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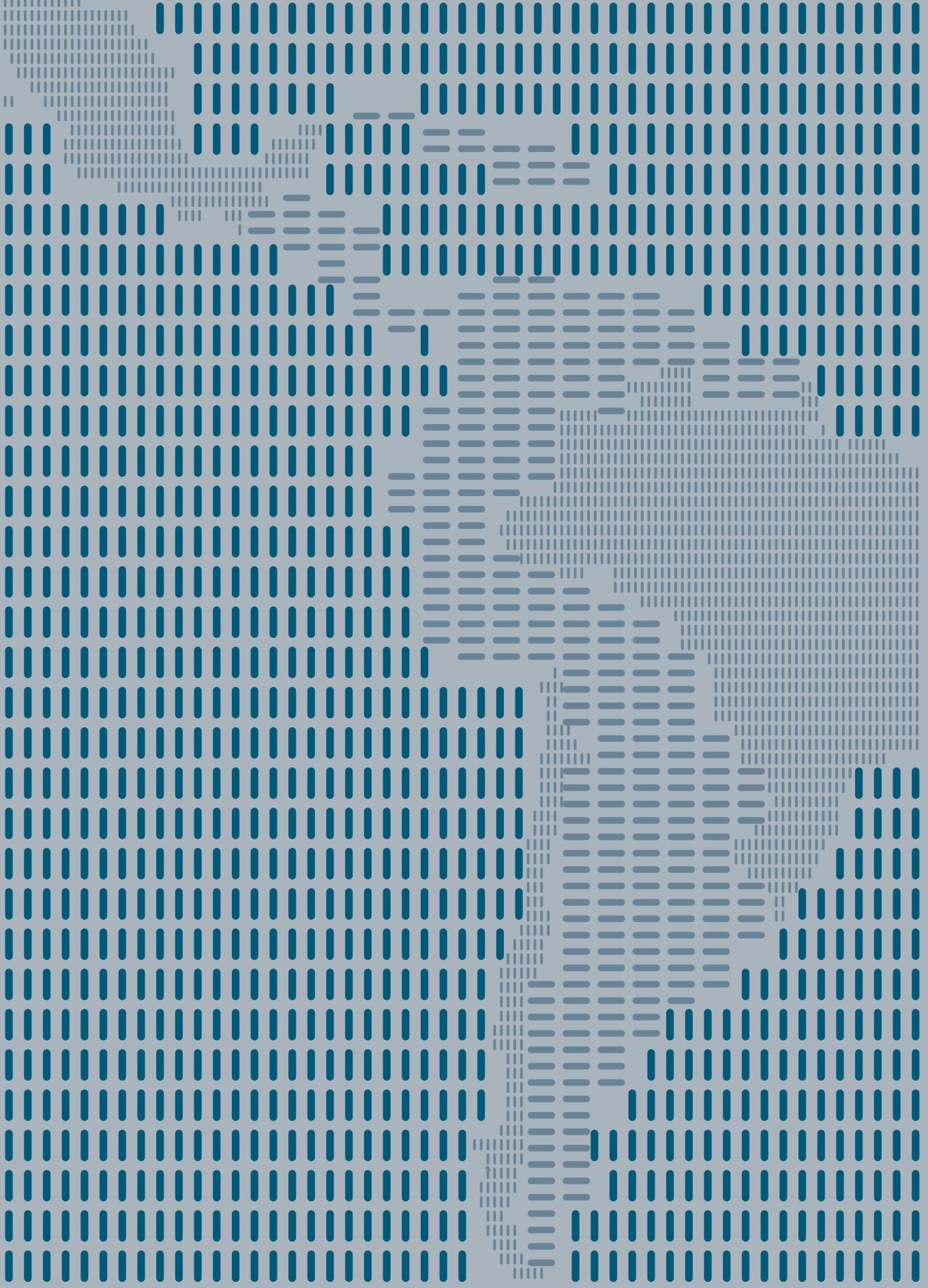
GARY BARKER

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PABLO CORREA

UNDERSTANDING MEN'S VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN:

Findings from the
IMAGES Survey in Brazil,
Chile and Mexico



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INTRODUCTION

Why do men in Latin America (and elsewhere) use violence against female partners, and which men are more likely to use violence? This question has not only attracted a great deal of social and political concern, but has also guided many studies on masculinities in the region. Several research projects show that in Latin America the use of violence is most often men's use of violence (Barker and Aguayo, 2012; Morrison, Ellsberg, y Bott, 2005; WHO, 2003; WHO, 2005; PAHO, 2010; Ramírez, 2006). Men participate more as perpetrators in all forms of violence: social, institutional and domestic. Authors such as De Vylder (2005) estimate that men commit 90 percent of all reported violence.

Male socialization and traditional norms of masculinity, among other factors, promote and sustain violence in social, work, family and partner contexts. Some masculine cultural attributes are associated with a greater use of violence by men as a way to obtain power and control, defend honor, demonstrate manhood, express anger or frustration and claim ownership of women's bodies. The practices prevalent in some contexts, such as gangs and peer groups, often reinforce patterns of masculine violence. Men's use of violence is also associated with other facilitating variables, such as alcohol abuse and gun possession and use (WHO, 2003).

The World Health Organization (WHO) multi-country study on

domestic violence in ten countries, two of which were Latin American, demonstrated that 15 to 71 percent of women have suffered physical or sexual violence at the hands of their partners at some point in their lives (WHO, 2005). In a comparative analysis of representative data of 12 Latin American countries, it was found that the incidence of male partner physical violence against women between the ages of 15 and 49 ranged from 13.4 to 52.3 percent, while the rate of male partner sexual violence against these women ranged between 5.2 and 15.2 percent (Bott, Guedes *et al.*, 2013).

The Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) multi-country study on alcohol, gender, culture and harm in the Americas (PAHO, 2007) explored and discussed the relationship between alcohol abuse and partner violence in ten Latin American countries, showing risk of violence increases when men drink excessively.

Violence against women (VAW) is a highly prevalent form of men's violence. It has been called gender violence or gender-based violence in order to emphasize the fact that the trends, risk factors and consequences of violence against women are different from those related to violence experienced by men. Historically, women have been subjected to men's violence and control within a global context of social, legal and economic subordination. Despite legal and institutional progress in this realm—namely in terms of domestic violence laws, as well as protection and care institutions for women victims—violence against women remains a serious social and public health issue (WHO, 2011), with high economic and social costs.

The International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) is part of the Men and Gender Equality Policy Project, a multi-year, multi-country research and advocacy initiative coordinated by Promundo and the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW)

between 2008 and 2011 in Brazil, Chile, Croatia, India, Mexico and Rwanda, and in 2012 in Democratic Republic of the Congo, Bosnia Herzegovina and Mali.

This document will explore in detail the issue of violence against women, using data from the IMAGES survey, and will present and discuss the main findings regarding men's use of physical and sexual violence against female partners (girlfriends, fiancées or wives), at some point in their lives, in three Latin American countries: Brazil, Chile and Mexico. Although some data has been presented in previous publications (Barker *et al.*, 2011; Aguayo, Correa, Cristi, 2011; Barker and Aguayo, 2012; Contreras, *et al.*, 2012), including a full analysis of IMAGES data, the goal of this report is to provide access to specific data on violence against women in countries in the Latin American region, and to complement the PAHO and Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) report *Violence Against Women in Latin America and the Caribbean: a comparative analysis of population-based data from 12 countries*. (Bott, Guedes *et al.*, 2012). Additional IMAGES data are available in the aforementioned publications. Due to space constraints, we will not discuss the extensive literature on men and violence against women in this report; however, some important references on this issue are available

from the “Men and Boys” section of the UN Women Virtual Knowledge Centre to End Violence Against Women and Girls: <http://www.endvawnow.org/en/modules/view/9-men-boys.html>.

The general goal of the IMAGES survey is to add to our understanding of men’s attitudes and practices—along with women’s opinions and reports of men’s practices—on a wide variety of topics related to gender equality: gender-based violence, fatherhood, domestic chores, sexual and reproductive health, and homophobia, among others.

The IMAGES survey includes several questions on physical and sexual violence against women, perpetrated by men against their female partners (girlfriends, fiancées or wives) at some point in their lives—many of which were inspired by the multi-country WHO study on violence against women cited previously. The IMAGES survey also explores men’s exposure to several forms of violence, in contexts such as family, school and stressful environments. Gender-equality scales and questions on men’s health and lifestyles enabled a more complete overview of men’s use of violence against women.

This report complements the document *Masculinidades y Políticas de Equidad de Género: Reflexiones a partir de la encuesta IMAGES y una*

revisión de políticas en Brasil, Chile y México (in English, “Masculinities and Gender Equality Policies: Reflection from the IMAGES survey and policy review in Brazil, Chile and Mexico”), coordinated by Barker and Aguayo (2012), which presents and discusses all IMAGES findings.



IMAGES SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The IMAGES survey is based on household probability sampling in selected neighborhoods and cities in each country. Men and women between the ages of 18 and 59 participated in the survey, with independent sampling for each group.

The general characteristics and parameters for the survey were as follows:

- The survey instrument was designed to be relevant for men and women in stable as well as more casual relationships, married or not; for women and men who define themselves as primarily heterosexual as well as men and women of different sexual orientations; for women and men with and without children.
- The original IMAGES survey was subjected to double back translation from English to Spanish and Portuguese to ensure comparability and consistency. The survey is comparable across the different scenarios in at least 90 percent of the questions.
- The men's questionnaire has approximately 250 items and it takes from 45 minutes to an hour to complete depending on the context and the individual respondent. The questionnaire for women is slightly shorter (200 items) and it takes 35 minutes to complete.
- The questionnaire was carried out using paper surveys administered by female and male interviewers. In Brazil, some sensitive questions were answered without interviewer facilitation (self-completed). In Chile and Mexico, interviewers facilitated survey completion, although there was the option to answer some sections individually.
- In Brazil and Chile, male interviewers interviewed men, and female interviewers interviewed women. In Mexico, female interviewers interviewed both men and women, which may have influenced men's answers.
- The ethical committee of the International Center for Women Research (ICRW)—and local committees in the case of Chile

1. In Brazil, the ethics committee of ICRW was considered enough, since at that time research that did not involve the collection of biomedical material (e.g., blood samples) did not require review by a local ethical committee.

(ICMER) and Mexico (Colegio de México)¹—evaluated the survey’s ethical procedures. Considerable effort was made to ensure confidentiality and voluntary participation of all interviewees.

- Specifically, the questionnaire follows WHO standard practices (2001) for carrying out research on partner violence, including that interviews with men and women are not carried out in the same household. Information was also made available to health and community services, and interviewers were fully trained.

