmes. The study investigated the association between the experience and perpetration of violence with individual, family, community and societal characteristics of participants. The study also explored social norms around gender relations.

Individual level factors

Individual level influences comprise personal factors that increase the likelihood of becoming a victim or perpetrator. Examples include socio-demographic factors, attitudes and beliefs that support IPV, isolation and a family history of violence.

Socio-demographic factors

Socio-demographic characteristics explored include age, education level and employment status.

Table 4.1: Disaggregation of experience and perpetration of IPV by socio- demographic factors

| Factors | Ever IPV | | | | Past 12 months IPV | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|--------|--------------------|--------|--------------------|--------|--------------------|--------|
| | % women survivors | Chi(p) | % men perpetrating | Chi(p) | % women survivors | Chi(p) | % men perpetrating | Chi(p) |
| Age | | | | | | | | |
| 18-29 | 51.7 | 0.3 | 44.3 | 0.00 | 33.4 | 0.7 | 16.2 | 0.02 |
| 30-44 | 55.1 | | 45.2 | | 26.4 | | 14.6 | |
| 45+ | 47.0 | | 40.5 | | 11.6 | | 9.7 | |
| Level of education | | | | | | | | |
| O level incomplete and lower | 50.8 | 0.9 | 44.1 | 0.7 | 25.3 | 0.8 | 13.0 | 0.1 |
| O level complete and over | 51.3 | | 42.6 | | 30.7 | | 14.6 | |
| Worked in past 12 months | | | | | | | | |
| No | 50.2 | 0.4 | 42.6 | 0.4 | 23.2 | 0.6 | 12.8 | 0.6 |
| Yes | 54.8 | | 45.2 | | 34.3 | | 16.9 | |

Age

Table 4.1 shows that there is no statistically significant difference in the proportion of lifetime IPV survivors ($p=0.3$) by age. There is also no significant difference in proportion of survivors by age in the past 12 months ($p=0.1$). By implication, women of all ages are equally vulnerable to IPV experience.

There is no statistically significant difference in IPV perpetration among men in lifetime by age. However, there is a significant reduction in the proportion of perpetrators by age for the 12 months before the survey. Men in the 18-29 age category comprise the highest proportions of perpetrators with the lowest in the 45+ age group. This illustrates a need to engage

and target younger men in GBV prevention programmes.

Education level

Table 4.1 shows a person's level of education doesn't seem to be a factor for IPV survivors or perpetrators of IPV in lifetime or the past 12 months. This means women and men of different educational status remain equally vulnerable to GBV experience or perpetration.

Employment status

There is no significant difference in proportion of survivors and perpetrators between employment status in the 12 months before the survey and in lifetime.

Table 4.2: Disaggregation of experience and perpetration of rape by socio- demographic factors

| Factors | Ever non-partner rape | | | | Past 12 months non-partner rape | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|--------|--------------------|--------|---------------------------------|--------|--------------------|--------|
| | % women survivors | Chi(p) | % men perpetrating | Chi(p) | % women survivors | Chi(p) | % men perpetrating | Chi(p) |
| Age | | | | | | | | |
| 18-29 | 5.9 | 0.03 | 21.6 | 0.02 | 0.6 | 0.2 | 5.8 | 0.08 |
| 30-44 | 7.0 | | 29.6 | | 0.2 | | 1.9 | |
| 45+ | 2.1 | | 17.7 | | 0.3 | | 1.6 | |
| Level of education | | | | | | | | |
| O level incomplete and lower | 4.4 | 0.3 | 21.1 | 0.07 | 0.8 | 0.9 | 3.4 | 0.5 |
| O level complete and over | 6.1 | | 26.4 | | 0.7 | | 4.2 | |
| Worked in past 12 months | | | | | | | | |
| No | 4.3 | 0.06 | 22.4 | 0.08 | 0.7 | 0.3 | 4.8 | 0.005 |
| Yes | 7.7 | | 23.2 | | 1.2 | | 1.7 | |

Age

Figure 4.2 shows that there is a significant difference in the proportion of rape survivors by age. A significantly higher proportion of women aged 30-44 reported rape in their lifetime. However, there is no significant difference in the proportion of rape survivors victimised in the 12 months before the survey. A significantly higher proportion of men aged 30-44 reported rape perpetration in their lifetime.

