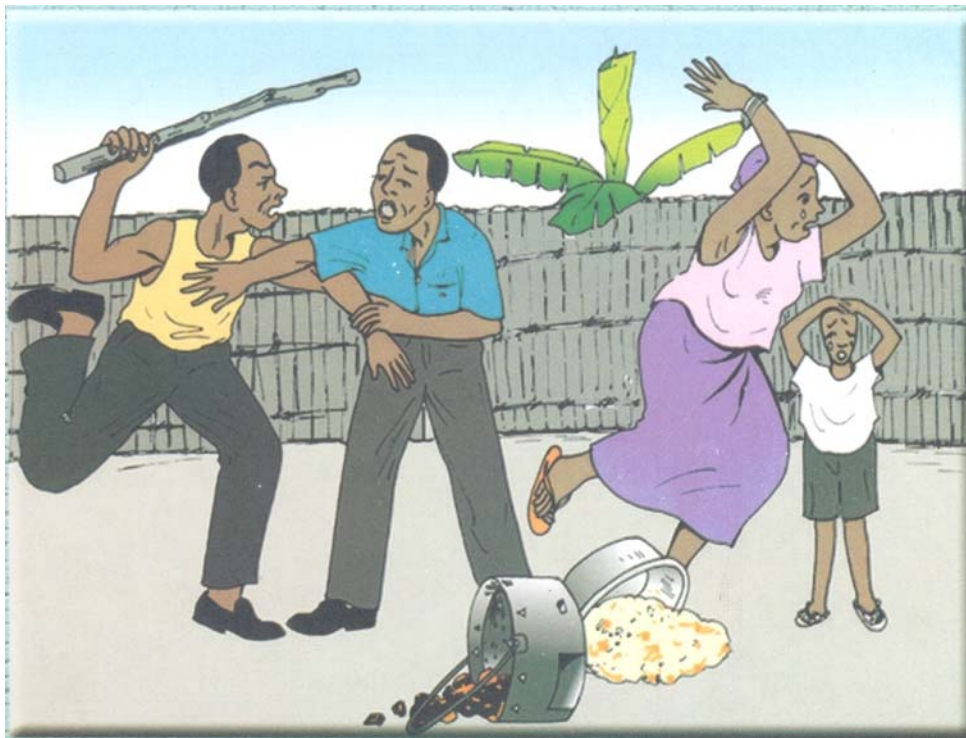


REPUBLIC OF RWANDA



Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

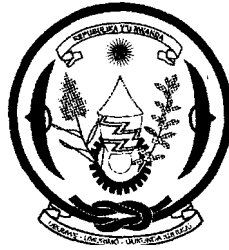


Kigali, June 2004

IRC

USAID

REPUBLIC OF RWANDA



Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

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MINISTÈRE DU GENRE ET DE LA PROMOTION DE LA FAMILLE

Madame, Monsieur,

Objet: Transmission des résultats de la recherche
sur la violence contre les femmes

Madame, Monsieur

Il me fait plaisir de vous présenter les résultats de cette recherche approfondie sur les taux actuels de la violence que vivent les femmes rwandaises dans leur foyer et leur communauté.

Les informations que contient ce rapport proviennent d'un sondage aléatoire réalisé auprès de femmes qui ont accepté de témoigner, sous le sceau de la confidentialité, de la violence qu'elles ont vécue entre 1998 et 2003. La mémoire des atrocités liées au génocide n'a pas été explorée car nous voulions connaître la prévalence actuelle de la violence pour mieux en suivre l'évolution dans l'avenir.

Les actes de violences ont été classés en deux catégories : les actes commis par les voisins et les agents publics et les actes commis par le mari ou le conjoint. Dans le premier cas, on parle de violence communautaire et dans le second, de violence domestique.

Ces deux catégories de violence ont des taux de prévalence bien différents. La violence domestique est davantage présente chez nous que la violence communautaire. Nous sommes donc tous interpellés par ce phénomène. Le rapport nous aide à comprendre les causes de cette violence, ses effets et il nous permet de comparer les taux rwandais à ceux des autres pays du monde. Je vous invite à le lire attentivement.

Le MIGEPROF a pour mission de promouvoir l'équité des genres et d'assurer la cohésion de nos familles. Il se préoccupe donc, au premier chef, de mesurer la violence faite aux femmes et de l'enrayer. C'est dans cet esprit que le MIGEPROF a commandité la présente recherche qui a été réalisée avec l'appui financier de l'USAID et l'assistance technique de l'IRC. Un grand nombre de partenaires de la société civile y ont aussi participé.

Je leur adresse mes très sincères remerciements.

NYIRAHABINEZA Valérie

Ministre du Genre et de la Promotion de la Famille



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SUMMARY

This pioneering research on violence against women in Rwandan society was carried out in the field during the months of January to March 2003. It constitutes an overview of the acts of violence committed against women by relatives, spouses, sexual partners, neighbours and government authorities, most of whom are men.

The problem of violence was examined using two approaches: through an exploration of violence as suffered and experienced by individuals and via group reflections on the phenomenon of violence against women. The personal testimonies were gathered through an opinion survey using individual questionnaires administered with 722 randomly selected women, aged 18 to 49, from the provinces of Kigali-Ville, Kigali rural, Ruhengeri, Byumba, Butare and Cyangugu. All 722 women expressed themselves regarding violence that had been inflicted on them in their communities and on violence they experienced during childhood. In addition, 449 women from this sample group expressed themselves regarding domestic violence, i.e. violence experienced in their homes and violence implicating their partner. General points of view on the phenomenon of sex and gender-based violence were expressed during "directed discussions" with the participation of other persons than the survey respondents.

The survey's results show that an estimated 32.4% of women were verbally or physically abused in their communities, on at least one occasion during the last five years, i.e. between January 1998 and March 2003, by a person other than their spouse or sexual partner. The estimated percentage of women who were victims of violence at the hands of their spouse or sexual partner, on at least one occasion during the preceding year, is 53.8%. In other words, one in three women were victims of at least one act of "community violence" during the last five years and one in two women suffered at least one act of "domestic violence" during the preceding year.

Regarding community violence, this study finds that the most common type is sexual in character and is expressed mostly in the form of verbal obscenities. One of every four women was subject to sexual violence, on at least one occasion, in the last five years. The rates of psychological and physical violence were both half the rate of sexual violence (13.2% and 12.7%, respectively). Psychological violence was mostly expressed during nighttime altercations (11.2%). As for physical violence, this took the form of threats with weapons brandished (6.7%), punches or slaps (6.4%), and kicks and other types of blows (4.5%). One of every eight women was a victim of at least one act of psychological or physical violence in the last five years.

The 32.4% who had been victims of community violence were asked to identify the incident which they believed had the biggest impact on their lives and to characterize how serious it was, as well as specify the year it occurred and the "status" of the perpetrator. The results indicate that verbal obscenities, considered as acts of sexual violence, were judged as the most serious incident by 60% of the abused women. For the remaining third, the most serious incident involved physical and psychological forms of violence. Most of the community violence occurred in 1998, the year in

which 36% of the abused women (most of whom live in Ruhengeri) situated the incident that had most affected them. The succeeding years were less violent so much so that just 10% of all women who were victims of violence in the last five years situated the incident that had most affected them in 2002-2003. Therefore, based on these figures, one may estimate the "annualized" rate of women suffering community violence to be 3.24% in 2002 (32.4% x 10%). The survey also reveals that 63.5% of the abused women identify neighbors as the perpetrators of the acts of community violence which had impacted them the most. Neighbours were the main perpetrators of community throughout the five-year study period. In 2002-2003, 90% of the women attributed the responsibility for community violence to their neighbours.

The other groups implicated in violence committed over the five-year period were soldiers (according to 16.6% of victims), local defense officers and patrollers (according to paramilitaries (8.9%), relatives and employers (17.5%), and unknown persons (9.9%). It should be noted that clerics, officials of the justice system, policemen, teachers, doctors and health care personnel did not seem to be responsible for any such acts.

The women most affected by community violence are those who are literate, educated and have paid employment., Illiterate women whose sole source of income is farming are less likely to suffer this type of violence.

As for "**domestic violence**," our findings show that in a single year it affected nearly 54% of the women who have a spouse or partner. Domestic violence, which consists mostly of psychological violence in the form of caustic and hurtful words, is a complaint of at least one of every two women. Domestic violence also occurs in the form of threats of physical violence. Thirty per cent of the women had received such threats, 16% had been slapped and 11% struck. Nearly one in ten women complained of sexual violence in the form of partner imposed sexual intercourse.

According to respondents, domestic violence is induced by issues such as alcohol consumption, quarrels on how money should be spent, housekeeping and childcare. In general, the quarrels apt to induce domestic violence are monthly and are more frequent if the spouse or partner is a merchant, if the respondent is as well, or if she has paid employment outside of the household.

There is also a link between domestic violence and violence suffered during childhood. In this regard, 47% of respondents recall having witnessed an act of violence between their parents when they were children. Furthermore, 18% were victims of sexual violence, in the broad sense given to this term in the present survey. In the opinions of the women familiar with the history of their spouse or partner, one in every two men had also witnessed or suffered domestic violence during childhood. Statistical tests confirm the expected result of a strong correlation between current violence and violence suffered by a woman's spouse during childhood.

The women who, in keeping with conventional mores, are desirous of showing themselves as faithful, available and submissive to their husbands, "tolerate" violence. As a consequence, two thirds of women consider it their duty to obey their spouse in

private as well as in public. One in every two women consider it of the utmost importance to safeguard the appearance of her husband's authority in public, and three quarters of the women would not divulge any violence they experience in their marital relationship unless such violence were very serious. According to 75% of respondents, it would normally be "acceptable" for a husband to beat his wife if she committed adultery; 50% say the same applies if a wife refuses sexual intercourse and 32% say a husband may beat his wife for poor housekeeping.

In comparison, reproductive-aged Rwandan women are approximately two times less likely to be attacked by a person outside of the family (i.e. to suffer community violence) than the women of East Timor were after the conflict in 2001. This is true for both physical violence and sexual violence. However, regarding domestic violence, whereas Rwandan women face more or less comparable risks when it comes to physical abuse, they are 50% less at risk with respect to sexual violence. The main differences concern abuses of power and control-Rwandan women complain about this twice as much-and verbal abuse which is 60% more frequent in Rwanda than it is in East Timor.

We also compared the Rwandan data on domestic violence with data collected among women of reproductive age in the Rakai district of Uganda. This comparison revealed no differences in terms of levels of physical violence. However, verbal abuse, which attains a rate of 52% in Rwanda, seems more frequent there than in the above-mentioned district of Uganda.

On the whole, the study leads us to conclude that Rwandan men are not more physically violent than men in other societies. However, they are very assertive of their authority, it would seem, regarding family issues and in sexual relationships. This is due to the submissiveness, availability and willingness to tolerate violence of Rwandan women. The "means of intimidation" utilized by men are verbal abuse along with control over money and family activities. The few statistical tests that have been done also lead us to believe that the prevalence of domestic violence may increase when more women gain access to education and non-agricultural employment. One must also expect that the actions of women struggling against domestic violence will lead women as a whole to adopt a less conciliatory attitude in the face of male "power and control."

I. INTRODUCTION

In March 2002, the Ministry of Gender Issues and the Promotion of Women (MIGEPROFE), with technical support from the International Rescue Committee (IRC) and financial support from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), launched a program for the prevention of sex and gender-based violence (SGBV). The objectives of the program are:

- (i) To better understand the causes and effects of such violence;
- (ii) To strengthen the capacity to respond of Ministries and stakeholders affected by this problem; and
- (iii) To develop and implement prevention and support programs for abused women by organizing training sessions at the community level.

A few quantitative and qualitative studies on the nature and extent of violence against women have already been conducted in Rwanda. As most of them were narrowly focused, they do not provide all the information necessary for the design and follow-up of a prevention and support program that would be national in scope. The present study is intended to be comprehensive. In effect, it deals as extensively with domestic violence as it does with community violence. Furthermore, we decided to not repeat the studies on violence related to the genocide, largely to avoid the risk of interfering with the trials underway in the Gacaca jurisdictions.

MIGEPROFE, the IRC and the many partners who participated in designing this study agreed to restrict the study period to the last few years. As a consequence, this survey of women respondents only recorded acts of domestic violence committed between April 2002 and March 2003, i.e. over a one-year period, and the acts of community violence committed between January 1998 and March 2003, i.e. a period just over five years long.

To arrive at a better comprehension of sex and gender-based violence in Rwanda, the program conducted three types of research:

- 1) an analysis of the quality of the social services accessible to victims;
- 2) an investigation into the knowledge and attitudes of women and men of different ages through group interviews; and
- 3) a quantitative inquiry carried out as an opinion survey.

1.1. OBJECTIVE OF THE OPINION SURVEY

The objective of the opinion survey on sex and gender-based violence was to collect and to make available basic data on the nature and current prevalence of violence against women in their homes and communities.

This study also sought to initiate Rwandan women and men into the art of conducting similar studies in the gender issues field, as well as provide the basic data needed to document the future advocacy and public awareness campaigns that partner organizations will need to conduct. Such campaigns will target the general public, providers of social services, political decision-makers and funding agencies.

This document is only concerned with the analysis and processing of data from the quantitative inquiry and the analysis of information gathered during interviews with focus groups. The results of the multi-sectoral analysis on the availability and accessibility of social services are the subject of a different report.

1.2. PROCEDURES AND METHODS

1.2.1. The opinion survey

The opinion survey was carried out in the City of Kigali and in five of the country's eleven provinces, namely: Kigali rural, Butare, Byumba, Ruhengeri and Cyangugu. These six jurisdictions were not chosen at random. They were instead selected by a working group comprised of Ministry and civil society representatives, on the basis of information gathered during the multi-sectoral study.

In each of these jurisdictions, a two-stage opinion survey was done based on equiprobable sampling. In the first stage, seven cells were randomly drawn as primary sampling units; in the second stage, about twenty-one households per cell were randomly drawn as secondary sampling units. In each of these households, one woman between 18 and 49 years of age was retained for the sample group. When more than one person per household was eligible, one of them was chosen at random.

The size of the sample group was determined on the basis of a hypothetical 30% non-response rate (which was the non-response rate observed in an IRC study in East Timor) , and a theoretical rate of violence of 27%. To ensure a confidence interval equal to 8% and a probability of 95%, the recommended sample size is 857 individuals. Upon completion of the survey, the number of respondents obtained was 722 for community violence and 449 for domestic violence. To ensure the above-mentioned level of precision, 449 respondents for domestic violence seems less than robust.

Data was collected using a questionnaire based on the one utilized in East Timor. The work-team made additions and modifications in order to adapt it to the Rwandan socio-cultural context. Special measures were taken to guarantee interview confidentiality. The surveyors, who were women, received two weeks of training on interview

techniques from consultants from the CDC (Center for Disease Control) and the RHR (Reproductive Health for Refugees) consortium. They were also given training on how to express their support to respondents showing symptoms of post-traumatic stress. Finally, surveyors were able to provide information on the available health care services and the available social services (1).

1.2.2. Interviews with focus groups

The working group that designed the program also elaborated a questionnaire and supervised participatory surveys with focus groups in the six jurisdictions covered by the quantitative investigation. Three criteria were retained in the selection of focus groups: age, sex and social background. Three age groups were utilized: 15-20, 21-35 and 36-49+. As for social environment, the two categories were rural and urban. Men and women were interviewed separately. Sixty-six focus groups participated. The IRC and MIGEPROFE jointly recruited eight teams of two moderators to carry out this work (2).

II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Sex and gender-based violence (SGBV) or violence against women are the expressions used to differentiate violence aimed at individuals or groups of individuals on the basis of their gender from violence in general.

According to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), sex and gender-based violence includes acts which cause physical, mental or sexual suffering or injuries such as threats, constraints and other restrictions on freedom (3).

Sex and gender based-violence includes, but is not limited to:

- i. Physical, sexual and psychological acts of violence inflicted on women within the family (i.e. domestic violence); and
- ii. Physical, sexual and psychological acts of violence inflicted on women in their communities (i.e. community violence).

By "physical violence" is meant any act of physical aggression as such, as well as threats of violence, with or without a weapon. "Sexual violence" includes verbal aggressions and obscenities, acts such as sexual touching, forced sexual intercourse or intercourse under duress, as well as being undressed or forced to undress. As for "psychological violence," this includes insults, restrictions on freedom of movement, isolation or the deprivation of material resources (e.g. money, water, food, etc.).

Acts of violence against women may occur anywhere, in so-called developed societies as well as in developing countries. Studies on the nature and prevalence of domestic and community violence provide evidence to that effect.

A vast study carried out in North Carolina in 2000 showed that 25% of the women questioned had been raped or suffered physical violence at the hands of her partner at least once in the course of their relationship as a couple (4).

Closer to us in Rwanda, a study carried out in the Rakai district of south-western Uganda in 2000-2001, with the participation of 5,109 women of reproductive age, indicated that 19.9% of them had been physically threatened or abused by their partners during the preceding twelve months (5). Moreover, 31.3% of them had been victims of verbal abuse.

The survey conducted in 2003 by the IRC in two provinces of East Timor with 365 women of reproductive age (18 to 49) indicated a 27.1% rate of physical violence in the community during that country's recent crisis (August 1999 to August 2001). According to the figures gathered on the twelve-month period preceding the survey, this rate of community violence declined to 7.3% after the conflict. Sexual violence in the community also declined from 25% during the conflict period to 11.8% for the post-conflict period. In contrast to community violence, the rate of domestic violence remained practically unchanged before and after the crisis.

A UNICEF report entitled "Domestic Violence Against Women and Girls" (7) which was published in *Innocenti Digest*, in June 2000, provides an overview of domestic violence in the world.

Here are some of this report's findings:

- I. In Canada, 29% of women from a national sample group of 12,300 persons revealed that they had been physically abused by their current or former partners since the age of 16;
- II. In India, in Uttar Pradesh, 45% of men, in a sample group of 6,902 persons, acknowledge having physically abused their wives; and
- III. In Kenya, 42% of women in a sample group of 612 women say that they had been beaten by their partners, and 58% of these domestic violence victims had been beaten several times.

Regarding domestic and community violence, Rwanda is no exception. A glance at the testimonies gathered in Rwanda is sufficient to reveal that violence against women and girls is a major problem. According to a HAGURUKA survey of the data (8) rapes and indecent assault are frequent. Between 1995 and 2002, public prosecutors' offices and courts dealt with 652 complaints lodged in the City of Kigali, 381 in the province of Ruhengeri, 235 in Butare and 165 in the province of Umutara.

