Investigating Domestic Violence against Women in South Africa

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Domestic violence

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South African Demographic and Health Survey

DECLARATION

I declare that *Investigating domestic violence against women in South Africa* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Aurelia Babalwa Njezula December 2006

Signed……

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background

During the past decade, a discernible increase has occurred in awareness of the global scope and significance of domestic violence (Heise et al., 1994a, 1994b, 1999). Evidence suggests that between 10 and 60 percent of married women of reproductive age in developing countries have experienced some form of domestic violence (Heise et al., 2000; Krug et al., 2002).

A review of 50 populations-based studies from 36 countries indicated that between 10 and 60 percent of women who have ever been married or in union have experienced at least one incident of physical violence from a current or former intimate partner (Heise et al., 1999).

In this chapter, a presentation and a brief overview of the severity of the social problem of domestic violence is provided. This study seeks to examine the profile of women who experience domestic violence; and to determine the prevalence of domestic violence using the secondary data from the South African Demographic and Health Survey (SADHS) 1998.

Domestic violence or intimate partner violence is increasingly being recognised as a problem that seems to be spiralling out of control (*The Star,* 2005). The causes of domestic violence have preoccupied social scientists for several decades. The hypothesis that domestic violence might be biologically determined was significantly undermined by observations that its occurrence varies considerably between, as well as within, societies. Additionally, in some cases it has been reported to be exceptionally rare or even absent (Levinson, 1989; Counts et al., 1992).

Research indicates that violence against women is on the increase (Women's Net 2000). Women have suffered dehumanising acts in a society where men have been socialised to treat women as lesser beings (Abrahams, 2002).

Furthermore, patriarchal systems in South Africa have existed to ensure the dominant position of men and encourage their oppressive behaviour towards women (Pilcher & Choffey, 1996).

Until recently the fight for political freedom has been on the forefront of the government, and civil society. Therefore, women's issues have not received adequate attention. It was only in 1998 that South African legislation, structures and policies were set in place for domestic violence (Domestic Violence Act). Even though there is the Domestic Violence Act to protect women, Abrahams (2002) argues that on a personal level, many women still accept a subordinate position to men. Thus, there is a need to empower women and educate society regarding the issue of abuse.

Many women are reluctant to disclose abuse because of perceptions of shame, fear of blame or reluctance to be 'disloyal' to their partners (Ellseberg et al., 2001). Moreover, during research interviews, differences in question wording coupled with the number of times questions are asked can result in widely differing prevalence figures of domestic violence (Ellsberg et al., 2001). In addition, research is difficult for fieldworkers. Without adequate support and the ability to support women in interviews, fieldworkers burn out or learn to ask questions in a manner that discourages disclosure (Jewkes et al., 2000; Ellsberg et al., 2001). Furthermore, there are no reliable statistics or official figures on the extent of domestic violence in South Africa. Since no separate category of criminal behaviour called domestic violence is kept in any police or justice records, statistics are unreliable and therefore the prevalence figures of domestic violence tend to be inconsistent (Van der Hoven, 2001).

1.2 Domestic violence in South Africa

In South Africa, violence against women has reached alarming proportions and policy-makers have to take it seriously, as women's lives are at risk. According to a newspaper article in *The Star*, between 40 and 70 percent of women who are murdered in South Africa are killed by a close partner (*The Star*, 2005). In addition, one in six women worldwide is a victim of domestic violence: some are battered during pregnancy, yet

many remain silent about the assaults (*The Star,* 2005). Furthermore, in half of these reported cases, the man also abuses children in the relationship. Research conducted in 2004 in Soweto – a township in the city of Johannesburg situated in Gauteng – showed that over half of the women in Soweto reported ever experiencing physical and/or sexual violence from male intimate partners (Kristin et al., 2004), and nearly one third reported such violence in the 12 months prior to the research being conducted. In addition, it is estimated that one in every four South African women are assaulted by their boyfriends or husbands every week (NICRO Women's Support Centre, 1998).

Research also shows that women are more at risk from violence involving people they know at home than from strangers in the street (*The Star,* 2005). Another report in the same publication states that "every 18 seconds, somewhere, a woman suffers violence or maltreatment" (*The Star,* 2005). Furthermore, a woman is killed every six hours by an intimate partner (*Sunday Independent,* 2006). It is further estimated that the chance of a women being murdered in South Africa is 24.7 per 100 000 women, compared to the global rate of four per 100 000 (*Sunday Independent,* 2006). Domestic violence affects as many as one in two women in the country. This includes emotional, financial and physical abuse (*The Star,* 2005). Domestic violence can be sparked by dinner being late, not finishing the housework on time, disobedience, or refusing to have sex (WHO, 2005).

However, almost 80 percent of domestic violence cases are withdrawn before they get to court (*Sunday Independent,* 2006). Women victims of rape or assault in South Africa face a criminal justice system that is too often unable or unwilling to assist them in their efforts to seek redress. The police are frequently callous or disinterested in their treatment of women and the court system is little better (Human Rights Watch, 1997). Of equal concern is the fact that while medical evidence is crucial to the investigation and prosecution of rape or sexual assault, few medical personnel are trained properly to collect and interpret such evidence (Human Rights Watch, 1997). Furthermore, because battered women tend to lay charges against their husbands and withdraw the charges during the following few days, police officials do not take them seriously (Van der Hoven, 2001). At present the police still do not treat domestic violence as a crime.

This study seeks to investigate issues such as the profile of women who experience domestic violence in South Africa. The study also aims to measure the prevalence of domestic violence, using the secondary data from the South African Demographic and Health Survey (SADHS) 1998. Furthermore, the study will investigate women who are married or living together with their partner but not married (in union household couples). This group of women was chosen because literature indicates that women who are married or living with their partner are 'at risk' of domestic violence. The study further seeks to understand family domestic violence in South Africa.

1.3 Aim of the study

The aim of the study is to add to the growing, but still rather fragmented, body of knowledge in South Africa on violence against women. This study is useful to the growing literature, because prevalence figures are usually given in terms of demographic characteristics, but never look for factors within the demographic characteristics contributing to women being abused. Furthermore, this study seeks to analyse domestic violence from an angle whereby the data can be explored to find factors contributing to women experiencing domestic violence in South Africa. In this way, those factors can be identified that ultimately contribute to women being abused. The objectives of this research are to measure the prevalence of physical, sexual and financial abuse and to identify a profile of women who have experienced domestic violence.

1.4 Research questions

1. What are the demographic characteristics (population group, age distribution, education attainment, marital status, occupation) of women suffering from domestic violence (physical, sexual and financial) in South Africa?
2. Where (province in which women reside, residential area, residential type: rural or urban) is domestic violence (physical, sexual and financial) occurring among women in South Africa?
3. What is the profile of women who are victims of domestic violence?

1.5 Outline of research

Following the introduction and background provided in Chapter 1, the remainder of the thesis is structured as follows:

Chapter 2 provides a literature overview on domestic violence in South Africa and abroad. Some of the key themes discussed include the factors that trigger domestic violence, the history of the problem of domestic violence in South Africa and the incidence of domestic violence in South Africa. Some of the policy measures taken by the government to control the problem of domestic violence will also be discussed.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodological approaches employed in the study; how the sampling was done and how the results where obtained.

Chapter 4 provides a report of the results in terms of the abuse and demographic variables and a discussion of the findings.

Chapter 5 summarises the findings drawn from this study, and provides a number of conclusions and recommendations from these findings.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 Introduction

Because the family is a microcosm of society, the prevalence of violence in a particular society is invariably linked to high levels of domestic violence (Mckendrick and Hoffman, 1996).

Globally, domestic violence is a very serious social phenomenon (Van der Hoven, 2001), with family violence being a problem that challenges society at every level. Domestic and family violence occurs when one person in a relationship uses violent and abusive tactics to maintain power and control over the other person in the relationship. People who experience these acts of abuse or violence often feel fearful and unsafe (Queensland Government, 2006). Domestic and family violence occurs between people in a range of domestic relationships, including spousal relationships, intimate personal relationships, family relationships and informal care relationships (Queensland Government, 2006).

In this chapter, relevant factors that trigger domestic violence in South Africa are discussed. The section begins with a definition of the term 'domestic violence'. Furthermore, domestic violence is discussed and violence in South Africa is briefly examined. The themes of the study include the history of the problem of domestic violence in South Africa, as well as traditions, views, perceptions and attitudes regarding domestic violence. An example would be a brief explanation of Government's involvement in domestic violence against women in South Africa. Measures taken by the government to control the problem are discussed and the theoretical approaches to women abuse are mentioned. Economic implications will also be mentioned in brief. Finally, the incidence of domestic violence in South Africa is discussed. Limitations to this study are mentioned and the aim and objectives of the study are outlined. The next section discusses some issues of violence and domestic violence in South Africa.

Domestic violence, together with rape, accounts for 5% to 16% of the global health burden (Heise et al., 1994). In South Africa too, violence against women is on the increase (Van der Hoven, 2001). A study with a representative sample by Jewkes et al. (2002) carried out in three provinces in South Africa (Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga and Limpopo) found that one in four women have experienced physical abuse in their lifetime. In Soweto, this was found to be even higher; one in two women attending antenatal clinics reported ever having experienced physical and/or sexual abuse (Dunkle et al., 2003).

Abusers living with domestic violence in their households have erroneously learned that violence and mistreatment are the way to vent anger. Individuals resort to physical violence because they have solved their problems with violence in the past; they have effectively exerted control and power over others through violence; and no one has stopped them from being violent in the past (US Federal News Service, 2006). Abusive behaviour includes verbal abuse and threats, physical, sexual and psychological abuse, as well as destruction of property (Heden et al., 1999).

In this study, violence is defined as involving physical, sexual and financial abuse. This does not include physiological abusive behaviour, emotional abuse or other forms of domestic violence. However, physical abuse is frequently associated with psychological and emotional abuse. In this study, domestic violence is defined as violence in a relationship (union) of women currently married or living together with their partners. This definition was selected to measure the prevalence of domestic violence (sexual, physical and financial abuse) and reflect the profile of women in union who are victims of violence by their partners.

It is important to note that, as with other forms of violence, ‘violence against women’ should be understood in relation to the broad ideological, social and political context in which it occurs (Segal & Labe, 1994). The context in which it takes place determines its consequences, as well as the community’s and state’s response (Segal & Labe, 1994). A study by Mckendrick and Hoffman (1990) on the background literature gave the

following conclusion: “there is enough evidence to conclude that the home can be a very dangerous place and that individuals have more to fear from close members of their own families than from total strangers.” An article in a daily South African newspaper, *The Star*, emphasised the extent of violence in South Africa. It revealed how common violence has become for the South African community. The article, entitled “Rape in South Africa”, stated that crime on the streets is rampant, car hijackings are becoming everyday occurrences and the best place would appear to be behind locked doors in one’s home, but if one is a woman, that is not necessarily true.

In the above sections, concepts of violence, its impact globally, and particularly in South Africa, are mentioned. Evidence of the impact of domestic violence on families was also discussed. The next section will define and further discuss domestic violence.

2.2 Definition of domestic violence

In South Africa there is lack of clarity with regard to definitions assigned to concepts like ‘domestic’, ‘family’, ‘household’, ‘violence’ and ‘abuse’ (Van der Spur, 1994). Domestic violence will be defined according to the United Nations and according to the new Domestic Violence Act of South Africa (Act 116 of 1998).

Violence against women takes many forms. The 1993 Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women of the United Nations General Assembly defined such violence as “any act of gender-based violence that results in or is likely to result in physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life” (UN Division for Advancement of Women, 2004).

The above definition includes all forms of violence against women over the entire life cycle. While some forms of violence tend to be specific to a stage in the life cycle, such as female foeticide through sex-selective abortion, female infanticide, and female genital cutting, other forms of violence cut across all ages. Such acts of violence can be in the form of sexual abuse, physical violence, emotional or psychological abuse, verbal abuse,

and specific acts of violence during pregnancy (UN Division for Advancement of Women, 2004). However, since domestic violence is a multi-dimensional phenomenon, it cannot be defined narrowly.

In South Africa, according to Section 1 (viii) of the new Domestic Violence Act, domestic violence means:

(a) Physical abuse
(b) Sexual abuse
(c) Emotional, verbal and psychological abuse
(d) Economic abuse
(e) Intimidation
(f) Harassment
(g) Stalking
(h) Damage to property
(i) Entry into the complainant's residence without consent, where the parties do not share the same residence
(j) Any other controlling or abusive behaviour towards a complainant, where such conduct harms, or may cause imminent harm to the safety, health or well-being of the complainant (Van der Hoven, 2001).

This definition is broad and clear and includes much more than only physical injuries. It provides for emotional and psychological abuse, as well as economic and other forms of abuse, such as intimidation and harassment.

Section 1(vii) of the South African Domestic Violence Act defines the term 'domestic violence' as a relationship between a complainant and a respondent in any of the following ways:

(a) They are or were married to each other, including marriage according to any law, custom or religion.

(b) (Whether they are of the same or of the opposite sex) they live or lived together in a relationship in the nature of marriage, although they are not, or were not, married to each other, or are not able to be married to each other.
(c) They are the parents of a child or are persons who have or had parental responsibility for that child (whether or not at the same time).
(d) They are family members related by adoption.
(e) They are or were in an engagement, dating or customary relationship, including an actual or perceived romantic, intimate or sexual relationship of any duration.
(f) They share or recently shared the same residence (Van der Hoven, 2001).

This definition is further narrowed down from the previous one and involves more the relationship between the woman and her partner directly. This shows that whether he is married to his partner, or whether they are living together or dating, mistreating the woman with whom this man is involved, is defined as domestic violence.

The above section provides the definition of domestic violence according to the United Nations (globally) and the South African Act (locally) definitions. It illustrates that, ultimately, both definitions are very similar. The next section further explores domestic violence as gender-based violence and seeks to provide an understanding of domestic violence.

2.3 Gender-based violence

Gender-based violence is viewed in Government and civil society as a major problem (Usdin et al., 1998). By referring to violence as 'gender-based', this definition highlights the need to understand violence within the context of women's and girls' subordinate status in society (International Planned Parenthood Federation, 2000).

For the reason that women are subordinate in society, domestic violence in this study is restricted to violence by men against woman in the household. Results of some surveys have suggested that men are as likely as women to be battered by partners. These are thought to be methodologically flawed and the impact of domestic violence is greater on

women. For example, even when women and men report similar levels of violence by their partners, women suffer more severe injuries.

Furthermore, according to Morse (cited in Watts & Zimmerman, 2002) women are two or three times more likely than men to report having felt in danger of being physically hurt during violent conflicts with intimate partners in South Africa. Violence against men differs in its aetiology and response strategies. It thus warrants separate consideration (Watts & Zimmerman, 2002).

2.4 Public health and domestic violence

Increasingly, the literature in South Africa suggests that domestic or intimate partner violence is the most common reason for women to report to their health care practitioners (Martin & Artz, 2005). In addition to violating the human rights of women, such violence poses significant risks to women's health, including their reproductive health. These risks include immediate physical and psychological injury, as well as less obvious risks such as gynaecological disorders, unsafe abortions, pregnancy complications, unwanted pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections, including HIV (Population Council, 2004).

There is no doubt that the health consequence of violence against women is a serious problem worldwide, as gender violence is significantly the cause of female morbidity (morbidity is an incidence of ill health) and mortality (mortality is the incidence of death in a population), and represents a hidden obstacle to economic and social development (Heise, 1993). As the United Nations Fund for Women (UNIFEM) observed, women cannot lend their labour or creative ideas fully if they are burdened with the physical and physiological scars of abuse. Similar sentiments are expressed in various studies (Segal & Labe, 1994; Heise, 1994).

Furthermore, violence against women has been identified as both a co-factor and a consequence of the AIDS epidemic. South Africa has one of the biggest epidemics worldwide (Usdin et al., 2005). Women in South Africa still struggle to negotiate safe sex

and are disproportionately the victims of rape and intimate partner violence. This is not new, but it has been accentuated by the impact of HIV (Martin & Artz, 2005).

2.5 Factors contributing to domestic violence in South Africa

To someone residing outside South Africa, one of the most remarkable features of gender-based violence in South Africa is that, within certain boundaries of severity, society is extremely tolerant of it (CIET Africa, 2000; Kim & Motsei, in press; Wood & Jewkes, 2001; Jewkes & Abrahams, in press).

This section outlines some crucial factors that influence domestic violence in South Africa. It begins by laying out the laws or legislations laid down by the government on the incidence of domestic violence in South Africa.

2.5.1 Government

In his opening address to Parliament (25 June 1999), the President of the Republic of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki spoke of the "twilight world of ... continuous sexual and physical abuse of women and children which is found in our towns and cities" (Jewkes R. et al., 1999). In so doing, he reflected on an increasing recognition in the ranks of the government and many quarters of civil society that battery, rape and other manifestations of sexual violence are very common; have a major impact on health, development, equity and social justice; and are crimes. With this has come a new commitment to developing services for abused women and interventions to combat abuse (Jewkes R. et al., 1999).

2.5.2 Government's involvement against domestic violence

The transition from apartheid to democracy in South Africa challenged every facet of prevailing oppression, from race and class to gender. Gender equality is firmly on the transformation agenda and has resulted in South Africa's highly regarded Constitution, which includes the Bill of Rights that protects the right of women to be free from violence in both the public and the private spheres of life.

In the past, prior to 1993, appropriate legislation specifically formulated to address domestic violence did not exist in South Africa. Although persons who committed crimes of violence within the family were criminally liable for their actions, offenders were seldom charged, mainly because family members were reluctant to testify against them. Furthermore, the existing procedures for obtaining court interdicts against offenders were cumbersome and expensive (Van der Hoven, 2001). In order to solve the problem, an Act to prevent violence against women was formulated.

On 1 December 1993, the Prevention of Family Violence Act (Act 133 of 1993) came into effect (Van der Hoven, 2001). It was anticipated that the implementation of the act would bring drastic changes in respect of child abuse and marital rape. The act provided for the following:

a) The granting of interdicts with regard to family violence.
b) An obligation on certain persons to report cases of ill-treatment of children; and the conviction of a husband of the rape of his wife (South African Law Commission, 1996).

The main advantage of the act was thought to be that it would enable victims of family violence to handle their disputes outside the sphere of the criminal court. In this way, it would prevent the parties involved from experiencing trauma and stigmatisation (Van der Hoven, 2001). A further advantage was that a judge or magistrate could, by means of a simplified procedure, on application by a party to marriage or man or woman living together without being married to each other, grant an interdict to the victim, which would prohibit him or her from acting violently (Van der Hoven, 2001).

