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Session 4– Invited paper

**NATIONAL SURVEY OF HOUSEHOLD
RELATIONSHIPS DYNAMICS**

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. The issue of domestic violence has raised much concern within the Mexican government and civil society. There needs to be greater awareness of this issue in order for it to be addressed and eradicated. In this respect, the National Institute of Statistics, Geography and Informatics (INEGI) has adopted the Beijing Platform for Action as an international reference. It refers in particular to the following Platform objective:

2. “To promote research, to collect data and elaborate statistics, particularly concerning domestic violence, related to the frequency of different ways of violence against women; to promote research on the causes, nature, intensity and consequences of this violence, as well as on the efficiency of the applied measures for stopping it and emending its effects”.

3. Currently, The National Program for a Life with No Violence, run by the National Institute of Women (INMUJERES), seeks to establish the institutional basis for preventing, detecting and bringing greater attention to the eradication of domestic violence. In this context, INMUJERES, INEGI to whom responsibility for data generation has been given, and UNIFEM constitute a tripartite group to attend to these requirements.

4. In 1999, INEGI undertook the first research on the topic and conducted the Domestic Violence Survey in the metropolitan area of Mexico City. This served as the precedent on the basis of which the National Domestic Relationships Dynamics Survey (ENDIREH) was

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developed in 2003. ENDIREH utilized a more solid conceptual and methodological framework and was conducted with a more effective operations strategy as well as a careful management and processing system. The purpose of this survey was to generate statistics about the dimensions, characteristics and prevalence of violence among couples in Mexico. The conceptual framework was developed by a team of expert researchers.

II. CONCEPTUAL FRAME

2.1 Background

5. The social phenomenon here called gender violence has a long history of tensions and contradictions. The same is true for other issues and phenomena that have led to the conventions of what is now known as the field of study on women and gender. This is due to the fact that studies on women as a body of knowledge are not derived from the development of some specific field of already established knowledge, but from the social agenda raised by feminists during the 1960's. This movement sought to know the causes and implications of women's subordination within society and sought to express its will to implement change through political action.

6. The Latin American feminists of the 1960s had as a main goal to combat violence against women. Because of the urgency to publicize and address this problem, care centers for women contending with violence were established by women volunteers in the early 1960s. Simultaneously, the first conceptual and juridical amendments were instituted.

7. Tension emerged because on the one hand, there was increasing knowledge being gathered directly from victims about violence against women. But, on the other hand, there was also a great lack of acknowledgment, ignorance and lack of interest in this issue within academic fields. As a result, a paradox existed where there was empirical knowledge without theory and, at the same time, theory without empirical evidence. In the 1990s, when the United Nations and other international bodies turned their eyes toward addressing gender violence, there was already an unbalanced relationship between the information accumulated having no sound theoretical underpinnings and the poor theoretical development of the problem.

8. Several debates took place in order to explain the causes of female subordination. One argument was that patriarchal society was the ultimate cause of this violence against women and that this was positive as it helped international bodies to be vigilant regarding the seriousness of the problem.

9. In empirical studies about couple and family violence, patriarchal tendencies were characterized by individuals' socio-demographic variables such as age, income, occupation, etc., and behavioral elements such as drug and alcohol intake. This type of dealing with the problem lost, however, its structural dimension.

10. Recently this point of view has been modified, and the discourse about patriarchy has been replaced by the concept of family. This conceptual change moves beyond the perspective of the individual's characteristics by highlighting the weave of violence as the result of an unbalanced distribution of power between individuals, or as a result of tension between men's power and women's resistance.

11. Through empirical research, however, it was impossible to obtain variables and indicators that could reflect the unequal access to and use of resources and, therefore, of power by each gender. Variables used were still socio-demographic and economic relating to individual men's behavior. A sociological approach was still missing.

12. A first step in the direction of a sociological approach is by giving concrete consideration to men and women as producers and holders of society. Therefore our knowledge, behavior and relationships are the very expression of knowledge and practices of a certain time, space and culture. According to the sociological standpoint the main dimension of the phenomenon is the **relational** one, giving less consideration to the issue of whether there is an immanent (violent or aggressive) component in the male identity and nature.