In its 2000 Survey on Demographic and Health Issues (9), ONAPO (the National Population Office) indicated that out of a sample group of 10,421 women aged 15 to 49, whereas only 37% of women could see no valid reasons permitting their husbands to beat them, 52% of men said that it was unacceptable to beat their wives for any reason

whatsoever. In other words, Rwandan women more readily justify violence against women than Rwandan men do.

The studies cited above reveal a strong correlation between violence against women in the family and the lack of financial resources. Economically dependant women cannot easily escape an abusive relationship (3, 4, 5). Alcoholism, disputes over children's education and tight control over family finances constitute the reasons most often mentioned for explaining domestic violence (3, 4, 5, 9).

Let it be noted, however, that women are not without recourse. In addition to its legal systems, Rwandan society offers traditional conflict management mechanisms on both the domestic and community levels. In cases of community violence, arbitration (Gacaca) was organized between the families implicated and sanctions were taken against the guilty party. In the case of rape or the kidnapping of a girl (*Guterura*) the perpetrator could be forced to marry his victim and to give her a dowry. In cases of domestic violence, the woman had (and still has) the option of temporarily leaving her house (*kwahukana*) and thus demand that her in-laws deal with her mistreatment at the hands of her husband. The husband, often recognized as guilty, had to turn a new leaf and offer a gift to her wife in order to reconcile with her and convince her to return home (*kumucyura*). The woman, for her part, would receive advice (*impanuro*) and reprimands from her mother, her aunts and her friends, who also counseled her on how to avoid conflicts with her husband. Naturally, when cohabitation was judged to be impossible, a permanent separation became inevitable. The woman could then either remarry or return to her family where the head of the family would see to her reintegration (*ingaligali*).

III. FINDINGS OF THE OPINION SURVEY

The findings of the opinion survey were generated by the data collected from 722 respondents. The 84.2% response rate was satisfactory given the sensitive nature of the subject. It was encouraging to note that at the conclusion of the interviews about 60% of the women felt better after having spoken about their problems; 36.6% were unaffected by the experience while 3.9% of the women said they had found the experience painful.

Various sources of errors may affect survey's results, including sampling errors, missing data and the refusal to answer certain questions. In the present case, survey reliability is unaffected by the absence of data. However, the fact that provinces were not chosen at random renders statistical inference problematic, particularly as regards the establishing of confidence intervals for estimates of rates of violence for the population as a whole.

III.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE GROUP

Each selected province constituted 16% of the sample group except for Cyangugu (19.1%) and the City of Kigali (13.6%) (see Diagram 1).

III.1.1 Socio-economic characteristics

a) Age of respondents

The average age of the respondents was 31.5 with a standard deviation of 9.2 years. The median age was 31 with an interquartile range of 16 between the ages of 24 and 40. In other words, half of the women interviewed were between 24 and 40 years of age, a quarter were between 18 and 23, and the others were between 41 and 49.

b) Religious denominations

The breakdown of the sample group per religious denomination was as follows: 48.5% Catholic, 31.2% Protestant, 11.2% Adventist and 1.2% Muslim. In addition, 56 persons belonged to other denominations including forty-one who were members of the Pentecostal Church and four who attend the Baptist Church (see Diagram 3).

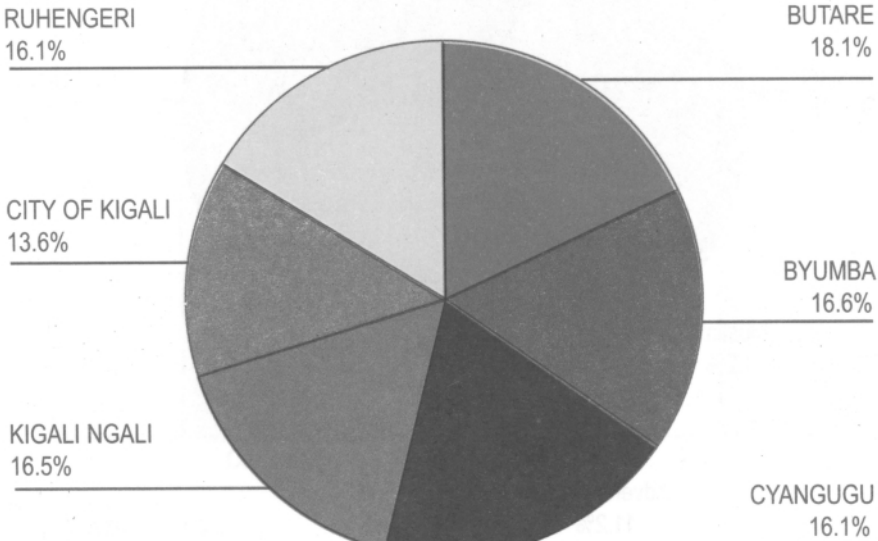


Diagram 1: **Breakdown of sample group respondents per province**

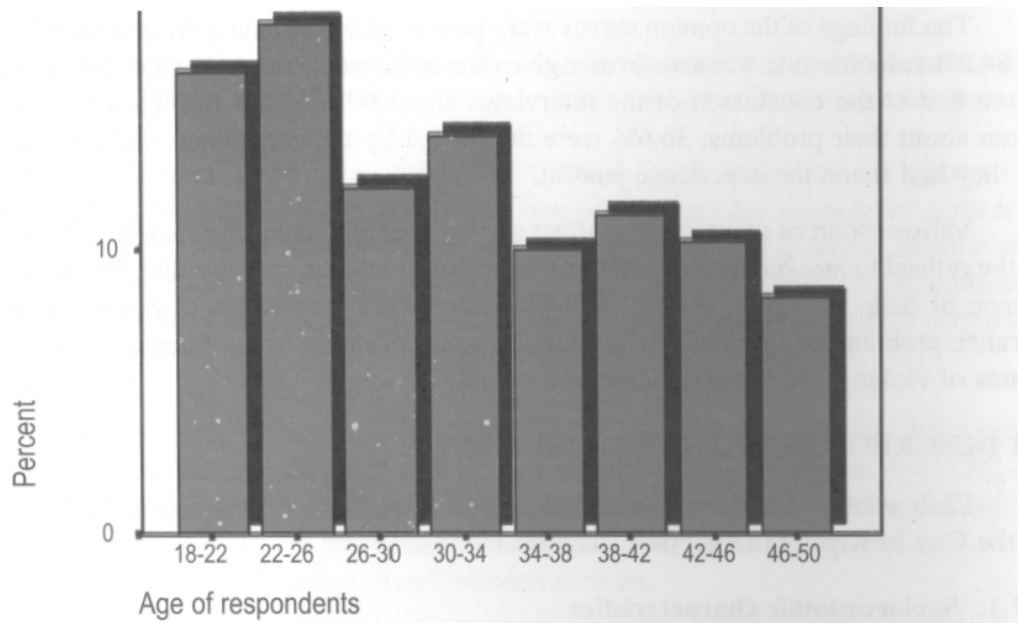


Diagram 2 : Histogram of respondents' ages

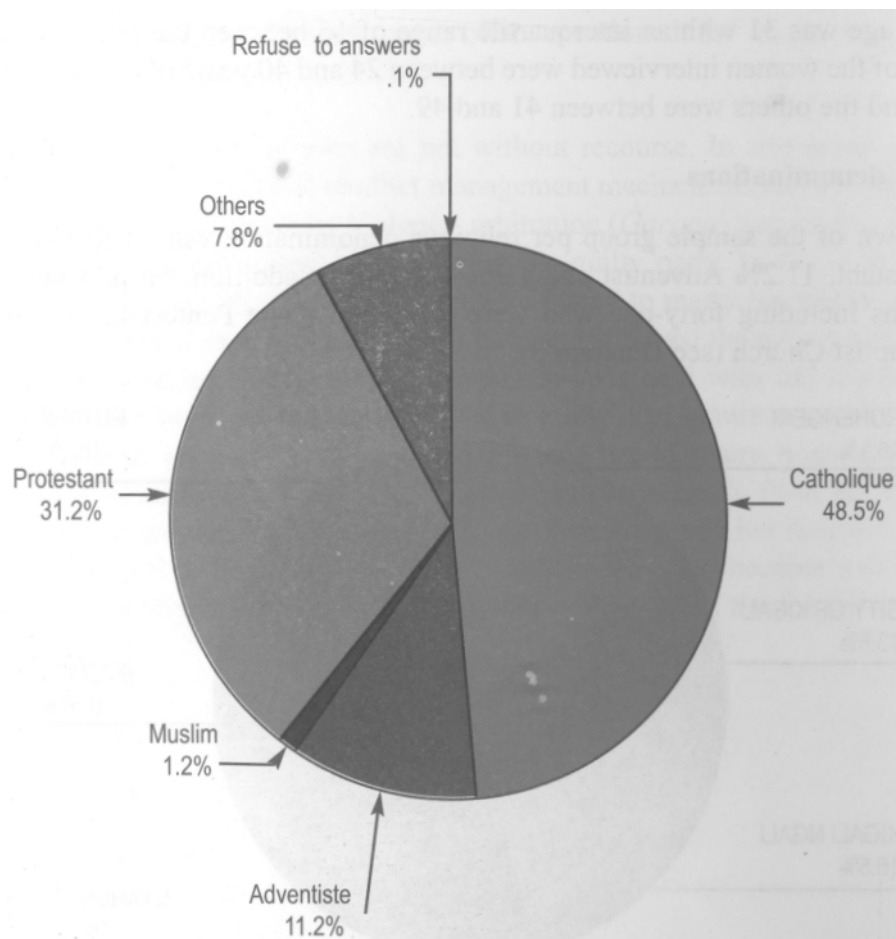


Diagram 3 : Breakdown of respondents per religious denomination

c) Ability to read and write and level of education

Over half of the women stated that could read or write without difficulty, i.e. 53.9% and 51.5% respectively. Moreover, 60% had attended primary school. Only 2.8% had received a post-primary school technical education (i.e. had attended trade school) and 3.3% a high school education. None of the women in the study had a post-secondary or university level education (see Diagrams 4, 5 and 6).

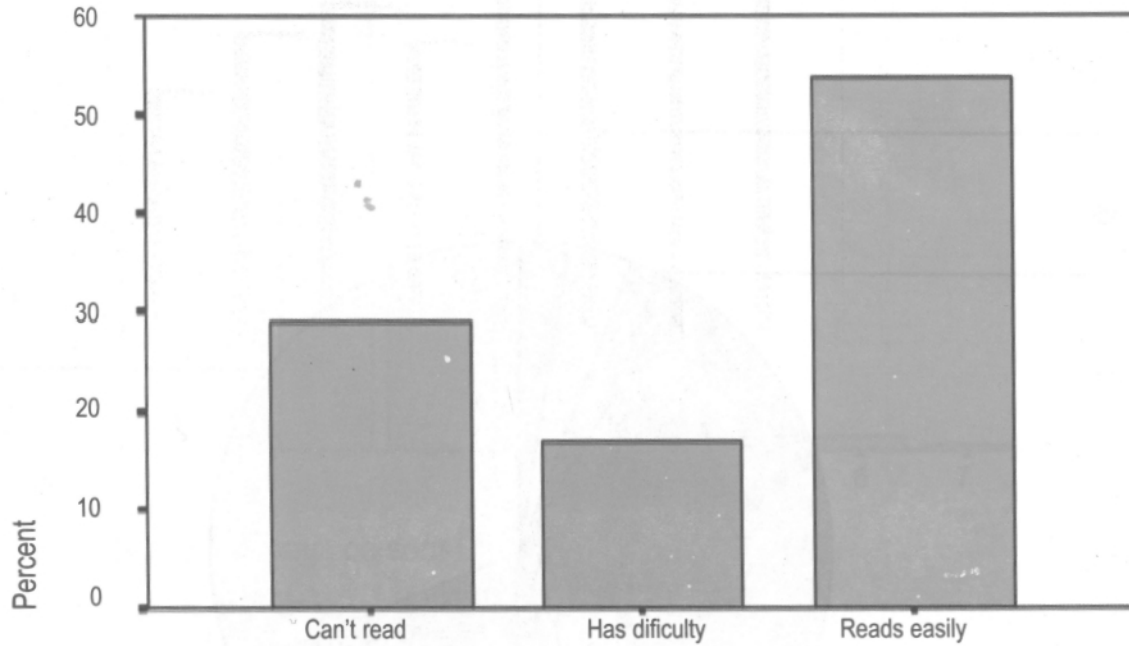


Diagram 4: Breakdown according to respondents' ability to read

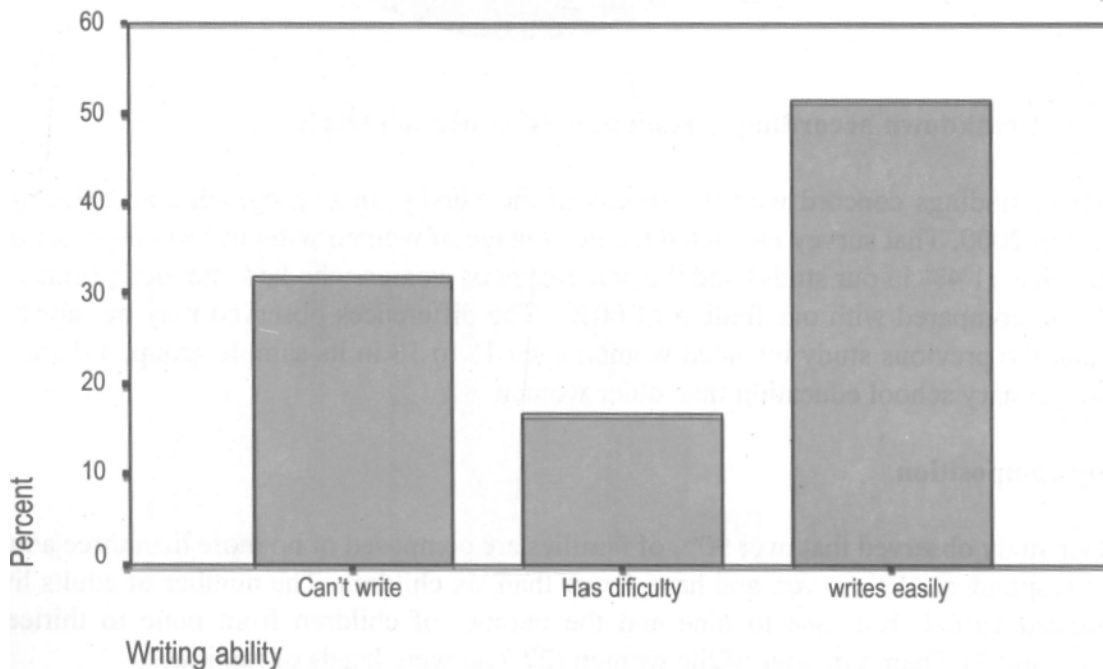


Diagram 5: Breakdown according to respondents' ability to write

EDUCATION LEVELS

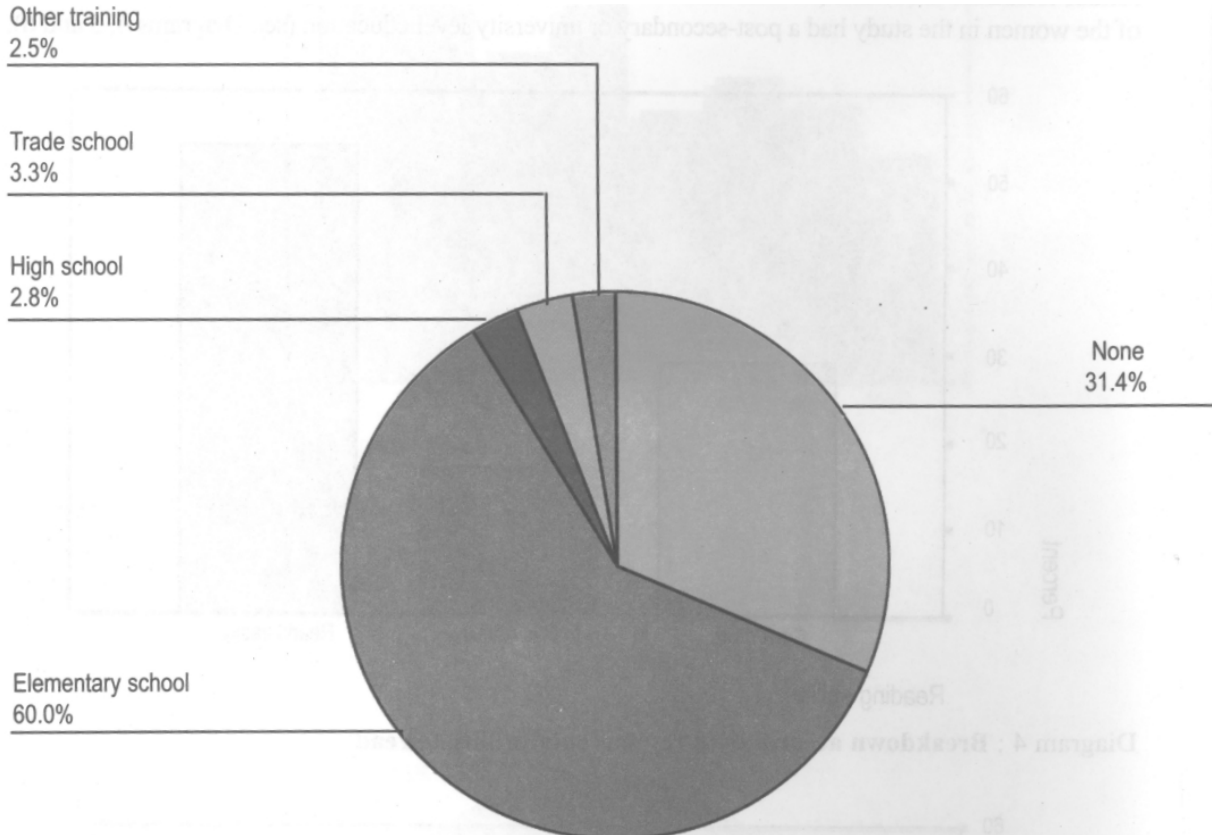


Diagram 6: **Breakdown according to respondents' education levels**

These findings concord with the results of the Survey on Demographic and Health Issues carried out in 2000. That survey estimated the percentage of women without formal education to be 24.5% (against 31.4% in our study) and the percentage of women who had attended primary school to be 64.9% (compared with our finding of 60%). The differences observed may be attributed to the fact that the previous study included women aged 15 to 18 in its sample group, a demographic with more primary school education than older women.

d) Family composition

Our study observed that over 90% of families are composed of no more than three adults, not including respondents 18 or over, and have fewer than six children. The number of adults living in the household varied from one to nine and the number of children from none to thirteen (see Diagrams 7 and 8). Over a quarter of the women (27.7%) were heads of families.