TABLE 1 | SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS BY COUNTRY

	BRAZIL	CHILE	MEXICO
SAMPLE SIZE – MEN	750	1192	1002
SAMPLE SIZE – WOMEN	448	426	383
AGE	18-59	18-59	18-59
YEAR	2009	2009	2009
LOCATIONS	ONE METROPOLITAN AREA: RIO DE JANEIRO WITH TWO NEIGHBORHOODS: MARÉ (LOW-INCOME, N=696 MEN, 408 WOMEN) AND VILA VALQUIERE (MIDDLE-INCOME, N=64 MEN, 40 WOMEN)	THREE METROPOLITAN AREAS: VALPARAÍSO (N=198 MEN), CONCEPCIÓN (N=197 MEN), AND SANTIAGO (N=797 MEN, 426 WOMEN)	ONE METROPOLITAN AREA: MONTERREY (N=515 MEN, 172 WOMEN) AND TWO CITIES: QUERÉTARO (N=222 MEN, 127 WOMEN) AND JALAPA (N=264 MEN, 84 WOMEN)
INSTITUTION	PROMUNDO	CULTURASALUD, EME	EL COLEGIO DE MÉXICO; SALUD Y GÉNERO; 123-CONTANDO-TE
RESEARCHERS	MÁRCIO SEGUNDO AND GARY BARKER	FRANCISCO AGUAYO	JUAN GUILLERMO FIGUEROA
SURVEY METHOD	PAPER SURVEY (COMBINATION: CONDUCTED BY INTERVIEWER AND SELF-ADMINISTERED)	PAPER SURVEY (CONDUCTED BY INTERVIEWER)	PAPER SURVEY (CONDUCTED BY INTERVIEWER)

- Cities, places and neighborhoods selected in each country were chosen to represent distinct contexts, combining important urban centers and secondary cities. Neighborhoods were chosen according to population distribution in the last census.
- Each sampling was stratified and multi-staged. In each context, survey design ensured adequate sample sizes by age and residence and, in the case of Chile, by socioeconomic level.²

2. For more information, see Barker et. al., 2011.

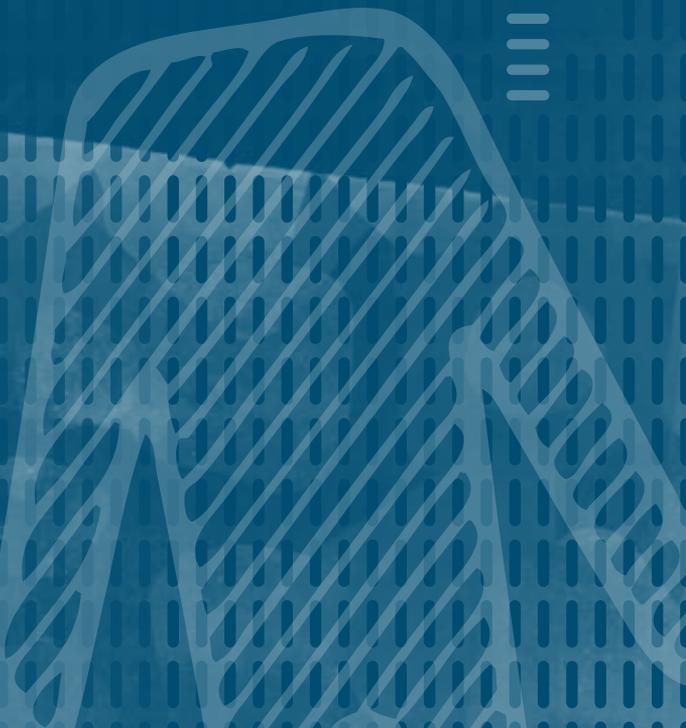
The general characteristics of the samples are as shown in Table 1.

It is important to highlight that since these are not national samples, countrywide inferences cannot be drawn from the data. The samples are representative of the male and female population between the ages of 18 and 59 in the selected locations. However, throughout the report, findings will be identified by the name of the country.

ANALYSIS STRATEGY

For this report, descriptive analysis of men's use, at some point in their lives (lifetime use), of physical and sexual violence against female partners was conducted based on data from the IMAGES survey in Brazil, Chile and Mexico. Additionally, bi-variate analyses were conducted with the variables associated with men's use of violence against women, namely men's exposure to violence during childhood, mental health, alcohol abuse, firearms possession and use, history of paying for sex, and gender attitudes (according to the Gender Equitable Men Scale). Pearson qui-square tests were used in each country to evaluate the statistical significance of the associations in each context, using as criterion a 95 percent confidence level. Male reports were used for the bivariate analyses, since men constituted the largest surveyed population. Multivariate analyses are absent from this report, but are available in Contreras, *et al.*, 2012.

THE IMAGES SURVEY



VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN THE IMAGES SURVEY: MEN'S USE OF PHYSICAL AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALE PARTNERS

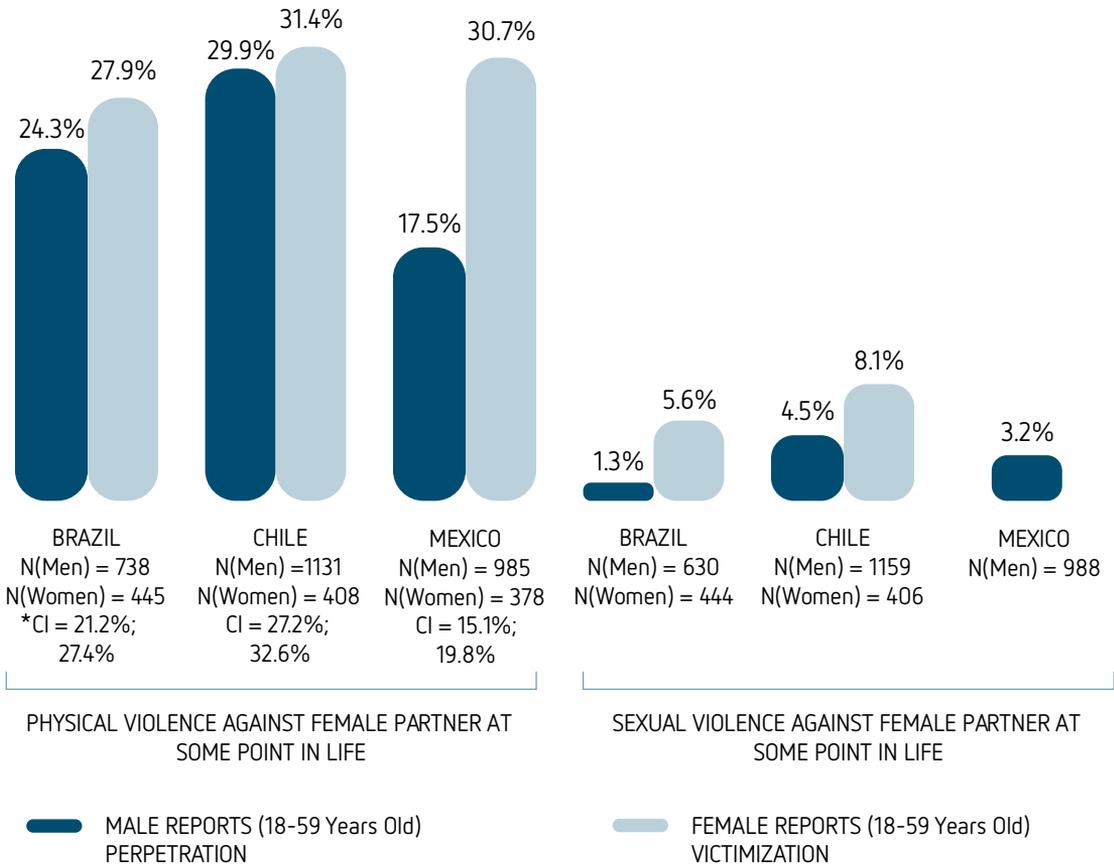
The IMAGES survey asked male respondents if they had ever used physical violence against their female partners, and female respondents if they had been victims of such violence. Regarding sexual violence, men were asked if they had ever forced female partners or ex-partners to have sex, while women were asked if they had ever been forced by their male partners to have sex.³ Most of the specific questions aimed at men in the three countries were taken from the WHO multi-country study (2005) and are available in Annex 1.

As shown in Graph 1, in all three contexts, nearly 3 out of 10 women indicated having been victims of physical violence by their partners at some point in their lives. In Mexico, the incidence of physical violence against women reported by men (17.5 percent) was lower than the incidence, reported by women, of having experienced violence at the hands of a male partner (30.7 percent). This may be due to the fact that, in Mexico, female interviewers interviewed the majority of men.

In terms of sexual violence, there were significant differences in male and female reports in all three countries. While 1.3 percent of the men surveyed in Brazil reported having used sexual violence against a female partner at some point in their lives, 5.6 percent of the women claimed to have been victims of such violence. In Chile, 4.5 percent of the men and 8.1 percent of the women reported having perpetrated and suffered sexual violence, respectively. Finally, in Mexico, 3.2 percent of the men reported having used sexual violence against female partners; the women respondents were not asked about sexual violence.

3. In Mexico, women were not asked about sexual violence.

GRAPH 1 | PERCENT PERPETRATION/VICTIMIZATION: PHYSICAL AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE BY MALE INTIMATE PARTNERS AT SOME POINT IN THEIR LIVES (MALE AND FEMALE REPORTS)



(*) CONFIDENCE INTERVAL GIVEN FOR MALE REPORTS OF PHYSICAL VIOLENCE

This difference between physical and sexual violence reports by men (perpetration) and by women (victimization) may be a result of men’s perception of sexual violence as taboo, or socially unacceptable. It may also be that some men do not perceive sexual violence as such.

As shown in Table 2, there were significant statistical differences in the reported perpetration of physical violence against female partners associated with education level in Brazil ($p < 0.01$), Chile ($p < 0.01$) and Mexico ($p < 0.05$), where men with lower education levels more often reported having committed physical violence against female partners.



In Chile, we also found an association between sexual violence and men's employment situation ($p < 0.05$), where men with more precarious working conditions (without work contracts) were more likely to report the perpetration of sexual violence against female partners at some point in their lives.

IMAGES data in other regions of the world have shown a clear association between precarious working conditions (stress as a result of lack of income) and use of violence (Barker *et al.*, 2011). In Brazil, the men who responded affirmatively to one or more questions about feeling depressed, stressed or ashamed as a result of lack of income or work reported higher rates of violence perpetration against their female partners (Barker *et al.*, 2011).