13. Although aggression and violence are considered to be individual behaviors, it is also assumed that they are means or mechanisms for the expression of perceptions, needs, desires and feelings that might not be adequately expressed or carried out without hurting another or even the own offender. As these means and mechanisms suppose the presence of another, the problem of aggression and violence implies a problem of relationship between two or more individuals, and not a problem solely of a single person.

14. In order to move empirical research beyond the already studied aspects of the problem, it is important to ask ourselves about kind of power in gender relationships that allows the recognition that there is unequal access to and use of resources in a couple relationship or within a family.

2.2 Conceptual proposals

15. To refine the concepts for this research, the distinction between violence and aggression should be established. "Every form of violence is aggression, but not every aggression is violence." Violence implies the use of force to make someone to do something against his/her will. Aggression refers to the act of damaging another person or his/her properties. Aggression, rather than violence, does not necessarily imply the use of physical force, but may involve the use of gestures or words that show the offended person that he/she is being offended.

16. Gender violence, unlike other types of violence, is oriented toward the subordination of women. Women are kept in unequal hierarchical relationships inside and outside the domestic order.

17. Conclusions drawn from previous research offer important findings:

- Gender violence is present in every socioeconomic strata.
- The adverse consequences of gender violence in couples and ex-couples are more serious than the ones that are the result of aggression by strangers.
- Women may commit violence, but the greater part of violence - sexual, emotional or psychological - is committed by men against women.
- Most men that assail women do not show any type of diagnosable psychopathology. They do what is socially expected to be their right: to dominate, protect and correct women.
- Alcohol intake may exacerbate but not necessarily cause violence against women.
- In couplehood and in the home, relative tolerance to violent behavior exists. Women can remain in a violent relationship at least 10 years. It has also been observed for longer periods up to 20 years.

18. Three dimensions in the phenomenon of the violence are considered :

- Conceptual: It is necessary to differentiate between physical and emotional violence, sexual and economic.
- Temporal: It is necessary to differentiate episodic from chronic violence.
- Valorative: It is necessary to differentiate between violence measured by objective criterion and violence considered subjectively by men and women.

19. It is true that the classification of the different types of violence cannot be achieved without a certain degree of arbitrariness. This is necessary in order to make the measurement of violence easier. At the same time, we cannot overlook the fact that this simplification can result in the loss of conceptual precision required by the study of a phenomenon as complex as the one that is undertaken here.

20. In these types of studies the observational units are usually women. The exclusion of men is not justifiable when the aim is to explore the sources of violence, aggressor's motivations and conditions that exacerbate aggressive behavior. If men have not been considered it is because of logistical problems in being able to conduct the interviews.

2.3 Analytic model

21. This survey considers the following two explanatory factors for gender violence within a couple:

- a) An event perceived as negative produces discomfort which is attributed or attributable to women. This unleashes men's rage.
- b) Adequate or inadequate coping skills or behaviors that permit non-violent or violent resolutions of discomfort produced by negatively perceived events.

22. It is also assumed that the sources of discomfort that can unleash men's rage and violence are closely related to gender stereotypes, values, and standards that support them, as well as to expectations regarding each gender's role. Couples whose relationship is built around a strict model of sexual and emotional division of work may have a greater tendency to solve their problems in violent ways.

23. The suppositions for this study are the following:

- Couple violence is a phenomenon more related to types of relationships and interaction between its members, than to socioeconomic situation.
- Violence within couples is the result of "perverse" notions of unequal gender socialization in which there are socially prescribed roles, behaviors and different disciplines for men and women.
- The perception of gender violence which manifests in the couple depends upon values, norms and practices which are socially constructed around *sexuated* bodies.
- The tolerance limit to aggression and violence in a couple does not depend on the seriousness of the physical, sexual, psychological or economical injuries, but on the resources (intellectual, emotional, economic, material, human) available for men and women.