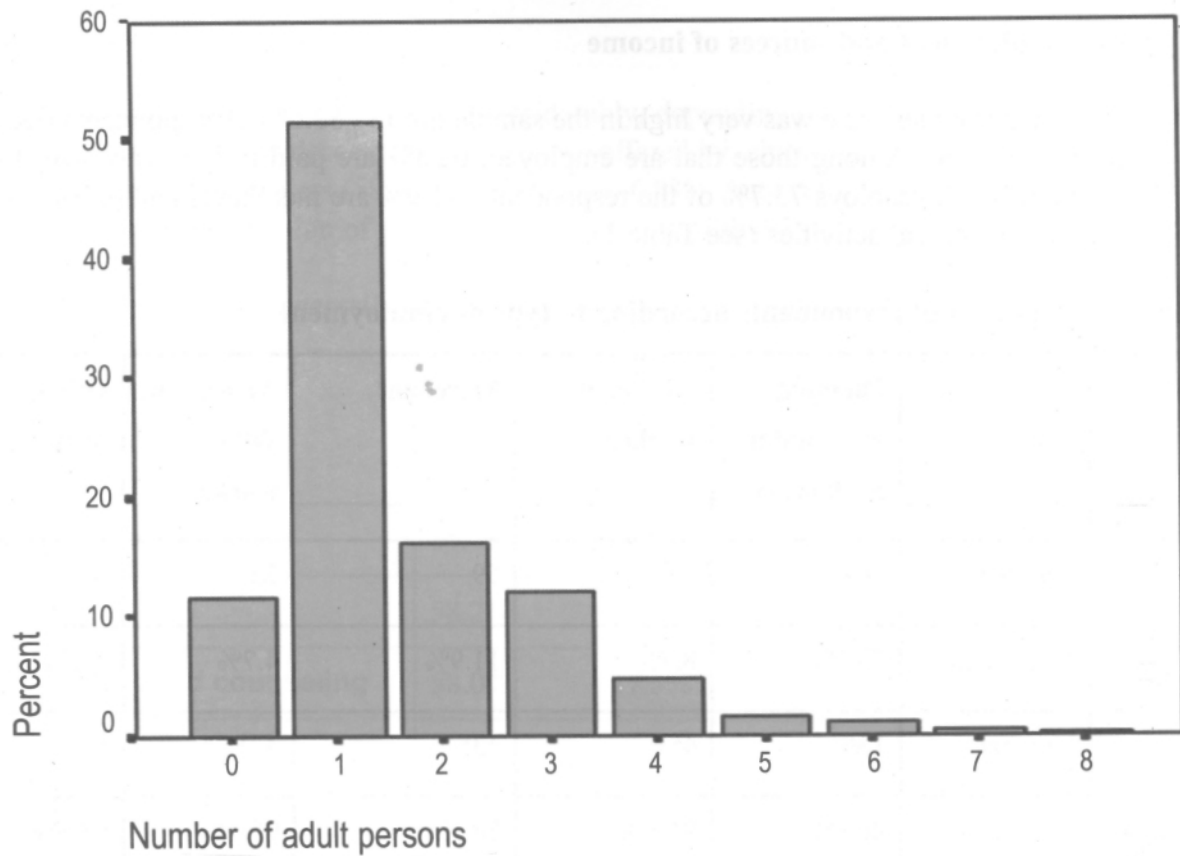


Diagram 7: **Distribution of the number of other adult persons in the household**

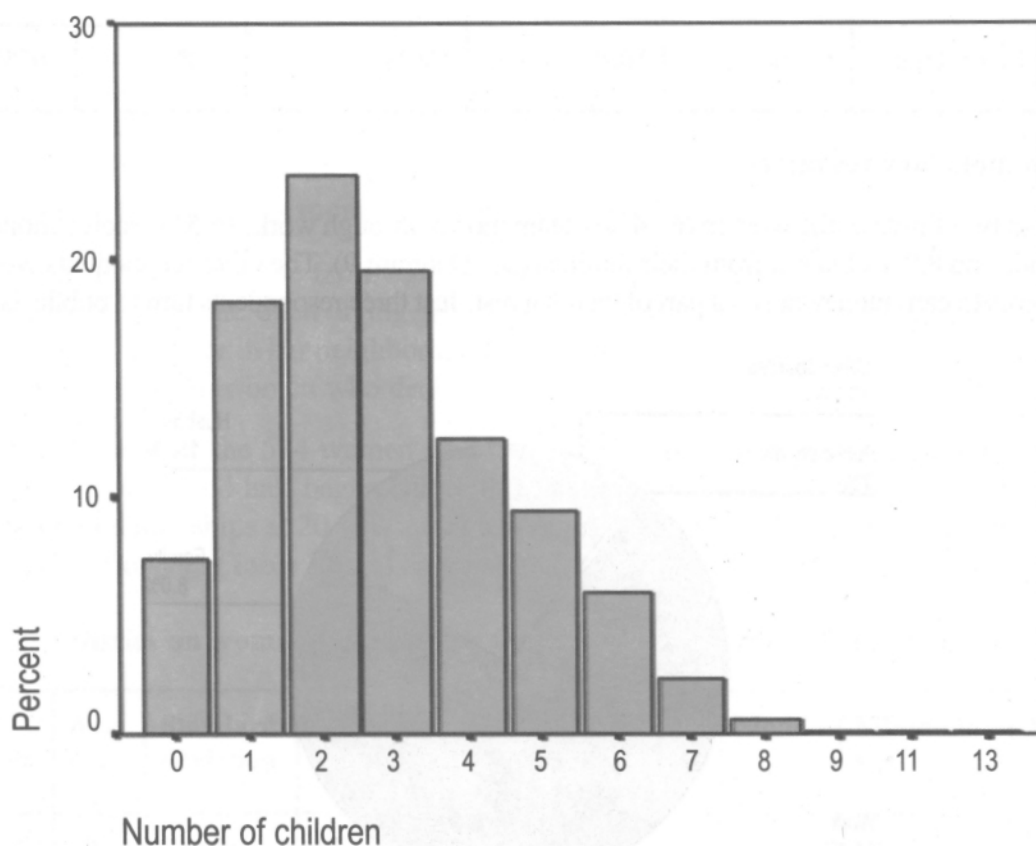


Diagram 8: **Distribution of the number of children per household**

Table 1 : **Breakdown of respondents according to type of employment**

		Farming & animal husbandry	Unskilled worker	Merchant	Artisan or skilled worker	Other profession
Yes	Number	364	43	59	23	6
	percentage	73.7%	8.7%	11.9%	4.7%	1.2%
No	Number	130	451	435	471	488
	Percentage	26.3%	91.3%	88.1%	95.3%	98.8%
Total	Number	494	494	494	494	494
	Percentage	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

f) Access to monetary resources

About two-thirds of the women (64.4%) obtain money through work, 16.5% receive money from their husbands and 8.0% obtain it from their families (see Diagram 9). The other respondents work on an occasional basis to earn money or sell a part of their harvest. Just three respondents turn to public assistance.

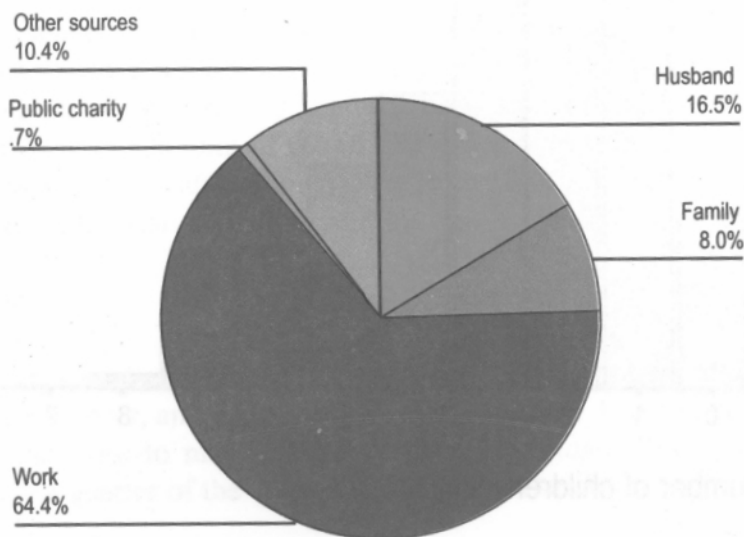


Diagram 9 : **Principal sources of money**

III.1.2. Access to social services

Access to social services varies considerably, depending on the type of service. The most accessible services are, in descending order, those offered by: churches (84.1%), the police (58.2%), social workers and counselors (58%), and legal aid (56.8%). Access to the providers of other services is problematic, in the opinion of over half of the women (Table 2).

Table 2 : **Assessment of accessibility of social services (%)**

SERVICE	Access is easy	Access is difficult	Doesn't know or refuses to answer	Total
Church-based services	84.1%	14.8%	1.1%	100%
Police	58.2%	41.0%	0.8%	100%
Social Work and counseling	58.0%	37.5%	4.4%	100%
Legal aid	56.8%	43.2%	0.0%	100%
Food assistance	44.5%	55.3%	0.2%	100%
Reproductive health	42.8%	47.9%	9.3%	100%
Health care in general	33.7%	66.3%	0.0%	100%
Other types of assistance	21.9%	78.0%	0.1%	100%

III.1.3. Characteristics of respondents' families and conjugal life

An examination of the family situation of survey participants shows that 92.7% of the 722 women have at least one other living family member, with the latter generally residing either in the respondent's home or in her neighbourhood (63.8%). Respondents visit their parents regularly with the exception of eleven women who declared otherwise.

One quarter of the 584 women who live or have lived in couples began their relationships before the age of 18 and half began before the age of 20. On average, the respondents began their first conjugal relationships at 20 years of age. By the age of 22, 75% of girls are already involved in a conjugal relationship (Table 3 and Diagram 10).

Table 3 : Statistics on women's ages at the time of their first experience of conjugal life

Total number	Ave. age	Standard Deviation	First quartile	Median age	Third quartile	Mode	Minimum age	Maximum age
583	20	3 years	18	20	22	18	14	39

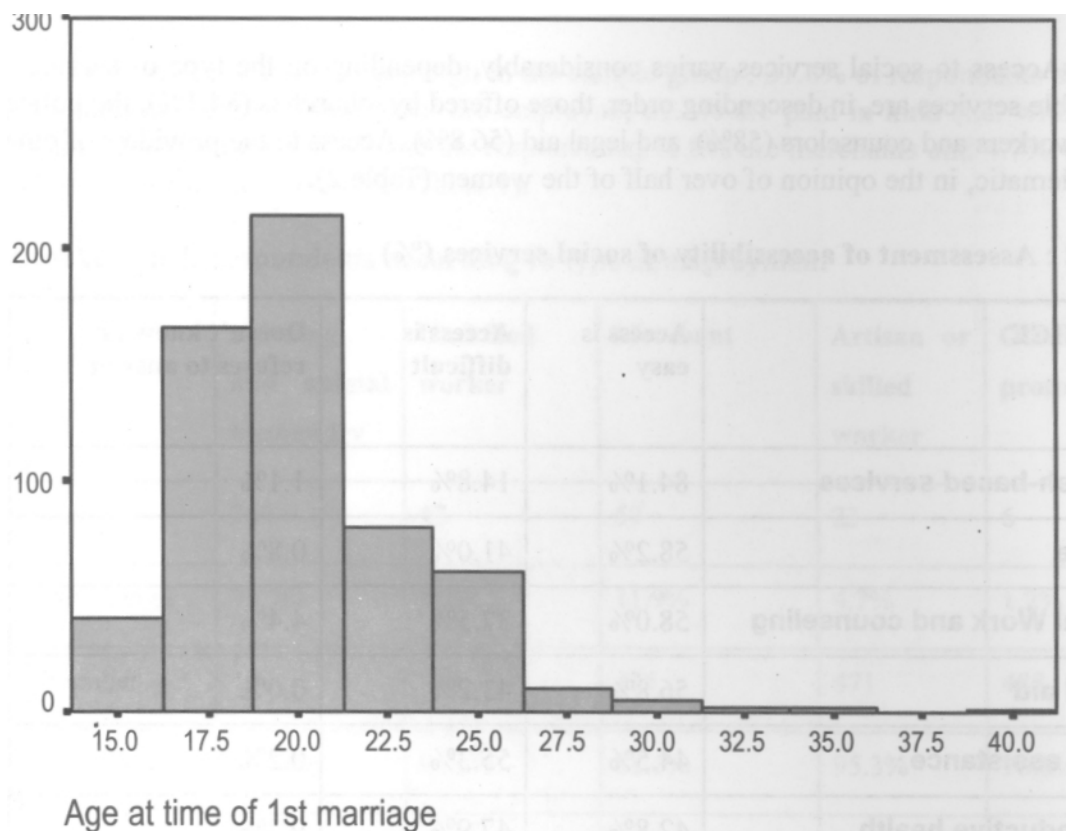


Diagram 10 : **Distribution of women's ages at the time of their first experience of conjugal life**

Out of the 584 women who live or have lived in couples, 14.8% have changed partners at least once: 78 women have done so once and eight women have done so at least twice. They are (or were) legally married (57.7%) or married in accordance with traditional customs (26.8%) or in common-law relationships (15.5%). The proportion of women now living alone is high : nearly a quarter (24.8%) of those who had at one time been part of a couple (i.e. 145 out of 584 women). Over half of these latter are widows and one quarter of them are divorced or separated (26.2%). Finally, in 19% of the cases the husband is in prison or absent.

The average duration of respondents' conjugal relationships is 10.9 years. One respondent in four has been in a couple for less than four years (Table 4). The histogram illustrating the duration of existing conjugal relationships seems to indicate that this sample has a bimodal distribution: on one side are women whose marital relationships last 17 years or less; on the other side, women are in couples with a longevity that exceeds 17 years (Diagram 11).

Table 4 : **Statistics on the duration of present relationships**

Total number	Mean	Standard deviation	First quartile	Median	Third quartile	Mode	Minimum	Maximum
435	10.9 years	8.5 years	4 years	8 years	18 years	1 year	1 year	31 years

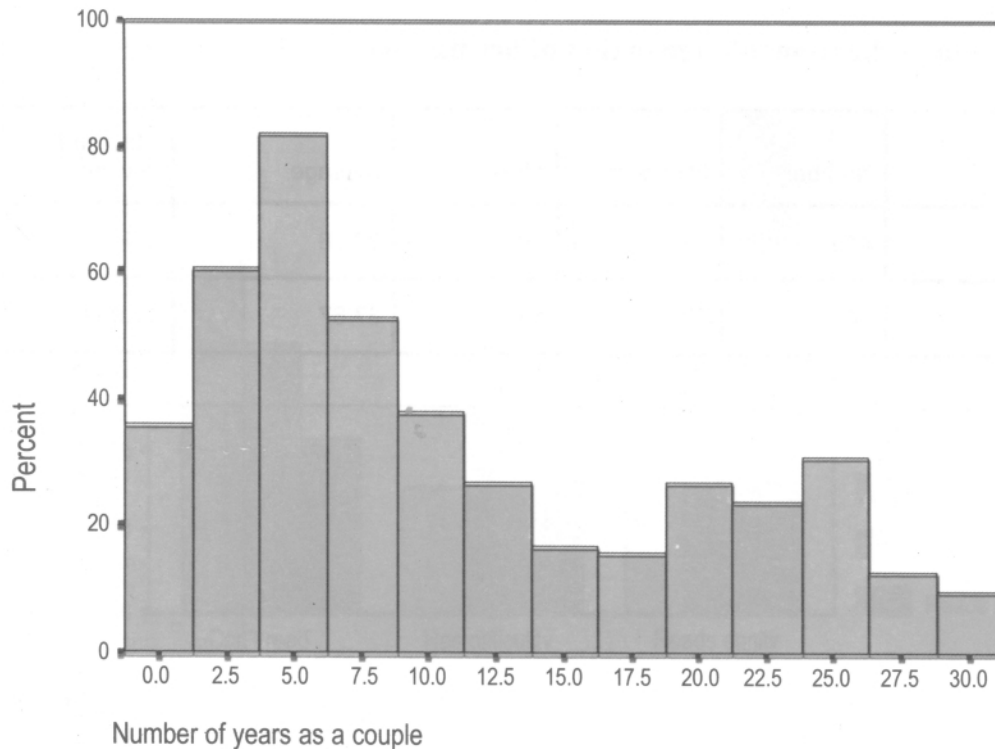


Diagram 11: Histogram of number of years of respondent's present relationship

Concerning how their partner was chosen, 83.2% of the women indicate that it was a case of mutual consent; 10.6% say that the spouse's family arranged the marriage, with the future wife having a say in only one of every four cases; and, finally, 5.5% of the women indicated that it was her family or she herself who chose her partner. It should also be mentioned that 15 women were abducted and obliged to marry without giving their consent.

A dowry was demanded in 267 of these unions, i.e. in 54% of the marriages contracted legally official or in accordance with custom. It was accorded in its entirety by 81.6% of the spouses' families. Forty-six families gave a partial dowry and three gave none. According to 31.5% of respondents, dowries have a positive effect on matrimonial life; 64% say that it had no effect.

Polygamy, although illegal, does in fact still exist. One woman in five (20%) has been "involved" in a polygamous relationship, either as the first wife (66.3%), the second wife (12.2%) or the third wife (7.6%). In practice, polygamy is tolerated by local authorities out of a concern to protect the rights of the children born in such marriages. Certain religions such as Islam authorize this practice.

III.1.4. Socioeconomic characteristics of respondents' partners

a) Partner's age

This study shows that, on average, husbands are six years older than their wives. Husbands are 38 years old on average. Husbands range in age from 20 to 84 years of age (Table 5 and Diagram 12).