TABLE 2 | PERCENT OF MEN WHO REPORTED PERPETRATION OF PHYSICAL VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALE PARTNERS AT SOME POINT IN THEIR LIVES, BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

VARIABLES		BRAZIL			CHILE			MEXICO			X ² P VALUE
		%	CONFIDENCE INTERVAL (95%)	X ² P VALUE	%	CONFIDENCE INTERVAL (95%)	X ² P VALUE	%	CONFIDENCE INTERVAL (95%)	X ² P VALUE	
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	WITHOUT FORMAL/ ELEMENTARY EDUCATION	28.5	24.2	32.9	42.4	33.4	50.6	18.8	12.3	26.4	P < 0.05
	HIGH SCHOOL (COMPLETE OR INCOMPLETE)	20.7	15.9	25.6	30.1	26.2	34.0	22.6	17.2	28.1	
	HIGHER EDUCATION STUDIES	7.5	1.1	16.4	26.1	22.1	30.2	15.2	12.3	17.9	

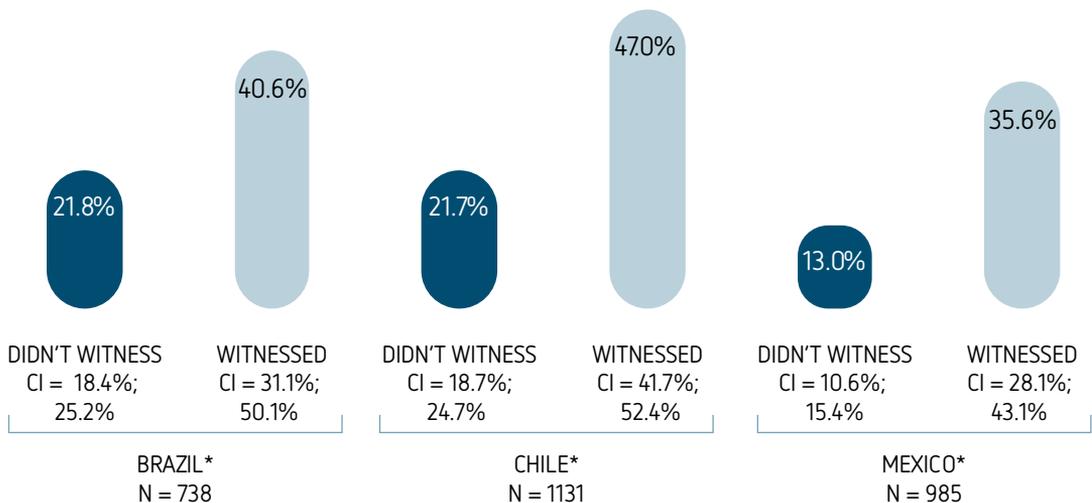
MEN'S EXPOSURE TO VIOLENCE DURING CHILDHOOD AND THE USE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

The IMAGES survey found that, in all three countries—Brazil (p<0.01), Chile (p<0.01) and Mexico (p<0.01)—men who witnessed violence against their mothers at the hands of a male partner during childhood were more likely to have committed physical violence against female partners at some point in their lives, when compared with men who did not witness violence.

A similar association was observed among those who were victims of physical violence or threats of physical violence before the age of 18, as shown below in Table 3.

(*) INDICATE THAT DIFFERENCES ARE STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT IN EACH COUNTRY

GRAPH 2 | PERCENT OF MEN WHO REPORTED PERPETRATION OF PHYSICAL VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALE PARTNERS AT SOME POINT IN THEIR LIVES, ACCORDING TO WHETHER THEY WITNESSED PHYSICAL VIOLENCE AGAINST THEIR MOTHERS DURING CHILDHOOD





As Graph 3 shows, it was only in Chile that we observed a significant statistical association between men having been victims of sexual violence during childhood⁴ and their having used sexual violence against female partners at some point in their lives ($p < 0.01$). The absence of such significant association in Brazil and Mexico may stem from limited number of respondents who were reported sexual violence perpetration, which, in addition, is underreported in both Brazil and Mexico.

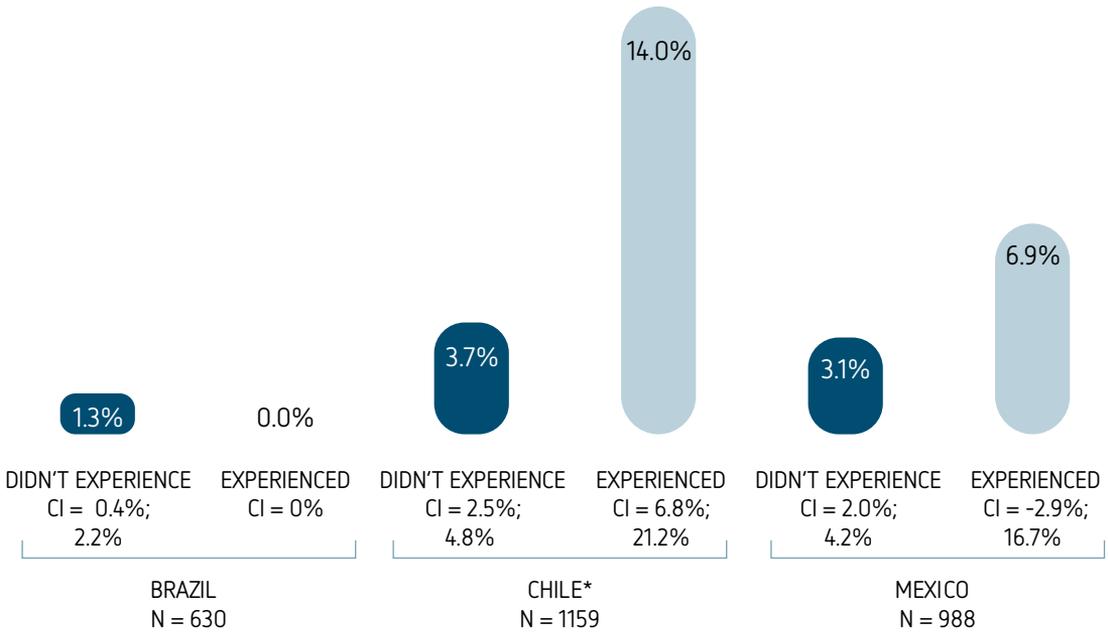
4. Men were asked: "Before turning 18 years old, someone touched my rear or genitals or made me touch his/her genitals against my will" and "Before turning 18 years old, I had sex with someone because I was threatened, intimidated or forced to do so."

TABLE 3 | PERCENT OF MEN WHO REPORTED PERPETRATION OF PHYSICAL VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALE PARTNERS AT SOME POINT IN THEIR LIVES, ACCORDING TO MEN'S CHARACTERISTICS

VARIABLES		BRAZIL			CHILE			MEXICO		
		%	CONFIDENCE INTERVAL (95%)	X ² P VALUE	%	CONFIDENCE INTERVAL (95%)	X ² P VALUE	%	CONFIDENCE INTERVAL (95%)	X ² P VALUE
VICTIMS OF PHYSICAL VIOLENCE AND/OR THREATS OF PHYSICAL VIOLENCE BEFORE THE AGE OF 18	NO	23.1	19.9	26.2	21.1	18.0	24.1	14.6	12.2	17.0
	YES	41.2	26.5	57.2	44.8	39.9	49.6	32.3	24.8	39.7
		P < 0.01			P < 0.01			P < 0.01		

(*) INDICATE THAT DIFFERENCES ARE STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT IN SELECTED COUNTRY

GRAPH 3 | PERCENT OF MEN WHO REPORTED PERPETRATION OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALE PARTNERS AT SOME POINT IN THEIR LIVES, ACCORDING TO WHETHER OR NOT THEY EXPERIENCED SEXUAL VIOLENCE DURING CHILDHOOD



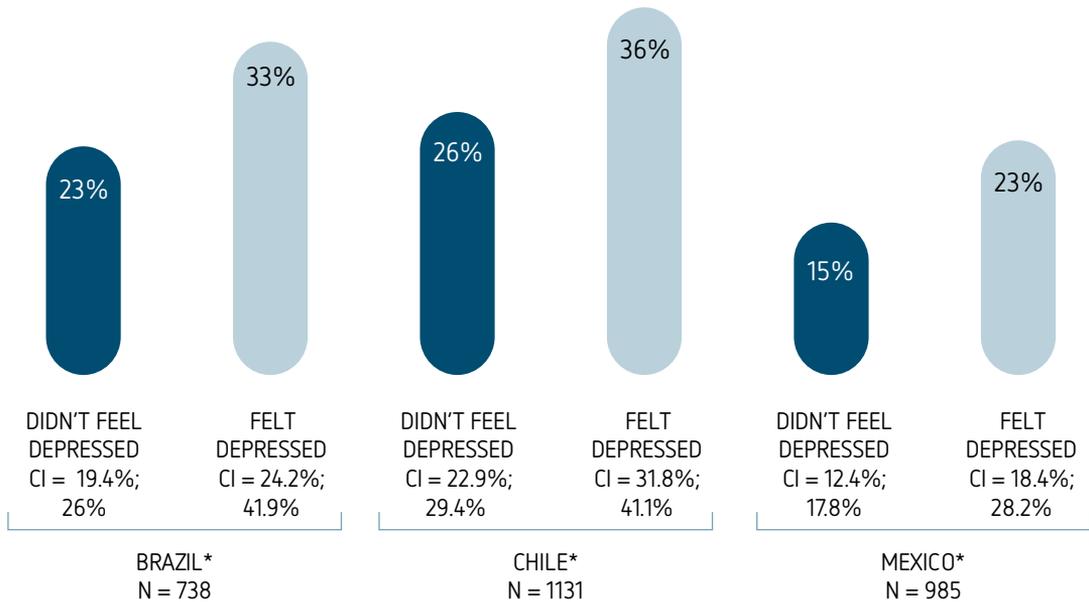
MALE DEPRESSION AND USE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

As seen in Graph 4, in all three countries men who reported having felt depressed over the last month were 8 to 10 percent more likely to have perpetrated physical violence against female partners at some point in their lives ($p < 0.01$). However, there were no significant statistical differences found in any context between having felt depressed over the last month and having perpetrated sexual violence against female partners or ex-partners at some point.