This act did not live up to its expectations. It was so severely criticised and had so many serious shortcomings that a completely new act, the Domestic Violence Act (Act 116 of 1998), had to be formulated. This act was implemented during the course of 1999.

One of the main reasons why the Prevention of Family Violence Act was not successful could be attributed to the fact that important stakeholders or role players such as women's organisations were not consulted during the process of formulating and implementing the act. It was mainly the judiciary (judges, magistrates and advocates) and the Government, represented by a majority of white males, who were involved in the formulation of the act. It was also promulgated just before the transition to a new government in South Africa.

Furthermore, the police were ignorant of the act and did not know how to implement it. According to Felder (South Africa Law Commission, 1997) the police are the weakest link in the interdict structure. Allen (South Africa Law Commission, 1997) found that the perceived reluctance of the police to intervene in family violence cases can, to a large extent, be attributed to the feeling of members of the South African Police Service (SAPS) that these women are being abused. The police complained that certain people repeatedly lay assault charges against family members, and then withdraw them at a later stage (South Africa Law Commission, 1997).

Allen (South African Law Commission, 1997) explained that when the violence takes place, or immediately afterwards, these women might be driven by their fear of further abuse to lay a charge. However, when the crises have abated and they realise that they will have to face the new week without money or a support system, they withdraw the charge. This not only reinforces the aggressive behaviour of their male partners, but also perpetuates a vicious circle of increasing violence. According to Allen (South African Law Commission, 1997) one should sympathise with members of the SAPS who are not trained to deal with such cases. The police must be trained to understand and to deal with the dynamics that underpin domestic violence.

The new Domestic Violence Act, which replaced the Prevention of Family Violence Act, came into effect in December 1999. This act is progressive and constitutes a significant broadening of the previous position. It addresses all the shortcomings of the Prevention of Family Violence Act. The act recognises domestic violence as a social event and the fact

that its victims are mostly women and children. It applies to a wider range of people, namely any victim who is in a domestic relationship and not only to marriage (Van der Hoven, 2001). Furthermore, the Domestic Violence Act places a duty on the SAPS to inform a victim of his/her rights at the scene of an incident of domestic violence. A peace officer may, without warrant, arrest any person at the scene of an incident of domestic violence against a complainant. The Domestic Violence Act makes provision for the granting of a protection order, which will be confirmed should the respondent (alleged perpetrator) not appear in court on the return day. In terms of this act, firearms and other dangerous weapons may be seized in domestic violence situations (Van der Hoven, 2001).

The Domestic Violence Act provides that proceedings should be held in camera. Perpetrators of domestic violence may be sentenced to five years' imprisonment. This provision emphasises the view that domestic violence is a serious crime. This act provides for simple, quick and cost-effective procedures in order to obtain protection from domestic violence (Van der Hoven, 2001).

2.5.3 Social workers' reasoning of domestic violence

Social workers give many explanations as to why South African men abuse women. They range from cultural mores to the stress of living under apartheid (the former government's practice of segregating whites and blacks). Under apartheid, Black South African men were routinely humiliated and paid paltry wages, thus making it virtually impossible to provide for their families. Poverty, coupled with alcohol and drug use, is what some believe nurtured an environment that was ripe for abuse in homes (South Africa in transition, 1999).

2.5.4 Economic implications of domestic violence

The economic climate impacts on interpersonal relationships and intersects with violence, gender and identity. The changing gender climate in South Africa allows for more women to earn salaries that are on a par with those of men. However, given that South Africa is still a developing country, many people still struggle with extreme poverty and

unemployment. This sometimes means that women may be the primary breadwinners, while their male partners are perceived (by many women) to be the source of relationship conflict (Boonzaier, 2005).

In South Africa there are high levels of unemployment (according to Statistics South Africa, 26.5% of the South Africa population is unemployed) and resultant poverty (the state of having little or no money and few or no material possessions) and deprivation. This contextual issue has a marked effect on family life as some men are finding it increasing difficult to assume the role of 'breadwinner' or 'provider' for their families. In a study conducted by Boonzaier (2005), where interviews where conducted with male respondents, it became clear that men's notions of successful masculinity were linked to the success with which they could fulfil this role. Men who did not achieve this notion of successful masculinity experienced feelings of powerlessness (Boonzaier, 2005). These feelings of powerlessness may have been employed as justifications for their behaviour. Power, income and educational disparities between marital partners are purported to be the cause of some men being unable to achieve this notion of successful masculinity (Boonzaier, 2005).

2.5.5 Theoretical approaches to women abuse

There is a certain belief when examining literature that violence against women has various emotional, physical and psychological effects (Van Hasselt et al., 1998). There are various theoretical debates concerning the causative explanations of women abuse. Three broad explanatory frameworks concerning the causative explanations of women abuse are discussed in the next section.

2.5.5.1 Psychodynamic framework

The central focus of intra-psychic theories was mainly on the personalities of either the abuser or the victim (Harway & Hansen, 1993). The abuser was viewed as being helplessly driven by his natural aggressive nature, psychologically deranged, sick or mentally ill (Manard, 1993). These theories also assumed that certain psychological characteristics predisposed women to abuse. The concept of masochism was used to

explain women's submission and suffering (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). Research has shown that abusers are not necessarily sadist or psychologically ill. They come from all walks of life, hold good positions in the community, serve in our courts, police agencies and mental health institutions (Moore, 1997; Dobash & Dobash 1979). Considerable research has been conducted that refutes the myth of the masochistic abused women. Research found that economic, emotional, cultural and social factors constrain women from leaving abusive relationships (Moore, 1997; Hoff, 1990; De Sousa, 1991). A woman may accept being abused because she does not think she can escape from her partner. Her victimisation is often the cause of compelling psychological problems, which binds her to this symbiotic relationship (Moore, 1997; Gelles & Cornell, 1990; Dobash & Dobash, 1979).

These theories deflect our attention from wider social tolerance of abuse. They ignore male domination and power and the prevalence of male abuse by viewing men as the victims of their supposedly sick or vulnerably aggressive natures (Moore, 1997).

2.5.5.2 Psycho-social framework

The psycho-social framework attempts to explain women abuse by examining interaction between individuals and their social environment. These theories claim that men became abusive towards women in response to social and environmental stresses experienced in the form of poverty, poor housing and living conditions, unemployment or exploitation in the workplace, racism, educational under-achievement, unfulfilled aspirations and a sense of hopelessness about the future (Richardson & Robinson, 1993; Mullender, 1996).

The assumption that abuse occurs more frequently among lower class families could be due to variations in reporting. Having fewer resources, poorer women are more apt to call police or utilise the services of public agencies. Middle or upper class women have greater access to private support services (De Sousa, 1991; Moore, 1997). The argument that men abuse women as a result of coping with stress related to unemployment, poor working conditions and inadequate income and health care suggests individual pathology (Moore, 1997). Thus, two psycho-social theories will be briefly outlined.

2.5.5.2.1 The social learning framework

This theory suggests that abusive behaviour is learned from observing others being abusive. This is known as social learning theory. The process on which this theory is based is referred to as modelling (Wiehe, 1998). It assumes that individuals tend to imitate or model the behaviour of others they regard as important, powerful or successful. Parents serve as important role models for children through their behaviour towards each other (Bjorkqvist & Ostrman, 1992).

2.5.5.2.2 The intergenerational transmission of violence or the 'cycle of violence'

This explanation asserts that men learn to abuse when they grow up in abusive environments (Walker, 1994). The family plays a pivotal role in children learning the roles of mother, father, husband and wife. The family is viewed as the first place where children witness abuse and learn how to cope with stress and frustration. Children are not only exposed to abuse, they learn the social and moral justification for this behaviour. Abuse thus transforms a generation of children into another generation of men who abuse women (Gelles & Cornell, 1990; Mullender, 1996; Pagelow, 1992).

The above theories appear to be inadequate as they do little to shed light on our understanding of the insidious problem of women abuse. These theories have been challenged, since focusing on intra-psychic and psycho-social factors seems to excuse men's behaviour and they are then not held responsible or accountable for their actions (Leideman, 2002).

2.5.5.3 Feminist framework

The women's movement (feminist movement) led to the development of feminist theories and began to influence the way in which feminists analysed women's position in society. There are three central elements that characterise mainstream feminism. Firstly, gender is central to understanding social relations, institutional and processes. Secondly, gender relations are viewed as problematic, since they are linked to dominance,

inequality and conflict. Thirdly, gender relations are seen as socially constructed, since they are a result of socio-cultural and historical conditions and can be altered by human action (Ollenburger & Moore, 1992; Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000).

An examination of the literature reveals that abuse is a complex interaction process between personal, cultural, political and economic factors. The feminist heretical framework focuses on the relationship between patriarchy, traditional beliefs and women abuse (Hoff, 1990; Lather, 1991; Romm & Sarakinsky, 1994; Mullender, 1996). Feminism argues that traditional mainstream research has been male-dominated. The dominating principles and rules of science are regarded as part of the general patriarchal domination.

An important outcome of the feminist movement in the early 1970s was the identification of women abuse and publicising it as a major social problem. In an attempt to intervene and prevent further abuse of women, social scientists sought to determine the causes of women abuse. Several cultural factors were cited as contributing to the occurrence and social tolerance of women abuse. The historical tradition of patriarchal rule over women, and a legal tradition of "wife chastisement" laws, authorised a permissible level of abuse against women (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). The Patriarchy Theory suggests that men were socialised to perceive their partners as their property (even in a non-marital relationship). Patriarchy theories have argued that the culture's norm of male dominance is a significant factor contributing to the existence of women abuse.

Feminism argues that women abuse is just one of a variety of controls that men try to exercise over women. Others include anger and psychological abuse (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). Men use abuse as a way to control female partners to comply with their wishes. Abusers increasingly control women through the use of intimidation and isolation (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Pagelow, 1992). Men believe they are justified in their use of abuse against their intimate partners by what they feel are acceptable norms (Bart & Moran, 1993). They argue that women abuse is a way of controlling women and contributes to male power. Feminism also explains that the rapid increase in women

abuse is due to men exercising their dominance and control over women (Ollenbuger & Moore, 1992; Richardson & Robinson, 1993).

It is argued that South African society is highly patriarchal in nature and is still shackled by gender oppression and the legacy of apartheid (Dangor, Hoof & Scott, 1996). Thus, it could be safely assumed that women abuse is intrinsically located within the social context of South Africa society.

2.5.6 Mental and other emotional issues on domestic violence

Studies reveal that sexual coercion within marriage includes deception, verbal threats or psychological intimidation to obtain sex, attempted rape and forced penetrative sex (Heise et al., 1995). Forced marital sex can be accompanied by physical or emotional violence (Population Council, 2004). Depression and post-traumatic stress disorder have substantial co-morbidity (the presence of more than one disease or health condition in an individual at a given time). They are also the most prevalent mental health sequels of intimate partner violence (Population Council, 2004).

In comprehensive meta-analysis of United States studies, Gloding (1990) showed that the risk for depression and post-traumatic stress disorder associated with intimate partner violence was even higher than that resulting from childhood sexual assault. Depression in battered women has also been associated with other life stresses that often accompany domestic violence, such as childhood abuse, daily stresses, many children, changes in residence, forced sex with an intimate partner, marital separations, negative life events and child behaviour problems. Some battered women might have chronic depression that is exacerbated by the stress of a violent relationship, but there is also evidence that first episodes of depression can be triggered by such violence, and longitudinal evidence of depression lessening with decreasing intimate partner violence.

2.5.7 Population structure of South Africa

The origins, causation and consequences of the high levels of violence against women found in South Africa are highly complex, but research is beginning to shed further light

on these. This suggests that, to a great extent, its roots lie in the patriarchal nature of South African society, where women are viewed as being inferior to men, often as their possessions (Vogelman & Eagle 1991), and in need of being led and controlled (Wood & Jewkes, in press).

South African society is characterised by its gross inequalities. These inequalities manifest themselves mainly along racial lines. Owing to the Population Registration Act of 1950, all South Africans were classified into a 'population group' at birth, and assigned a status as White, Indian, Coloured and Black (African). According to this a person's social reality was determined by their membership of a certain group. More specifically, it dictated where people lived, what school they could attend, what jobs were available to them, what kind of facilities they could use, and with whom they could be sexually involved (Gilbert, 1995).

Although this act was repealed in 1991, its social effects will remain present for a long time to come. For this reason, statistics in this paper are presented according to 'population groups' or race where appropriate.

2.5.8 Ethnic and cultural implications

South Africa has a multi-racial and multi-cultural population. In all the different ethnic groups mentioned, there are traditions, norms and attitudes perpetuating violence against women. Domination of and violence towards women are ingrained in the tradition of family relationships in South Africa. For example, in the black communities the following traditions contribute to domestic violence, particularly wife abuse:

a) Indoctrination by initiation school
b) The *lobola* (dowry) marriage system
c) The patriarchal family system
d) Polygamy
e) Economic dependency (Van der Hoven, 2001).

2.5.8.1 Indoctrination by initiation school

Many Xhosa-speaking tribes and other tribes in South Africa have performed traditional male circumcision and initiation into manhood for centuries as a ritual. No particular age is specified for these rites (boys between the ages of 15 and 25 undergo initiation), which illustrates that initiation is not linked to physical development and maturity, but is a socially significant act, resulting in integration into the community and assurance of acceptance and respect from other community members. Initiation is an important social device in dealing with adolescence. The training and preparation provided at the initiation schools enable the shift from childhood behaviour to more complex behaviour expected in adulthood (Schlegal & Barry, 2003). When adolescents are initiated into manhood, they learn that they should consider themselves as the rulers and leaders and that women are subordinate to them. Because of this, violence towards women is encouraged. Hitting or raping women is not considered to be a serious matter (Van der Hoven, 2001).

2.5.8.2 The *lobola* (dowry) marriage system

Traditionally, in black tribes, it was expected of a girl to leave her own family group when she gets married, and be incorporated into that of her husband. As part of the process, items such as gifts had to soften the blow. Therefore, the bridegroom was obliged to pay *lobola* in the form of cattle – or nowadays, money – to the bride's family to compensate for the loss.

Unfortunately, this custom had the effect that the husband considered his bride to be his possession to use and abuse as he wanted. Men could perceive *lobola* as obtaining the right to own women and children. The woman's role remained insignificant. She had to accept without question the authority of her husband. The woman's role was clearly defined as being restricted to the kitchen, bearing children and looking after them. Men considered it their right to discipline their wives and children. This rigid sex-role orientation resulted in women being used as objects and being treated as semi-human beings (Van der Hoven, 2001).

2.5.8.3 Polygamy

Black communities also practice polygamy. Men could have procured many wives, but women were supposed to remain faithful to only one husband. Today it is common for men to have a family in their rural area of origin, as well as another family and several girlfriends in the urban areas. In many cases men do not accept any responsibility to support their families. Many husbands abandon their families and leave the women to fend for themselves. With very little or no formal education, especially in rural areas, black women had to find employment as domestic workers for white families. In the past they were paid very poorly for their services and could barely support themselves and their children without any maintenance from the father of their children (Van der Hoven, 2001).

2.5.8.4 Economic dependency

Traditionally, men were seen as being the breadwinners and heads of their families. As women gradually became more enlightened and better educated, they started entering the labour market and becoming financially independent. Men began to feel that their authority and position of dominance were being challenged. This contributed to an increase in violence towards women to put them in their place (Van der Hoven, 2001).

In predominantly coloured communities (people of mixed racial origin), such as Eersterust, near Pretoria (Gauteng), domestic violence is part of their culture (Van den Hoven, 2001). Even when young girls start dating boys at the age of 14 or 15 years, their boyfriends dominate and abuse them physically from the beginning of the relationship, according to social workers dealing with the problem (Van der Hoven, 2001). The girls tend to accept their boyfriends' aggressive behaviour, because they all come from violent families where they often witnessed their fathers beating up their mothers. Neighbours do not interfere although they may be aware of the violence (Van der Hoven, 2001).

Alcohol abuse contributes to uninhibited aggressive behaviour. Men tend to drink on Friday afternoons after they have received their weekly wages. When they eventually arrive home, they are already aggressive and argumentative. At the slightest provocation,

their aggressive behaviour towards family members may erupt into violence. They do not seem to have inhibitions with regard to violent behaviour (Van der Hoven, 2001).

South African society also seems to support the just world hypothesis of Lerner (1980), namely that one deserves what one gets and one is what one deserves. Many people believe that good things happen to good people and bad things happen to bad people. Due to this world view, domestic violence – specifically wife abuse – is clouded by many misconceptions. This resulted in victim blaming.

Mullender (1996) identifies the following myths about wife abuse:

a) Abusers are sick, or mentally ill
b) Abusers have poor impulse control
c) Alcohol and drugs cause violence towards wives
d) It is not the man's fault – he grew up in a violent home where he was a victim of violence
e) The woman deserves the violence because she is addicted to it or enjoys it
f) The abuse can't be that bad or she wouldn't stay with him
g) Stress/unemployment causes the man to behave abusively

Van der Hoven (1989) conducted a survey to investigate the attitudes of female members of the community in Pretoria. A stratified random sample of 123 White women of lower and middle socio-economic strata revealed that more that half of the respondents had a patriarchal attitude. They believed that the wife should be submissive to her husband and she should not let him feel that she can do anything better than he can. She should keep her mouth shut to reduce her husband's aggression. This implies that, should the wife be more assertive, she is to blame for the abuse. The majority felt that the wife should play a passive marital role.

These findings revealed a very strong conservative patriarchal attitude, which actually supports and encourages wife abuse. In fact, there was a statistically significant

relationship between blaming the victim and justification for violence. Respondents who blamed the victim, also tended to justify marital violence. Surprisingly, younger women were significantly more tolerant towards marital violence than older women. There was also a statistically significant difference in the attitude of Afrikaans and English-speaking respondents (Van der Hoven, 2001).

English-speaking respondents had a more liberal attitude and held less rigid views on sex roles in marriage than their Afrikaans-speaking counterparts. Respondents with post-matric education were less tolerant of marital violence than women who had not studied further than high school. Professional women also had a more liberal outlook than the non-professional group. Housewives were more likely to agree that women should be submissive and assume the traditional passive sex role in marriage (Van der Hoven, 2001). This study clearly indicates that the very attitudes of women in the Pretoria community, particularly the Afrikaans-speaking group, contribute to tolerance towards and the condoning of wife abuse. Because the community accepts a certain degree of violence in marriage, the problem continues unabated. This attitude is not restricted to Pretoria or Gauteng, but is widespread throughout South Africa (Van der Hoven, 2001).