Table 4.2 shows that there is no significant difference in the proportion of rape survivors and non-survivors

by educational status ($p>0.05$). More unemployed men reported perpetrating rape than those with jobs.

Alcohol and substance abuse

This study looked at the links between alcohol and substance abuse and VAW. Questions relating to alcohol and drugs included whether the respondent had used alcohol in the 12 months prior to the survey and if so, how often. The survey asked participants whether their current or most recent partner consumed alcohol and how often. Questions on substance use included whether the respondent or their partner use drugs and how often.

Table 4.3: Alcohol and drug consumption patterns by women and men

| | % Women | % Men |
|---|---------|-------|
| Have you consumed alcohol in the past 12 months | | |
| No | 88.6 | 43.3 |
| Yes | 11.4 | 57.7 |
| How often do you take a drink containing alcohol | | |
| Monthly or less | 52.1 | 39.5 |
| 2-4 times a month | 30.2 | 24.9 |
| 2-4 times a week | 11.5 | 22 |
| 4+ times a week | 6.3 | 13.6 |
| More than five drinks on one occasion | | |
| Never | 34.0 | 4.9 |
| Less than monthly | 37.1 | 37.3 |
| Monthly | 19.6 | 27.8 |
| Weekly | 8.2 | 25.0 |
| Daily or almost daily | 1.0 | 5.3 |
| Current partner alcohol frequency | | |
| Every day/nearly every day | 4.6 | 0.4 |
| Only at weekends | 20.5 | 5.7 |
| A few times in a month | 11.7 | 5.9 |
| Less than once a month | 9.0 | 5.9 |
| Never drank | 51.2 | 81.8 |
| Stopped drinking | 3.0 | 0.3 |
| Used dagga in the last 12 months | | |
| No | 99.6 | 81.5 |
| Yes | 0.4 | 18.5 |
| Current or most recent partner drug use | | |
| No | 96.3 | 97.7 |
| Yes | 3.7 | 2.3 |

Table 4.3 shows that 12% of women and 58% of men consumed alcohol in the 12 months prior to the survey. However, the majority of women (52%) said they are occasional drinkers. Less than a tenth of women (9%) who consumed alcohol took more than five drinks per occasion on a weekly or daily basis. About a fifth (18%) said they drank regularly, at least twice a week. More than half (54%) of the women

reported being in intimate relationships with men who drank alcohol, while 4% of women had partners who use drugs.

Researchers found that 88% of men consume alcohol at least twice a week. More than a quarter of men (28%) binge drink more than five drinks on a daily basis.

Table 4.4: Partner alcohol or substance use and experience of IPV in past 12 months

| | % men perpetrators in past 12 months | Chi (p) |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|---------|
| Drank alcohol | 23.9 | 0.02 |
| Did not drink alcohol | 17.0 | |
| Used drugs | 33.3 | 0.002 |
| Did not use drugs | 18.2 | |

Table 4.5 shows that drinking alcohol and drug use is associated with IPV perpetration among men in the 12 months before the survey. About a quarter of men who drank alcohol in the 12 months before the survey also perpetrated IPV in the same period. In contrast, 17% of men who did not drink alcohol also perpetrated IPV in a similar period. A third of drug users (33%) compared to 18.2% of non-drug users perpetrated IPV in the 12 months before the survey.

Figure 4.2: Drinking alcohol frequency and IPV perpetration in 12 months before the survey

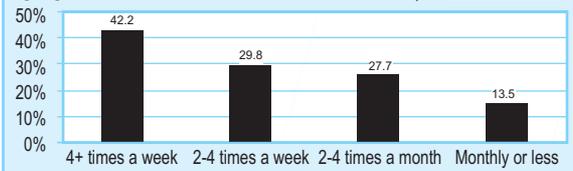


Figure 4.2 illustrates that men appear more likely to perpetrate IPV if they frequently drink alcohol. Men who drank alcohol four or more times a week are most likely to report IPV perpetration in the 12 months before the survey. Forty-two percent of men who drank alcohol four or more times a week perpetrated IPV, while 14% of men who drank alcohol once a month or less perpetrated IPV in a similar period.