GRAPH 4 | PERCENT OF MEN WHO REPORTED PERPETRATION OF PHYSICAL VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALE PARTNERS AT SOME POINT IN THEIR LIVES, ACCORDING TO WHETHER THEY FELT DEPRESSED DURING THE LAST MONTH

(*) INDICATE THAT DIFFERENCES ARE STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT IN EACH COUNTRY



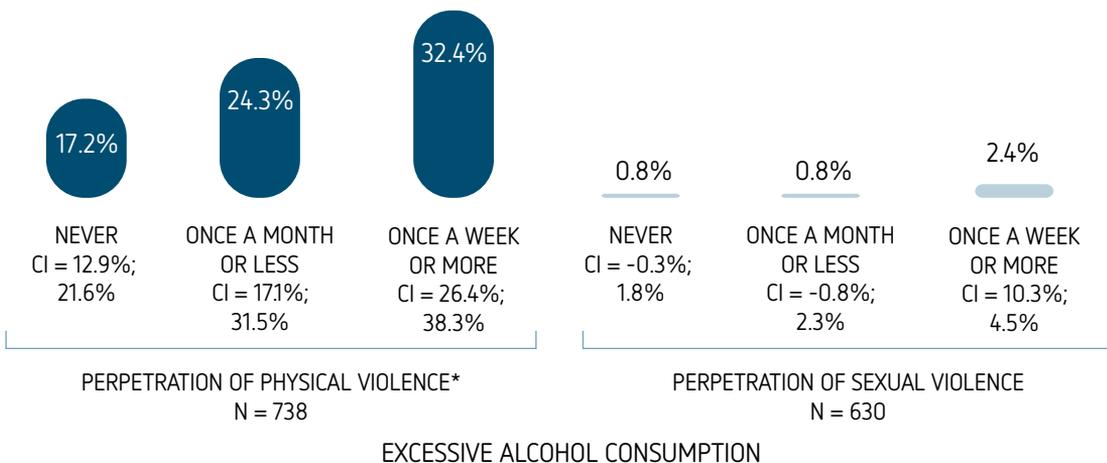
MEN'S ALCOHOL ABUSE AND USE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Next, we present the survey findings, in each context, on men's perpetration of physical and sexual violence against female partners, at some point in their lives, as it correlates with frequency of alcohol abuse. Alcohol abuse, in this case, is defined as having five or more drinks on a single occasion.

The highest rate of alcohol abuse was found in Brazil, where 35 percent of the men reported having consumed five or more drinks on a single occasion once a week or more. A significant statistical association was found between men's alcohol abuse and the perpetration of physical violence against female partners at some point in their lives ($p < 0.01$), where men who abused alcohol were more likely to report use of physical violence than men who did not abuse alcohol.

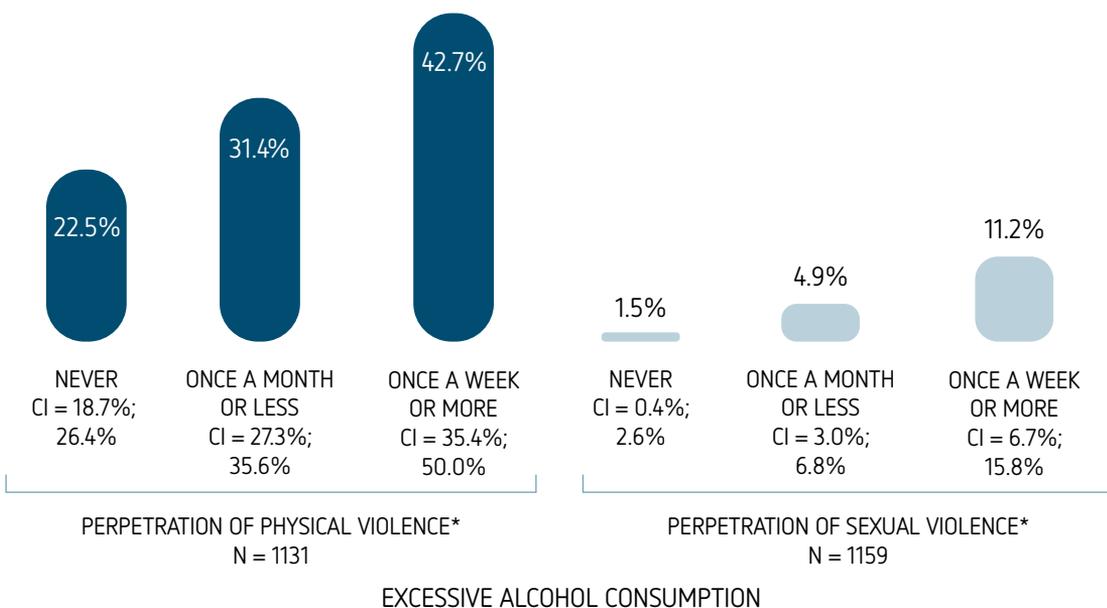
(*) INDICATE THAT DIFFERENCES ARE STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT

GRAPH 5 | PERCENT OF MEN IN BRAZIL WHO REPORTED PERPETRATION OF PHYSICAL AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALE PARTNERS AT SOME POINT IN THEIR LIVES, ACCORDING TO FREQUENCY OF ALCOHOL ABUSE



(*) INDICATE THAT DIFFERENCES ARE STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT

GRAPH 6 | PERCENT OF MEN IN CHILE WHO REPORTED PERPETRATION OF PHYSICAL AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALE PARTNERS AT SOME POINT IN THEIR LIVES, ACCORDING TO FREQUENCY OF ALCOHOL ABUSE



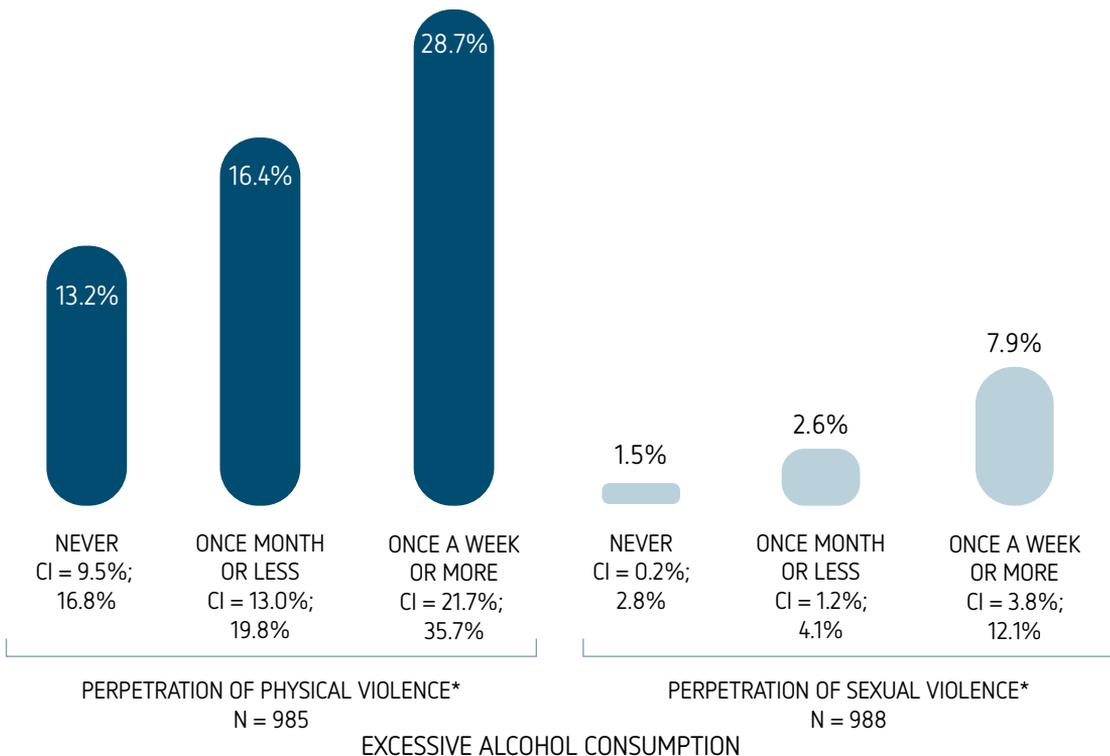


In Chile, 16.3 percent of the men reported having consumed five or more drinks on a single occasion once a week or more; we observed a significant statistical association between men's excessive alcohol consumption and the perpetration of physical and sexual violence against female partners at some point in their lives ($p < 0.01$).

Finally, in Mexico, 17.2 percent of the men reported having consumed five or more drinks on a single occasion once a week or more. We found a significant statistical association between alcohol abuse and the perpetration of physical violence against female partners at some point in their lives ($p < 0.01$), as well as the use of sexual violence against female partners ($p < 0.01$), despite the underreporting challenges acknowledged previously.

GRAPH 7 | PERCENT OF MEN IN MEXICO WHO REPORTED PERPETRATION OF PHYSICAL AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALE PARTNERS AT SOME POINT IN THEIR LIVES, ACCORDING TO FREQUENCY OF ALCOHOL ABUSE

(*) INDICATE THAT DIFFERENCES ARE STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT



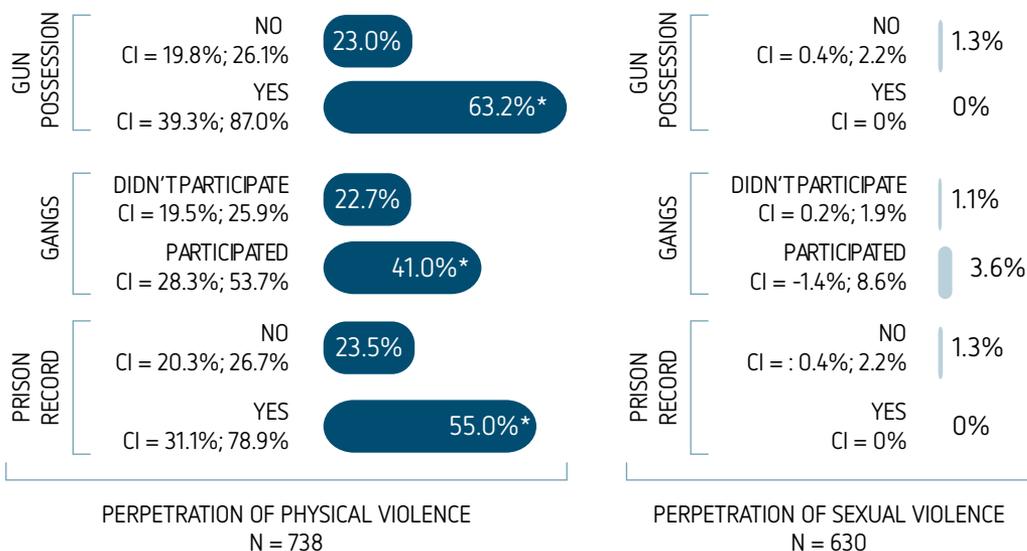
GUN POSSESSION, PARTICIPATION IN GUNFIGHTS, PRISON RECORD AND USE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Below, we present the correlations between men's use of physical and sexual violence against female partners at some point in their lives and gun possession, participation in gunfights and having a prison record. Several surveys have demonstrated that the presence of guns in the home increases the likelihood of partner homicide and the lethality of domestic violence situations. (See, for example: http://www.vpc.org/fact_sht/domviofs.htm).