	Number	Minimum	Maximum	Average	Standard deviation
Woman's age	445	18	49	32.38	8.543
Partner's age	445	20	84	37.67	11.060

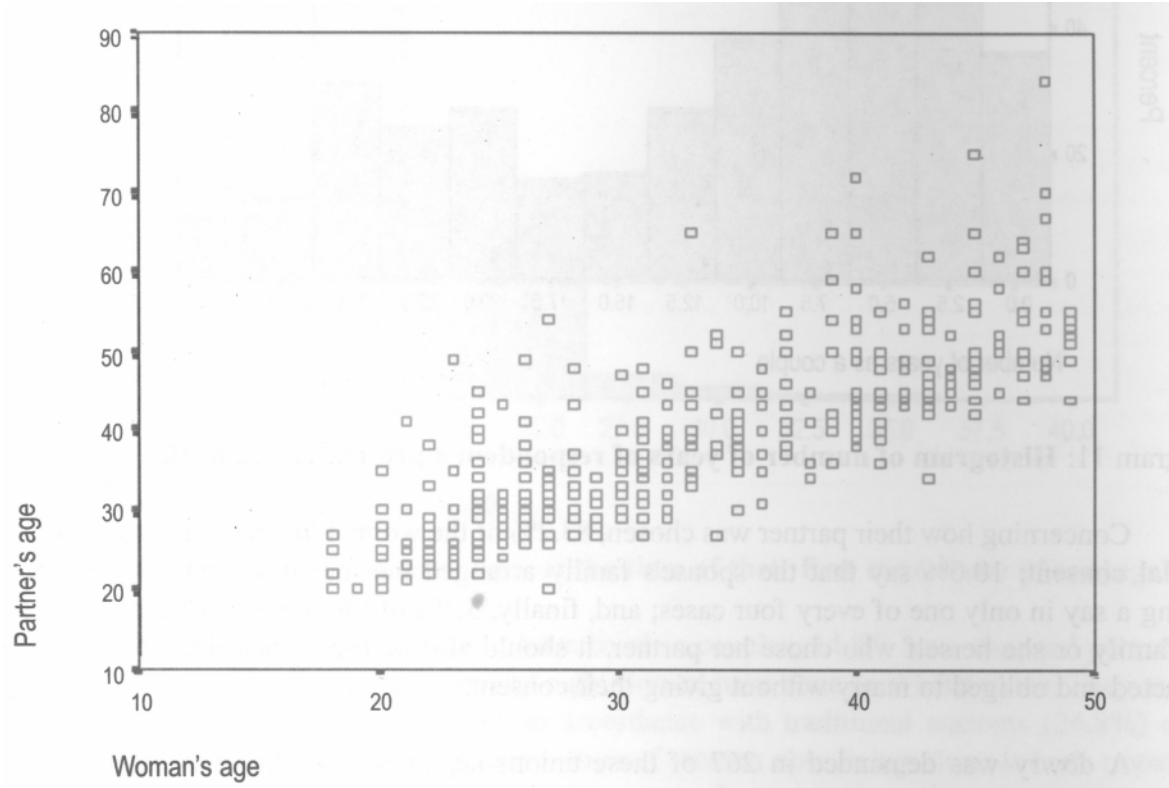


Diagram 12 : Partner's age as a function of his wife's age

b) Level of education of partners and respondents

Male partners have a level of basic education that is much the same as that of their wives: 29.5% have never attended primary school compared to 31.4% for women; 54.9% of men have had access to primary school as opposed to 60% of women. On the other hand, 7% more men have had secondary school education.

As for the ability to read and write, the study found that women who are literate tend to have partners who are literate as well. Likewise, illiterate respondents tend to have illiterate spouses (Diagrams 13 and 14).

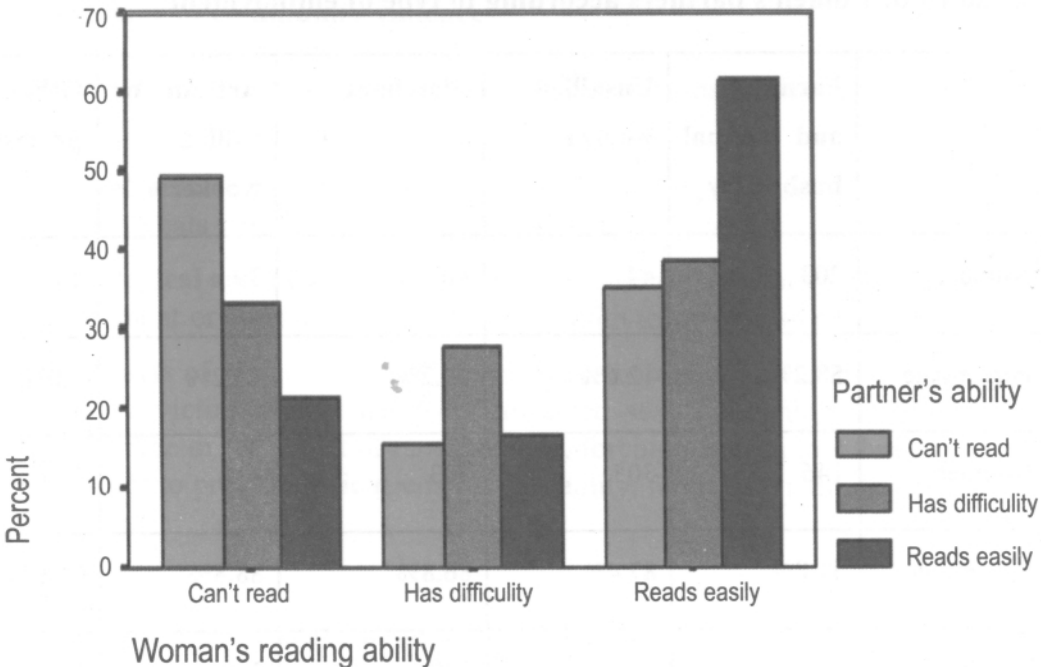


Diagram 13: **Correlation of women's ability to read with their partners' ability to read**

c) Spouse's professional status

The unemployment rate among spouses, while slightly lower than that of respondents, is high nonetheless (24.3%). As for those who do work, half are paid in kind (49%), 20.3% are paid a salary or wages, and 30.1% are merchants. The farming sector alone absorbs 58.2% of the workforce. A further 12.6% are manual workers while 11.2% are skilled workers (Table 6).

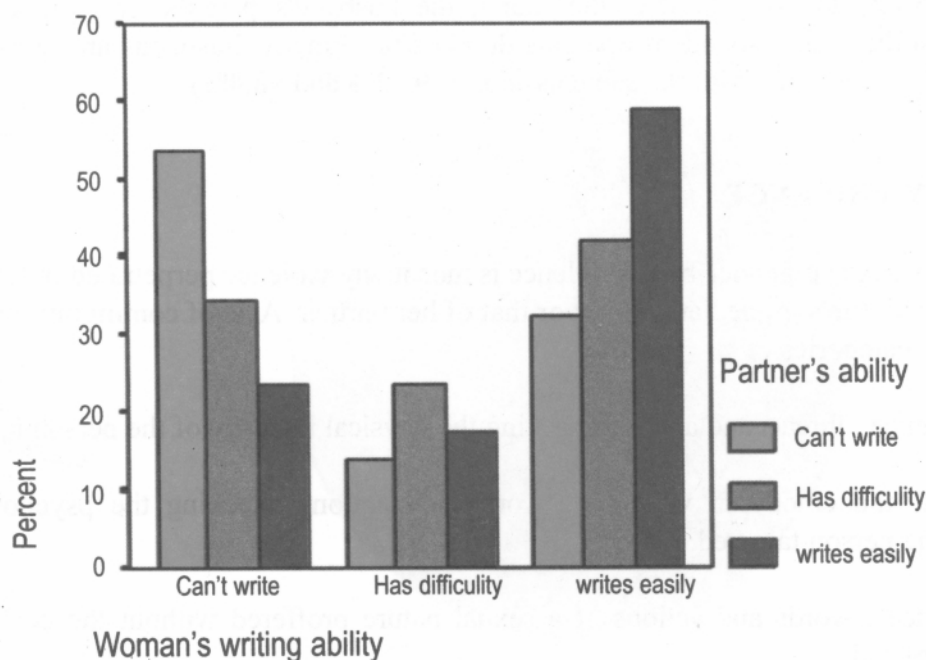


Diagram 14: **Correlation of women's ability to write with that of their partners**

Table 6: **Breakdown of women's partners according to type of employment**

		Farming and animal husbandry	Unskilled worker	Merchant	Artisan or skilled worker	Other profession
Yes	Number	203	44	46	39	14
	Percentage	58.2%	12.6%	13.2%	11.2%	4.0%
No	Number	146	305	303	310	335
	Percentage	41.8%	87.4%	86.8%	88.8%	96.0%
Total	Number	349	349	349	349	349
	Percentage	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

d) Spouses' relations with their families

Men generally live near their parents because of the land inheritance system. This is the case for three quarters of husbands (76.5%) while 20% live elsewhere. As for wives, 51.9% live close to their parents and 36.1% do not. On the other hand, the husband's parents live less often in the household (3.6%) than the respondent's parents do (11.8%). Finally, husbands and wives visit their respective extended families with the same assiduity (97.2% and 98.4%).

III.2. COMMUNITY VIOLENCE

By community sex and gender-based violence is meant any violence perpetrated by a person who is not part of the victim's immediate family or that of her partner. Acts of community violence are divided into three categories:

- i. Physical violence : threats and actions attacking the physical integrity of the person targeted.
- ii. Psychological and emotional violence : words and actions attacking the psychological integrity of the person targeted.
- iii. Sexual violence : words and actions of a sexual nature proffered without the consent of the person targeted.

III.2.1. Frequency of community violence

Violence against women can take many different forms. In this survey, about twenty "acts of violence" were examined:

- ❑ Physical acts of violence : slaps or punches, strangling, kicks, tying up or blindfolding a person, threats with an arm, inflicting bullet or knife wounds, and mutilation.
- ❑ Psychological acts of violence: forced deprivation of food or water, forced sleep deprivation, confinement or abduction, and forcing a victim to witness an act of violence.
- ❑ Sexual acts of violence : verbal obscenities, undressing a victim or forcing her to undress, kissing a victim against her will, unwanted sexual touching, striking a person's sexual organs, rape or the threat of rape, sodomy, forcing a victim to submit to sexual relations to survive or to provide basic needs for her family, forcing a victim to witness an act of sexual violence.

a) Rates of community violence in general

Setting aside distinctions between the different categories of violence, it appears that 234 of the 722 women, i.e. about one third of the respondents (32.3%), were attacked at least once by a person outside of the family during the last five years (see Diagram 15). Consequently, the annual rate of community violence in general may be estimated to be about 6.5%. We shall analyze in greater detail the frequency of each of the three types of violence.

Community Violence in General

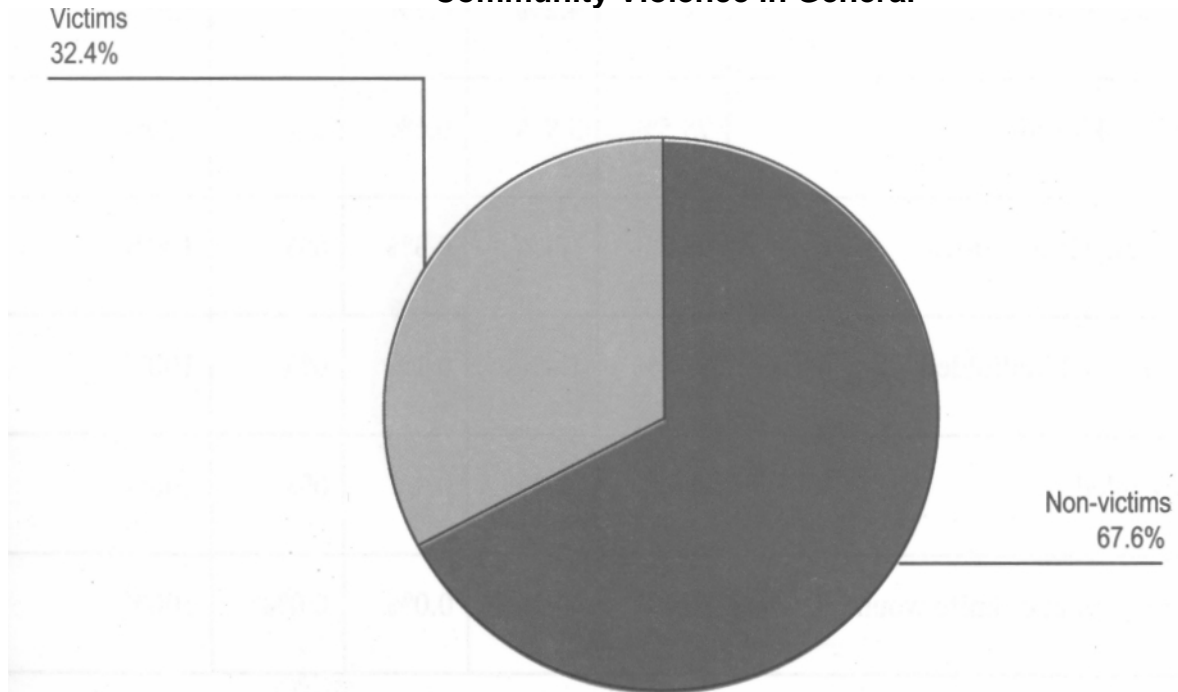


Diagram 15 : **Percentage of women who were victims of any type of community violence between January 1998 and March 2003**

b) Frequency of acts of physical violence in the community

According to our data, 12.7% of women were victims of at least one act of physical violence in the community during the last five years. The main types of violence committed were slaps or punches, kicks and threats. Thus, 6.4% of women were slapped or punched, 4.4% of women were kicked and 5.7% had received threats. The women complaining of more serious forms of violence constituted less than 2.5% of the sample group (see Diagram 16 and Table 7).

Table 7 : Breakdown of victims per type of physical violence in the community

Type of physical violence	Frequency of the type of violence (total respondents = 722)				
	Never	Once or twice	Three to five times	Six times or more	Total
Slapped or punched	93.6%	5.7%	0.4%	0.3%	100%
Threatened with an arm	94.3%	4.2%	0.7%	0.8%	100%
Beaten and kicked	95.5%	3.9%	0.6%	0%	100%
Suffered physical injuries	98.3%	1.4%	0.3%	0%	100%
Was bound or blindfolded	98.5%	1.4%	0.1%	0%	100%
Was strangled	98.8%	1.2%	0%	0%	100%
Suffered a bullet or knife wound	99.6%	0.4%	0.0%	10.0%	100%

Physical Violence in the Community

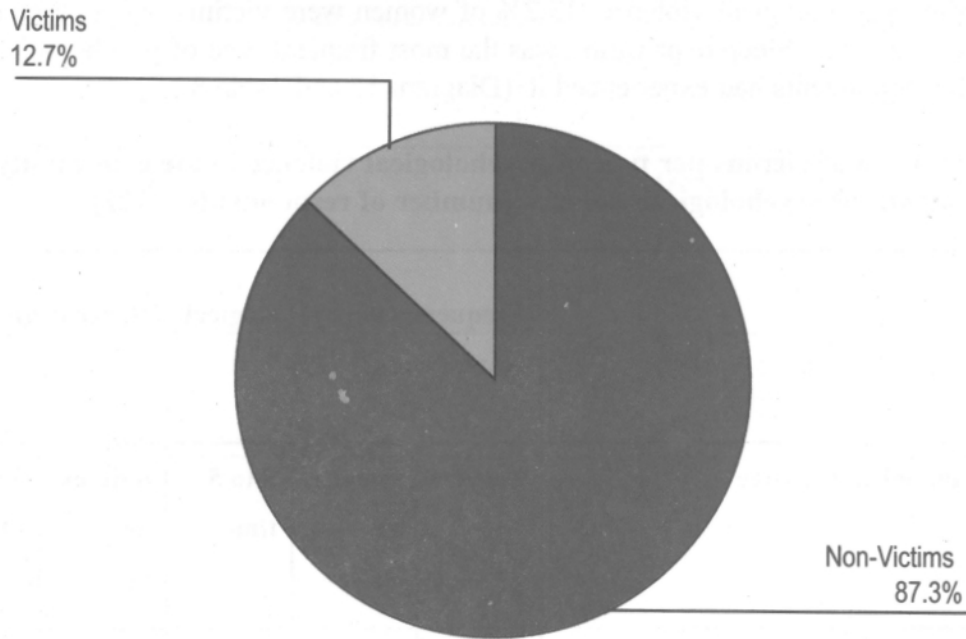


Diagram 16 : **Percentage of women who were victims of physical violence in the community between January 1998 and March 2003**

Psychological Violence in the Community

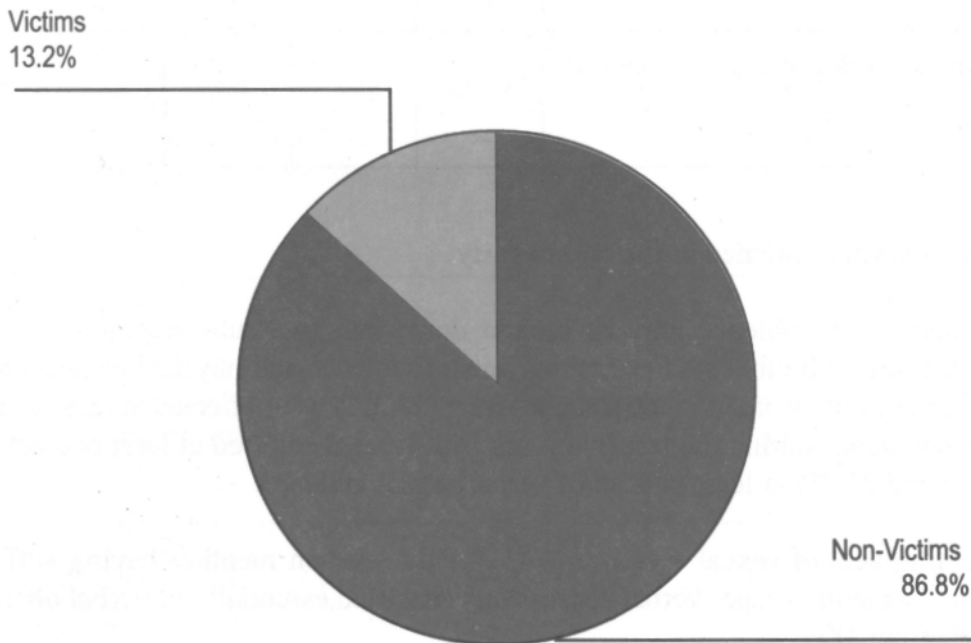


Diagram 17: **Percentage of women who were victims of psychological violence in the community between January 1998 and March 2003**

c) Frequency of psychological violence in the community

Regarding psychological violence, 13.2% of women were victims of this type of violence during the last five years. Sleep deprivation was the most frequent type of psychological violence, as 11.2% of the respondents had experienced it. (Diagram 17 and Table 8)

Table 8: Breakdown of victims per type of psychological violence in the community
Frequency of psychological violence (number of respondents = 722)

Type of psychological violence	Frequency of psychological violence (number of respondents = 722)				
	Never	Once or twice	3 to 5 times	6 times or more	Total No. of women
Sleep deprivation	88.8%	5.1%	2.6%	3.5%	722
Deprivation of food or water	97.5%	0.8%	1.1%	0.6%	722
Abduction or confinement	98.1%	1.4%	0.4%	0.1%	722
Forced to witness physical violence committed against others	98.9%	0.8%	0.3%	0%	722

d) Frequency of sexual violence in the community

This category of violence may be broken down into two sub-categories of violence for comparison purposes with other studies : verbal acts of violence and physical or non-verbal acts of violence. A quarter of the women in the sample group (25.2%) were affected at least once by one of these two types violence during the last five years : 13.4% had suffered at least one act of physical sexual violence and 21.9% at least one act of verbal sexual violence.