24. The dimensions explored in the survey were the following:

- Socioeconomic status of the couple: main features of the household, source and amount of economic resources, monetary and non-monetary.
- Socio-demographic characteristics of the household and its members: size and composition, lifespan stage, economic head of household, sex, age, education level, kinship.
- Relations and interactions between regular home members: work division by sex and age, type of authority, cooperation, solidarity, source and type of problem-solving

25. The classification of variables, their dimensions and some indicators are presented in Tables 1, 2 and 3. The context variables and the independent ones are chosen so as to explain the variables of interest in the study.

TABLE 1. Classification of variables for the violence survey	
Context variables (both members of the couple)	Demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, familiar precedents of violence (childhood exposure to violence)
Independent variables	Type of couple, sources, causes and perception of conflicts
Dependent variables	Type of violence, prevalence, frequency, consequences

TABLE 2. Independent variables		
Variable	Dimensions	Indicators
Type of couple	<p style="text-align: center;">Gender norms</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Work division</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Authority</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Properties, access and use of resources.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Division by roles</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Division by domestic and extra domestic activities</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Decision making Permissions and prohibitions</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Material, economic and financial goods</p>
Couple conflicts	Sources or causes of conflict in couple	
Conflict perception	Emotions (discomfort)	<p style="text-align: center;">Jealous Rage Hate Vengeance Shame</p>
Guilt attribution or responsibility for discomfort	<p>Extern (she)</p> <p>Intern (he)</p>	

TABLE 3. Dependent variables (last twelve months)		
Variable¹	Dimensions (categories)	Indicators
Physical violence	Severe violence	Kicking, shooting, attacking, etc.
	Moderate violence	Pushing, tying, shaking, spanking, etc.
Emotional violence	Severe violence	Threatening with guns, knives, etc.
	Moderate violence	Humiliation, verbal threatening
Sexual violence	No dimensions	Not defined
Economic violence		

III. THE SURVEY

3.1 Questionnaire

26. The questionnaire was structured in 17 sections (Annex 2) covering the variables described above. The observation and analysis units were the dwellings, the households, the conjugal nucleus and the eligible women stated as those aged 15 and over, habitual residents of the household with spouse present (also habitual residents of the household interviewed).

27. Direct interviews were conducted and two types of respondents were accepted. For the first two sections of the questionnaire relating to dwelling characteristics and socio-demographic data, the respondent could be any member of the family aged 15 years and over and having knowledge of the family member's characteristics. The other sections had to be strictly answered by the sampled woman in each household.

3.2 Sampling design

28. The sample is probabilistic, multistage and stratified, and was designed to produce information at the national level and for 11 states whose governments were interested in having information necessary for the establishment of public policies.

In each state were constructed seven strata with the following characteristics:

TABLE 3. Dependent variables (last twelve months)		
Domine	Strata	Locality size
High urban	1	Self-represented cities with 100 000 or more inhabitants
	2	Other cities with 100 000 or more inhabitants
Urban complement	3	50 000 - 99 999 inhabitants
	4	15 000 - 49 999 inhabitants
	5	5 000 - 14 999 inhabitants
	6	2 500 - 4 999 inhabitants
Rural	7	Less than 2500 inhabitants

29. This scheme enables adequate representation of the several types of localities within the country. But restrictions on the sample size determine disaggregations of the results at the state level only by urban/rural conditions. At the national level the results may be presented with more flexibility.

30. The selection of the sampling units is made using probability proportional to size (population). In the last stage, in each household, an eligible woman was selected with equal probability.

31. The sampling size of 20 160 was calculated using the variable proportion of households where any type of physical violence was detected (3.4%) in a survey conducted in Mexico City in 1999, an expected non-response rate of 15% and a mean value of 0.75 eligible women by household. The sample size for the eleven states was increased by a variable number necessary to reach 4 000 interviews. In this way, the national sample size was about 57 3000 households.