As shown in Graph 8, there are significant statistical correlations in Brazil between the perpetration of physical violence against female partners and gun possession ($p < 0.01$), participation in gangs ($p < 0.01$) and having a prison record ($p < 0.01$). No significant statistical correlation was detected between these variables and sexual violence, though this may be due to the small sample size.

(*) INDICATE THAT DIFFERENCES ARE STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT

GRAPH 8 | PERCENT OF MEN IN BRAZIL WHO REPORTED PERPETRATION OF PHYSICAL AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALE PARTNERS AT SOME POINT IN THEIR LIVES, BY GUN POSSESSION, PARTICIPATION IN GANGS AND PRISON RECORD



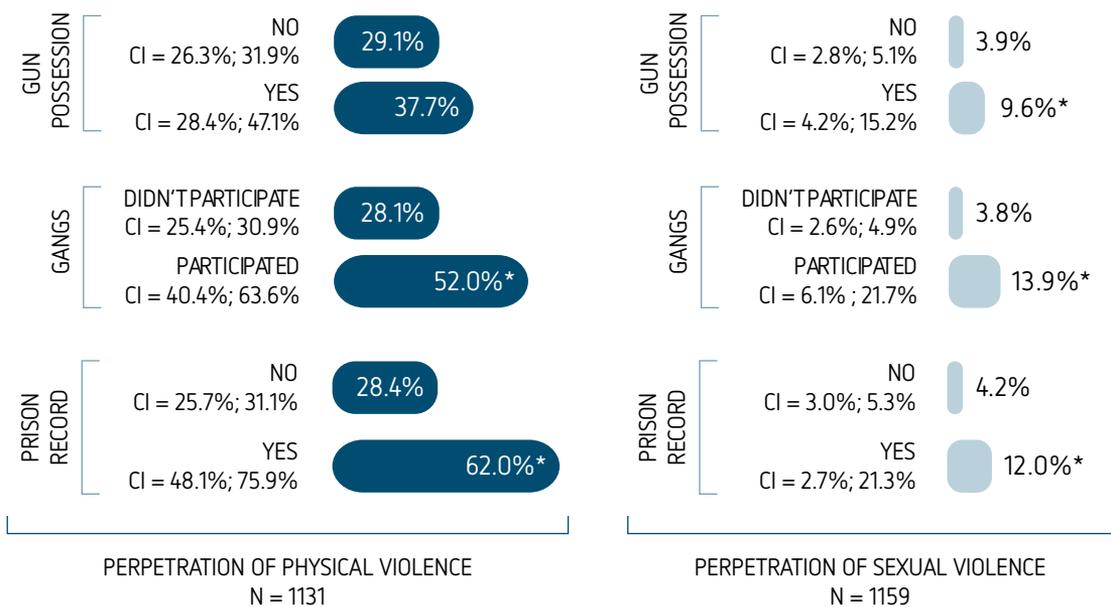


In Chile, men who participated in gangs ($p<0.01$) or who had prison records ($p<0.01$) were more likely to report the use of physical violence against female partners at some point in their lives, and the association of men's use of physical violence with gun possession was within the established confidence levels ($p=0.06$). Similarly, those who possessed guns ($p<0.01$), participated in gangs ($p<0.01$) or had prison records ($p<0.01$) were also more likely to report perpetration of sexual violence against female partners at some point in their lives.

In the case of Mexico, we found a significant statistical association

GRAPH 9 | PERCENT OF MEN IN CHILE WHO REPORTED PERPETRATION OF PHYSICAL AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALE PARTNERS AT SOME POINT IN THEIR LIVES, BY GUN POSSESSION, PARTICIPATION IN GANGS AND PRISON RECORD

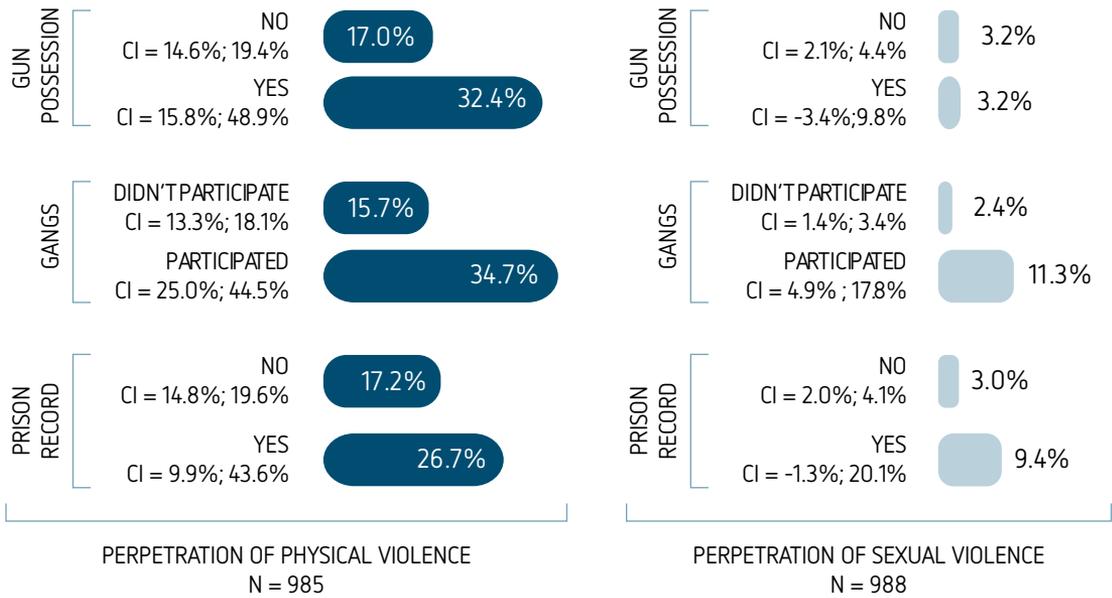
(*) INDICATE THAT DIFFERENCES ARE STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT



between ever having committed physical violence against a female partner and gun possession ($p<0.05$) and participation in gangs ($p<0.01$), but not with a prison record ($p=0.177$). The perpetration of sexual violence in Mexico is also significantly associated with participation in gangs ($p<0.01$), as well as with having a prison record ($p=0.047$).⁵

5. Each one of the four cells (25%) of the chi-square analysis presented fewer than five cases.

GRAPH 10 | PERCENT OF MEN IN MEXICO WHO REPORTED PERPETRATION OF PHYSICAL AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALE PARTNERS AT SOME POINT IN THEIR LIVES, BY GUN POSSESSION, PARTICIPATION IN GANGS AND PRISON RECORD



MEN WHO HAVE PAID FOR SEX AND USE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

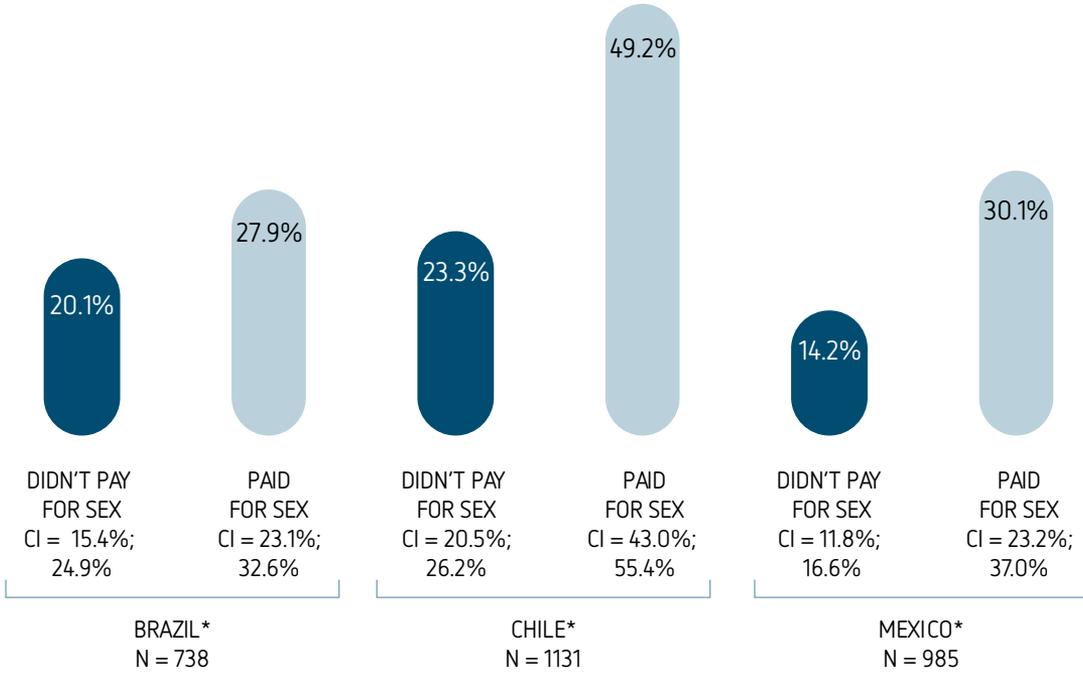
As shown in Graph 11, in all three contexts—Brazil ($p < 0.05$), Chile ($p < 0.01$) and Mexico ($p < 0.01$)—we found a significant statistical association between ever having perpetrated physical violence against a female partner and ever having paid for sex.

Additionally, in Chile ($p < 0.01$) and Mexico ($p < 0.01$), we found an association between having paid for sex and having committed sexual violence against female partners. This suggests that the same set of gender norms underlie male violence against female partners and paying for sex.