Child abuse

The study asked participants about experiences of childhood neglect and abuse. It ascertained child abuse through a series of questions about forced sex, unwanted sexual touching, being severely beaten leaving marks and neglect by family, teachers or other community members.

Definition of forms of child abuse

Child physical abuse

Child physical abuse is 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.

Tivhu shared the tragic story of her daughter, who was raped by her own father. "One day when I came back home I found my eldest daughter crying. She told me that her father has asked her if it was true that she had been raped and if he could check, then he had also raped her. When I asked him about it he said I could go and report him. So I went to open a case but it wasn't taken any further."

Child neglect

Child neglect in this study includes not being given enough food, parents being too intoxicated to care for their children, or children spending time outside the home without adults being aware of their whereabouts.

Child sexual abuse

To ascertain experiences of child sexual abuse, the survey asked participants 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. Four percent of women and five percent of men experienced child sexual abuse.

Figure 4.3: Experience of child abuse by women and men

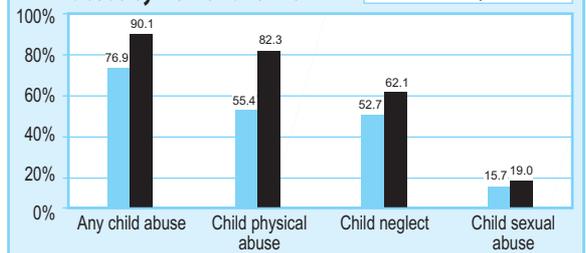


Figure 4.3 shows a high prevalence of child abuse experiences amongst women and men in Limpopo province. More than three quarters of women and nine in every ten men said they experienced some form of child abuse. Men and women most commonly reported physical abuse. More than half of the women (55%) and 82% of men experienced some form of child physical abuse in their lifetime. Meanwhile, 53% of women and 62% of men said they had been neglected as children and one in every six (16%) women and 19% of men had been sexually abused. While both women and men reported experiences of child abuse, greater numbers of men appear to have experienced a difficult childhood.

Child abuse as a risk factor for IPV perpetration
Experiences of abuse throughout life can influence family violence, both for victims and perpetrators. This study explored the link between child abuse experience by men and perpetration of IPV in lifetime using chi square tests of association.

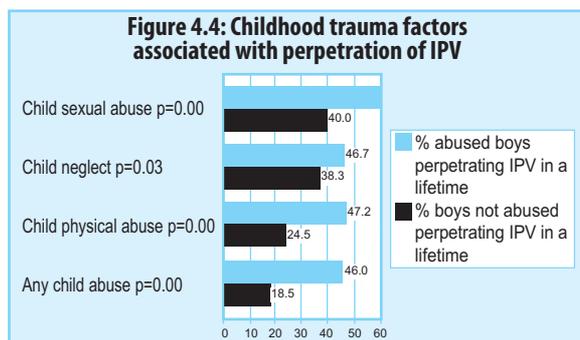


Figure 4.4 shows that a greater proportion of men who suffered abuse as children disclosed that they perpetrated IPV at least once in their lifetime when compared to men who had no experience of child abuse. This finding is consistent with research conducted elsewhere in South Africa that found a high burden of depression among youths and school going children associated with childhood trauma (Jewkes et al, 2006; Hamber & Lewis, 1997). Further research is necessary to explore whether depression acts as a mediator to the perpetration of interpersonal violence, in particular IPV.

These findings illustrate the need for child rehabilitation programmes for abused children coupled with campaigns advocating for reduction of child abuse. Prevention of child abuse may ultimately contribute to prevention of IPV perpetration. It also underscores the need to engage boys from a younger age.