2.5.9 Religions impact on domestic violence

When women question their husbands in patriarchal societies, violence is a possibility. Women have to be completely obedient and submissive to their partners. The perpetrators always rationalise the violence experienced by women. Various institutions help to uphold such ideas. One such social institution seems to be organised religion. Staton (cited in Bryson, 1992) describes religion as a major agent of indoctrination. The danger is that Christian women may use scripture to rationalise inexcusable abuse. The same problem is experienced in dealing with abused women of Jewish and Islamic religions. Women are treated as inferior beings in synagogues, mosques and temples.

Staton further agues that all forms of organised religion reinforce power relations. In support of this argument, she mentions examples such as the Hindu widow on the funeral pyre, the Turkish women in the harem, Chinese foot binding and genital mutilation in

Africa. For instance, abused Christian women have often covered feelings of guilt about marital violence.

The following beliefs contribute to feelings of guilt and the continuation of abuse:

a) It is your Christian duty to forgive
b) The Bible instructs us to love each other: the family is very important to God
c) Sacrifice for your family: a wife is secondary to her husband
d) The Christian woman must keep her family together
e) Pray for a violent man: God can change him
f) Put your marriage in God's hands

Fiorenza (1992) emphasises that patriarchy is perpetuated through Christianity. She mentions the example of the wife who was counselled to suffer the beatings of her husband for Christ's sake. The church has been questioned on the safety of women and children in the family, as the church considers marriage and family as a holy sacrament (Gnanadason, 1993). It appears that women have to take responsibility for the family. Women often fear being condemned by the church by violating the sacrament of marriage and opting out of an abusive relationship (Gnanadason, 1993). Divorce is not accepted as an option for women who believe in the holy vows of marriage (Burnett, 1996). Therefore, many women rather stay in an abusive relationship, as they view it as a test of faith.

2.5.10 The effect of power and control relationships on domestic violence

Violence against women is not only a manifestation of sexual inequality, but also serves to maintain this unequal balance of power (Boonzaier, 2005). In some cases, perpetrators consciously use violence as a mechanism for submission. For example, violence by intimate partners is often used to demonstrate and enforce a man's position as head of the household or relationship. Another example is a man who rapes a woman whom he judges to be sexually provocative, who might justify his act as being appropriate

punishment for the woman's transgression of socially determined rules of female behaviour. Women themselves seldom challenge accepted norms of female behaviour because of the fear of being attacked or raped. Thus, women's unequal status helps to sustain their vulnerability to violence, which in turn fuels the violence perpetrated against them (Boonzaier, 2005).

Many men in a study by Boonzaier (2005) described the conflict in their relationship as being caused by partners who are masculinised (controlling and domineering). Women concurred by acknowledging that men's violence might be a reaction to their power or perceived control in the relationship. Power, income and education disparities between marital partners are purported to be the cause of some men being unable to be 'successfully' masculine (Boonzaier, 2005).

2.6 Domestic violence in South Africa

Statistics on domestic violence are notoriously difficult to obtain (Dissel & Ngubeni, 2003). It is not a crime as such, and police statistics reflect only reported crimes such as assault, rape or malicious damage to property. Domestic violence is often not just a one-off event, but a series of events, or a continuous pattern of abuse. It may also exist as a continuum with one serious violent incident at one end, and ongoing and multiple abuses at the other. This pattern of abuse is not recognised by South African criminal law, which tends to isolate individual incidents. In addition, most crimes of domestic violence are not reported for fear of intimidation, shame, fear of not being believed, self-blame or fear of retaliation (Bollen et al., 1999). Household research on violence against women is regarded as difficult.

A national study found that in 1999, four women were murdered by an intimate partner every day in South Africa (Martin & Artz, 2005). South Africa has one of the highest incidences of reported rape cases in the world, giving this country the dubious reputation of being the 'rape capital of the world'. It is also suggested that the annual incidence of reported rape in South Africa is greater than incidences reported during armed conflicts (Martin & Artz, 2005).

Community-based studies have revealed that in some areas almost a quarter of all women report having been abused in their lifetime by a current or ex-partner, and that up to half of all women are affected by emotional or financial abuse (Jewkes et al.,1999). Moreover, research that has asked men whether they have physically abused women has found corresponding results, and a survey of 1 394 randomly selected men in Cape Town has found that 41 percent have reported having physically abused a female partner in the 10 years before the study (Abrahams et al., 1999). A survey of 269 women who had contacted help agencies in three major cities found emotional or physical abuse to be the most prevalent form of domestic violence experienced by women, with 90 percent of the sample having experienced this abuse (Bollen et al., 1999). Furthermore, a 2003 antenatal survey in one city found 38 percent of women to have experienced domestic violence at some point in their lives; and 35 percent of women to have experienced it during their current pregnancy (Mbokota & Moodley, 2004). A prevalence study across three of the nine provinces found that 9.5 percent of women had been physically abused in the previous year. In one province, 28.4 percent of women reported ever being physically abused and over 50 percent of women reported incidences of emotional abuse in the previous year (Jewkes et al., 1999).

2.7 Overview of the chapter

From the literature studied, it is evident that domestic violence is one of the most common forms of violence against women perpetrated by a husband or other intimate male partner. It is also argued that in an oppressive patriarchal system like apartheid in South Africa, women – and especially black women – had the least power and were the most oppressed and exploited. As a result, they are trapped in violent relationships by policies, practices within organised religion, and social, political and legal institutions (Gamache, 1991).

When reviewing the findings, it is important to note that because of the sensitivity of the subject, violence against women is almost universally under-reported (Ellisberg et al.,

2001; Koss, 1992; McNally et al., 1998). Thus, these findings might be more accurately considered to represent the minimum levels of domestic violence that occur.

It is clear that domestic violence derives from factors that vary between different communities. The ability to create effective policies and programmes for the prevention of violence and the treatment of victims, survivors and perpetrators is dependent on an understanding of the root causes of violence in a specific social context (Butchart & Brown, 1991). Acts of violence deemed legitimate in one society might be considered illegitimate or culturally unacceptable in another (Hoffman & Mckendick, 1990). Although it is beyond the scope of this study, an attempt will be made to identify women who are victims by establishing a profile of women who have experienced domestic violence in South Africa.

The aim of this study is to add to the knowledge base on violence against women in South Africa. The objectives are to measure the prevalence of physical, sexual and financial abuse and to establish a profile of women who have experienced domestic violence.

Chapter 3: Research design and methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter various stages of the research methodology used in this study are discussed. This is done by discussing each stage of the research, ending with the results. The study design is the first topic that is discussed, followed by the study objectives and the research questions. The way in which the data was obtained is also discussed, as well as a brief description of how the data was collected with the sampling techniques involved. Different stages of the data analysis are discussed and how they apply to the data. The chapter ends with a discussion of the limitations of this study, based on the limitations encountered when the data was first used on the software and, ultimately, the limitations found in the data.

3.2 Study design

The study made use of a cross-sectional study, where information was collected at a specific time. This is because data was used from the South African Demography and Health Survey (SADHS) 1998. However, as the interest of the study lies in the prevalence of domestic violence in South Africa, this is a descriptive study. This method was chosen because the study was designed to only describe the existing distribution of variables, without regard for causal or other hypothesis.

3.3 Sample

One randomly selected sample was used, which included women aged 15 to 49 living in each of 12 860 households selected throughout the nine provinces of South Africa.

3.4 Research questions

An overview of the aim and objectives of the study is provided in this section. The research questions of the study are also stated.

The aim of the study is to add to the knowledge base of domestic violence in South Africa. The objectives of this study are to measure the prevalence of physical, sexual and financial abuse and to establish a profile of women who have experienced domestic violence.

The research questions are as follows:

a) What are the demographic characteristics (population group, age distribution, education attainment, marital status, occupation) of women suffering from domestic violence (physical, sexual and financial) in South Africa?
b) Where (province in which the women reside, residential area, residential type – rural or urban) is domestic violence (physical, sexual and financial) occurring among women in South Africa?
c) What is the profile of women who are victims of domestic violence?

3.5 Methodology

3.5.1 Data collection

The data used in this study was sourced from the South African Demographic and Health Survey (SADHS) 1998. The data was obtained by requesting it online from the Measuring Demographic and Health Survey web page. The data captured on the web page displayed data across various statistical software types. The SPSS statistical software format was chosen for pragmatic reasons.

The SADHS utilised three questionnaires: a household questionnaire, a women's questionnaire and an adult health questionnaire. The contents of the first two were adapted from the SADHS model questionnaires so as to meet the needs of the national and provincial departments of health. The adult health questionnaire was developed to obtain information regarding the health of adults.

The questionnaire used in this study is the women's questionnaire. This questionnaire was used to collect information from all women aged 15 to 49. These women were asked questions on the following topics:

a) Background characteristics (age, education, race etc.)
b) Pregnancy history
c) Knowledge and use of contraceptive methods
d) Antenatal and delivery care
e) Breastfeeding and weaning practices
f) Child health and immunisation
g) Marriage and recent sexual activity
h) Fertility preferences
i) Violence against women
j) Knowledge of HIV/AIDS
k) Maternal mortality
l) Information about the husband's background and the respondent's work

The variables of interest of the study were found mainly in the questions on background characteristics, violence against women, the husband's background and the respondent's work.

3.5.2 Data analysis

A discussion on the stages of data analysis is outlined in this section. Domestic violence often has emotional, sexual, financial and physical aspects, but because of the limited information regarding this topic and the sensitivity of the topic, 'domestic violence' is glossed as physical abuse, sexual abuse and financial abuse. This study focuses on women in union or living together with their partner.

The sample on the SADHS contained 11 735 respondents. For the purpose of this study, respondents selected were either married or living together. This was chosen because the research was interested in investigating the treatment of women in the household. Thus,

the number of respondents decreased to 4 948 women. This was done by using the select cases icon available on the SPSS for Windows. Non-declared or missing data was also taken into consideration and included in the findings.

To determine the three cases of abuse, certain variables where selected. Furthermore, variables were selected that determine the demographic characteristics of the women. Using the abuse variables, cross-tabulation was applied to the demographic variables. This was done for each case of abuse for each demographic variable. The tables were then arranged in an Excel format and presented in Chapter 4. Graphs were constructed, which offered a graphic representation of the results. The tables were constructed in such a way that the research questions were answered.

3.5.3 Errors in data

The data in this study was collected in 1998. Eight years had therefore lapsed from the date of collection to the current time. Within that time lag, the dynamics of domestic violence in South Africa could have changed. The cross-sectional nature of available surveys makes it difficult to establish definite causality between domestic violence and various demographic characteristics of women in South Africa so as to establish a profile of women affected by domestic violence in South Africa. In order to establish such causality, studies are required to follow victims and non-victims of domestic violence over time. Variables on domestic violence in the questionnaire were selected, based on the variables used in the SADHS 1998.

3.6 Overview of the chapter

In this chapter the methodology used in this study is discussed, as well as the aim and objectives of the study and the layout of the research questions that should be answered by the study. How the data was captured and how the results were obtained are also discussed.

An analysis of the findings of the study is presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Results and discussion

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, a report is provided of the findings of the study. Domestic violence is discussed in terms of financial, physical and sexual abuse, each of which is discussed separately. The sections present the results of the demographic characteristics such as age and population groups, among other information extracted from the data, and are cross-tabulated separately with each category of domestic violence (financial, physical and sexual abuse). A further analysis is also made and discussed.

4.2 Financial abuse

Men who have some resources are normally expected to contribute towards the basic support of their spouse and/or children. This includes providing support in terms of food and rent and paying other bills before spending money on other items. A failure to do so has been termed ‘financial abuse’. It results in proportionately greater poverty being experienced by women and children than would be anticipated from total household income (SADHS, 1998).

In the SADHS 1998, a question was asked about whether, in the previous year, the respondents’ partners had regularly not provided money for food, rent or bills while having money for other things. The following results display the socio-demographic characteristics of married women or women living together with their partner who are victims of financial abuse. For the purpose of this study this category of domestic violence has been named ‘financial dependency on the partner’.

From the 11 735 respondents in the SADHS 1998 database, 4 948 were married or in union household couples. The following sections present the results of financial dependency in terms of each demographic characteristic.

4.2.1 Financial dependence and ethnicity

Table 1: Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women for each population group

	No	Yes	Non-declared	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Black/African	78.2	21.8		100	3 428
Coloured	82.3	17.7		100	688
White	94.7	5.3		100	514
Asian/Indian	89.7	10.3		100	242
Non-declared			1.5		76
Total	81.1	18.9		100	4 948

Table 1 shows the data for women living in union who are financially dependent and those who are financially independent per 100 women for each population group. The table shows that Black/African women living in union are the most financially dependent across all population groups (21.8%), while White women are the least financially dependent (5.3%).

Figure 1: Financial dependence of women in union per 100 women for each population group

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The variation in the number of women living in union who are financially dependent for each population group is presented graphically in Figure 1. This variation may be due to the employment status and the educational level of respondents. The variation in employment status can heavily affect the financial dependency/independency of women in general and women living with their partners in particular.

Figure 2 shows the number of unemployed women living in union per 100 women for all population groups. The highest unemployment rate was in Black/African women (68.2%), while the lowest unemployment rate was in their white counterpart (36.5%). This might explain the financial dependence of Black/African women and the independence of White women.

Figure 2: Women in union who are unemployed per 100 women for each population group

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Furthermore, the study explored the data according to the following population groups: Black/African (Table 1.1), Coloured (Table 1.2), White (Table 1.3) and Asian/Indian (Table 1.4).

Table 1.1: Black/African
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women of each level of education attainment

	No	Yes	Total	Number of observations
No education/primary	76.7	23.3	100	1 710
Incomplete secondary	81.2	18.8	100	1 214
Complete secondary	72.6	24.7	100	329
Higher	84.6	15.4	100	175
Total	78.2	21.8	100	3 428

Table 1.2: Coloured
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women of each level of education attainment

	No	Yes	Total	Number of observations
No education/primary	76.93	23.06	100	310
Incomplete secondary	85.7	14.3	100	273
Complete secondary	85.5	14.5	100	69
Higher	88.9	11.1	100	36
Total	82.3	17.7	100	688

Table 1.3: White
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women of each level of education attainment

	No	Yes	Total	Number of observations
No education/primary	100.0	0.0	100	4
Incomplete secondary	93.0	7.0	100	142
Complete secondary	94.3	5.7	100	192
Higher	96.6	3.4	100	176
Total	94.7	5.3	100	514

Table 1.4: Asian/Indian
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women of each level of education attainment

	No	Yes	Total	Number of observations
No education/primary	87.2	12.76	100	32
Incomplete secondary	89.7	10.3	100	126
Complete secondary	92.5	7.5	100	67
Higher	94.1	5.9	100	17
Total	89.7	10.3	100	242

Findings suggested that in the case of Asian/Indian women (Table 1.4), there is a decrease in financial dependency from those with no education to those with a higher education across all levels of educational attainment. Black/African (Table 1.1), Coloured (Table 1.2) and White (Table 1.3) women, on the other hand, do not reflect the same pattern.

On the whole, women across all population groups who have no education or an incomplete secondary education are the most financially dependent. However, in the case of White women, findings suggest that women who are the most financially dependent are those with an incomplete secondary education (Table 1.3). In addition, it appears that the women in this study who are the least financially dependent across all the population groups are those with a higher education. Black/African women who are the most financially dependent (15.4%) are those with a higher education (Table 1.1). However, when comparing women of all ethnic groups with a higher education, White women appear to be the least financially dependent (3.4%) (Table 1.3).

Figure 3: Total number of women in union who are financially dependent per 100 women for each population group

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Figure 3 displays the pattern of variation of the total number of women living in union who are financially dependent per 100 women for each population group. The total for Black/African women (21.8%) in this study was the highest, while the total for White women (5.3%) was the lowest.

An examination of the effect of employment on financial dependency was done by analysing the data according to the following levels of educational attainment: no education, incomplete primary education, complete primary education, incomplete secondary education, complete secondary education and higher education.

Table 1a: Financial dependency of women in union according to employment status per 100 women in terms of their level of educational attainment

	No	Yes	Total	Number of observations
No education				
No	77.3	22.7	100	392
Yes	76.7	23.3	100	120
Incomplete primary				
No	77.1	22.9	100	729
Yes	74.4	25.6	100	340
Complete primary				
No	77.8	22.2	100	342
Yes	76.1	23.9	100	138
Incomplete secondary				
No	83.1	16.9	100	1 182
Yes	84	16	100	586
Complete secondary				
No	82.1	17.9	100	290
Yes	82.6	17.7	100	367
Higher education				
No	88.6	11.4	100	114
Yes	91.4	8.6	100	290

The above findings suggest that out of 100 women living in union who are financially dependent/independent, there is little variation in terms of the employment status of women who have no education, complete primary education, incomplete secondary education and complete secondary education levels. However, there is a pattern of variation between women with incomplete primary education and those with a higher education.

In general, Black/African women were earlier found to be the most financially dependent (Table 1) and White women the least financially dependent (Table 1). Further analysis revealed the highest unemployment rate to be among Black/African women and the lowest unemployment rate to be among White women (Figure 2). In addition, splitting the table into population groups according to level of educational attainment revealed that a large number of Black/African women have no education and are financially dependent (23.3%). A total of 15.4%, of Black/African women with a higher education were financially dependent. This is the highest dependency rate when compared with the other population groups (Table 1.1).

However, a total of 3.4% of White women with a higher education are financially dependent. This is the lowest dependency rate. Through further analysis and examining financial dependency in terms of employment status according to the different levels of educational attainment, the overall findings suggest that women with a higher education are less financially dependent than women with a lower level of educational attainment (Table 1a).

This indicates that Black/African women are more financially dependent at the levels of higher education and incomplete primary education. One reason for this is that most of them are unemployed (Table 1a and Table 1.1). In the case of White women, it was found earlier that this group is mostly employed and a large number have a higher education, thus making them the least financially dependent group (Table 1a and Table 1.3). Findings, therefore, suggest that these women are not financially dependent in terms of their population group, although employment status and level of educational attainment contribute to financial dependence/independence.

4.2.2 Financial dependence and age group

Table 2: Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women in each age group

	No	Yes	Non-declared	Total all treatment	Number of observations
15-19	81.0	19.0		100	84
20-24	80.0	20.0		100	454
25-29	80.3	19.7		100	852
30-34	81.6	18.4		100	957
35-39	80.4	19.6		100	1 088
40-44	82.3	17.7		100	827
45-49	81.1	18.9		100	641
Non-declared			0.9		45
Total	81.0	19.0		100	4 948

Table 2 shows the data for women living in union who are financially dependent and those who are financially independent per 100 women in each age group. The table shows that women living in union in the 20 to 24 year age group are the most financially dependent (20%). However, women living in union in the 40 to 44 year age group are the

least financially dependent (17.7%). The financial dependence data of Table 2 is illustrated graphically in the next section.