3.3 Field operations

32. Violence against women is a very sensitive issue which – due to the large scale of surveys such as the ENDIREH - may cause problems and put at risk the principal actors, the respondent woman and the interviewer participating in these surveys. The previous Mexican experience led to the establishment of a profile for the interviewers in order to ensure a controlled and professional development of the survey. These characteristics were the following:

- Age: 25 – 35
- Sex: Female
- Marital status : Single
- Educational level: Psychology, Social Work, Health Sciences
- Main Requisites: Fluid oral expression, resident in any of the localities of their responsibility

- Other requisites: Experience as interviewer, knowledge of the geographic area, at least one year of professional experience

33. The results of the interviews were the following:

TABLE 4. Interview results		
CONCEPT	Total	%
Sample households	57 301	100
Households with complete interview	34 766	60.7
Households with no eligible woman	12 229	21.3
Refusals (total or partial)	1 022	1.8
Uninhabited dwellings, not localized, etc.	9 284	16.2

34. The response rate was acceptable and comparable to another household survey in Mexico, with percentages near 85%. The percentage of households with no eligible woman is perhaps a high one and differs from the expected percentage. In some states this was the main cause affecting the original sample size.

35. It was considered important to obtain the interviewer's testimonies in relation to their experience in field work. With this aim they were asked to answer an opinion questionnaire about the profit of the survey, the intentional omissions in the declarations of violence, emotions and reactions shown by the interviewed women when they declared presence of violence, and some others about the organization and the experience acquired for future studies.

36. Generally speaking, the testimonies revealed that the interviewed woman felt embarrassment, fear, shame, nervousness and fell into contradictions as the interview advanced. They think there may be a general tendency not to declare the presence of violence or diminish its severity or frequency. This behavior is related to social and cultural patterns. Some expressed that : "[S]ome women are used to living this way and believe that obeying and accepting the violence of their spouse is normal." Testimonies indicate that this situation is more frequent in rural zones. Another problem during the interview was the presence of the spouse, which obviously affected the expected course of the interview. In a few cases, women refused to continue with the interview.

37. In all the sample households, a pamphlet edited by INMUJERES (Annex 3) was given to women. It explained what to do when women are faced with violence and provided the telephone numbers in the State of care center for women facing violence.

3.5 Main findings and future directions

38. The survey results are being published by the printed media and by Internet in the web page of INEGI. In Annex 4 of this document we included five basic tables at the national level, with estimated frequencies for each type of violence by State, urban/rural areas, age, educational level and employment status.

39. Mexico has approximately 19.5 million women corresponding to the population of interest in this survey, 47 percent of whom declared having suffered at least one emotional, physical, economic or sexual violence incident during the last 12 months. There are important differences between the States. For example, the lowest percentage occurred in Chiapas (26.99%) where the indigenous population is 24.7% and it is assumed that sociocultural patterns let women perceive the violence as a natural situation.

40. In Mexico, emotional violence is highest at 38.4%, followed by economic violence at 29.3%, physical and sexual violence at 9.31% and 7.8%, respectively. The first two seem to occur with a higher rate in urban zones while the others have a greater presence in the rural ones.

41. Women aged 15 to 34 suffer violence with greater frequency (50 to 55%). Educational level and employment status don't seem to be clearly associated with violence patterns, as was described in the conceptual frame. But this situation needs to be studied in depth.

42. The presentation of basic results at the national and state level, and the subsequent work to obtain violence indicators are part of the first stage related to the construction of a national violence subsystem. On the one hand, the integral evaluation of the survey is in the look and it will contribute to determining success and failures at each stage of the whole process, from planning to final processing of results. On the other hand, the database is expected to be considerably utilized when it becomes publicly available, and it is hoped it will be an important source for analysts, academics and designers of public policies to improve knowledge about this important social phenomenon, to test hypothesis or to point out new and different insights into the problem.

ANNEX 1

Definitions

Economic violence

Blackmailing that men can use against women by controlling the flow of home monetary income or the way in which that income is spent. For example the man prohibits the woman to work or study, threatens that he is not going to give her any money or that he has spent all the money.

Emotional violence

Aggressions that are not directed to a woman's bodies but to her mind. Insults, threats, humiliation and disrespectful attitudes are part of this category.

Physical violence

Aggressions directed toward women's body that result in injuries or the intent of injury, permanent or temporal. Physical aggressions considered are: beatings, pushings, aggression with fire weapons.

Sexual violence

Any type of coercive behavior inflicted toward women with the aim of obtaining sexual gains. This ranges from demanding for sex to the use of force.