Concerning acts of sexual violence, 6.2% of the women mention having suffered sexual touching and 6.0% mention rape. Verbal aggressions consisted essentially of verbal obscenities (see Table 9 and Diagram 18).

Table 9 : Breakdown of victims per type of sexual violence in the community

Type of sexual violence	Frequency				
	Never	Once or twice	Three to five times	6 times or	Total No. of women
Verbal obscenities	78.1%	9.6%	5.0%	7.3%	722
Sexual touching	93.8%	4.0%	1.2%	1.0%	722
Forced sexual relations	94.0%	5.3%	0.3%	0.4%	722
Being kissed without consent	95.0%	3.2%	1.5%	0.3%	722
Undressed by force or forced to undress	96.1%	3.2%	0.7%	0.0%	722
Forced to have sexual relations to obtain food or water or to protect one's family	97.4%	1.4%	0.5%	0.7%	722
Forced to watch an attempted rape or other type of aggression	99.3%	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%	722
Being sodomized	99.6%	0.3%	0%	0.1%	722
Being struck on the sexual organs	99.7%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	722

Sexual Violence in the Community

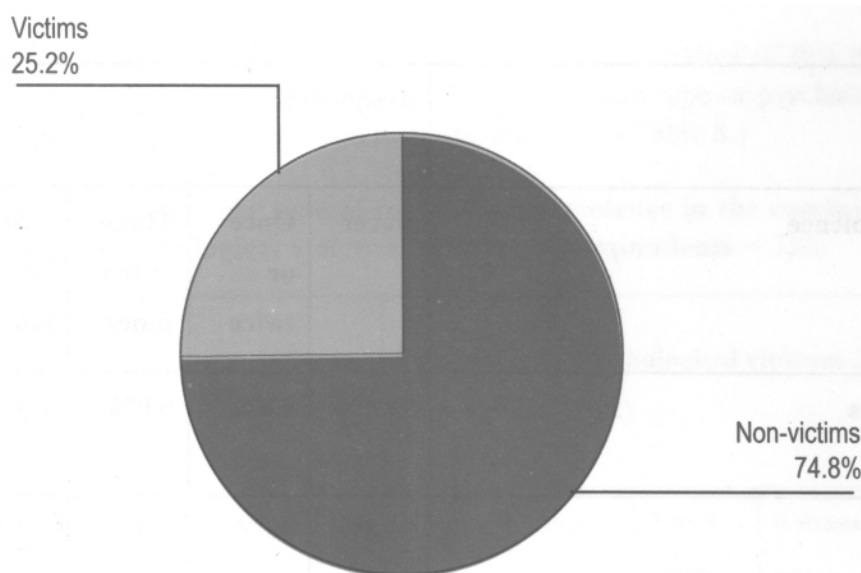


Diagram 18 : Percentage of women who were victims of sexual violence in the community between January 1998 and March 2003

III.2.2 Typology of the perpetrators of community violence

Respondents were asked to identify their assailants according to their socio-professional categories. The basic questionnaire used was adapted from one applying to situations of war and conflict. Consequently, distinctions were made between the following categories : soldiers, paramilitaries and militiamen. The 230 women who answered these questions indicated that their assailants were above all neighbors and inhabitants of the same community (65.0%), "other persons known to them" (17.5%), soldiers (16.6%), local defense officers and patrollers (11.2%), persons unknown (9.9%), "paramilitaries" (8.9%) and other non-specified categories (2%) (Table 10).

The category "other persons" includes relations, local government officials, employers, "hooligans," "infiltrators," etc. The designation "paramilitaries" refers essentially to armed men who operated in the province of Ruhengeri in 1998 and 1999. Local defense officers include the persons who carried out night-patrols (*abakora amarondo*) to ensure community public safety before the creation of the "local defense units."

Table 10 : **Percentage of women who were victims of any type of physical violence in the community, per type of assailant**

Perpetrators of acts of violence	Victims		Non-victims		Total
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	
Neighbours	145	65%	78	35%	223
Other persons	39	17.5%	184	82.5%	223
Soldiers	37	16.6%	186	83.4%	223
Local defense officers and patrollers	25	11.2%	199	88.8%	224
Paramilitaries	20	8.9%	204	91.1%	224
Other persons	39	17.5%	184	82.5%	223
Persons unknown	22	9.9%	201	90.1%	223

a) Perpetrators of physical violence in the community

Acts of physical violence are mainly committed by neighbours or other inhabitants of the same locality (51.6%), soldiers (24.2%), "other persons" (20.9%), and local defense officers and patrollers (17.6%). The following categories were very rarely implicated in acts of physical violence in the community: police officers, judges, prosecutors, doctors and health care personnel, teachers, preachers, prison guards and officials from humanitarian organizations (i.e. less than 3% per category, see Table 11).

Table 11: Percentage of victims of physical violence in the community per category of assailant (assailants responsible for more than 5% of acts of violence only)

Assailants	Victims		Non-victims		Total
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	
Neighbours	47	51.6%	44	48.4%	91
Soldiers	22	24.2%	69	75.8%	91
Local defense officers and patrollers	16	17.6%	75	82.4%	91
Paramilitaries	14	15.4%	77	84.6%	91
Other persons	19	20.9%	72	79.1%	91
Persons unknown	9	10%	81	90%	90

b) Perpetrators of psychological violence in the community

The profile of those responsible for psychological violence resembles that of the perpetrators of physical violence. Neighbours and inhabitants of the same locality account for 52.7% of perpetrators, soldiers for 23.9%, "other persons" for 20.4%, paramilitaries for 19.4%, local defense officers and patrollers for 16.1 % (Table 12).

Table 12 : Percentage of victims of psychological violence in the community, per category of assailant (only including assailants responsible for more than 5% of acts of violence)

Assailants	Victims		Non-victims		Total
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	
Neighbours	49	52.7%	44	47.3%	93
Soldiers	22	23.9%	70	76.1%	92
Local defense officers and patrollers	15	16.1%	78	83.9%	93
Paramilitaries	18	19.4%	75	80.6%	93
Other persons	19	20.4%	74	79.6%	93
Persons unknown	12	13%	80	87%	92

c) Perpetrators of sexual violence in the community

The profile corresponding to perpetrators of this type of violence largely implicates neighbors and inhabitants of the same locality. They are identified by 74.6% of victims as the ones responsible for acts of sexual violence. The category "other persons" trails far behind at 17.5%, and is followed by soldiers (16.3%) and local defense officers and patrollers (9.6%). The categories of persons not often implicated in acts of physical and psychological violence are also rarely implicated in acts of sexual violence (Table 13).

The identity of assailants is well known to 83% of victims. Consequently, the term "community violence" is appropriate for these acts of violence inflicted on women outside of their homes.

Table 13 : Percentage of victims of sexual violence in the community, per category of assailant (only including assailants responsible for more than 5% of acts of violence)

Assailants	Victims		Non-victims		Total
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	
Neighbors	132	74.6%	45	25.4%	177
Soldiers	29	16.3%	149	83.7%	178
Local defense officers and patrollers	17	9.6%	161	90.4%	178
Paramilitaries	12	6.7%	166	93.3%	178
Other persons	31	17.5%	146	82.5%	177
Persons unknown	17	9.6%	160	90.4%	177

III.2.3 Typology of acts of violence deemed the most serious by victims and identification of their perpetrators

a) Acts of community violence judged as the most serious

Types of violence do not differ only in accordance with the objective nature of the acts committed but also differ in how they are perceived by their victims. There are two ways of approaching the gravity of acts of community violence.

One way is based on the judgement made by victims taken as a whole. The other approach is based exclusively on the assessment of victims who suffered a particular type of violence. These two approaches can produce different results.

On the whole

- Concerning sexual violence, 61.7% of the victims of violence in general (i.e. 139 out of 227 responses) consider sexual violence to be the most serious form of violence. However, three quarters of the women who were victims of sexual violence (75.6% or 130 out of 172 responses) think they suffered the most serious form of violence.
- As for physical violence, 33.0% of the victims of violence in general (74 out of 224 responses) believe it to be the most serious form of violence. In contrast, the vast majority of actual victims of physical violence (73.9% or 66 out of 92 responses) think they suffered the worst form of violence.
- Regarding psychological violence, 25.3% of the victims of violence in general (58 responses out of 229) believe it to be the most serious form of violence. However, half of the women who have suffered psychological violence (i.e. 53.3% or 49 out of 92 responses) think it is the most serious form of violence (Table 14).

In looking at Table 14, one notes that nearly two thirds of the victims of violence deem sexual violence to be the most serious form of violence and, furthermore, that three quarters of its victims consider it a very grave offense. Physical violence and psychological violence are judged as the next most serious forms by a third and a quarter of victims, respectively. Three quarters of the victims of sexual violence deem it grave while only half of the victims of psychological violence say the same about the latter.

Table 14 : Women's assessment of the gravity of different types of community violence

Type of violence	Categories of respondents	Is this the most serious type of community violence?				
		No		Yes		Total
		Number	%	Number	%	Number
Physical violence	Victims	24	26.1%	68	73.9%	92
	Non-victims	126	95.5%	6	4.5%	132
	Total	150	67.0%	74	33.0%	224
Psychological violence	Victims	43	46.7%	49	53.3%	92
	Non-victims	128	93.4%	9	6.6%	137
	Total	171	74.7%	58	25.3%	229
Sexual violence	Victims	42	24.4%	130	75.6%	172
	Non-victims	45	81.8%	10	18.2%	55
	Total	87	38.3%	140	61.7%	227

b) Perpetrators implicated in the most serious acts of violence

According to 56% of victims, the perpetrators of the types of violence judged the most serious are neighbors and inhabitants of the same locality (Table 15). The other categories of assailants are mentioned less frequently and more or less in the same order as in the preceding section (III.2.2).

Table 15 : **Perpetrators responsible for the acts of violence judged as the most serious by victims**

	The percentage of women victims of the most serious acts of violence per type of assailant				
Type of assailant	Victims		Non-victims		Total
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number
Neighbours or residents of the same locality	129	56.1%	101	43.9%	230
Other persons	29	12.6%	201	87.4%	230
Soldiers	28	12.2%	202	87.8%	230
Local defense officers and patrollers	21	9.1%	209	90.9%	230
Persons unknown	18	7.8%	212	92.2%	230
Paramilitaries	16	17.0%	214	93.0%	230

If one examines the trends over the last five years (1998 to 2003) concerning serious acts of violence committed per category of assailant, one observes that violence has strongly declined for all categories of assailants with the exception of violence attributable to neighbours. In the latter case, the rate only began to recede after 1999, before abruptly rising again in 2002 (Diagram 19).

Trends in grave acts of Community Violence per category of assailant

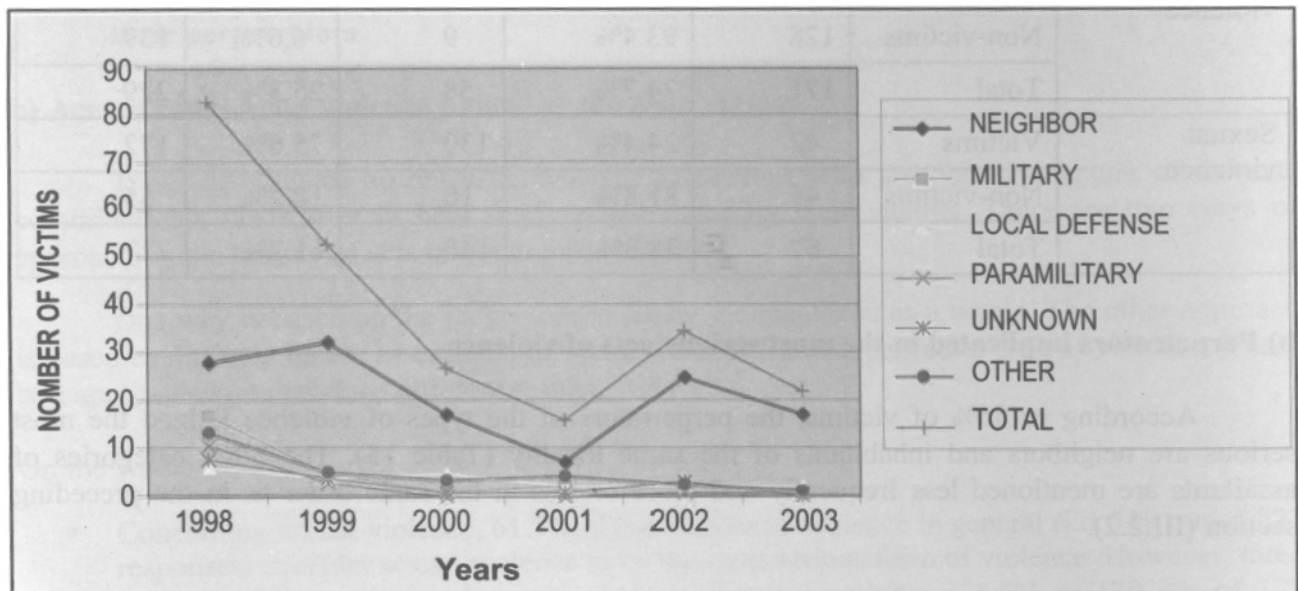


Diagram 19 : Trends in grave acts of community violence per category of assailant

III.2.4. Circumstances and social context of community violence

Community violence takes place in the victim's immediate neighborhood, i.e. the local administrative sector, (45.2% of cases) or more often still in the victim's home (48.3% of cases).

In four fifths of the cases (83% of the 230 responses) the assailant was unaccompanied. One woman in four (26.1 %) received a death threat from her assailant(s). She was alone at the time of the attack in 62.2% of the cases. Of the 87 women who were not alone, the person or persons present were her partner (21.8%), the children (48.3%), another member of the family (16.1%) and another woman (14.9%).

There consequences for the third parties present at the time of the aggression varied : more than half (52.9%) of the witnesses were left alone, one witness in five (21.2%) was beaten, 14% of witnesses received death threats and, apparently, in four cases witnesses were slain (Table 16).

Table 16 : **Violence against witnesses of acts of community violence**

Consequences for witnesses of acts of community violence	Yes		No		TOTAL Number
	Number	%	Number	%	
He/she ran away	8	9.4%	77	90.6%	85
He/she was beaten	18	21.2%	67	78.8%	85
They tried to rape her	3	3.5%	82	96.5%	85
He/she was threatened with death	12	14.1%	73	85.9%	85
He/she was killed	4	4.7%	81	95.3%	85
Others	5	6.0%	79	94.0%	84

III.2.5. Physical and psychological injuries suffered by victims

The severity of injuries, as perceived by victims, depends on the "nature" of the attack, the intensity of the violence and the physical and mental state of the person assaulted. Pregnant women for example are more severely affected by violence. The unborn child is also threatened. Of the twenty-two women who were pregnant at the time of their assault, four had miscarriages while seventeen gave birth normally. Rapes resulted in pregnancy in 28 cases.

Psychological and physical injuries are about equal in frequency. In 36.1% of the cases, victims mention traumas; 27.4% mention physical after-effects such as aches, scratches and bruises; 14.3% cite fainting, 6.1 dislocations, 2.6% serious injuries, 2.2% broken bones, 0.4% teeth knocked out, and 3.5% mention various other traumas.

III.2.6. Socioeconomic and demographic factors associated with violence

Gender and sex-based community violence is often linked to diverse demographic, economic and social factors. In our survey, it appears that aggressions are strongly linked to a woman's age as the women most often affected are those between 18 and 20 years of age. A strong positive correlation may also be observed between community violence and paid employment, as well as with women's literacy. Women who are without paid employment and who are illiterate are less likely to be assaulted. In contrast, women with a higher level of education are more likely to be attacked (Tables 17 and 17a).

Table 17 : Association of general community violence with women's literacy levels

		General Community Violence		
Level of literacy		Non-victim	Victim of violence	Associated probability
Reading ability				
Is unable to read	Numbers observed	157	54	0.042
	Number in theory	142.6	68.4	
Reads with difficulty	Number observed	79	43	
	Number in theory	82.5	39.5	
Reads without difficulty	Number observed	252	137	
	Number in theory	262.9	126.1	
Writing ability				
Is unable to write	Number observed	171	58	0.021
	Number in theory	154.8	74.2	
Writes with difficulty	Number observed	78	43	
	Number in theory	81.8	39.2	
Writes without difficulty	Number observed	239	133	
	Number in theory	251.4	120.6	
Level of education				
No formal education	Number observed	167	60	0.032
	Number in theory	153.4	73.6	
Primary school	Number observed	285	148	
	Number in theory	292.7	140.3	
Other	Number observed	36	26	
	Number in theory	41.9	20.1	

Table 17a : **Association between community violence in general and a woman's age and employment characteristics**

Woman's age and employment		Not a victim of violence	Victim of violence	Associated probability
Woman's age				
18 to 20	Number observed	44	46	0.000
	Number in theory	60.8	29.2	
21 to 35	Number observed	264	120	
	Number in theory	259.5	124.5	
36 to 49	Number observed	180	68	
	Number in theory	167.6	80.4	
Access to paid employment				
No	Number observed	168	60	0.022
	Number in theory	154.1	73.9	
Yes	Number observed	320	174	
	Number in theory	333.9	160.1	
Farming and animal husbandry sector				
Works in farming	Number observed	246	118	0.038
	Number in theory	235.8	128.2	
Does not work in farming	Number observed	74	56	
	Number in theory	84.2	45.8	

Analysis as a function of the type of violence shows that:

- Women who work outside of the farming sector and have paid employment are more subject to psychological violence (Table 18);
- The women most affected by sexual violence are young women, women who can read and write, women who work in sectors other than farming, particularly women working as domestics or as unskilled labor (Table 19); and
- Physical violence does not seem to affect any specific socioeconomic or demographic category in particular. It is well spread out through the entire sample group.