Figure 4: Women in union who are financially dependent on their partner per 100 women in each age group

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Figure 4 shows a flat curve, indicating that there is little variation in financial dependency across the age groups. This suggests that across all the age groups, women's financial dependence on their partners is almost equal. Thus age is not one of the contributing factors to women being financially dependent on their partner.

4.2.3 Financial dependency and education attainment

Table 3: Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women according to level of educational attainment

	No	Yes	Non-declared	Total all treatment	Number of observations
No education	77.3	22.7		100	515
Incomplete primary	76.2	23.8		100	1 070
Complete primary	77.2	22.8		100	482
Incomplete secondary	83.4	16.6		100	1 773
Complete secondary	82.4	17.6		100	658
Higher	90.6	9.4		100	405
Non-declared			0.9		45
Total	81.0	19.0		100	4 948

Table 3 shows the data for women living in union who are financially dependent and those who are financially independent per 100 women for each level of educational attainment. The table shows that women living in union who have an incomplete primary education are the most financially dependent (23.8%). However, women living in union who have a higher education are the least financially dependent (9.4%). There is a variation in the pattern of financial dependency ranging from no education attainment to higher education attainment.

One of the contributing factors might be low wages, resulting in these women being financially dependent on their partners.

Table 3a: Annual earnings of women in union per 100 women for each level of educational attainment

	0 - 9999	10 000 - 49 999	50 000 - 99 999	Non-declared	Total	Number of observations
No education	88.1	11.9	0.0		100	135
Incomplete primary	78.3	20.6	0.8		100	355
Complete primary	74.7	24.0	1.3		100	150
Incomplete secondary	52	47.5	0.5		100	615
Complete secondary	19.6	78.5	1.9		100	362
Higher	5.6	92.6	1.9		100	270
Non-declared				61.9		3 061
Total	48.5	50.4	1.1		100	4 948

Table 3a indicates the annual earnings of women living in union according to their level of educational attainment. The response rate is below 50 and the non-declared rate is 61.9%. It is evident that as the level of educational attainment increases, annual earning also increases. Further investigation indicates that 92.6% of women with a higher education living in union earn between R10 000 and R49 999 per annum, while 52% of women with an incomplete primary education earn between R0 and R9 999 per annum. Annual earnings might be one of the contributing factors to these women being financially dependent on their partners.

To investigate the effect of population group on level of educational attainment, further analysis was conducted, exploring the data according to the following levels of educational attainment: no education (Table 3.1), incomplete primary education (Table 3.2), complete primary education (Table 3.3), incomplete secondary education (Table 3.4), complete secondary education (Table 3.5) and higher education (Table 3.6).

Table 3.1: No education
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women for each population group

	No	Yes	Total	Number of observations
Black/African	77.6	22.4	100	450
Coloured	73.8	26.2	100	61
White				
Asian/Indian	100	0	100	1
Total	77.1	22.9	100	512

Table 3.2: Incomplete primary education
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women for each population group

	No	Yes	Total	Number of observations
Black/African	75.5	24.5	100	881

Coloured	79.2	20.8	100	168
White	100	0	100	1
Asian/Indian	86.7	13.3	100	15
Total	76.2	23.8	100	1065

Table 3.3: Complete primary education
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women for each population group

	No	Yes	Total	Number of observations
Black/African	77	23	100	379
Coloured	77.8	22.2	100	81
White	100	0	100	3
Asian/Indian	75.0	25.0	100	16
Total	77.2	22.8	100	479

Table 3.4: Incomplete secondary education
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women for each population group

	No	Yes	Total	Number of observations
Black/African	81.2	18.8	100	1 214
Coloured	85.7	14.3	100	273
White	93.0	7.0	100	142
Asian/Indian	89.7	10.3	100	126
Total	83.5	16.5	100	1 755

Table 3.5: Complete secondary education
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women for each population group

	No	Yes	Total	Number of observations
Black/African	72.6	27.4	100	329
Coloured	85.5	14.5	100	69
White	94.3	5.7	100	192
Asian/Indian	92.5	7.5	100	67
Total	82.3	17.7	100	657

Table 3.6: Higher education
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women for each population group

	No	Yes	Total	Number of observations
Black/African	84.6	15.4	100	175
Coloured	88.9	11.1	100	36
White	96.6	3.4	100	176
Asian/Indian	94.1	5.9	100	17
Total	90.6	9.4	100	404

Findings suggested that across all population groups, women with no education, incomplete primary education and complete primary education are almost equally financially dependent, indicating that there is no variation across the population groups. However, for women living in union with incomplete secondary education, complete

secondary education and a higher education, there is a difference in financial dependency across the various population groups. For women living in union with incomplete secondary education, complete secondary education and a higher education, Black/African women appear to be the most financially dependent, while White women appear to be the least financially dependent (Table 3.4, Table 3.5 and Table 3.6).

To further analyse the data of the findings that Black/African women are the most financially dependent and White women the least dependent, the employment status of these women was examined across the population groups. This was done by splitting the table according to the different population groups.

Table 3b: Financial dependency of women in union in terms of employment status per 100 women according to population group

	No	Yes	Total	Number of observations
Black/African				
No	78.6	21.4	100	2 336
Yes	77.2	22.8	100	1 081
Coloured				
No	80.8	19.2	100	355
Yes	83.8	16.2	100	333
White				
No	95.1	4.9	100	184
Yes	94.5	5.5	100	330
Asian/Indian				
No	90.3	9.7	100	154
Yes	88.5	11.5	100	1 841

Overall it appears that Black/African women have the highest unemployment rate and are the most financially dependent in comparison to the other population groups. However, White women have the lowest unemployment rate and are the least financially dependent when compared to the other population groups.

The findings suggest that the group with the highest number of representatives with a higher education is the White women group (Table 3.6). On the other hand, the group with the highest number of representatives with no education and incomplete/complete primary school education is the Black/African women group (Table 3.1, Table 3.2 and Table 3.3). It was further found that the White women group has the highest employment

rate, while Black/African women group has the lowest employment rate (Table 3b). Thus, it is not the level of educational attainment that makes these women financially dependent on their partner, but rather some other factor like employment status or annual earnings.

4.2.4 Financial dependence and marital status

Table 4: Financial dependence of women in union per 100 women according to current marital status

	No	Yes	Non-declared	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Married	82.4	17.6		100	3926
Living together	75.5	24.5		100	977
Non-declared			0.9		45
Total	81.0	19.0		100	4 948

Table 4 shows the data for women living in union who are financially dependent and those who are financially independent per 100 women in terms of marital status. The table indicates that women who live together with their partners are the most financially dependent (24.5%), while married women are the least financially dependent (18%).

Furthermore, analysis was conducted to study the effect of the partner of the respondent's level of educational attainment, exploring the data according to the following categories: married women (Table 4.1) and women living with their partners (Table 4.2).

Table 4.1: Married women
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women in terms of partner's level of educational attainment

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
No education	77.2	22.8	100	426
Primary education	80.3	19.7	100	1 206
Secondary education	83.3	16.7	100	1 848
Higher education	89.4	10.6	100	404
Don't know	73.9	26.1	100	23
Total	82.3	17.7	100	3 907

Table 4.2: Living with their partner
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women in terms of partner's level of educational attainment

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
No education	70.7	29.3	100	150
Primary education	75.8	24.2	100	322
Secondary education	76.0	24.0	100	445
Higher education	78.8	21.2	100	33
Don't know	86.4	13.6	100	22
Total	75.4	24.6	100	972

Findings from Table 4.1 and Table 4.2 suggest that in the case of married women, their partner's level of education has an effect on their financial dependency. However, in the case of women living together with their partners, they are financially dependent on their partners to an equal degree, whatever their partner's level of education (Figure 5). Interestingly enough, it was found that women living with their partners are the most financially dependent when their partner has no education attainment (29.3%) and the least financially dependent when they do not know their partner's level of education attainment (13.6%).

Figure 5: Women who are living together and are financially dependent per 100 women in terms of their partner's level of educational attainment

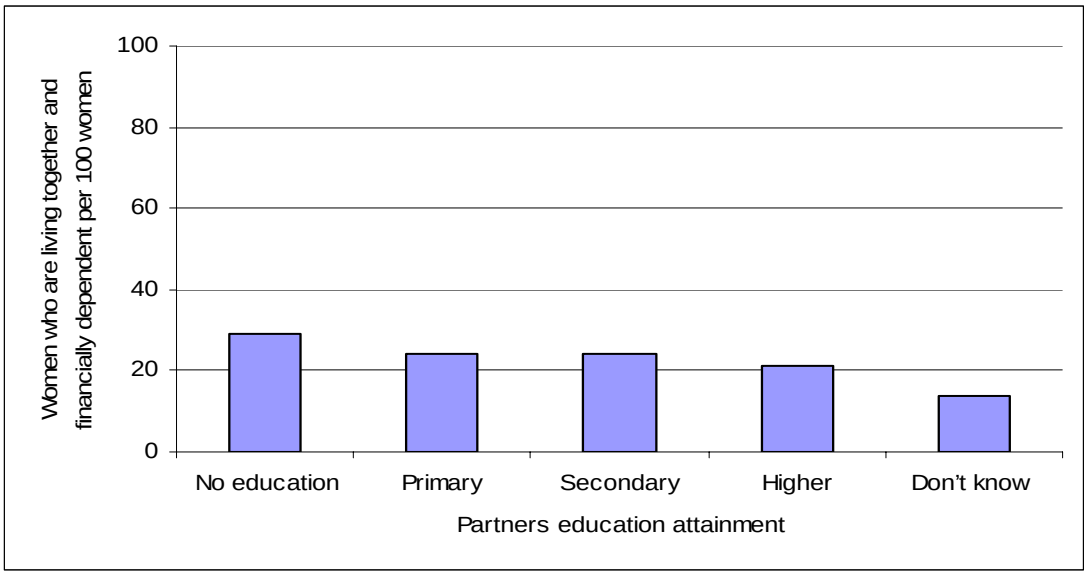

Figure 5 provides a graphic representation of women who are living together with their partners and are financially dependent per 100 women in terms of their partners' level of educational attainment. The figure indicates little variation in financial dependency for this category of women.

In general, as the level of educational attainment of the partners of married women increases, so their financial dependency on their partner decreases. Furthermore, it appears that married women are the most financially dependent when they do not know their partners' level of education attainment (Table 4.1). Married women are least financially dependent on partners who have a higher education.

To explore the data further, it was divided into categories according to the following levels of educational attainment: no education, incomplete primary education, complete primary education, incomplete secondary education, complete secondary education, higher education and education attainment not known.

Table 4a: Financial dependency on women in union in terms of employment status per 100 women according to their level of educational attainment

	No	Yes	Total	Number of observations
No education				
No	76.8	23.2	100	405
Yes	72.4	27.6	100	170
Incomplete primary				
No	79.2	20.8	100	761
Yes	76.7	23.3	100	348
Complete primary				
No	81.7	18.3	100	306
Yes	83.8	16.2	100	111
Incomplete secondary				
No	79.3	20.7	100	1 033
Yes	80.6	19.4	100	578
Complete secondary				
No	86.6	13.4	100	351
Yes	87.2	12.8	100	327
Higher				
No	84.5	15.5	100	155
Yes	90.7	9.3	100	281
Don't know				
No	84	16	100	25
Yes	75	25	100	20

Table 4a indicates that married women whose partners have a higher education and who are employed, are the least financially dependent (9.3%). Married women who are employed and have a partner with no education appear to be the most financially dependent (27.6%). Incomplete primary education, incomplete secondary education and complete secondary education demonstrate almost equal financial dependency in relation to the women's employment status. No education and complete primary education also correlate with these women having a high level of financial dependence on their partners.

In general, Table 4a indicates that 9.3% of married women are financially dependent and employed. This suggests that a larger percentage of these women are employed and are therefore less financially dependent on their partners. Furthermore, Table 4a indicates that approximately 25% of women who do not know their partners' level of educational attainment are financially dependent and are employed. This suggests that when these women are married, they are less financially dependent on a partner with a higher education because they are employed, but when they do not know their partners' level of

educational attainment, although they are employed, they are financially dependent on their partners, indicating that there are other factors contributing to these women being financially dependent on their partner.

In general, married women who have partners with a higher education are the least financially dependent because most of them are employed (Table 4a). However, when these women do not know their partners' level of educational attainment, they display a high level of financial dependence, not because of their employment status, but because of some other factor. Employment status can therefore be identified as one of the contributing factors to married women being financially dependent on a partner with a higher education. However, for women living with their partner and for married women who have a partner without a higher education, no factors were found within the variables that could provide a better understanding of their financial dependency.

4.2.5 Financial dependency and women's occupation

Table 5: Financial dependence of women in union per 100 women in terms of the respondent's occupation

	No	Yes	Non-declared	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Not working	80.6	19.4		100	2870
Professional, technical, management	86.1	13.9		100	323
Clerical	90.2	9.8		100	245
Services, self-employed	86.8	12.6		100	241
Skilled manual	83.0	17.0		100	223
Unskilled manual	77.7	22.3		100	980
Non-declared			1.3		66
Total	81.0	19.0		100	4 948

Table 5 shows the data for women living in union who are financially dependent and those who are financially independent per 100 women for each occupational category. The table indicates a variation across the various occupational categories. Women living in union in the unskilled manual occupational category appear to be the most financially dependent (22.3%). However, women living in union in the clerical occupational category are the least financially dependent (9.8%).

Earlier White women were found to be the least financially dependent on their partners. Figure 6 examines the occupations of women living in union according to population group.

Figure 6: Financial dependence of women in union per 100 women in terms of occupation according to ethnic group

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Figure 6 indicates that the Black/African women group has the highest unemployment rate. It is also clear that White women dominate the clerical and services, self-employment and sales occupational categories. This might be one explanation for the research findings that women in the clerical occupational category are the least financially dependent on their partners. Furthermore, Black/African women appear to dominate the unskilled, manual category, followed by Coloured women. This, too, might explain the findings that unskilled women are the most financially dependent.

To investigate the effect of population group on occupation, the data was analysed according to the following occupational levels: not working (Table 5.1), professional, technical and management (Table 5.2), clerical (Table 5.3), services and self-employed (Table 5.4), skilled manual (Table 5.5) and unskilled manual (Table 5.6).

Table 5.1: Not working
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women in each population group

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Black/African	79.0	21.0	100	2229
Coloured	80.3	19.7	100	319
White	94.3	5.7	100	158
Asian/Indian	90.4	9.6	100	146
Total	80.6	19.4	100	2 852

Table 5.2: Professional, technical, management
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women in each population group

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Black/African	82.4	17.6	100	170
Coloured	82.9	17.1	100	41
White	94.1	5.9	100	101
Asian/Indian	90.0	10.0	100	10

Total	86.3	13.7	100	322

Table 5.3: Clerical
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women in each population group

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Black/African	77.8	22.2	100	72
Coloured	84.8	15.2	100	46
White	99.0	1.0	100	105
Asian/Indian	100.0	0.0	100	21
Total	90.2	9.8	100	244

Table 5.4: Sales and services
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women in each population group

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Black/African	65.8	34.2	100	103
Coloured	97.0	3.0	100	39
White	92.3	7.7	100	74
Asian/Indian	94.43	5.56	100	24
Total	87.4	12.6	100	240

Table 5.5: Skilled manual
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women in each population group

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Black/African	77.4	22.6	100	115
Coloured	87	13	100	54
White	93.3	6.7	100	30
Asian/Indian	86.4	13.6	100	22
Total	82.8	17.2	100	221

Table 5.6: Unskilled manual
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women in each population group

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Black/African	75.9	24.1	100	726
Coloured	81.1	18.9	100	185
White	97.7	2.3	100	44
Asian/Indian	72.2	27.8	100	18
Total	77.8	22.2	100	973

Findings suggest that for women living in union who are unemployed, the professional, technical and management, clerical, sales and unskilled manual occupational levels have an effect on financial dependency across the various population groups. However, women who are skilled manual by occupation display almost equal financial dependence on their partners.

To investigate whether number of children has an effect per population group, further analysis of the data was conducted according to the following population groups: Black/African, Coloured, White, and Asian/Indian.

Table 5a: Financial dependency of women in union in terms of number of children per 100 women according to population group

	No	Yes	Total	Number of observations
Black/African				
0	78.0	22.0	100	1 374
1	78.6	21.4	100	1 246
2	77.3	22.7	100	616
3+	80.3	19.7	100	192
Coloured				
0	83.9	16.1	100	335
1	82.0	18.0	100	256
2	75.0	25.0	100	76
3+	84.4	15.6	100	21
White				
0	94.3	5.7	100	336
1	95.8	4.2	100	118
2	98.1	1.9	100	53
3+	66.7	33.3	100	7
Asian/Indian				
0	90.8	9.2	100	131
1	89.5	10.5	100	76
2	89.7	10.3	100	29
3+	66.7	33.3	100	6

Table 5a indicates that as the number of children of Asian/Indian women increases, so does their financial dependency. However, this is not true for Black/African and Coloured women. Black/African and Coloured women with two children are the most financially dependent groups (22.7% and 25% respectively). White women with three or more children, on the other hand, are the most financially dependent, while White women with two children are the least financially dependent (Table 5a).

This indicates that the more children White and Asian/Indian women have (from three children up), the more likely they are to be financially dependent. Overall findings suggest that one of the factors for White and Asian/Indian women's financial dependence is the number of children they have. On the other hand, Black/African and Coloured women are financially dependent because of their occupational status. No other variable in the data was found that could provide a better understanding of these results.

4.2.6 Financial dependence and current working status

Table 6: Financial dependence of women in union per 100 women according to current working status

	No	Yes	Non-declared	Total all treatment	Number of observations
No	80.4	19.6		100	3 049
Yes	82.0	18.0		100	1 841
Non-declared			1.2		58
Total	81	19		100	4 948

Table 6 shows the data for women living in union who are financially dependent and those who are financially independent per 100 women according to working status. Table 6 indicates that out of 100 women who are living in union and are unemployed, 20 are financially dependent on their partner. However, out of 100 women living in union who are employed, 18 are financially dependent. Because there is little variation in terms of the working status of these women, their financial dependence would appear to be almost equal, irrespective of their working status. It can, therefore, be concluded that the working status of women is not a contributing factor for financial dependence

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4.2.7 Financial dependence and geographical region

Table 7: Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women according to geographical region

	No	Yes	Non-declared	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Western Cape	86.3	13.7		100	417
Eastern Cape	82.2	17.8		100	1030
Northern Cape	81.7	18.3		100	482
Free State	74.9	25.1		100	431
KwaZulu-Natal	77.0	23.0		100	726
North West	84.4	15.6		100	358
Gauteng	82.0	18.0		100	494
Mpumalanga	80.4	19.6		100	419
Limpopo	81.5	18.5		100	546
Non-declared			0.9		45
Total	81.0	19.0		100	4 948

Table 7 shows the data for women living in union who are financially dependent and those who are financially independent per 100 women in each geographical region. Women living in union in the Free State are the most financially dependent (25.1%). Women living in union in the Western Cape, on the other hand, are the least financially dependent (13.7%).