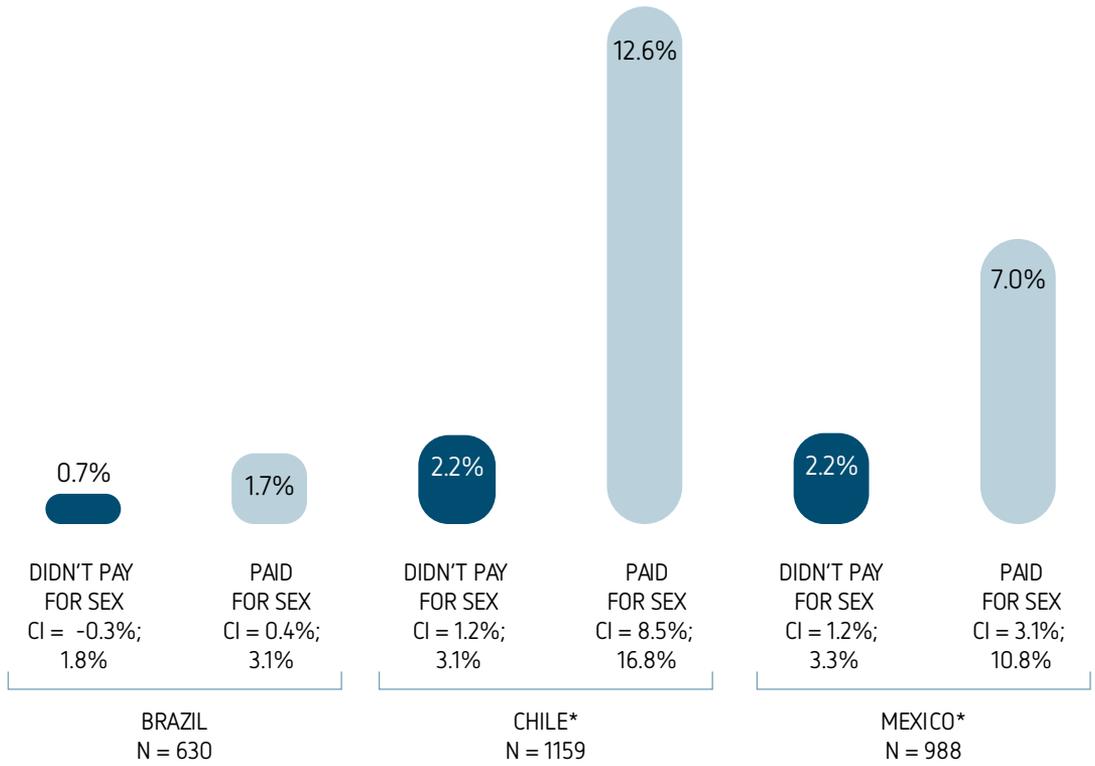


GRAPH 11 | PERCENT OF MEN WHO REPORTED PERPETRATION OF PHYSICAL VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALE PARTNERS AT SOME POINT IN THEIR LIVES, ACCORDING TO WHETHER THEY HAVE PAID FOR SEX

(*) INDICATE THAT DIFFERENCES ARE STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT IN EACH COUNTRY



||| GRAPH 12 | PERCENT OF MEN WHO REPORTED PERPETRATION OF
 | SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALE PARTNERS AT SOME POINT IN
 ||| THEIR LIVES, ACCORDING TO WHETHER THEY HAVE PAID FOR SEX





THE GENDER EQUITABLE MEN SCALE AND USE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

The Gender Equitable Men (GEM) Scale, designed by Pulerwitz and Barker (2008), has been applied and validated in several countries with the object of assessing men's attitudes toward gender equality. For comparative purposes, we used a short version of the GEM Scale in the data collection, given that in the Mexican context only 12 out of the 24 original items were applied. Interviewees were asked to signal their degree of agreement or disagreement with each of the following statements:

- A woman's role is taking care of her home and family.
- Men need sex more than women do.
- You don't talk about sex, you just do it.
- There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten.
- Changing diapers, bathing and feeding kids is the mother's responsibility.
- It is a woman's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant.
- A man should have the final word about decisions in his home.
- Men are always ready to have sex.
- A woman should tolerate violence to keep her family together.
- Men should be outraged if their wives ask them to use a condom.
- I would never have a homosexual friend.
- If someone insults a man, he should defend his reputation with force if he has to.

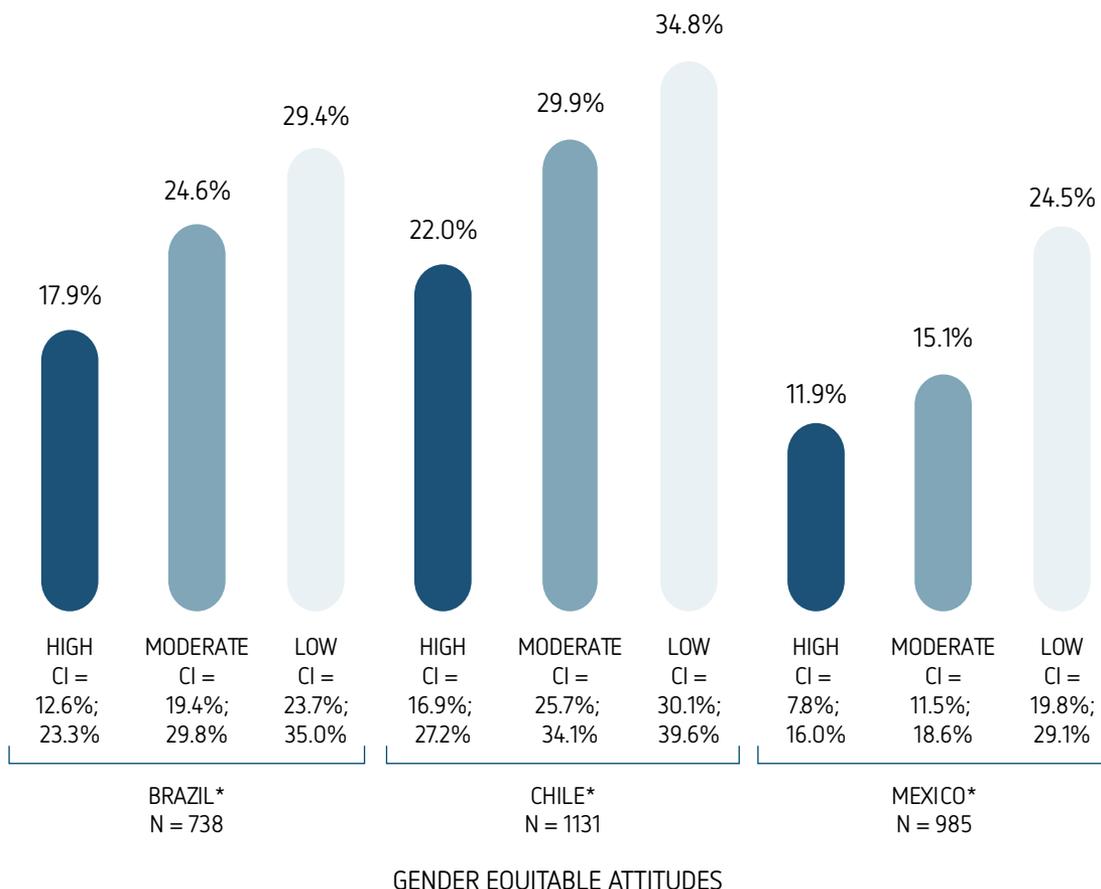
In each of the above items, the interviewees had to choose between the options "fully agree," "partially agree" or "do not agree." The scale was coded with scores from 0–100, where high scores represent high support for gender equitable norms. Estimates of internal consistency were 0.789 (Cronbach's alpha).

In order to facilitate data presentation, we divided the sample into three equal groups according to GEM score distribution in each country. Thus, we can compare data on men's use of violence against female partners against high, moderate and low support for gender equitable norms. More information on the GEM Scale, its uses and analysis can be found in Barker, *et al.* (2011).

As shown in Graph 13, men's perpetration of physical violence against female partners is higher in all three countries among the groups with less equitable gender attitudes. By the same token, men who present more equitable gender attitu-

(*) INDICATE THAT DIFFERENCES ARE STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT IN EACH COUNTRY

GRAPH 13 | PERCENT OF MEN WHO REPORTED PERPETRATION OF PHYSICAL VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALE PARTNERS AT SOME POINT IN THEIR LIVES, ACCORDING TO GENDER ATTITUDES



des according to the GEM Scale (short version) used physical violence against their female partners less often. Such differences are statistically significant in Brazil ($p < 0.05$), Chile ($p < 0.01$) and Mexico ($p < 0.01$).

Nonetheless, it is worth mentioning that even in the group expressing greater support for gender equitable norms, a considerable number of men report use of physical violence against female partners at some point in their lives, in all three countries: 17.9 percent in Brazil, 22 percent in Chile and 11.9 percent in Mexico.

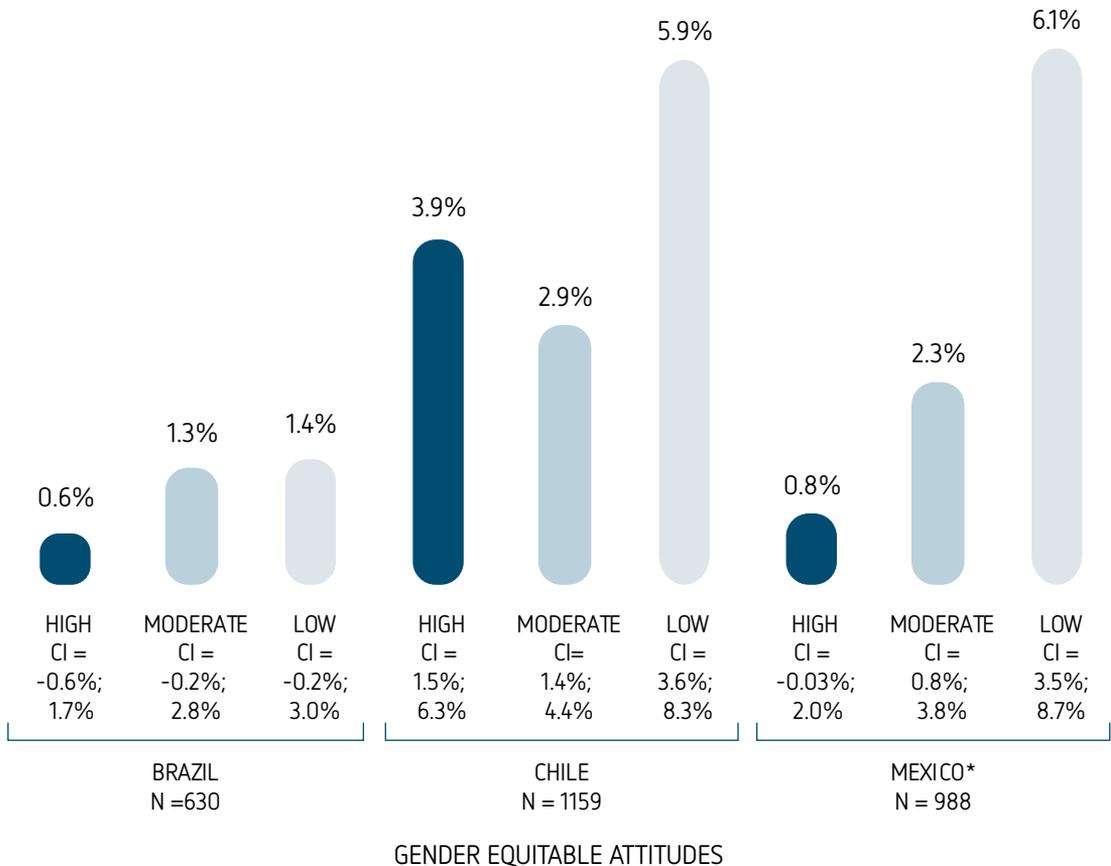


As Graph 14 shows, in Brazil there were practically no differences in violence perpetration according to gender equitable attitudes, possibly due to the low prevalence of sexual-violence use reported by men. In Chile, the group expressing the least support for gender equitable norms reported the most sexual violence against female partners, although differences were still not statistically significant ($p=0.08$).