Child sexual violence as a risk factor for rape perpetration

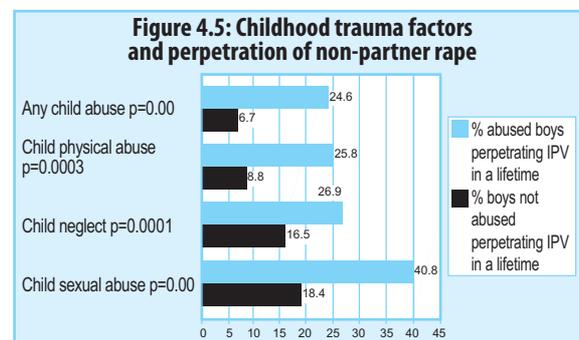


Figure 4.5 shows that there is a correlation between experience of the different forms of child abuse and rape perpetration ($p=0.00$). Two in every five (41%) men who experienced sexual abuse as children reported that they had raped women, while 18% of men who never experienced child sexual abuse reported that they had perpetrated rape. One in every four men who had been physically abused (26%) or neglected (27%) reported that they had perpetrated rape.

In the South African context, where the prevalence of sexual offences is higher than in other countries, these findings illustrate the importance of addressing child abuse and viewing it as a risk factor to intergenerational perpetuation of VAW. It is important to protect children's rights and create campaigns against child abuse that include boys.

Risk factors identified by "I" Story participants

Victims identified risk factors for violence that include alcohol abuse, cultural practices, perpetrator background, insecurity and jealousy.

Figure 4.6: Personal attitudes towards gender relations by women and men

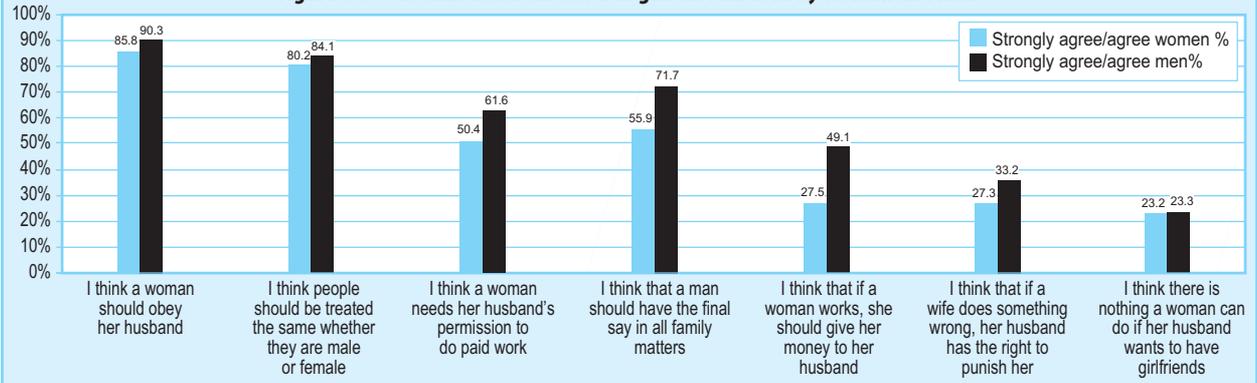


Figure 4.6 shows the responses of men and women to questions about gender relations. The majority of respondents said that both men and women should be treated equally. However, it is evident from the other responses that a conservative approach to gender relations in the home remains the norm. While men's views appear more conservative, women in Limpopo province also affirmed these attitudes. A majority of men (90%) said women should obey their husbands, husbands should have the final say (72%) and wives should obtain permission to pursue paid work (62%). A majority of women responded similarly,

illustrating that patriarchal norms and values still have a hold on both sexes.

The findings also show that while patriarchal values remain dominant, a significant proportion of women and men have begun to challenge these values. For instance, 63% of women disagreed that if a woman works she must give her money to the husband or that a husband has the right to punish his wife if she does something he deems to be wrong. More than three quarters (75%) of men and women feel a woman has options if her husband cheats on her.