Table 18 : Correlation of psychological violence in the community with socioeconomic factors
Psychological violence in the community

Psychological violence in the community				
Socio-economic characteristics		Non-victims	Victims	Associated probability
Woman's access to paid employment				
Doesn't have a job	Number observed	211	17	0.003
	Number in theory	198	30	
Does have a job	Number observed	416	78	
	Number in theory	429	65	
Main source of money				
Her partner	Number observed	104	15	0.031
	Number in theory	103.3	15.7	
Her relations	Number observed	55	3	
	Number in theory	50.4	7.6	
Her salary	Number observed	392	73	
	Number in theory	403.8	61.2	
Outside assistance	Number observed	5	0	
	Number in theory	4.3	0.7	
Other	Number observed	71	4	
	Number in theory	65.1	9.9	

Table 19 : **Correlation of socioeconomic and demographic factors with sexual violence in the community**

Sexual violence in the community				
Socio-economic characteristics		Non-victims	Victims	Associated probability
Age				
18 to 20	Number observed	49	41	0.000
	Number in theory	67.3	22.7	
21 to 35	Number observed	284	100	
	Number in theory	287.2	96.8	
36 to 49	Number observed	207	41	
	Number in theory	185.5	62.5	
Reading ability				
She can't read	Number observed	169	42	0.047
	Number in theory	157.8	53.2	
She has difficulty reading	Number observed	94	28	
	Number in theory	91.2	30.8	
She reads without difficulty	Number observed	277	112	
	Number in theory	290.9	98.1	
Writing ability				
She can't write	Number observed	183	46	0.030
	Number in theory	171.3	57.7	
She has difficulty writing	Number observed	94	27	
	Number in theory	90.5	30.5	
She writes without difficulty	Number observed	263	109	
	Number in theory	278.2	93.8	
She works in agriculture				
Yes	Number observed	278	86	0.003
	Number in theory	264.5	99.5	
No	Number observed	81	49	
	Number in theory	94.5	35.5	
She does manual work				
Yes	Number observed	24	19	0.016
	Number in theory	31.2	11.8	
No	Number observed	335	116	
	Number in theory	327.8	123.2	

III.2.7. Medical care and assistance sought by women

The majority of victims of community violence (76.8%) do not seek medical treatment. Those who do so turn to health clinics in 14.1% of the cases and to hospitals in 5.1 % of the cases. The main reasons mentioned for not seeking medical treatment are the inability to pay for medical care (35.4%), the fact that the victim judges it unnecessary (13.8%), shame (10.8%) and the fear of new assaults (6.2%).

Many women remain silent (43.5%). Others seek out a sympathetic ear. This may mean a female friend (39.7%), a female relation (38.0%), her spouse (19%) or a male relation (18.2%).

Women don't expect much from social services, which they judge as unlikely to be of assistance. In times of difficulty, respondents say that they would instead ask for help from a member of the family (23%), from a female friend (21.3%), or their husband (20.5%). To palliate the effects of violence a victim would try to forget (30.1 %), talk to close friends (13.9%), comfort herself with another member of the family (11.1 %), and, lastly, pray.

III.2.8. A particular type of violence : forcible confinement

Confinement is a form of violence that is generally included in surveys examining war-time situations (2, 5). This category makes it possible to examine cases of confinement of women, which without entailing total confinement, still constitute a form of oppression.

In Rwanda, this type of violence has affected 2.5% of the 722 respondents in the last five years. The majority of the victims were confined in their neighborhood (61.1%) or their homes (22.2%). The perpetrators are mainly employers (44.4%), neighbors (22.2%) and persons unknown (11.1 %) (Tables 20 and 21).

Table 20 : Frequency of cases of confinement

Confinement	Number	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Has not been confined	704	97.5%	97.5%
Has been confined	18	2.5%	100.0%
Total	712	98.6%	

Table 21 : Frequency of confinement per type of assailant

Assailant	Number	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Employers	8	44.4%	44.4%
Others	6	33.3%	77.7%
Paramilitaries	2	11.1%	88.8%
Local defense officer or patroller	1	5.6%	94.4%
Official of a humanitarian organization	1	5.6%	100%
TOTAL	18	100%	

"Collateral" acts of violence were reported in 38.9% of the cases of confinement. The most frequent one is refusing to let the victim obtain medical treatment (16.9% of cases). Let's note that 11.1 % of confined women received medical attention in hospitals. Lets also note that in 44.4% of the cases in which rapes resulted in pregnancy, the victims gave birth (Table 22).

Table 22 : Percentage of victims who became pregnant after confinement

Pregnancy	Number	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
She did not become pregnant	3	16.7%	16.7%
She did become pregnant and gave birth to a healthy baby	8	44.4%	61.1%
Inapplicable (she didn't have sexual relations)	7	38.9%	100.0%
Total	18	100%	

III.3. VIOLENCE SUFFERED DURING CHILDHOOD

In the literature frequent reference is made to the transmission of violent behavior from one generation to the next. Persons who are victims of physical violence during childhood are more often implicated in domestic violence as adults. We demonstrated this to be the case in East Timor with respect to intimidation and controlling behavior, and verbal and physical abuse.

III.3.1. Frequency of violence inflicted on children

In examining the entire sample group (722 women), one observes that, as children, 46.7% of the women witnessed an act of violence between their parents, 41.6% witnessed violence against their siblings and 38.5% experienced themselves at least one act of violence (Tables 23, 24 and 25). Furthermore, 17.5% of the women suffered sexual violence as children (Table 26). Those responsible for these acts of violence were their neighbors in nearly half of the cases (48.4%) and members of the extended family in 13.5% of the cases (Table 27). Practically all of the women (95.2%) knew the identity of their childhood abusers.

Table 23 : **Percentage of women who witnessed acts of violence between their parents during childhood**

Violence between parents	Number	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Never witnessed violence between parents	369	51.1%	51.1%
Did witness violence between parents	337	46.7%	97.8%
Doesn't know	16	2.2%	100.0%
Total	722	100.0%	

Table 24: **Percentage of women who witnessed acts of violence against siblings during childhood**

Violence against siblings	Number	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Never witnessed violence against siblings	404	56.0%	56.0%
Did witness violence against siblings	300	41.6%	97.5%
Inapplicable	9	1.2%	98.8%
Doesn't know	9	1.2%	100.0%
Total	722	100.0%	

Table 25 : Percentage of women who were victims of abuse during childhood

Abuse during childhood	Number	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Was never mistreated	442	61.2%	61.8%
Was mistreated	278	38.5%	99.7%
Doesn't know	2	0.3%	100.0%
Total	722	100.0%	

Table 26 : Percentage of women who were victims of sexual violence during childhood

Sexual violence	Number	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Was not a victim	595	82.4%	82.4%
Was a victim	126	17.5%	99.9%
Doesn't know	1	0.1%	100.0%
Total	722	100.0%	

Table 27: Perpetrators of sexual violence against children (based on 126 victims)

Perpetrator	Women victims		Non-victims	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
A neighbor or resident of the same locality	61	48.4%	65	51.6%
Another member of the family	17	13.5%	109	86.5%
A person employed in the house	12	9.5%	114	90.5%
A teacher	9	7.1%	117	92.9%
An unknown person	6	4.8%	120	95.2%
Other person	10	7.9%	116	92.1%

III.4. DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Domestic violence is comprised of "acts" of violence inflicted on a woman by her spouse since the start of their relationship, regardless of circumstances (time or place). Domestic violence also includes acts of violence on the part of the future spouse before their relationship as a couple, by a lover or another member of the family (7). Such violence may be of a physical, sexual, emotional, psychological or economic nature.

III.4.1. Annual frequency of domestic violence

The four hundred and fifty-nine women living in couples at the time of the survey were asked a series of questions exploring the nature and scope of domestic violence suffered during the last twelve months; all but about a dozen agreed to participate in this exercise. The basic characteristics of domestic violence have been classified into three categories:

- Physical violence includes verbal threats, threats with a knife or firearm, grabbing by the hair, slaps or arm-twisting, punches, being struck with an object, being thrown on the ground and kicked, and strangling.
- Psychological violence includes limiting visits to parents and friends, controlling participation in community activities and women's activities, restricting access to paid employment, being deprived of health care and medicine, the withholding of money needed to satisfy everyday needs, and insults and verbal cruelty.
- Sexual violence is comprised of unwanted sexual relations imposed by a woman's partner, either with him or with other persons.

a) Annual rate of physical domestic violence

Thirty-one percent of the women (139 out of 449) suffered physical domestic violence at least once during the last twelve months (Diagram 20). Table 28 on the different acts of domestic physical abuse indicates that 27.1%, roughly 3 out of every 10 men threatened to beat their spouse at least once during the past year. Moreover, 16% of women were slapped, and 11% were punched or struck with an object.

Table 28 : Percentage of women who were victims of physical domestic violence per type of incident

	Never	Once or twice	Three to five times	Six times or more	TOTAL
Type of physical violence	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number
Verbal threats	72.9%	12.8%	9.4%	4.9%	100%
	326	57	42	22	447
Threats with knife or firearm	97.8%	1.6%	0.4%	0.2%	100%
	438	7	2	1	448
Grabbing by the hair	96.7%	2.0%	1.1%	0.2%	100%
	433	9	5	1	448
Slaps or arm-twisting	83.7%	9.6%	6.0%	0.7%	100%
	375	43	27	3	448
Punches or blows struck with another object	88.8%	6.5%	4.0%	0.7%	100%
	398	29	18	3	448
Being thrown on the ground or kicked	89.5%	5.4%	4.0%	1.1%	100%
	401	24	18	5	448
Strangling	96.9%	2.0%	0.7%	0.4%	100%
	434	9	3	2	448

Physical Domestic Violence

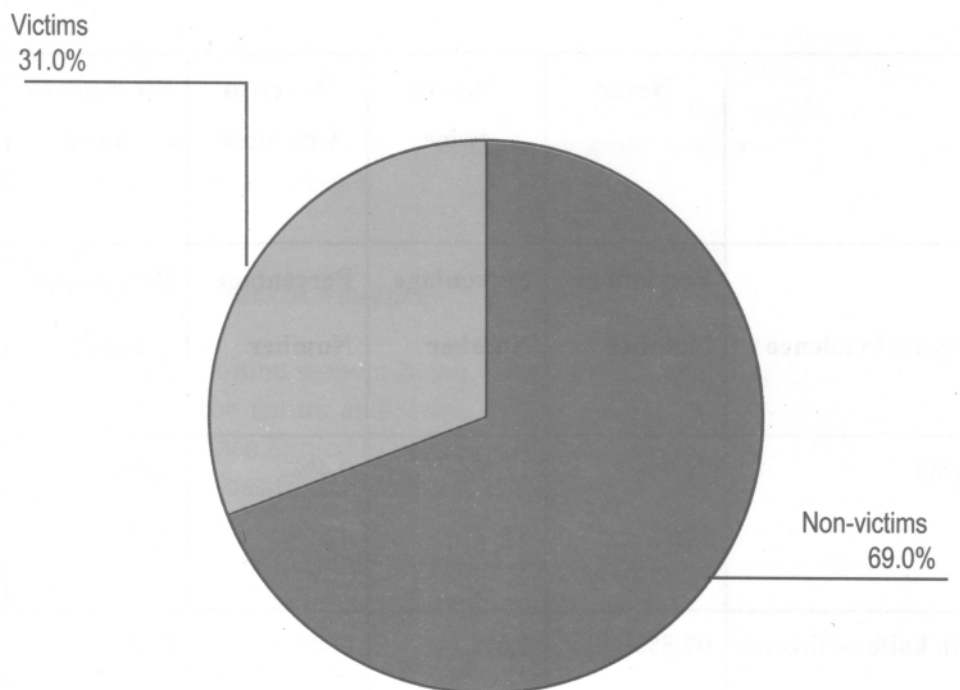


Diagram 20 : Rate of physical domestic violence during the last twelve months

Table 28 showed that practically all women (121 out of 139) who are victims of physical domestic violence are also verbally threatened. This does not necessarily imply that all women who are verbally threatened are also physically abused. In fact, one third of verbally threatened women do not suffer physical abuse. Table 28 also shows that women who are victims of physical violence (the last five categories in Table 28) suffer various forms of abuse since the number of incidents of abuse mentioned by victims is greater than the number of victims.

In order to compare the rate of physical violence in Rwanda with the rate measured in Uganda in 2001, one must restrict the number of Rwandan victims to the last five types of abuse, i.e. by excluding the least serious forms of verbal threats. The number of cases then drops from 139 to 96 and the Rwandan rate drops to 20.7%, which is quite comparable to the Ugandan rate of 19.9%.

b) Emotional and psychological domestic violence

Emotional and psychological abuse is very frequent in the home as one in every two women (51.4%) reported they were a victim of such abuse at least once during the preceding year (Diagram 21). This violence takes the form of insults and hurtful words for 47.5% of women. For about three in ten women (27%) it entails restrictions on her freedom of movement and on visits to parents. Furthermore, one man in five (21.0%) has refused on at least one occasion to give his spouse money required to provide for the needs of the family (Table 29).

Table 29: Percentage of women who were victims of psychological domestic violence per type of incident

	Never	Once or twice	3 to 5 times	6 times or more	TOTAL
Type of psychological violence	%	%	%	%	Number
Restricting visits to parents and friends	86.4%	7.4%	4.7%	1.6%	448
Controlling participation in community and women's activities	93.5%	3.1%	2.3%	1.1%	448
Being deprived of health care and medicine	96.9%	0.7%	1.5%	0.9%	448
Withholding of money necessary to satisfy everyday needs	79.0%	10.0%	6.9%	4.1%	448
Insults and verbal cruelty	52.5%	20.5%	19.2%	7.8%	448

Psychological Domestic Violence

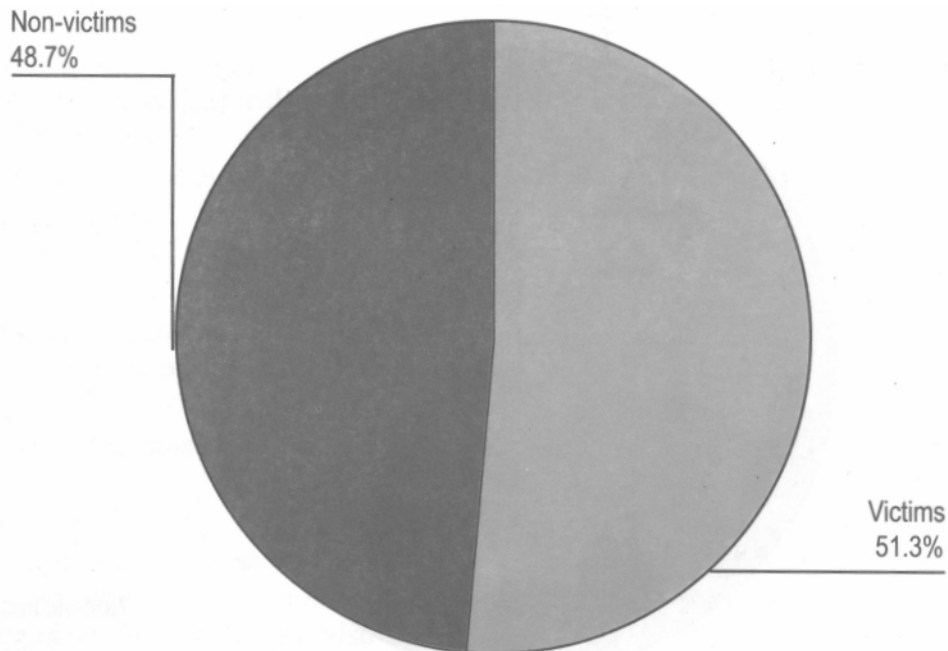


Diagram 21: Percentage of women who were victims of psychological domestic violence during the preceding twelve months

c) Annual rate of sexual domestic violence

Sexual violence is the form of violence least mentioned by women: 8.7% of respondents who have a partner do mention it (Diagram 22). According to 8.3% of women, this consists mainly of sexual relations imposed by one's partner (Table 30).

Table 30: Percentage of women victims of sexual domestic violence per type of incident

	Never	Once or twice	3 to 5 times	6 times or more	TOTAL
Type of violence	%	%	%	%	Number
Sexual relations imposed by spouse	91.7%	4.9%	2.2%	1.1%	448
Sexual relations with other persons imposed by spouse	99.1%	0.7%	0.0%	0.2%	448

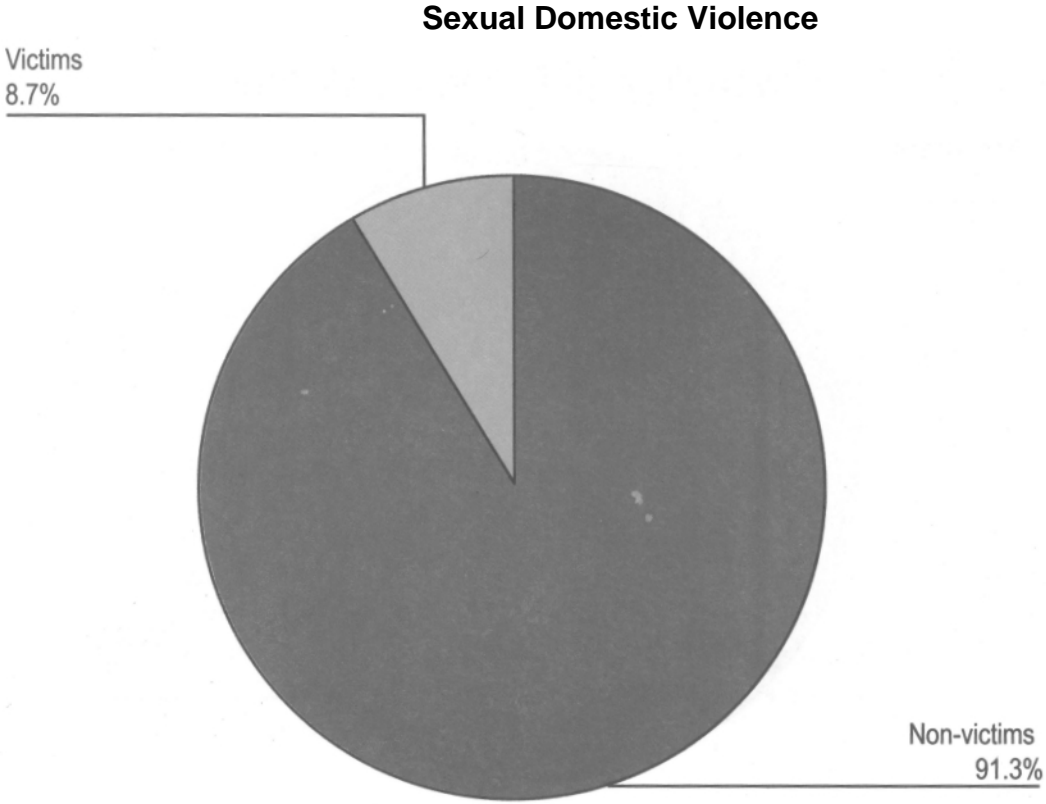


Diagram 22 : Percentage of women who were victims of sexual domestic violence during the preceding twelve months

d) General rate of domestic violence

The percentage of women who are victims of domestic violence, whatever the category, is 53.8% (241 women out of 448) (Diagram 23). Let's recall that it is the 51.4% rate of psychological violence that makes this general rate so high. Domestic violence, especially its psychological variant, should be seen in relation with the monthly frequency of disputes in the couple. The latter occurs at a 51.6% rate according to the responses given to a supplementary question.