To investigate the effect of population group on geographical region, the study explored the data according to the following provincial regions of South Africa: Western Cape (Table 7.1), Eastern Cape (Table 7.2), Northern Cape (Table 7.3), Free State (Table 7.4), KwaZulu-Natal (Table 7.5), North West (Table 7.6), Gauteng (Table 7.7), Mpumalanga (Table 7.8) and the Limpopo (Table 7.9).

Table 7.1: Western Cape
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women according to population group

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Black/African	78.3	21.7	100	69
Coloured	86.0	14.0	100	278
White	96.8	3.2	100	63
Asian/Indian	100.0	0.0	100	4
Total	86.5	13.5	100	414

Table 7.2: Eastern Cape
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women according to population group

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Black/African	81.5	18.5	100	850
Coloured	80.0	20.0	100	90
White	94.5	5.5	100	73
Asian/Indian	100.0	0.0	100	7
Total	82.5	17.5	100	1 020

Table 7.3: Northern Cape
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women according to population group

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Black/African	76.2	23.8	100	126
Coloured	80.1	19.9	100	266
White	95.5	4.5	100	88
Asian/Indian				
Total	81.9	18.1	100	480

Table 7.4: Free State
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women according to population group

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Black/African	71.6	28.4	100	348
Coloured	85.7	14.3	100	7
White	89.2	14.3	100	74
Asian/Indian	100.0	0.0	100	2
Total	74.9	25.1	100	431

Table 7.5: KwaZulu-Natal
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women according to population group

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Black/African	70.2	29.8	100	447
Coloured	83.3	16.7	100	18
White	89.5	10.5	100	57
Asian/Indian	87.9	12.1	100	199
Total	77.0	23.0	100	721

Table 7.6: North West
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women according to population group

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Black/African	83.7	16.3	100	313
Coloured	61.5	38.5	100	13
White	100.0	0.0	100	27
Asian/Indian	100.0	0.0	100	2
Total	84.2	15.8	100	355

Table 7.7: Gauteng
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women according to population group

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Black/African	76.6	23.4	100	351
Coloured	76.9	23.1	100	13
White	97.4	2.6	100	115
Asian/Indian	92.3	7.7	100	13
Total	81.9	18.1	100	492

Table 7.8: Mpumalanga
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women according to population group

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Black/African	79.0	21.0	100	390
Coloured	100.0	0.0	100	3
White	100.0	0.0	100	17
Asian/Indian	100.0	0.0	100	7
Total	80.3	19.7	100	417

Table 7.9: Limpopo
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women according to population group

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Black/African	81.3	18.7	100	534
Coloured				
White				
Asian/Indian	100.0	0.0	100	8
Total	81.5	18.5	100	542

Findings suggest that for women living in union in the Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Free State, KwaZulu-Natal, North West and Gauteng, financial dependency is influenced by the geographical region in which the respondents live across the various population groups. However, women living in union in Mpumalanga and the Northern Cape display almost equal financial dependence on their partners across the different population groups.

Earlier findings revealed that some of the factors that result in these women being financially dependent across the population groups are their employment status and level of educational attainment, indicating that financial dependency varies according to employment status and level of educational attainment for women in the Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Free State, KwaZulu-Natal, North West and Gauteng.

4.2.8 Financial dependence and type of place of residence

Table 8: Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women according to type of place of residence

	No	Yes	Non-declared	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Urban	82.4	17.6		100	2 661
Rural	79.4	20.6		100	2 242
Non-declared			0.9		45
Total	81.0	19.0		100	4 948

Table 8 shows the data for women living in union who are financially dependent and those who are financially independent per 100 women in terms of type of place of residence. Women living in union who reside in rural areas are the most financially dependent on their partners (20.6%). However, women living in union who reside in urban areas are the least financially dependent (17.6 %).

To investigate the effect of employment status on the type of place of residence, the study explored the data according to the following categories: urban residence (Table 8.1) and rural residence (Table 8.2).

Table 8.1: Urban
Financial dependency on women in union per 100 women according to employment status

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
No	80.9	19.1	100	1 422
Yes	84.1	15.9	100	1 233
Total	82.4	17.6	100	2 655

Table 8.2: Rural
Financial dependency on women in union per 100 women across each employment status

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
No	80.0	20.0	100	1627
Yes	77.8	22.2	100	608
Total	79.4	20.6	100	2 235

Findings suggest that for women who reside in urban areas, financial dependency varies in terms of the employment status of these women. However, women who reside in rural areas display almost equally financial dependence whatever their employment status. Thus, one of the factors affecting the financial dependence of women living in union who reside in urban areas is their employment status. However, the financial dependence of women living in rural areas on their partners is dependent on other factors.

4.2.9 Financial dependence and *de facto* place of residence

Table 9: Financial dependence of women in union per 100 women for each *de facto* place of residence

	No	Yes	Non-declared	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Capital, large city	83.3	16.7		100	1481
Small city	80.6	19.4		100	864
Town	82.9	17.1		100	316
Countryside	79.4	20.6		100	2242
Non-declared			0.9	100	45
Total	81.0	19.0		100	4948

Table 9 shows the data for women living in union who are financially dependent and those who are financially independent on their partner per 100 women for each *de facto* place of residence. Women who reside in the countryside are the most financially dependent (20.6%), while women living in union who reside in a capital or large city or town are the least financially dependent (16.7%).

Furthermore, the study explored the data according to the following *de facto* places of residence: large city (Table 9.1), small city (Table 9.2), town (Table 9.3) and countryside (Table 9.4)

Table 9.1: Capital, large city
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women in terms of partners' occupation

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Professional, technical, management	93.8	6.2	100	194
Clerical	83.0	17.0	100	53
Sales	88.3	11.7	100	120
Agriculture, self-employed	80.0	20.0	100	11
Services	81.2	18.8	100	170
Skilled manual	83.9	16.1	100	528
Unskilled manual	77.2	22.8	100	360
Total	83.6	16.4	100	1436

Table 9.2: Small city
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women in terms of partners' occupation

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Professional, technical, management	86.7	13.3	100	83
Clerical	76	24	100	25
Sales	84.3	15.7	100	51
Agriculture, self-employed	100.0	0.0	100	9
Services	75.9	24.1	100	112
Skilled manual	82.4	17.6	100	324
Unskilled manual	77.2	22.8	100	246
Total	80.6	19.4	100	850

Table 9.3: Town
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women in terms of partners'

occupation

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Professional, technical, management	80.0	20.0	100	30
Clerical	93.3	6.7	100	15
Sales	85.0	15.0	100	20
Agriculture, self-employed	100.0	0.0	100	3
Services	85.4	14.6	100	41
Skilled manual	83.0	17.0	100	100
Unskilled manual	78.8	21.2	100	99
Total	82.5	17.5	100	308

Table 9.4: Countryside
Financial dependency of women in union per 100 women in terms of partners' occupation

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Professional, technical, management	82.7	17.3	100	98
Clerical	85.5	14.5	100	55
Sales	80.8	19.2	100	52
Agriculture, self-employed	80.6	19.4	100	45
Services	81.1	18.9	100	190
Skilled manual	77.5	22.5	100	649
Unskilled manual	79.5	20.5	100	1051
Total	79.4	20.6	100	2140

From the tables above, it appears that their partners' occupational category has an effect on the financial dependency of women who reside in capital cities and small cities (Table 9.1 and Table 9.2). However, women who reside in towns and the countryside (Table 9.3 and Table 9.4) are almost equally financially dependent, whatever their partner's occupational category. However, in terms of Table 9.1 and Table 9.2 it appears that women who reside in capital cities and small cities vary in terms of their financial dependency. This indicates that a woman's partner's occupation is not the contributing factor to these women's financial dependence. Thus, the variation in financial dependency of women living in union in terms of their *de facto* place of residence is not explained by their partners' occupational level.

4.3 Physical abuse

Physical abuse is defined as slapping, punching, hitting, kicking, shoving, scratching, biting, throwing things at a person; threatening or attacking a person with a weapon; locking a person in or out of the house or abandoning a person in a dangerous place; and refusing to help a person when that person is injured, sick or pregnant (People Opposing Women Abuse, 2000).

Women were asked if they had ever been kicked, bitten, slapped, hit with a fist, threatened with a weapon such as a knife, stick or gun, or had something thrown at them by their husbands or boyfriends. The results of physical abuse across each of the socio-demographic characteristics will be presented in the following sections. Each socio-demographic characteristic is treated separately in terms of physical abuse.

4.3.1 Physical abuse and ethnicity

Table 10: Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women for each population group

	No	Yes	No answer	Non-declared	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Black/African	95.4	4.5	0.1		100	3 194
Coloured	92.0	8.0	0.0		100	601
White	91.4	8.6	0.0		100	490
Asian/Indian	92.1	7.9	0.0		100	229
Non-declared				8.8		434
Total	94.4	5.6	0.0		100	4 948

Table 10 shows the data for women living in union who have reported being physically abused, those who have not reported being physically abused and those who did not want to comment per 100 women of each population group. There is a pattern of variation across the different population groups. Of the few cases of physical abuse reported by these women, the most cases (8.9%) were reported by White women, while Black/African women reported the least cases of physical abuse (4.5%).

To investigate whether the size of the household in which the women live is a determining factor in the incidence of physical abuse across the various population groups, the study explored the data according to the following population groups: Black/African (Table 10.1), Coloured (Table 10.2), White (Table 10.3) and Asian/Indian (Table10.4).

Table 10.1: Black/African
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women in relation to the total number of household members

	No	Yes	No answer	Total all treatment	Number of observations
2	95.2	4.8	0.0	100	310
3	93.5	6.5	0.0	100	447
4	94.5	5.5	0.0	100	544
5	95.4	4.2	0.4	100	544
6+	96.8	3.2	0.0	100	1 313
Total	95.4	4.5	0.0	100	3 158

Table 10. 2: Coloured
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women in relation to the total number of household members

	No	Yes	No answer	Total all treatment	Number of observations
2	87.5	12.5	0.0	100	64
3	95.5	4.5	0.0	100	89
4	92.7	7.3	0.0	100	150
5	88.9	11.1	0.0	100	108
6+	92.6	7.4	0.0	100	190
Total	92.0	8.0	0.0	100	601

Table 10.3: White
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women in relation to the total number of household members

	No	Yes	No answer	Total all treatment	Number of observations
2	87.3	12.7	0.0	100	71
3	95.5	4.5	0.0	100	89
4	91.7	8.3	0.0	100	181
5	91.6	8.4	0.0	100	95
6+	94.3	5.7	0.0	100	53
Total	91.4	8.6	0.0	100	489

Table 10.4: Asian/Indian
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women in relation to the total number of household members

	No	Yes	No answer	Total all treatment	Number of observations
2	88.9	11.1	0.0	100	9
3	97.1	2.9	0.0	100	34
4	91.7	8.3	0.0	100	60
5	89.3	10.7	0.0	100	56
6+	95.8	4.2	0.0	100	70
Total	92.1	7.9	0.0	100	229

The above tables indicate that the physical abuse of women living in union is most predominant in a household with two or three members. Findings suggest that in the case of Black/African women, physical abuse was reported in varying degrees, depending on the size of the household. However, in the case of the other population groups (Coloured, White and Asian/Indian), physical abuse was reported to an equal degree, irrespective of the size of the household.

To investigate the effect of a partner's level of educational attainment on the size of the household in the case of Black/African women, the data was split according to the number of household members.

Table 10a: Two members in the household
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women in terms of partners' level of educational attainment

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
No education	92.0	8.0	100	50
Incomplete primary	94.0	6.0	100	83
Complete primary	90.7	9.3	100	43
Incomplete secondary	94.9	5.1	100	136
Complete secondary	93.8	6.2	100	81
Higher	87.0	13.0	100	54
Don't know	80.0	20.0	100	5
Total	92.7	7.3	100	452

Table 10b: Three members in the household
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women in terms of partners' level of educational attainment

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
No education	95.4	4.6	100	65
Incomplete primary	95.7	4.3	100	140
Complete primary	88.9	11.1	100	45
Incomplete secondary	93.5	6.5	100	217
Complete secondary	93.7	6.3	100	111
Higher	95.8	4.2	100	72
Don't know	100.0	0.0	100	6
Total	94.2	5.8	100	656

Table 10c: Four members in the household
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women in terms of partners' level of educational attainment

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
No education	96.6	3.4	100	81
Incomplete primary	93.2	6.8	100	171
Complete primary	93.3	6.7	100	59
Incomplete secondary	93.4	6.6	100	322
Complete secondary	60.0	40.0	100	165
Higher	93.5	6.5	100	136
Don't know	60.0	40.0	100	5
Total	93.5	6.5	100	939

Table 10d: Five members in the household
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women in terms of partners' level of educational attainment

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
No education	93.4	6.6	100	76
Incomplete primary	92.8	6.6	100	181
Complete primary	97.4	2.6	100	78
Incomplete secondary	93.1	6.9	100	275
Complete secondary	94.0	6.0	100	116
Higher	92.9	5.7	100	70
Don't know	100.0	0.0	100	4
Total	95.4	4.6	100	800

Table 10e: Six and above members in the household
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women in terms of partners' level of educational attainment

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
No education	95.5	4.5	100	260
Incomplete primary	95.2	3.9	100	440
Complete primary	96.0	4.0	100	152
Incomplete secondary	96.4	3.6	100	510
Complete secondary	97.8	2.2	100	166
Higher	96.9	3.1	100	87
Don't know	97.2	2.8	100	19
Total	96.9	3.1	100	1 634

In general, White women reported the most cases of physical abuse, while Black women reported the least cases of physical abuse (Table 10). Further analysis of the size of the household of women who reported physical abuse indicated this to be a contributing factor in the case of Black/African women, but not in the case of the other population groups.

Furthermore, Black/African women reported the most cases of physical abuse when the women lived in a household of three and the least cases of physical abuse when the women lived in a household of six or more. Further analysis of the data established that women whose partners have a complete primary education are the most likely to suffer physical abuse when the women live in a household of three. Women who do not know the level of educational attainment of their partners (Table 10b) reported the least cases of physical abuse by their partners. In addition, women who live in a household of six reported the most cases of physical abuse by partners with a complete primary education,

while women whose partners had a complete secondary education reported the least cases of physical abuse (Table 10f).

This indicates that a woman's partner's level of educational attainment is not a factor in determining the incidence of physical abuse in the case of Black/African women. The size of the household does not play a role in determining the incidence of physical abuse in the case of the other population groups (White, Asian/Indian and Coloured). The incidence of physical abuse is therefore determined by population group.

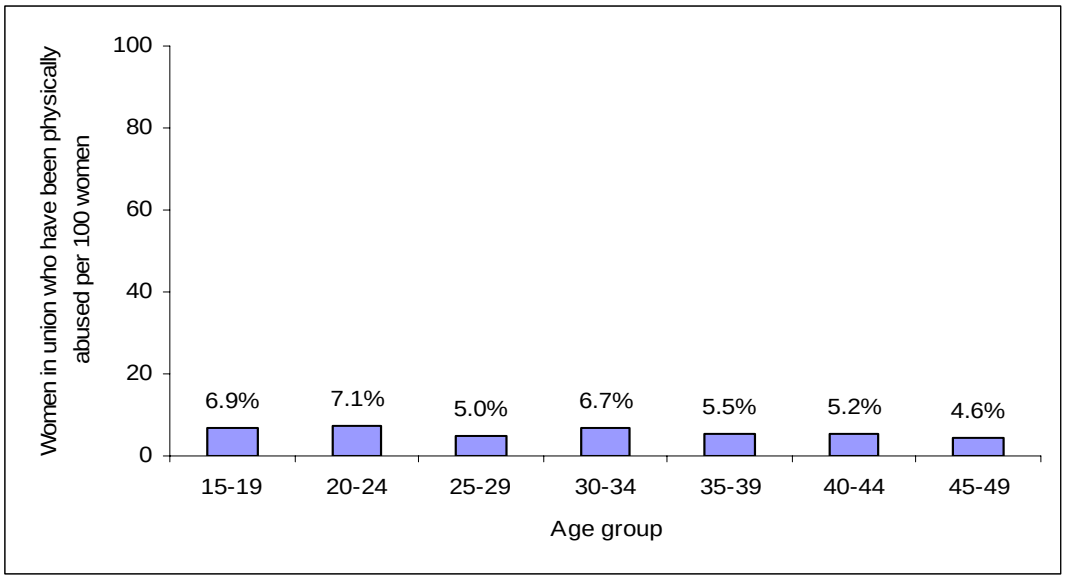
4.3.2 Physical abuse and age group

Table 11: Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women in each age group

	No	Yes	No answer	Non-declared	Total all treatment	Number of observations
15-19	93.1	6.9	0.0		100	72
20-24	92.9	7.1	0.0		100	397
25-29	95.0	5.0	0.0		100	780
30-34	93.3	6.7	0.0		100	886
35-39	94.5	5.5	0.0		100	1009
40-44	94.5	5.2	0.3		100	782
45-49	95.4	4.6	0.0		100	614
Non-declared				8.2		408
Total	94.3	5.6	0.0		100	4 948

Table 11 shows the data for women living in union who have reported being physically abused, those who have not reported being physically abused and those who did not want to comment per 100 women in each of the identified age groups. Of the few reports of physical abuse, there is little variation between the age groups. Furthermore, the largest number of reported cases of physical abuse among women living in union occurred in the 20 to 24 year age group (7%). However, the lowest number of reported cases occurred in the 45 to 49 year age group (4.6%).

Figure 7: Women in union who have been physically abused per 100 women in each age group



From Figure 7, no pattern of variation between the age groups is evident. This means that across all the age groups, physical abuse was reported to an equal degree. This indicates that age is not a contributing factor to the physical abuse of women living in union.