Figure 4.7: Women and men's perceptions of gender attitudes in their community

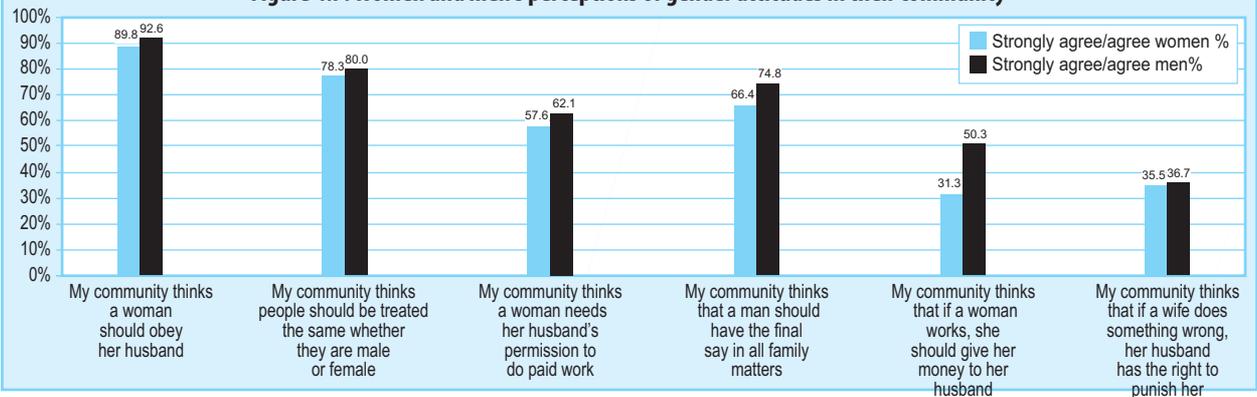


Figure 4.7 presents responses to questions on perceptions around gender relations at community level. These responses illustrate the prevailing attitudes about gender and women's place in society. Ninety

percent of women and 93% of men perceive that their community believes a woman should obey her husband. More than half of both men and women affirmed that their community believes that a woman

needs her husband's permission to do paid work. Almost three quarters of men said that their community thinks a man should have the final say in the house, while half agreed that their community believes if a woman works she should give her money to her husband. However, more than three quarters of both men and women feel their community thinks people should be treated equally. This seems contradictory to the other responses, which uphold gender inequality.

The findings also show that changing negative attitudes about gender relations starts at the individual level; however, certain community structures can guide and inform individual perceptions and behaviour. Survey responses show that community attitudes to gender relations in the home differ and can be generally perceived to be more conservative than those expressed by individual participants. Higher proportions of men and women said they felt gender inequality exists at the community level. For this reason interventions should also aim to address societal beliefs and norms about gender equality.

Sexual entitlement in marriage and the legitimacy of violence

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

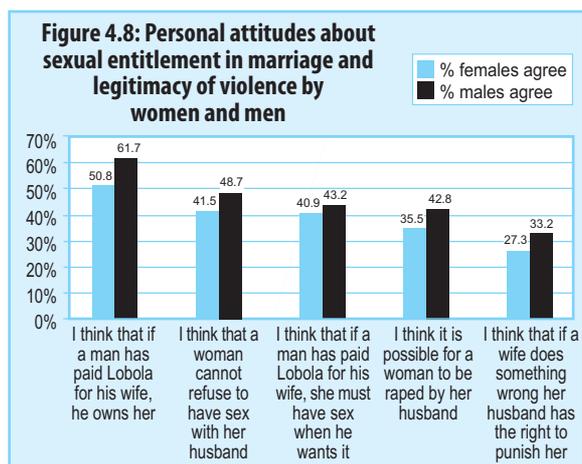


Figure 4.8 shows that while there is broad acceptance of wife ownership among men and women, there is significant disagreement about whether this ownership translates to sexual entitlement as well as the use of violence to control. More than half of both men (62%) and women (51%) agreed that paying lobola implies wife ownership. More than half of women (59%) and men (57%) disagreed that men should be entitled to force a woman to have sex following lobola payment. In other words, these women and men believe that a woman's right to consent, or withhold consent, to sex should not be nullified by the paying of lobola. It is also noteworthy that a significant proportion of respondents believe otherwise. In fact, a similar number of women and men said that if a man has paid lobola for his wife she must have sex with him whenever he feels like it. This illustrates that for many, lobola is a transaction which objectifies the woman.