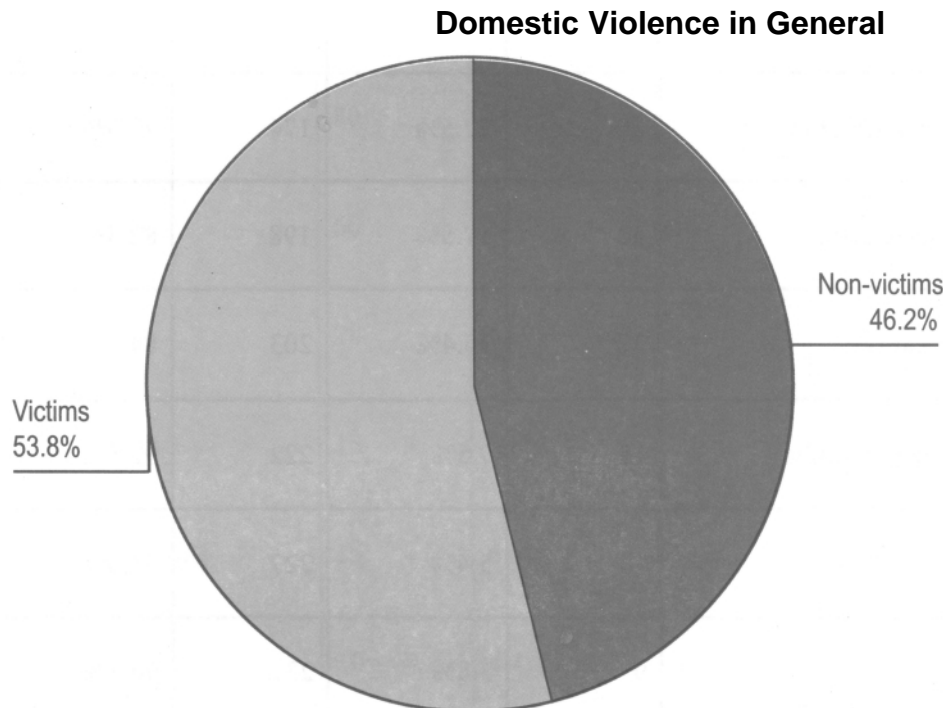


Diagram 23 : Annual general rate of domestic violence

Let us now examine the point of view of women on trends in domestic violence since the genocide of 1994. On this subject, 13.4% of abused women think that the level of abuse has declined, 43.7% think it is stable and 17.6% believe that the situation has worsened.

As for the general perception of the 449 women interviewed on domestic violence, it is more optimistic as 62.3% believe that it has declined appreciably.

III.4.2. Principal causes of domestic violence

The 240 abused women who answered this question attribute domestic violence to the following causes : abuse of alcoholic beverages (42.5%), control over and utilization of money (27.5%), complaints related to housework (17.5%) and childcare issues (15.4%) (Table 31). Let's note that domestic disputes are also attributed to these same causes: i.e. alcohol abuse (35.7%), monetary issues (35.2%), complaints related to housework (26.4%) and childcare (16.7%) (Table 32).

Table 31 : Rankings of the main causes of domestic violence

Causes of domestic violence	Yes		No		Total
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number
Alcoholic beverages	102	42.5%	138	57.5%	240
Management and use of money	66	27.5%	174	72.5%	240
Housework poorly done	42	17.5%	198	82.5%	240
Children's education	37	15.4%	203	84.6%	240
Partner's jealousy (Gufuha)	18	7.5%	222	92.5%	240
Couple's sexual relations	13	5.4%	227	94.6%	240
Polygamy	9	3.8%	231	96.3%	240
Family members	8	3.3%	232	96.7%	240
Disobedience to partner	7	2.9%	233	97.1%	240
Infidelity	6	2.5%	234	97.5	240
Wife's vagrancy	1	0.4%	239	99.6%	240
Wife's professional employment	1	0.4%	239	99.6%	240
Wife's education	1	0.4%	239	99.6%	240
Others	33	13.8%	207	86.3%	240

Table 32 : Rankings of the main causes of domestic disputes

Causes of disputes	Yes		No		Total
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number
Alcoholic beverages	81	35.7%	146	64.3%	227
Money	80	35.2%	147	64.8%	227
Housework poorly done	60	26.4%	167	73.6%	227
Children's education	38	16.7%	189	83.3%	227
Disobedience to partner	15	6.6%	212	93.4%	227
Partner's jealousy (Gufuha)	15	6.6%	212	93.4%	227
Family members	10	4.4%	217	95.6%	227
Sexual relations	9	4.0%	218	96.0%	227
Polygamy	8	3.5%	219	96.5%	227
Too many outings	6	2.6%	221	97.4%	227
Infidelity	4	1.8%	223	98.2%	227
The wife's paid employment	3	1.3%	224	98.7%	227
The wife's education	2	0.9%	225	99.1%	227
Others	30	13.2%	197	86.8%	227

The link between domestic violence and abuse of alcoholic beverages is highly significant (probabilities < 0.05) for all types of violence (physical, psychological and sexual) when it is the man who has been drinking (Tables 33 and 34). It is not significant when the woman has been drinking, except in cases of physical violence.

Table 33 : Correlation between domestic violence and the consumption of alcoholic beverages by the man

Consumption of alcoholic beverages by the man and physical domestic violence

		Physical violence Number of cases		Total
		Absent	Present	
Consumption of alcoholic beverages	No	102	23	125
	Yes	151	96	247
Total		253	119	372

Consumption of alcoholic beverages by the man and psychological domestic violence

		Psychological violence Number of cases		Total
		Absent	Present	
Consumption of alcoholic beverages	No	72	53	125
	Yes	104	143	247
Total		176	196	372

Consumption of alcoholic beverages by the man and sexual domestic violence

		Sexual violence Number of cases		Total
		Absent	Present	
Consumption of alcoholic beverages	No	120	5	125
	Yes	216	30	246
Total		336	35	371

Table 34 : Association test between different forms of domestic violence and the consumption of alcoholic beverages by the man

	Corrected chi-square	Degrees of freedom	Associated probability
Physical domestic violence	15.053	1	0.000
Psychological domestic violence	7.384	1	0.007
Sexual domestic violence	5.591	1	0.018

Table 35 : Correlation between physical domestic violence and consumption of alcoholic beverages by the woman

		Physical domestic violence		Total
		Non-victims	women victims	
	Yes	138	50	188
Consumption of alcoholic beverages	No	115	68	183
Total		253	118	371

Table 36: Association test between physical domestic violence and the consumption of alcoholic beverages by the woman

Type of violence	Corrected Chi-square	Degrees of freedom	Associated probability
Physical violence	4.296	1	0.038

III.4.3. Socioeconomic factors favoring the incidence of domestic violence

It seems that the risk of domestic violence is higher when the wife has paid employment outside of the home, especially if she works as a merchant. Her risk of being abused is also higher if her spouse is a merchant. (Table 37).

Table 37 : Association test of socioeconomic factors with domestic violence

		General domestic violence		
<i>Socio-economic characteristics</i>		Non-victims	Victims	Associated probability
She works in the farming sector				
Yes	Number observed	111	111	0.005
	Number in theory	100.6	121.4	
No	Number observed	19	46	
	Number in theory	29.4	35.6	
She works as a merchant				
Yes	Number observed	7	26	0.006
	Number in theory	14.9	18.1	
No	Number observed	123	131	
	Number in theory	115.1	138.9	
Partner's characteristics				
He works as a merchant				
Yes	Number observed	9	34	0.002
	Number in theory	18.7	24.3	
No	Number observed	132	149	
	Number in theory	122.3	158.7	

Women with paid employment and who have partners that are less well educated than they are, are more subject to physical violence (Table 38). Women working in agriculture are less affected. Women who are merchants and whose husbands are merchants are more subject to psychological violence. Women working in agriculture are less affected, as are women who had a say in choosing their partner (see Table 39). Sexual violence particularly affects childless women and women with non-farming sector jobs (Table 40).

Table 38 : Association tests of socioeconomic factors with physical domestic violence

Socioeconomic characteristics		Physical domestic violence		Associated probability
		Absent	Present	
Number of adults living in the household				
None	Number observed	16	1	0.038
	Number in theory	11.7	5.3	
1 to 4	Number observed	284	136	
	Number in theory	290.0	130.0	
5 or more	Number observed	10	2	
	Number in theory	8.3	3.7	
She is the head of the household				
No	Number observed	258	127	0.033
	Number in theory	265.8	119.2	
Yes	Number observed	52	12	
	Number in theory	44.2	19.8	
She works in the farming sector				
Yes	Number observed	159	64	0.024
	Number in theory	151	72	
No	Number observed	36	29	
	Number in theory	44	21	
<i>Partner's characteristics</i>				
Writing ability				
Is illiterate	Number observed	82	45	0.025
	Number in theory	86.7	40.3	
Writes with difficulty	Number observed	29	23	
	Number in theory	35.5	16.5	
Writes without difficulty	Number observed	184	68	
	Number in theory	172.1	79.9	
Paid employment				0.024
Yes	Number observed	212	113	
	Number in theory	221.9	103.1	
No	Number observed	83	24	
	Number in theory	73.1	33.9	

Table 39 : Association tests of socioeconomic factors with psychological domestic violence

Psychological domestic violence				
Socioeconomic characteristics		Non-victims	Women victims	Associated probability
She's the head of the household				
No	Number observed	179	204	0.049
	Number in theory	186.8	196.2	
Yes	Number observed	39	25	
	Number in theory	31.2	32.8	
She works in the farming sector				
Yes	Number observed	118	103	0.002
	Number in theory	106.6	114.4	
No	Number observed	20	45	
	Number in theory	31.4	33.6	
She works as a merchant				
Yes	Number observed	7	26	0.002
	Number in theory	15.9	17.1	
No	Number observed	131	122	
	Number in theory	122.1	130.9	
Partner's characteristics				
He works as a merchant				
Yes	Number observed	11	32	0.005
	Number in theory	20.1	22.9	
No	Number observed	140	140	
	Number in theory	130.9	149.1	
Context of marriage				
How husband was chosen				
A mutual decision	Number observed	183	184	0.043
	Number in theory	175	192	
One of them or a third decided party	Number observed	23	42	
	Number in theory	31	34	

Table 40 : Association tests of socioeconomic factors with sexual domestic violence

		Sexual domestic violence		Associated probability
		Absent	Present	
Socioeconomic characteristics				
Number of children living in the household				
None	Number observed	21	6	0.036
	Number in theory	24.6	2.4	
1 to 4	Number observed	298	26	
	Number in theory	295.8	28.2	
5 or more	Number observed	90	7	
	Number in theory	88.6	8.4	
She works in farming sector				
Yes	Number observed	203	19	0.042
	Number in theory	198	24	
No	Number observed	53	12	
	Number in theory	58	7	

III.4.4. Relationship between current domestic violence and domestic violence experienced by spouse during his childhood

According to the 426 married women who answered the question on violence suffered in childhood by their respective spouses, over half (53.3%) recognized that their spouses had been abused; 12.4% said that he hadn't been abused and 34.3% affirmed that they didn't know (Table 41).

Table 41 : Rate of violence suffered during childhood by spouse

Violence in spouse's childhood, according to woman's knowledge	Number	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
Absent	53	12.4%	12.4%
Present	227	53.3%	65.7%
Does not know	146	34.3%	100.0%
Total	426	100.0%	

There is a strong correlation between current physical and psychological violence and violence suffered during the partner's childhood. When women are unfamiliar with their partner's past they are more frequently victims quantitatively speaking or in terms of the variety of types of domestic violence. (Tables 42 and 43).

Table 42 : Correlation between physical domestic violence and violence suffered during childhood by woman's partner

		Physical domestic violence		Total number
		Absent	Present	
Violence in childhood	No	30	21	51
	Yes	164	55	219
	Doesn't know	90	55	145
Total number		284	131	415
Chi-square		9.120		
Associated probability		0.010		

Table 43 : Correlation between psychological domestic violence and violence suffered during childhood by woman's partner

		Psychological domestic violence		Total number
		Absent	Present	
Violence during childhood	No	20	31	51
	Yes	129	90	219
	Doesn't know	52	93	145
Total		201	214	415
Chi-square		20.524		
Associated probability		0.000		

III.4.5. Social aspects of domestic violence

This survey has found that one in every two women of reproductive age had suffered at least one act of domestic violence recently. A question worth asking is whether this behavior is linked with certain attitudes, beliefs or stereotypes. Table 44 summarizes the women's opinions on some of the social characteristics of conjugal relations.

Table 44 : Women's opinions on attitudes and behavior that may affect conjugal relations

Types of attitudes and behavior	Rather agrees	Disagrees	No opinion	Total
Conjugal problems are not discussed outside of the family	77.8%	19.8%	2.4%	100%
Outsiders must intervene when a man mistreat his wife	75.8%	22.3%	1.9%	100%
An exemplary wife owes unconditional obedience to her husband	67.7%	30.9%	1.4%	100%
A woman must consent to sexual relations with her husband even when she's not in the mood	63.6%	32.0%	4.4%	100%
It is important for a man to impose his authority on his wife	54.6%	43.2%	2.2%	100%
A woman must have the right to choose her friends even without her husband's agreement	26.2%	71.1%	2.8%	100%

The features that the study brings to the fore are the following: Confidentiality regarding family issues is a rule that must be respected according to four out of five women (77.8%). Women may however ask for help from a third party in cases of serious domestic violence (75.8%). It is widely accepted (71.1%) that partners have the final word on who their wives choice of friends. Ideally, according to two thirds of women (67.7%), wives must be totally obedient to their husbands. Such submission also applies to sexual relations (63.6%). Finally for over half of the women, it is important to appear submissive and protect the husband's image of authority. Education within the family and socialization regarding the roles that each sex must play no doubt explain the persistence of this model of authority in relationships (Table 45).

Table 45 : Reasons mentioned "to justify" conjugal abuse

Reasons that might justify wife battering	Agrees	Disagrees	No opinion	Total
Adultery	76.6%	22.0%	1.4%	100%
Refusal of sexual relations	50.7%	46.4%	2.9%	400%
Disobedience	47.0%	51.7%	1.4%	100%
Neglect of housework	31.7%	67.2%	1.1%	100%
Husband suspects adultery	14.0%	84.3%	1.7%	100%
Wife suspects adultery	9.7%	88.8%	1.7%	100%

According to three quarters of the women (76.6%), should a woman commit adultery her husband would have valid reason to beat her. However, he may not do so if he only suspects her of infidelity or if she suspects him of it (only 14.0% and 9.7%, respectively, see those as valid reasons). One of every two women thinks that it's permissible for her husband to strike her if she refuses to sleep with him or disobeys him. One third of the women find it normal to be struck if the house is not well kept.

Table 46: Reasons for refusing sexual relations with partner (Number of respondents: 722 women)

Valid reasons for refusing sexual relations	Agrees	Disagrees	No opinion
Illness	84.1%	14.1%	1.8%
Man mistreats his partner	57.8%	40.0%	2.2%
Drunkenness	52.4%	44.7%	2.9%
Lack of desire	25.8%	71.6%	2.6%

Additionally, 84.1 % of the women are of the opinion that a husband may not impose sexual relations on his wife when she is ill. One of every two women think that it's acceptable to refuse sexual relations because of a husband's drunkenness or because of mistreatment (i.e. 52.4% and 57.8%, respectively). On the other hand, for 71.6% of women, not being in the mood is not an acceptable reason to refuse sexual intercourse (Table 46).

In a word, for most of the women, the ideal wife is faithful, available and submissive to her husband, and she tolerates acts of domestic violence.

III.4.6. Assistance for women victims of domestic violence

Domestic violence is considered a private matter. Nearly half of the abused women didn't tell anybody (45.6%). The others confided in a female friend (30.3%), an in-law (14.5%), their mothers (11.7%), their fathers (5.8%) or a brother (5.4%). A small number of them sought assistance from the local authorities (5.8%) or the police (0.4%). These women, or at least 45.0% of them, do not trust community social services and expect no help from them. They prefer to forget (30.8%) and to pray (22.1 %).

If violence should recur, 71.4% of the women say that they wouldn't take any measures to stop it. They would probably talk about it in the family (45.5%,) or contact the local authorities (27.1 %) or talk about it to a female friend (11.8%).

III.4.7. Physical consequences of domestic violence and recourse to medical care

For one in five women (20.0%), out of the 571 respondents who have had a spouse in the course of their lives, physical violence in the home has left painful scars. For 8.6% of the women, domestic violence has resulted in serious injuries or broken bones or loss of teeth. The number of incidents that left painful scars during the last twelve months varies from 1 to 20, depending on the woman. As for the number of incidents that caused much more serious consequences over the same period, this varies from 1 to 7, depending on the woman (see Table 47).

Forty-three women went for medical care, of whom 30 went once, five twice, four three times and four others more than three times in the last twelve months. Thirty-one women were admitted for in-patient care; twenty-three of these latter victims were admitted once, three were admitted twice, three others three times and the remaining two more than three times in the course of the preceding year (see Tables 48 & 49).

Of the 43 women who sought medical care, 20 did not reveal the cause of their health problems to health care personnel, 11 women did so from time to time and 11 others did it systematically. This means that the health care services have no records concerning approximately 50% of the most serious cases of domestic violence.

Table 47 : Percentages of women marked by domestic violence

Type of consequence of domestic violence	No		Yes		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	Number
Painful scars	457	70.0%	114	20.0%	571
Serious injuries, broken bones or teeth knocked out	522	91.4%	49	8.6%	571

Table 48 : Frequency of visits to health care services by victims of domestic violence during the last twelve months

Number of visits to health care services	Number	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
1	30	69.8	69.8
2	5	11.6	81.4
3	4	9.3	90.7
4	1	2.3	93.0
5	1	2.3	95.3
8	1	2.3	97.7
10	1	2.3	100.0
Total	43	100.0	

Table 49 : Frequency of in-patient admissions for victims of domestic violence during the last twelve months

Number of times admitted for in-patient care	Number	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
1	23	74.2	74.2
2	3	9.7	83.9
3	3	9.7	93.5
4	1	3.2	96.8
6	1	3.2	100.0
Total	31	100.0	

Women suffering domestic violence sometimes leave their homes (kwahukana) 193 women out of 570 (33.0%) affirm that they had done this at least once since their first experience of conjugal life. Of these 193 women, 84 left their home once, 47 left twice and 28 left three times (see Table 50).