4.3.3 Physical abuse and education attainment

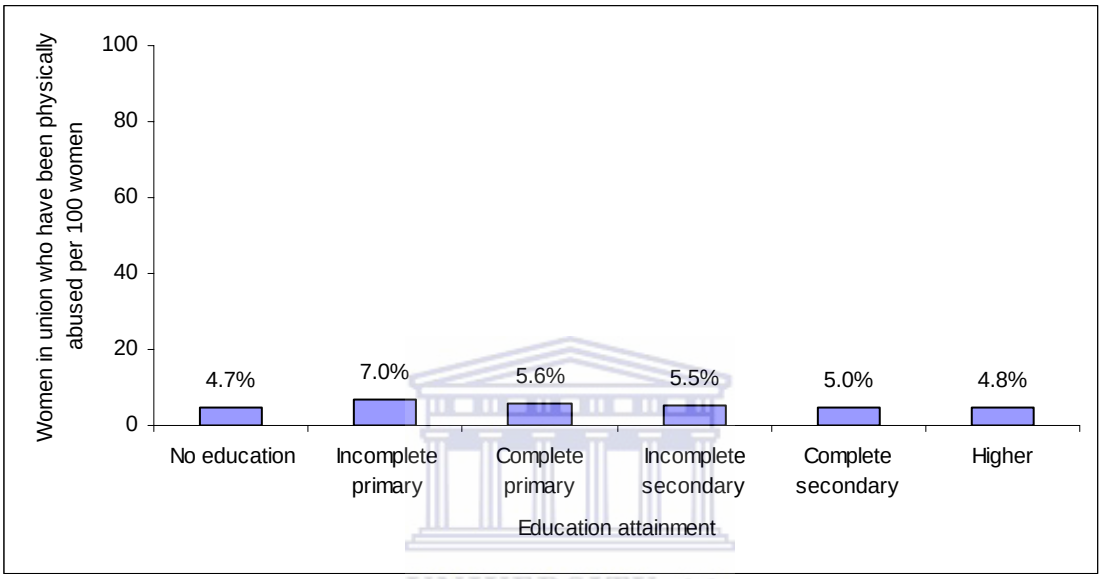
Table 12: Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women, according to level of educational attainment

	No	Yes	No answer	Non-declared	Total all treatment	Number of observations
No education	95.3	4.7	0.0		100	489
Incomplete primary	92.9	7.1	0.1		100	977
Complete primary	94.4	5.6	0.0		100	447
Incomplete secondary	94.5	5.5	0.0		100	1616
Complete secondary	95.0	5.0	0.0		100	616
Higher education	94.9	4.8	0.3		100	395
Non-declared				8.2		408
Total	94.3	5.6	0.0		100	4 948

Table 12 shows the data for women living in union who have reported being physically abused, those who have not reported being physically abused and those who did not want to comment per 100 women according to level of educational attainment. Of the few reports of physical abuse, little variation is evident across the different levels of

educational attainment. Furthermore, women with an incomplete primary education appear to have reported the most cases of physical abuse (7%). Women with a higher education, on the other hand, have reported the least cases of physical abuse (5%). A graphic presentation of Table 12 is presented in the next section.

Figure 8: Women in union who have been physically abused per 100 women according to level of educational attainment



From Figure 8 no pattern of variation between the various levels of educational attainment is evident. Thus, women living in union report cases of physical abuse, whatever their level of educational attainment. These results indicate that the level of educational attainment is not a contributing factor to physical abuse.

4.3.4 Physical abuse and marital status

Table 13: Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women in terms of marital status

	No	Yes	No answer	Non-declared	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Married	94.9	5.1	0.0		100	3 676
Living together	92.0	7.9	0.1		100	864
Non-declared				8.2		408
Total	94.3	5.6	0.1		100	4 948

Table 13 shows the data of women living in union who have reported being physically abused, those who have not reported being physically abused and those who did not want

to comment per 100 women in terms of marital status. Of the few reported cases of physical abuse, women who are living together with their partners reported the most cases of physical abuse (7.9%), while married women reported the least cases of physical abuse (5.1%).

To investigate whether population group is a determining factor in the incidence of physical abuse in terms of marital status, the study explored the data according to the following categories: married women (Table 13.1) and women who are living together with their partners (Table 13.2).

Table 13.1: Married women
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women for each population group

	No	Yes	No answer	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Black/African	91.6	3.8	0.0	100	2494
Coloured	92.7	7.3	0.0	100	478
White	92.0	8.0	0.0	100	460
Asian/Indian	92.3	7.7	0.0	100	222
Total	94.9	5.1	0.0	100	3654

Table 13.2: Women living together with their partners
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women for each population group

	No	Yes	No answer	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Black/African	92.9	7.0	0.1	100	700
Coloured	89.4	10.6	0.0	100	123
White	83.3	16.7	0.0	100	30
Asian/Indian	85.7	14.3	0.0	100	7
Total	92.0	7.9	0.1	100	860

Findings suggest that in the case of married women, physical abuse was reported in varying degrees by the different population groups. However, in the case of women living with their partners, physical abuse was reported to an equal degree by the different population groups.

Furthermore, the study explored the data to investigate whether age group is a determining factor in the incidence of physical abuse in the different population groups.

This was done by splitting the data according to the following population groups: Black/African (Table 13a), Coloured (Table 13b), White (Table 13c) and Asian/Indian (Table 13d).

Table 13a: Black/African
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women for each age group

	No	Yes	No answer	Total all treatment	Number of observations
15-19	92.2	7.8	0.0	100	64
20-24	94.1	5.9	0.0	100	303
25-29	95.6	4.4	0.0	100	564
30-34	94.2	5.8	0.0	100	621
35-39	96.1	3.9	0.0	100	710
40-44	95.7	3.9	0.4	100	536
45-49	97.0	3.0	0.0	100	396
Total	95.4	4.5	0.1	100	3 194

Table 13b: Coloured
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women for each age group

	No	Yes	No answer	Total all treatment	Number of observations
15-19	100.0	0.0	0.0	100	4
20-24	91.1	8.9	0.0	100	45
25-29	91.3	8.7	0.0	100	103
30-34	94.6	5.4	0.0	100	112
35-39	93.0	7.0	0.0	100	142
40-44	90.7	9.3	0.0	100	107
45-49	89.8	10.2	0.0	100	88
Total	92.0	8.0	0.0	100	601

Table 13c: White
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women for each age group

	No	Yes	No answer	Total all treatment	Number of observations
15-19	100.0	0.0	0.0	100	3
20-24	91.3	8.7	0.0	100	23
25-29	94.9	5.1	0.0	100	78
30-34	87.9	12.1	0.0	100	99
35-39	88.5	11.5	0.0	100	104
40-44	93.6	6.4	0.0	100	94
45-49	93.3	6.7	0.0	100	89
Total	91.4	8.6	0.0	100	490

Table 13d: Asian/Indian
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women for each age group

	No	Yes	No answer	Total all treatment	Number of observations
15-19					
20-24	85.7	14.3	0.0	100	21
25-29	100.0	0.0	0.0	100	33
30-34	90.0	10.0	0.0	100	50
35-39	89.4	10.6	0.0	100	47
40-44	90.2	9.8	0.0	100	41
45-49	97.3	2.7	0.0	100	37
Total	92.1	7.9	0.0	100	229

The above tables indicate that there is little variation between the age groups in terms of reports of physical abuse, indicating that age group is not a contributing factor for physical abuse in the case of married women, nor is population group. In general, the number of married women reporting physical abuse varies according to the different population groups. However, in the case of women who are living together with their partners, no factor could be found to help gain a better understanding of the causes of the physical abuse of women.

4.3.5 Physical abuse and occupation

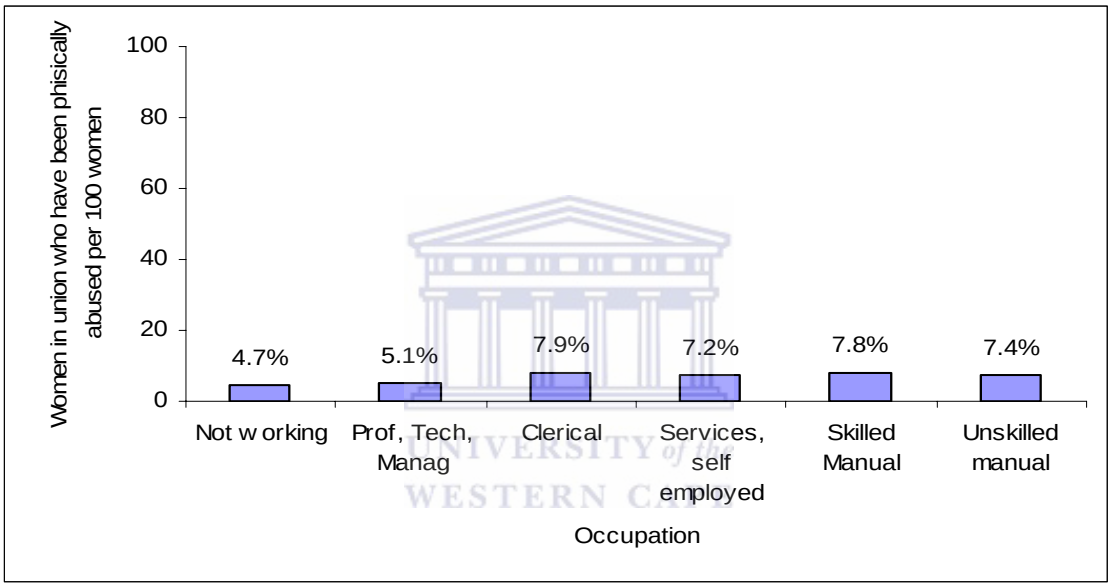
Table 14: Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women in terms of the respondents' occupation

	No	Yes	No answer	Non-declared	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Not working	95.2	4.7	0.1		100	2 650
Professional, technical, management	94.9	5.1	0.0		100	313
Clerical	92.1	7.9	0.0		100	240
Services, self-employed	92.8	7.2	0.0		100	221
Skilled manual	92.2	7.8	0.0		100	206
Unskilled manual	92.6	7.4	0.0		100	891
Non-declared				8.6		427
Total	94.3	5.6	0.0		100	4 948

Table 14 shows the data for women living in union who have reported being physically abused, those who have not reported being physically abused and those who did not want

to comment per 100 women according to occupation. Of the few reports of physical abuse, women living in union who are in the clerical or skilled manual occupational category reported the most cases of physical abuse (7.9%), while the least cases (5.1%) were reported by women who are not working or are in the professional, technical or management occupational category. Figure 9 provides a graphical representation of Table 14.

Figure 9: Women in union who have been physically abused per 100 women for each occupational category



From Figure 9 no pattern of variation is evident across the various occupational categories. Women in the various occupational categories who are living in union report physical abuse to an equal degree. Thus a woman's occupation is not a contributing factor for physical abuse.

4.3.6 Physical abuse and current working status

Table 15: Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women according to current employment status

	No	Yes	No answer	Non-declared	Total all treatment	Number of observations
No	94.8	5.2	0.1		100	2813
Yes	93.6	6.4	0.0		100	1715
Non-declared				8.5		420
Total	94.3	5.6	0.1		100	4948

Table 15 shows the data of women living in union who have reported being physically abused, those who have not reported being physically abused and those who did not want to comment per 100 women according to the respondents' working status. Of the few reports of physical abuse, women living in union who are either working or not working report physical abuse by their partner to an almost equal degree. One can therefore conclude that the working status of a woman is not a contributing factor to physical abuse.

4.3.7 Physical abuse and geographical region

Table 16: Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women according to geographical region

	No	Yes	No answer	Non-declared	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Western Cape	92.5	7.5	0.0		100	371
Eastern Cape	97.4	2.6	0.0		100	976
Northern Cape	93.8	5.7	0.1		100	438
Free State	95.2	4.8	0.0		100	397
KwaZulu-Natal	92.9	7.1	0.0		100	679
North West	98.8	1.2	0.0		100	337
Gauteng	89.2	10.8	0.0		100	452
Mpumalanga	91.8	8.2	0.0		100	389
Limpopo	95.0	5.0	0.0		100	501
Non-declared				8.2		408
Total	94.3	5.6	0.1		100	4948

Table 16 shows the data for women living in union who have reported being physically abused, those who have not reported being physically abused and those who did not want to comment per 100 women for each geographical region. The most reported cases of physical abuse occurred among women living in union in Gauteng (10.8%), while women living in the North West reported the least number of cases (1.2%).

To investigate the results, the data was further analysed according to the following geographical regions: Western Cape (Table 16.1), Eastern Cape (Table 16.2), Northern Cape (Table 16.3), Free State (Table 16.4), KwaZulu-Natal (Table 16.5), North West (Table 16.6), Gauteng (Table 16.7), Mpumalanga (Table 16.8) and the Limpopo (Table 16.9).

Table 16.1: Western Cape
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women according to marital status

	No	Yes	No answer	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Married	92.5	7.5	0.0	100	320
Living together	92.2	7.8	0.0	100	51
Total	92.5	7.5	0.0	100	371

Table 16.2: Eastern Cape
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women according to marital status

	No	Yes	No answer	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Married	97.6	2.4	0.0	100	891
Living together	95.3	4.7	0.0	100	85
Total	97.4	2.6	0.0	100	976

Table 16.3: Northern Cape
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women according to marital status

	No	Yes	No answer	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Married	94.7	5.0	0.3	100	337
Living together	91.1	7.9	0.1	100	101
Total	93.8	5.7	0.5	100	438

Table 16.4: Free State
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women according to marital status

	No	Yes	No answer	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Married	95.1	4.9	0.0	100	349
Living together	96.1	3.9	0.0	100	51
Total	95.2	4.8	0.0	100	400

Table 16.5: KwaZulu-Natal
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women according to marital status

	No	Yes	No answer	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Married	93.5	6.5	0.0	100	476
Living together	91.6	8.4	0.0	100	203
Total	92.9	7.1	0.0	100	679

Table16.6: North West
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women according to marital status

	No	Yes	No answer	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Married	98.5	1.5	0.0	100	271
Living together	100	0	0.0	100	66
Total	98.8	1.2	0.0	100	337

Table 16.7: Gauteng
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women according to marital status

	No	Yes	No answer	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Married	90.7	9.3	0.0	100	365
Living together	82.8	17.2	0.0	100	87
Total	89.2	10.8	0.0	100	452

Table 16.8: Mpumalanga
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women according to marital status

	No	Yes	No answer	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Married	93.5	6.5	0.0	100	279
Living together	87.3	12.7	0.0	100	110
Total	91.8	8.2	0.0	100	389

Table 16.9: Limpopo
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women according to marital status

	No	Yes	No answer	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Married	94.6	5.4	0.0	100	391
Living together	96.4	3.6	0.0	100	110
Total	95.0	5.0	0.0	100	501

From the tables above, a variation is found in terms of the marital status of the women who reside in Gauteng. However, physical abuse was reported to an almost equal degree by women living in all the other provincial regions, irrespective of marital status. This indicates that for women who live in Gauteng, marital status is a contributing factor for physical abuse. However, in the other provinces no contributing factor was found that could provide a better understanding of the results of the study.

4.3.8 Physical abuse and type of residence

Table 17: Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women according to type of place of residence

	No	Yes	No answer	Non-declared	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Urban	92.9	7.0	0.1		100	2 449
Rural	96.0	4.0	0.0		100	2 091
Non-declared				8.2		408
Total	94.3	5.6	0.1		100	4 948

Table 17 shows the data of women living in union who have reported being physically abused, those who have not reported being physically abused and those who did not want

to comment per 100 women for each type of residence. Women living in union who reside in urban areas, reported the most cases of physical abuse (7%). However, women living in union who reside in rural areas reported the least cases of physical abuse (4%).

To investigate whether population group is a determining factor in the incidence of physical abuse in terms of type of place of residence, the data was analysed according to the following categories: urban residence (Table 17.1) and rural residence (Table 17.2).

Table 17.1: Urban
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women in each population group

	No	Yes	No answer	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Black/African	93.9	5.9	0.1	100	1 364
Coloured	92.5	7.5	0.0	100	424
White	90.5	9.5	0.0	100	421
Asian/Indian	92.1	7.9	0.1	100	227
Total	92.9	7.0	0.1	100	2 436

Table 17.2: Rural
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women in each population group

	No	Yes	No answer	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Black/African	96.5	3.5	0.0	100	1830
Coloured	91.0	9.0	0.0	100	177
White	97.1	2.9	0.0	100	69
Asian/Indian	100.0	0.0	0.0	100	2
Total	96.1	3.9	0.0	100	2078

Findings suggest that there is little variation in the urban areas. This indicates that physical abuse is reported to an equal degree in urban areas across all the population groups. This further indicates that population group is a contributing factor for physical abuse in the case of women who reside in rural areas. Earlier it was established that the size of the household was one of the contributing factors for Black women being physically abused. However, for the other population groups, no contributing factor was found due to the limitation of variables to explore. Therefore, in rural areas, one of the factors contributing to Black women being physically abused is the size of the household. However, for the other population groups, no other factor was found within the variables of the database to explain physical abuse.

4.3.9 Physical abuse and *de facto* place of residence

Table 18: Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women for each *de facto* place of residence

	No	Yes	No answer	Non-declared	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Capital, large city	92.1	7.8	0.1		100	1 363
Small city	94.1	5.9	0.0		100	794
Town	93.8	6.2	0.0		100	292
Countryside	96.0	4.0	0.0		100	2 091
Non-declared				8.2		408
Total	94.3	5.6	0.1		100	4 948

Table 18 shows the data for women living in union who have reported being physically abused, those who have not reported being physically abused and those who did not want to comment per 100 women for each type of residence. Women living in union who reside in a capital or large city, reported the most cases of physical abuse (7.8%). However, women living in union who reside in the countryside reported the least cases of physical abuse (4 %).

To investigate whether population group is a determining factor in the incidence of physical abuse in terms of the *de facto* place of residence, the data was further analysed according to the followng *de facto* places of residence: large city (Table 18.1), small city (Table 18.2), town (Table 18.3) and countryside (Table 18.4).

Table 18.1: Large capital city
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women according to population group

	No	Yes	No answer	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Black/African	92.7	7.0	0.3	100	710
Coloured	93.2	6.8	0.0	100	206
White	90.8	9.2	0.0	100	273
Asian/Indian	89.8	10.2	0.0	100	166
Total	92.0	7.8	0.1	100	1 355

Table 18.2: Small city
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women according to population group

	No	Yes	No answer	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Black/African	95.3	4.7	0.0	100	506
Coloured	92.4	7.6	0.0	100	131
White	88.1	11.9	0.0	100	101
Asian/Indian	98.0	2.0	0.0	100	51
Total	94.0	6.0	0.0	100	789

Table 18.3: Town
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women according to population group

	No	Yes	No answer	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Black/African	95.3	4.7	0.0	100	148
Coloured	90.8	9.2	0.0	100	87
White	93.6	6.4	0.0	100	47
Asian/Indian	100.0	0.0	0.0	100	10
Total	93.8	6.2	0.0	100	292

Table 18.4: Countryside
Physical abuse of women in union per 100 women according to population group

	No	Yes	No answer	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Black/African	96.5	3.5	0.0	100	1 830
Coloured	91.0	9.0	0.0	100	177
White	97.1	2.9	0.0	100	69
Asian/Indian	100.0	0.0	0.0	100	2
Total	96.1	3.9	0.0	100	2 078

Findings suggest that reports of physical abuse vary according to population group for women living in union residing in small cities and the countryside. However, women residing in large or capital cities and in towns report physical abuse to an almost equal degree across the population groups. Thus, in general, one of the factors contributing to Black/African women living in union who reside in the countryside and small cities and who report physical abuse is the size of the household. However, in the case of other population groups, no contributing factor was found that could improve an understanding of the findings. Furthermore, in the case of women who reside in capital cities and towns, no factor was found to improve an understanding of and explain the incidence of the physical abuse of women in those residences.