The findings also show that the premise of marital rape is not yet well understood by both women and men. The majority of women (64%) and men (57%) disagreed that a man could be arrested and charged for raping his wife. This finding is somewhat contrary to the other views expressed around sexual entitlement.

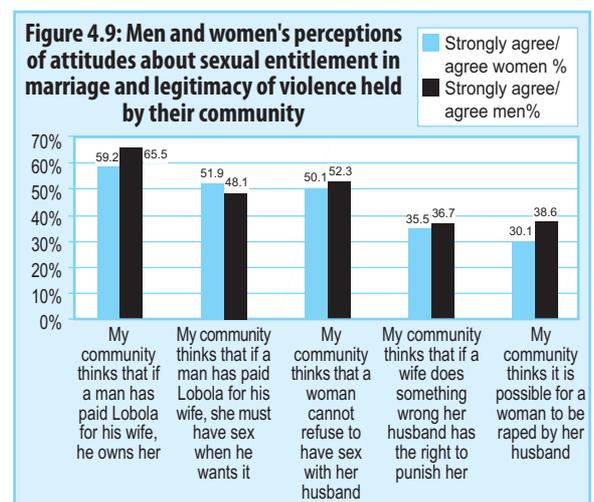


Figure 4.9 shows the responses to questions about community attitudes on issues of sexual entitlement

and legitimacy of the use of violence in marriage. Again it can be noted that in general, communities exhibit conservative attitudes about gender equality in the home. This is evidenced by the proportions of men and women who say their community believes when a man has paid lobola for his wife he owns her, and as such he can force her to have sex or punish her if she does something he deems wrong. Higher proportions of men and women think they are less conservative than the members of their community.

Findings from the “I” Stories

Of the 16 women's “I” Stories from Limpopo only four stories demonstrate how certain cultural norms

upheld by a community can influence violence against women. The cultural practices identified as drivers of GBV include heir and son-preference, which often has the effect of encouraging men to be promiscuous; masculinity being amplified by men's ability to have multiple partners; and sexual entitlement following the traditional marriage. Traditionally, it is the woman who has to leave her family of origin. It is noteworthy that while societal values can uphold harmful cultural practices, allocating responsibility within spheres of influence that foster cultural or religious values can also help to end them. For example, one story demonstrated how traditional leadership is still highly esteemed within the society. As such, this can be used as a platform to instil change and foster good cultural practices such as respect for women.

Table 4.5: Changing societal norms over time

| | <i>Three Provinces Study pooled responses 1998 % Agreeing</i> | <i>Gender Links Northern Province (Limpopo) Strongly Agree/Agree %</i> |
|---|---|--|
| Gender relations in the home: control | | |
| My community thinks that a woman should obey her husband | 95.4 | 88.9 |
| I think that a woman should obey her husband | 84.0 | 85.8 |
| My community thinks that if a woman works she should give her money to her husband | 58.9 | 31.3 |
| I think that if a woman works she should give her money to her husband | 41.7 | 27.5 |
| My community thinks that a man should have the final say in all family matters | 75.1 | 66.4 |
| I think that a man should have the final say in all family matters | 53.1 | 55.9 |
| My community thinks that there is nothing a woman can do if her husband wants to have girlfriends | 48.6 | 33.0 |
| I think that there is nothing a woman can do if her husband wants to have girlfriends | 26.5 | 23.2 |
| My community thinks that a woman needs her husband's permission to do paid work. | 88.3 | 57.6 |
| I think that a woman needs her husband's permission to do paid work | 71.7 | 50.4 |