Finally, in Mexico there was a clearer correlation between gender attitudes and sexual violence, where less gender equitable attitudes corresponded to more use of sexual violence against female partners ($p<0.01$).

GRAPH 14 | PERCENT OF MEN WHO REPORTED PERPETRATION OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALE PARTNERS AT SOME POINT IN THEIR LIVES, ACCORDING TO GENDER ATTITUDES

(*) INDICATE THAT DIFFERENCES ARE STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT IN SELECTED COUNTRY



OVERVIEW OF FINDINGS



In all three contexts (Brazil, Chile and Mexico), statistically significant correlations were found between men's perpetration of physical violence against female partners and educational level. Men with less education were more likely to report the use of physical violence against female partners. This finding is in line with other studies (WHO, 2011).

In Chile, men's perpetration of sexual violence against female partners was associated with employment status, where men with more precarious work situations (without contracts) were more likely to report the use of sexual violence against female partners at some point in their lives.

In other IMAGES analyses (Barker, et al., 2011) this association was also found, as well as a related correlation between men's stress due to lack of work or income and the use of violence. It is important to note that, in all three scenarios here, the percentage of men who reported the perpetration of sexual violence against female partners was low, which presented statistical limitations.

In all three countries analyzed here, men who witnessed physical violence against their mothers at the hands of male partners, or who were themselves victims of physical violence and/or threats of violence before the age of 18, were more likely to perpetrate physical violence against female partners at some point in their lives. This corresponds to the findings of other studies regarding early exposure to violence and later risk of violence use (WHO, 2011). In the global analysis of IMAGES, multivariate analyses have found that having witnessed physical violence against their mothers during childhood is the strongest explanatory factor for the variation in the perpetration of violence against female partners in all surveyed countries (Contreras, et al., 2012). The comparative analysis of data from 12 Latin American and Caribbean countries (Bott, Guedes, et al., 2012) also found that, for women in all 12 countries, childhood experience of witnessing violence against their mothers or stepmothers was consistently and significantly associated with partner violence victimization in adulthood.

It is only in Chile that a significant statistical association was found between having been a male victim of sexual violence during childhood and having perpetrated sexual violence against a female partner in adulthood. The absence of such association in the remaining two contexts must be interpreted with caution, since the sample size of the subgroups on sexual violence was small. In other literature reviews (WHO, 2011), sexual abuse has been singled-out as a risk factor in later perpetration of sexual violence against a female partner.

In all three contexts analyzed here, an association was found between having felt depressed over the last month and having used physical violence against a female partner at some point. However, no significant statistical differences were found in any of the contexts between having felt depressed over the last month and having committed sexual violence against a female partner or ex-partner at some point in life.

In terms of excessive alcohol consumption (having 5 or more drinks on a single occasion once a week or more), a significant statistical association was found in Brazil, Chile and Mexico between alcohol abuse and the use of physical violence against female partners at some point in life. In both Chile and Mexico, an association was found between alcohol abuse and the perpetration of sexual violence against female partners at some point. In a literature review conducted by WHO (2011), alcohol abuse is singled-out as a clear risk factor in the perpetration of violence against women.

In all three contexts, an association was found between the perpetration of physical violence against a female partner at some point and participation in gunfights. In Brazil and Mexico, an association was found between gun possession and use of physical violence against a female partner. A similar association was found, in Brazil and Chile, between the perpetration of violence against women and having a prison record. As for the use of sexual violence against a female partner, an association was found in Chile and Mexico with participation in gunfights and having a prison record, and in Chile with gun possession.



In all three countries, significant statistical associations were found between ever having committed physical violence against a female partner and ever having paid for sex. Additionally, in Chile and Mexico, an association was found between ever having paid for sex and ever having committed sexual violence against a female partner.

Finally, in all three countries, we found a greater incidence of men's perpetration of physical violence against female partners within the groups with less gender equitable attitudes, as assessed by the GEM Scale. Similarly, other studies (WHO, 2011) have found that men's acceptance of violence is a risk factor in the perpetration of violence against women.

CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS



Some of the limitations of this report stem from the limitations of the IMAGES survey itself: (1) sampling was not national, covering only a few cities; (2) in the case of Mexico, most of the interviewers of male respondents were female; and (3) the data presented here are based on men's self-reports. Another important limitation is associated with sexual violence data. Since self-reporting of this type of violence is low, especially in Brazil, the size of the sexual violence subgroups is small, which hinders carrying out bivariate analysis.

Other constraints are associated with the statistical analyses developed for this document, which focus on bivariate association by country rather than on multiple or multivariate models, which simultaneously incorporate several risk factors. Because of this, the analysis provided in this report does not allow us to know with confidence which variables explain the phenomenon and which apparent associations may be spurious.

IMAGES was developed based on our belief of the need to research violence against women by including men—by aiming to understand those who use violence against women and which factors in men's (and women's) lives drive that violence. This is essential for informing the design of policies and programs that consider men in their evidence-based approaches to violence against women and the prevention of violence against women.

IMAGES data on violence against women collected in Brazil, Chile and Mexico demonstrate that there is a strong association between violence experienced by men during childhood and adolescence—as well as violence experienced in other contexts—and men's use of violence against women. There is also a correlation between a constellation of attitudes and practices associated with salient versions of masculinity—such as alcohol abuse, paying for sex and using violence in other contexts—and men's perpetration of violence against women.

This report suggests the importance of working beyond protection, support and reparation for women victims, to broaden prevention efforts to include men of all ages in the promotion of more gender equitable and less violent attitudes in schools, public spaces, health services, the workplace, family, communities and media. Moreover, this requires efforts that specifically address men who used violence, or who have higher risk attitudes and practices in terms of perpetration of violence against women.

IMAGES data presented and discussed in this report, as well as other data collected through IMAGES surveys (Barker *et al.*, 2011; Aguayo, Correa, Cristi, 2011; Barker and Aguayo, 2012; Contreras, *et al.*, 2012), suggest that the prevention of men's violence against women (VAW) requires the integration of VAW-prevention initiatives with others, including those that aim to prevent child abuse, alcohol abuse, gun use and misuse, and violence among men (fighting, delinquency, bullying); that promote mental health; and that question attitudes and practices around gender equity.

This entails, among other things, evidence-based campaigns, community outreach and educational activities in schools, health centers and in workplaces, and parent training.

Building on data from the IMAGES survey analyzed in this and other reports (Barker *et al.*, 2011; Aguayo, Correa, Cristi, 2011; Barker and Aguayo, 2012; Contreras, *et al.*, 2012) as well as data from other studies (PAHO, 2007; WHO, 2011), our recommendations are as follows:

PRIMARY PREVENTION

- Develop and evaluate policies and programs to prevent violence during childhood, including programs aimed at fathers/mothers and home visitation programs, among others (WHO, 2011).
- Develop, sustain and evaluate policies, programs and campaigns, aimed at men, which combat sexism and question rigid gender norms in order to prevent violence against women in all its forms (physical, sexual, economic, harassment, etc.).
- Design public safety and delinquency prevention programs (targeting alcohol use, gun possession, violence among men, etc.) that include gender analysis and promote nonviolent masculine identities, and that include gender-based violence prevention components.
- Develop gun-control policies that seek to reduce civilian gun possession and misuse (Barker, 2006).
- Incorporate a greater focus on gender and masculinities, combined with VAW prevention (WHO, 2011), in policies aimed at reducing alcohol abuse—for instance, that control supply, increase prices and restrict marketing (PAHO, 2007).



- Regulate advertising in general, and ads for alcohol in particular, in order to avoid the reinforcement of gender inequitable attitudes, removing the association between “virility” and alcohol, and preventing the depiction of women as sex objects (PAHO, 2007).