ANNEX 2

QUESTIONNAIRE

Sections:

Dwelling characteristics

Sociodemographic characteristics of household members

Women's characteristics for being eligible

Couple life, number of unions and reasons for the separation

Background family of the couple

Parents- children relationship

Tensions and conflicts

Current relationship, regarding prevalence, frequency and intensity of the different types of violence

Work distribution in household chores

Participation in decision taking and level of feminine autonomy

Economical resources contributions for the household maintenance

Available and ownership of the goods and resources

Personal freedom of women to undertake different activities


Opinion about male and female roles in the couple relationship

Availability of social resources to solve daily problems

ANNEX 3

Pamphlet

La violencia no tiene que ser parte de tu vida



**INSTITUTO NACIONAL
DE LAS MUJERES**
MÉXICO

www.inmujeres.gob.mx

¿Qué hacer en caso de violencia?

- Trata de estar en un sitio que tenga salida a la calle y en donde no haya armas.
- Identifica a uno o más vecinos a quienes les puedas hablar y pedir ayuda.
- Si te quedas en tu hogar, asegura las ventanas y cambia las cerraduras de las puertas.
- Desarrolla un plan de seguridad con tus hijos e hijas para cuando no estés con ellos.
- Informa a la escuela o la guardería sobre quién tiene autorización para recoger a tus hijos e hijas.
- Cambia constantemente las rutas para ir y venir cuando salgas de tu casa.

Si tu pareja...

- Te ha golpeado, insultado y/o agredido con objetos
- Te compara o te ha hecho sentir que estás loca
- Se burla de tu conducta o tu cuerpo, ropa o gustos
- Te controla con el dinero
- Te prohíbe que salgas y critica tus amistades
- Maltrata a tus hijos e hijas, los pone en tu contra y te amenaza con quitártelos
- Te niega el gasto o la pensión alimenticia aun cuando pueda pagarla
- Te ha dicho que tiene otras mujeres
- Te ha obligado a tener relaciones sexuales que te desagradan
- Te provoca celos o te cela de una forma exagerada
- No te deja participar en las decisiones familiares
- Te prohíbe trabajar fuera de la casa
- Se enoja por cualquier cosa y te deja de hablar por mucho tiempo.
- Ha destruido tus cosas personales y maltratado a tu mascota

Si te has identificado con una o varias de estas situaciones, es importante que busques ayuda.



Todas las mujeres tenemos derecho a una
Vida sin violencia

En el Distrito Federal, a dónde ir en caso de violencia:

Emergencias
060

Cruz Roja
065

Instituto de la Mujer del D.F.
55 10 34 64

Sistema Nacional para el Desarrollo Integral de la Familia (DIF)
56 04 01 27, extensión 6205

Unidades de atención y prevención a la violencia familiar
53 41 96 91

Procuraduría General de Justicia
52 00 90 00

Centro telefónico Vida Sin Violencia
01 800 911 25 11

Si piensas que tendrás que abandonar tu casa:
Procura llevar a casa de una persona conocida una bolsa con:

- Duplicado de las llaves de tu casa.
- Un cambio de ropa.
- Actas de nacimiento (tuya, de tus hijos e hijas).
- Si estás casada, el acta de matrimonio.
- Dinero.
- Tarjeta del seguro social.
- Credencial de elector.
- Tarjeta de teléfono.
- Directorio telefónico de las personas que puedan ayudarte.
- Medicinas que tengas que tomar.
- Objetos sentimentales.

ANNEX 4

TABLE 1.