| | <i>Three Provinces Study pooled responses 1998 % Agreeing</i> | <i>Gender Links Northern Province (Limpopo) Strongly Agree/Agree %</i> |
|---|---|--|
| Shared domestic work | | 34.7 |
| My community thinks that men should share the work around the house with women such as doing dishes, cleaning and cooking | 35.8 | 44.2 |
| I think that men should share the work around the house with women such as doing dishes, cleaning and cooking | 60.5 | |
| Ownership | | |
| My community thinks that if a man has paid Lobola for his wife, he owns her | 80.8 | 50.8 |
| I think that if a man has paid Lobola for his wife, he owns her | 64.1 | 52.4 |
| My community thinks that children belong to a man and his family | 71.6 | 42.9 |
| I think that children belong to a man and his family | 51.0 | |
| Sexual entitlement in marriage | | 51.9 |
| My community thinks that if a man has paid Lobola for his wife, she must have sex when he wants it | 76.0 | 40.9 |
| I think that if a man has paid Lobola for his wife, she must have sex when he wants it | 46.6 | 50.1 |
| My community thinks that a woman cannot refuse to have sex with her husband. | 63.5 | 41.5 |
| I think that a woman cannot refuse to have sex with her husband | 54.0 | |
| Legitimacy of violence | | 35.5 |
| My community thinks that if a wife does something wrong her husband has the right to punish her | 58.1 | 27.3 |
| I think that if a wife does something wrong her husband has the right to punish her | 40.7 | 23.9 |
| My community thinks that if a man beats you it shows that he loves you | 41.7 | 17.2 |
| I think that if a man beats you it shows that he loves you | 25.4 | |

Table 4.5 compares the responses of women in Limpopo participating in the 1998 MRC Three Provinces Study and the responses of women in the GL 2012 study. Fourteen years have passed since researchers interviewed women in Limpopo, Mpumalanga and the Eastern Cape 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 followed that research, among them campaigns with messages like “Real men do not abuse women” and the 16 Days of Activism campaigns.

Personal and community attitudes towards sexual entitlement in marriage have improved. However, community attitudes in relation to lobola and sex in marriage remain conservative, indicating a need for further advocacy on the issue of gender and marital sexual matters. Almost half of the respondents agreed that a man can have sex when he wants (51.9%) and that a woman cannot refuse him sex (50.1%).

Attitudes towards legitimacy of violence also changed. The community and personal attitudes show that there is recognition that violence does not indicate love or ascertain control. Women's perceived community attitudes show that men continue to be considered the head of the family. Personal attitudes on this matter increased slightly from 84% in the 1998 study to 85.8% in the Limpopo survey. The results indicate that in Limpopo, while men may be seen as the head of the family, this does not mean they have the right to abuse women sexually, physically or economically. The results also show that household work is still considered to be for women.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the individual, family/relationship, community and societal factors that impact adult behaviours. Among the demographic factors, it did not establish an association between age and non-partner rape experience in the 12 months before the survey. This implies that all women remain vulnerable to non-partner rape. It also found that education levels do not correlate with rape

perpetration or experience. However, employment status did correspond and findings show that unemployed men are more likely to perpetrate non-partner rape. Alcohol consumption and drug use also play a role in violence. Alcohol use is connected to women's experiences of IPV in the 12 months before the survey. Similarly, drinking alcohol and use of drugs is associated with IPV perpetration among men in the 12 months before the survey.

Previous studies have shown that child sexual abuse increases the risk of adult sexual re-victimisation or perpetration. This study found that men who had been physically or sexually abused, or neglected as children, are more likely to perpetrate IPV at least once in their lifetime. These findings provide evidence underscoring the need for child rehabilitation programmes for abused children and campaigns advocating for reduction of child abuse. Prevention of child abuse may ultimately contribute to prevention of IPV perpetration.

Although the majority of respondents said that both men and women should be treated equally, their other responses illustrate that society maintains a conservative view when it comes to gender relations. More than half of men and women believe that paying lobola entitles the man to ownership of his wife. Men's views tend to be more conservative than women's. It is also noted that community attitudes tend to be more conservative than attitudes at the individual level. As such, interventions should aim to address societal beliefs and norms around gender equality.