Table 50 : Frequency of women leaving their homes in the last twelve months

Number of times a woman left home	Number	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
1	84	43.5	43.5
2	47	24.4	67.9
3	28	14.5	82.4
4	6	3.1	85.5
5	9	4.7	90.2
6	4	2.1	92.2
8	4	2.1	94.3
10	4	2.1	96.4
12	3	1.6	97.9
20	2	1.0	99.0
Had no partner at the time	1	.5	99.5
Missing data (99)	1	.5	100.0
Total	193	100.0	1

III.4.8. Violent acts committed by married women and other family members

The questionnaire also studied the acts of violence committed by married women and other members of the family. However, only physical violence was examined. In this regard, ten women out of 603 (less than 2%) have struck their spouse, without provocation, at least once during their life as a couple. Five women had done so in the preceding year. About one of every ten respondents (8.9%) had been involved in a violent dispute, either with another woman in her own family (15 women out of 64) or another woman in her spouse's family (12 women out of 64). Respondents had also been struck by their fathers (7 women out of 64) and their mothers (also 7 women out of 64).

III.5. THE MENTAL HEALTH OF WOMEN

In addition to the problems of community and domestic violence, the study also examined women's mental health in general. The study shows that women *suffer* from the psychological after-effects in various manners: attempting to avoid remembering traumatic events (44.8% of the 721 women), strategies to flee anything apt to remind them of a painful past (42.3%), painful memories (42.3%) and flashbacks (35.6%). Details on these different forms of women's psychological suffering are given in Table 51.

Table 51 : Percentages of women with mental health problems

Psychological problems related to traumatic events	Frequency of problems				
	Never	Rarely	Occasionally	Often	Total number
Attempts to forget what happened	55.2%	15.4%	13.9%	15.5%	721
Avoidance of all reminders of the past (*)	57.6%	14.8%	11.9%	15.5%	721
Frequent recollection of events	57.7%	12.3%	16.4%	13.6%	721
Painful flashbacks	64.4%	12.6%	10.5%	12.5%	721
Constant anxiety	68.1%	13.6%	10.3%	8.0%	721
Living in constant fear	69.8%	11.8%	11.0%	7.5%	721
Listlessness	70.0%	13.5%	8.7%	7.8%	721
Not accept the reality of the facts (*)	71.2%	10.8%	10.1%	7.6%	721

(*) Certain women said that they didn't know if they were experiencing psychological problems.

In addition to psychological troubles, women also complain of physiological problems such as migraines (16.4%), anorexia (14.3%), back pains (7.2%) and stomach pains (5.8%). The 721 women suffer from respiratory problems and bulimia at rates of 3.6% and 0.4%, respectively. During the last few weeks, some had wished they would die (6.4%) or had attempted suicide (2%).

In periods of crisis, women seek consolation in prayer (33.0%), in the exchanging of confidences among women friends (23.4%), and within the family (18.2%). To a lesser extent, they turn to health care services (10.4%) and to women's groups (9.2%).

III.6 COMPARISONS WITH OTHER RECENT SURVEYS

Despite methodological differences, cultural specificities and the particularities of its recent history, it is possible to compare the prevalence of sex and gender-based violence in Rwanda with its prevalence in other countries. In this regard, we have at our disposal the data from a survey on general violence conducted recently by the IRC in 2002 in East Timor (6), as well as the results of a study on physical domestic violence carried out in 2000-2001 in Uganda's Rakai district (5). The first comparison involves two populations that have experienced episodes of massive violence while the second comparison involves two populations living in more or less like environments.

a) Comparison with East Timor

In East Timor, the rates of community violence declined and stabilized after the conflict to 7.3% for physical violence and 11.8% for sexual violence. In Rwanda, the annual average rates are 2.8% for physical violence in the community and 4.9% for sexual violence in the community. In other words, a Rwandan woman of reproductive age is two times less likely to be abused by someone outside of her family than a Timorese woman (see Table 52). It should be remembered that the war in East Timor was more recent than was the war and genocide in Rwanda, at the times of the respective surveys. For comparison purposes, the Rwandan data was recalculated after reclassification of "the depriving of water and food" as a form of physical violence and after excluding "being present during a rape" and "having to submit to sexual relations to obtain food" as forms of sexual violence.

Table 52: **Comparing community violence: the Rwandan and East Timorese cases**

Type of community violence	East Timor (sample size=288)		Rwanda* (sample size=722)
	During the crisis	Post-crisis period	
	During 12 months	During 12 months	During 5 years
Physical violence	27.1%	7.3%	14.0%
Sexual violence	25.0%	11.8%	24.4%

(*) These percentages were recalculated for the purposes of facilitating comparison with East Timor.

As for domestic violence, acts of violence were also reclassified for comparison purposes. Acts of intimidation and control include the limiting of visits to family and friends, deprivation of health care and the refusal to financially contribute to buying food. Verbal abuses include insults and threats of beatings, with or without an arm. Physical abuse includes grabbing by the hair, slaps or arm-twisting, punches and blows with an object, being thrown on the ground and kicked, and strangling. Forced sexual relations include forced sexual relations with one's partner or with his friends.

We can draw the same conclusion as we did with community violence when it comes to physical assaults (21% in Rwanda vs. 25% in East Timor) and forced sexual relations (9% in Rwanda vs. 16% in East Timor). In contrast, the rates of intimidation and of the exercise of power and control over one's wife (28% in Rwanda vs. 14% in

East Timor), and of verbal abuse (50% in Rwanda vs. 14% in East Timor) are much higher in Rwanda than in East Timor (Table 53).

Table 53 : Comparing domestic violence: the Rwandan and East Timorese cases

Type of domestic violence	East Timor		Rwanda
	Pre-crisis period	Post-crisis period	
	Percentage	Percentage	Number
Control and intimidation	221	221	446
	17.32%	14.41%	28.3%
Verbal abuse	221	221	449
	34.39%	30.51%	48.8%
Physical abuse	220	220	449
	23.78%	24.81%	20.7%
Sexual violence	239	239	448
	16.37%	15.71%	8.7%

b) Comparison with the Rakai district in Uganda

The data allows us to compare the rates of physical domestic violence and verbal abuse. In a sample group of 5,107 persons, the annual rates of physical violence and verbal abuse in the Rakai district are 19.9% and 31.3%, respectively. In Rwanda, these rates are 20.4% and 47.5%, respectively (see Table 54). The two sample groups are only clearly differentiated with respect to the frequency of verbal abuse, which is higher in Rwanda.

Table 54 : Comparison between Rwanda and the Rakai district in Uganda as regards physical and psychological domestic violence

Type of violence	Rakai district Sample size = 5107	Rwanda Sample size = 448
Verbal abuse	31.3%	47.5%
Physical violence	19.9%	20.4%

Thus, as these results indicate, the rate of physical domestic violence is more or less the same in the two communities. However, the rate of verbal abuse is higher in Rwanda (at 47.5%) than in the Rakai district (at 31.3%).

Given the cultural proximity between these two societies, it's also possible to compare the principal causes of domestic violence cited by the victims. In Rwanda, the causes of domestic violence are, in order of importance: alcoholism, money problems, poor housework, children, the husband's jealousy (gufuha) and the couple's sexual relations. In comparison, in the Rakai district, the most common causes of domestic violence are as follows: housework, a wife who disobeys her partner or the family elders, refusal of sexual relations, money problems and the husband's suspicions.

IV. RESULTS OF INTERVIEWS WITH FOCUS GROUPS

Women and men, aged 21 to 49, and girls and boys, aged 15 to 20, were grouped into panels whose members were all from the same age group and environment, i.e. urban or rural, where they exchanged points of view on the nature and causes of violence against women. These exercises were aimed at identifying themes for future prevention and victim empowerment campaigns. In total, sixty-six groups completed such group interviews. The information gathered was translated and recorded in its entirety on computer media. The brief analyses under the different headings below highlight the most important points raised in these discussions. In addition, we put these findings in perspective by comparing them with the results of the quantitative analysis presented above.

IV.1 ADULT GROUPS

IV.1.1 Points of view of adults on the general causes of violence

Girls' "lack of education" was identified during group discussions as one of the forms of "social violence" at the root of all forms of community and domestic violence. According to this widely held opinion, illiterate women were dependent and unable to divest themselves of a feeling of inferiority, which deprives them of the means to emancipate themselves and demand their rights. We found no corroboration for this commonplace belief in the opinion survey. On the contrary, the quantitative investigation indicates that women who are a little more educated and independent are more subject to abuse than illiterate women are.

It also seems "natural" to think that poverty and the traditional exclusion of women from property and inheritance rights maintain women in a state of dependence, which makes them vulnerable to violence. Here too, it must be said that the link between traditional family law and violence has not really been established since, according to the opinion survey, the women who are most rooted in the rural environment are the ones who complain least of violence.

Another factor raised in group discussions is the large number of widows and orphan girls whom, it is said, are particularly vulnerable to violence. This too is an

uncorroborated hypothesis. The opinion survey does not show any significant association between violence and a woman's status as the head of the household. A study on a larger number of widows and orphan girls would enable more rigorous testing of this hypothesis.

In conclusion, it seems that the social and cultural factors-education, family law and the social exclusion of widows-most readily raised by public opinion to explain violence actually lack strong explanatory value in statistical terms.

IV.1.2. The views of adults regarding rape

The focus groups participants have the impression that cases of rape, particularly of minors, an extremely grave phenomenon given much media coverage, are very frequent in the country. The purported perpetrators are adopted parents, tutors or babysitters, teachers, friends or members of the family or young minors. Sexual partners and relations are also mentioned in cases when the victim is an adult woman. Once again, the low rates of rape recorded in the opinion survey fail to corroborate widely held impressions. However, it must be noted that in the group discussions, as with the opinion survey, participants deplored the fact that victims of these extremely shameful crimes keep them secret. If popular opinion, fed by the confidences of raped women and girls, is indeed accurate, it isn't clear why the surveyors-who took every necessary precaution to reassure respondents that their testimonies would remain confidential and their identities anonymous-would have failed to obtain from the mouths of victims valid information on a phenomenon deemed of grave importance by the parties concerned.

IV.1.3. Opinions of adults on domestic violence

Abundant examples of domestic violence against women were mentioned in the focus groups, in particular the forms classified by this study as "psychological." Such acts include insults, humiliations, privations, a lack of trust, non-contribution to family financial needs, non-communication, refusal to eat at home, avoidance of sexual relations, and adultery. Being ostracized by the husband's family and the squandering of family goods were also mentioned. As for acts of physical violence, the most commonly mentioned were threats and being struck. Regarding causes, such domestic violence was mainly attributed to the consumption of alcoholic beverages and poverty. This violence was thought to be exacerbated by permissive attitudes, which allow men to evade their responsibilities. On this point, the opinion survey and the focus groups are entirely concordant. Men added, to justify their behavior, their wives' "faults" such as wasting money, poor housework, the recourse to "evil spells" to ensure their husbands' faithfulness (inzaratsi), carelessness and laziness.

To prevent domestic violence the focus groups recommended that wives conform to the code of conduct for a good wife: be welcoming and obedient, take good care of the family and household and try to please your husband. They recommend that the man communicate more, that he treats his wife with love and respect and that he encourages her to participate in social and community life. In short, public opinion

supports the stereotypes expressed by women in private. The duty of one gender is to be obedient; the duty of the other is to show good graces and kindness.

The focus groups also opined that women dispose of few means for learning about their rights. The exceptions being meetings held by women's groups, or religious and community associations and, especially, the radio. It is true that it remains uncommon to speak of violence in the context of protecting women's rights, although MIGEPROFE and the IRC have been doing so on the radio in recent years. However, according to female participants of the focus group, radios are not common in rural communities. On that last point, we must point out that nothing could be further from the truth. In fact, according to another survey done in 2002, at least one in every two families owns a radio in rural areas. Perhaps women listen to the radio less often than men do. This is a question that awaits investigation.

In the focus groups there was also discussion of why grave domestic violence was not better contained. According to women participants this problem is increasing because women do not report crimes to the police to save their relationships and also to avoid assuming sole responsibility for the family and for a husband in prison. Unfortunately, while this explanation seems logical, the underlying assumption of an increase in grave domestic violence is yet another belief that is not really corroborated by the information gathered in the opinion survey. One must, however, recognize that the present study only explicitly covers a single year.

IV. 2. OPINIONS OF ADOLESCENTS ON VIOLENCE

Groups of adolescents, including groups of adolescent boys, were asked to give their opinions on violence in the family, the community and at school. The questions of rape and sexuality were also dealt with.

IV.2.1. Opinions of adolescents on their families

According to most young people, the role of head of the family belongs to the father who may on occasion consult his sons but not his wife or daughters. A husband falls in his social standing if he lets his wife make the major decisions in his stead. Based on these commonly accepted statements, one must conclude that models of male authority and female submission are still being transmitted from one generation to the next with few questions asked and few changes made.

According to adolescents, family conflicts arise from financial issues, conditions of poverty, maintenance of fields and the abuse of alcoholic beverages. Other factors mentioned include adultery, lack of respect, polygamy, sterility or the birth of children of the same gender. Boys insist more particularly on the issue of disobedience to the husband. They assert that domestic conflicts are usually resolved via mediation by the grandfather, the family elder or an administrative body. In a word: a male authority figure. On the other hand, adolescents were not able to agree on equal treatment for brothers and sisters. Might that constitute the beginning of a trend towards gender equality among the young generation? It's a question that awaits response.

IV.2.2. Opinions of adolescents on the community

Boys and girls do not feel equally safe. Girls feel vulnerable to sexual assaults in their neighborhood and they are under strong family pressure to get married. The survey does not provide any information on this question, which is a highly worrisome one for a generation whose entry into married life promises to be more difficult given the existing economic and demographic problems.

IV.2.3. Opinions of adolescents on the school environment

According to adolescents, poverty is the main reason for dropping out. Girls, who are less valued than boys as well as over-burdened with domestic duties, quit school and the family to become domestics in urban centers with the consent of their parents or simply to break free from dependence. According to some of the female participants, pregnant young girls leave school out of fear of being raped by their teachers. Finally, young people affirm that they have not been told enough about their rights, especially their right to education.

IV.2.4. Opinions of adolescents on rape

Adolescents have a different conception of rape than that of adults. Their conception is broader, which leads them to assert that rapes are very frequent in their milieu. Practically all sexual relations outside of marriage are qualified as rape. According to young people, it's up to local authorities to find a solution to the problem of "rape" afflicting adolescent girls.

IV.2.5. Opinions of adolescents on sexuality and reproductive health

Sexuality remains a delicate subject rarely discussed in the family. It is talked about at school and among friends. Boys and girls admit that premarital sexual relations are culturally tolerated for boys but forbidden to girls and that child-mothers are still ostracized by their families. As for boys, they affirm that they are well aware of contraceptive methods but don't use them frequently.

Summary and conclusions of the qualitative study

Differences in points of view on violence against women may be observed when comparing the focus groups with the opinion survey. The factors exposing women to violence identified in focus group discussions-insufficient schooling, women's living conditions in rural areas, poverty in general, traditional inheritance practices, widowhood and other factors tending to maintain women in a state of dependence were not clearly revealed in the individual testimonies given by women. Likewise, sexual assaults on minors, a justifiable concern in public opinion, were not clearly revealed as prevalent by the opinion survey.

On the other hand, the focus groups and the survey provide concordant testimonies concerning "psychological" violence which, moreover, seems to be the most frequent type of domestic violence. This is also true of the models of conduct traditionally associated with the respective genders. Concerning parental models of conduct, it's clear that they are quite faithfully transmitted to youth. That said, they have new and somewhat different views on how they should be treated in the family and the community.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The research conducted in 2003 on sex and gender-based violence in Rwanda indicates that one in every three women suffered at least one act of "community violence" during the last five years and one of every two women suffered at least one act of "domestic violence" in the preceding year.

Community violence mainly takes the form of "verbal abuse" of a sexual character. Women who are younger, literate and who work outside of the farming sector seem more affected by this kind of abuse. Should this trend persist, community violence might constitute a barrier to women's social and professional growth. The fear of sexual assault makes women, and young girls in particular, afraid to leave their homes. Women divulged this fact in focus group discussions. However, a specific study to analyse the relationship between the community violence and the level of women education is necessary.

Happily, the rate of community violence declined considerably from a rate of 32.4% over the five years preceding the survey to approximately 3.25% for the year 2002. One must conclude that the improvement in general public safety conditions, publicity around trials for cases of sexual assault against minors and the public awareness campaigns carried out by the government and civil society "advocates" have had a non negligible impact on the problem.

Nevertheless, it is important that effective mechanisms for the protection of women be put in place. Victims must be able to lodge a complaint in full confidence and benefit from the greatest possible degree of confidentiality.

As for domestic violence, which is very widespread, this takes the form of verbal abuse, at an annual rate of 51.4%, and physical abuse at an annual rate of 31.0%. Domestic violence is strongly associated with alcohol abuse and family quarrels related to spending and children's needs. Additional background causes include the violence that adults suffered as children, low literacy levels in men and the absence of mutual consent when the marriage was contracted.

Much can be done to reduce existing domestic violence and the transmission of such models of behavior to children who are the parents of tomorrow. First, poverty and alcoholism must be fought. Next, couples must be taught how to jointly manage their family resources and budget. Finally, families must be educated about the harmful consequences of verbal and physical violence on children's emotional and social development.

However, these measures will very likely fail if women continue to tolerate violence and even justify it. To modify this attitude, "educational approaches" must be designed for the school and home that aim at fostering gender equality, the empowerment of girls, and the banishing of violence as a means for enforcing discipline and regulating conflicts. Raising the level of education among girls and continuing the program to

favour the accession of women to public office are other objectives to be pursued without respite.

The Rwandan family is a deeply rooted hierarchical institution that differentiates each member's rights and obligations. For example, the eldest brother is generally the head of the family, just as the husband is the head of the household. The status and roles of women and men are deeply rooted in people's mentalities. Nevertheless, these roles can change and do change, slowly, under the influence of outside economic and social constraints. Today, there are Rwandan women entrusted with a variety of responsibilities, both as heads of households in their private lives and as managers and leaders in the public and private sectors. Couldn't these women also be actors engaged in transforming mentalities as regards their spouses, brothers and sisters? It's no small challenge, but one worth undertaking and one worth supporting.

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