4.4 Sexual abuse

Sexual abuse includes making a person wear clothes or perform sexual acts that makes that person feel uncomfortable; pressurising or forcing a person to perform sexual acts that the person does not want to perform; forcing a person to have sex when they do not want to, raping or threatening to rape a person; and forcing a person to have sex with other people (People Opposing Women Abuse, 2000). Sexual violence is defined by

Carden (1994) as forcing a female intimate partner, through the use of verbal or physical threats or intimidation, to participate in sexual activities against her will.

Sexual abuse was explored by means of questions that enquired whether women had ever been 'forced to have sex against their will'. The word 'rape' was not used in the questionnaire, as it is usually reserved to refer only to the actions of strangers or gangs (Wood et al., 1998).

4.4.1 Sexual abuse and ethnicity

Table 19: Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women of each population group

	No	Yes	Non-declared	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Black/African	97.3	2.7		100	3 455
Coloured	94.2	5.8		100	690
White	93.2	6.8		100	514
Asian/Indian	97.1	2.9		100	242
Non-declared			0.9		47
Total	96.4	3.6		100	4 948

Table 19 shows the data for women living in union who have reported being sexually abused and those who reported not being sexually abused per 100 women of each population group. Of the few reported cases of sexual abuse among these women, White women living in union reported the most cases of sexual abuse (6.9 %), while Black/African women living in union reported the least cases of sexual abuse (2.7%).

To investigate whether the size of the household in which the women live is a determining factor in the incidence of sexual abuse across the various population groups, the study explored the data according to the following population groups: Black/African women (Table 19.1), Coloured women (Table 19.2), White women (Table 19.3) and Asian/Indian (Table 19.4).

Table 19.1: Black/African
Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women in relation to the total number of members in the household

	No	Yes	Total number	Number of observations
2	94.3	5.7	100	348
3	96.9	3.1	100	482
4	97.2	2.8	100	599
5	97.8	2.2	100	582
6+	98.8	1.2	100	1401
Total	97.3	2.7	100	3412

Table 19.2: Coloured
Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women in relation to the total number of members in the household

	No	Yes	Total number	Number of observations
2	95.6	4.4	100	68
3	93.1	6.9	100	101
4	96.1	3.9	100	178
5	93.4	6.6	100	121
6+	91.9	8.1	100	222
Total	94.2	5.8	100	690

Table 19.3: White
Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women in relation to the total number of members in the household

	No	Yes	Total number	Number of observations
2	89.3	10.7	100	75
3	91.0	9.0	100	100
4	96.2	3.8	100	185
5	93.8	6.2	100	97
6+	95.4	4.6	100	56
Total	93.2	6.8	100	513

Table 19.4: Asian/Indian
Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women in relation to the total number of members in the household

	No	Yes	Total number	Number of observations
2	88.9	11.1	100	9
3	94.6	5.4	100	37
4	98.4	1.6	100	62
5	96.5	3.5	100	57
6+	99.2	0.8	100	77
Total	97.1	2.9	100	242

In examining the sexual abuse data in terms of the size of the household in which the women live, findings revealed that in the case of Black/African women, sexual abuse was reported in varying degrees, depending on the size of the household. However, in the case of the other population groups (Coloured, White and Asian/Indian) sexual abuse was reported to an equal degree, irrespective of the size of the household.

Furthermore, the most cases of sexual abuse reported (5.7%) in the case of Black/African women was in a household of two (the women and her partner). The least cases reported (1.2%) was when the women lived in a household of six or more members.

In the case of White, Coloured and Asian/Indian women, the size of the household did not affect the number of cases of sexual abuse reported. This indicates that other factors may have contributed to these women being sexually abused (factors that were not present in the data). However, in the case of Black/African women, the size of the household appears to be one of the contributing factors to these women being sexually abused by their partner.

4.4.2 Sexual abuse and age group

Table 20: Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women in each age group

	No	Yes	Non-declared	Total all treatment	Number of observations
15-19	94.0	6.0		100	84
20-24	94.3	5.7		100	456
25-29	97.0	3.0		100	853
30-34	95.0	5.0		100	965
35-39	97.6	2.4		100	1094
40-44	96.9	3.1		100	831
45-49	97.1	2.9		100	649
Non-declared			0.3		16
Total	96.4	3.6		100	4948

Table 20 shows the data for women living in union who have reported being sexually abused and those who have not reported being sexually abused per 100 women in each of the identified age groups. Of the few reports of sexual abuse, most (6%) were by women living in union in the 15 to 19 year age group. On the other hand, women living in union

in the 35 to 39 age group reported the least cases of sexual abuse (2.4%). Because a variation was encountered in the data, it was explored further.

To investigate whether population group is a determining factor in the incidence of sexual abuse in the various age groups, the study explored the data according to the following age groups: 5 to 19 years (Table 20.1), 20 to 24 years (Table 20.2), 25 to 29 years (Table 20.3), 30 to 34 years (Table 20.4), 35 to 39 years (Table 20.5), 40 to 44 years (Table 20.6) and 45 to 49 years (Table 20.7).

Table 20.1: 15 to 19 years
Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women for each population group

	No	Yes	Total number	Number of observations
Black/African	94.4	5.6	100	71
Coloured	87.5	12.5	100	8
White	100.0	0.0	100	3
Asian/Indian	100.0	0.0	100	1
Total	94.0	6.0	100	83

Table 20.2: 20 to 24 years
Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women for each population group

	No	Yes	Total number	Number of observations
Black/African	95.6	4.4	100	344
Coloured	87.5	12.5	100	56
White	88.9	11.1	100	27
Asian/Indian	95.8	4.2	100	24
Total	94.2	5.8	100	451

Table 20.4: 30 to 34 years
Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women for each population group

	No	Yes	Total number	Number of observations
Black/African	96.5	3.5	100	678
Coloured	92.1	7.9	100	126
White	88.2	11.8	100	102
Asian/Indian	96.3	3.7	100	54
Total	95.0	5.0	100	960

Table 20.5: 35 to 39 years
Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women for each population group

	No	Yes	Total number	Number of observations
Black/African	97.7	2.3	100	770
Coloured	98.1	1.9	100	158
White	96.3	3.7	100	109
Asian/Indian	100.0	0.0	100	49
Total	97.7	2.3	100	1086

Table 20.6: 40 to 44 years
Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women for each population group

	No	Yes	Total number	Number of observations
Black/African	98.2	1.8	100	563
Coloured	93.6	6.4	100	125
White	91.8	8.2	100	98
Asian/Indian	100.0	0.0	100	41
Total	96.9	3.1	100	827

Table 20.7: 45 to 49 years
Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women for each population group

	No	Yes	Total number	Number of observations
Black/African	96.9	3.1	100	422
Coloured	96.8	3.2	100	95
White	98.9	1.1	100	91
Asian/Indian	94.6	5.4	100	37
Total	97.1	2.9	100	645

Findings suggested that for women in the 25 to 34 year age group and in the 40 to 44 year age group, sexual abuse was reported in varying degrees in the different age groups across all population groups. However, in the other age groups (15 to 19; 20 to 24; 35 to 39; and 45 to 49), sexual abuse was reported to an equal degree, regardless of population group.

This indicates that population group is not a contributing factor for sexual abuse across the various age groups. No variable within the data could therefore be found that could improve understanding of the findings.

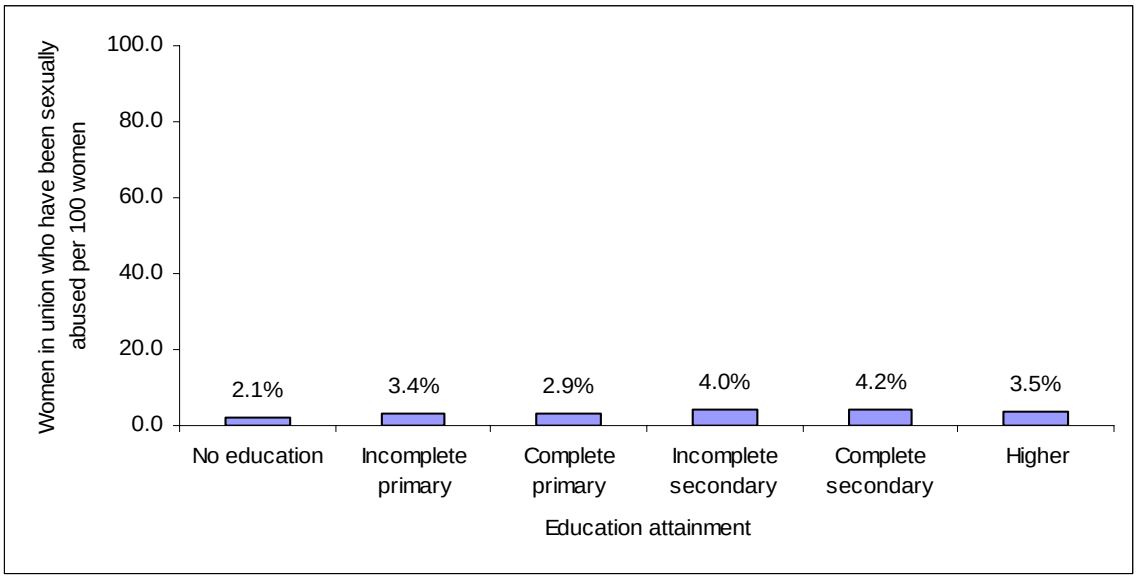
4.4.3 Sexual abuse and educational attainment

Table 21: Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women according to level of educational attainment

	No	Yes	Non-declared	Total all treatment	Number of observations
No education	97.9	2.1		100	520
Incomplete primary	96.6	3.4		100	1 077
Complete primary	97.1	2.9		100	488
Incomplete secondary	96.0	4.0		100	1783
Complete secondary	95.8	4.2		100	660
Higher	96.5	3.5		100	404
Non-declared			0.3		16
Total	96.4	3.6		100	4 948

Table 21 shows the data for women living in union who have reported being sexually abused and those who have not reported being sexually abused by their partners per 100 women for each level of educational attainment. Of the few reports of sexual abuse, the most cases (4.2%) were reported by women living in union with a complete secondary education. However, the least number of cases were reported by women living in union with no education (2.1%). The following figure displays the sexual abuse data from Table 21 in graphic form.

Figure 10: Women in union who have reported sexual abuse per 100 women across each educational level



From the above figure no pattern of variation appears to exist across the different levels of educational attainment. It would therefore appear that reports of sexual abuse took

place to an equal degree across the various levels of educational attainment. Level of educational attainment does therefore not appear to be a contributing factor for sexual abuse.

4.4.4 Sexual abuse and marital status

Table 23: Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women in terms of marital status

	No	Yes	Non-declared	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Married	97.3	2.7		100	3 941
Living together	93.1	6.9		100	991
Non-declared			0.3	100	16
Total	96.0	4.0		100	4 948

Table 23 shows the data for women living in union who have reported being sexually abused and those who have not reported being sexually abused by their partners per 100 women in terms of marital status. Of the few reports of sexual abuse, women living together with their partners reported the most cases of sexual abuse (approximately 6.9%), while married women reported the least cases of sexual abuse (approximately 2.7%). As some variation was observed in terms of marital status, the data was further explored.

To investigate whether the size of the household is a determining factor in the incidence of physical abuse in terms of marital status, the study explored the data according to the following categories: married women (Table 23.1) and women living together with their partners (Table 23.2).

Table 23.1: Married women
Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women in relation to the total number of household members

	No	Yes	Total number	Number of observations
2	95.7	4.3	100	303
3	95.9	4.1	100	539
4	97.9	2.1	100	858
5	97.1	2.9	100	724
6 - 9	97.5	2.5	100	1270
10+	99.5	0.5	100	216
Total	97.3	2.7	100	3910

Table 23.2: Women living together with their partners
Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women in relation to the total number of household members

	No	Yes	Total number	Number of observations
2	90.5	9.5	100	199
3	94.0	6.0	100	184
4	91.8	8.2	100	171
5	93.4	6.6	100	136
6 - 9	95.2	4.8	100	229
10+	94.9	5.1	100	59
Total	93.1	6.9	100	978

Findings suggest that in the case of married women, the size of the household is a determining factor in the incidence of sexual abuse. However, in the case of women living together with their partners, sexual abuse was reported to an equal degree, irrespective of the size of the household. It is further evident that as the size of the household increases in the case of married women, so reports of sexual abuse decrease. This indicates that the size of the household could be a determining factor for sexual abuse. However, in the case of women living with their partners, no variable could be found to improve an understanding of the findings.

4.4.5 Sexual abuse and occupation

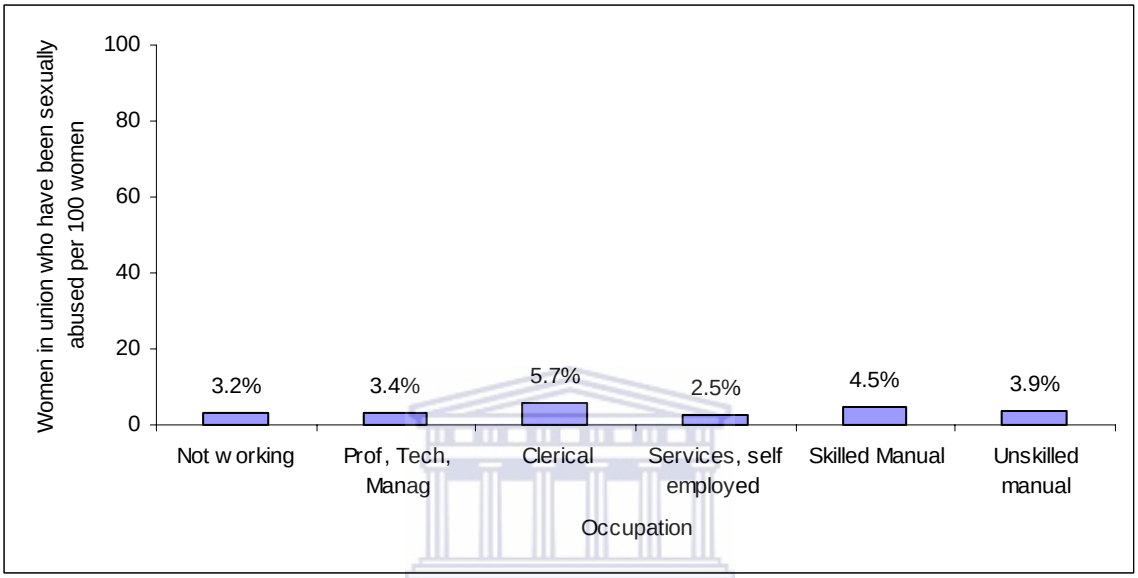
Table 22: Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women in terms of the respondents' occupation

	No	Yes	Non-declared	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Not working	96.8	3.2		100	2 884
Professional, technical, management	96.6	3.4		100	323
Clerical	94.3	5.7		100	247
Services, self-employed	97.5	2.5		100	242
Skilled manual	95.5	4.5		100	224
Unskilled manual	96.1	3.9		100	991
Non-declared			0.7		37
Total	96.4	3.6		100	4 948

Table 22 shows the data for women living in union who have reported being sexually abused and those who have not reported being sexually abused by their partners per 100 women in terms of the respondents' occupation. Of the few reports of sexual abuse,

women living in union who are in the clerical occupational category reported the most cases of sexual abuse (5.7%), while the least cases were reported by women who are self-employed (2.5%).

Figure 11: Women in union who have been sexually abused per 100 women in terms of the respondents' occupation



From the above figure, little variation appears to exist between the different occupational categories. This indicates that a woman's occupation is not a contributing factor for sexual abuse.

4.4.6 Sexual abuse and current working status

Table 24: Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women according to current working status

	No	Yes	Non-declared	Total all treatment	Number of observations
No	96.6	3.4		100	3065
Yes	92.6	3.8		100	1854
Non-declared			0.6		29
Total	96.4	3.6		100	4919

Table 24 shows the data for women living in union who have reported being sexually abused and those who have not reported being sexually abused by their partners per 100 women according to their current working status. Of the few reports of sexual abuse, further findings suggest that women living in union who are employed have reported the

most cases of sexual abuse (3.8%), while the least cases (3.4%) are reported by women who are not employed. There appears to be little variation between the different categories of working status. This suggests that, across the working status, these women report sexual abuse to an equal degree. Employment status is therefore not a contributing factors to sexual abuse.

4.4.7 Sexual abuse and geographical region

Table 25: Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women according to geographical region

	No	Yes	Non-declared	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Western Cape	94.0	6.0		100	417
Eastern Cape	98.2	1.8		100	1037
Northern Cape	96.5	3.5		100	483
Free State	97.5	2.5		100	433
KwaZulu-Natal	96.6	3.4		100	730
North West	97.5	2.5		100	360
Gauteng	94.4	5.6		100	501
Mpumalanga	94.1	5.9		100	421
Limpopo	96.9	3.1		100	550
Non-declared			0.3		16
Total	96.4	3.6		100	4948

Table 25 shows the data for women living in union who have reported being sexually abused and those who have not reported being sexually abused by their partners per 100 women for each region. Women living in union in the Western Cape, Gauteng and Mpumalanga have reported the most cases of sexual abuse (6%), while women living in the Eastern Cape have reported the least cases of sexual abuse (2%). A variation is evident across the regions.

To investigate whether age group is a determining factor in the incidence of sexual abuse in terms of provincial region in South Africa, the study explored the data according to the following provincial regions: Western Cape (Table 25.1), Eastern Cape (Table 25.2), Northern Cape (Table 25.3), Free State (Table 25.4), KwaZulu-Natal (Table 25.5), North West (Table 25.6), Gauteng (Table 25.7), Mpumalanga (Table 25.8) and Limpopo(Table 25.9).