Women with at least one violence incident during the last twelve months by State ¹

State	Eligible Women	Women with at least one violence incident	Percentage of women with at least one violence incident
Estados Unidos Mexicanos	19 471 972	9 064 458	46.55
Baja California	537 468	254 038	47.27
Coahuila de Zaragoza	491 805	209 561	42.61
Chiapas	803 074	216 763	26.99
Chihuahua	635 875	294 314	46.28
Hidalgo	448 839	186 134	41.47
Michoacán de Ocampo	760 429	346 606	45.58
Nuevo León	852 872	243 521	28.55
Quintana Roo	210 019	90 286	42.99
Sonora	442 563	220 368	49.79
Yucatán	345 828	128 602	37.19
Zacatecas	259 324	123 512	47.63
El resto de las entidades	13 683 876	6 750 753	49.33

¹ States with representative sample

Source: National Survey of Household Relationships Dynamics

TABLE 2.**Women experiencing at least one incident of violence during the last twelve months
by type of violence and type of locality**

Type of violence and type of locality	Eligible Women	Women with at least one violence incident	Percentage of women with at least one violence incident
Total	19 471 972	9 064 458	46.55
Rural	4 199 888	1 720 408	40.96
Urban	15 272 084	7 344 050	48.09
Emocional	19 471 972	7 474 242	38.38
Rural	4 199 888	1 452 585	34.59
Urban	15 272 084	6 021 657	39.43
Pysical	19 471 972	1 813 370	9.31
Rural	4 199 888	397 221	9.46
Urban	15 272 084	1 416 149	9.27
Sexual	19 471 972	1 527 209	7.84
Rural	4 199 888	378 856	9.02
Urban	15 272 084	1 148 353	7.52
Economic	19 471 972	5 709 078	29.32
Rural	4 199 888	993 189	23.65
Urban	15 272 084	4 715 889	30.88

TABLE 3.
Women experiencing at least one incident of violence during the last twelve months
by age group

Age group	Eligible Women	Women with at least one violence incident	Percentage of women with at least one violence incident
Total	19 471 972	9 064 458	46.55
15 to 19 years	591 442	330 224	55.83
20 to 24 years	1 834 311	931 718	50.79
25 to 29 years	2 606 924	1 377 548	52.84
30 to 34 years	2 923 017	1 473 121	50.40
35 to 39 years	2 766 515	1 348 656	48.75
40 to 44 years	2 252 210	1 097 650	48.74
45 to 49 years	1 943 713	901 563	46.38
50 years and over	4 553 840	1 603 978	35.22

TABLE 4.

Women experiencing at least one incident of violence during the last twelve months
by level of education¹

Schooling	Eligible Women	Women with at least one violence incident	Percentage of women with at least one violence incident
Total	19 471 972	9 064 458	46.55
No instruction	2 184 212	829 546	37.98
Primary education (incomplete)	3 998 394	1 853 092	46.35
Primary education (complete) and lower secondary education (incomplete)	4 982 929	2 418 862	48.54
Lower secondary education (complete)	3 040 871	1 589 488	52.27
Upper secondary education (at least one year)	3 552 554	1 671 583	47.05
Tertiary education (at least one year)	1 713 012	701 887	40.97

Source: National Survey of Household Relationships Dynamics

¹ ISCED Levels of Education

TABLE 5
Women experiencing at least one incident of violence during the last twelve months
by employment status and type of violence

Employment status and type of violence	Eligible Women	Women with at least one violence incident	Percentage of women with at least one violence Incident
Total	19 471 972	9 064 458	46.55
In labor force	7 289 758	3 617 324	49.62
Domestic work	11 187 040	5 052 244	45.16
Not in labor force (different from domestic work)	995 174	394 890	39.68
Emotional	19 471 972	7 474 242	38.38
In labor force	7 289 758	3 068 247	42.09
Domestic work	11 187 040	4 106 592	36.71
Not in labor force (different from domestic work)	995 174	299 403	30.09
Physical	19 471 972	1 813 370	9.31
In labor force	7 289 758	762 559	10.46
Domestic work	11 187 040	988 611	8.84
Not in labor force (different from domestic work)	995 174	62 200	6.25
Sexual	19 471 972	1 527 209	7.84
In labor force	7 289 758	665 513	9.13
Domestic work	11 187 040	795 143	7.11
Not in labor force (different from domestic work)	995 174	66 553	6.69
Economic	19 471 972	5 709 078	29.32
In labor force	7 289 758	2 222 184	30.48
Domestic work	11 187 040	3 231 712	28.89
Not in labor force (different from domestic work)	995 174	255 182	25.64

ⁱ See Annex 1 for definitions.