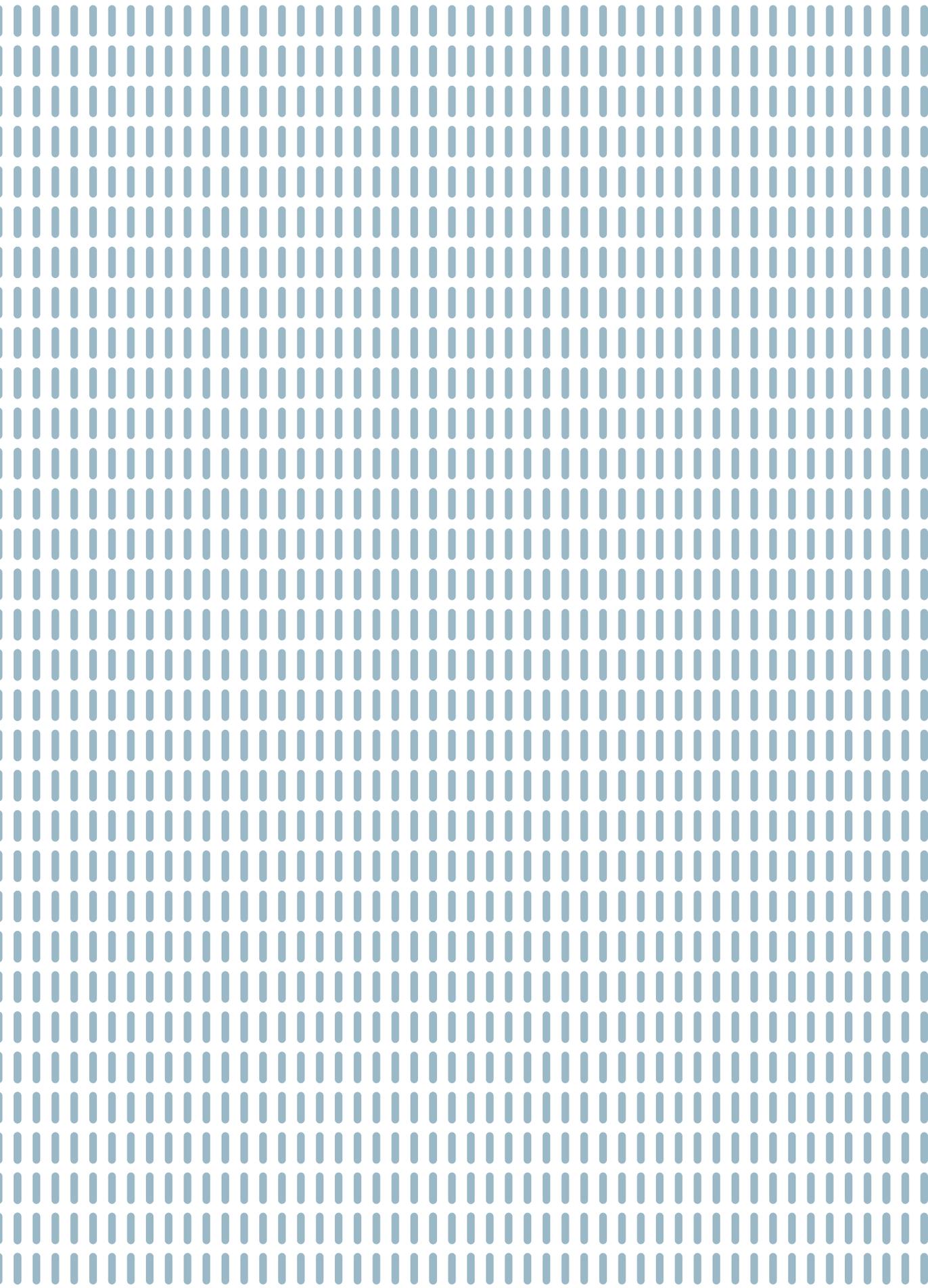
SECONDARY PREVENTION

- Design support programs for victims, especially for girls and young women who have been victims or witnesses of violence, particularly sexual violence.
- Reinforce and broaden the network of institutions and organizations that deal with cases of violence against women (police forces, courts and support services), in order to effectively protect victims and prevent perpetrator recidivism.
- Implement socioeducative measures to hold men who commit partner violence accountable and to provide them with the information, skills and support they need to reduce conflict and manage anger without resorting to violence.

TERTIARY PREVENTION

- Guarantee the availability of and access to mental health services in the community, integrating them with primary health-care services to facilitate the identification and care of problems associated with greater risk of intimate partner violence, such as stress associated with the lack of work and income, depression, suicide risk and alcohol abuse.

- Design gender transformative programs aimed at men who commit partner violence, addressing issues such as alcohol abuse, gun use, inequitable gender attitudes, and parenting. These programs should work in conjunction with women’s care and support services and should be adequately evaluated and monitored.
- Finally, it is important to invest in macro and structural interventions—involving the health system, the school system, public safety policies and poverty reduction policies—with the purpose of transforming violent masculinities into care-oriented and respect-based masculinities. These transformations require changes in gender norms and in the socialization of children and youth (boys and girls), as well as campaigns that not only promote rights but also question what it means to be a man in Latin America today.



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	BRAZIL	
QUESTIONS ABOUT PHYSICAL VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALE PARTNERS	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• VOCÊ JÁ ESBOFETEOU OU JOGOU ALGO NA DIREÇÃO DELA QUE PODERIA MACHUCÁ-LA?	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• VOCÊ JÁ EMPURROU SUA PARCEIRA?	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• VOCÊ JÁ GOLPEOU SUA PARCEIRA COM ALGUMA COISA QUE PODERIA MACHUCÁ-LA?	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• VOCÊ JÁ CHUTOU, ARRASTOU, BATEU, ENFORCOU OU QUEIMOU SUA PARCEIRA?	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• VOCÊ JÁ AMEAÇOU USAR OU USOU UMA ARMA DE FOGO, FACA OU OUTRA ARMA CONTRA A SUA PARCEIRA?	
QUESTIONS ABOUT SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALE PARTNERS	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• VOCÊ JÁ FORÇOU A SUA ATUAL NAMORADA OU ESPOSA A FAZER SEXO COM VOCÊ? SE SIM, QUANTAS VEZES E QUANDO ISSO ACONTECEU?	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• VOCÊ JÁ FORÇOU UMA EX-NAMORADA OU UMA EX-ESPOSA A FAZER SEXO COM VOCÊ?	

ANNEX 1 | QUESTIONS USED IN EACH COUNTRY

CHILE	MEXICO	ENGLISH
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ¿ALGUNA VEZ HA ABOFETEADO A UNA PAREJA O LE HA LANZADO ALGO QUE LA PUDIERA LASTIMAR? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ¿ALGUNA VEZ HA CACHETEADO A UNA PAREJA O LE HA LANZADO ALGO QUE LA PUDIERA LASTIMAR? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> HAVE YOU EVER SLAPPED OR THROWN ANYTHING THAT COULD HURT YOUR PARTNER IN HER DIRECTION?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ¿ALGUNA VEZ HA EMPUJADO A UNA PAREJA? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ¿ALGUNA VEZ HA EMPUJADO A UNA PAREJA? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> HAVE YOUR EVER PUSHED YOUR PARTNER?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ¿ALGUNA VEZ HA GOLPEADO A UNA PAREJA CON EL PUÑO O CON ALGO QUE PUDIERA LASTIMARLA? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ¿ALGUNA VEZ HA GOLPEADO A UNA PAREJA CON EL PUÑO O CON ALGO QUE PUDIERA LASTIMARLA? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> HAVE YOU EVER HIT YOUR PARTNER WITH ANYTHING THAT COULD HURT HER?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ¿ALGUNA VEZ HA PATEADO, ARRASTRADO POR EL SUELO, DADO UNA PALIZA, ESTRANGULADO O QUEMADO A UNA PAREJA? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ¿ALGUNA VEZ HA PATEADO, ARRASTRADO POR EL SUELO, GOLPEADO, ESTRANGULADO O QUEMADO A UNA PAREJA? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> HAVE YOU EVER KICKED, DRAGGED, HIT, HUNG OR BURNT YOUR PARTNER?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ¿ALGUNA VEZ HA USADO O AMENAZADO CON USAR UN ARMA DE FUEGO, CUCHILLO, U OTRA ARMA EN CONTRA DE UNA PAREJA? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ¿ALGUNA VEZ HA USADO O AMENAZADO CON USAR UN ARMA DE FUEGO, CUCHILLO, U OTRA ARMA EN CONTRA DE UNA PAREJA? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> HAVE YOU EVER THREATENED TO USE OR USED A GUN, A KNIFE OR ANY OTHER WEAPON AGAINST YOUR PARTNER?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ¿ALGUNA VEZ FORZÓ A SU PAREJA O ESPOSA A TENER SEXO CON UD.? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ¿ALGUNA VEZ FORZÓ A SU PAREJA O ESPOSA A TENER SEXO CON UD.? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> HAVE YOU EVER FORCED YOUR CURRENT GIRLFRIEND OR WIFE TO HAVE SEX WITH YOU? IF YES, HOW MANY TIMES AND WHEN DID THAT HAPPEN?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ¿ALGUNA VEZ FORZÓ A UNA EX-PAREJA O EX-ESPOSA A TENER SEXO CON UD.? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ¿ALGUNA VEZ UD. FORZÓ A UNA EX-PAREJA O EX-ESPOSA A TENER SEXO CON UD.D.? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> HAVE YOU EVER FORCED A FORMER GIRLFRIEND OR WIFE TO HAVE SEX WITH YOU?

**SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALE PARTNERS AT SOME POINT IN THEIR LIVES
(MALE PERPETRATION; FEMALE VICTIMIZATION)**

		BRAZIL (2009)		CHILE (2009)		MEXICO (2009)	
		MEN REPORTS	WOMEN'S REPORTS	MEN'S REPORTS	WOMEN'S REPORTS	MEN'S REPORTS	WOMEN'S REPORTS
AGE	18-24	2.00%	1.00%	2.20%	6.80%	5.40%	N/A
	25-34	1.40%	6.00%	4.00%	5.60%	3.60%	N/A
	35-49	1.00%	7.50%	5.20%	7.90%	2.20%	N/A
	50-59	0.70%	7.00%	6.70%	11.40%	0.70%	N/A
LEVEL OF EDUCATION	NO EDUCATION	1.40%	7.50%	4.30%	10.30%	3.10%	N/A
	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL	1.30%	2.50%	4.60%	7.90%	5.40%	N/A
	HIGH SCHOOL (SOME OR COMPLETE)	0.00%	5.60%	4.50%	7.10%	2.40%	N/A
	HIGHER EDUCATION						
EMPLOYMENT	NONE	1.30%	6.00%	2.50%	6.70%	3.40%	N/A
	YES, WITHOUT FORMAL WORK CONTRACT	0.60%	5.30%	7.10%	16.20%	3.10%	N/A
	YES, WITH FORMAL WORK CONTRACT	1.00%	6.10%	4.60%	4.80%	3.20%	N/A

**PHYSICAL VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALE PARTNERS AT SOME POINT IN THEIR LIVES
(MALE PERPETRATION; FEMALE VICTIMIZATION)**

BRAZIL (2009)		CHILE (2009)		MEXICO (2009)	
MEN'S REPORTS	WOMEN'S REPORTS	MEN'S REPORTS	WOMEN'S REPORTS	MEN'S REPORTS	WOMEN'S REPORTS
24.90%	24.50%	17.10%	20.70%	14.00%	30.00%
19.50%	29.70%	30.20%	30.80%	18.50%	29.50%
30.70%	28.10%	35.40%	35.70%	17.70%	31.40%
19.50%	29.00%	35.80%	31.40%	21.70%	30.80%
28.40%	30.80%	42.40%	37.30%	18.80%	35.00%
20.60%	24.10%	30.10%	28.90%	22.60%	33.60%
7.50%	16.70%	26.10%	33.30%	15.20%	24.60%
21.50%	31.10%	22.50%	25.70%	11.40%	27.40%
27.50%	25.50%	35.80%	48.60%	20.50%	40.80%
21.90%	22.00%	31.00%	31.40%	18.40%	34.10%