Table 25.1: Western Cape
Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women in each age group

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
15-19	80.0	20.0	100	5
15-24	80.8	19.2	100	26
25-29	90.3	9.7	100	62
30-34	93.8	6.2	100	97
35-39	95.9	4.1	100	98
40-44	98.7	1.3	100	76
45-49	96.2	3.8	100	53
Total	94.0	6.0	100	417

Table 25.2: Eastern Cape
Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women in each age group

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
15-19	100.0	0.0	100	29
20-24	97.8	2.2	100	91
25-29	98.1	1.9	100	161
30-34	97.9	2.1	100	195
35-39	98.8	1.2	100	241
40-44	97.2	2.8	100	180
45-49	98.6	1.4	100	140
Total	98.2	1.8	100	1037

Table 25.3: Northern Cape
Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women in each age group

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
15-19	100.0	0.0	100	4
20-24	95.5	4.5	100	44
25-29	97.6	2.4	100	83
30-34	93.7	6.3	100	79
35-39	100.0	0.0	100	105
40-44	92.6	7.4	100	95
45-49	98.6	1.4	100	73
Total	96.5	3.5	100	483

Table 25.4: Free State
Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women in each age group

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
15-19	100.0	0.0	100	8
20-24	100.0	0.0	100	36
25-29	98.8	1.2	100	82
30-34	94.4	5.6	100	89
35-39	97.0	3.0	100	101
40-44	100.0	0.0	100	70
45-49	95.7	4.3	100	47
Total	97.5	2.5	100	433

Table 25.5: KwaZulu-Natal
Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women in each age group

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
15-19	100.0	0.0	100	3
20-24	95.0	5.0	100	60
25-29	94.8	5.2	100	115
30-34	96.0	4.0	100	151
35-39	98.3	1.7	100	176
40-44	99.1	0.9	100	114
45-49	94.6	5.4	100	111
Total	96.6	3.4	100	730

Table 25.6: North West
Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women in each age group

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
15-19				
20-24	88.9	11.1	100	27
25-29	100.0	0.0	100	64
30-34	98.8	1.2	100	81
35-39	97.6	2.4	100	83
40-44	95.3	4.7	100	64
45-49	100.0	0.0	100	41
Total	97.5	2.5	100	360

Table 25.7: Gauteng
Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women in each age group

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
15-19	100.0	0.0	100	2
20-24	93.2	6.8	100	44
25-29	94.0	6.0	100	100
30-34	89.4	10.6	100	94
35-39	96.0	4.0	100	100
40-44	97.0	3.0	100	101
45-49	96.7	3.3	100	60
Total	94.4	5.6	100	501

Table 25.8: Mpumalanga
Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women in each age group

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
15-19	87.5	12.5	100	8
20-24	87.5	12.5	100	40
25-29	98.8	1.2	100	84
30-34	91.7	8.3	100	84
35-39	95.7	4.3	100	69
40-44	94.3	5.7	100	70
45-49	93.9	6.1	100	66
Total	94.1	5.9	100	421

Table 25.9: Limpopo
Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women in each age group

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
15-19	88.0	12.0	100	25
20-24	96.6	3.4	100	88
25-29	99.0	1.0	100	102
30-34	95.8	4.2	100	95
35-39	96.7	3.3	100	121
40-44	96.7	3.3	100	61
45-49	100.0	0.0	100	58
Total	96.9	3.1	100	550

Findings suggest that age group is a determining factor on the incidence of sexual abuse in the provinces of the Northern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga. However, in the other provinces (Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Free State, North West and Gauteng) sexual abuse was reported to an equal degree across all the age groups. Earlier findings in terms of age group and sexual abuse revealed that population group is not a contributing

factor to sexual abuse and no variable within the database could be found to improve an understanding of the findings.

4.4.8 Sexual abuse and type of residence

Table 26: Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women according to type of place of residence

	No	Yes	Non-declared	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Urban	95.8	4.2		100	2 675
Rural	97.2	2.8		100	2 257
Non-declared			0.3		16
Total	96.4	3.6		100	4 948

Table 26 shows the data for women living in union who have reported being sexually abused and those who have not reported being sexually abused by their partners per 100 women for each type of place of residence. Women living in union in the urban areas appear to have reported the most cases of sexual abuse (4.2%), while women living in the rural areas appear to have reported the least cases of sexual abuse (2.8 %). A variation is evident across the different types of places of residences.

To investigate whether number of children is a determining factor for sexual abuse in terms of type of place of residence, the data was analysed according to the following categories: urban residence (Table 26.1) and rural residence (Table 26.2).

Table 26.1: Urban
Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women in terms of number of children in the household

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
0	94.9	5.1	100	1408
1	97.2	2.8	100	905
2	96.4	3.6	100	304
3	95.3	4.7	100	43
4+	92.8	7.2	100	15
Total	95.8	4.2	100	2675

Table 26.2: Rural
Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women in terms of number of children in the household

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
0	96.7	3.3	100	795
1	97.1	2.9	100	806
2	97.3	2.7	100	481
3	99.2	0.8	100	122
4+	98.3	1.7	100	53
Total	97.2	2.8	100	2257

Findings suggest that women who reside in rural areas appear to report sexual abuse to an equal degree, irrespective of number of children. However, women who reside in urban areas report sexual abuse to varying degrees, depending on the number of children a woman has.

4.4.9 Sexual abuse and *de facto* place of residence

Table 27: Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women for each *de facto* place of residence

	No	Yes	Non-declared	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Capital, large city	95.4	4.6		100	1488
Small city	95.9	4.1		100	869
Town	97.8	2.2		100	318
Countryside	97.2	2.8		100	2257
Non-declared			0.3		16
Total	96.4	3.6		100	4948

Table 27 shows the data for women living in union who have reported being sexually abused and those who have not reported being sexually abused per 100 women for each *de facto* place of residence. Women in large cities and capital cities have reported the most cases of sexual abuse (4.6%), while women who live in towns have reported the least cases of sexual abuse (2.2%). A variation in sexual abuse is observed between the different places of residence.

To further explore the findings, the data was analysed according to the following *de facto* places of residences: capital, large city (Table 27.1), small city (Table 27.2), town (Table 27.3) and countryside (Table 27.4).

Table 27.1: Capital city
Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women in terms of marital status

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Married	96.2	3.8	100	1 207
Living together	91.8	8.2	100	281
Total	95.4	4.6	100	1 488

Table 27.2: Small city
Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women in terms of marital status

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Married	97.2	2.8	100	711
Living together	89.9	10.1	100	158
Total	95.9	4.1	100	869

Table 27.3: Town
Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women in terms of marital status

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Married	98.1	1.9	100	263
Living together	96.4	3.6	100	55
Total	97.8	2.2	100	318

Table 27.4: Countryside
Sexual abuse of women in union per 100 women in terms of marital status

	No	Yes	Total all treatment	Number of observations
Married	97.9	2.1	100	1760
Living together	94.6	5.4	100	497
Total	97.2	2.8	100	2257

The most cases of sexual abuse are reported by women who are living together with their partners in small cities, while the least cases are reported by married women in the towns. From the tables above a variation is evident between cases reported in a capital or large city, a small city and in the countryside. Thus women in the towns report sexual abuse to an almost equal degree.

From earlier analysis it was found that for married women, number of children was a determining factor in the incidence of sexual abuse. Thus, for married women residing in large cities, small city and in the countryside, number of children is also a contributing factors for sexual abuse.

4.5 An overview of the chapter

In this chapter, results of the findings were presented and discussed. Furthermore, data was explored to improve an understanding of the findings. The next sections provide a summary of the findings.

4.5.1 Financial dependency

Financial dependency and ethnicity: Findings suggest that Black/African women are the most financially dependent and White women the least financially dependent in South Africa. However, further analysis revealed that it is not by population group that women living in union are financially dependent on their partner, but due to factors such as level of educational attainment and employment status.

Financial dependency and age group: Findings suggest that there is little variation in financial dependency for women across different age groups. This implies that age group is not one of the contributing factors to women being financially dependent on their partners.

Financial dependency and educational attainment: Findings suggest that most women who are financially dependent on their partners have an incomplete primary education. The women who are the least financially dependent on their partners have a higher education. Further analysis revealed that it is not on the basis of level of educational attainment that women are financially dependent on their partners, but on other factors such as employment status.

Financial dependency and marital status: Findings suggest that women who are living together with their partners are more financially dependent than married women. Furthermore, analysis revealed that in the case of married women, their partners' level of educational attainment and their employment status have an effect on their financial dependency.

Financial dependency and women's occupation: Findings suggest that women in the unskilled manual occupational category are the most financially dependent on their partners and women in the clerical occupational category are the least financially dependent on their partners. Furthermore, when one examines the data according to population group, findings suggest that White and Asian/Indian women with three or more children are the most financially dependent.

Financial dependency and current working status: Findings indicate little variation between the variables across the employment status of women who are financially dependent. This reveals that women's employment status is not one of the contributing factors to them being financially dependent on their partners.

Financial dependency and region: Findings suggest that women who reside in the Free State are the most financially dependent on their partners. However, women residing in the Western Cape are the least financially dependent on their partners. Further analysis revealed that this is because of their level of educational attainment and employment status.

Financial dependency and type of place of residence: Findings suggest that women in the rural areas are the most financially dependent and women in the urban areas are the least financially dependent on their partners. Further analysis revealed that this is because of their employment status.

Financial dependency and *de facto* place of residence: Findings suggest that women who reside in the countryside are the most financially dependent on their partners. However, women living in capitals or cities are the least financially dependent on their partners. Further analysis revealed that this is because of their employment status, not because of their place of residence.

4.5.2 Physical abuse

Physical abuse and ethnicity: Findings suggest that White women have reported the most cases of physical abuse, while Black/African women have reported the least cases of physical abuse. Furthermore, analysis suggests that in the case of Black/African women, it is not their population group that is a contributing factor for physical abuse, but rather the size of the household.

Physical abuse and age group: Findings suggest that there is little variation between the data for the different age groups. This implies that age group is not a contributing factor to women being physically abused by their partners.

Physical abuse and educational attainment: Findings reveal no pattern of variation in terms of women's level of educational attainment. This suggests that women's level of educational attainment is not a contributing factor to them being physically abused.

Physical abuse and marital status: Findings suggest that women living with their partners report more cases of physical abuse than married women. Furthermore, no variable was found that could explain these findings. Findings did, however, reveal that data for married women varied according to population group, implying there are factors that cause them to vary in terms of population group.

Physical abuse and occupation: Findings reveal no variation in the data for physical abuse based on women's occupational category. This implies that women's occupation is not a contributing factor to them being physically abused by their partner.

Physical abuse and current working status: Findings reveal no variation in the data for physical abuse based on the working status of women. This implies that the employment status of women is not a contributing factor for these women being physically abused.

Physical abuse and region: Findings reveal that women in Gauteng report the most cases of physical abuse in South Africa, while women residing in the North West province report the least cases of physical abuse in South Africa. Further analysis revealed variation in the findings according to the marital status of women. In the case of married women, the difference was related to population group.

Physical abuse and type of residence: Findings reveal that women who reside in the urban areas report more cases of physical abuse than women who reside in the rural areas. Further analysis revealed variation in findings of women living in rural areas according to population group.

Physical abuse and *de facto* place of residence: Findings reveal that women who reside in capitals or large cities report the most cases of physical abuse, while women who reside in the countryside report the least cases of physical abuse. Furthermore, this was found to vary according to population groups.

4.5.3 Sexual abuse

Sexual abuse and ethnicity: Findings suggest that White women report the most cases of sexual abuse, while Black/African women report the least cases of sexual abuse. Further analysis found that in the case of Black/African women, one of the contributing factors for sexual abuse is the size of the household.

Sexual abuse and age group: Findings suggest that women in the 15 to 19 year age group report the most cases of sexual abuse, while women in the 35 to 39 age group report the least cases of sexual abuse. Further analysis revealed a variation in terms of population group in some age groups. However, no other variable was found that could help provide an understanding of the findings.

Sexual abuse and educational attainment: Findings reveal no pattern of variation between women at the various levels of educational attainment. Thus, level of

educational attainment is not a contributing factor to these women being sexually abused by their partners.

Sexual abuse and occupation: Findings suggest little or no variation in the women's occupation when it comes to reports of sexual abuse. This suggests that women's occupation is not a contributing factor to them being sexually abused by their partners.

Sexual abuse and marital status: Findings suggest that women living together with their partners report sexual abuse twice as frequently as married women. Further findings reveal a variation in terms of the size of the household in the case of married women.

Sexual abuse and current working status: Findings reveal no pattern of variation in the employment status of women. This indicates that employment status is not one of the contributing factors to women being sexually abused by their partners.

Sexual abuse and region: Findings reveal that women living in the Western Cape report the most cases of sexual abuse, while women living in the Eastern Cape report the least cases of sexual abuse.

Sexual abuse and type of place of residence: Findings suggest that women living in urban areas report the most cases of sexual abuse, while women living in rural areas report the least cases of sexual abuse.

Sexual abuse and *de facto* place of residence: Findings suggest that women living in capitals or large cities report the most cases of sexual abuse, while women living in towns report the least cases of sexual abuse.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and recommendations

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, a summary of the major research findings is provided in relation to the literature. The findings are discussed in the order in which they have been reported. The limitation of the study is also mentioned and the chapter concludes with recommendations for future research. A profile is established of women living in union who have been exposed to domestic violence.

5.2 Financial dependency

Earlier literature indicated that the economic climate of South Africa intersects with violence, gender and identity. Literature further illustrated that the South African economic climate allows for women to earn salaries that are on a par with those of men.

This study found that 18.9% of the respondents were financially dependent on their partners. This indicates that 81.1% of women living in union are financially independent. Thus, most women in this study are financially independent. This agrees with the literature that indicated that women are more independent. Findings in the SADHS 1998 suggest that one in five women is financially dependent. The pattern shows very little variation across the age groups. It further suggests that it is more common in non-urban areas, among women residing in the Free State and KwaZulu-Natal, and much less common in the Western Cape and the North West.

Furthermore, there was less financial dependency among more educated women. Large ethnic differences were also recorded. White women were six times more likely to report financial dependence than African women (SADHS, 1998). These findings correlate with the findings of this study. Further analysis found that employment and educational attainment are among the factors that contribute to women being financially dependent on their partners.

Literature indicates that the unemployment status in South Africa is still very high. The former government did not allow women to educate themselves and be financially independent. Thus, the effects of the former government are still in place for some women. A large number of South Africans are unemployed and there is also much poverty. These and other issues that have not been discussed contribute to these women being financially dependent on their partners.

5.3 Physical abuse

Literature indicates that 80% of the charges of domestic violence that are reported are withdrawn before they get to court. Findings of the study suggest that 5.6% of the respondents have reported being physically abused, while 94.4% have not reported being physically abused. This indicates that the findings of these studies are related. Literature further indicates that women in Soweto have reported experiencing physical and/or sexual violence from a male partner.

Findings from this study reveal that most of the women who have reported being physically abused reside in Gauteng. Literature also mentions the implications of culture and ethics in South Africa where some cultures, such as Black/African women, are more tolerant of abuse, while English White women are not tolerant of abuse. This explains the gap between the two racial groups.

Furthermore, SADHS 1998 found that reports of physical abuse are more common in urban areas, and are the lowest in the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, North West and the Limpopo. This also agrees with the findings of this research. Literature further indicates that in South Africa, one of the most remarkable features of gender-based violence is that, within certain boundaries of severity, society is extremely tolerant of it (CIET-Africa, 2000; Kim & Motsei, in press; Wood & Jewkes, 2001; Jewkes & Abrahams, in press).

Literature further revealed that English-speaking White South Africans have a more liberal and less rigid view on gender roles. The study found that respondents with a post-

matric education were less tolerant of marital violence than women who had not studied further than high school. However, housewives were more likely to agree that women should be submissive and assume the traditional passive sex role in marriage (Van der Hoven, 2001).

5.4 Sexual abuse

From the study it was found that a few cases of sexual abuse had been reported. This further illustrates the findings in earlier literature that 80% of domestic violence cases are not reported. Furthermore, findings suggest that whites are less tolerant of abuse. Women in other population groups, particularly Black women, are tolerant of it. Findings reveal that Black women have reported the least cases of sexual abuse. One of the reasons for this would be the lobolo issue and other cultural implications of society.

Recent research in developing countries suggests that a considerable number of young women may experience forced sex within marriage. This was also evident in the research, as the respondents that reported the most cases of sexual abuse were married women in the 15 to 19 year age group. The most reported cases of sexual abuse were further found to be among White women, and the least reported cases among Black/African women. Here, again, because of the different societies in the racial groups, and their tolerance of sexual abuse, the prevalence of sexual abuse differs. Number of children was found to be one of the factors contributing to women being sexually abused.

5.5 Profile of women (abused or not) in South Africa

To be financially dependent, she will be a Black/African woman with an incomplete primary education. She will live together with her partner, but not be married to him. She will have an occupation as an unskilled manual labourer and will live in the Free State. She will reside in the rural area in the countryside.

To be financially independent, she will be a White woman with a higher education. She will be married and have an occupation as a clerical worker. She will live in the Western Cape in an urban area in a large city or capital.

To be physically abused, she will be a White woman living together with her partner, but not married. She will live in Gauteng in an urban area in a capital city.

Not to be physically abused, she will be a Black woman who is married. She will live in the North West in the rural area in the countryside.

To be sexually abused, she will be a White woman between the ages of 15 and 19, living together with her partner, but not married. She will live in the Western Cape where she will reside in an urban area in a capital city.

Not to be sexually abused, she will be a Black/African woman between the ages of 35 and 39. She will be married and will live in the Eastern Cape in the rural area in the countryside.

5.6 Relevance of the study

This study revealed that demographic characteristics, such as population group and age, are not the only factors that should be considered when trying to determine policies or laws to fight domestic violence in South Africa. This was revealed by further analysis during which the demographic characteristics were explored.

Examples of some of the major contributing factors for financial dependence in women in this study are unemployment and level of educational attainment. In a country where unemployment is high, women tend to depend on their partners financially and thus take whatever form of abuse they get. This study should provide policy-makers and the government with evidence that domestic violence should not be solved by overall population-based findings, but in communities and families, as that is where it varies.

Theoretical findings suggest that domestic violence begins in the home, where the parents are the models of the child's behaviour. This study is further important, because it indicates that South Africa is a very violent society. This contributes to children experiencing or seeing domestic violence in their homes.

5.7 Limitation to the study

Since this study makes use of secondary data, it was very difficult to explore the data. The variables within the database limited exploration. Furthermore, because this is a project, one could not investigate many demographic characteristics as one found them to be of interest. Another limitation to this study was the time frame in which it was conducted, as more time was required to conduct a more detailed study. To have explored the data and to have used another methodology would have been time consuming.

5.8 Recommendation

Research on domestic violence in South Africa should be conducted annually. It should be done in such a way that the fieldworkers are trained very well in order for the analysis to be precise. When collecting data on domestic violence, more variables should be considered, so that future research can explore the data effectively.

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